

# SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

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

## NOTE CHANGE OF ADDRESS.

IN ACCORDANCE WITH A RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD, THIS PAPER WILL BE REMOVED TO CHICAGO AND ALL COMMUNICATIONS FOR THE EDITOR SHOULD HENCEFORTH BE ADDRESSED TO 126 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO, ILL.

PUBLISHERS RECEIVING THE HERALD IN EXCHANGE ARE REQUESTED TO MAKE THE NECESSARY CHANGE ON THEIR MAIL-LISTS, SO THAT THEIR VALUED PUBLICATIONS MAY REACH US PROMPTLY AT THE NEW ADDRESS.

Social Democracy will give every man an equal chance to get what he needs and keep what he gets.

The President's civil service record is a source of great partisan delight to the political bummers out of a job.

The capitalistic system continues to crowd the inside of the penitentiaries, but it does nothing to prevent crime on the outside.

Hanna is going to Europe. We extend to the old world our sincere condolence in this affliction, but we "don't care if he never comes back."

English dictionaries are in greater demand in Puerto Rico than any other commodity, according to press dispatches. Collis Huntington should immediately put a stop to it.

There is not a single excuse for the existence of any army in the world, except that they are needed to dominate by force the working people who are compelled to support them.

It is rather a humiliating confession, but a cargo of fresh beef sent from Australia to the missionaries of manifest destiny from the United States now sojourning at Manila, was found perfectly fresh when served.

One preacher, a New Englander, has had the courage to say: "I do not believe that we are commanded to go into all the world and shoot the gospel into every creature." The missionaries of the bullet now have another "traitor" spotted.

With the permission of the United States government 7000 Japanese laborers will be landed under contract in Hawaii to work on the plantations. The United States thus becomes a party to providing cheap labor for the capitalists of Hawaii.

Senator Mason, chairman of the pure food investigation, says the trusts have threatened to ruin him. But plenty of good men have been ruined by the trusts without previous notification. Perhaps the senator will escape. He has the reputation of being a good lawyer.

The trial of a case in the civilized State of Kentucky requires a cordon of soldiers with a Gatling gun around the court house, to protect the judge and jury. If the Filipinos could not administer justice without Gatlings for adjuncts, it would be indubitable proof that they were unfit to govern themselves.

Disraeli once said to John Bright: "You know, Bright, what you and I come here for—we both come here for fame." Bright made protests, but Dizzy met them with a quiet half-sarcastic smile. And Dizzy was right. What was true of London and the Commons, is true of Washington and the Congress. Nearly all the American politicians go there for fame; some win it and then turn it to commercial account.

One feature of the attempted revolution in France which has not been noticed by the servile and hypocritical press of the United States, is that while many American snobs, led by Anna Gould de Castellane, took part in the demonstration against Loubet and the republic, the Socialists of France have been among the foremost supporters of the government; the bourgeois government is not to their liking, of course, but they can be depended upon, in France or elsewhere in the present society, to throw their weight against the reactionaries.

## THE GOOD NEWS FROM TEXAS.

Bonham, Tex., June 9, 1899.

Comrade Editor:

Please announce in the columns of the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD that a referendum vote has been taken by the different branches of the Socialist Party of America in Texas on the question of uniting with the Social Democratic Party of America and the vote has been almost unanimous to unite with the Social Democratic Party of America, and the organization in Texas heretofore known as the Socialist Party of America will hereafter be known as the Social Democratic Party of Texas.

We bid the movement good speed and expect in a short time to have a great movement in Texas.

Fraternally,

W. E. FARMER.

President Socialist Party of America.

The Bryanites are still indulging in much talk about legislation against trusts and concentration of wealth, which Henry George (also a democrat) said "Is a necessary tendency of our advance in the material arts." It is strange that so few in the party of Jefferson understand that they are pursuing a will-o'-the-wisp.

By the expenditure of \$7,274.39 for salaries of officers and employees, rent and office expenses, a charity organization of Baltimore managed to distribute \$46.30 among the poor of that city. Charity evidently "begins at home" in Baltimore, and a comparison of the distributed driblet with the cost of its management, shows it quite as evidently stops there.

It turns out that Anna Gould Castellane was not the only American to figure in the anti-republican demonstration at Paris. "Many American men and women," members of an aristocratic Parisian club, were involved and are now subjects of police surveillance. Is Paris the training school for the future conspirators for empire in the United States?

The War Department has sent out the following order to recruiting stations:

"Make all enlistments you can—infantry, cavalry, light and heavy artillery—for the Philippines. Urgent."

A few weeks ago the war was over. It was a sorry day for Uncle Sam when it started. With the best men in the army already on the ground, and thousands more needed, the end is a long way off.

When the agents of any corporation tell you that any given commodity can't be produced for less than the price they ask, you are not obliged to believe them. The gas companies of New York city have repeatedly made affidavit that they could not produce gas at less than \$1.10 per thousand feet; but the growing public ownership sentiment has brought down the price to 50 cents. Do you see anything?

Social Democrats do not favor a reorganization of society that would give any man the right to eat and wear clothes, live in a mansion (or have any sort of shelter) and participate generally in the enjoyment of the social wealth, simply because he is a man. That is exactly the trouble with the present society. Too many get a living without earning it. If a man gets a living in the Social Democratic society, it will have to be earned. Equal opportunities for all men to do this will be provided; but with every individual—except the infirm and incapable—will rest the responsibility of doing something socially useful.

## OUR PROPAGANDA FUND.

DEAR COMRADES:—We are about to make some needed changes that will call for money. Our paper is to be removed to Chicago and greatly improved. Other matters requiring attention will involve more or less outlay. The party is just now entering upon a new era of growth and progress. Unprecedented advancement along all lines is to be made in the next ninety days. What is more urgently needed is money to prepare for the great work just ahead of us. We do not ask for large contributions. What we ask is the small contributions of our membership at large. Can you afford to send \$1.00 per week to our propaganda fund for the next three months? If you can, then send it. If you can not, can you afford 50 cents? If not, then send 25 cents, or 10 cents, or 5 cents, or 1 cent, according to your means. Send your contributions regularly for three months, and longer if you can, for we shall have pressing need for every dollar we can raise.

What we now need is regular weekly contributions that we can rely on. The dues are so small that the amount derived from that source barely pays current expenses. To enable us to meet demands, our propaganda fund must be made a permanent and substantial source of revenue and if a few hundred of our members will agree to be regular weekly contributors, from one cent to a dollar, according to their means, we will soon place in your hands the brightest, strongest Socialist weekly ever issued. We will also be able to place organizers in the field to prepare for the campaign in 1900, in which will be heard the slogan of the Social Democratic party.

*Ernest P. Delby*

A republican paper thinks a few Cuban officers are scheming to feather their nests at the expense of the United States government! Think of that, will you? Then think of the multitude of patriots at home who are feathering their nests from the same source!

Defence against foreign enemies is the excuse given for continual increase in military expenditures. But more than one authority has said that the ideal American soldier is the volunteer. And of that there is no doubt. But our governors and their capitalistic masters dare not make volunteers of us all, which clearly shows that an army is not for defence against foreign enemies. It is for offence against the workers.

## THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCE.

The preliminary conference to arrange for the International congress of 1900 was held at the new Maison du Peuple, Brussels, on Saturday, May 27. Among those present were Hyndman, Brocklehurst (representing the bureau appointed at London), Smith and Quelch from England; Vaillant, Dubreuilh, Allemane, Renon, Breton, Rozier, Salembier, Despats and Delory from France; Knudsen from Denmark; Liebknecht and Singer from Germany; Forker and Dietzgen from America; Adler from Austria; Von Kol and Troelstra from Holland; Ronani and Zanni from Italy; Krauss and Esse from Poland; Furnemont, Dewinne, Maes, Vandervelde and Serwy from Belgium, and Plekanoff from Russia.

The principal of discussion was the basis of the congress. The bureau, the committee appointed by the London Congress to take the preliminary steps for convening the next congress, adhered to the basis decided upon by that congress in the following resolution:—

"The Standing Orders Committee of the congress is entrusted with the duty of drawing up the invitation for the next congress by appealing exclusively to:—

1. "The representatives of those organizations which seek to substitute Socialist property and production for capitalist property and production, and which consider legislative and Parliamentary action as one of the necessary means of attaining that end.

2. "Purely trade organizations which, though taking no militant part in politics, declare that they recognize the necessity of legislative and Parliamentary action; consequently anarchists are excluded."

In the circular recently issued by the French Comité d'Entente it is proposed to interpret legislative and Parliamentary action in a Socialist sense. The view was warmly supported by the whole of the French delegates, by those from America, and by Hyndmann, Quelch and Smith. It was urged that, unless political action were defined in this sense, it would open the door of the congress to the most reactionary bodies, who, while in favor of political action, were opposed to the whole spirit of the congress. On the side of the Germans, Austrians and Belgians the view of the bureau was upheld, and it was urged that no restriction should be put upon the admission of trade unions, as it was most desirable to gain their adhesion to the congress. In reply to this it was pointed out that, so far as the English trade unions at least were concerned, the French definition of political action did not exclude them, as they were committed to Socialist political action by repeated resolutions of the Trade Union Congress. There was no desire to exclude their representatives from the congress, but to so define its basis as to make it impossible for them to pose there as Socialists, and afterwards to repudiate and misrepresent it.

The question was referred to a committee composed of Adler, Allemane, Troelstra, Quelch, Vaillant and Vandervelde, and on the report of the committee the following was eventually agreed upon, as an addition to the London resolution given above: "In the execution of this mandate the London Bureau have transmitted their powers to the French Socialist Comité d'Entente with permission to invite to the congress all associations which adhere to the essential principles of Socialism: Socialization of the means of production, distribution and exchange, the international organization and action of the workers, and the Socialist conquest of all political power as a working class party; and all trade unions which, basing themselves on the class war and recognizing the necessity of political parliamentary and legislative action, nevertheless do not take part directly in the political movement."

The afternoon sitting was devoted to considering the agenda of the congress, the heads of which were agreed to.

It was understood that the congress would be held early in September. Several matters of detail were discussed and referred to the committee of organization.

While Russia is confronted with an unprecedented famine, manufacturing enterprises in that country are reported to be enjoying enormous profits, in some cases as high as 80 and 100 per cent. Capitalist production is rapidly developing while millions starve and die.



# SOCIETY' RIGHT TO LAND AND CAPITAL.

AN ADDRESS BY JAMES F. CAREY,

Social Democratic Member of the Massachusetts Legislature.

**T**O the question "Is the Collective Ownership of Land and Capital Right and Feasible?" as a Social Democrat I answer Yes; and in support of that affirmative answer I wish to call your attention to certain economic conditions of the past and present as illustrating the industrial evolution of the last hundred years.

I shall speak only of conditions in this republic, but do not therefore misunderstand me or imagine that I am not an International Socialist, aiming for the final goal of International Socialism. In England, Germany, France, Belgium, Switzerland and elsewhere, our Social Democratic brothers are facing similar conditions, and are speaking to their own country-men and seeking to arouse them to a sense of the situation in their respective countries. I shall confine myself to the state of affairs in this country, hoping that the American people may rise equal to the social and economic necessity with which they are confronted.

In considering that which forms capital to-day, the factories, mills, mines, railways and steamships, and all those other things by means of which human necessities are met and satisfied, a certain feature, peculiar to our time, becomes apparent to every student who looks beneath the surface, and that is, their social character.

Time was in this republic when the tools with which men procured the necessities of life for themselves and their families were of such a character and of such a form that they were capable of being produced by the individual and operated by the individual, without the assistance of any other member of society. Every family, in those early days, owned its own spinning wheel and hand loom and all the simple tools with which the people supplied their then simple needs; and society in its collectivity had no concern as to the manner and extent of use of those tools. If one man did not care to operate his hand loom or his spinning wheel, it did not affect his neighbors, because they had identically the same tools, and could operate them, independently of him, for their own benefit. But by the genius of the race these simple tools have been developed and enlarged until today they confront us as social tools requiring the collective labor of society to produce and operate them. The spinning wheel and the hand loom have been transformed into the gigantic mills of Lowell, of Lawrence and of Manchester; the shoemaker's simple tools into the McKay machine, the Goodyear machine, the edge-trimmer and the edge-setter. The old crude ox-cart with which our forefathers carried their superfluity to the nearest market has become the express train, and the little sailing vessel has grown into the magnificent ocean steamship of our day.

With the development of machinery came increased productivity and division of labor, so that no man any longer produced all the necessities of life for himself. Each manufactured some special thing or part of a thing, not for his own use but to be exchanged in the general market for other things he needed, by means of money.

From individual operation of individual tools with which commodities were produced for use, we have come to the social operation of social tools and the production of commodities for exchange.

Individual tools were owned by the individual, and properly so. As the tools became larger and more complicated, however, through mechanical development and the application of steam power to manufacture, it required more money to get possession of and maintain them. In the competition that ensued among those who produced to supply the market, those in possession of the implements best fitted, most scientifically equipped

to produce commodities at the lowest possible cost, succeeded, and were able to accumulate still more and more capital; and those who could not successfully compete with them lost even that which they had, and from independent producers were reduced to wage-workers in the factories of their successful rivals. In this manner the tools of production were wrested from the hands of the people as individuals, and passed into the hands of the large class which today we call the middle class; and are now passing rapidly from the hands of the middle class, by a similar process, into the hands of a few large capitalists, leaving the great mass of the people absolutely divorced from the means whereby the necessities of life are produced.

Therefore, you and I, as individual members of society, whatever may be our position, whatever may be the degree of poverty into which we may have been plunged, have a right to ask of the present owners of the social tools of production whether their manner and extent of use of these tools subserves the best interests of society. We have a right to demand of society that it recognize the fact that in the course of the development of these tools they have passed out of the hands of the individual into the hands of a class, and that their possession gives to that class full economic and political power, to the disadvantage and the degradation of the class that has been despoiled of them.

When we ask those into whose hands the social tools have passed whether they are operating them for the best interests of society, they inquire in answer, what concern is it of ours? What right have we to question whether the railways are operated for the good of society? I answer: We have a right because they are ours—because these things which constitute capital, naturally, inherently and philosophically belong to society, and not to any individual, or any set of individuals less than the whole of society. No individual ever produced a shoe factory, or a cotton mill or a railway. They have been evolved little by little, developed here and improved upon there through each succeeding generation since the human race began.

Let us see if this is not so. In the first place, we say they are social conceptions. No individual can form an original conception of any one of them as it is to-day. Take as an illustration the ocean steamship. It is a social conception to which all lands have contributed their quota. Who first conceived of it? We will have to go far back into the ages, before history began to record the doings of man, to find it—back to the first savage who, desiring to get to the other side of a stream, propelled himself across it on the floating trunk of a fallen tree. Many attempts may have been made, and many savage lives may have been lost before one succeeded in reaching the other side in safety, and thus established the fact that it could be done. Generations passed, perhaps, before some other savage, more ingenious than the rest conceived the idea of hollowing out the trunk sufficiently to carry across in it his stone axe and his primitive weapons; and generations more, perhaps, before another one enlarged the hollow, got into it himself, and became the inventor of the first dug-out. By and by it occurred to some of his descendants that the wind could be utilized to propel his craft, and the first rudimentary sail was set to catch the passing breeze. Meantime some other savage discovered fire, and another the use of metals, and still others how to fashion wood and metal to their desires; and gradually the little craft grew and grew until finally it had a deck and tall masts and a full comple-

ment of sails. Then some one in another land found that the steam arising from the contact of fire with water could be controlled and utilized as a motive power; and after innumerable experiments in different directions, some other man applied it as a motive power to the sailing vessel, and the first rude steamboat was built, the prototype of the present palatial ocean steamship. And I say that every bar and bolt, and every bit of wood and canvas, from its keel to the highest top of its mast, denies the right of any individual to call it his, and declares it to be the product of the genius of mankind, and the rightful heritage of society, as a whole.

What is true of the steamship as a progressive conception, is equally true of all the other modern social tools of production.

But even if they were capable of conception by an individual, they are incapable of individual construction. It requires the collective labor of society to make concrete and tangible the conception of a railway or steamship, a shoe factory or a mill, with all its machinery. They can only be produced by social effort. Where is the individual who will cut down the forest trees and convert them into timber; who will mine the ore and smelt it and refine it and mould it into bolts and bars and plates of iron and steel; who will build the marvelous engines and machines; who will mine the coal and transport it to feed the furnaces, and erect the granite walls of the factories or lay down the rails and ties of the railway from ocean to ocean? Millions of men the world over are working without knowledge of the destination of their product, in the co-operative construction of these modern social tools of production.

Then, after they are conceived and produced, their preservation becomes a matter of social activity. No individual can preserve them in existence, nor replace the parts which may decay nor restore those which become worn out or broken. Out of the product of labor of the workers of society comes not only the profit of the capitalist, but the reproduction and maintenance of capital itself.

And after they are conceived, and produced and maintained by the labor of society, the individual is absolutely powerless to operate them. No president of a railway or owner of a shoe factory could operate his possessions. There must be men to feed the engines, men to guide them, men to turn the switches at the right instant, men in Pennsylvania mining coal, men in the woods of Maine or Michigan cutting timber, and others carrying it to where it is needed; and the shoe factory that employs even a thousand hands, employs not one more than is absolutely necessary to turn out the product. And while all of these are employed on their special division of labor, there must be others to produce their food, clothing and shelter, so that they may continue to work. The modern machinery of production is utterly useless unless society co-operates in its operation. Before the individual owner's very eyes the walls will crumble into nothingness and the machines will rust and decay, unless hundreds of thousands of workers throughout the country set and keep in motion the wheels of production.

Therefore I say it is the height of absurdity to permit any man to say of the socially conceived, socially produced, socially preserved, and socially operated steamship or factory or railway "This is mine."

Therefore, also, I say that collective ownership of capital is right and feasible; and the sooner society takes possession of it and operates it for its own benefit the sooner will it come into possession of that which justly belongs to it.

But even if these things were not true, even if society had not a good and valid title to the means of production and distribution by virtue of having created them, I say that the condition of affairs we see around us to-day as the direct result of private ownership of capital, is in itself an indictment sufficient to condemn this system utterly and forever.

Individual ownership of the means of livelihood has resulted in

the economic enslavement of a large portion of society—the working class. It has given to the class possessing them the power to exploit the labor force of the class deprived of them, for their own benefit. It also makes them masters of the political power by means of which they may maintain the system and perpetuate the power over their fellowmen. It makes them the arbiters of the destiny of millions. They lock the factory doors when they please; the wheels stop running at their command; the mill whistle is silent and the smoke ceases to curl from the tall chimneys; and the people, the workers, debarred from an opportunity to earn even the absolute necessities of life, grow gaunt and pale and hollow-eyed, and their limbs tremble beneath them as they walk from place to place in their weary quest for work, which to them means bread. And when they do allow the workers access to the means of production they are able because of their individual ownership, to dictate the terms upon which they may labor, and to appropriate to themselves four-fifths of the product, and return to the worker as wages—one-fifth.

Therefore we indict these possessors of the tools of production, in the name of society and particularly of the working class, that their manner and extent of use of these tools have brought poverty and misery to the people. We point out to them that on every hand are multiplying the numbers of the unemployed, who have nothing but their misery that they can call their own. We point out to them the long line of men and women and children who suffer and starve and weep and die in the midst of the wealth which they themselves have produced. We charge them with failure to scientifically manage these tools. We say that the results have demonstrated their utter inability and incapacity as "captains of industry." We say that if the social tools of production were properly and systematically managed, human poverty would be abolished, and the whole race would be lifted out of and above the material contest, and placed in a position where they could progress to a grander and nobler life than was ever possible before.

What I have said of the right of society to the ownership of what is called capital applies with equal force to land. Our claim for the collective ownership of land is based upon its being one of the elements necessary to produce food, clothing and shelter, in fact the primary and most essential element. Capital is nothing more than the natural resources of the earth, transformed, separated, combined and carried to different places by human labor power, and used for the production of more wealth for profit. Land is here; and being one of the essentials for production, its ownership by the people is as necessary as is their ownership of capital.

No individual can justly set his claim against the claim of society. Where a social necessity arises, the individual, who would be nothing without society might well waive his claim. Take for instance an oasis in a desert. Suppose that I get there first, and put up my sign "Keep off the grass,"—and you come along ready to perish of thirst. I can charge you \$5 or \$1,000 for a glass of water. If it is mine I have a right to charge what I please. Individual ownership implies that right. And if you have no money, I have the power of determining whether you shall live or die. If individuals have a right to own and hold any part of the earth's surface against the interests of society, they have the right to hold it all; and society becomes a mere pensioner upon the bounty of the individual. The man who owns the necessities of life is the man who controls everything. Society must own the land as well as capital. There is no middle ground. Suppose, for instance, the shoe industry were socialized,—that we had a grand shoe factory, with all the machines and raw materials in it belonging to society, with the exception of one machine which belonged to me. As all the shoes that were manufactured would have

to pass through the machine which belonged to me in the process, they would all, at one stage, come under my power. I could charge what I pleased for the use of that machine, and could therefore exploit the workers just as is done now.

Society in its collectivity must own the land. I am not, however, of those who believe that free land and free money will settle everything, and that unlimited competition among individuals would bring heaven upon earth. I want to have the benefits of the progress of the race conferred alike upon every child that is born into the world. I want to see the social forces utilized for the social good, and not exploited by a small class to the detriment of society as a whole. I want to have the amount of labor force needed to produce the necessities and comforts and luxuries of civilized life reduced to a minimum by a systematic arrangement of the methods of production. I want to have the product of my labor guaranteed to me, and the product of your labor guaranteed to you, through collective ownership and management of the social tools. And further, collective ownership of land and capital is right because it is necessary for the intellectual and moral progress of the race, and even for the continued existence of civilization itself. I believe in the materialist conception of history in the sense in which Marx, as I understand him, meant it. I believe that unless you give a man first enough to eat you cannot develop his higher nature. If he is overborne with economic burdens he has very little use for philosophy and ethics. I believe that our man-made laws and our shifting moral standards are based upon the economic system of any given period as a foundation, and that, therefore, the moral and intellectual conditions of men are necessarily regulated by the economic conditions; and that if the race is to progress to a higher conception of justice and brotherhood among men, we must first have a just economic system, in which brotherhood will be possible.

The industrial evolution which I have described I have myself seen in the shoe factories, in the twenty years that have elapsed since I first heard the door of that economic prison clang behind me and shut me off forever from my childhood before it was half completed. I do not need to go to Marx or Hyndman or Bellamy to learn that Social Democracy is right and necessary. I learned it from the machine to which I was tied until my brothers in the shop sent me there beneath that "gilded dome" as the avant-courier of the hosts that are to follow. I have seen the tool with which I worked grow and develop before my eyes and become more and more productive, and the degree of its development measured the degree of my increasing poverty and privation. The little hand plane with which I used to trim the edges of the soles was gradually developed into a machine operated by steam or electricity, which is almost human in its ingenuity. I have seen my own wages go down, under high tariff and low tariff and under both democratic and republican administrations, from fifty cents a dozen to four and a half cents a dozen, and with every reduction in wages I have had to work harder to make up the difference.

I did not submit quietly to the reduction of my wages, either.

I made the best fight I could; but the wages went down despite my efforts. Now I make ten cases of shoes in order to get what I used to get for making one case. And my employer, when he sells the shoes—do you think he gets for ten cases only what he used to get for one? No; each step in the development of the machine gave him power to take from me a larger and increasing share of the product of my vital force. Not because of anything inherent in the machine; but because, through the economic development, the machine had passed into the hands of a class, a small portion of society, giving to it the power to exploit my class, and to make this life, which ought to be a continual progression upward, a continual hell for me and for my brothers. And I say, when



I remember those conditions; and think of the wan faces of the brothers whom I left upon my right hand and upon my left, that I am no worshipper at the shrine of that individualistic god that has strangled me, and is strangling those for whom I speak.

I recognize that I am the product of society. I recognize that I would not be here to-day, talking to you in language that you may understand, were it not that generations for untold years have been developing the art of language, and making it possible for me to express my thoughts in articulate sounds and you to understand them. All that I am, little as it may be, and all that you are, is what society has made possible. And as against those who claim the right of the individual to own the social tools of production, I assert that it is this same individual ownership of social necessities that is responsible for the misery and degradation to which I bear witness.

As Social Democrats we do not hesitate to tell the people that we stand for the Co-operative Commonwealth, that we believe in the collective ownership and operation of all the means of production and distribution. When society takes possession of its own it will do away with classes,—the breach between its various parts will be healed. There will be a social condition under which men and women will not be, as they are now, competing fiercely for a living, while there is enough and to spare for all. One half of society will not be, as it is now, incarcerated in an economic Black Hole of Calcutta that limits the amount of air for all, and drives us into trampling and crushing the life out of each other in the mad, inhuman struggle for breath. The time is coming and is near at hand, when we will tear down the walls of our terrible prison, and the prisoners of poverty will emerge into the glorious light of liberty, equality and fraternity, and under the sun of the Co-operative Commonwealth, will have all the air in the world to breathe, and men shall learn the meaning of justice and brotherhood.

#### Study in Criminology.

An expert in criminology endeavors to show that the abolition of capital punishment would tend to diminish crime. In the United States the average number of trials for murder each year was about 2,500, and there were from 100 to 150 convictions. Holland has abolished the death penalty, and, according to the investigator, there has been a decrease in crime formerly punished in that way. In Portugal, which abolished the penalty, 1867, there has been, he says, a marked decrease in homicides. It is also shown that in Norway, from 1869 to 1879, 14 men were sentenced to death, and only four executed; in Austria, from 1870 to 1879, there were 806 death sentences and only 16 executions; and in Denmark, from 1870 to 1880, 94 were sentenced, and one executed.

#### No Political Influence.

"I was going through one of the government buildings in Washington a few days ago," says a writer in the New York Sun, "when the guide, a very intelligent young woman, said: 'Not a man here receives less than \$4 a day.' There seem to be as many women as men," I observed; "how much do they receive?" "Not one is paid over \$1.25." They labor just as hard, as many hours and are held just as responsible for their work. "How do you explain this injustice?" I asked. "I think I could do it," she said, "but I am not at liberty to talk." "Is it because women have no political influence?" I inquired. "It cannot be for any other reason," was the reply.

A Massachusetts newspaper says an offer made by English capitalists to buy all the cotton yarn mills in Bristol county has been accepted by a majority of the stockholders of the seven mills included in the affair.

Child labor is rampant in protected Victoria and free trade New South Wales.

#### THE POLITICIAN.

Have you been snared by the octopus? The scented and nodded and oily of tongue; The expert in the art of flattery; The thing that responds to each occasion; Quick to approve, indorse and ratify; Wreathed in smiles to every living being; Wearing sympathy like a mourning garb; Holding the glad hand to the world at large; Bending to every whim and claiming kindred To national heroes, from Washington down. Deigning to step into starveling's cottage; To smirk and wheedle or laugh boisterously At petty trifles, as if the sword of wit Had pricked quite deep his risibilities. Swift of advice far all afflictions; Fanatic in every fad and fashion; A follower in every known religion; A prince in every sort of hoarding; Is a "knight" of every sort of "order;" Pledged to perform all kinds of obligations. Pigeons all tongues and dotes on all the world; A cosmopolitan to foreign born; Points to "Mayeflower," to American born; To everything to steal men's confidence. Has been apprenticed to every trade; Is well disciplined to deceitfulness; Quick to defend a lie or make one; Scatters coin and passes for benevolent; Pretends to save from loss to his fellow-mortals; Sighs at recitals from old women; Coughs when he hears asthmatic near; Groans when he sees a corpse on crutches; Weeps when he hears a tale of sorrow; (Well versed in all the world's pretensions.) Pooh-poohs the truth and sanctifies dishonor, BELL-WETHER OF CORPORATE GREED IS HE! High prince of "cons" in lowest baseness! Serving his masters in every concern. —He is "THE POLITICIAN"—note him well. And if he dare approach your attention Refuse his hand and shun his oily tongue. Wave him aside, be deaf to his dark words. His business is to misdirect men's votes, By soft enticing arts and bribing voice, And keep men bent in endless slavery, That kings and trusts may reign forever. J. R. ARMSTRONG.

#### Progress the Law of Life.

When we contrast our swift achievements with the slow plodding activity of older nations we are apt in the pride of our hearts to think that we have reached the goal, and done all that is required of us.

Some of us strut about the streets of our newly painted cities, ignoring every defect, and magnifying every improvement, until we are in danger of relapsing into a condition of Chinese contentment and stagnation.

It is no wonder that we feel proud of what has been accomplished. Many a nation has done less in a thousand years than we have done in a hundred. We have rushed from log cabins to twenty-story buildings with record-breaking speed. We have leaped from invention to invention with unequalled rapidity; and it is natural that we should boast of these things.

But the moment we begin to look upon our present civilization as a finality it will begin to deteriorate and decay.

Progress is the law of life. The nation that ceases to develop begins to degenerate. Egypt stood still and was turned into stone. China stood still and became a nation of human vegetables.—H. N. Casson in The Coming Nation.

#### Blacklisting.

In 1897 the Chicago City Railway Company, as I have mentioned forbade their employees to join a union, and discharged such as did join. The men, having freshly in mind the terrible suffering and privations of the American Railway Union men who struck out of sympathy for the oppressed employees of the Pullman Company, also knowing that winter was coming, yielded to the tyranny of the company rather than bring misery and distress on their wives and children. The railroads use the blacklist not only to punish those who have been discharged, but to coerce and intimidate those still in their employ.

How long will it be, if blacklisting is allowed to continue and spread, before the laboring masses of the country, having become the helpless tools of these mighty masters, will do their bidding in the exercise of the elective franchise? We shall then have a government of corporations, by corporations, and for corporations. The wage-earner who feels his little children tugging at his coat-tails for bread will fear, in voting, to assert his manhood and resist oppression. Can a republic made up of such citizens long endure? Are such mere tools fit to be electors in a government by the people? These are serious questions, which must be wisely answered by American voters at the ballot box, or the answer will be blood and revolution. Blacklisting is thus seen to be a chief agency in fostering anarchy. It destroys manhood in citizens and makes them slaves. There must be a change. The love of liberty is too deeply rooted in the hearts of the Americans long to tolerate this dangerous abuse. It is peculiarly against public policy, because when men cannot find work they become paupers and public charges if not criminals.—Wm. J. Strong in the Arena.

#### Disarmament Farce.

The miserable farce of a disarmament congress in aid of Russia is going on at the Hague, and we don't wonder that the actors in it exclude the public from the entertainment. The whole thing is too preposterous to bear the criticism of an audience. Naturally enough, the Poles or Prussian Poland have passed a vote at their recent congress condemning the entire fraud as a deliberate attempt to impose upon Europe; and the Finns, the students of the universities, the working people, and every liberally-minded man or woman in the Russian Empire might well do the same. It has, indeed, been clear from the first that the congress is merely a muscovite dodge to help on the aggrandizing schemes of the muscovite despotism. But it is quite possible that, having met, the congress will turn its attention to some international ukase against Socialism. On that they may all agree. Happily, too, all Socialists can agree against them.—London Justice.

#### Yankee Lawyers in Havana.

To a man up a tree it would seem as if the Cubans know how to govern themselves far too well to suit the various gangs of American exploiters that are pouring into that country. The Cubans insist that most of the American attorneys who are going there have left their own country for that country's good, and shall not be allowed to practice in Cuba until conforming to the tests prescribed by Cuban law. The Cuban press sharply condemns Havana police, under Uncle Sam's directions, for raiding low "dives" and overlooking the gambling going on continually at the high-toned clubs.

#### May Start a New Religion.

When, in 30 or 40 years, we tell our grand or great-grand-children that, at the end of the nineteenth century, we took a sherbet in order to cool ourselves so as to be able to go on at an American dinner party when, a few yards off, the most abject poverty was rampant, they will not believe us; at any rate they will not believe that we were Christians. But, by that time, maybe, they will have started a new religion, the religion of Christ.—Max O'Reill in N. A. Review.

#### 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 workingmen without employment and without means of existence. But these two forces of production and social well-being cannot combine because the capitalist form of production prevents the productive powers from operating and the products from circulating unless they first convert themselves into capital—a thing that their very superabundance prevents from being done. The contradiction has become an absurdity; THE MODE OF PRODUCTION REBELS AGAINST THE FORM OF EXCHANGE. The capitalist class is convicted of incapacity further to direct its own social powers of production.

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

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

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

#### THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

##### AUSTRIA.

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

##### BELGIUM.

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

##### DENMARK.

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

##### FRANCE.

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

##### GERMANY.

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

##### GREAT BRITAIN.

1895..... 55,000

##### ITALY.

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

##### 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

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# SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

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BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, U.S.

SATURDAY, JUNE 17, 1899

## Industrial Freedom.

By JESSE WHITE.

Ever since man evolved from the cruel and gloomy wilderness of savagery, he has been working strenuously, striving diligently and fighting fiercely to capture the citadel of freedom and enjoy the noble benefits of liberty. He first secured his religious freedom, next his political freedom, and now he must secure his industrial freedom. We are in the midst of an industrial revolution; we scarcely know it. Some do not believe it, but history will prove to our ancestors that we live in the most tumultuous and momentous times that the world's history records.

Ever since Mohammed tried to enforce his religious belief upon the many millions it has been an example which will ever be a guiding star against religious tyranny. The human family will never again submit to encroachments upon their liberty by religious tyrants. When that matchless document, the Declaration of Independence, made its appearance before the world the political tyrants quaked with fear. The many kings and queens saw in the flash light of that instrument that their kingdoms and monarchies were destined to crumble and fall before the piercing light of liberty as a snowflake melts in the morning sun. Man has secured his political freedom and never again will he submit to the cruel and blood-ruling tyrants. He thought then that he had captured the citadel of freedom but he only scaled the outer breastworks. He has not yet obtained his industrial freedom and until he does so he will not be in full possession of the fort.

The workingmen are as dependent upon the monopolists for their living as the southern slaves were upon their masters. Poverty, hunger and crime prevailed among the black slaves. So it does among the white slaves of to-day. Our forefathers fought, bled and died upon the many revolutionary battlefields that 3,000,000 white slaves might have freedom. Our fathers shed their blood upon southern soil that the black slaves might be free and our brothers suffered and died under the burning sun of a tropic clime that the Cubans might have their political liberty. We must now fight for the freedom of our 70,000,000 of industrial slaves.

But friends, our country is not retrograding, she will yet plant the banner of freedom on the grave of monopolistic tyrants and wipe out slavery of every kind. It is possible and it will be done. It may be apparent to some that we are drifting back to uncivilization, but I do not believe it. Our civilization may be likened to the rising tide. Stand on the shore and see the waves as they approach you; you will notice one wave reach a certain mark and the next may fall behind it, but they gather strength, force and power, up they come, sweeping everything before them and reaching a point further out upon the sandy beach than any that had preceded them. Our nation may be riding the backward wave to day, but we are only gathering strength, education and power; and when we start upon our onward motion we will reach a point on the sands of time never traveled before by any nation.

I cannot believe that we are rushing down to the awful Niagara of death which so many great nations have met. We ought to pro-

fit by their example, for we are young; in our boyhood days, we have middle and old age yet before us, 10,000 years or more. I rely upon the honesty and integrity of the American citizens and on the beacon lights of our people, such as Debs and Carey, which shine out and guide us as the evening star of Bethlehem guided the lonely shepherds.

If we put such noble reformers at the helm of the "Ship of State" we will anchor safe in port when the morn is bright and clear. But, if we leave the helm in the hands of foreigners and lackeys, our "Ship of State" will smash upon the cruel rocks of tyranny and oppression and all will be lost forever. The people will not always be fools enough to submit to the demagogue's cries. "You can fool some of the people all the time, all the people some of the time, but not all the people all the time," and on these we rely.

The people are slowly educating themselves. Go in the mining districts and farming villages and you will find men who understand the fundamental principles of government as well as the man who pleads the case before the bar. This is an era of cheap literature as well as cheap labor, and the workingman is searching for the reason why he's poor. Reform is coming sure but slow. Whether it will be brought about peaceably or forcibly is a question. Whether it will be settled by the ballot or bullet we do not know. Whether little maidens with sweet songs on their lips will strew beautiful flowers in the way, or whether fierce avengers will spring from the slums with curses on their lips and settle the question by the piercing sword, we cannot say. We hope for the former, but if the latter must come, let it come.

'Tis weary watching wave on wave  
And yet the tide heaves onward;  
We build like coral grain on grain,  
But on a pathway sundered.

Though we're beaten back in many a fray,  
But newer strength we borrow;  
And where the vanguard rests to day,  
The rear shall camp to-morrow.  
Midvale, Ohio.

## A National Conference.

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

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

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

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

The Doukhobors who have been wintering in Cyprus have now sailed for Canada, about a thousand in number. They have been in better health lately. Two thousand more will leave Batoum about the middle of this month.

## MERLIN'S MIXTURE.

For a week the press has been devoting columns of space daily to the discussion of the kidnapping and recovery of the lost child, Marion Clark. The New York Journal gave three entire pages one day, other papers almost as much.

Vivid descriptions were given of the delirious delight of the parents and the frantic demonstrations of the sympathetic multitude about the house when the child was returned safe and sound.

For days the whole police force was searching, the press was offering large rewards for the culprits, and the whole public was open-eyed and alert.

When we consider that the whole gigantic fuss was simply caused by an attempt to give the little child back to a grieving mother, we cannot but commend the deed.

But why so much anxiety for the safety of one child, and such heartless apathy for the safety of a thousand others in worse plight?

Have we not thought of the thousands of mothers who are forced to leave their babies in the early morning and to work all day in the factories to earn a meager living?

Have we not pity for the mother-hearts that are bursting with grief as the hand of want has starved and stolen their darlings?

Have we not helping hands for those whose children stifle, and sicken, and die, in the hot heels of every city slum?

Is it worse for one child to be stolen, than for thousands to be starved?

Is the anguish of one mother grieving for an absent child greater than the anguish of the myriad mothers who watch their babies sinking daily before their eyes?

Thousands of eyes that scanned the papers eagerly every night for news of the missing child had turned with scorn or apathy from the dirty child on the tenement doorstep, whose environment was stealing its chances of life and love. Many of those who pitied the "dear little thing" fought their way to department store counters to secure bargains whose cheapness was made possible by the toil of baby fingers and the cost of baby lives.

Out of a thousand men who threw up their hats when the baby was driven home, not ten will throw down their votes to stem that industrial tide that yearly sweeps multitudes of children away from home, and health, and happiness.

It is right that one child's peril should rouse a state to action, but it is infinitely more right that the peril of many children should receive infinitely more attention and action.

The industrial system at present in existence is not only the cause of these occasional kidnappings, but is also a menace to the entire generation of babies.

Of the babies living now, the majority shall not survive the curse of their environment, or shall perish for lack of those things that the glass windows of trade bar from their touch and use.

He who kidnaps a child, and breaks its mother's heart is base indeed, but he who supports the selfish commercial system that betrays a nation's children into disgrace and death is baser than the basest devil in hell!

Pretty strong words for a parson, eh? But not a bit to strong. They are not strong enough.

The combined epithets of ten languages are not sufficiently expressive.

If a person had a thousand tongues and every tongue a woman's, that person would try in vain to say enough, bad enough, about the cursed competitive system.

Fact is, the time for words is about past, and the time is coming when only deeds will count.

When every wish becomes a deed, And every word an action,

The poor oppressed shall soon be freed,  
And friendship follow faction.

There are just three kinds of people to-day—fools, knaves and Socialists.

They are fools who, in spite of poverty and privation, and in face of the innumerable signs of the cursing influence of competition, have not brains enough to see the competitive cause and the co-operative cure for present conditions.

They are knaves who have sense enough to see the true cause of poverty and misery, but who seek to perpetuate the present infamous system of injustice for the sake of their own selfish gain.

They are Socialists who have head enough to see the cause and heart enough to advocate the cure, and who seek to destroy the very root of selfishness, and sin, and sorrow, by replacing the brute law of competition, by the human law of co-operation.

All the other folks are either mentally or physically dead!

All that is good in the world is on the side of Socialism.

If you are a true Christian, you are a Socialist, for there was not a single principle or precept in Christ's teaching that is not radically opposed to competitive selfishness, and in strict consonance with the ethics of Socialism.

If you are a true patriot, you are a Socialist, for the only remedy for the forces that are at present oppressing your countrymen, and are threatening the very integrity of the Union, is the public ownership of monopolies.

If you are a true parent, you are a Socialist, for the perpetuation of the competitive system in industry gives your child but half a chance of life, a quarter of a chance for health, and no chance at all for happiness.

If you are a true man, you are a Socialist, for no man can be true to himself who shifts the responsibility and shirks the task that present conditions force upon him.

If you are none of these, better evolve.  
MERLIN.

## Jailed for Contempt.

Judge Rogers of the United States Circuit Court has sentenced five Arkansas coal miners to four months in the penitentiary and costs in the case, the men to remain in prison till the costs are paid. They were strikers and disobeyed some mandate of his royal nibs who had expressed his will in an injunction. Private property, you see. These men didn't damage any of this precious property which they had created. They did not assault some non-union workmen, plead guilty in the state courts and were fined. But they had expressed "contempt" for the judge and that was awful, so they are in jail.—"Pilgrim" in Appeal to Reason.

## The Class Struggle.

The class struggle is a struggle between those who have and those who have not; a struggle between those who do not produce and those who do produce; a struggle between those who take and those who make; a struggle between those who exploit and those who resist exploitation; a struggle between the capitalist class, which must continue to exploit in order to live in the idleness and luxury, and the working class, which must put an end to the struggle by revolutionizing in the interest of the working class the entire structure of industrial society.—Sydney People.

The profits enjoyed by Russian enterprises are enormous. The Popoff Distilling Company, in the period of 1888-1896, received on its capital 40 per cent., 60 per cent., 80 per cent. and even 100 per cent. The payment of dividends of 20 per cent. is common in Russia, especially in the cotton trade. Many metallurgic enterprises pay 40 per cent. and some 80 per cent.

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

## WHICH IS THE GENTLEMAN?

BY ROBERT SOUTHEY.

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

Wretched is the infant's lot,  
Born within the straw-roofed cot;  
He must only be a slave,  
He must only be a slave,  
Long, long labor, little rest,  
Still to toil to be oppressed;  
Drained by taxes of his store,  
Punished next for being poor.  
This is the poor wretch's lot,  
Born within the straw-roofed cot.

While the peasant works, to sleep,  
What the peasant sows to reap,  
On the couch of ease to lie,  
Kicking in revelry;  
Be he villain, be he fool,  
Still to hold despotic rule,  
Trampling on his slaves with scorn,  
This is to be "nobly born."

"When Adam delved and Eve span,  
Who was then the gentleman?"  
—From Wat Tyler, act 2, scene 1.

## METHODS OF THE STANDARD OIL TRUST.

The investigation of the Standard Oil Company, by the Industrial Commission is not unveiling the power it uses to crush out competitors and to hoodwink and gouge the public, but is laying bare direct villainies by which men have been sent to poverty and death and their families to the poor houses, and the lives of customers have been daily placed in jeopardy; this to say nothing of the adulteration of product and of filching by deceit. The methods of the trust were recently presented in a vivid manner by the testimony of W. H. Clark, of Newark, O., who for 12 years was connected with the company at various points in Ohio.

He testified that while he was in charge of the Urbana, O., office, a young man named Helmick sold his farm and invested his money in oil. Clark told of his own efforts and of those of other agents of the Standard to get him out of the business.

He went to Helmick's house one night with Standard agents from other cities and threatened Helmick with cutting prices to a ruinous degree. Helmick's wife sat on the stairs outside of the room and cried while they were talking to her husband. Finally Helmick was driven out of business, and he went to the poor house.

While Clark was in charge of the business of the Standard at Newark, O., a troublesome competitor named Donaldson came into the field. Clark told how the Standard manager at Columbus, Mr. Mathews, told him that he could have a two weeks' vacation with pay if he would get Donaldson out of business. He tried underselling but Donaldson stuck. He went to the man who owned the small building, which Donaldson had rented to store his oil in, and bought it. Then he got a gang of men together at a cost of about \$1 and some drinks, broke the lock off the house, threw out Donaldson's oil, loaded the house on a dray and hauled it off. After this Donaldson quit business.

Clark told how he was instructed when he first went to work for the Standard at Marietta, O., to sell eight different brands of oil out of two tanks. He said the same system was followed at all three places in Ohio at which he was employed. The standard made three different varieties of oil, but they sold nominally eight grades, and if oil was sold at 10 cents a gallon and a customer wanted a 15 cents grade he could have it out of the same tank that the 10 cent oil was taken out of.

For a time Clark was in the Columbus establishment, where business was carried on in all kinds of oils. He said that when customers wanted boiled linseed oil they were sold raw oil which had been heated and mixed with Japan dryer. Miners' lamp oil was also made by mixing cottonseed oil with miners' stock, and various kinds of oil were supplied by simply marking the names on the heads of barrels of same kinds of oil which were kept in stock with blank heads.

The Vienna correspondent of the London Chronicle states that a paper trust is about to be formed in Austria. The paper industry is an important one, and in the production of cheap paper Austria successfully competes with England on the Continent, South America, and various other markets.



# AMONG THE BRANCHES

## BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Places of Branch Meetings inserted for each month.

### Colorado.

Colorado Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday eve at 8 p. m. at St. George's Hall, 1715 California street, Denver, Colo., 5 p. m. Thos. H. Gibbs, Secretary, Mrs. Ida Mercer, Secretary, 100 Washington street.

### Connecticut.

Branch 3 (Conn.) meets every 3rd Sunday at 8 p. m. at St. George's Hall, 868 Chapel street, cor. Church street, at 3 p. m. New Haven. Secretary, Cornelius Money, 166 Frank street.

### Illinois.

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thos. Kerwin, Secretary, 3504 Westworth ave.

Branch 2, Chicago, Ill., Bohemian, meets 3d and 4th Saturday evening at Nagl's Hall, 100 Blue Island ave. Sec. Fred. Jones, 657 Center ave.

Branch 3, Chicago, Ill., meets 1st and 3d Sunday afternoon of each month at Bohemian American School Lad Karcel cor. 19th and Leavitt sts. Secretary Frank Out, 866 W. 18th st.

Branch 6, Chicago, Ill., German, meets 1st and 3d Monday at 8 p. m. at 535 Blue Island ave.

### Indiana.

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

### Maryland.

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, Md., meets every Sunday at 8 p. m., at Carpenter's Hall, 105 E. Baltimore street. Public invited.

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

### Massachusetts.

Branch 2, Holyoke, Mass., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Springfield Turner Hall, Organizer, H. Schlichting, 9 James street.

Branch 5, Lynn, Mass., permanent headquarters 32 Summer st., near Market st., business meetings every Monday night at 12 p. m. Open house. Public invited. E. W. Timson, 24 Albany st., Fin. Sec. Treas.

Branch 9, (Mass) Brockton, meets Sunday at 7 p. m. in Cutters Hall, Clark's Block, cor. of Main and Centre streets. Every member expected to attend at least one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, 352 West Elm street, Secretary.

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

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 7:30 p. m., at 1043 Washington street, Boston. All communications and moneys intended for the Massachusetts State Committee should be sent to the secretary, Margaret Haile, 5 Glenwood st., Roxbury.

### Missouri.

Missouri State Central Committee meets every Thursday at 8 p. m. at Room 7, International Bank Building, 20 and 22 N. Fourth street, St. Louis. Organizer Anna F. Smith, 106 Indiana avenue.

St. Louis City Central Committee meets every Thursday, at 8 p. m., at Room 7, 22 N. Fourth street. Secretary, Albert E. Anderson, 4225 N. Newstead avenue.

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

St. Louis Twelfth Ward Branch (2nd Mo.) meets every 1st Sunday at 2 p. m., and every 3rd Sunday at 9:30 a. m., at Bohemian National Hall, cor. Allen avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, A. Langford, 515 Tennessee ave.

St. Louis Ninth Ward Branch (3d Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday, at 8 p. m., at Rhine Hall, 18th and Wyoming streets. Organizer, Charles F. Meier, 3904 Indiana avenue.

St. Louis Tenth Ward Branch (4th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Sunday at 9:30 a. m., at Vitt's Hall, Broadway and Kookut sts. Organizer, Francis J. Krause, 3524 Michigan avenue.

St. Louis First Ward Branch (5th Mo.) meets every 3d Sunday, at 8 p. m., at 4800 E. Broadway. Organizer, Julius Blumen-thal, 937 Cowan street.

St. Louis Second Ward Branch (6th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday, at 8 p. m., at Social Turner Hall, corner 15th and Monroe streets. Organizer, H. J. Steigerwalt, 111 Chamber street.

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

St. Louis Twentieth Ward Branch (8th Mo.) meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 2046 St. Ferdinand avenue. Organizer, Joseph C. Hartshorn, 3560 St. Ferdinand ave.

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

St. Louis Eighth Ward Branch (10th Mo.) meets every 1st Sunday, at 2 p. m., and every 3d Sunday, at 9:30 a. m., at Bohemian National Hall, corner Allen avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, L. P. Tomsen, 801 South 7th street.

St. Louis Thirteenth Ward Branch (11th Mo.) meets every 1st Sunday at 2 p. m., and every 3d Sunday, at 9:30 a. m., at Bohemian National Hall, Allen avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, Oliver A. Nelson, 1315 Mississippi avenue.

St. Louis Nineteenth ward Branch (12th Mo.) meets every Saturday, at 8 p. m., at 414 Warner avenue. Organizer, G. Gandler, 414 N. 20th street.

### New York.

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

Branch No. 10 (4th Ass. Dist.) New York, meets every second and fourth Friday of each month, at the Club Rooms of the "Voice of Labor," 107 Henry street. Nicholas Rosenauer, secretary, 331 Madison st.

Branch 3, New York, (24th Assembly District) meets every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month at 354 E. 54th st. L. Funcke, 259 E. 12th st., Sec.

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

Branch No. 20, New York, (28 Assembly District) meets 1st and 3d Thursday's of each month at Faulhaber's Hall, 1531 Second avenue, New York City. Secretary R. Hoppe, 328 E. 90th street.

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity, meets second and fourth Saturdays of each month at 107 Forsyth street, in the rooms of the Social Democratic League. Elizabeth H. Thomas, 257 Division street, secretary.

### Ohio.

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

### Pennsylvania.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania meets every Friday at 8 p. m. Third street, Philadelphia, at 8 p. m. Discussion until 9. J. Gearson, 428 S. 3d st., Secretary.

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

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

### Wisconsin.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee meets every second and fourth Tuesday evening of the month, at the Ethical Society Building, 538 Jefferson st. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuttle, chairman, Eugene H. Rooney, secretary.

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

Branch 3, Sheboygan, Wis., meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard's Hall on Pennsylvania avenue. R. Schoen, 8. 12th street, secretary-treasurer.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee meets every first and third Friday each month at Mueller's Hall, corner Twenty-third and Brown streets. George Moerschel, Secretary, 775 Twenty-fifth street.

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

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic party of America, meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p. m., sharp, at No. 615 East Water street. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary; John Doerfler, Treasurer.

## PROPAGANDA FUND.

Contributions to propaganda fund started by Eugene V. Debs:

Eugene V. Debs	50
Monte Carlo	1.00
P. P. Ayer	25
M. Josephson	10
F. G. R. Gordon	10
Branch 15, Brooklyn, N. Y.	3.00
Sam. Borsuk	1.00
E. Zeigler	25
Chas. Hallbeck	25
Previously reported	\$159.50
Total	\$165.25

The National Secretary-Treasurer is now prepared to furnish membership cards at \$1 per hundred; applications for membership at 25 cents per hundred, constitutions 3 cents each, and charters at \$2 each. Address for these supplies, Theodore Debs, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

## OUR NEW COMRADE.

The Social Democratic party may well congratulate itself upon the acquisition of Comrade Mary E. Lease, the greatest woman on the American platform or any other. Wherever the voice of this gifted woman is heard, the principles of the party take hold of the people, and the party grows in influence and in power.

Comrade Lease knows, as few others do, the history of social evolution, and with her marvelous oratorical powers she sways an audience to her will, and it is not strange that where she has once spoken "the town is hers."

Let me say to all our branches and to all labor organizations that Comrade Mary E. Lease should be at the head of their list of speakers. One address from her will do a world of good. She puts all the power of her great soul into her speech and speaks like one inspired.

The address of Comrade Lease is, Mrs. Mary E. Lease, 436 St. Nickolas ave., New York City.

The oftener she is heard the more rapid and permanent the growth of our party. Let her be invited to every platform controlled by the working class, to whose emancipation she has consecrated her noble life. EUGENE V. DEBS.

## Massachusetts' Second Convention.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES.

For Governor,  
WINFIELD P. PORTER,  
Newburyport.

For Lieutenant-Governor,  
ISAAC W. SKINNER,  
Brockton.

For Secretary of State,  
CHARLES H. BRADLEY,  
Haverhill.

For Treasurer,  
C. W. WHITE,  
Winchester.

For Attorney-General,  
ADDISON W. BARR,  
Worcester.

For Auditor,  
ANGUS McDONALD,  
Boston.

The second state convention of the Massachusetts Social Democrats has come and gone, marking a higher point in the rising tide of Social Democracy in this state than even our most sanguine comrades had dared to hope. There were present fifty-eight delegates, representing 28 branches in 21 different cities and towns. To appreciate the extent of our gain you must bear in mind that at our convention one year ago (when we were the S. D. A.) we had just 15 delegates out of a possible 16, and we thought we were "getting on fine." In August, after the famous split, just 12 delegates met together (all that was left of us) and ratified the state ticket nominated by the S. D. A., and that forlorn hope actually had the audacity to enter the political field, and come out with 3,750 votes for governor and two representatives. In January last, at our state convention the secretary took occasion to do some vainglorious boasting (even as you and I over the fact that we were then, after the lapse of seven months, stronger numerically than at the time of the split, (your pardon, Comrade Chase, I mean "the separation") to say nothing of having gained a footing politically. Since that time 15 new branches have been organized, making a total of 33 branches in Massachusetts, with a membership of 1200. May we not be pardoned, comrades, in other states, if we feel just a little pride and satisfaction in our movement in Massachusetts?

But truly, that last convention Sunday was a gathering to make glad the heart of every Social Democrat in the land, could they but have looked in upon it. It would be hard to get together anywhere a more intelligent, earnest, harmonious, business-like and thoroughly wide-awake lot of men and women than were gathered that day in America hall. The Boston Globe which generally treats us fairly but nothing more, had this to say of us: "It was a quiet convention, yet withal a very serious and business-like gathering. There was no turmoil, no oratorical flights, no cross counters of any kind; the delegates all seemed to know what they were there for and they did just that thing and without any difficulty. The women delegates—there were a few present—understood the business of the convention fully as well as the men."

Of course, all the old reliables were there (in fact, you couldn't keep them away) such as Carey, Chase, Scates, the Konikows, Porter, Gordon too, Coulter (who was introduced as the next mayor of Brockton), Beals, Lowell, "Duff," Timson, Miles, Moran, White and Preston Parker, and a lot of new "reliables," whose names will yet be as familiar as those just mentioned.

Haverhill had eight delegates and Brockton ten on a basis of one delegate to each 25 members, and one at large.

The forenoon was taken up with the usual routine business of a convention, seating delegates, adopting rules and hearing reports of officers, etc.

Comrade Coulter, of Brockton, acted as temporary chairman and when the convention was organized Comrade Carey was put in the chair, with Coulter and Putney

as vice-chairman and Margaret Haile and Charles Lowell as secretaries.

After recess the convention got down to work in earnest. Some members of the state committee being obliged to resign and one or two others not having been able to attend, a new state committee was elected consisting of Chas. Lowell of Whitman, A. P. Bosworth of Brockton, Dr. Billings of Rockland, E. W. Timson of Lynn, Angus McDonald of Boston, Dr. Gibbs of Worcester, Margaret Haile of Boston, James F. Carey of Haverhill, John C. Chase of Haverhill, W. P. Porter of Newburyport, J. A. Lamb of Quincy and Dr. M. J. Konikow of Boston.

It was voted on motion of the secretary that the state committee be instructed to compile and publish in pamphlet form for use of the branches the rules, by-laws and resolutions passed by our state conventions.

On motion of Comrade Chase it was voted that no person shall be nominated for any public office unless he has been a member of the party for at least six months.

The national platform and demands with a few verbal alterations were adopted for use in the state campaign with the addition of the following state demands, most of which are matters that have been introduced by our representatives in the legislature, viz.:

The raising of the school age and the age of employment to 16.

The right of trial by jury in case of contempt of court.

Public ownership of the ice industry in the metropolitan district, and ice to be furnished to consumers at cost.

A more effective employers' liability law.

A graduated income and inheritance tax.

Self-government for cities and towns in all local affairs.

The state to assume life and fire insurance.

The convention as representing the sentiment of the S. D. P. of Massachusetts then endorsed the protest of the state committee against holding a national convention or conference this year, believing it more essential that we, particularly in Massachusetts, should husband our resources and our energies for the fall campaign, which is to be the fight of our lives. They also indorsed the draft of a new constitution respectfully submitted by the state committee to the national executive for its consideration, incorporating several changes which our experience in Massachusetts convinced us are necessary, and which we would like to have submitted to a general vote. We realize that the draft submitted is not perfect, but we believe it will answer the purpose well enough (better than our present one) until next spring when a national convention will have to be held anyway, for the nomination of a presidential ticket. We have attained our present proportions under what we find to be an inadequate constitution, but we are not worrying about its incompleteness. As Comrade Skinner happily put it, "a healthy growing child does not worry about his constitution. He just goes ahead and grows." And that is what we are doing, and can keep on doing until next spring, though we would like very much to have a few fundamental changes made in the constitution right away quick. If the national executive concludes to submit our draft I shall have more to say on the subject.

Our convention is over and once more we have for our standard bearer Winfield P. Porter, who stands second to none in the esteem and affection of the comrades of this state. I wish all of you could know him as we do. Try if you can picture him to yourself: Not over thirty years of age, of medium height and slender build, a face that mirrors, first of all, his soul of uprightness and integrity; warmed by a generous and loving heart; a frank, pleasant smile in his kindly gray eyes, and a hearty grip of the hand, that both corroborate his words when he says he is glad to see you, or better still make the words themselves unnecessary. And then—everybody is glad to see Porter. His presence

in a meeting makes everybody the better for it. His unmistakable sincerity and his enthusiasm for the cause always command even from the indifferent and antagonistic a respectful hearing for the message he tries to deliver.

This comrade of ours is, therefore, you see, an exceedingly happy choice for standard bearer of our young party in this its crucial campaign. And with such a ticket and such a corps of workers as we have we cannot fail of reaching the goal of our ambition this fall. What that is we will tell you later.

Query: If a convention of 12 delegates can go into a political campaign and poll over 3750 votes and elect two representatives, what can (or rather what cannot) a convention of 58 delegates do?

MARGARET HAILE.

## St. Louis Members, Attention!

The Central branch of St. Louis, composed of all the ward branches, will hold a meeting at Aschenbroedel hall, 604 Market st., Sunday afternoon, June 18th. The meeting will be opened at 2:30 p. m. Com. E. V. Putnam will speak upon "Industrial Freedom." After the lecture a general discussion will be held, in which each speaker will be allowed five minutes. A short business meeting will be held after the program. All members are urged to attend and help make this an enthusiastic meeting. The time is ripe for spreading Socialism in St. Louis and we should not miss the opportunity.

The first meeting of the city central committee under the new constitution, adopted at Aschenbroedel hall last month, will be held June 15th, 8 p. m., in Room 7, International Bank Building, 4th and Chestnut sts. By this constitution, the organizer of each branch is made a delegate to the city central committee. Branches having more than five members are allowed one delegate for each five additional members, no branch to have more than three. Organizers will please take notice of this and attend the meetings of the committee.

## New Hampshire.

Branch 3, Manchester, New Hampshire, voted at the last meeting to suggest to all Social Democrats in New Hampshire that they be invited to attend the state convention at Exeter, June 18. Comrades S. F. Claffin and J. F. McCarthy were elected delegates to the state convention.

## Debs' Lecture Engagements.

Rochester, Pa.,	June 14.
Beaver Falls, Pa.,	15.
Zanesville, O.,	16.
Gas City, Ind.,	17.
Albany, Ind.,	18.
Sheboygan, Wis.,	22.
Green Bay, ,	23.
Oshkosh, ,	24.
St. Paul, Minn.,	25.
Ashland, Wis.,	26.
West Superior, Wis.,	27.
Duluth, Minn.,	28.
Madison, S. D.,	30.
Aberdeen, ,	July 2.
Mayville, Mich.,	8.

## Notice to Branches.

The quarterly dues for the quarter ending September 30 are due at the headquarters, 126 Washington st., Chicago, Ill., on or before July 5. Prompt remittance is of the highest importance to insure the interests of the organization, and the branches are urged to provide for the collection, which should be begun at once.

## Social Democratic Button.

HAVE YOU GOT ONE, OR HAVE YOU SEEN ONE? THEY ARE A BEAUTY. EVERY COMRADE SHOULD WEAR THE NEW SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC BUTTON, FIVE CENTS EACH. DISCOUNT ON DOZEN LOTS, DESIGNED AND FOR SALE BY J. H. Grady, 90 Winthrop St., Brockton, Mass.

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



# Social Democratic Party Platform

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**DEMANDS FOR FARMERS.**  
The Social Democratic Party of

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**REPORT YOUR BRANCH NEWS WEEKLY.**

## Constitution of Local Branches

### NAME AND LOCATION.

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

### MEMBERSHIP.

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

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

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

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

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

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

### DUES AND FEES.

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

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

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

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

### EXECUTIVE BOARD.

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

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

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

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

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

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

### JURISDICTION.

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

### ELECTIONS.

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

### BY-LAWS.

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

### TRIALS.

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

### APPEALS.

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

### AMENDMENTS.

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

### INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

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

### 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.

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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:

a. Local branches limited to 500 members each.

b. 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.

c. 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.

d. 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 decision to be final and in full effect unless otherwise ordered by the Board.

Section 11. At each annual meeting 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 an admission fee of twenty-five (25) cents, dues of twenty-five (25) cents, payable quarterly in advance for each member.

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

### NATIONAL COUNCIL.

Section 14. The National Councils shall meet annually on the first Tuesday in May at such place as the Executive Board may determine, subject to a referendum vote. The Executive Board shall have the right to call over its deliberations.

Section 15. The National Council shall be the legislative body of the organization and shall be empowered to make all general legislation, to determine the policy, and to do all other things required to carry out the general objects of the organization.

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 (15) days from the selection of said officers, and each member shall have a vote thereon, to be sent by the secretary of his local branch to the chairman of the Executive Board, the vote to be announced in the official paper and the polls shall close twenty (20) days after the date calling for the referendum.

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 twenty (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 indorsed by 5 per cent of the members shall be filed with the chairman of the Executive Board, who shall cause the same to be submitted to a referendum vote within ten (10) days; should said chairman fail to do this, then any five branches, by official action at a regular meeting, shall have power to call for said vote and the same, after due hearing of both sides as provided in section 21, shall be taken.

### Constitution of State Unions.

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

### HOW ORGANIZED.

Section 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.

Section 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.

Section 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.

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

Section 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.

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

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

Section 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.

Section 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.

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

### THE STATE UNION.

Section 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.

Section 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.

Section 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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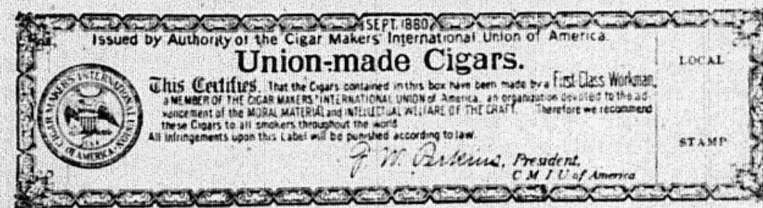
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# WORLD OF LABOR.

## INTERNATIONAL.

VICTORIA, B. C.

Advices from Yokohama state that nearly 7,000 laborers will leave Japan during the current year under contract to work on the Hawaiian plantations. This is the result of the permission given by the United States government for the importation of the Japanese to the new island territory under the contract to assist in the cultivation of seven new and immense plantations, and to offset in a measure the large Chinese population already in the field. An attempt to augment the Chinese force of labor by smuggling in coolies is understood to be contemplated, and trouble may result.

AMSTERDAM, HOLLAND.

The Social Democrats were unable to secure a large hall in The Hague for the proposed peace demonstration. Consequently they held two demonstrations in Amsterdam and in Rotterdam. Comrades Molkenburch of Hamburg, Anseele of Ghent, and Rondani from Italy, and Troelstra of The Hague were the principal speakers who declared that the victory of Socialism and International Social Democracy would bring about universal peace. If the Czar and the Kaiser and the Kings were really in earnest and honestly endeavoring to work for peace they would have to step down from the thrones of oppression and fight side by side with the millions of wage-workers for the abolition of wage-slavery and for the establishment of a Socialist state of society.

HANOVER, GERMANY.

The Board of Trade of this city has published a report on "The Conditions of the Middle Class," in which the statement is made that tens of thousands of smaller business men go bankrupt every year, and that tens of thousands of others sacrifice their last few cents by going into business, naturally meeting the same fate as their unfortunate colleagues. This plainly shows, so the report says, that the smaller business people have a hard road to travel and the retailers expenses are enormous in comparison with the larger business houses.

SANTIAGO DE CUBA.

Three-hundred workmen, employed on the docks, struck to-day for an increase in wages from \$1.25 to \$2 a day. Capt. J. S. Scott called upon the guards to prevent disturbance, and eighty Jamaican laborers were promptly employed to take the place of the strikers. In the course of the day other Jamaicans were engaged. It is not expected that there will be any special trouble.

BERLIN, GERMANY.

It is reported that the government intends to introduce another bill in the Reichstag prohibiting under heavy penalty the publication of secret official documents. This bill is mainly directed against the Vorwarts, the central organ of the Social Democratic party, that repeatedly published secret orders of the Kaiser's ministers, before the latter even had a chance to circulate the documents.

VIENNA, AUSTRIA.

Tens of thousands of Socialist workmen of this city held a demonstration protesting against the government's new reform propositions in municipal elections. About 30 of the comrades were arrested. The Social Democratic papers announce that these demonstrations would be repeated.

LONDON, ENGLAND.

The management of one of the 11. The largest chemical factories has announced that henceforth no workmen need apply for work who is over 40 years of age. Only young men of "cock" will be accepted for introduction of internal.

BRUSSELS, BELGIUM.

DEMANDS FOR F.A.I. 45 against 2 the International Workers' Union of the legal eight. Only the two del-

egates from Northumberland voted against the resolutions.

NAUMBURG, GERMANY.

Pastor Woldorf of this city has been sentenced to 9 months' imprisonment for making the statement that the bible was simply the creation of man and that God had nothing to do with the make-up of this literary work.

## NATIONAL.

PANA, ILL.

The organized wage-workers of America, especially the coal miners, are hereby informed that there is no change in the Pana strike. The fight begun 14 months ago, is still on and we are determined to win. The capitalist papers of the country made a big howling about the alleged settlement of the strike.

This was done for the express purpose of misleading the people throughout the land as to the true state of affairs in our district and to get more miners to Pana to take our places. The bosses wanted to run union mines with scab labor. They wanted to employ 25 union men and all the rest the poor creatures, the imported Southern negroes. We will stand firm and continue the battle, even if it would continue another 14 months. Miners everywhere are urged to stay away from Pana, Ill., until the trouble is settled in an honorable way, honorable and victorious for organized labor.

By the request of the United Mine Workers of Pana, Ill.

JOE WULLNER.

## APPEAL FROM THE WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS.

To the members and friends of organized labor who are battling for the perpetuation of human rights against the tyranny and oppression of combined greed:

A crisis is upon us which appeals to every individual who believes in justice and equality to all human beings.

At Wardner, Idaho, on April 24, the employees of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Mining Company, the property of the Standard Oil Trust demanded the prevailing wages of the district for underground men—\$3.50 per day.

This demand was ignored by the manager, who refused to talk to the committee that waited on him, further than to say that every man who took part in asking for the prevailing wages of the district would be discharged.

For three years previous to the above date this company paid underground employees \$2.50 per day, which was \$1.00 per day less than paid in the district, and refused to employ union labor, and discharged every man who joined the union.

During those three years the company with the assistance of the governor, maintained two militia companies for the purpose of operating its property with non union men, and at a less cost than other mines in the district.

On April 29, the concentrator of this corporation, valued at \$52,000 by the manager of the company before the Board of Equalization—but his newspaper valuation is \$300,000—was destroyed by an explosion.

Three days afterward Governor Steunenberg complied with the request of the Standard Oil Trust, and declared martial law in the county.

Gen. Merriam was dispatched to Wardner in command of 800 colored soldiers, and immediately began to enforce the edict of his master, J. D. Rockefeller, and began to arrest members of organized labor in the county—among them the sheriff and two members of the Board of County Commissioners, and threatened the county attorney with arrest if he attempted to offer a protest against the high-handed outrages of the lackies of the Standard Oil Company appointed by Governor Steunenberg.

Within twenty-four hours after the troops arrived 700 men were arrested and placed in a barn unfit for habitation, and not allowed outside for thirty-six hours.

This outrageous treatment was

and is so severe that four deaths have occurred, and nearly all the prisoners are ill, and many more deaths will occur under such persecution.

The food and sanitary conditions of the stockade are beyond description. No pen can picture them.

The prisoners are not allowed to see their wives and children or consult with counsel. They are not allowed outside the stockade for exercise or permitted to read a friendly paper. They are subject to the insults and slurs of every non-union man and enemy of organized labor who glories in their misery.

Not satisfied with this system of persecution, the union halls were next attacked and broken open, furniture was destroyed, safes and books taken and held by the military authorities for the purpose of securing evidence of a discriminating nature. When the safe of Burke Miners' Union was opened it contained \$1,200, and, notwithstanding the fact that many families needed assistance, the money was held by the military, and the helpless families of the prisoners left to starve and beg.

Thinking this punishment too mild, the democratic governor (?) of Idaho, who never loses an opportunity to rejoice over his election on the Chicago platform, concluded that he must render efficient service for the blood-money of the Standard Oil Company, and issued the accompanying proclamation, which is the most outrageous document that ever was conceived by man. So vile and degrading are its contents that it would bring a blush of shame to the cheek of the Czar of Russia.

It is the determination of Idaho's democratic governor, backed by federal bayonets commanded by General Merriam, to crush organized labor in the Cœur d'Alenes, and thus establish a precedent that will forever benefit the Standard Oil Trust wherever it is operating in the United States.

No union men are signing these disgraceful permits, and not even the worst physical wreck in the stockades would sign it were it to insure him his liberty.

We rejoice at this shining example of true manhood displayed in the face of death, suffering and persecution. While such true, noble men yet live there are bright hopes for the future of organized labor.

The Standard Oil Company have retained the best legal talent in the land to convict every member of organized labor in Shoshone county and destroy the various local unions.

To offset this we must meet them with as good counsel, and insure these noble men an impartial trial.

While they are held prisoners their families must be provided for, and in order to do this it will be necessary for all lovers of justice to aid them morally and financially.

We earnestly appeal to organized labor everywhere to take up a subscription immediately, and raise a fund for the defense of those brave men incarcerated by the Standard Oil Company and the maintenance of their families.

If every member of organized labor will contribute one day's work to this fund, and get their friends to do likewise, we will be able to give these noble men and their families the protection they deserve.

We earnestly hope that every local organization will take immediate action. Delay is dangerous. Those brave men and good women are fighting our battle against greed, arrogance and oppression.

Act hastily and show them that we will not desert them in their fight for organized labor and justice.

Send all money to James Maher, secretary-treasurer of the Western Miners, Box 572, Butte, Montana, or M. J. Geiger, secretary-treasurer Western Labor Union, Box 690, Butte, Montana.

ED. BOYCE,

President W. F. of M.

DANIEL McDONALD,

President W. L. U.

Butte, Montana, June 1, 1899.

[\*Owing to the length of the proclamation it is necessarily omitted; the essential points have already been printed in THE HERALD.—Ed.]

Send in brief report of your Branch work every week, and mail it on Saturday.

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# Social Democratic Herald

Official Paper of the Social Democratic Party of America.

ESTABLISHED, JULY 9, 1898.

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## Appeal to Reason

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