

# SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

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## There are Thousands Hacking at the Branches of Evil to One who is Chopping at the Root.

Comrade Carey spoke at Brockton, Sunday evening, March 26, on "Socialism in the State House," and injected a whole lot of fun into a narration of his experience in the State legislature. He said part of the mission of Comrade Scates and himself was to do picket duty, to watch the other representatives and see how they were attending to the people's business. He hoped that soon there would be 25 Socialists in the legislature and that one of them would be on every House committee, so that there would be one man to watch at each committee session. He thought it would have a wholesome effect.

Owing to the death of a beloved daughter, Comrade Anna F. Smith, returned to her home in California last week. Comrade Smith has done very effective work for the party in Illinois and Missouri, and she will be missed. An effective speaker and tireless worker, she leaves just when her true worth and ability were opening up larger opportunities of usefulness. She will have the high regard and best wishes of the comrades everywhere.

Our lines are materially strengthened every week and the prospect brightens with every issue of THE HERALD. We welcome to our ranks this week Comrade Eugene Hough, of Newton, Mass. He has for years been an able contributor to the Coming Nation, steadfast in his advocacy of Socialism. Our readers may expect an occasional taste of his quality in THE HERALD. Comrade Hough is vice-chairman of the new branch at Newton.

Comrade Hoehn's visit to Cleveland was very gratifying to him and beneficial to the movement at that point. He was given a reception and met many Socialists at their homes and in his public meetings. The new branch organized by him will soon develop in numbers and influence, being composed of devoted comrades who appreciate the needs of the movement and will keep a shoulder to the wheel.

Amesbury, Mass., had a town meeting March 28, when there came up the question whether the contract system on public works should be abolished. The Social Democrats present settled it in the affirmative by a majority of seventy. Eastern papers say "Amesbury is apparently in the control of Socialists." That's right, boys; keeping everlastingly at it brings success. Give 'em no rest.

The March number of Progressive Thought, published monthly at 50 cents a year by E. V. Debs & Co., Terre Haute, Ind., contains "Municipal Socialism," by F. G. R. Gordon, and other admirable contributions. The former is a valuable compilation of facts, which the branches should put into the hands of non-Socialists.

Milwaukee branches have adopted the stamp system for the agitation fund and report that it works well. The use of stamps facilitates collection. Comrades who are interested in them and would like a sample may address Eugene H. Rooney, secretary of Central Committee.

Thirteen members of the Debs family are represented in the current report of the propaganda fund. Grandpa Debs is the patriarch, at 78, and Marguerite Toy Debs, daughter of Theodore, at 4, is the babe. They want their little co-operative commonwealth made universal.

The organization of branches is going very satisfactorily in New York City. On Wednesday, March 29th, a new one was started at 541 Tenth ave., with Charles Weyel, 426 W. 40th st., as secretary. This new branch is in the 13th Assembly District.

Gordon's "Hard Times: Cause and Cure" and "Government Ownership of Railways" are two effective pamphlets for which the calls are frequent. The price is low and every branch will do well to keep stocked up with them.

Comrade James F. Carey, Socialist member of the Massachusetts legislature, will lecture in Manchester, N. H., at the Grand Assembly hall, Sunday evening April 16. That will have a full house is a certainty.

## Big Meeting at Belleville.

It was not a Social Democratic meeting, but when it was over and the crowd began to exchange opinions, it was generally agreed to that the Socialists had again got in their work in fine shape. The occasion was a demonstration by the United Mine Workers in this section, assisted by the various trades union organizations of Belleville. The time was in the afternoon of Saturday, April 1. While the line was being formed for a great parade and crowds of people were assembling in the streets to listen to the music of several brass bands, a committeeman of the miners called at my "den" and invited me to speak at the meeting. Of course I accepted the invitation and so had a part in what is said to have been one of the greatest demonstrations by labor the city has ever seen. The local papers said that 2,000 men marched in the parade. Comrade Robert Steiner, editor of "Tageblatt und Arbeiter Zeitung," of Belleville, had also been invited to speak, and when we arrived at the hall we were introduced to Mr. John Mitchell, national president of the United Mine Workers of America. It was arranged that Mr. Mitchell should be the first speaker, I to follow him and then Comrade Steiner to close with an address in German.

President Mitchell's speech was chiefly a review of the "great victories" which have been won by the miners. He pleaded for recognition of the mutual interests and rights of employers and employed and said the operators could not pay higher wages; He was not present to array class against class and he regretted the presence in the organization of radicals. He spoke in such poor terms of deprecation as he was capable of about the agitation of Socialists and declared that "One year ago to-day the miners of this country were slaves, but to-day I am proud to say they are free men." Then he sat down.

The opening speech was received with a discouraging lack of interest and elicited very little applause from the great audience. I had a feeling of disappointment myself, and felt too that those present, who have a right on such occasions to expect something educational, to lift them out of the rut of their ordinary, every-day thinking, shared that feeling with me.

It was my turn. "Your president tells you he is not here to array class against class," I said; "And I am not. I am here to arraign the capitalist class in the name of justice, to array, if possible all classes in the cause of justice," and instantly the enthusiasm of the audience broke loose. There was no mistaking the eagerness of the people from that moment to learn more about Socialism, which President Mitchell "regretted to find in the ranks of the miners." "I congratulate the miners of America that at last they are free men," I continued, and this was followed by derisive laughter. "You have no homes, you own nothing, you are often in need and misery, but you are free men. You draw an average wage of \$225 a year for your most laborious toil, and the operators who accumulate wealth can't afford to pay you more, but are ever trying to pay you less, and you are free men. If we understand this labor problem, let us be honest. Is it not true that every man who is separated from the means of gaining a living, who has no interest in the natural resources of the earth or the tools of production and is compelled to depend upon the whim of the capitalist for the privilege of eating bread, and wearing clothes, and living in a house, what is such a man but a slave?"

"That's right!" was shouted from all parts of the house. Then in an hour's talk I showed them the way to economic freedom, told them not to be deceived into the belief that their interests were the same as the capitalist class interests. That class wanted profits and by the ownership of the means of life coined profits out of famine and need and the ragged misery of the producers of wealth. Only when the working class were united to effect for their own interests the control of government and of the tools of production, would that class be free and know what it really meant to have good times. Socialism was the hope of the workers and the world.

The audience was distinctly not in sympathy with John Mitchell, as their reception of the living truths of Socialism demonstrated. The people want the truth and when it is presented they are not so dull that they can be caught by anything else.

The opportunity to get the ear of the people is all we want.

Comrade Steiner made a stirring address in German, which was received with rounds of applause.

A. S. EDWARDS.

## Flight of an "Eagle."

Among the many capitalist newspapers whose editors have regarded it as a part of their journalistic duty in the past to assail and misrepresent Eugene V. Debs, one of the bitterest and most vituperative is the Brooklyn Eagle. It is very significant that this newspaper should print an editorial in its issue of March 22 (some passages from which we quote), immediately following Comrade Debs' address at the Nineteenth Century club, and arraign the press of New York for its vulgar and unfair treatment on that occasion. The editor-in-chief of the Eagle was present and heard the address. This is what he says:

"The treatment of it in about all the Manhattan morning papers is a lamentable and almost pathetic illustration of inadequate and unfair reporting. Most of them present a misleading suggestion of what Mr. Debs said, and refer to the other speakers not at all. The one or two that do more than that confined their attention entirely to Mr. Debs' remarks, and unintelligently misrepresented them. The several hundred bright and attentive people present, or as many of them as examined the Manhattan morning papers, to compare what those sheets said with what really occurred at the meeting, will get an undesirable, though we regret to say, not an unjust impression of the news side of the dailies in question. As that impression tends to confirm Mr. Debs' not flattering estimate of current journalism, the effects of it upon him and on those for whom he speaks cannot be mistaken."

The Brooklyn editor then comments on Debs' personality and the address:

"Eugene V. Debs is a physical facsimile of the late Edgar W. Nye—known as a humorist by the name of Bill Nye. His expression, however, is as earnest, on the platform as that of Mr. Nye was not. He read a carefully written paper, which was an attractive aspiration for what he thinks Socialism would be and would do. Here and there in the paper were two or three lurid sentences of tropical or Populistic characterization, which the papers referred to pick out to the exclusion of the rest. But the controlling note was one of propriety, pathos and, at points, even of genuine poetry. His paper was more notable for moderation than for violence. His manner, though stiff and pedagogical, had dignity, sincerity and manliness. The dyer's hand colors to what it works in. So does his mind. Mr. Debs was, therefore, more sympathetic than logical, more rhapsodical than reasonable and the pace of his statement was so rapid as to quicken sensibility and to expel analysis or reason."

Readers of THE HERALD will remember that two other speakers, Miss de Graffenreid and Mr. Charlton H. Lewis, also spoke on this occasion. The Eagle says:

"The club accomplished a feat in bringing these people on the same platform, in a single evening. The occasion, however, would have been more instructive, if each speaker could have had the whole evening to himself. The result reached, as between Messrs Debs and Lewis, was one of collision rather than of conviction, one of stimulation rather than of education, one of entertainment rather than of instruction. Each indulged in just enough "personal remark" to spice discourse, but in comparative moderation and in tactful restraint the labor agitator shone a bit better or finer than the lawyer. The real lesson of the night was the deplorable difference between the two men."

The editor of the Eagle then closes with a reference to the legal iniquity following the sympathetic strike of 1894, in these words:

"We do not believe that the device of injunction, as a substitute for trial at law, will ever again be carried to the extent it was, in the case of Mr. Debs, years ago. Nor do we believe that the Philistinism of Mr. Lewis will ever be made the policy of the people. Both men should be bettered by what they "ran up against"

Tuesday night, and all their hearers should be benefited by having heard representatives of classes that too rarely meet and study one another's causes or advocates."

At the close of his experience with the Nineteenth Century club Comrade Debs was promptly invited to address the New York Woman's Educational League, one of the most cultured societies in the country, and also the People's Institute. Both invitations will be accepted later. We mention this merely to show the utter falsity of the reports made in the New York papers as the reception of his effort. His address is printed in full in this number of THE HERALD.

## A Perplexed Professor.

The hope of the world is in the triumph of industrial democracy, through the restoration of the tools of production to their rightful owners—the builders of civilization. Prof. Albion W. Small, of the University of Chicago, recently said:

"There seems to be no practical alternative between, on the one hand, swelling the clamor of wild and incoherent revolt, and, on the other hand, giving one's moral support to conservatism, most falsely and fatally so-called, which intensifies the evils by denying that they exist."

But there is a practical alternative; it is not to be found in compromise or half-way measures, but rather in the full acceptance of the revolution brought upon us by capitalist production and the application of the only remedy—the expropriation of the few usurpers by the mass of the people, and the investiture of society as a whole with the indispensable means of maintaining liberty and the orderly development of civilization, i. e., land and capital. A program of compromises will be incomparably more protracted and difficult, and since the few who are masters of the productive powers of society must be dispossessed, if civilization is to endure, the practical alternative is the program of Social Democrats.

Says Prof. Small: "The march of progress is getting reducible to marking time in the lock-step of capital's chain-gang," and he sees "no practical alternative between swelling the clamor of wild and incoherent revolt" and giving one's moral support to a false and fatal conservatism! What a concession that is to the Socialist arraignment of capitalism! What Prof. Small, Prof. Herron and men like them are saying about "the devil's dance of capitalism," is only what millions of the hapless and plundered people are thinking, and nothing but the poverty of those who clearly understand the ECONOMIC revolution stands in the way of total rejection by the people of a false and fatal conservatism together with the equally false and fatal compromises of reformers who vainly imagine that civilization can be preserved and the people made secure, for instance, by grafting a new method of making laws upon an economic system the masters of which have gained control, not alone over all methods of law making but also of the administration of laws when made.

Social Democrats are not ignorantly attempting the impossible, as some reformers assert; on the contrary, they are co-operating with the practical and inevitable.

There was a notable gathering of citizens of Terre Haute, on Tuesday evening, March 28, under the auspices of the Economic League, to hear Eugene V. Debs on "The Trend of the Economic Development." Rev. Mr. Tillotson had kindly tendered the use of his church, which has the largest auditorium in the city except the opera house, and it was crowded. For two hours the people, composed of all classes, set the stamp of approval upon the truths of Socialism with almost continuous applause. The speech, which was no doubt as thorough any direct as the proprieties would admit, stirred up the railroads in a most gratifying way because the speaker took occasion to show that the railway employees were SLAVES.

Saturday afternoon, April 1, Comrade Debs spoke at Girard, four miles from Virden, Ill., to one of the greatest labor meetings ever held in that section. The meeting was under the auspices of the United Mine Workers.

INVITE YOUR FRIENDS TO SUBSCRIBE.

# Eugene V. Debs' Address at The Nineteenth Century Club.

In my early years I stood before the open door of a blazing furnace and piled in the fuel to create steam to speed a locomotive along the iron track of progress and civilization. In the costume of the craft, through the grime of mingled sweat and smoke and dust I was initiated into the great brotherhood of labor. The locomotive was my alma mater. I mastered the curriculum and graduated with the degree of D. D., not, as the lexicons interpret the letters, "Doctor of Divinity," but that better signification, "Do and Dare"—a higher degree than Aristotle conferred in his Lyceum or Plato thundered from his Academy. I am not in the habit of telling how little I know about Latin to those who have slaked their thirst for learning at the Pierian springs, but there is a proverb that has come down to us from the dim past which reads "Omnia vincit labor," and which has been adopted as the shibboleth of the American labor movement because, when reduced to English, it reads "Labor overcomes all things." In a certain sense this is true. Labor has built this great metropolis of the new world, built it as the coral insects build the foundations of islands—built and die; built from the fathomless depths of the ocean until mountain billows are dashed into spray as they beat against the fortifications beneath which the builders are forever entombed and forgotten. Here in this proud city where wealth has built its monuments grander and more imposing than any of the seven wonders of the world named in classic lore, if you will excavate for facts you will find the remains, the bones of the toilers, buried and imbedded in their foundations. They lived, they wrought, they died. In their time they may have laughed and sung and danced to the music of their clanking chains. They married, propagated their species, and perpetuated conditions which, growing steadily worse, are to-day the foulest blots the imagination can conceive upon our much vaunted civilization.

And from these conditions there flow a thousand streams of vice and crime which have broadened and deepened until they constitute a perpetual menace to the peace and security of society. Jails, workhouses, reformatories and penitentiaries have been crowded with victims, and the question how to control these institutions and their unfortunate inmates is challenging the most serious thought of the most advanced nations on the globe.

The particular phase of this grave and melancholy question which we are to consider this evening is embodied in the subject assigned the speakers: "Prison Labor, Its effects on Industry and Trade."

I must confess that it would have suited my purpose better had the subject been transposed so as to read: "Industry and Trade, their Effect on Labor," for, as a Socialist, I am convinced that the prison problem is rooted in the present system of industry and trade, carried forward, as it is, purely for private profit without the slightest regard to the effect upon those engaged in it, especially the men, women and children who perform the useful, productive labor which has created all wealth and all civilization.

Serious as is the problem presented in this subject of our discussion, it is yet insignificant when compared with the vastly greater question of the effect of our social and economic system upon industry and trade.

The pernicious effect of prison contract labor upon "free labor," so-called, when brought into competition with it in the open market, is universally conceded, but it should not be overlooked that prison labor is itself an effect and not a cause, and that convict labor is recruited almost wholly from the propertyless, wage-working class and that the inhuman system which has reduced a comparative few from enforced idleness to crime, has sunk the whole mass of labor to

the dead level of industrial servitude.

It is therefore with the economic system, which is responsible for, not only prison labor, but for the gradual enslavement and degradation of all labor, that we must deal before there can be any solution of the prison labor problem or any permanent relief from its demoralizing influences.

But we will briefly consider the effect of prison labor upon industry and then pass to the larger question of the cause of prison labor and its appalling increase, to which the discussion logically leads.

From the earliest ages there has been a prison problem. The ancients had their bastiles and their dungeons. Most of the pioneers of progress, the haters of oppression, the lovers of liberty, whose names now glorify the pantheon of the world; made such institutions a necessity in their day. But civilization advances, however slowly, and there has been some progress. It required five hundred years to travel from the inquisition to the injunction.

In the earlier days punishment was the sole purpose of imprisonment. Offenders against the ruling class must pay the penalty in prison cell, which, not infrequently, was equipped with instruments of torture. With the civilizing process came the idea of the reformation of the culprit, and this idea prompts every investigation made of the latter-day problem. The inmates must be set to work for their own good no less than for the good of the state.

It was at this point that the convict labor problem began and it has steadily expanded from that time to this and while there have been some temporary modifications of the evil, it is still an unmitigated curse from which there can be no escape while an economic system endures in which, labor, that is to say the laborer, man, woman and child, is sold to the lowest bidder in the markets of the world.

More than thirty years ago Prof. E. C. Wines and Prof. Theodore W. Dwight, then commissioners of the Prison Association of New York, made a report to the legislature of the state on prison industry in which they said:

"Upon the whole it is our settled conviction that the contract system of convict labor, added to the system of political appointments, which necessarily involves a low grade of official qualification and constant changes in the prison staff, renders nugatory to a great extent the whole theory of our penitentiary system. Inspection may be correct isolated abuses, philanthropy may relieve isolated cases of distress; and religion may effect isolated moral cures; but genuine, radical, comprehensive, systematic improvement is impossible."

The lapse of thirty years has not affected the wisdom or logic of the conclusion. It is as true now as it was then. Considered in his most favorable light, the convict is a scourge to himself, a menace to society and a burden to industry; whatever system of convict labor may be tried, it will ultimately fail of its purpose at reformation of the criminal or the relief of industry as long as thousands of "free laborers" who have committed no crime are unable to get work and make an honest living. Not long ago I visited a penitentiary in which a convict expressed regret that his sentence was soon to expire. Where was he to go, and what was he to do? And how long before he would be sentenced to a longer term for a greater crime?

The commission which investigated the matter in Ohio in 1877 reported to the legislature as follows:

"The contract system interferes in an undue manner with the honest industry of the state. It has been the cause of crippling the business of many of our manufacturers; in has been the cause of driving many of them out of business; it has been the cause of a

large percentage of reductions which have taken place in the wages of our mechanics, it has been the cause of pauperizing a large portion of our laborers and increasing crime in a corresponding degree; it has been no benefit to the state; as a reformatory measure it has been a complete, total and miserable failure; it has hardened more criminals than any other cause; it has made total wrecks morally of thousands and thousands who would have been reclaimed from the paths of vice and crime under a proper system of prison management, but who have resigned their fate to a life of hopeless degradation; it has not a single commendable feature. Its tendency is pernicious in the extreme. In short, it is an insurmountable barrier in the way of the reformation of the unfortunates who are compelled to live and labor under its evil influences; it enables a class of men to get rich out of the crimes committed by others; it leaves upon the fair escutcheon of the state a relic of the worst form of human slavery; it is a bone of ceaseless contention between the state and its mechanical and industrial interests; it is abhorred by all and respected by none except those, perhaps, who make profit and gain out of it. It should be tolerated no longer but abolished at once."

And yet this same system is still in effect in many of the states of the Union. The most revolting outrages have been perpetrated upon prison laborers under this diabolical system. Read the official reports and stand aghast at the atrocities committed against these morally deformed and perverted human creatures, your brothers and my brothers, for the private profit of capitalistic exploiters and the advancement of Christian civilization.

What a commentary on the capitalist competitive system! First, men are forced into idleness. Gradually they are driven to the extremity of begging and stealing. Having still a spark of pride and self-respect they steal and are sent to jail. The first sentence seals their doom. The brand of Cain is upon them. They are identified with the criminal class. Society, whose victims they are, has exiled them forever, and with this curse ringing in their ears they proceed on their downward career, sounding every note in the scale of depravity until at last, having graduated in crime all the way from petit larceny to homicide, their last despairing sigh is wrung from them by the hangman's halter. From first to last these unfortunates, the victims of social malformation, are made the subject of speculation and traffic. The barbed iron of the prison contractor is plunged into their quivering hearts that their tortures may be coined into private profit for their exploiters.

In the investigation in South Carolina, where the convicts had been leased to railroad companies, the most shocking disclosures were made. Out of 285 prisoners employed by one company, 128, or more than 40 per cent, died as the result, largely, of brutal treatment.

It is popular to say that society must be protected against its criminals. I prefer to believe that criminals should be protected against society, at least while we live under a system that makes the commission of crime necessary to secure employment.

The Tennessee tragedy is still fresh in the public memory. Here, as elsewhere, the convicts, themselves brutally treated, were used as a means of dragging the whole mine-working class down to their crime-cursed condition. The Tennessee Coal and Iron Co., leased the convicts for the express purpose of forcing the wages of miners down to the point of subsistence. Says the official report: "The miners were compelled to work in competition with the low-priced convict labor, the presence of which was used by the company as a scourge to force free laborers to its terms." Then the miners, locked out, their families suffering, driven to desperation, appealed to force and in a twinkling the laws of the state were trampled down, the authorities overpowered and defied, and almost five hundred convicts set at liberty.

Fortunately the system of leasing and contracting prison labor for

private exploitation is being exposed and its monster iniquities laid bare. Thanks to organized labor and to the spirit of prison reform, this horrifying phase of the evil is doomed to disappear before an enlightened public sentiment. The public account system, though subject to serious criticism, is far less objectionable than either the lease, the contract or the piece-price system. At least the prisoners infirmities cease to be the prey of speculative greed and conscienceless rapacity.

The system of manufacturing for the use of state, county and municipal institutions, adopted by the state of New York is an improvement upon those hitherto in effect, but it is certain to develop serious objections in course of time. With the use of modern machinery the limited demand will soon be supplied and then what? It may be in order to suggest that the prisoners could be employed in making shoes and clothes for the destitute poor and school books for their children and many other articles which the poor sorely need but are unable to buy.

Developing along this line it would be only a question of time until the state would be manufacturing all things for the use of the people, and then perhaps the inquiry would be pertinent: If the state can give men steady employment after they commit crime, and manufacturing can be carried forward successfully by their labor, why can it not give them employment before they are driven to that extremity, thereby preventing them from becoming criminals?

"All useful labor is honest labor, even if performed in a prison. Only the labor of exploiters, such as speculators, stock gamblers, beef-embalmers and their mercenary politicians, lawyers and other parasites—only such is dishonest labor. A thief making shoes in a penitentiary is engaged in more useful and therefore more honest labor than a "free" stonemason at work on a palace whose foundations are laid in the skulls and bones, and cemented in the sweat and blood of ten thousand victims of capitalistic exploitation. In both cases the labor is compulsory. The stonemason would not work for the trust-magnate were he not compelled to.

In ancient times only slaves labored. And as a matter of fact only slaves labor now. The millions are made by the magic of manipulation. The coal miners of West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois receive an average wage of less than seventy-five cents a day. They perform the most useful and necessary labor, without which your homes, if possible at all, would be cheerless as caves and the great heart of industry would cease to throb. Are they free men, or are they slaves? And what is the effect of their labor on trade and industry? and upon themselves and their families? Dante would search the realms of inferno in vain for such pictures of horror and despair as are to be found in the mining regions of free America.

To the student of social science the baggard fact stands forth that under the competitive system of production and distribution the prison problem will never be solved—and its effect upon trade and industry will never be greatly modified. The fact will remain that whatever labor is performed by prison labor could and should be performed by free labor, and when in the march of economic progress the capitalist system of industry for private profit succumbs to the Socialist system of industry for human happiness, when the factory, which is now a penitentiary crowded with life convicts, among whom children often constitute the majority—when this factory is transformed into a temple of science, and the machine, myriad-armed and tireless, is the only slave, there will be no prison labor and the problem will cease to vex the world, and to this it is coming in obedience to the economic law, as unerring in its operation as the law of gravitation.

That prison labor is demoralizing in its effect on trade and industry whenever and wherever brought into competition with it, especially under the various forms

of the contract system, is of course conceded, but that it has been, or is at present, a great factor in such demoralization is not admitted. There is a tendency to exaggerate the blighting effects of prison labor for the purpose of obscuring the one over-shadowing cause of demoralized trade and impoverished industry.

Prison labor did not reduce the miner to a walking hunger pang, his wife to a tear-stained rag, and his home to a lair. Prison labor is not responsible for the squares of squalor and miles of misery in New York, Chicago and all other centers of population. Prison labor is not chargeable with the sweating dens in which the victims of capitalistic competition crouch in dread and fear until death comes to their rescue. Prison labor had no hand in Cœur d'Alene, Tennessee, Homestead, Hazleton, Virdin, Pana, that suburb of hell called Pullman and other ensanguined industrial battle fields where thousands of workmen after being oppressed and robbed were imprisoned like felons, and shot down like vagabond dogs; where venal judges issued infamous injunctions and despotic orders at the behest of their masters, enforcing them with deputy marshals armed with pistols and clubs and supported by troops with gleaming bayonets and shotted guns to drain the veins of workmen of blood, but for whose labor this continent would be a wilderness. Only the tortures of hunger and nakedness provoked protest, and this was silenced by the bayonet and bullet, by the club and the blood that followed the blow.

Prison labor is not accountable for the appalling increase in insanity, in suicide, in murder, in prostitution and a thousand other forms of vice and crime which pollute every fountain and contaminate every stream designed to bless the world.

Prison labor did not create our army of unemployed, but has been recruited from its ranks, and both owe their existence to the same social and economic system. Nor are the evil effects confined exclusively to the poor working class. There is an aspect of the case in which the rich are as unfortunate as the poor. The destiny of the capitalist class is irrevocably linked with the working class. Fichte, the great German philosopher said, "Wickedness increases in proportion to the elevation of rank."

Prison labor is but one of the manifestations of our economic development and indicates its trend. The same cause that demoralized industry has crowded our prisons. Industry has not been impoverished by prison labor, but prison labor is the result of impoverished industry. The limited time at my command will not permit an analysis of the process.

The real question which confronts us is our industrial system and its effects upon labor. One of these effects is, as I have intimated, prison labor. What is its cause? What makes it necessary? The answer is, the competitive system, which creates wage-slavery, throws thousands out of employment and reduces the wages of thousands more to the point of bare subsistence.

Why is prison labor preferred to "free labor?" Simply because it is cheaper; it yields more profit to the man who buys, exploits and sells it. But this has its limitations. Capitalist competition that throngs the streets with idle workers, capitalist production that reduces human labor to a commodity and ultimately to crime—this system produces another kind of prison labor in the form of child labor which is being utilized more and more to complete the subjugation of the working class. There is this difference: The prison laborers are clothed and housed and fed. The child laborers, whose wage is a dollar a week, or even less, must take care of themselves.

Prison labor is preferred because it is cheap. So with child labor. It is not a question of prison labor, or of child labor, but of CHEAP labor.

Tenement-house labor is another form of prison labor.

The effects of cheap labor on trade and industry must be the

same, whether such labor is done by prisoners, tenement-house slaves, children or starving "hoboes."

The prison laborer produces by machinery in abundance but does not consume. The child likewise produces, but owing to its small wages, does not consume. So with the vast army of workers whose wage grows smaller as the productive capacity of labor increases, and then we are afflicted with over-production, the result of under-consumption. What follows? The panic. Factories close down, wage-workers are idle and suffer, middle class business men are forced into bankruptcy, the army of tramps is increased, vice and crime are rampant and prisons and work-houses are filled to overflowing as are sewers when the streets of cities are deluged with floods.

Prison labor, like all cheap labor, is at first a source of profit to the capitalist, but finally it turns into a two-edged sword that cuts into and destroys the system that produced it.

First, the capitalist pocket is filled by the employment of cheap labor—and then the bottom drops out of it.

In the cheapening process, the pauperized mass have lost their consuming power.

The case may now be summed up as follows:

First. Prison labor is bad; it has a demoralizing effect on capitalist trade and industry.

Second. Child labor, tenement-house and every other form of cheap labor is bad; it is destructive to trade and industry.

Third. Capitalist competition is bad, it creates a demand for cheap labor.

Fourth. Capitalist production is bad; it creates millionaires and mendicants, economic masters and slaves, thus intensifying the class struggle.

This indicates that the present capitalist system has outlived its usefulness, and that it is in the throes of dissolution. Capitalism is but a link in the chain of economic development. Just as feudalism developed capitalism and then disappeared, so capitalism is now developing Socialism, and when the new social system has been completely evolved the last vestige of capitalism will fade into history.

The gigantic trust marks the change in production. It is no longer competitive but co-operative. The same mode of distribution, which must inevitably follow, will complete the process. Co-operative labor will be the basis of the new social system, and this will be done for use and not for profit.

Labor will no longer be bought and sold. Industrial slavery will cease. For every man there will be the equal right to work with every other man and each will receive the fruit of his labor. Then we shall have economic equality. Involuntary idleness will be a horror of the past. Poverty will relax its grasp. The army of tramps will be disbanded because the prolific womb which now warms these unfortunates into life will become barren. Prisons will be depopulated and the prison labor problem will be solved. Each labor saving machine will lighten the burden and decrease the hours of toil. The soul will no longer be subordinated to the stomach. Man will live a complete life, and the march will then begin to an ideal civilization.

There is a proverb which the Latin race sent ringing down the centuries which reads, "Omnia vincit amor," or "Love conquers all things." Love and labor in alliance, working together, have transforming, redeeming and emancipating power. Under their benign sway the world can be made better and brighter.

Isaiah saw in prophetic vision a time when the nations should be transformed into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks. The fulfillment of the prophecy only awaits an era when Love and Labor, in holy alliance, shall solve the economic problem.

Here, on this occasion, in this great metropolis with its thousand spires pointing heavenward, where splendour riots in luxury which challenges hyperbole, and poverty

rots in sweat shops which only a Shakespeare or a Victor Hugo could describe, and the transfer to canvass would pals the hand of a Michael Angelo—here, where wealth and want and woe bear irrefutable testimony of deplorable conditions, I stand as a Socialist, protesting against the wrongs perpetrated upon Les Miserables, and pleading as best I can for a higher civilization.

The army of begging Lazaruses, with the dogs licking their sores at the gates of palaces, where the rich are clothed in purple and fine linen with their tables groaning beneath the luxuries of all climes, make the palaces on the highland where fashion holds sway and music lends its charms, a picture in the landscape which, in illustrating disparity, brings into bolder relief the hut and the hovel in the hollow where want, gaunt and haggard, sits at the door and where light and plenty, cheerfulness and hope are forever exiled by the despotic decree of conditions as cruel as when the Czar of Russia orders to his penal mines in Siberia the hapless subject who dare whisper the sacred word liberty; as cruel as when this boasted land of freedom commands that a far-away innocent people shall be shot down in jungle and lagoon, in their bamboo huts, because they dream of freedom and independence.

These conditions are as fruitful of danger to the opulent as they are of degradation to the poor. It is neither folly nor fanaticism to assert that the country cannot exist under such conditions. The higher law of righteousness, of love and labor will prevail. It is a law which commends itself to reasoning men, a primal law enacted long before Jehovah wrote the decalogue amidst the thunders and lightnings of Sinai. It is a law written upon the tablets of every man's heart and conscience. It is a law infinitely above the creeds and dogmas and tangled disquisitions of the churches—the one law which in its operations will level humanity upward until men, redeemed from greed and every debasing ambition, shall obey its mandates and glory in its triumph.

Love and labor will give us the Economic Republic—Industrial Democracy—the equal rights of all men and women, and the emancipation of all from the vicious thraldoms of the centuries.

## GERMAN SOCIALISM.

### Account of the Stuttgart Congress Concluded.

AFTER Kautsky, Liebknecht spoke to the same effect. He condemned alike Bernstein's "The movement is all for us, the final goal is nothing," and Rosa Luxemburg's "The final goal is all for me, the movement is nothing," and concluded: "No, our work is the movement for the final goal, and the final goal is the overthrow of the capitalist society."

The threat of the Emperor at Oeynhausen to punish strikers with the penitentiary received the attention of the Congress. The sentiment of the congress was voiced by Fischer. He said in part:

"If the emperor deems it proper to throw down the gauntlet to us, very well, we will have the courage to pick it up. We will have the courage, everywhere and always, to say to the workers that from the monarchical government they have nothing to hope, they have everything to fear, and that the preliminary condition of the definitive victory of the working class, as well as of the suppression of class domination, is the struggle, the victorious struggle against the monarchical idea." The applause was frantic. The hall was as if carried away by a violent passion. Anti-monarchical sentiments that had been accumulating, long repressed, at last broke out. One felt that a republican breath had shaken these souls. Something new and grave had just come to pass.

The condition of labor in the mining industry received the attention of the congress. The demands of the Miners' Trades Union were

among others: an 8 hour day, the suppression of the labor of men under 18, and the total suppression of the labor of women, and inspectors elected by the workmen and paid by the State. These demands were indorsed by the congress.

The way in which the whole machinery of the party is thus an instrument to secure the demands of a particular trades union is a most valuable lesson for us. The American Socialists should aid and be aided by the trades unions.

Next to the question of tactics, probably the most important question that came before the congress was that of free trade or protection. This came up for action on account of the treaties of commerce pending before the Reichstag, and it was felt that the Socialist members should have the guidance of an expression by the congress.

This article is growing so long, I will simply give the resolutions of Kautsky that were adopted, with a few extracts from Kautsky's speech in support of them, and some of Milhaud's comments. Here are the resolutions:

Whereas,

First. The tariff duties on food supplies artificially enhance the cost of the most necessary provisions and lower the level of living among the working classes in city and country.

In view of the relations of power that actually exist in the German Empire between the ruling capitalistic interests, the duties on manufactured goods and the duties on food supplies are necessarily bound together in solidarity.

Third. German industry is sufficiently developed to be able to dispense with customs duties.

Fourth. Tariff protection, in a state of highly developed industry is the most efficacious way to favor the formation of trusts and other strong combinations of employers.

Fifth. These combinations perform the role of raising the prices of commodities above their normal level and are thus always injurious to the mass of consumers and to the workingmen in particular, and often also to the industry itself that is said to be "favored by the protection of national labor," but which is compelled by these combinations to pay more dearly for the raw materials and the most necessary auxiliary substances (iron, coal).

Sixth. These combinations are also a powerful means of paralyzing the combinations of workingmen, of rendering vain the efforts they make with a view to ameliorating their condition, and of reducing them to the condition of modern Helots.

Seventh. These tariff duties act at the same time as taxes and furnish governments their most abundant resources to develop militarism which could never have attained its present great development without the protectionist policy.

Eighth. Finally customs duties are opposed to the international solidarity of the proletariat, because they emphasize artificially the antagonisms of interests that result from the capitalistic relations of production and exchange.

The Congress declares that:

The protectionist policy, in the German Empire as in every state with highly developed industry, is irreconcilable with the interests of the proletariat, of consumers, of the economic and political evolution, and favors only the interests of the great monopolists of agriculture and manufacturing industry as well as those of militarism and of governments that are not subject to democratic control, that is to say of the worst enemies of the proletariat and of democracy. The same classes threaten the combinations of workingmen with the penitentiary and favor the formation of combinations of employers through protectionism.

It is then a duty especially at the time of the removal of the treaties of commerce, to support every measure looking toward freedom of trade, and on the contrary to fight with the utmost energy all measures tending to maintain or fortify the protectionist regime."

There was a very animated debate upon these resolutions, but I will quote only an extract from Kautsky's last speech.

"What indeed is a protective

duty? It is a premium upon exportation that enables the German manufacturer to make on the international market a disloyal competition. If the German workmen take part in this protectionist policy, if they agree to make themselves accomplices in this disloyal competition, they render themselves hostile to other workmen; we know that protectionist tendencies accentuate the antagonisms between different nations; if we participate in it, we do not excite against the German people the wrath of capitalists alone, but also the wrath of foreign workmen. The proletarian method of struggling against international competition, against the competition of peoples whose level is lower is wholly different; it consists in aiding the foreign workmen who are lower than we, who can not do what we do, who are more long-suffering than we, to reach a higher level, because then will cease that disloyal competition they make against us today. It is not in the lowering, but in the elevation of the backward workmen that consists our own interest properly understood."

Kautsky then admits that this attitude will not answer toward workers whose level is so low there is no hope of elevating them, and

admits that it may be necessary to prohibit the immigration of Chinese and coolies.

"But to proceed thus against workmen whom one can elevate, this is forbidden us. Under any pretext, we must not to-day unite with the capitalists of our country against the foreign proletarians, but we must unite with the proletarians of all countries for the international struggle against international capitalism. Our war-cry must remain: Proletarians of all countries unite!"

Milhaud says that by these resolutions the Socialist Democracy "did not only proclaim its internationalism. It proclaimed also the existence of a solidarity between free trade and internationalism in states with developed manufacturers. The German Socialist Democracy has then renounced the traditional attitude of Socialism in the question of free trade and protection." \* \* \* \* "The resolution of the Congress of Stuttgart marks a mile-post in the history of Socialism. It is of the highest importance for international Socialism. It is impossible that it should not have its influence upon the Socialist movement throughout the world."

ROBT. RIVES LA MONTE.  
Bound Brook, N. J. March 8, 1899.

## 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.

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

# SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

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BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, U.S.



SATURDAY, APR. 8, 1899.

## Socialism in Massachusetts.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Boston, March 25, 1899.

TO THE COMRADES:—There has gathered in the calendar of the house through postponement assignment, etc., a large number of bills in which the comrades have an interest. Among them are many of the bills introduced by us including the child labor bill; the one in relation to the bonding system on St. R. R., which caused the strike in Haverhill last fall; our 8-hour law; a bill in relation to certain rights to employes at work in factories; some matters in relation to the ice trust, part of which is in the direction of relieving the people of Boston from certain evils pertaining thereto. Bills reducing the fare on the railroads of the state and the one pushed in to prevent Haverhill from abolishing grade crossings, a thing which the Social Democrats had demanded and after they got it through the city council, the politicians of Haverhill, fearing that their abolition would be the means of giving credit to our boys in the Haverhill city council, appealed to the legislature to exempt Haverhill from the general law governing such matters, it has passed the Senate and is now in the House calendar. We anticipate a merry time upon all these matters.

A resolution in favor of a national 8-hour work day passed the House, we voted for it. We voted against the report of a committee which reported leave to withdraw on a bill asked for by wheelmen increasing the width of tires on wagons, we voted for the bill which was substituted for the committee's report. We voted in support of a bill making 10 hours in 11 a day's work on street railways. The present law is 10 in 12, this bill was rejected.

We voted in support of a bill providing that all contracts upon public works should contain provisions that citizen be employed at the rate of wages prevailing in the locality. This bill aimed at the "padrone" system which has caused a reduction of the wages of laborers (so-called) in most every city and town in Massachusetts; it was defeated.

Carey opposed the report of the Com. on Judiciary leave to withdraw on a bill prohibiting judges of the Supreme Judicial Court from sitting in review of their own decisions, the report was adopted by an overwhelming vote.

On the following day Carey moved reconsideration which was denied.

Late in the afternoon of the last legislative day of the week (Friday) the first bill introduced by us was reached. The bill raising the school age from 14 to 16 years, and prohibiting the employment of children under 16. Carey remarked to the House that the lateness of the hour did not permit him presenting his views upon the matter and he therefore felt impelled to move adjournment, but his experience in the House has not been such as would cause him to believe that any motion of his would be carried, but he gave the members the opportunity to adjourn as a body and, in case they would not, he would limit his remarks because of the lateness of the hour and the number would probably adjourn individually he moved to adjourn and it was carried almost unanimously this places the bill in question first in the calendar as it

## OPPOSED TO THE DEMANDS FOR FARMERS.

As one who has criticised the farmers' program, I note what Comrade Gordon has to say in THE HERALD of March 18th. I believe that I am safe in saying that had the circumstances surrounding the birth of the S. D. P. been such as to have permitted a discussion of this program it would not now be under consideration. The acknowledged criticism admits the need of light, and let us have it.

I claim that it is reactionary, and as a basis for this claim I quote the following from our declaration or platform:

"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."

Is there any mistaking the meaning of this language? Does it not mean that we fully recognize the development and inevitable "class struggle"? If we do not stand as the champions of the "dispossessed class," what do we stand for?

The farmer and his interest being in question, let us try to establish his relation to the struggle.

Will Comrade Gordon please explain the economic difference, if any, from the S. D. P. point of view as noted above, between the farmer or person who holds title to land, and the manufacturer who owns or holds title to machinery? I mean those who conduct their own business, though the absentee landlord and absentee manufacturer need not be overlooked in considering the subject.

Being a buttermaker by trade, I know something about the work and life of the farmer and his hired man, and recognize as true what Comrade Gordon says, but is the situation changed when we come to consider the manufacturer and his hired man? In most instances is not the manufacturer who has to plan and worry to keep his business from being swamped by competition, working longer hours than his hired men? Just the other day an employing printer in this city was saying to one of his hired men that, "You are working a fixed and regular number of hours with a certain known return, while I am working all sorts of hours with no certainty as to returns."

Is it not just as logical to propose a plan to ease the condition of the class who own and control the machinery as it is to do it for the class who own and control the land—keeping in mind the quotation above?

Can we interfere to prolong the existence of either without putting off the day we hope for? If my "bump" of "causality" does not work wrongly I reason that in either case the easing must in the end be done at the expense of the "dispossessed class"—the proletariat.

Scientific Socialism is a recognized school of thought in the world of economic literature, and is so called because of the fact that its founders, Rodbertus and Marx, were the first to apply and elaborate the idea of evolution to the development of society, and to distinguish them from the sentimental and utopian Socialists.

I can only talk one kind of Socialism, and that is based on what some call cold facts, though I find that most people find the facts decidedly warm when placed against them, and the colder the facts, the warmer it gets. Right here let me remark that one need not be a zealot nor bigot to be firm and uncompromising.

The facts I try to use recognize just two conditions ahead—Socialism, or the destruction of civilization, and I try to demonstrate that Socialism would make existence for all members of society infinitely better than it is under capitalistic production. All classes are free to accept or reject the deductions made, and to join in extending the beliefs.

The "dispossessed class" are the first to see and accept the facts and logic, as the Socialist vote in all countries shows, because of their dependent position. The farmers,

as a class, are, and will be among the last to accept, because they are next to the base of animal existence and last to feel the pangs of unsatisfied hunger.

CHAS. R. MARTIN.

Tiffin, O.

## Carey Speaks Out On Child Labor.

The Boston Post has the following report on Carey's speech in the House, in support of his bill dealing with child labor:

Representative James F. Carey made a speech so full of bitterness for existing social conditions that Speaker Bates was obliged to reprimand the applauding galleries, while the doorkeeper sent several messengers to prevent a recurrence of the incident.

Mr. Carey told the House that it is they who ought to be imprisoned and not the drunkards.

His subject was the employment of minors in factories and mills. He said he was ready to meet either the republicans or democrats on the stump anywhere in this state and discuss the industrial situation, which, he said, "was deplorable in Massachusetts."

The prosperity of McKinley he denied existed, and the restoration of wages to the operatives was not the prosperity guaranteed by politicians.

Mr. Carey usually speaks from his seat, but yesterday he stood in the area in front of the speaker's desk and exhorted the House to turn down the report of the labor committee, which was against his bill introduced on January 18, changing the age of minor labor from 14 years to 16. He was bitter in his words condemning the present state of society, so that while there was some impatience manifested as to the length of his speech, he refused to yield and kept up his remarks until the time of adjournment.

Mr. Carey argued that "there is no necessity of child labor in the factories. Child labor is not economically necessary, for machinery has so largely increased the power of production, but it is used by the capitalist class to beat down the wages of the husband and father. It is robbery of the poor for the benefit of the capitalists. Wages are beaten down, and yet people wonder why drunkenness and crime increase."

"This condition is due to the laws. Instead of imprisoning the drunkards, they ought to imprison you who make the laws which make the present burdensome industrial conditions possible."

"Is it the New Bedford and Fall River mills and stocks and bonds which make the glory of Massachusetts, or the memory of Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison and the fact that once Massachusetts stood for liberty? If this bill should pass it would free some 15,000 children from the mills of the state and send them to the public schools."

"Those who reject the bill endorse the vice and crime and sin which follows the employment of children in the mills. The present situation is an indictment of the political party which has control of the state and of the industrial system that prevails."

## DEBS' LECTURE AT DANVILLE

Danville, Ill., Press: Notwithstanding the sudden unfavorable change in the weather, Eugene V. Debs, the great apostle of co-operative labor, had a very large and closely attentive audience Monday night, who loudly applauded his fine points, but for the most of the time were immersed in the deepest attention with the hearers silent eloquence of rapt and living interest. Thus an eloquent audience watched an eloquent speaker and proved that growing power and magnetism, not only of the great speaker himself, but also of the absorbing theme for which he pleads, "economic equality."

"Municipal Socialism," by F. G. R. Gordon, is the title of a new pamphlet just printed by E. V. Debs & Co., Terre Haute, Ind. It is packed with facts and figures on municipal ownership. See advertisement elsewhere.

## OUR NEW YORK LETTER.

COMRADE Dr. S. Peskin, one of the most lovable and, at the same time, most scholarly members of the Social Democratic party in New York city, leaves for London, England, on Saturday next to take editorial charge of a labor paper published in that city. On last Sunday he was the recipient of a farewell reception, in the William Morris club room, tendered by the comrades of the East Side Branch and was attended by a large number of admirers of Comrade Peskin, who will be greatly missed in the New York movement.

Comrade M. London's lecture on "Expansion" was one of the best yet delivered in the series given by the West Side Branch, at Crystal hall, 352 W. 35th street. Next Sunday, 8 p. m., Comrade Leonard D. Abbott lectures on "William Morris," to be followed on April 9th, by Comrade E. H. Thomas on "The Evolution of Capitalism," and on April 16th, Comrade Carl Pankoff lectures on "Socialism and Anarchism." These lectures are uniformly well attended and have so far been quite successful. The lecturer has to answer many questions, usually interesting and intelligent. Several comrades of the S. L. P. have attended our lectures of late, and joined in the discussions, which have been devoid of any unpleasant incidents or personalities. The membership of the branch is steadily growing and the members are much encouraged. Readers of THE HERALD are invited. Admission, free, and everyone is welcome.

A new branch of the S. D. P. was organized in the 13th Assembly District, this city, last night, with a membership of good material and excellent prospects for a fine branch being built up. This is the first of several more that should soon be organized on the West Side.

On Sunday afternoon last, Comrades S. Ingerman and L. Funcke addressed a large meeting in Newark, N. J., where the S. D. P. has a municipal ticket in the field.

The Grand Central Palace has been secured for the Forward festival on Friday, April 21, and there will be a "hot time in the old town that night."

Comrade Debs' address before the Nineteenth Century Club threw the plute press into a spasm for several days. The truths told were too wholesome to be enjoyable, and the unanimous howling from many quarters showed that the plain speaking and unanswerable logic of the address disagreed with the expectation and desires of others besides the capitalists. Those who know Comrade Debs expected nothing less than he gave utterance to. For those who do not know him, and hate him also, 'twas a disappointment grievous to be borne.

TOUCHSTONE.

New York, March 30th.

## To Massachusetts Comrades.

It was the desire of the State Committee to furnish the membership cards and application blanks to the branches at the lowest possible figure, but we find that our first calculation was a little too generous. We will have to raise on the price as published last week in THE HERALD if we are to come out whole on the transaction. The balance of the cards will therefore be sold at the rate of 60 cents a hundred and the application blanks at 25 cents a hundred, as stated in the letter of the secretary to the branches.

MARGARET HAILL,  
Secretary State Committee.

## THE HERALD

Can be obtained at the following News Stands in Boston:  
Brigham's Restaurant News Stand, (815  
ley's), 642 Washington st.  
Mahoney's Car, Harrison ave. and Wash-  
tham st.  
Cohen's Columbia Book Store, 335 Wash-  
ington st.  
J. C. Treaner, 1085 Washington St.  
E. P. Lindsey, 1357 Washington st.  
W. B. Smith, 1575 Washington st.  
The above news agents will furnish 2  
copies for 4 issues at 5 cents.



# Constitution of Local Branches

## NAME AND LOCATION.

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

## MEMBERSHIP.

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

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

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

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

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

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

## DUES AND FEES.

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

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

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

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

## EXECUTIVE BOARD.

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

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

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

Sec. 15. No member of the Board

shall hold political office except under the Social Democratic Party.

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

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

## JURISDICTION.

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

## ELECTIONS.

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

## BY-LAWS.

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

## TRIALS.

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

## APPEALS.

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

## AMENDMENTS.

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

## INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

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

## SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

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

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

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

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

**65 SOCIALISTS** and reformers—Biographical sketches of German, English and American leaders—Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Bebel, Ruskin, Morris, Hyndman, Blatchford, Bellamy, Gronlund, Casson, Wayland, Stetson, Sprague, Vail, Debs, Carey, Edwards, Gordon, Berger and others, with 43 Photo Engravings. A souvenir handbook, 50 pages, 8x11. While they last will mail at 50 cents per copy if you mention the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD. CHAS. R. MARTIN, Box, 339, Tiffin Ohio.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

### The Political Strength of Socialism from 1867 to 1898.

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

#### AUSTRIA.

1895..... 90,000  
1897..... 750,000

#### BELGIUM.

1894..... 334,500  
1898..... 534,324

#### DENMARK.

1872..... 315  
1884..... 6,805  
1887..... 8,408  
1890..... 17,232  
1892..... 20,098  
1895..... 25,019  
1898..... 32,000

#### FRANCE.

1885..... 30,000  
1888..... 91,000  
1893..... 590,000  
1898..... 1,000,000

#### GERMANY.

1867..... 30,000  
1871..... 101,927  
1874..... 351,670  
1877..... 486,843  
1878..... 437,158  
1881..... 311,961  
1884..... 599,990  
1887..... 763,128  
1890..... 1,427,298  
1893..... 1,786,738  
1898..... 2,125,000

#### GREAT BRITAIN.

1895..... 55,000

#### ITALY.

1893..... 26,000  
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

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## Social Democratic Party of America.

Organized June 11, 1898.

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

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

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

—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.

### RECALL OF OFFICERS.

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

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

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

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

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

## INTERNATIONAL.

### ZURICH, SWITZERLAND.

Little Switzerland seems to become the prey of the reactionary governments of Italy, Austria and Germany, and we are sorry to say that our capitalist republican statesmen are little better than the tools of Umberto, Wilhelm or Francis Joseph. Four prominent Italian Socialists, Comrades Tedeschi, Jotti, Speroni and Giachi, have been expelled from Swiss territory. Indignation meetings are being held in all parts of Switzerland and the people demand that the Federal Council immediately withdraw its order of expulsion. The Social Democratic press appeals to these Bismarckian tactics now practiced by the Swiss statesmen.

### MILAN, ITALY.

The Social Democratic Party of this city has gained a great moral victory over the government. Comrades Turati and DeAndreis who were convicted for alleged participation in the strike disturbances of last year, and who are still behind prison walls, have been elected to the chamber of deputies. The government will certainly not allow the imprisoned comrades to take their seats in the chamber of deputies, but this moral victory of the Social Democracy will soon compel the reactionary government to open the prison gates for Turati and DeAndreis.

### ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA.

The "Board of Discipline" of the university is determined to punish most severely every student that took an active part in the recent anti police riots. 194 students have been excluded from all universities of Russia; they are not allowed in any of the cities where a university is situated. All of the revolutionary students in Warsaw had to leave that city within three days. Ten of the students arrested may be sent to Siberia.

### VIENNA, AUSTRIA.

The daily Social Democratic organ Arbeiter Zeitung, of this city, announces that it has obtained from a Russian Socialist newspaper a secret report made by the chief of the Moscow police to the governor of Moscow, giving details as to the spread of Socialism among the workmen there, due to Socialist activity in labor disputes. The police report, it appears, proves that Socialism is becoming a real power in Russia, and suggests as a remedy that the workers should be placed under strict police and state supervision.

### FRANKFURT, GERMANY.

Comrade Dr. Quark, editor of the Socialist paper Volksstimme (People's Voice) has been sentenced to 4 months' imprisonment for severely criticising one of Emperor William's characteristic speeches.

## NATIONAL.

### KANSAS CITY, MO.

By request of Woodworkers' Amalgamated Union No. 47 of this city we publish the following resolutions:

Whereas, The cigar manufacturers of this country have introduced a system of blacklisting union cigar makers. The employers conduct tenement house factories and compel the cigarmakers to live in them and pay exorbitant rates. Many employ child labor, and in order to appear as union employers they use a counterfeit label. This is done in Pennsylvania. Starvation wages are paid, but the public are not deceived by their fraudulent methods. Be it, therefore,

Resolved, That we, the Woodworkers of Kansas City, do hereby extend our moral aid to Cigarmakers' Union to smoke only union made cigars, and only such as are made in Kansas City. Be it, furthermore,

Resolved, That we publish the foregoing resolutions in the press and notify Daniel Harris, 340 E. 8th street, New York city of our action.

### WASHINGTON, D. C.

The American Federationist has the following to say about the labor press: "What are you doing to help the great labor press of the country? These papers, started by earnest, self-sacrificing men, to advocate your interests, your cause, at all times and under all circumstances, are certainly entitled to something more than 'sympathy.' What's-his-name said:

Sympathy without relief

Is like mustard without beef.

Give the labor press your cordial and earnest support, and it will come back to you in substantial gains.

### OSHKOSH, WIS.

It is reported that George Zentner and Mike Troiber, co-defendants of the General Secretary of the Woodworkers' National Union in the recent conspiracy case, along with James Hara and Heriuan Dans, have been blacklisted by the manufacturers of Oshkosh. Perhaps the sash and door men believe that with these leaders out of the way the organization of woodworkers will become too weak to be effective in helping its members.

### TERRE HAUTE, IND.

The wage contracts for the two coal fields in Indiana, bituminous and block, the latter confined to Clay County, were agreed upon and operators and miners alike are predicting a year of steady employment in the industry, which now employs 80,000 or 90,000 more men than at any time since coal was first mined in the state.

### The Work at Haverhill.

In accordance with a vote of the branch we forward you a summary of the events which have occurred in municipal affairs.

Although Haverhill has not been heard from to any great extent up to the present time, we are very busy and by no means sleeping.

Our Socialist members in the city council are doing grand work and even our most prominent opponents cannot find anything to say to our detriment. Many "old liners," who had not hitherto understood the movement are in sympathetic accord with our policy. Even the Gazette acknowledges that Mayor Chase compares favorably with any of his predecessors. (That is admitting a good deal in view of the fact that it is a staunch republican newspaper.) Action has already been taken on four of the planks in our municipal platform with varying success.

As was stated in THE HERALD of Feb. 4th the order for 8 hours work and \$2 per day for street laborers was defeated, but through the persistent efforts of the Socialist representatives we have established a wage of \$2 per day for nine hours, which is an advance of 25 cents per day.

Another plank in our platform upon which favorable action has been taken is the one in regard to the abolition of grade crossings, and upon that question the readers of THE HERALD are fairly well informed. The superior court has been petitioned and has set the date of April 12th as the time for the hearing to determine the advisability of appointing a commission. Said commission has the power to determine whether the crossings shall be abolished and to supervise the work of abolition. Everything that can be accomplished by the city government has been done and we feel confident of success.

Article 2 of our platform in relation to the abolition of the contract system on public works is a strong point on which we feel confident of full success. As an experiment the city council has decided to build an addition to the Almshouse under the supervision of the committee on public property.

A new manual training school is also to be erected under the direction of the same committee; the sentiment of the common council is that no contract shall be given out in connection with the erection of this building.

The abolition of the secret ballot in electing city officials by the city council for which we have contended since the election of Com. Carey to the common council, has been accomplished as the result of an act by the state legislature. This was plank 12 of our platform.

A vive voce vote is now required, each member must announce the name of the person for whom he votes.

We are agitating for the burial of all electric wires and an order has been introduced, into the board of aldermen by one of our comrades, providing for the construction of underground conduits to be owned and controlled by the city, but this order is not likely to pass as it has been laid on the table by our republican opponents who are adverse to dropping their time-honored custom of giving away valuable franchises to corporations.

The poor department of this city is in an antiquated condition and in this department the work of our enlightened and progressive administration will soon be apparent, as steps are soon to be taken toward the establishment of a municipal supply depot which will do away with the present unwise practice of purchasing from the various retail dealers throughout the city. We are reaching out to the neighboring towns and organizing branches there. Every town and city in this senatorial district will be organized in a few weeks. In Georgetown a branch was organized with seventeen charter members and a few days later a town meeting was held and one of the Socialist candidates for selectmen came within 36 votes of election, his vote being 90 and that of his successful opponent 126. West Newbury was organized with 15 charter members and Comrade Carey lately spoke at Groveland, where a branch will be established. The prediction was repeatedly made by our friends, the enemy, that should the Socialists get elected in Haverhill then business would be driven from the city and that the city would be unable to borrow money. Now, as a matter of fact business is as good as usual, and the city has made its temporary loan which this year was \$120,000 at a rate of 2 55-100 per cent, which is the lowest rate ever procured by the city. We will endeavor in the future to keep the comrades informed of the progress of the local movement.

FRASER AND DWYER,  
Correspondents.

### SPRING ELECTIONS—1899.

Social Democratic Party Candidates.  
BALTIMORE.



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

By topographical measurement the distance is not great between Forty-fourth street and Fifth avenue, Fourth street near Second avenue, but socially it is many miles from Delmonico's to Wilzig's. For the sake of contrast, after the tight-fitting function by the Nineteenth Club, several of the more intimate New York friends of Eugene Debs gave him a semi-private reception last night before he left for the West at Paul Wilzig's proletaire hostelry in East Fourth street. And there was really much more comfort and genuine good nature at this second meeting with the great thought disturber from Indiana. This reception was under the auspices of the West Side Branch of the Social Democratic party. A collation was served to about 150 of the active workers in the independent political movement of which Mr. Debs is the leader. There were visitors from Newark and other nearby cities.—New York Journal, March 23.

"The whole system of capitalist production is based on the fact that the workman sells his labor-power as a commodity."—Karl Marx.

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

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