

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

NATIONAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

Vol. 1

BELLEVILLE, ILL., SATURDAY, APRIL 1, 1899.

NO. 39.

To Perpetuate Capitalism Would be to Decree Universal Mediocrity and Destroy Civilization.

NAILS AND WAGES.

Here is an interesting comparison showing how capitalistic "prosperity" works—for the benefit of capitalists:

The Producer--	And His Product.
The men employed in the nail works at Ironton, O., were today granted an advance in wages of 20 per cent., one-half to begin April 1, the other half two weeks later.—March 20.	Another advance of 15 cents a keg in the price of nails was made today. Small lots are now quoted at \$2.30 a keg, or 46 a ton. This is an advance of \$23 a ton since December—March 20.

After doubling the price of nails to the people—which includes the nail worker—from \$23 to \$46 a ton, and pocketing the increased price for three months, the employers magnanimously grant an advance in wages of 20 per cent.—in two instalments! Three months hence and wages will be cut again—also in two instalments.

Such is the story of nails and wages—and of labor and capital everywhere.

THE RISE IN PROFITS.

Last week THE HERALD had something to say about "the rise in wages" from 1870 to 1898, based upon a report of the Massachusetts Board of Labor Statistics. The figures will be found very useful to the propagandist in dealing with the cant and bluster of the capitalistic press. There is another set of figures equally as interesting, relating to the rise in profits of the gluttonous corporations. We found last week that to show a "rise in wages" the Massachusetts statisticians went back twenty-eight years, or to 1870, and compared the wages of skilled and unskilled workmen employed in eighteen trades in that year with the wages in 1898. Thus, it was shown that in twenty-eight years bricklayers had gained an advance of just 7 cents a day. Other instances were cited.

When we come to the consideration of the rise in profits, it is quite unnecessary to span twenty-eight years and call up 1870. A small combination of modern capitalists can accomplish more in a day in the way of gain than an army of workmen can do in a lifetime.

The profits of eighteen of the principal industrial combines in 1898 have been estimated at \$221,000,000. That is, after twenty-eight years of monopoly building, they gained in a single year in profits over 10,765 times as much as 50,000 Boston mechanics would have gained in wages in twenty-eight years, if the average "rise" of the latter had been an uninterrupted gain of 14 cents a year for the twenty-eight years.

As a matter of fact, however, workmen have experienced no "such good fortune." In the eighteen trades included in the Massachusetts report, the comparison between the wages of 1870 and 1898, shows that the average increase was only 14 cents for the whole period. Thus, in 1870 the average daily wages in these eighteen trades was \$2.35, and in 1898, 2.49! And so we get this result:

Rise in Profits of 18 capitalist combinations in one year—1898.....	\$221,000,000
Gain in wages in 18 trades of our 50,000 workmen, at 14 cents a day, working 300 days in one year—1898.....	2,100,000

Excess of profits in one year over "gain" in wages in 28 years.....	\$218,900,000
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In other words and to enlarge the view, the rise in profits of 18 combinations for the year 1898 was equal to the rise in wages in 1898 of 5,262,000 workmen (after a struggle of twenty-eight years), provided every man in this vast army was paid an increase of 14 cents a day over and above the wages paid in 1870, and this nobody believes.

Every man who works for wages is putting into the hands of the capitalist class the means of his own degradation and that of his class. Under the wage system, with the modern facilities of production, the workingman creates so much wealth that the employing class grows rich and he remains poor. There will be no change in this condition until those who produce wealth are masters of the means of production. Then will the laborer live in the sunshine instead of the shade and be forever free from the refined barbarities of profits, money and the wages system.

An advance of 10 per cent. in the stove molders' wages was immediately followed by an advance of 10 per cent. in the price of stoves. If that isn't prosperity, what is it?

Now that the smoke of battle has lifted at Amesbury, Mass., it is found that Comrade Charles Wingate's vote was larger than has been reported in these columns. The town records give him 662 votes instead of 636; so that he was beaten in his candidacy for the school board by only 18.

A consolidation of the screw manufacturers of the country, with a capital of \$10,000,000, is nearly perfected. Now we look for another 10 per cent. increase in wages and 100 per cent. advance in prices. It's "dead" easy: Grant 10 cents to the workmen, then put the "screws" on the people for 10 times 10!

The address of Comrade E. V. Debs before the Nineteenth Century Club will be printed in full next week. It will be recognized as one of his best and most eloquent efforts. Comrade Maily tells us in this issue something about its effect on the "distinguished" gathering of parasites and how it drew the ineffective fire of a portly corporation lawyer.

Max O'Rell recently said in a lecture that different nations fight from different motives. The Frenchman fights for glory, the German for a living, the Russian to divert attention from home, and the Englishman to promote trade and "maintain peace."

He might have added that the American fights for "philanthropy and five per cent." The American motive is much the same as the British, it springs from an alliance of canting hypocrisy and bullying despotism.

An advance in wages of 10 per cent. that effects 10,000 men is hailed with hysterical hurrahs in every republican newspaper office in the land, and the patriotic editors who love the dear workman celebrate the event with a rehash of their clap-trap "prosperity" editorials.

But an advance of 100 per cent. in the price of the product of the 10,000 men, which effects 80,000,000 of people and puts millions of plunder into the pockets of capitalists—well, one can't expect the "patriots" to dwell on matters of minor importance; their chief duty is to help keep workmen ignorant and contented.

It will be remembered that in Dewey's reports of the battle of Manila, mention was made of Chinamen who were enlisted at Hong Kong. Dewey himself spoke highly of their "heroic" work. Fifty of these Chinese "heroes" have been denied admission to the United States.

In this, however, the Chinamen are scarcely worse off than millions of Americans, born in the land, who have no home in it. Capitalists and capitalist governments have no use for the heroes of peace or war, except for the services that can be got out of them, then they are cast aside like a squeezed lemon.

An eminent divine tells us in The Independent that with the opening of the Philippines comes the need for translations of the Bible into as many as ten different languages. According to his estimate there is quite a fat contract ahead for the Bible makers. But does anybody with common sense and honesty believe the result to the Filipinos will be materially different to that of the subjugation of the people of India with British bullets and Bibles? Not much; the Filipinos will have the scriptures in ten languages, but American five per cent. philanthropists will have the land—and all that therein is.

The labor cost of fifty dozen files used to be \$131, made by hand. Made by machinery the labor cost is \$28.

The labor cost of 1000 watch movements, made by hand, was \$80,822. But the labor cost of 1000 machine made movements is \$1799.

One thousand yards of body Brussels carpet made by hand cost \$270 in 4047 hours for labor. By machinery the work is done in 509 hours at a labor cost of \$91.25.

Workingmen who are looking for "prosperity" through concessions in wages from the owners of the machines would do well to think a little along the lines suggested by such facts.

John W. Gates, president of the American Steel and Wire company, has gone abroad to perfect an "international agreement" on prices with foreign manufacturers of wire products. This is another suggestion to the workmen of all countries to unite on an international agreement.

The technical glass and iron and steel trade papers mention many new labor-saving devices that are finding their way into factories and mills. How many glass-blowers and iron and steel workers are learning a lesson from this? The subject of what is to be done with labor-saving machinery is the one subject above all others that should engage the serious thought of workmen.

Herbert Spencer, when he was in this country, said "that while the wealth and magnificence of our large cities had been a source of astonishment to him, these very evidences of wonderful commercial activity and development of arts had constantly reminded him of the Italian republics of the middle ages, where the people under circumstances and conditions similar to ours were gradually losing their freedom."

Invited by Dr. Thomas, of Chicago, to occupy the pulpit of the People's church for a few Sunday mornings during his absence, Prof. Geo. D. Herron, who accepted the invitation, and has delivered a series of sermons that offended the rich patriots, was invited by the trustees to discontinue and withdraw. This he did and says that "the trustees do not represent or understand the people of the church or Dr. Thomas." And that is doubtless quite true.

Comrade Hyndman, at one point during the great Socialist peace meeting in London, interrupted the proceedings to say that it was commonly supposed that the Socialist movement was recruited from the most ignorant of the working class. Therefore it was interesting to have a telegram from the Socialist students of Paris, which he proceeded to read amidst great enthusiasm. He then suggested that a reply be sent in the same terms cordially greeting the Paris comrades, a suggestion which was at once agreed to.

We have received a very readable and suggestive little book on the labor question by Harry Kuenemann, of Paterson, N. J. It offers a "concise solution of the social problem," which, according to the writer, consists in the steady reduction in the amount of wages expended in industry consequent upon the organization of trusts, resulting in the extension of the trust to all industry, the abolition of all wages, the socialization of the means of production and the free distribution of commodities. The writer has a whole arsenal of facts in support of his view. The book may be had from the author; price ten cents.

A member of the Missouri legislature declared from his place in the House the other day that there is at Jefferson City a lobby organized for the purpose of controlling legislation; that it does control legislation by corrupt means; that there are members of the House who are amenable to this lobby's influence; that an honest man is at a disadvantage in the House, and an honest measure stands no chance of success if it injuriously affects any of the many interests that the lobby is paid to represent.

All of which everybody can readily believe, not only of the Missouri legislature, but of every other State legislature in the Union, and of the national congress at Washington as well.

There is much ado being made about the Bryan \$1 banquet to be given in New York City, April 19th. The committee on arrangements seem eager to secure all the prominent men they can to attend. On March 23d the New York press stated that Comrade Mayor Chase of Haverhill had accepted an invitation to attend and would speak. The comrades of the Daily Forward at once communicated with Comrade Chase by long-distance telephone and interrogated him on the subject. He informed them that he had not received an invitation to attend the banquet, that he had not promised to speak, and that, as he was a Socialist, he would not accept an invitation even if he received one. He was not a Bryan democrat but a Social Democrat and such he would remain.

DEBS' MESSAGE TO CAPITALISTS.

Face to Face with a Bunch of Parasites at Delmonicos.

COMRADE Eugene V. Debs addressed the Nineteenth Century Club at Delmonico's, Fifth Avenue, Tuesday night March 21, on "Prison Labor, Its Effects on Industry and Trade." The audience was a brilliant one, so far as jewelry and showy raiment goes, and the address was listened to, on the whole, in silence and greeted at the close with subdued applause.

As the address will be published in full in THE HERALD, I need not enlarge upon it in this report. The most interesting part of the evening's program came when a member of the club attempted to answer Comrade Debs and lost himself in a terrific denunciation of organized labor.

President John Taylor introduced Comrade Debs. Mr. Taylor is a gentleman with a cynical eye and a biting tongue. He said: "When the Nineteenth Century Club was organized by the late Courtland Palmer, it was with the object of giving all shades of opinion room to be heard on its platform. He believed, as the members still believe, that the best way to defeat 'error' was to give it a hearing. To-night, a gentleman from Indiana would address them on prison labor, its effects on industry and trade. What he was or what his opinions were would make no difference to the members. All they asked was that he 'use the language of an American gentleman.'"

Just what sort of language Mr. Taylor expected Comrade Debs to use or what difference there was between the language of an American gentleman or any other sort of a gentleman, are questions that only Mr. Taylor himself can answer, but the fact is that an introduction of this kind would not have emanated from the lowest denizen of the Bowery. We of the so-called lower class, I fancy, give our "superior" classes lessons in politeness and manners.

Comrade Debs' address, as I stated before, was heard almost in silence with the exception of one sentence. This provoked laughter and was perhaps the reason why labor leaders and labor organizations came in for a roast afterwards. "All useful labor is honest labor," said Debs, "even if performed in a prison. Only the labor of exploiters, such as speculators, stock gamblers, beef-balmers and their mercenary politicians, lawyers and other parasites—only such is dishonest labor." When the laughter following this had subsided, Comrade Debs said, "Well, they can be called workingmen, they are producers—producers of sorrow and misery." Then the bediamonded and self-sufficient men and women laughed again, but their laughter had not the same ring it had before. There was a forced and metallic sound about it that showed that the shaft had struck home.

At the conclusion of Comrade Debs' address, Miss Alice Graffenreid, of Washington, read a paper on prison labor. She characterized Debs' address as a "beautiful iridescent dream." Then Mr. Charlton H. Lewis was introduced. Mr. Lewis is a corporation lawyer in this city, and the chairman spoke of him as one of the most distinguished parasites before the New York bar. Mr. Lewis' appearance did not belie the introduction. He is a rather stout, well-fed looking little man, with hair and beard as white as snow and seemingly of a choleric disposition. He is a ready speaker, but his language, while printable, could hardly be called gentlemanly upon this occasion. He neglected to take the hint the chairman had given Comrade Debs.

"They had come there this evening," said Mr. Lewis, "to hear a discussion upon prison labor. Instead of that they had been treated to a beautiful dissertation upon the Socialist millennium, that happy time when every member of the human race would be identical with every other member, when every passion, aspiration and ambition would be obliterated and we would be as much alike as peas in a pod or grains of sand in a heap." There was a perceptible settling down on the part of the audience at this. One could almost hear the sighs of relief ascending upward. What thoughts had stirred them, what misgivings had agitated them, how much their natural equanimity had

[CONTINUED ON FOURTH PAGE.]

GERMAN SOCIALISM.

Graphic Account of the Social Democratic Congress at Stuttgart Last October.

Character Sketches and Speeches by Delegates.

Translated for THE HERALD from Le Revue Socialiste by
ROBT. RIVES LAMONTE.

PART II.

THINGS were in this state, when the supreme representative of the party, the congress, met at Stuttgart. A small group was formed which led the assault against the moderates. The few persons who composed it were Rosa Luxemburg, a Polish Jewess, a strong speaker, ardent but not feverish, sure, precise, a short, slight young girl, who mounted upon a chair near the tribune, to deliver her first speech; Clara Zetkin, the vehement propagandist, violent and impassioned; Schoenlauk, deputy from Breslau and editor in chief of the Leipziger Arbeiterzeitung; and finally, Stadthagen, the fiery Berlin deputy. Parous was present, but he was not a delegate. And so his role was of little importance. He spoke only once, to explain his position, authorized, on the motion of Singer, by a vote of the assembly. The position of the moderate party was defended by Wolfgang Heine, the ancient deputy Peus and the Bavarian leader George von Vollmar.

The debate was carried on with great ability on both sides and much heat on the revolutionary side. We can not quote at as much length as we would like to, but will give a passage from Rosa Luxemburg, both for its excellence and to show the important role of women in the movement in Germany. "I affirm," she declared, "that for us, as a revolutionary party, as the party of the proletariat, there exists no question more practical than that of the final goal. Indeed, in what properly consists the Socialist character of our whole movement? Our struggle, properly called practical, divides itself into three points: the trades-union struggle, the struggle for social reform, and the struggle for the transformation in the democratic direction of the capitalist state. These three forms of our struggle, are they, to speak properly, Socialism? Not at all. Take first the trades-union movement! Look at England. Not only the trades-union movement is not Socialist there, but it is directly an obstacle to Socialism. As for social reform, it is lauded just as highly by reformers who are not Socialists. And the effort to democratize is something specifically bourgeois. Before us the bourgeoisie had already inscribed democracy upon their banner. What is it, then, that makes us, in our every day struggle, a Socialist party? It is only the relation of these three forms of our practical struggle to the final goal, it is only the final goal that constitutes the spirit and inner meaning of our Socialist struggle, that makes it a class struggle. And we must understand by final goal not, as Heine would wish, such or such a representation of the state of the future, but that which must precede the future society, to-wit: the conquest of the political power. For us no doubt must linger over this point, that we must aspire to the conquest of the political power. Every day may bring us surprises. We are not sure of not finding ourselves suddenly facing the question of what we shall do tomorrow, if we shall come into power. It is necessary then that our ideas upon that which we have to do, be perfectly clear, and then we shall remain masters, in spite of winds and tides."

"Bernstein has written in the Neue Zeit, said Rosa Luxemburg at the end of a second speech: 'The final goal is nothing for me, the movement is everything.' I do not believe that the German workers will place themselves at this decadent point of view. It is necessary for the present state to be destroyed, and it can be destroyed only by the conquest of the poli-

tical power. This is, this must remain our final goal; and therefore I think that the German workers will place themselves at this point of view: 'The movement is nothing to us, the final goal as such is everything.'"

What was the exact sentiment of the assembly?

Tuesday afternoon, after four sessions of discussion, Kautsky, the director of the Neue Zeit, spoke. He had been reproached for not having made known the sentiment of the editorial staff on the articles of Bernstein. He explained himself. He was waiting for the opponents of Bernstein to send their articles to the Neue Zeit, "the organ of discussion of the party." But since his silence had been interpreted by some as an adhesion, he had decided to prolong it no more. And, before the supreme representative body of the militant proletariat, the theorist Kautsky, speaking rapidly, in short phrases, strikingly precise, said what he thought of the theories of Bernstein. "Bernstein thinks," said he, "that the evolution will be accomplished hereafter through economic struggles without great catastrophes. The proletariat are ever winning more political rights, and greater economic power, through the trades-union movement, through the influence that they have acquired in the administration of communes, by the formation of co-operative societies, etc.; and so the Socialist mode of production will gain ground little by little from the capitalist mode of production until the day when the latter shall disappear absorbed in the Socialist society. It has been said that this opinion is mad. No, this opinion of Bernstein rests on positive facts. It has only one defect: for our misfortune, these facts do not relate to Germany, but to England. England is a country altogether exceptional through its political structure, through the laws of its political evolution through its political tendencies. In England the situation is different to that in the rest of the world. Thanks to her history, thanks to her insular situation, we see in her a great State without an army, without a bureaucracy, without a peasant class; agriculture there is of trifling importance—the agricultural population only amounts to 5 per cent. of the total population. We see in England that the opposition between capital and labor is much less than anywhere else in spite of her economic progress, and that English capital has already become much too great to find an investment in English industry alone. English capital is invested throughout the world; the portion of capital invested in English industry is becoming every day more trifling, and the portion that has an interest in the exploitation of English workers is becoming, through that fact, every day less. But men are by nature disposed to compassion, and this disposition asserts itself always, when it does not encounter the resistance of personal interests. And so we see that in England the bourgeoisie support the strikes of the laborers, when the societies of capitalists wish to annihilate the trades unions. Philanthropy is in England a power, such as it is in no other country. Consequently it is in England possible for the workers to attain power gradually by a peaceful progress, without a catastrophe. But this is not a recent discovery of Bernstein; Marx proclaimed it even more than twenty years since, when he wrote that England is the country from which a pacific passage from capitalism to Socialism is possible. Possible! For catastrophes are not inconceivable there. But we do

not find the same situation as in England anywhere else in the entire world; even in America, which has moreover so many points in common with England, we find a situation wholly different. No where is the tendency to violent catastrophe so great, so threatening, as in America, and already America would suffice to overthrow the theory of Bernstein. But the state of things is not different among us, in Europe. There is everywhere militarism in the highest degree of development; everywhere a bureaucracy that reigns absolutely not only in the monarchical states, but also in France.

We have besides on the European continent the preponderating influence of the great landed proprietors; the bourgeoisie bows beneath the domination of the sabre, it has ceased to be a democratic power. Here, among us, there is only one democratic power, the proletariat."

"If Bernstein thinks that we must first have democracy, in order to afterwards lead the proletariat step by step to victory, I declare that things can take place with us only in the inverse order, that the victory of democracy has as a condition precedent with us the victory of the proletariat."

"I recognize that we have there a very difficult task, for the proletariat cannot without democracy attain its full intellectual development. I recognize that the road that the English proletariat follows is better, demands fewer sacrifices, and that we must wish we were able to follow the same road; but the march of history is determined not by pious wishes, but by the facts, and these tell us that the road of the English is impracticable for us, that the victory of democracy can result only from the victory of the proletariat."

"Is it believed that this victory is possible without a catastrophe? I wish it were—but I do not believe it. We see every where in Europe great catastrophes preparing. Is not Austria on the eve of a great catastrophe? Italy, Spain, on the eve of bloody catastrophes? Is not France preparing for a hard struggle between civil liberty on one side, and militarism and clericalism on the other? And of what does one talk in Germany? Does one talk, perhaps, of the extension of the rights of the people, of the extension of the right of combination? No one talks of a coup d'etat, of suppressing the electoral right, of penitentiaries. Such are the prospects that one opens to us, and with these prospects it is impossible to think of the road Bernstein was in our midst he would be the first to condemn it, that is my firm conviction. And therefore let us continue to fight as the real situation requires among us and exacts from us, and, in this combat, we will conquer!"

This speech voiced the sentiments of the congress. This was made manifest by the great enthusiasm with which it was received. It was the more significant as Kautsky spoke just after Bebel had read a statement from Bernstein defending his position.

[To be continued.]

What Socialism Is.

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

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.

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.

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What is Our World.

[By Morris Rosenfeld.]

AND if our world is but a sleeping room,
And if our life is but a dreaming;
Then I wish it to happen that my few
years, too,
Shall pass in agreeable visions.

I want my own visions of freedom and joy,
Like those of the fine people yonder;
I want in my slumber one glimpse of de-
light;
Of tears I am tired of dreaming.

And if our world is but a garden fair,
Where roses on all sides are blooming,
Then I wish to stray through the paths as I
please,
And not as the rich shall allow me.

I wish to wear, I too, my garland of flowers,
I seek not for thorns to adorn me;
I want to roam there with my love at my
side
In the glow of the myrtles and laurels.

And now if our world is a red battle-field,
Where the strong with the weak are con-
tending,
Then I care not for storm, for wife, or for
child,
I stand not aloof from the struggle.

I plunge under fire, a hero I grow;
Like a lion I fight for the weaker;
And if a ball strike, and I fall on the field,
I can also greet death with a laughter.
—Translated by W. D. HOWELLS.

Gleanings.

The Socialist M. Lucipia, has been elected president of the Municipal Council of Paris.

Some leather workers at Hamburg have been locked out on their refusal to agree to a lengthening of the working day.

In Australia the municipal street car lines carry children to and from school free. That can be done in American cities whenever the American people say it shall be.

Twenty thousand workmen of the Pontleff Ironworks, Russia, have struck in order to show their sympathy with the university students who still show signs of revolt.

The tribunal of Schwerin, in the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, has sentenced to a year's imprisonment a poor pick-keeper, for taking for his starving children some of the food intended for the pigs.

Comrades Pablo Iglesias and Antonio Garcia Quejido of the National Executive have issued a call for the fifth national convention of the Socialist party of Spain to be held in Madrid during the first week in May.

On Easter Sunday, April, 2nd, the new "Maison de Peuple" is to be opened at Brussels! A grand demonstration and fete is to take place on the occasion of the inauguration of this splendid new central meeting place and "people's house," and the working class organizations of all parts of Belgium will be represented there.

In 1799 the income-tax was first imposed in England as a war tax to meet the expenses of the Napoleonic wars. Then a penny in the pound raised £250,000; in 1899 a penny brings in £2,250,000. In 100 years the taxable income of the country has increased to five times what it was. What about wages? That's different.

The people have taken from private enterprise 800 waterworks in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, beginning with the Plymouth municipal waterworks in the time of Sir Francis Drake, and not in one instance have they abandoned municipal water supply and reverted to private enterprise.

The government of Saxony is waging "war of extermination" against the Social Democratic party, but with little success. Comrade Dr. Schoenlauk of Berlin had been invited to deliver a lecture in Dresden. As soon as the government learned of this, Comrade Schoenlauk was promptly informed that he could not speak.

The Social Democratic party is the only party that is waging a determined war against militarism and despotism as practiced by the Austrian government at the present time. Public mass meetings are held in all parts of the country, where the Socialist workmen protest against the government's brutal actions.

It may be encouraging news to our comrades everywhere to learn that the Socialist movement is taking root in the Republic of Chile. In Montevideo a number of comrades have decided to publish a straight, scientific Socialist magazine under the name of "La Antorcha."

The body of a dead child lay two weeks in the poverty stricken home of its parents in Chicago, awaiting burial, and yet our nation is looking about over the world for a job.

"If you always give me full swing," observed the pendulum, "you will never have any trouble with your hands."

"I don't know," replied the clock. "If it wasn't for your going back and forth in my works, I never would have any strikes."

M. Brunetiere has made the following general characterization of the chief literatures of Europe: The essential character of Italian literature, he says, is artistic; of Spanish chivalrous; of German, philosophic; of French, social; of English, individualistic.

Dr. John Hartley asserts in the Lancet, London, that "close" rooms and lack of ventilation are responsible for much more illness than we realize. The trouble, he says, is not rightly understood; we need, not to let a little air in without removing the poisonous products of respiration, but to expel these thoroughly.

Comrades Liebknecht of Germany, Jaures of France, Hyndman and Mann of England, Dr. Adler of Austria, Van Kol and Froelstra of Holland have been invited to attend the opening of the magnificent Socialist headquarters "Maison du Peuple"—House of the People—on April 2, at Brussels. Nearly every Socialist club in Belgium will send delegations to Brussels to take part in this grand demonstration.

France has now a law by which marriage may be dissolved without cost to the applicants. The Paris divorce court devotes Thursdays to gratuitous decrees. One day recently 294 couples were divorced during a session of four hours, an average of more than one divorce a minute. The applicants belonged to the working class, in which divorces were infrequent before the passage of the new law.

Edison is engaged working on a new machine for sending drawings or photographs by wire. The invention will enable a newspaper artist, for instance, to place a sketch in the machine, and send it to his office for publication although it may be a hundred miles away. This has been done before, but the machines are so clumsy. His machine will resemble a hand camera in compactness, simplicity and quick results. He believes it will be a great success.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, at the Regent Street Polytechnic, told the following story: He remembered once talking, when he was Bishop of London, to a group of artisans in the East-end. To one of them he said, "You don't seem to think much of sin?" "No," was the reply; "of course it's wrong, but if I take a gent's watch I know he won't find any difficulty in getting another. But I'll tell you what's sin. It's sin when an employer stops his workmen's wages, and lets him and his family starve—that's sin if you like." That (continued the archbishop) showed how differently men looked upon their obligations. The man who was rich might, by stopping for a while the wages of his workmen, subject others to starvation, or, at any rate, to great privation.

Merrie England.

By ROBERT BLATCHFORD

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SOCIAL DEMOCRACY and INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

Magnificent Demonstration at St. James Hall, London.

[Condensed from the Report in London Justice.]

"Seldom indeed," says Justice of March 11, in an introductory to the speeches delivered at the great peace meeting of Social Democrats in London, "has the great hall in Piccadilly presented so crowded an appearance as on last Wednesday night, when Social Democrats and sympathizers with our movement from all parts of the metropolis, and from many parts of the kingdom, assembled to give a hearty welcome to our comrades from Germany, France, and Belgium and to proclaim once more the gospel of international peace, co-operation, and solidarity. Round the hall were ranged the red banners of a number of the London branches of the S. D. F., and some even from the Provinces, noticeable among the latter being that from Oxford. Previous to the commencement of the meeting several revolutionary airs were played upon the organ. When the speakers, headed by the chairman, ascended the platform, the vast hall was crowded in every part, and their appearance was greeted with a spontaneous outburst of thunderous cheering from the immense audience. The platform was crowded with representatives from all sections of the Socialist movement in Great Britain, as well as some from other countries, and chairman, H. M. Hyndman, and the speakers, Curran, Cunningham Graham, Liebknecht, Jaures, Brocklehurst, E. Vandervelde, and H. Quelch, there were, among others, Mrs. Hyndman, Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Gray, Mrs. Despard, Professor Beesly, Dr. G. B. Clarke, Dr. Max Bach, Messrs. A. E. Fletcher, Sidney Olivier, E. R. Pease, Edward Bernstein, Dababhai Naoroji, Herbert Burrows, Wherry Anderson, F. G. Sanes, W. J. Barwick, Morrison Davidson, J. Kent, and A. S. Headingley, who translated the speeches of Jaures and Vandervelde.

The Chairman soon got to work, and was greeted with a perfect ovation when he rose to open the proceedings. His address was an eloquent appeal for international peace based upon the only sur- foundation of international solidar- ity among the workers of the world. He pointed out the humbug and hypocrisy of the Czar-Stead Peace Crusade, and concluded his speech with a stirring appeal to all present to rally to the support of Socialist ideals.

Pete Curran, of the Gasworkers' and General Laborers' Union, introduced the resolution, which read as follows:

"That this meeting of London citizens declares that the solidarity and fraternity of the workers of all civilized countries on the lines of International Socialism constitute the only hope of permanent peace among the peoples, and adjures the industrial classes everywhere to drop all antagonism to their fellows of other nationalities, and to combine in a vigorous attack upon their worst enemies, the landlords and capitalists at home."

The resolution was seconded by Cunningham Graham, and then Comrade Liebknecht, who was given a tremendous reception, rose to speak. He gave a most inter- esting account of the historical development of Germany. In addition to the classes, rich and poor, there were also two different peoples—there was the civilized Ger- many of modern capitalism, and there was the Germany of the Junkers—the bitter reactionists who practically belonged to mediæval times. Then there was the strange mixture of Democracy and Imper- ialism—universal suffrage and the personal despotism of the Kaiser, and, on the top of all, the helmet of militarism of the soldiers and the police. (Cheers.) It was a struggle between a despotism like that of Russia and the democracy of universal suffrage. He described the events leading up to German unity by the crushing out of the smaller principalities and duchies. The absolutism swept away by the English revolution of 1648 had not

been abolished in Germany. Lib- eral institutions had, in fact, been destroyed. Coming to the revolu- tion of 1848 it was a failure be- cause the middle and working classes had not been developed, and the middle class, after getting their political rights, always turned and crushed the workers. (Hear, hear.) The middle class were al- ways afraid of the working classes and the Socialists, and thus it was that in Germany the commercial middle class had bowed down be- fore an old reactionist like Bis- marck. (Cheers.) Since 1848, too, Germany had developed won- derfully in an economic sense. The competition with France, England, and America had forced on the machine industry, and that had meant ruin to the people in small businesses. There was a great misery in Germany, and as general dissatisfaction against the existing condition of things as in any country in the world. (Cheers.) The So- cial Democratic Party was the only party which fought on behalf of the democracy, for the middle classes had been unable to sweep away the remnants of the middle ages. They had sheltered them- selves behind Bismarck, but the Socialists had fought him again and again—(cheers)—and in the end Bismarck was beaten—(loud cheers)—and if they had been able to fight Bismarck successfully they would be able to fight the pigmies who followed him. (Applause.) The last election showed that they had made great progress in Ger- many, but they had really made greater progress than was believed. In the large towns it was acknowl- edged they had been masters, but it was said that they could not touch the rural districts. The last elections, however, showed that over a quarter of a million votes came from the rural districts. (Cheers.) The ruling classes were talking of suppressing universal suffrage. Universal suffrage was the only thing which supported the German Empire. The people would no longer be bound to the Empire if universal suffrage were violently suppressed, and they would be violent in turn, and the fight could only end in their victory. (Cheers.)

F. Brocklehurst followed the German leader and warmly wel- comed Jean Jaures, representing the French Socialists. Jaures re- ceived an ovation which prevented him for some time from beginning his speech. An occupant of the gallery shouted "Long live France and other nations," to which our comrade at once retorted: "Long live all the free peoples." He ex- cused himself for not speaking in English, but considered that it was perhaps not altogether amiss, after the recent events which so nearly brought about a conflict between England and France, that it should be in the French tongue and from the mouth of a Frenchman that in that hall should be expressed the profound conviction of the French people that there is no quarrel with the people of England. Nor in so doing did he speak only in his own name. He had received an imperative mandate to address them in those words, and not from one small section of the Socialist party, but, on the contrary, from the Grand Committee of Agree- ment formed and constituted by all branches and divisions of the Social- ist party, divided yesterday, but realizing to-day that unity is indis- pensable and true strength. That committee took the lead in all po- litical action and also in all trade union or economic action. That combination of Socialist parties had succeeded in bringing to the poll at the last election no less than 800,- 000 Socialist voters. It was in the name of these 800,000 voters that he stood upon that platform to proclaim that the people of France are at one at heart with those of England. This great work of peace the people must themselves take in hand. It was absurd to imagine that capitalism and capitalist

Governments will bring about peace, when the whole of their system is based upon letting loose war throughout the world. They encouraged war among the working classes themselves, they taught the working classes to compete one against the other, and brought the women and children into the in- dustrial battlefield, and when their competition was not sufficient, they went in for colonial wars to open up new markets and draw the at- tention of the people from the so- cial problem. The whole system of capitalism was based upon war and competition. How, then, could these people advocate the cause of peace? War would only be abolished when for the present system of competition we applied universally the system of So- cialist co-operation. Pending this great final success they must each try to diminish the effects of the present situation. They must try to render it more and difficult for capitalism to engender in their minds the spirit of an envy and hatred, and to bring about wars. Even the governments were getting alarmed at their own work, and so they called this conference of diplomatists who were to try to lay down some principles to bring about peace. These diplomatists may, or may not, be sincere. One thing was certain, they were going to try to lay the foundation of peace. If they failed they proclaimed their own bankruptcy and when he thought of these contradictory and feeble efforts of the capitalist gov- ernments he was reminded of a magnificent painting by Rembrandt, in which an old man is trying to warm himself before a fire. Out- side, beyond the window, is seen the trees already blossoming forth with the green leaves of Spring. The old man is so old and so decrepit that even in the glorious days of Spring he cannot warm himself. It represented to him the bloodless capitalism of the past, which was dying before the advent of the Spring of Socialism.

Comrade Vandervelde, of Bel- gium, said in his country the struggle was less dramatic. The German nation was governed by the police and the Emperor, in France it was the plume of the general, in Belgium the robe of the priest. They are the same foe, the different weapons of the cap- italist classes which oppress the people. We have had the Rescript of the Czar about international peace. It recalls the rescript of the German Emperor in favor of Labor peace, which did not come to much. It has been truly said that hypocrisy is the homage which vice renders to virtue. In countries where human flesh is not sold in the open market as food for can- non, it is quite natural that the capitalist classes of to-day should be rather anxious about coming wars, in which their own members should be slaughtered. The gov- erning classes desire no holy alli- ance, but an alliance against the peoples of the world. Yet, how can peace come about if wars be wars of blood, or wars of finance.

The capitalists have to resort to war whether they like it or not. Wars are one of the best methods of bolstering up rotten and crum- bling Governments. We have had twenty years peace or more, but with peace education cannot longer be neglected. As education spreads so the Social Democratic move- ment progresses. In another quar- ter of a century of peace we should have not only Socialist progress, but Socialist triumph. Capitalism is on the horns of this dilemma, that they must either go to war, and they dread war, or they must have peace, and with peace, educa- tion, and with education Socialism inevitably follows. What can they do? What can war do? Socialists recognize that peace is not only a principle and policy, but it is a weapon in our hands, with which we manufacture Socialists in the coming generation. In peace we get to know each other by confer- ence, meetings and general fratern- ization. There is an old Flemish maxim that "It is only the unknown who hate each other." As soon as people know each other, the more they love each other.

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

Social Democratic Party Platform

DEMANDS FOR FARMERS.

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

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

That capitalism, the private ownership of the means of pro- duction, is responsible for the in- security 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 in- tensify the capitalist system, will compel the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the com- mon 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 rep- resenting its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must co-operate to abolish the cap- italist 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 dis- tribution through the restoration to the people of all the means of pro- duction and distribution, to be ad- ministered 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 civiliza- tion should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democr- atic 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 connect- ing us with millions of class-con- scious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to Inter- national 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, commun- ication, water works, gas and elec- tric 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 increas- ing 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 re- munrated by the public.
8. Labor legislation to be made national instead of local, and inter- national where possible.
9. National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.
10. Equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.
11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.
12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

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 com- ing 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 follow- ing 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 water- ways to be put under direct con- trol of the nation.
2. Construction of grain eleva- tors, magazines and cold storage buildings by the nation, to be used by the farmers at cost.
3. The postal, railroad, tele- graph 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 pro- ducts on all railroads.
5. Public credit to be at the dis- posal 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 indispens- able to the working people under the prevailing industrial system in their struggle for the improve- ment of their conditions, as well as for the final abolition of the wage system; we further recognize the urgent need of thorough organiza- tion among the workers; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we commend an honest co-operation to that end by the members of the Social Dem- ocratic Party of America, by be- coming 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 organiza- tion 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 our- selves 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 Con- gress, 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 orga- nization in the economic struggle, causing dissensions and interrup- tions.

"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 strengthen- ing 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 Dem- ocratic Party of America to patron- ize only such concerns selling products bearing the same.

"Resolved, That we condemn the attempt to disrupt the labor move- ment 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 Satur- day half holiday.

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

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.
PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY AT BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS,
—BY THE—
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.
EXECUTIVE BOARD:
JESSE COX, CHAIRMAN. SEYMOUR STEDMAN, SECRETARY.
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BERGER, FREDERIC HEATH.
National Secretary-Treasurer--THEODORE DEES, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill
EDITOR--A. S. EDWARDS.

Terms of Subscription.—One year, \$6c. Six Months 25c. No papers are sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you are receiving it, then it has been paid for by a friend and no bill will follow.
[Entered at the Belleville Ill., Postoffice, as second class matter, December, 1898.]

BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, U.S. SATURDAY, APR. 1, 1899.

THE HERALD
Can be obtained at the following News Stands in Boston:
Brigham's Restaurant News Stand, (81b-ley's), 642 Washington St.
Mahoney's Car, Harrison Ave. and Wal-
tham St.
Cohen's Columbia Book Store, 925 Wash-
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SPRING ELECTIONS—1899.
Social Democratic Party Candidates.
BALTIMORE.
Mayor—Chas. B. Backman.
Pres. Second Branch City Coun-
cil—Elias Jacobson.
Comptroller—E. H. Wenzel.

CHICAGO CITY TICKET.
Candidates of the Social Democra-
tic Party--Spring Election, 1899.
For Mayor—Thomas G. Kerwin.
For City Clerk—Charles A. Har-
rison.
For City Attorney—Charles H.
Soelke.
For City Treasurer—Jacob Win-
nen.
Candidates for Aldermen in the
8th, 9th and 10th Wards have been
nominated as follows:
Eighth Ward—John Baumele.
Ninth Ward—Vaclau Mudra.
Tenth Ward—George Koop and
Emanuel Layer.

That the Chicago comrades have
a tremendous task on their hands
may well be believed, when it is
understood that it was necessary to
have over 7500 names on the peti-
tion.

A Correction.
Comrade Editor:—I wish to
make one or two corrections in my
address in Brockton, as reported
in your issue of March 25.

I am reported as saying 'the
Social Democrats hope to ruin the
profit system so that they will be
able to take all they produce and
distribute it 'equally.' The last
word in quotation should be
'equitably' not equally. It is not
strange that in an extemporaneous
address such mistakes should
occur. I do not wish to stand for
any particular method of remun-
eration when advocating the co-
operative commonwealth. What
I endeavored to express in my lec-
ture was the elimination of profit
and questions of difference in re-
muneration (if there were any)
would be determined by the workers
themselves. I distinctly stated
that "equal" remuneration did not
necessarily follow with the estab-
lishment of the Socialist system.

As to the evolution of trusts re-
sulting in their death, I stated that
the evolution of capitalism and the
trust as a necessary consequence
would result in the death of cap-
italism, and the displacement of
the private capitalist trust by the
Public Social Democratic trust. I
was much pleased to see the won-
derful progress of our movement in
Brockton, and everything indicates
victory there soon.

Comrade Chase, our Haverhill
mayor, speaks in Somerville, Mon-
day eve, April 10th, when an at-
tempt will be made to organize a
branch of the party.

Somerville is composed mainly
of the small capitalist class and the
better paid wage workers. It has
however a narrow fringe of those
who suffer under this system, as
well as other places. Most of our
people work and do business in
Boston, and come to Somerville to
sleep and pass Sunday, and it is
therefore a hard place to wake up.
But the S. D. P. proposes to do
that same waking up of the 'dead'
right away. S. E. PUTNEY.

Debs at Delmonicos.

[CONCLUDED FROM FIRST PAGE.]

been disturbed, one could al-
most judge by the reassuring
glances flitting around the room.
There was a rearrangement of fans
and glasses. Their equilibrium
had resumed its normal balance.
They were not losing everything
in the fantastic vision of co-opera-
tive commonwealth. They were
once more in Delmonicos and
Lewis, their prophet, was hailing
them once more into peace and
tranquility.

Hush, he was speaking again!
"Mr. Debs had hardly spoken
upon the effects of prison labor but
had dilated upon what he thought
was the cause. He would also take
the liberty to digress from the main
subject at issue. Amid all the elo-
quent and absorbing pleadings put
forth by Mr. Debs for labor, he
would call the attention of the au-
dience to this fact. There was
growing up in this country a tyrann-
y worse than that exercised by
any despot or dictator, a tyranny
alongside which the rule of an auto-
cracy was nothing in comparison.
This tyranny had large cities like
New York and Chicago by the
throat and was throttling the life
out of them. That tyranny was
the tyranny of organized labor.
Organized labor was the curse of
this country and must be crushed.
A few men called labor leaders, but
really labor demagogues, formed
labor unions and dominated the
industrial world. The oppression
and ruin wrought by organized la-
bor was beyond computation. In-
nocent men who refused to join
them and who wished to say for
themselves at what wages they
would work were intimidated,
thrown out of work and at last
compelled to join the labor orga-
nizations. And all this at the dic-
tates of a few labor demagogues
who lived off these people and who
went up and down the country
preaching mischief-breeding doc-
trines and stirring up discontent
among contented and happy peo-
ple. Have you forgotten that it
was only in 1894 that organized
labor had tied up the great city of
Chicago, prevented the poor suffer-
ing people from securing the neces-
saries of life and had defied the law
and trampled upon authority? Have
you forgotten those strikers de-
stroyed property, shed blood and
nearly plunged the country into a
bloody revolution? And this was
done to please the labor dema-
gogues. He was proud to think
that we had courts who had very
properly placed these fellows in
jail and made them feel the majesty
of law and order. Organized labor
dominated our legislatures and
made the enactment of beneficial
laws to govern prison labor impos-
sible. Year after year he had gone
to Albany to try and reform the
prison labor system, but when he
expressed his views to assembly-
men the majority of them would
take him aside and whisper 'For
God's sake, don't draft your ideas
into a bill and try to make it a
law. Organized labor would not
like it and I want to come back
here next year.' Oh, he wished he
could tell all he knew about the
iniquity of organized labor. It was
the great sore that was eating the
heart out of liberty and independ-
ence in the United States and it must
be wiped out of existence. He did
not believe such conditions existed
as were portrayed in Mr. Debs'
address. There was no poverty
such as he spoke of and if there
was it was the fault of the people
themselves."

Lewis continued in this strain for
some time, intermingling his re-

marks on organized labor with vari-
ous comments on prison labor from
his point of view, which, needless
to say, were of the purely capital-
istic brand. That the speech
pleased his audience was evident.
Applause was liberal, smiles and
nods of approval were general and
unrestrained, and when he had
finished the members of the Nine-
teenth Century Club were well satis-
fied indeed with Mr. Lewis and
themselves.

There was a cold silence when
Comrade Debs arose to answer Mr.
Lewis. I have never seen our com-
rades so dignified, so self-possessed,
so completely Eugene V. Debs as he
was at that moment. When he
spoke, his words were well chosen,
the diction perfect, his illustrations
vivid and his arguments to the
point. The justice of the cause he
advocated was pictured in his
words, his actions and upon his
face. Even the cold hearts, sati-
ated minds and blunted consciences
of his hearers were aroused to life
and warmth, and, when he closed,
applause followed for several min-
utes.

He was sorry he did not have
time to answer the distinguished
gentleman who had preceded him
more fully. He would like to have
gone into a complete analysis of
his speech and showed how utterly
groundless and false his attacks
upon organized labor were. He
was proud of having the honor of
being called a demagogue. The
noblest names of the centuries were
those of the demagogues who had
fought and stirred to advance the
race and human progress. Thomas
Jefferson was a demagogue, Wen-
dell Phillips, the noblest heart in
New England, was a demagogue,
so was William Lloyd Garrison, so
was Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose
"Uncle Tom's Cabin" had eman-
cipated a race from bondage. Labor
demagogues, so-called, needed no
defense from him. They were do-
ing their duty to their fellow men.
Labor was organizing, he was glad
to say, and would continue to or-
ganize. Every day labor was be-
coming more conscious of their
rights and they were no longer
satisfied with organization in the
workshop. They were organizing
on a grander basis than ever before
and the next strike would be the
strike of labor at the ballot box.
The organizations of labor would
go steadily on until the last vestige
of capitalism was swept from the
planet. Mr. Lewis had spoken of
the Chicago strike. If the strikers
had destroyed property and shed
blood, why was it that not one of
them were ever convicted and im-
prisoned for their misdeeds? The
men who led that strike were not
put in jail for destroying property,
or conspiracy, or attempting an
insurrection, but they were put in
jail for supposed contempt of court
by a venal and corrupt judiciary at
the bidding of corporate capital.
Mr. Lewis had said a great deal
about the tyranny of organized labor.
Had he never heard of the tyranny
of organized capital? It was organ-
ized capital that corrupted our
legislatures, established lobbies at
congress, and had dragged the Su-
preme Courts into disgrace and dis-
repute. It was organized capital
that shed blood at Homestead, Bu-
falo, Hazelton and other places. It
was at the behest and command of
organized capital that the army and
navy of the United States were be-
ing used to shoot to death a people
who even dared to dream of inde-
pendence and liberty. He could,
perhaps live more comfortably if
he was satisfied with this so-called
civilization, but he was not and as
long as life remained he would do
what he could to destroy it and
bring a better in its place. He
could not content himself with
present conditions and like some
others, sell his honor and his soul
for ease and elegance. He had not
exaggerated conditions. If Mr.
Lewis would come with him for 24
hours he would show him sights
that would freeze his soul and make
him blush at his own ignorance of
his own city and country. There
was a great deal of talk about re-
forming criminals, he preferred to
work towards the prevention of
criminals rather than to help make
them and then reform them after-
wards.

It is impossible to print his full
reply here but the cause of labor

could not have had a better cham-
pion and defender.

The New York papers have given
various accounts of the lecture.
Only one, the Sun, reported Mr.
Lewis' attack. The Evening
Journal gave an excellent write up
but the morning papers with one
exception agreed that Debs "wore
a dress suit." The Philadelphia
American reported that "his dress
suit was as carefully preserved, his
eye glass as nicely adjusted, and
his diamonds as brilliant as any in
the room." It seems a pity to
spoil a good thing but the truth
must be told, no matter whose ideals
must be broken.

Comrade Debs did not wear a
dress suit, though it would have
been perfectly proper under the cir-
cumstances, as this is the rule of
the club. He was the only one
present, except the reporters, who
did not wear a dress suit. Then
he simply had on an ordinary pair
of glasses. When did it become a
crime for a workingman to wear
glasses? Is this also a luxury to
be reserved only for the "hupper
class?" And he didn't even wear
a single diamond. I feel like be-
ing guilty of cruelty to animals
in reporting these facts. Of all the
morning capitalist papers I have
seen, the Sun, the most outspoken
and frankest enemy labor has in the
metropolis, was the only one that
told the truth about the dress suit.
I am not defending Comrade Debs,
I am only showing what conscience-
less liars capitalist newspapers
generally are.

Altogether, Eugene V. Debs'
appearance before the aristocratic
Nineteenth Century Club on March
21st marked an extraordinary ad-
vance in sentiment in this country.
Twelve years ago Liebknecht and
Eleanore and Edward Aveling dur-
ing their visit here, were request-
ed to leave an assemblage of the
kind. That evening the "most
radical labor agitator of any value
and influence in the country" (vide
World) faced a club made up of
members of the capitalist class and
told them what we wanted and how
we were going to get it. If ever
they had any doubts of what our
purposes are, and what we intend
to do, those doubts should have
vanished now.

A New York comrade very ap-
propriately has said: "When Gene
Debs spoke in Delmonico's, the
Twentieth and the Nineteenth
Century faced each other. He rep-
resented the new century, and the
new time that is to be. They rep-
resented the old century that is dy-
ing and with the old time of misery
and suffering for the large mass of
humanity. He stands for the New.
They for the Old."

Nay, more. The working class
and the capitalist class for once
looked into each others' eyes, read
each others' thoughts and in the
hope and confidence reflected from
the one, the other read despair and
destruction for their class in the
destruction of the system that
makes their class possible and
builds their luxury and comfort on
the misery of others.

And of the workers, of their true
friends, of their aspirations, of their
ambitions and of their historical
destiny, what more fitting or worth-
ier representative than Eugene V.
Debs? WM. MAILLY.

New York, March 23, 1899.

Comrade G. A. Hoehn, who went
to Cleveland on the 18th to speak
at the Commune celebration, was
retained by the Cleveland comrades
during the whole of last week and
addressed a number of meetings
under the auspices of the local
branch. A material strengthen-
ing of the ranks may be expected
as a result of his visit.

Branch 4, Milwaukee, will hold
a regular meeting, Friday, April 7,
in their hall, corner 23d and Brown
sts. This being a business meeting
all members of the Branch are re-
quested to attend. The election of
officers for the ensuing year will
take place.

GEO. MOERSCHEL, Sec.

Ward committees for the seven
wards of Brockton have been elec-
ted and gone actively to work.

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

**Socialism in
Massachusetts.**

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Boston, Marh. 20, 1899.

To THE COMRADES:—Aside from
numerous detail matters which we
leave to the other members to set-
tle, we voted upon certain bills as
follows: A Bill to compel insur-
ance companies to pay full insur-
ance in cases of total loss by fires.
We voted, yes. A Bill to permit
the voters of Taunton to elect their
superintendent of streets by popu-
lar vote. We voted, yes. Bill
providing for a constitutional
amendment giving women full suf-
frage. Carey spoke in its support
and we voted, yes. It was defeated,
84 to 31. A bill to prohibit secret
sessions of City Councils. We
voted, yes, and Carey spoke in its
defense. It was overwhelmingly
defeated. Upon the question of
admitting a bill to incorporate an
international corporation with power
to establish in Cuba and Porto
Rico electric plants and railroads,
also railroads, we voted, no.

Upon a Bill requiring install-
ment houses to give to persons who
have purchased household goods of
them upon the installment plan,
60 days' grace ere such goods may
be taken, in case the purchaser has
paid per cent. of price, we voted,
yes. The present law gives 45 days
grace if 75 per cent. has been paid.
The bill was defeated. Upon a bill
appropriating \$41,000 for certain
educational purposes, which was
amended by the Senate to \$38,000,
we supported the original amount.

Upon a bill placing every citizen
of the commonwealth upon an
equality in the right to take clams
from the flats at the mouth of the
Merrimac river, we voted, yes. It
was defeated and upon a motion to
reconsider, made the following day,
Carey spoke in favor of reconsidera-
tion, this was done and the bill
was advanced one stage. We voted
in support of a bill making an ap-
propriation for the purpose of ex-
terminating the gypsy moth. Car-
ried. Upon a bill imposing a tax
on legacies, successions, etc., we
voted, yes. It is as yet on the way,
not having passed the several
stages; we will support it in every
stage.

Upon a bill making election days
a half holiday, we voted, yes. It
was defeated, but an attempt will
be made to reconsider, which we
will support.

Hearings have been held upon
all the bills introduced by us, at
which, of course, we appeared and
we have had lots of tilts with coun-
sels for corporation. One of the
counsels for the N. Y. N. H. & R.
R., lost his temper at Carey and
raved about the "red head of So-
cialism" has appeared in the Massa-
chusetts State House." It was
ridiculous. It was brought about
upon a bill that would assume that
the railroad corporation was res-
ponsible in case of an employe
losing his life while in the dis-
charge of his duty. As it is now
the employe is presumed to have
assumed the risk when he entered
the employ of the company. The
counsel asked if "this is what So-
cial Democrats wanted?" Carey
answered "this is a little of what
we want." The counsel said, "Oh,
then this is not all you want?"
Carey smiled at him and replied:
"My dear sir, this is not the thou-
sand-millionth part of what we
want; we want the earth and we are
going to have it." The counsel
actually raved and railed and made
a general exhibition of himself,
which did not disturb us in the
least. We have had many experi-
ences of this kind before commit-
tees, but we still live. Since last
we wrote, Scates has spoken and
assisted in organizing branches at
West Newbury and Georgetown.
Carey has spoken at Marlboro, New
Bedford, Newton, Amesbury, Exe-
ter, N. H., So. Boston and Quincy.
There is the best of feeling between
the S. D. and the trades movement,
as is proper; and the result of this
feeling will be a labor movement
in Massachusetts so harmonious
and powerful in all its inclusive-
ness that the workers of the world
may hope for much ere many more
years have passed.

LOUIS M. SCATES,
JAMES F. CAREY.

Girard, Ill. (afternoon)	April 1.
Alexandria, Ind., (aftern.)	2.
Anderson, Ind., (evening)	2.
" " " " " "	11.
Elwood, " " " " " "	12.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

CONSTITUTION OF LOCAL BRANCHES.

NAME AND LOCATION.

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

MEMBERSHIP.

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

Sec. 3. A local branch shall consist of not less than five, nor more than 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 branch may determine, provided it shall be sufficient to include 25 cents per quarter to be forwarded to the National Council. A member admitted on or before the middle of the quarter shall pay dues for the full quarter; a member admitted after the middle of the quarter shall be exempt for said quarter.

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

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Sec. 12. The Executive Board shall consist of five 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 Council, or the declaration of principles.

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

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

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

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

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

JURISDICTION.

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

ELECTIONS.

Sec. 19. At each annual meeting of the local branch in March an Executive Board of five 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.

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.

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

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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..... 90,098
1895..... 25,019
1898..... 32,000

FRANCE.

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

GERMANY.

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

GREAT BRITAIN.

1895..... 55,000

ITALY.

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

SERBIA.

1895..... 50,000

SPAIN.

1893..... 7,000
1895..... 14,800
1897..... 28,000

SWITZERLAND.

1890..... 13,500
1893..... 29,822
1896..... 36,468

UNITED STATES.

1890..... 13,704
1891..... 16,552
1892..... 21,512
1893..... 25,666
1894..... 30,020
1895..... 34,869
1896..... 36,275
1897..... 55,550
1898..... 91,749

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

LABOR

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY

BY THE

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

(MISSOURI ORGAN.)

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION:—One year, \$1.00, six months, 50c; Three months 25c; Single copies 5c. Address

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Social Democratic Party of America.

Organized June 11, 1898.

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

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

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

—Social Democratic Party Platform

Social Democratic Party of America.

Constitution of National Council.

NAME AND HEADQUARTERS.

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

HOW ORGANIZED.

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

1st. Local branches limited to 500 members each.

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

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

4th. An Executive Board of five members.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

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 majority vote of all the members of the organization as hereinafter provided.

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

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

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

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

REVENUES AND FUNDS.

Section 12. The revenue of the organization shall be derived from a 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 a bank or banks as the board may direct and the National Secretary and Treasurer shall be required to execute a bond for the faithful performance of his duties for such an amount as the board may require.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.

Section 14. The National Council shall meet annually on the first Tuesday in May at such place as the Executive Board may determine. 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.

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 as the union may determine.

HOW ORGANIZED.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

REVENUES.

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

THE STATE UNION.

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

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

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

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

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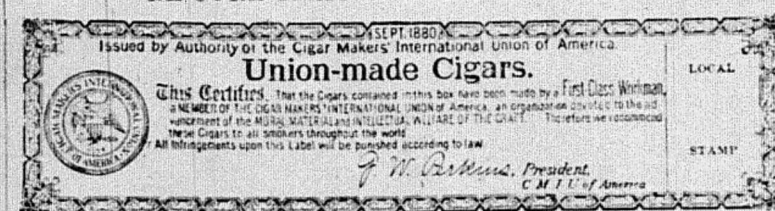
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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS OF 1900 AT PARIS.

PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE NEXT MONTH.

The following circular addressed by the Committee of Agreement to the Socialist and working class organizations of all countries, for the International Congress of 1900, appeared in the *Petite Republique* of March 7:

"Comrades,—
"As the International Congress cannot be held in Germany, our German comrades have appealed to the French Socialists, in accordance with the decision of the London Congress, to organize it in Paris in 1900. Upon the French Socialists, therefore, falls the duty of proposing to their comrades of all countries the measures of organization. We, therefore, invite you to a preliminary conference to decide the conditions under which the International Congress shall be held. It is in the name of the whole French Socialist Party that we send this invitation. The five great national organizations which compose the party—the Confederation of Independent Socialists of France, the French *'Parti Ouvrier,'* the Revolutionary *'Parti Ouvrier,'* the Federation of Socialist Workers of France, the Revolutionary Socialist Party—are grouped in a joint Committee to fraternally deliberate on common interests. In this Committee are represented, therefore, all the Socialist forces of France.

"This Committee is constituted on the basis of the essential principles of Socialism: Socialization of the means of production and exchange, international combination and action of the workers, conquest of political power by the proletariat organized in a class conscious party. The Congress is to be a political Socialist Congress, it is on the basis of the essential principles of the party adopted by our Joint Committee as well as by the Socialists of all countries that we propose to constitute it. We wish to thus prevent the disputes which have interfered with the proceedings of previous international congresses.

"It seems to us that we shall thus conform to the true spirit of the London Congress. It is true that that appeared to adopt the principle of a mixed congress, part political, part trade unionist. But in appealing to the trade unionist groups the London Congress asks that they should agree to political action. The intervention of trade union groups in the coming Congress, therefore, will be a mark of their acceptance of political action.

"But it seems to us evident that this political action must be exercised in the Socialist sense. To demand from the trade union groups the acceptance of political action and not to ask them to agree to the socialization of the means and instruments of production and the international combination of the workers would be to admit reactionary working class organizations, such as are enrolled in Catholic bodies, or are permeated with a spirit of retrogressive nationalism. This would be to deprive the working class represented at the Congress of its class character, since it can assert itself only in opposing to bourgeois property social property, and to bourgeois cosmopolitanism, or to reactionary Chauvinism, working class internationalism.

"Doubtless, as the London Congress wisely decided, it could scarcely be asked of the trade union groups to commit themselves to a constant and habitual political action; but it is necessary to ask that their delegates to the International Socialist Congress should accept as the general basis of their mandate the essential principles of Socialism.

"It is quite clear that in thus defining its vital principles Socialism obeys the law of organisms which can live only in determining themselves. But, so far as we are concerned, we do not desire by any arbitrary or sectarian interpretations to reduce the field of the Congress or to narrow the entry thereto. When we speak of the Socialist conquest of political

power, we do not mean either to disdain or to put in a second place the economic organization of the proletariat. Without this co-operative basis, without this trade grouping, the political action of Socialism would lose itself in the void, and on the day of victory the proletarian class would not be able to seize the administration of the transformed property; it would remain in a state of tutelage.

"Also, having been advised that some trade union groups of different countries, and in particular one from the Trade Union Congress of France, assembled at Rennes, had taken the initiative in convoking at Paris an international Trade Union Congress, we could do no less than encourage this work and assure them of our most hearty sympathy. We are certain that in manifesting itself under the double form, economic and political, the universal proletariat will give to the world the impression of a complete force. The two aspects of working class action can thus manifest themselves without any conflict being apprehended.

"But at the same time it is very desirable that trade union organizations should be represented directly at the political Socialist Congress under the single condition of giving to their delegates a political Socialist mandate. Access to the political congress will be thus made as wide as possible, while at the same time all danger of confusion will be avoided. The International Socialist Congress at Paris will consecrate once more the principles affirmed in all countries for thirty years by the national and international congresses of our party.

"We may add that, in speaking of the Socialist conquest of power by the proletariat organized as a class conscious party, we do not determine the manner of this political conquest. We cannot. Nor can we reduce it to Parliamentary action alone.

"Even in our country there have been revolutionary events which have determined or marked the social or political movement; and the existing conditions in which Socialism has to act in the different countries of the world are too varied for us to enclose in a narrow formula the march of the proletariat towards power.

"But what it is essential to affirm is that the proletariat will never be emancipated by the goodwill of the governing classes; it is that it will enter into possession of its right, that is to say its property, only when it is strong. But it will not be strong until it seizes by collective and concerted action the power which is held to-day by the bourgeoisie.

"While not disdaining reforms and palliatives the Socialist party does not set before it as its supreme end the control of the political, juridical and military machinery of to-day. In acquiring power the Socialist proletariat will transform its mechanism as well as its objects. It is the organization of the workers federated for production in common which will exercise this new power.

"It is not a question of substituting one government personnel for another, but of destroying the political power of the bourgeoisie, the fortress of its social power, in order to transform society. The State, the means of exploitation by the exploiting class, will be destroyed as soon as it is conquered and replaced by the community of labor.

"This definition of the political action of Socialism in determining our end, has the effect of dissipating all equivocation respecting the diversity of conceptions as to ways and means. Socialists have always affirmed that a true moral solidarity of the proletariat can result only from the free co-operation of intelligence within the limit of the essential principles defined in this circular.

"It is in this broad sense that we interpret the essential principles of Socialism as our joint Committee has adopted them, and as they

are understood, if we are not mistaken, by International Socialism.

"We are assured beforehand that it is a noble sentiment of union in the struggle which will animate all the delegates of Socialism and of the proletariat, and we ask you to appoint, as early as possible, the delegates to the preliminary Conference, which we now suggest to you should be held at Brussels between the 20th and 30th of next May."

THE ROSTRUM.

Comrade Robert Meister, of Milwaukee, on "Figures that Talk."

Comrade Robert Meister, of Milwaukee, recently addressed a large propaganda meeting of Branch 9 on "Figures that Talk."

After giving figures to show the unequal distribution of wealth, together with the mere average pitance possessed by the toilers, he said: "We mechanics, and laborers, and all producers of wealth have very little trouble counting our wealth. Do we still wonder why a few are so wealthy, while so many are poor? It has been caused by our present mode of production and distribution. We find that it is impossible to land our little canoe safely in the harbor of competition. We become disgusted and almost on the verge of desperation when we find that we have toiled all our lives and can not land.

Give up? No, a thousand times No! There is one haven left to which we can all steer—Hope.

We, the \$130 a year heroes, what do we hope for? I think I can tell you what some of us hope and look for. But to those of us who have a desire to be as rich as Rockefeller, I will show the way by a little figuring. If you are lucky enough to receive \$1000 a year, all you have to do is to work 200,000 years and not spent a cent and you can then make your will and leave \$200,000,000 to your heirs. But to the class whose families have an average wealth of \$130 a year, the figures show that you will have to labor 1,538,461 years and not spend a cent, and even then you will be \$70 short of the \$200,000,000 mark.

Such large figures as mark the Rockefeller, Gould, Vanderbilt, Carnegie possessions can be put down on paper very easily, but you seldom comprehend their real magnitude. If you were to walk from here to New York and pick up a dollar at every step, you would have to make over sixty-two trips in order to secure \$200,000,000. All you would have to do would be to walk twenty-five miles each day for 12 years, 165 days and a little over. Or if you have a little time to spare you might undertake to count \$200,000,000, that would only take you 1 year, 329 days and 2 hours and 20 minutes, counting at the rate of 200 every minute, and losing no time for eating and sleeping!

Now, can you comprehend this vast amount? And still such an amount of wealth is owned and controlled by one single individual. Such wealth, that has been created by society, is private property under the present system of production and distribution. Riches and poverty are disagreeable roommates. The one has, the other wants. Would society be satisfied if you had a large amount of wealth? No, you would be the only one satisfied, for you must remember there are 70 millions more in the United States who want to be satisfied too, and I can tell you and you may put it down as a fact that there will be no satisfaction till all are satisfied. We are told we all have a chance to become rich and powerful. But let me tell you the chances are far better to become tramps.

The meeting under the auspices of the Brockton branch of the S. D. P. was very largely attended Sunday evening, nearly 500 being present, among whom were many ladies. The speaker of the evening was Rev. E. H. Keens, who spoke upon "Socialism, its History, Co-operative Success in Past Ages and the Promises of the Present." Mrs. Keens rendered several piano selections.—Brockton Times.

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A FRIENDLY TIP.

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Appeal to Reason

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