

# SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

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Capital is a Product of, and Could Not Exist Without, Labor. Who Should Own Capital?

## MARCH OF SOCIALISM.

The Thinking and the Vigilant are Called Upon for  
Ceaseless Devotion to the Cause--Stick Unflinch-  
ingly to Principle and the Social Democratic  
Party Will Soon Become Impregnable.

THE SKIES OF THE FUTURE GROW RADIANT WITH PROMISE.

BY EUGENE V. DEBS.

EACH passing day adds new testimony to the progressive march of Socialism throughout the civilized world. A letter just received from Russia contains words of greeting and congratulation, and prompts me to pen this article for THE HERALD. The Social Democratic Party of the United States commands the confidence and respect of the leading Socialists of other nations; and they look to our party to organize the Socialists of this country and bring them into harmonious alliance with the hosts of International Socialism, in the universal battle for the overthrow of capitalism.

The work accomplished during the past few months is as gratifying and inspiring to Socialists as it is abhorrent and alarming to their enemies. The superb victory at Haverhill sent a thrill of joy and consternation, hope and horror through the country. The plutocratic press is still harping upon it, wondering how it happened and predicting all sorts of evils if there is any spread of this dread affliction. They are straining their old power to scare the people and make them mind their masters, as they have been so long in the habit of doing. Riley's nursery tale warning aptly illustrates the situation:

An' the gobbles 'n' 'll git you,  
If you don't watch out.

The plutocrats and their parasites will not contemplate with calm indifference the march of Socialism. Every artifice known to their machiavelian resources will be employed to resist the advance. The ignorant and servile can be easily deflected from their course, but the thinking and vigilant will do ceaseless sentinel service and be prepared to parry every blow and expose every device and intrigue of the enemy.

A "congress of railway employees" is to be held in Chicago next month to "protest against unfavorable railway legislation." Back of the "congress" will be the agents of the railway companies to touch the secret springs that will start the performance for the delectation of the assembled slaves. There will be free transportation, lots of patriotism and brass bands, and railway employees will have a fine opportunity to attest and applaud their own degeneracy. Chauncey Mouth Depew, the fifty-thousand-dollar-a-year horny-handed labor agitator of the Vanderbilts, will be the star speaker, with such satellites as Arthur, et. al., for corporation claqueurs.

Watch for the resolutions, prepared by the railroad corporations, that the slaves will put through with a whoop.

The recent convention of the American Federation of Labor was enlivened by the most intelligent and spirited debate in the history of that organization. Socialism held the boards for the greater part of two days, and when the final vote was taken, the friends of Socialism had cause for hearty congratulation. Tobin, Hayes, Carey, Cowen and others led the debate with commanding ability and their argument was simply unanswerable. At the next convention the contest will be renewed, and, in the meantime, the economic development will re-enforce the Socialists, and sooner or later they are bound to carry the day.

Some alleged Socialists sneer about the results achieved at Haverhill and Kansas City. They seem as much distressed as their capitalistic allies. And these alleged Socialists are all there is of scientific Socialism in the United States--so they say. For one, I am not inclined to take issue with them. The way to silence them is to ignore them--pass them by as you would a mud machine in a brickyard. Their impotent rage will soon spend itself and the Socialist movement will sweep past them. Their lies, their calumnies and their ghastly attempts at sarcasm will react upon themselves. True Socialists will find them out and abandon them to isolation.

The question is often asked, how can we unify the Socialists of the country? I answer by saying, that they are unifying day by day. All the Social Democratic Party is required to do is to stick unflinchingly to its principles and it will not be long before the Socialists of the country will be united in one compact, aggressive and uncompromising party. The detractors, be they of the capitalist class or those who, masquerading as Socialists, would transfer the "boss" of capitalist politics to Socialism, can not arrest the unifying process. Never mind what the other party says or does, but attend to your own, and bear in mind that abuse is the compliment that failure pays to success.

Throw yourself with all your force and energy into the service of the party. Work for it, sacrifice for it, and, if need be, suffer for it. Hasten the social revolution by putting the strength of one loyal, unflinching soul behind it. Live in the faith and hope and serenity of a Socialist, and every burden now upon your brain or body will become light as air.

Be not deceived by the cajolery of the old capitalist parties. The only difference between them is that one is in power and the other is willing to be. In point of principle they are exactly alike. Both are dominated by capitalism and both stand for the wage system. The fierce hostility of the democratic party to trusts is farcical enough to extort guffaws from a mummy. What do they propose to do with the trusts? Not one can or will answer. Other alleged issues such as "expansion," "imperialism," etc., will now take the place of "free silver," "tariff," etc., which have been overworked and must be taken to the back shop for repairs, to be sprung again when the sham battle between the two gangs of exploiters wanes and "new issues" are required to vitalize the performance.

With those Socialists(?) who fear to be known as such, I have little patience. If Socialism is right and the next link in the chain of economic development, as they admit, then why not come out from cover and take their stand against "the world, the flesh and the devil?" If they lack the courage to do this, they are not ripe for our party.

The name of the Social Democratic party suits me precisely. I love it for the same reason that some fear and others hate it. So far as I know, there is no valid objection to it, and in some states we are as yet

unable to have it placed upon the official ballot, we will see about that later on. Social Democrats we are, every one of us, and by that name let us stand until it is relieved from odium and blazes replendent in the sun of victory.

Straight Socialism and no compromise must be our battle-cry. The line must be drawn between those who are for us and those who are not. The clear-headed Socialist knows what he wants and how to get it and simply bides his time, and with such the party is impregnable and the revolution near at hand.

As I survey the situation my heart throbs quicker in anticipation of the victories soon to be. All the forces are operating in our favor. Upon every tide there come fresh accessions to our ranks. The skies of the future grow radiant with promise. What is now but a cherished hope is soon to be an actual realization. About this there is no element of doubt or speculation. It is in accordance with the immutable laws of evolution and as unerring as a demonstration in mathematics.

Then for our individual and aggregate best effort. Let each of us, with head and heart and hand, consecrate himself to the task.

Terre Haute, Ind.

*Eugene V. Debs*

### ONE LINK.

For me--to have made one soul

The better for my birth:

To have added but one flower

To the garden of the earth:

To have struck one blow for truth

In the daily fight with lies:

To have done one deed of right

In the face of calumnies:

To have sown in the souls of men

One thought that will not die--

To have been a link in the chain of

life.

Shall be immortality.

There is one effective way to keep up faith and courage in a good cause, and that is never to let up working for it.

That the rubber trust has not yet been perfected is because the promoters are not yet able to stretch over all the plants.

From all the large cities come reports of the uniting of big banking interests--but the fellows who work, when they are permitted, will find it just as hard to get something to eat.

In Wisconsin the railroads got a commission appointed by the legislature to investigate the roads on the taxation problem. The committee found that the roads were all right, which is just what they were expected to find.

It is slowly dawning on the intellectual world that Socialism in Germany is the guardian of individual liberty. A few years more and this will be seen to be true of Socialism in the United States and throughout the world.

The attempts that will henceforth be made by the capitalistic democratic party to hoodwink the voters with schemes for municipal ownership, should be shown up by Social Democrats in their true light and the real issue kept constantly before the people.

Without consulting the people, without any constitutional warrant, a new department has been added to the government in the colonial commission which is to deal with the bestowal of franchises and concessions, also the distribution of money in public improvements in our newly-acquired colonial empire.

The Standard Distilling and Distributing company, by its acquisition on the 13th inst. of independent companies, has acquired control of the business for nearly the whole of the United States, and by an arrangement with the distributing houses made it next to impossible for a new distillery to dispose of its product at a profit.

A special dispatch was sent all the way from London to say that there is an unusual demand from America for diamonds, and the demand is taken as an indication of the increase of wealth in the United States. But there is a demand for

bread and an opportunity to earn a living in the United States, about which the dispatch says nothing.

Any comrade responding to the offer of the International Correspondence Exchange, Manchester, England (see announcement headed "Hands across the Sea" in this paper), may depend upon the representations made, and will no doubt find correspondence beneficial.

A propaganda fund started by Comrade Eugene V. Debs, the first report of which appears in this issue of THE HERALD, will, we hope, receive the support of every Socialist and friend of our party in the United States. Not princely gifts from a few, but the small gifts of many will ease the way to victories ahead.

For some time the Vanderbilts have only needed the Chicago & Northwestern railway to complete their transcontinental line from the Atlantic to the Pacific; now they have it, the purchase of the Northwestern completing the chain. They also have Depew in the Senate to look after their interests.

The clerks employed in the various departments of the Chicago postoffice have been vigorously kicking against an order of the postmaster requiring them to wear uniforms. One objection was that a uniform is a "badge of servitude." It is very strange that men who are willing to wear "a badge of servitude" when the work they are to do is to go out and kill someone, will kick like steers against a uniform which denotes that they are engaged in some useful and honorable service.

During the first week of the new year, the London County Council paid over \$4,250,000 on the street railway lines and municipal ownership was fully inaugurated. The change was proclaimed by an alteration of inscription on the side of the cars, which now reads: "London County Council--Charles John Stewart, Chief Clerk to the Council." It is hoped that the chief clerk will not lose his individuality. The success of the operation of the lines is assured from the start.

Bishop Potter has aroused the fastidious and the fashionable of New York by declaring in a public address that the saloon is a "social necessity." It exists, he said, because "those who have been redeemed by the same Master, have given no better thing in its place." "The man," he added, to the consternation of the rich habitues of high-priced clubs, "who defends the saloon on the plea that it is the poor man's club" speaks the truth. There is much more sense and truth in this than in the common anathemas hurled at the saloon.

Compressed air as a motive power it is now said will displace electricity, because it is more economical. But for the privilege of

traveling, the people will have to pay 5 cents a ride and 3 cents a mile. No benefit of the new economy will accrue to the people, if corporations can prevent it.

Comrade William Thorne, representative of English trades unionism at the Federation convention, and a member of the Social Democratic Federation of England, said America had been poorly represented in the international conferences of Socialists, but he believed the States would be well represented at the next conference to be held at Paris in 1900. We quite agree with Comrade Thorne; the present prospect is that this country will have a representation at Paris worthy of the conference itself and an honor to the movement at home.

At Boston the other day B. Fay Mills declared that if all the unemployed of the United States were marshalled in marching order from Boston to Omaha. But then, that's a small matter; there's plenty of prosperity--on Wall street. Rockefeller is prosperous; Vanderbilt is prosperous; Gould is prosperous; Whitelaw Reid and Judge Day get \$100,000 apiece for two months' sojourn in Paris, and Chauncey Depew (the first real railroader ever promoted to the honor) is in the senate--and prosperous.

It will be a relief to the millions of people who have been nauseated with prosperity babble to know that at last the reason for the claims so persistently made is now understood. It seems that since last August the wealth of the Wall street gang of parasites has been increasing at an enormous rate. Stocks have jumped up to the tune of \$408,000,000 and the private fortunes of the big operators have increased in the sum of \$150,000,000. Fortunes aggregating \$815,695,591 have been made in the last six months. This will be cheering news to workmen--out of a job with nothing to eat.

American workmen who have helped develop the country and by their past labor added to its social wealth, and are now social outcasts unable to find employment, will learn with interest that orders have been issued by the government to the governor-general of Cuba to employ every able-bodied Cuban applying for work at a fair weekly wage. It's a curious fact, too, that the kinds of work they are to be given are such as Socialists have suggested might be done in the United States by the vast number of our home unemployed. The only condition in Cuba is that those employed shall acknowledge allegiance to the United States. The whole thing is the most colossal hypocrisy of the century.

One of the earliest effects of the remarkable success of the Social Democratic party at Haverhill, and the uncompromising policy of our party organization everywhere, has been the alacrity with which democratic politicians in Massachusetts and elsewhere have set to work hunting for opportunities to do something "radical." The latest from the Bay State is a democratic proposal that the commonwealth shall buy and operate the Boston & Maine railroad. But Social Democrats will not be taken in by moves of that sort. They know that such proposals do not come from Socialists, and that a State railroad does not mean Socialism. If every mile of railroad in Massachusetts were made State property to-morrow, that State would not have Socialism. Keep the issue clear and to the front: Socialization of all the means of production and distribution, with democratic administration of all industry in behalf of all the people.



# THE SINGLE TAX THEORY.

## Some of Its Main Fallacies Considered from a Socialistic Point of View.

### A Scheme of Conscious or Unconscious Demagogues.

By ISADORE LADOFF.

WHEN preparing for long years of exile into the remotest and least populated parts of "Eastern Siberia" (I use here the official expression of the ukase or order of the Czar, according to which I was banished as a political offender), I included in my modest traveling library the "Progress and Poverty" of Henry George. And I enjoyed at the start the study of the gospel of single tax immensely. Indeed the charm of the inspired words of the apostle and prophet of the idea of the nationalization of the soil, his religious enthusiasm, beautiful style and warm humanitarian spirit captivated me at once. In the dreary arctic wilderness "Progress and Poverty" sounded to me like a new revelation. I read it and read it and—alas! the more I read it—the less satisfied was I with the trend of the ideas of the author, his arguments and conclusions. The disenchantment was complete when I started to analyze the views of the author on capital and labor. It was a puzzle to me, how such a seemingly brilliant economist (as far as rent was concerned) could make such puerile blunders when dealing with the foremost problem of the day. I was at a loss to understand how it was possible for such an ardent advocate of the nationalization of the soil to fail to grasp the grander and more general idea of the nationalization of all tools of production, including the soil as a part of the whole system of the socialization of production.

The single tax scheme looked to me then like the compromise of a petty politician, rather than a great plan of a philosopher and humanitarian. That social problems never were and will never be solved by financial or fiscal reforms was an axiom known to me when a high school boy. The single tax scheme being represented at first only as a means (and a very poor one at that) of the nationalization of the soil, in the end turns into a purpose itself, into a panacea against all social and economic evils. Here my suspicion was aroused to the highest degree. The mountain gave birth to a mouse! The great thinker and humanitarian turned into a dispenser of sure cures and patent medicines. What a pitiful sight! But is Mr. Henry George indeed the great thinker and scientist I took him for? I asked myself. I started once more to study over more carefully the "Progress and Poverty," and to my great surprise found much poverty of thought and little scientific progress in the book.

Almost fifteen years passed since that time, when I first got acquainted with the gospel of the single tax, and the theory did not since that time deepen, broaden and advance even a fraction of an inch. In our time of mediocre scribbling and indiscriminate printing, even the single tax can boast of having a literature of its own. But great gods—what a literature! It consists in nothing else but in a dui chewing of the stale old cud contained in the once famous book of its originator over and over. Such is the fate of all pseudo-reformatory schemes, conceived in half-knowledge (which is worse than dense ignorance), born in mental narrowness and reared by political incapacities.

The single tax theory proved not only to be incapable of healthy growth and development—it turned into a sumbling block for many a timid and feeble mind, which would otherwise be receptive to some sound line of thought and reasoning.

It is not the intention of the writer of these lines to bore the readers of THE HERALD with even a brief exposition of the single tax theory. I shall neither endeavor to point out the one-sidedness of its explanation of pauperism, nor underline the total inadequacy of the ways and means it proposes for the cure of it. The enlightened reader will do it himself. We shall, however, expose here some of the main fallacies of this stillborn

scheme of universal salvation of humanity by the faith cure of a single tax.

Let us turn our attention first to Mr. George's views on interest on capital. According to his theory interest on capital is a natural product of capital, but in no case an abstraction of the earnings of labor. For instance—the ageing of wine, the increase of cattle and fruits are natural consequences of the investment of capital and, therefore, belong to the capitalists and to nobody else. This explanation is not original with our author. It was tendered before as early as in the sixteenth century by G. Biel, by Calvin (in his treatment of the canonical interdiction of usury) and most prominently by the physiocrats. Nearest to Mr. George comes J. Bentham, who tries to reject the objection of Aristotles to usury.

The immortal hellenic thinker declares that usury is unethical, because of the barrenness or coin. But Bentham says, that once exchanged for cattle or invested in farming, money turns fruitful. However, the mistake of the predecessors of Mr. George and his own consists in the elimination of the element of labor from the so-called natural products of capital. Indeed, natural sciences prove beyond any doubt that labor has always to be applied to natural resources in order to create values. It is therefore idle to try to distinguish where the natural resources play a more and where a less prominent part in production.

But aside from the superstitious idea of values created by nature alone—the question arises: Where is the justification of the exclusive ownership of the interest on capital by the capitalists, even in case we admit for the sake of argument, that this interest is the result of the bounty of mother nature alone? The confusion of the interest theory of Mr. George appears still denser when we take into consideration that he, at least partly, admits that human labor is the only source of the creation of value. He considers rent on soil (and rightly so) a crying injustice because there is no labor involved in the mere fact of possession of land. But he justifies interest on capital. The link between the theory of value and interest on capital was somehow lost by Mr. George, meanwhile both—interest on capital and rent on soil—obviously belong to one and the same category of exploitation of labor by the monopolistic owners of the tools of production.

The fallacy of this distinction between interest on capital and rent, makes all the rest of the reasoning of our author unsound. The interest theory is the sand on which he builds his airy castle of single tax. The second fallacy is the so-called harmony between capital and labor. It is true that in new countries, as the United States, interest and wages are both comparatively high and for many reasons. But in old countries there is a pronounced antagonism between interest and wages. In other words, the interest on capital is higher where and when the wages are lower and vice versa. In his zeal as an antagonist of rent Henry George went even so far as to deplore the encroachment of the greedy landlord on the poor capitalist. It is almost touching to see the crocodile tears shed by the prophet of single tax in view of the sad fate of capital exploited by landlordism! But as a matter of fact, the landlord is in all countries the victim of capital. The indebtedness of the landed proprietor to movable capital is a growing evil everywhere and reaches in some countries even alarming proportions.

Toynbey in his lectures on the industrial revolution in England, proves that the riches of capitalists increase a great deal faster than of the owners of land. The wonderful industrial evolution furnished

all advantages to capitalism, while favoring landlords only slightly in comparison with the first. The peculiar nature of the agricultural industry has caused it so far to remain, and is likely to keep it a long time, outside of the domain of Socialized labor characterizing the factory system of production. The prominence given to rent is, therefore, entirely out of date and anachronistic to the extent of being ridiculous. It reminds one of Don Quixote fighting windmills, which he takes in his delirium for giants and knights.

But may be a single tax would be in spite of all its wrong economical theories, a great fiscal reform? Well, let us see. Take for instance Mr. George's assertion, that a single tax, equal to the value of rent, would be more than sufficient to cover all the expenses of government and administration and would make all other taxes superfluous. Is it so? Nowhere in the world is rent so high as in England. The expropriation of that rent, however, would not cover even three-fifths of the budget of the United Kingdom. Let us not insist on the immense difficulties of the introduction of a single tax. Let us suppose it to be as easy as the naive followers of George think. What would be the inevitable result? The small owners of land—the overwhelming majority of farmers—would be ruined and compelled to swell the overcrowded ranks of the city proletariat.

But may be the larger land owners would profit by it? Their indebtedness is under the present conditions growing and a heavy tax on soil would lead to still higher devaluation of land, that would entirely fall into the hands of the owners of movable capital.

The single tax proposition sounds simply like a sneer in our time, when the mass of agriculturists hardly cover their expenses and landed proprietors get with great difficulty even a small interest on their invested capital.

And the laborer? How would the laborer be affected by the single tax scheme? The capitalists would certainly not miss the opportunity to screw down the scale of wages correspondingly lower. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Socialists of Germany are opposed to the single tax reform. The Socialists of the United States cannot fail to see in the single tax movement but one of the innumerable reforms that do not reform and that have besides this the drawback of turning the attention of the voters from the burning questions of the day, from living issues of the age to false issues and illusive watch-words of conscious or unconscious demagogues.

### Industrial Slaughter.

John Burns has written a strong article on the risks and casualties of labor. He states the number of industrial accidents every year in the United Kingdom at 400,000—a figure which is perhaps under-estimated. He points out that a thousand miners are killed every year, that 1,334 British sailors were lost at sea last year, that more men were killed in making the Barry Dock than at Balacava, and that more workmen are killed and injured every week in London alone than in the recent Egyptian campaign.

John makes several suggestions for checking this wholesale slaughter. He would institute criminal proceedings against employers who are guilty of gross negligence, and he holds that the inspectorate should be reinforced by doctors and civil, mechanical and mining engineers. He would also like to see that the Home Office pay greater regard to the many excellent recommendations that the best of their inspectors have from time to time advanced. Something, too, remains to be done by employers in training their overseers and workmen in the safe conduct of dangerous processes and machines. "Better than ambulance classes would be employers and men co-operating for practical classes, with object-lessons of safety at every day work."—The Clarion.

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

# VEGETARIANISM AS A SOCIALIST VIEWS IT.

FREDERIC HEATH IN THE VEGETARIAN

I was quite disappointed in my friend Gronlund's reasons for not being a vegetarian. He has not written up to his usual standard, and certainly not up to the standard of that excellent book on Socialism, The Co-operative Commonwealth, a book every thinking vegetarian ought to read, in my judgment. I do not know if Prof. Moore is a Socialist or not—although he has the Socialist habit of mind strongly marked—but his answer to Mr. Gronlund's paper in the October Chicago Vegetarian was well thought out. His reason for eschewing animal food is about the same as mine for being against the competitive system, for I am unalterably opposed to passively seeing my fellow-creatures (both human and brute) suffer. I cannot hope to add to his arguments, but what I may say will tend, I hope, to remove the impression that Socialism and vegetarianism are antagonistic. The Socialist's sympathies are always with the victims of various sorts. This should be the very best of reasons why every Socialist should be a vegetarian.

Especially I want to refute Mr. Gronlund's claim that a Socialist cannot afford to be peculiar. Peculiar people have led the world forward. They have stood forth from the dull, common mass of conservative society, and by their discontent with the established prejudices planted the seed for better conditions and ideals. In fact, in being a Socialist, Mr. Gronlund himself is peculiar. He cannot be otherwise, for he is standing out from the great mass of well-meaning, stupid and contented people and proclaiming a better ideal of life and human relation. He is against the conventional philosophy, against the immoral belief in the justice of one man's rising through the downfall of others. Mr. Gronlund's fears for himself are imaginary. I have never found my vegetarianism an impediment in my work of Socialistic propaganda. Indeed, I have an illustrious example in the person of the English Socialist, George Bernard Shaw, playwright and critic, who has been one of the most effective workers in the celebrated Fabian (Socialist) society of his country, and contributor to the volume known as the Fabian Essays, a book that one is much the better for having read. The fact is that Socialism has no more to do with saying what a person shall or shall not eat, than it has with the question of religion or lack of religion. Both religious and creedless people work shoulder to shoulder in converting the world to Socialism. I say Socialism has nothing to do with these things, but in one sense it has. A true Socialist is filled with the religion known as brotherly love, even if he be in many cases creedless, and brotherly love begets love for the brute creation also, which is such a splendid trait with the vegetarians.

There is one seeming reason why a Socialist might be opposed to vegetarianism, and I am surprised that Mr. Gronlund did not advance it. That is that it has been to the meat-eaters that we owe most of the world's progress in civilization. The feverish flesh-eaters have been the conquerors, and out of their blood-thirstiness good has come. In our own time we see non-meat eating countries subjected and made to yield tribute, to England, for instance. In exploiting these inferior nations England has extended civilization, however much its greed may have been its real incentive. In like manner our nervous, breathless captains of industry, who have brought about wonderful results in production and distribution, have been feverish men. Our present business life, which is getting fiercer and less brotherly every day, offers opportunities to the man of feverish blood which the unselfish man has not the nature to take advantage of.

It has come to be a battle in which the survival of the slickest is the ruling law. The genuine white-hearted man must go down to the ranks of the victim class. Gradually the class lines are established and the poverty of the masses is the inevitable corollary of the majority to the dazing wealth of the commercial and industrial conquerors. The great majority must succumb to the inevitable, and little by little they lose their power of resistance. Eternal vigilance is the price of freedom. A people from whose breasts the power of protest against crushing conditions has faded out, are indeed helpless. Here, it seems to me, lies the only seeming opportunity for opposing vegetarianism, on the part of Socialists. But I want to say that I think it a mistaken basis for opposition.

There is no doubt that the flesh-eaters have played their historic mission in subjugating stagnant non-flesh-eating tribes. Also, the modern captain of industry is playing his historic part in the evolution of industry, by the organization of production on the least wasteful lines. But when, as now, civilization has over-spread the globe and already the anti-war sentiment is taking fast hold of the people, the mission of the flesh-eater is about over. So also, now that a large share of the productive work of society has been so far developed and organized that it can be taken out of competition and controlled by trusts, the doom of the competitive system is clearly impending, and the historic mission of the feverish captain of industry is about concluded. An era of brotherly love is just dawning. The Socialist's fears about the power of resistance disappearing from the masses unless they keep to a meat diet is easily answered from the standpoint of vegetarianism. The play of the economic forces is so inexorable that diet seems to play no part. The most docile and brutish of the masses are flesh-eaters and were they discontented with their degradation, no amount of feverish blood in their veins would stop the concentration of wealth or the exploitation of the toilers by the modern factory system. Labor-displacing machinery would continue to encroach upon their rights of employment and their rights to the full return of their industry. As a matter of fact, it is head-work and not feverishness that will accomplish their emancipation and the emancipation of all society. The struggle of society is upward and it is an irrepressible struggle. It is undoubtedly true that a vegetable and fruit diet tends to sweeten the temper, but sweet tempered people will help society establish right relations sooner than a feverish mob, although in the past feverish mobs have been very serviceable, I admit. The world is changing, however. The day is already at hand when Socialism can come before the people as a demand for justice rather than as a threat. Socialism is the very truest democracy. All it asks is that the tools of production shall cease to be individual property, and that they shall be collectively owned, so that the worker may have the full fruit of his industry. Thus would disappear the parasitic capitalist class and labor would cease to be despised. I am pleased to say that Socialism is gaining rapidly in this country, and that the old prejudices against it, born of ignorance, are fast fading away.

### 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.

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



## THE PARTY'S AIMS.

### Addison W. Barr on Social Democracy before the Worcester Branches.

Comrade Addison W. Barr delivered an address at the first of a series of meetings at Worcester, Mass., January 10. The local papers say the attendance was encouraging and a deep interest was manifest. The substance of his remarks follows:

In opening this series of public meetings for the Social Democratic party, it becomes my duty to convey, so far as is possible in a single talk, a correct impression not only of the aims of our organization, but of the general principles governing its mode of operations as well as the logic of events which have led to its organization.

First of all, we are advocates of a system of collective capital commonly known as Socialism. In other words, the public ownership and democratic management of the means of production and distribution in order, not to interfere with private ownership of personal property, but to secure a more just and equitable distribution of the socially produced wealth.

To give expression to our beliefs, desires and positive knowledge upon the subject, is the object of these meetings. We believe, ay, more, we know, that the methods in vogue to-day are full of faults. At least some of these we comprehend.

We come before you not as self-constituted emancipators of a particular class, but as missionaries of a better way and a nobler standard for all society.

It is deplorably true that economic classes with clashing interests do exist. It is true that systematic justice is a stranger in the industrial world, and that the producing class suffer in consequence. It is very generally admitted that the conditions are onerous and should be improved. The question is, how, and by whom?

From one extreme it is urged that charity, philanthropy and higher moral teaching must assist the oppressed to the better adapt themselves to existing conditions, and the better improve their opportunities.

By an opposite extreme it is asserted that the wage-earning class must emancipate itself.

While it is true that the charity of the kindly disposed is a daily necessity, and that moral influence is beneficial and, therefore, desirable, the fact remains that there is nothing in them that acts directly to secure justice for those who most need it.

Again, while true that economic class lines are painfully drawn, and that the integrity of any movement for relief must depend upon the interest and activity of those most concerned, and that the working, or, as I prefer to say, the producing class, must institute and conduct active efforts for a change to better methods, it still remains a fact that the supremacy of any class whatsoever is not the end desired, but that society shall elevate itself.

Thus, while a realization of class interests and an appreciation of the class struggle are necessary to an intelligent effort for relief, it does not follow that class arrogance is more excusable in one instance than in another, but that, whether we be capitalists or proletarians, Christians or non-Christians, Jews or atheists, we are something more; we are citizens, men and women, and, above all, taken together, we are society. Socialism or collectivism implies, not division, but unity; not discord, but harmony, and we engage in this conflict of classes, not exultantly, but regretfully, and only because it is a necessary course in the performance of our duty to society.

We deplore the prevalence of sin, crime, degradation and poverty, and we seek the causes that they may be removed. While the immediate causes are legion, our researches have taught us that they nearly all arise from one fundamental or primary cause.

Thus sin and crime arise from a depraved moral character. This in turn arises from depraved sur-

roundings and a lack of proper advantages; these conditions are caused by poverty or the insecurity of opportunity for continued honorable self-support, and this phenomenon arises from an inadequate system of wealth production and distribution.

We have learned that the wealth of society is essentially a social product.

That the world of industry has outgrown the day and the practice of individual initiative in industry, that our great factories and their complicated machinery so far from being the creation of any one man, are the fruit of the labor of not only the collective efforts of society of to-day, but of generations of laborers and inventors which have gone before.

Furthermore, their operation can only be accomplished by the associated labor of society. Therefore, being both the product and the legacy of society, and depending upon society for their operation and reproduction, we claim that they should be the property of and operated in the interests of society, rather than in the interest of individuals.

The rights of the individual we do not assail, we simply distinguish between the rights of the individual and the rights of society. The individual should be secure in the right to produce and in the possession of the value of the product. That is not the case at present.

Society should be secure in the right to operate services essential to the social welfare, in order that no unscrupulous individuals could possibly bring about a condition of general injustice and depravity for their own aggrandizement. We believe that the American people stand ready to accept the truth, and we endeavor to present the truth (in its application to industrial affairs) in a plain positive manner, free from embellishment and objectionable tirade.

We do not advertise to be the whole Social movement, but we do claim that we give a clean and wholesome expression of social interests and social duties, and reach many who might otherwise remain disinterested.

Whatever may be the measure of our success or failure, we shall continue to do our duty, and when the logic of events shall have replaced the parties of to-day, even as the methods of to-day shall be replaced, we may know that the Social Democratic party has not lived in vain.

## INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

Kautsky:—When the Socialist declares the abolition of private property in the instruments of production to be unavoidable, he does not mean that some fine morning, without their helping themselves, the exploited classes will find the ravens feeding them. The Socialist considers the breakdown of the present social system to be unavoidable, because he knows that the economic evolution inevitably brings on those conditions that will compel the exploited classes to rise against this system of private ownership; that this system multiplies the number and the strength of the exploited and diminishes the number and the strength of the exploiting classes both of whom are still adhering to it; and that it will finally lead to such unbearable conditions for the masses of the population that they will have no alternative but either to go down in silence, or to overthrow that system of property.

Such a revolution may assume manifold forms according to the circumstances under which it is effected. It by no means must necessarily be accompanied with violence and bloodshed. There are instances in the history of mankind when the ruling classes were either so exceptionally clear sighted, or so particularly weak and cowardly, that they submitted to the inevitable and voluntarily abdicated. Neither is it necessary that the social revolution be decided at one blow; such probably never was the case. Revolutions prepare themselves by years and decades of economic and political struggles; they are accomplished under constant ups and downs

sustained by the conflicting classes and parties; not infrequently are they interrupted by long periods of reaction.

Nevertheless, however manifold the forms may be which a revolution may assume, never yet was any revolution accomplished without vigorous action on the part of those who suffered most under the existing conditions.

When, furthermore, the Socialist declares those social reforms that stop short of the overthrow of the present system of property to be unable to abolish the contradictions which the present economic development has produced, he by no means implies that all struggles on the part of the exploited against their present sufferings are useless within the framework of the existing social order; or that they should patiently accommodate themselves to all ill-treatments and forms of exploitation, which the capitalist system may decree to them or that so long as they are at all exploited, it matters little how. What he does mean is, that the exploited classes should not overrate the social reforms, and should not imagine that through them the existing conditions can be rendered satisfactory to them. The exploited classes should carefully examine all proposed social reforms that are offered to them.

## The Modern "Gentleman."

For want of a more important topic, presumably, the Daily Chronicle has been publishing an amusing discussion on the use and abuse of the words "lady" and "gentleman." If nothing else, the discussion has served to show that, whatever may be said about ladies and gentlemen, there are still a great many snobs and cads in the world.

There is something to be said for the term "gentleman" when not misused. Most people admire a manly man, and a man who has the manly virtues, allied to gentleness and refinement of character, is truly a "gentleman," whatever may be his station. But that is not how the term is generally understood to-day. A man may be the meanest cur, and the most contemptible cad, but if he has money and position he is a gentleman, while he is not one, be he the bravest and noblest-souled creature in the world, if he is so poor as to work honestly for a living.

"Gentleman" to-day is synonymous with idle-man; so long as the idle man wears a good coat and fares sumptuously—that is to say, the idle man is a gentleman when his idleness involves no sacrifice of creature comforts on his part. If he is a poor tramp, if he makes sacrifices in order to be idle, then he is not a gentleman. The modern idea of the gentleman is that suggested in these lines:—

When Adam delved and Eve span,  
Who was then the gentleman?

It is wealth which makes the gentleman to-day. People no longer believe that: "Honor and shame from no conditions rise; act well your part, there all the honor lies." Not at all. The honor is in the condition, not the man himself. The moral of it all is, it seems to me, that it is a mistake to be poor. Poverty is not only the greatest evil that can befall a man, it is also the greatest disgrace and the foulest crime. Wealth, like charity, will cover a multitude of sins, but be a man poor, he is naked indeed—naked and ashamed. Therefore, never be poor.—London Justice.

## Free Speech in Europe.

Dr. Eugene H. Schmidt, the well-known Hungarian philosopher, has just been acquitted a second time at Budapest on a charge of inciting the people to violence in his paper, *Ohne Staat*. As a matter of fact he disapproves of the use of force, and he showed on the trial that the incriminated article was made up of quotations from the sermons of St. John Chrysostom. This was something of a surprise to the prosecution, and it is no wonder that the jury failed to convict. It seems that there was more freedom of speech at Constantinople under Justinian than there is to-day at Budapest under Francis Joseph.

GET SUBSCRIBERS FOR THE HERALD.

# Social Democratic Party Platform

## Demands For Farmers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



# SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY AT BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS,

—BY THE—

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

## EXECUTIVE BOARD:

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BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, U.S.



SATURDAY, JAN. 28, 1899.

## S.I.P. VOTE, NOVEMBER, 1898. SOCIALISTS ON BEACON HILL.

Massachusetts	374
Wisconsin	2591
Missouri	1645
New York (3 districts)	1245
New Hampshire	263
Terre Haute, Ind.,	256

## 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 re-education of the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

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

Let it never be forgotten that the root cause of industrial wrongs and suffering and deprivation endured by the masses who work, is the dependence of the masses upon the class which owns capital; for this there is no cure, save in the continued economic evolution from private ownership to public ownership and democratic administration.

"Competition in the big staple lines of manufacture is already very nearly a thing of the past," says the Chicago News. And it might have added that the end of competition in the less important lines is inevitable, because the benefits of combination to private capitalists has been thoroughly demonstrated and, in spite of all anti-trust crusades, is sure to have its way. The News evidently sees this, for it says, "No human ingenuity can prevent these combinations without disrupting the present basis of all commercial activity." It's coming just as we Socialists have told you; no human ingenuity can or should stop it.

Comrade Sumner F. Claffin, of Manchester, N. H., sends the following startling facts. In the face of such facts, which could be multiplied indefinitely from all parts of this "sweet land of liberty," we have high-salaried government officials and gratuitous penmen and mouthers without end proclaiming the lie that the people are prosperous. Even in poor, mangled Cuba, striped and scared by the Spaniards, shoemakers are making \$9 a week, according to the correspondent of a Boston daily. Read the following:

"In Porter, Maine, the women make pants that sell for \$2.50 or more at retail, for 10 cents per pair. They are obliged to take their pay from the company store where the work is furnished and are charged 33 per cent above cash prices for their goods. One must make 60 pair of pants to pay for a barrel of flour.

"In Seabrook, and throughout Rockingham County, N. H., men, women and children are trying to keep body and soul together making shoes at from 9 1-2 to 8 cents per pair, earning with steady work from three to four dollars per week. Do not think that all the sweat shops are in New York and Chicago. I asked one of these Yankee shoemakers if he could make his board and clothes at it? "I can get my board all right; but for clothes I guess I'll have to try the expansion policy on a clothes line, or go without," was his reply."

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

hours? I think not. The papers gave us half-column reports.

A day or two after, going down town on the car in the morning, my eye was attracted to my neighbors' paper by the cut which passes here for a likeness of Comrade Carey, but which looks as much like me as it does like him, and more like Comrade Mailly than either. Of course I hailed the first newsboy, in order to find out why that cut was figuring in the papers, and read that "Representative Carey of Haverhill made his bow yesterday as a legislator by introducing an order authorizing the committee on labor to visit Marlboro and investigate the shoemakers' strike in that city, which has now been in progress several weeks. The order was laid over until to-day. It promises to cause a lively debate, and the members of the House will have an opportunity to hear Representative Carey's views on the subject of strikes and the duty of the State to prevent them by State ownership and control of productive enterprises of all kinds.

"In the drawing of seats Representative Scates was given No. 26 and Representative Carey 191. Yesterday they exchanged places, and as seat No. 26 is down in front he will be in a position to be heard if he gets an opportunity.

"Representative Carey will argue that the State has a right to investigate, inasmuch as the State Board of Arbitration and the State police have been called upon to act in regard to the strike, and certainly the legislature, which creates both of these, can act in the premises too."

Next day the Boston Herald came out with a big headline "Socialist Carey is heard," and said: "The legislature yesterday refused to investigate the Marlboro strike, although Representative James F. Carey made an earnest plea for the strikers. He said among other things: 'The labor committee is fully competent to make the investigation, and the matter is worthy of investigation. The causes of this crisis should be laid before the people of this State. Until these causes are known and remedied, such strikes will continue and crime against humanity will be committed.'"

Mr. Tolman of Pittsfield asked whether either workmen or manufacturers had requested such an investigation. Mr. Carey replied that he had seen many of the workmen and they favored an investigation. It was not well to wait for the workmen to ask for an investigation. It is well for the legislature to send a committee where the forces of industry are rent in twain. There is a lessening of the productive energies of the State with suffering and loss, and the State ought not merely send its military force to represent the law. The legislature should investigate the misery which exists in Marlboro. He thought he knew the immediate and remote causes, but the legislature ought to set them before the people of the State. When thousands of the working class are starving on the streets, locked out from work, it is time for the State to investigate. Promptness is needed. The labor committee might not change the social conditions, but the legislature ought to know about those conditions."

As the Boston Herald remarked next day, "Socialist Carey got turned down on his first move, but the chances are that he will come up again smiling."

It will be safe to bet on the chances. MARGARET HAILE.

## MORRIS JOLLES' GRAPHIC REPORT.

At last the voice of the oppressed is heard! The voice of those that produce all the wealth and have none was heard in the legislature of Massachusetts! Our brave Comrade James F. Carey kept his promise; he did not wait long; his voice filled the house of representatives and the capitalistic members of that body were compelled to listen to the earnestness and eloquence that pervaded the convincing arguments of our devoted comrade.

Comrade Carey had introduced an order which proposed that the committee on labor shall be instructed immediately to proceed to Marlboro, investigate the recent labor difficulties, report its findings and give such recommendations as the committee deems advisable.

A number of bills preceded it and all without exception were adopted. Comrade Carey's bill, however, was read by the clerk with special attention from the house; and when the speaker said the question is on the adoption of the order, a member from Springfield requested the bill to be open for to-morrow, which was granted.

Almost all of the evening papers quoted the bill with the comment that, it seems the Socialist representatives do not mean to sit still during their term. Those interested impatiently awaited the hour of the opening of the session.

When the usual preliminary ceremonies and certain business had been performed, the clerk read the order "of Carey of Haverhill" and when the speaker with his usual tone stated that "the question is on the adoption of the order," Comrade Carey stood up to defend his bill.

I cannot withhold myself from remarking that the comrades witnessing it passed through a remarkable moment. At least I felt that this was one of the most historical moments I am destined to pass through while connected with the labor movement.

The space between me and Comrade Carey vanished and it seemed to me that I heard the throbbing of his heart and that he felt conscious of it.

With harnessed attention and with a restrained breath I heard him defend his bill.

Among other things he said that the Marlboro strike has certain economic causes, that it is the duty of the state to investigate and lay them before the people.

A certain Mr. Tolman asked him whether the strikers and manufacturers asked for an interference on the part of the state and whether it were not advisable to give over the matter to the board of arbitration.

Comrade Carey answered him that he as a shoemaker knows that a number of the strikers are in accord with his opinions. He asked the question whether the strikers asked the state to send the state police to Marlboro and how dares he to affirm that the state should wait till the hungry, downtrodden workmen first ask for an investigation? When Comrade Carey affirmed that the manufacturers had rejected the interference of the board of arbitration the questioner agreed that in such a case the state should interfere.

"I am elected by the working class and stand here before you to ask, why are you sitting here with your hands in your pockets at the time when those that produce all the wealth are starving?" thundered Comrade Carey's voice.

After several spoke against and two for the motion one of the members moved to lay the order on the table.

At first the vote was taken by yes and no, afterwards standing and at last by a roll call.

When the vote was taken by a roll call the votes not to lay the order on the table increased with 15. There were 134 for tabling the order and 78 against.

MORRIS JOLLES.

Boston, Mass.

## Milwaukee Notes.

The Milwaukee comrades are coming up smiling with the new year and mean to do yeoman service in preparing the ground for a good harvest in 1900.

The politicians of this state are now much concerned over the selection of an U. S. Senator. A dead lock is on between a Milwaukee lawyer, J. Quarles, and four other men, one of them a millionaire lumberman. The man with the money will probably land the plum, for the cheap fellows are getting his way like iron filings to a magnet. The Milwaukee lawyer, although eminently "clean" is said to have declared during the great Debs strike that this country would only be safe for property and "law and order" when it was changed into a monarchy.

Prof. Garret Droppers, formerly of this city, who has just been chosen president of the State University of South Dakota, is a Socialist.

## HOW THE WORLD WAGS.

A public bath house is to be erected at Albany, N. Y., at a cost of \$30,000.

An educational institution called Ruskin hall, in honor of John Ruskin, is to be started at Oxford, England.

Edwards' Labor Annual, now due for 1899, will surpass any former issue and have many new and valuable features.

"Gift of the Night" is a volume of poems just out in England by David Lowe, a co-worker with Keir Hardie on the Labor Leader.

Liebkecht and Jaures are both announced to address a great meeting at London early in the year. These are household names among Socialists the world over. Our English comrades expect this meeting to give a fresh impetus to the cause of international solidarity.

The Standard Oil company is charging the Cubans, just "freed" from Spanish tyranny, \$1.50 a gallon for kerosene; its actual value is about eight cents.

Leonard D. Abbott, a valued contributor to THE HERALD, has become associated with C. P. Somerby, in the publication of Commonwealth, at New York.

The Chamber of Commerce, Tokio, Japan, condemns the proposed ten-hour factory bill on the ground that it would be injurious to trade. That it might be beneficial to Japanese workmen cuts no ice.

The attorney-general of Ohio says that the biscuit trust has a capitalization of \$55,000,000 on a total investment of \$5,000,000; that is, as the New York world says, one part dough to ten parts yeast.

Mayor Harrison says that "sooner or later the people will take possession of the street car lines and operate them." No doubt, but Mayor Harrison wants to prevent them doing it for twenty years.

Despite sneers and ghastly attempts at sarcasm, Comrade Chase's mayoralty address and installation has evoked more serious comment from the capitalist press than that of any new mayor this year.

There is a bill before the North Carolina legislature to disfranchise the negro. In a speech favoring it, Prof. Crosby, a principal of one of the State Normal Schools, said, "I regard this solid black vote as a great menace to the government. You want to disfranchise enough negroes to make it certain that good government will prevail."

At a dinner given at Boston by Mayor Quincy in honor of Mayor Jones from Toledo, the latter said he believed in municipalities owning "everything in sight, because they can manage enterprises for the public good better than private corporations or individuals." Mayor Quincy said: "Common sense suggests that we can use the public treasury for any service whatever that is for the benefit of the people," and B. Fay Mills said: "We have outgrown the old system as we outgrew feudalism and slavery, and I believe we shall see a co-operative commonwealth, even in my time."

The city council of Fort Scott, Kan., population 7,000, has adopted the following ordinance: "It shall be unlawful for any person within this city to work, act, or be engaged on the first day of the week commonly called Sunday, as a barber, manager of baths, employee in railway shops, butcher, preacher receiving compensation for his services, baker or confectioner, newsdealer, bootblack, hack or carriage driver for pay, electrician, printer or newspaper editor, proof-reader or reporter or domestic servant." The town has twelve churches and the church folk are up in arms. The council is not Socialist; neither has it a "crazy" Socialist mayor.

## Branch No. 12, New York.

Will hold its next regular meeting at the residence of Comrade E. P. Jennings, 80 S. Elliot Place, Thursday evening, February 2nd. All comrades are invited to attend.

DR. WM. C. HAGER, Sec.,  
258 Hooper st.



# Among the Branches.

## Branch Meetings.

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for one month.

Colorado Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday eve at 8 p. m. at the 14th and Arapahoe, Denver, Colo., 9 p. m. Halsey Butler, Secretary; Mrs. Martin Steele, Secretary.

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

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

Branch No. 3, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Tuesday at Concordia Turner 41 11, 12th and Arsenal streets. Leonard Stoll, Secretary, 1834 Menard st.

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

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

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

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America meets first and third Monday at 8 p. m. sharp at 401 State street. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary; John Doerfler, Treasurer.

Branch No. 3 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania meets every Sunday at 7:30 south Third street, Philadelphia, at 7:30. Discussion meetings. J. Gearson, Secretary.

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

Branch No. 2, New York (Eighth Assembly District) meets every Tuesday evening at 8 p. m. at 33 Irvington st., 3d floor, Room 5—Louis J. Palevsky, 537 E. 12th st., Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, Pa., meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m., Funk hall, 24th and Josephine streets. President W. H. H. 24 Addison st. Secretary, J. H. H. 218 Jane st.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets first and third Thursday of each month at 209 E. Broadway. A. Guyer, 23 Clinton street, Secretary.

Branch 9, (Mass) Brockton, meets Sunday at 7 p. m. in Cutters Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Centre streets. Every member expected to attend at least one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, 332 West Elm street, Secretary.

Branch 15, Massachusetts—East Boston—meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 99 Chelsea st. A. L. Sweeney, 191 Webster st., Sec.

## PROPAGANDA FUND.

Contributions to propaganda fund started by Eugene V. Debs:

Eugene V. Debs	10
Joseph Schwarzzen	10
Seymour Stedman	10
Howard Tuttle	10
Theodore Debs	10
Hein J. Wescott and two friends	30
Chas. W. Greene	10
R. O. Stoll	10
Andrew Ryda	10
Imogene C. Fales	10
Wm. Mailly	10
A. S. Edwards	10
Jno. Doerfler	10
Wm. Butscher	25
Total	\$1.65

New branch organized at Cambridge, Mass., with John B. Davis as secretary and S. Sagerman as organizer.

During the past two weeks more than 200 new members have been enrolled, with Haverhill, Mass., leading with an increase of 50.

Two new branches have been organized in New York City, where movement is now on a solid basis and is being pushed with vigor.

The Brockton Branch has passed a resolution that the typographical union label be used on all printing for the branch, and that bona fide union labels be supported.

Comrades at Philadelphia have arranged for a number of lectures by the most popular Jewish speaker. They charge five cents admission and succeed in getting an attendance of two to four hundred at each lecture.

At St. Aloysius Hall, Meadow street, New Haven, Conn., on Sunday, Feb. 5, at 3 p. m., a mass meeting will be held under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party. The speakers for the occasion are Comrades James F. Carey and J. R. Hourwich.

Branches and sympathizers in Greater New York and vicinity are making to secure the services of an organizer for the purpose of organizing new branches of the Social Democratic Party will address communications to William Mailly, in care of Vorwaerts, 32 Suffolk str., New York City.

At a regular meeting of the Socialists of Port Angeles, held Sunday, Jan. 8th, the members present resolved to attach themselves to the Social Democratic party. It is in order now for the members to secure a copy of the last issue of the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD. It has all the rules and directions for the government of such organization. Success to the S. D. P.—Daily News, Port Angeles, Wash.

At Brockton, Mass., on the 15th, Comrade F. G. R. Gordon addressed an audience which, the Brockton Times says, "packed Cutter's hall." His subject was "Why Men should become Socialists." Many business men and members of the City Council were present, but the audience was largely made up of the working class of Brockton, where the S. D. P. is forging ahead in a way that surprises old party wire pullers.

Branch 2, New York (8 Assembly District) held a meeting on the 17th inst. One new member was admitted. A committee of three has been elected to the conference called by the East Side branch as to the appointment of an organizer. Comrade Leibowitz has resigned his office as secretary and treasurer, and Comrade Louis B. Palevsky was elected instead. The secretary is instructed to forward all the dues and initiation fees to the national secretary. The secretary reports all the members in good standing but two. The Branch sends a donation of \$2 to the Herald fund to start with.

Comrade Wm. Butscher, of Brooklyn, N. Y., writes: "We are now on the road to progress and hope to have a firm movement established in Brooklyn in a short time. At our regular monthly meeting, held Jan. 16, Branch 12 decided to hold lectures semi-monthly, which was referred to the Executive Board for them to make all arrangements. Organizer Wm. Mailly was present and advised us of a conference to be held on Sunday afternoon, Jan. 29th, at 3 p. m. to which Comrades Mrs. Imogene C. Fales, I. S. Roney and myself were elected delegates with Comrade A. O. Jennings as alternate. This conference is called for the purpose of forming a city central committee for all branches in Greater New York and it is expected that such plans and arrangements will be made to give the movement impetus in this section."

LOUIS B. PALEWSKY, Sec. 537 E. 12th st.

The fierce hostility of the democratic party to trusts is farcical enough to extort guffaws from a mummy. What do they propose to do with the trusts? Not one can or will answer.—E. V. Debs.

## From the Hub.

Branch No. 1, Boston, had an unusually interesting meeting Wednesday evening of last week. It was the first of our series of educational meetings, which are to be more particularly for the benefit of our own members, and if the succeeding meetings keep up the pace set by the first one, members will not be absent from lack of interest. We took up and read critically some chapters by Professor Ely on Sociology; and the professor's statement that knowledge and the will of man are the most important factors in social evolution, started an animated discussion, in which both old and new members joined. At our next meeting which takes place on Wednesday, Feb. 1, we will continue with Professor Ely, and also have a brief lecture on the first chapter of "Capital" by Comrade Mrs. Antonie Konikow.

GET SUBSCRIBERS FOR THE HERALD.

## Public Ownership in New Hampshire.

The town of Plymouth has recently voted to install a new town system of water works.

The elegant system of water works built and owned by Meredith, N. H., are giving general satisfaction. They have now been in operation over two years.

Wolfboro, N. H., besides having a fine system of public waterworks, supplied from an elevated pond on Beech hill, two miles from the village, has also a system of electric lights publicly owned, up to the boiler that supplies power for the dynamo. This power costs the town \$2,200 per year. They supply incandescent lamps at one third what they cost in Somersworth and Dover under private control and this accounts for a small deficit in the service each year which the citizens prefer to make up in direct tax.

The town of Exeter has a fine public water supply with a stand pipe on a hill near the village. The ice in the reservoir is sold annual to an ice dealer of the town. Why could not the people employ workless men in the winter to cut and store this ice and use it in the stand pipe during summer, thus cooling the entire water supply of Exeter at its source?

S. F. CLAFLIN.

All the forces are operating in our favor. Upon every tide there come fresh accessions to our ranks. The skies of the future grow radiant with promise.—E. V. Debs.

## A Word about Our Press.

COMRADE EDITOR:—Through the columns of THE HERALD I wish to say a word to our comrades and friends throughout the country upon the subject of our press.

First, I desire to impress the fact that in THE HERALD we have by far our most efficient instrument of propaganda. Let us combine our effort to make it just as good as our capabilities will permit, and, second, let us each consider it our personal duty to enlarge its list of readers. This last is an easy task but one to which very few ever devote much effort. The price is so low that every interested person could with little effort secure at least one subscriber each week; failing in this let those who are able suffer a self imposed penalty by themselves paying for a trial subscription.

Second, the fever for starting local Socialist papers whenever and wherever there seems to be developed a combined strength sufficient to support a publication is in most instances, I believe, a mistake. The locality can do no better work for itself or for the organization than by supporting the party organ. Of course, after becoming more securely established, this will be changed and locals can be instituted without draining the local finances or detracting from the general usefulness of the national organ.

I have no desire to dampen the ardor of any comrades, but until the establishment of local organs appears in the light of an attainable necessity rather than a speculative possibility, I desire to urge a concentration of effort upon a central object. This article is not aimed at any particular point but in the light of experience and observation it is offered as a suggestion on general principles.

ADDISON W. BARR.

Worcester, Mass.

## Organization in St. Louis.

The Third Ward Branch was organized, Friday, Jan. 20th, at 1223 N. Broadway. Com. A. F. Haeussler was elected organizer; Comrade J. C. Wibel, recording secretary and Comrade Lizette Haeussler, financial secretary and treasurer. Comrades Haeussler, Wibel and Schlosser were elected delegates to the City Central Committee. The members were glad to see the neat new membership cards and due stamps recently authorized by the State referendum vote. This branch will give an entertainment and hop at the same place, Friday, Feb. 10, for the benefit of the campaign fund.

The Tenth Ward Branch held an important meeting, Sunday, Jan. 22, at Vit's Hall, Broadway and Keokuk street. The new membership cards and stamp system was put in operation. One member was elected. Com. Louis Blaettle

was elected delegate to the C. C. C., to succeed Comrade Phil. Kaufman, resigned. Arrangements were made for a thorough house-to-house agitation by the precinct committees.

The Ninth Ward Branch held its meeting, Tuesday, Jan. 24, and elected delegates to the C. C. C., also introduced the stamp and membership card system. A full report will be published in our next; as well as reports of the 12th Ward Branch and the organization of the 1st Ward Branch.

ANNA F. SMITH, Organizer.

Be not deceived by the cajolery of the old capitalist parties. The only difference between them is that one is in power and the other is willing to be.—E. V. Debs.

## For Careful Consideration.

COMRADE EDITOR:—Shall only members of our party in good standing be nominated for public offices?

This is a question not covered by our national constitution, yet it is of most vital importance, because it involves the tactics of our entire organization. I beg leave to submit the following points for discussion:

1. Is it good policy to adopt such a rule as outlined above?

2. Would it not be proper to make some provision that in cases of necessity for the good of the movement, to nominate comrades known as bona-fide Socialists and open and honest defenders of our party for years, and whose loyalty to our cause and to our movement cannot be questioned?

Comrades may say: People who are not members in good standing cannot be relied upon, cannot be controlled; they have little interest in our movement.

To which I answer: Of the 93,000 Socialist voters of this country less than 5000 are paying members in the Socialist organizations, yet they vote a Socialist ticket. A comrade may have been prevented by circumstances beyond his control to join a branch, but he has always been working for our party movement, is known to every one of our members as a good, sound Socialist for years, but he is not a member in good standing at the time of the nomination convention, ergo he cannot be nominated, while other comrades who have joined the party movement but recently and have had but little time and opportunity to study Socialism and the labor question, may be put forth as candidates to represent our cause and our movement.

Comrades, I invite your free discussion on this important point, because our Social Democratic Party throughout the country must have one sound reasonable rule to be guided by, and the question, who shall be the men to represent our movement in the political struggle, is not at all so insignificant as some of the comrades may think.

Always remember that we owe some consideration to those 90 per cent. of the Socialist voters that are not active members of our party.

Personally, I should like to see every Socialist an active party member. But this will never be. About 20 per cent. of our voters organized would make the best political organization conceivable.

I am also in favor that every comrade nominated should be an active, paying member of the party—but experience tells me that, repeatedly, we were only too glad to get some good old comrade, though not a member of our branch or section, to accept the nomination on the Socialist ticket.

The old S. L. P. constitution contained a clause according to which candidates for public offices had to be in the party for at least one year, or they had to be known to and recognized by the comrades and members as true Socialists.

Comrades, let us consider this question carefully and intelligently before taking any final action. This very question affects the most delicate and intimate relations between the active membership of the party and the great majority of the Socialist voters, and one little mistake in the start might work serious harm to our movement.

Nominate sound, reliable Socialists, men of principle and intelligence! Men who will do honor to our world-wide movement.

G. A. HOEHS.

## MUZZLING FREE SPEECH.

### The Mistake of the President of Ann Arbor University.

Eugene V. Debs has for some time had on his list of engagements one with a powerful organization of students at Ann Arbor University. The date of his engagement is Jan. 31. The students' club have expected all along to have the use of University hall for the meeting. Information now comes that the Reverend President Angell denies the students the use of the hall. It goes without saying, of course, that Comrade Debs will speak in Ann Arbor town, despite the reverend-president's attempt to muzzle free speech, for his many friends there will certainly provide a suitable place. Meanwhile, the meeting is receiving a good deal of valuable and gratuitous advertising.

The following letter written by President Rogers, of the Michigan Federation of Labor, appeared in the Ann Arbor News-Tribune:

"I read yesterday in the News-Tribune that the president of the university at Ann Arbor had denied a students' club the use of the university hall for the lecture of Eugene V. Debs, and that, in the language of our correspondent, they held 'that a man with the proclivities of Debs ought not be allowed to spread broadcast his germs of anarchy.'"

"While I have no desire to add to the flame of quarrel in which the students are denouncing the president for 'striving to throttle the right of free speech,' and while Mr. Debs needs not the defense of any man, it is but fair that so positive a misrepresentation of the famous labor leader be corrected; and that I may no be thought an officious meddler, permit me to say that Mr. Debs comes to Michigan for ten lectures by urgent request of the Michigan Federation of Labor, which is by no means prepared to be proclaimed 'anarchistic.'"

"It is marvelous that the head of a great institution of learning should refer to Mr. Debs as an anarchist. Even the casual reader of the daily press should know that he is the ablest opponent of that theory in the United States, and that the Social Democratic party which he founded, is as much the open and uncompromising foe of anarchism as the abolitionists were the enemies of black slavery. Among no class of people will you hear Mr. Debs so severely criticised, if not bitterly denounced, as among the advocates 'communal,' or 'philosophical anarchy.'"

"If the real purpose at Ann Arbor is to prevent any discussion of the labor problem, at all, it is equally to be marveled at. Other universities, particularly the University of Chicago, albeit Millionaire Rockefeller is its patron, are so interested in this irrepressible question that professors make it a point to attend as many labor lectures as come within reach of them. They are beginning to understand that the labor movement is not the executed plan of labor leaders, that it is the natural product of our commercial life; that organization is the order of the universe, and that capital first unites (and very properly) and labor must do likewise; that the day of individual action is past for both parties to the question; that the minimum number of disturbances occurs when organization exists on both sides, and that strikes and lockouts, strong labor unions and great trusts, are as natural in the realm of economics as hot weather and cyclones are in the economy of nature. The way to prevent the things which the critics of Mr. Debs so dread is not to close our eyes to facts but to intelligently study the conditions which produce them, and this is precisely what he is doing.

"Everywhere the scholars and thinkers are listening to his eloquent plea for a better civilization for all—for rich as well as poor. Wherever he gets the fair play that Americans love, press and pulpit and people commend him. He is the apostle of the better day that is coming—coming in spite of all human opposition—in spite of the frantic few who shout 'anarchist,' and who might as well place their puny hands in Niagara's rushing tide and order the water to halt.



## THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

### CONSTITUTION OF LOCAL BRANCHES.

#### NAM 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 the organization shall be eligible to membership.

Sec. 3. A local branch shall consist of not less than five, nor more than five hundred 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 union 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 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 this constitution of the State Union, the constitution of the National Union, 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 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 by a member in good standing 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 five 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.

### What Socialism Is.

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

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

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

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

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

### SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

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

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

II. CAPITALIST REVOLUTION. — Transformation of industry, first through simple co-operation and manufacture. Concentration of the hitherto scattered means of production in large workshops, and thereby, their transformation from individual into social means of production—a transformation that, on the whole does not affect the form of exchange. The old forms or 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

#### 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
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#### ITALY.

1893	20,000
1895	76,400
1897	134,496

#### SERVIA.

1895	50,000
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#### 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 (est.)	70,000

### VOTE OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

1898	12,411
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TOTAL ESTIMATED STRENGTH.  
1898..... 5,000,000

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# Social Democratic Party of America.

## Constitution of National Council.

### Name and Headquarters.

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

### How organized.

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

1. Local branches limited to 100 members each.
2. State Unions before state convention of 1900 shall be composed of one representative from each local branch; provided that branches having more than twenty-five members shall be entitled to a representative for each additional twenty-five members or major part thereof, after which each state shall provide its own method of organization.
3. A National Council composed of one representative from each state and territory; provided that states having more than 500 members shall be entitled to a representative for each additional 500 members or major part thereof.
4. An Executive Board of five members.

### Executive Board.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Revenues and Funds.

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

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

### The National Council.

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

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

### Official Paper.

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

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

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

### Referendum.

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Recall of Officers.

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

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

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

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

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

## CONSTITUTION OF STATE UNIONS.

### NAME AND HEADQUARTERS.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the ——— State Union of the Social Democratic Party of America, and its headquarters shall be located at 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 two-thirds 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.

GLASGOW, SCOTLAND.

The Railway Review is out with a description of a gigantic combine called the Employes' Parliamentary Council, the design of which is to crush trade unionism. Two hundred and ninety-one firms have agreed to a declaration preserving the "freedom of contract" between the employer and the employed and promising mutual support in the event of strikes. Unions will not be recognized in any shape or form. A fund of £35,000 has been contributed to conduct the fight against unionism, which augurs for industrial disturbances during the coming year. The Trade Unions will have a general conference to prepare for an attack to be made on them. The fight promises to become an international one, because the Social Democratic parties and unions of Germany, France, Austria, Belgium and Scandinavia will certainly take a hand in the fight and give all possible help to the organized wage-workers of Great Britain. A grand spectacle—this national Social Democratic labor movement!

LONDON, ENGLAND.

The great International Mass Meeting organized by the S. D. F., will be held at St. James' Hall, Piccadilly, London, W., on Wednesday, March 8 next. Comrades Jaures from France, Liebknecht from Germany, and Vandervelde from Belgium, will attend, amongst others. The object of this great meeting will be a demonstration in favor of universal peace and international fraternity as opposed to the imperial piracy and colonial buccaneering which has been and is being held up to the people of these islands as the ideal policy of the English speaking peoples.

London Justice gives Comrade Wm. Thorne credit for the good work accomplished by his visit to Kansas City. Justice writes: Our Comrade Thorne has met with a very cheering reception from the American workmen. Speaking at a meeting at Rochester, Thorne said: "Their object should be to secure better conditions and become more enlightened. He thought from this they would come to have greater faith in workingmen and insist on the government being controlled in their interests. America, he said, had been poorly represented in the International Conferences of Socialists, but he believed that they would be well represented at the next conference to be held in Paris in 1900."

ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA.

Large quantities of forbidden literature have recently been distributed among the factory workers of this city. The literature consists of books and pamphlets, purporting to have been issued by one Socialist Democratic committee. One is a regular newspaper. It contains letters from workmen at different mills and factories and an appeal is made for further correspondence of this sort. The Czar's peace circular is discussed in a disparaging tone, and a satirical remark is made as to Italy's having been the first of the great powers to accept the proposal after having shot down the workmen at Milan. There are equally uncomplimentary remarks about the government's reluctance to acknowledge the existence of a famine and the executions, fines and other punishments which have followed the suppression of the recent insurrection in Central Asia. At the same time, labor strikes and riots are taking place from time to time all over the country and nothing is permitted to be published about them.

SCHAFFHAUSEN, SWITZERLAND.

Comrade August Bebel, the leader of the Social Democratic party of Germany, addressed a well attended labor meeting in this city. Bebel expressed the opinion that the year 1898 was a very exceptional one in the history of the 19th century. The result of the Spanish-

American war, he said, brings the United States of America into open competition in the world's market and makes "Uncle Sam" one of the great powers of the world. The economic industrial development of Asia, the capitalist and military development of Europe, the expansion of American capitalism—all these factors would accelerate the downfall of the present capitalist state of society, strengthen the Social Democratic movement and make the Socialist state of society not only a possibility, but an absolute necessity.

MAGDEBURG, GERMANY.

Comrade Schmidt, a Social Democratic member of the Reichstag, has voluntarily informed the Public Prosecutor at Magdeburg that he was solely responsible for the publication in the Socialist "Volks-Stimme" of the article purporting to be a bad conversation between the Prince of Bagdad and his tutor, on account of which the editor, August Mueller, was sentenced last week to forty-nine months' imprisonment on the charge of lese majeste. The whole case must now be reopened. The Magdeburg court interpreted the allegory, of which Herr Schmidt confesses the authorship, as an insult to the second son of Emperor William, Prince Eitel.

WEST HAM, ENGLAND.

At the last meeting of the West Ham Trades Council the following resolution was introduced and will be acted on at the next meeting: "That the Trades Council call a conference of delegates from Trade Union, S. D. F., I. L. P. branches to formulate a programme and decide who shall be the Parliamentary candidates for South-West Ham."

KOENIGSBERG, GERMANY.

The conservatives of this city have organized a club for the sole purpose of publishing and distributing proper literature against the Social Democratic movement. Our comrades ridicule this latest move of capitalist politicians.

BRUSSELS, BELGIUM.

Abbe Daens, leader of the Democratic Christian party, has been excommunicated from the Catholic church by the Bishop of Ghent. This action on the part of the church has caused general indignation among the people of all classes.

PARIS, FRANCE.

The fourth Regional Congress of the French Labor Party (Parti Ouvrier Français) will be held at Paris on February 4. Lively debates are expected.

CANNSTATT, GERMANY.

The united textile workers of South Germany will hold a convention in this city during the Easter holidays.

PRAGUE, AUSTRIA.

Two new Social Democratic papers have been started in Bohemia the last few months, one in Falkenau and the other in Brux.

## NATIONAL.

PITTSBURG, PA.

The United Mine Workers of America have elected the following officers for the ensuing year: President, John Mitchell of Indianapolis; vice-president, T. L. Lewis of Indianapolis; secretary-treasurer, W. V. Pearce of Indianapolis. Executive board, Fred. Dilcher of Nelsonville; O. H. Stephenson of East Bank, W. Va.; Edward McKay, Buena Vista, Pa.; W. R. Fairley, Pratt, Ala.; James Boston, DuQuoin, Ill.; George W. Purcell, Terre Haute, Ind.

LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS.

Three hundred miners in the Leavenworth Coal Company's shaft went on a strike. They demand a reduction of the amount of waste deducted, which has been 20 pounds to the 100. They want only 10 pounds deducted.

ST. LOUIS, MO.

A number of the employes of the Iron Mountain Railroad at the freight yards on Lesperance street held a meeting to protest against the proposition now before the legislature in the form of a bill to lower the railroad rates from 3c. to 2c. a mile. What next? Take up a collection for the poor railroad kings!

GENERAL NOTES.

New York papers declare that

New England factory girls, to escape the hard lot to which they are subjected, will marry anybody that comes along.

There is a big strike of cigar makers at Tampa, Fla., and a demand for higher wages.

In the miners' convention the vote on a resolution favoring Socialism was, for 92, against 163.

The trust bakeries in Chicago with new machines are now getting work of 50 men done by three men and two boys.

In the case of a trades unionist at Columbus, Ohio, charged with violating the anti-trust law by belonging to a trade union, the court held that the latter is not a trust.

A large number of machinists and other workmen have been dropped from the rolls of the government navy yards.

The machinists' strike at Denver is still unsettled; kindred trades are being brought into the difficulty.

The \$200,000,000 steel combine is now laying its plans to close down a lot of small concerns.

Siegel-Cooper & Co., the department store men, are launching branches at points in the South much to the consternation of the easy-going and old-time country merchants.

The Women's Union Label League is doing effective work in behalf of organized labor in several Michigan communities. There should be an organization of women in every community to assist trades unionists in their fight for improved conditions.

Housesmiths in place of carpenters, bricklayers and so forth, will soon be employed on dwelling houses.

## PROGRESS VERSUS LAW.

"Fanatic!" the insects hissed, till he taught them to understand That the greatest crime may be written in the highest law of the land.

"Disturber!" and "Dreamer!" the Philistines cried when he preached an idle creed, Till they learned that the men who have changed the world, with the world have disagreed;

That the remnant is right, when the masses are led like sheep to the pen;

For the instinct of equity slumbers till roused by instinctive men.

It is not enough to win rights from a king and write them down in a book;

New men, new lights; and the code of the fathers the sons may never brook.

What is liberty now where license then, their freedom our yoke would be.

And each new decade must have new men to determine its liberty.

Mankind is a marching army, with a broadening front the while; Shall it crowd its bulk on the farm paths, or clear to the outward file?

Its pioneers are those dreamers who heed neither tongue nor pen

Of the human spiders whose silk is wove from the lives of toiling men.

JAMES BOYLE O'REILLY.

## Debs in the Lecture Field.

Logansport, Ind. ....	Jan. 30
Ann Arbor, Mich. ....	" 31
Kalamazoo, " ....	Feb. 1
Lansing, " ....	" 2
Bay City, " ....	" 3
Flint, " ....	" 4
Saginaw, " ....	" 5
Alpena, " ....	" 6
Traverse City, " ....	" 8
Muskegon, " ....	" 9
Springfield, Ohio ....	" 20
New Philadelphia, O. ....	" 23
Portsmouth, Ohio ....	" 25
Dayton, " ....	" 26
New York, N. Y. ....	March 21
Aberdeen, S. D., ....	June 28
Madison, " ....	" 30

Hasten the social revolution by putting the strength of one loyal, unflinching soul behind it.—E. V. Debs.

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

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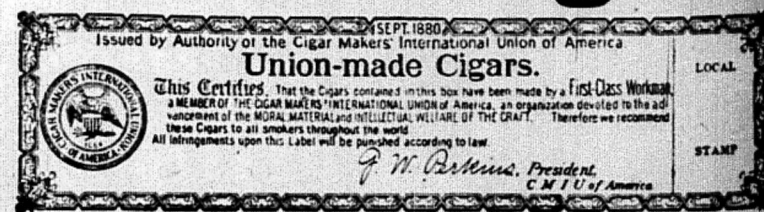
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