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"IF MEN WERE ONLY GOOD" INDIVIDUAL SALVATION HUMBUG

By Rev. Chas. H. Vall

It is a common error to suppose that if men were only good the evils that afflict society would disappear. This fallacy is due to a failure to trace the evils to their source. Assuming that the social and industrial ills result from the perversity of human nature, they inform us that we need only to make men good and the problem would be solved. "Good men," they say, "would make good conditions." Just what is meant by "good conditions" we are not informed. But judging from observation, the conditions which such men make are only such as minister to the well-being of the dominant class. Their morality is merely conventional—one that meets the requirements of the present system of industry. The demand to put such good men in office is only that the present system of government may be administered in accordance with the ideas of right, etc., which are the reflex of the present economic system. Those making this demand have no idea of altering in any way economic relations or changing the present capitalist method of production. They merely desire a better management of public affairs. This is laudable enough in itself, but to suppose that it is sufficient to remedy the social and economic evils from which we suffer is to evidence gross ignorance of the whole question. Were we to place men in office who are corruption-proof, it would not remedy the situation, for the evils from which we suffer are inherent in the system itself. The mere making men good, whether they occupy a private or public position, will not in itself make such conditions as will remove the cause of poverty and eliminate the evils which afflict humanity. The fact of a man's being good and well disposed does not imply a knowledge of the economic question, and consequently of the means necessary to secure justice and plenty for all.

The cause of social and economic evils today is due to the private ownership of the means of production and distribution. Here is the basis of servitude and exploitation. The private ownership of these means enables some to levy a tax of tribute upon the labor of others. Yet many a man called "good" appropriates the product of others' labor under the title of rent, interest and profit, apparently wholly in ignorance of the fact that he is living thus in idleness at the expense of his fellows. He does not perceive the moral wrong, because moral ideas, right, etc., are the reflex of the prevailing economic system—in other words, the ruling ideas of any age are the ideas of its ruling class, or those ideas are interpreted by

it to suit its class interests. Thus under slavery it was considered right to own human beings as private property, just as today, under capitalism, it is considered right to own the instruments of production as private property.

A man's being good, then, does not insure that he will apprehend injustice and lend himself to its abolition. All men might be good, a la Rockefeller and Wanamaker, but so long as the means of livelihood are privately owned poverty and want will stalk hand in hand through the land.

It is not my purpose here to consider the quality of this good; suffice it to say that really good men can best be produced and kept good in good, healthy conditions. Those who talk about "making good men and good men making better conditions" put the cart before the horse. It is good, healthy conditions that make good men, rather than the reverse; the environment is the chief factor in shaping the man. Men's conduct toward each other is primarily determined by their economic relations. Under the present system of antagonisms, the brotherhood of man is an idle dream. Surround men with an environment where their interests are identical, and the conditions will inevitably produce good men. Those who reverse the process have failed to grasp the fact of the economic basis of progress. The economic structure of society at any given time forms the real basis of society and explains, in the last analysis, the whole superstructure of social relations.

A comprehension of this economic truth reveals the absurdity of those who imagine that all that is necessary to bring in the golden age is merely to make men good. We need to supplement the moral purpose with economic knowledge. We need intelligent men as well as men with good intentions—men with sufficient insight into the economic question to enable them to direct their efforts aright.

Socialists do not disparage any effort to make men better, but they call attention to the fact that individual salvation is no remedy for social ills. When the evil is social, it can only be remedied by social readjustment. Personal goodness may uplift the individual, but there is no assurance that he will remain uplifted, for as soon as he becomes plunged into the corrupt competitive environment he is almost sure to become contaminated. Socialism will produce the only good conditions—conditions that will not only make men good but keep them good.

its own with which to perfect the service, we are inclined to be more charitable, and only wonder that we get such excellent service at such low cost, and with such a small annual deficit. Socialism would take over the railroads and thus it would destroy the corrupter, the briber and the criminal that now stand in the way of a perfect service.

Mr. Ingalls does not state precisely whether he favors competition in preference to co-operation, but if he does, perhaps he would destroy the present postal organization and go back to individual enterprise where every man is to deliver his own mail. That would be absolute individualism. But if he favors co-operation, what more perfect co-operation is possible than for the government to own and operate the railroads along with the other essentials in the postal service, such as the telephone, the telegraph, the manufacture and operation of printing presses, paper mills, etc.?

But to return to the straw man that Mr. Ingalls created and with which he so heroically and victoriously wrestled. The Socialism that he conceives is indeed impossible. No Socialist ever claimed that there is some power in society above and beyond individuals, and that government is an independent political being. Socialists believe in co-operation. In order to get the best co-operation they hold that society must be organized. This organization is at present called government. Government is not or should not be simply a president, a congress, etc., but all the people. Mr. Ingalls believes in co-operation because he believes in the trust, in the railroad, in public schools, in public highways, etc. He does not recognize the trend of evolution from individualism to collectivism, from single effort

to solidarity, from competition to co-operation. The only quarrel we Socialists have with the trust is that we are not in one, and we propose that all shall be stockholders in all the trusts. The only question is, shall all the people cooperate for the benefit of all, or shall we permit only Mr. Rockefeller and a few others to do all the co-operating? Shall we go back to the time of the cliff-dwellers and have a lot of isolated, individual units all working in different directions, or shall we all combine our efforts to get the greatest yield from mother earth with the least possible effort? Shall we encourage a class of idle parasites who consume without producing, or shall we all co-operate in the business of supplying the human family with food, clothes and shelter? Yes, "the race is to the swift, the battle to the strong" now; but should it, need it, be so? Need there be a Man with the Hoe! Need there be Plenty and Poverty working hand in hand? Is there not enough for all, and can we not co-operate so that all will have plenty?

Mr. Ingalls entirely loses sight of the fact that the workingman's former individual tools have been replaced by social machinery. So long as a class owns these instruments of production there must be a class struggle, there must be injustice, inequality, strife and discord. Production now being socially performed, the product must go to the producers, and this cannot be till the instruments are owned by society collectively. Then, and not till then, will the producer get the full product of his toil. Then there will be universal co-operation in the food, clothes and shelter business. There will be competition, yes, but not competition for gold, but competition for applause and approval, which have always been man's greatest incentive and reward. There will be competition, but it will be not competition in getting, but competition in doing.

AMONG THE TOILERS

The twenty-five Italians who were arrested for inciting a riot during the strike at the Cornell dam have been discharged by the court before which they were arraigned. This outcome of the affair has a curious appearance. If the men were guilty, they should be punished. If they did not incite riot, the question naturally will be asked whether they were arrested for the effect upon the other strikers.

There are said to be 6,000,000 working people in the German empire, 800,000 of whom are connected with trades unions. Socialists have fifty-seven representatives in the reichstag, agitating labor interests.

The trade unionists of England have filed a petition containing 85,000 signatures declaring that the South African war is purely capitalistic aggression and is not favored by the working people.

A truant officer at Daleville, Ind., found a number of children 14 years old and under who attended school all day and then worked until 2 o'clock next morning in the glass works.

Full returns from the Typographical union election show the defeat of President Donnelly for re-election. Mr. James Lynch of Syracuse, N. Y., will be the next president.

A new machine in the shoe industry is being developed with which, it is claimed, one operator will do the work of five. The shoe machinery trust owns the new tool.

One judge alone had 400 cases before him on May day in which landlords desired to have their moneyless tenants dumped into the streets of New York.

The street-railway strike and boycott which was carried on in London, Ont., all last summer and fall is again being waged and the people are walking.

The by-election for member of parliament in the district of Nuremberg, Germany, resulted in the triumph of the Socialists by a large majority.

The Socialist party of Spain now has representation in the municipal councils of Manresa, Cordoba, Burgos, Baracaldo, Gallarta and Bilbao.

The Western Labor union has decided to circulate works of English, French and German political economists among its members.

Union people and Socialists of England are holding joint open-air meetings and declaring for the co-operative commonwealth.

It is said that 75,000 men without work are walking the streets of New York, and that is probably a small figure for Chicago.

Edward Boyce has been re-elected president of the Western Federation of Miners by practically a unanimous vote.

Advices from Europe state that labor organizations are in a healthy condition and growing steadily and surely.

Paul Goehre, formerly a leader of the German Nationalist party, has joined the Socialist party.

THE ETHICS OF THE FUTURE A CONJECTURE AND A HOPE

By Peter E. Burrows

The men who today are aware of the hideousness of our commercial anarchy, whose hearts have been touched, whose souls, quickened by the spark of social intellect which comes from God to us, through society, are not rebels, warriors, nor leaders in physical revolts. We are just thinkers, no more and yet enough; passive men whose place in the world it is to yield social thoughts out of this night of chaos, to the future, and the future will grow its own institutions from these seed thoughts of ours. Individuals as passive thinkers may and can help the civilization of the world; but individuals, as doers and willers from their own initiative, have always hindered and can do no other than hinder the progress of the race. Men must learn to think collectively and obey individually. When I commenced to think on these things I hastily concluded that because the environmentalists or practical socialists were for the most part also acknowledged non-religionists, therefore Socialism and religion were in conflict with each other, but I cling nevertheless to both, for I felt too deeply that both were true. Now I know that men like Owen, Marx and Morris were not in revolt against God, but against individualism. Realized or not realized, uttered or not uttered, the output of personalism was the common object of their disgust, their moral and intellectual resistance.

The ethics of the future collective society will be religious by recognizing this new revolutionary truth that all true life lies outside of the ego, both as to the source of its origination and the immediate object of its leading. The social or divine germ can reach the individual cell only through its environments, and knowing this, the future society will bring every individual into touch with the same environments.

The intellectual activity of the world coming will, instead of wasting itself producing the weeds of self-culture or individualism, be devoted entirely to the improving of our old and the creating new and better environments—the good, the better and the best ethics being known and measured only by this rule. That which establishes familiarity and fellowship with people, with more people, with most people, and which is maintained while engaged in the business of the common life, making environments for the citizens, it will be a mechanical age because it shall be a spiritual age, vehemently longing for concrete expression, calling all else vanity. The abolition of all private business out of the world would follow one year's taste of any decent human co-operative order.

The individualist always has been and is now an anarchist, holding but hollow truce with society, and he must be disarmed. But the mental attitude of the new man will be loyal self-denial and true conservative public affirmation. Beside this, how contemptible will soon appear the ethics of individualism? Not all the subtlety of the phrase masters from the Pope to Herbert Spencer will suffice to conceal the sordid rags of selfishness when once this truth is flashed upon humanity. A society it will be of courageous democracy, of freedom of intercourse and an open-door life in which there will be no good society and no bad society, where each will be looking after everybody else's business because the unit will not have any business of his own, a whistling, singing, sawing, hammering, painting, plowing, reaping life; a frank, unpretentious, non-secretive, open-browed life where no one has any false reputation to prop, no pretended virtues to tap and no vices to conceal, a society whose vices and virtues are collective only and will be seen alone in its public works, a society whose unit men and unit women are but mechanics to think the social thought and do the social deed. A society which, bringing its individuals down to red earth, has no more room for shams and hypocrites, it will grow neither saints nor sinners; a society where each is taking root in all, a society believing its individuals to be each morally and intellectually nil, and yet holding the race itself to be the body of God; and the mind of the race to be all that is accessible to us in this aeon of the very God indeed. Such a race will cleanse itself and make its homes and cities as beautiful as ever Solomon desired to make the temple, and the units of such a race will socialize and beautify themselves that some of the race thoughts may come into them. A society all of whose better thoughts will be expressed in social and permanent operations.

Our preparation for such an age must be for a long time to come, I suppose, negative; an interregnum of self-repudiation of repealing, denying, revising,

I know not when we shall as units learn to affirm with that great life, but we can deny for it now.

The individual of this society is not in any sense a moral agent, not even a rational agent in his own affairs, until he becomes converted to public life; that is, a social man; the soul or mind of the race is the one active potential energy in all that pertains to intellect and to virtue; the individual man having no more productive kinship germane to virtue and public reason than does the brow of him who wears a civic chaplet of flowers bear to the flowers which society has for a moment placed upon his brow; it is a benediction from without.

Whoever has made religion a subject of critical observation as a student will recognize the truth that through all ages, among all races, and under all climatic conditions, it carries this one sentiment or experience, viz.: a mistrust of and dissatisfaction with the individual's moral sufficiency. This venerable unfaith in self is the holiest and the most resurrective of human convictions; it is as much a part of mankind as his bones; it is the framework, the foundational perception upon which all ethic achievement must rest.

In the hands of the priests, however, this mistrust became a partial depravity and was misused, as every other good has been misused, to make chains, saints and heroes with. On the other hand, the democracy of ethics will assert of the individual that he is merely nil, having no innate moral perceptions, only as he stands with or is influenced by a crowd of humans; that 'sin, his sin, is nothing but the social inertia of an isolate without sympathetic or moral affinities, an atom that can glow in the social fire, though it cannot burn, but which at last acquires from its environments a social consciousness, turning it from a dead isolate to a social man—an immortal life.

If the individual life be ethically nil whence the run amuck, the moral rough riding of ego through society? Ego is like unto a great stone misshapen and set in motion by social contact; it cannot roll uniformly; it wobbles and pitches over itself egregiously, being harmful only as it is a contiguous thing. He rolls over toes without malice prepense, having no prepense. He is only an incarnation of the inept, and the stupid; the social sight, outline or movement are not yet his; he is only self-conscious. At first not even that. The inertia of him to the many hands that needs must push him aside, developed in time into a push-back; but not against society per se, it is only a general push back against everything; this is the primary self-consciousness of the savage man. Of the genus Roosevelt which in process of time develops into a sense of othering and grouping in family, village, church, city, class consciousness and in the social manhood.

But the atomic life is not a social resistant of itself that were to give it an attribute inconsistent with nil. It is other atomic lives only that provoke the savage ego into the competing resistant; it makes no war upon the social, for it knows its rest is there, it is one note of music on one string, and it becomes conscious of the joy of being when at last it finds its place in a harmony. It is in the strife of competing and overcoming other atomic lives that the anarch individualist is developed. A number of persons present in this place, converging their united attention, interest, sympathy or indignation upon me constitutes on this occasion, here and now the ethic of the race. I use the word ethic in the sense of a moral and intellectual force acting upon me as its subjective; converging upon my life and causing me to think and say and do things that are socially organic and right. This force has no verbal definition; it is the un verbal reality of the human life and cannot but remain un verbalized while the mind and moral of the race is broken by individualism, conflict and anarchy. Religion has been trying to lip it; poetry has sought to throbb it forth in words; music and the arts have followed after it, wrestling for its name till the break of day, but it has been forced to keep silent till the age was made ready for it—today that name is Socialism.

Thoughts are the things of life, or the thing makers if you will and the king makers. The commonwealth of the future will be a commonwealth of true organic thoughts crystallized into social forms of deed and word, just as the civilizations of the past have been composites of bastard inorganic thoughts held together by force and fraud and called society; of such thoughts is com-

(Concluded next week)

REPLY TO INGALLS'S SILLY NONSENSE

WRITTEN FOR THE NEW YORK JOURNAL BY REQUEST BUT NOT PUBLISHED

By Eugene V. Brewster

Before a man is competent to judge of the possibility or the impossibility of Socialism he should first know what Socialism is. This, Mr. John Ingalls does not. He may be able to give a dictionary definition, but his paper "Socialism is Impossible" (Journal, May 6) shows an utter misconception and an astonishing misinformation on the subject. This is why Socialism has not more friends.

Mr. Ingalls begins by erecting a house of glass which he calls "Socialism." With boyish glee he proceeds to demolish it and then with eminent self-satisfaction he proudly shows us the ruins.

Strip the essay of its charming rhetoric and beauty of expression, forget the masterly intellect and fascinating character that penned it, and what is there left but a conglomeration of mis-statements and silly nonsense?

Mr. Ingalls' argument against our Socialistic postoffice is so old that it cannot stand alone. It has been answered so many times so conclusively that it is surprising to see it resurrected—especially by a statesman. He forgets that the errors and evils of the mail service are all traceable to the individualism of the natural monopolies that have not yet been nationalized. So long as we have railroads and the other means of distribution owned by private individuals we cannot hope for much better postal service, but when we consider the educational work being done by the department, the enormous amount of free government literature distributed, the extremely low rates for newspapers, books and magazines; when we consider the fact that privately owned railroads criminally swindle the department of millions every year, and that the government has no railroads of

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JUNE 9, 1900.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Here is an interesting editorial paragraph from the Chicago Press—and it's no lie:

"The twine factory in the Kansas penitentiary is playing havoc with the profits of the binding twine trust. Warden Tomlinson says the farmers of Kansas, in buying twine made by the state, will save 2 cents a pound, or an aggregate of \$200,000 this year. The Sunflower state has discovered and applied the cure for trust extortion. The remedy would work equally well in many other lines of production, and it is not necessary that the operatives in such plants should first commit a crime in order to become available anti-trust crusade."

There is no single industry from making twine to furnishing the house and supplying the table that Socialism could not operate without making criminals as capitalist production does.

Such occurrences as that at St. Louis, in which some of the striking street-railway men are reported to have taken part, are deplorable in the extreme and not to be condoned even by those in closest sympathy with the men. These exhibitions of passion and degradation are most repugnant to Socialists; there should be no attempt to excuse them. And yet neither should it be forgotten that these men, like their fellows in all parts of the world, are engaged in a terrific struggle for an existence. While the capitalist system lasts men who have no opportunity to gain a livelihood, except as a charity dribble from capitalists, will revolt. Resistance to tyranny may be obedience to God, but there are actions that hurt labor's cause. Let them be avoided.

"If," says the St. Louis Republic, "the various Socialistic organizations outside the democratic party and fusion populists could be combined into one party with the support of the more than million union workingmen, it would immediately become a most formidable factor in national politics, controlling some states and with the balance of power in many others. Such a party is not an impossibility, but even a probability, before the campaign of 1904." The party is already here that union men will support. It is the Social Democratic party. Its candidate for president is Eugene V. Debs.

The Buffalo Express, noting that Kansas needs 20,000 men to harvest her wheat crop, says "it is a pity that the unemployed of the great cities cannot be turned into the grain fields of that state," and hopes that "when Socialism rules the land free transportation on the railways will be given to the poor." When Socialism gets that far it will probably make the most effective possible use of all modern machinery in gathering crops, rather than transport human beings like cattle merely to put them to work. Socialism will see that the people get grain, too.

The contract price for meals furnished to prisoners at Chicago police stations, formerly 25 cents a meal, has been cut down to 15 cents, and \$150 a month saved to the city. This economy ought to go a little further. Fifteen cents for a meal! Why, this is public extravagance! Really, there are thousands of "free citizens" walking the streets of Chicago without the price of a 15-cent meal in their clothes.

A Washington dispatch tells us that the bosses of the republican party don't want "to alarm conservative business interests," though it is necessary to do something on the trust issue to offset the Bryan movement. Since the leaders of the Bryan movement, and more particularly Mr. Bryan himself, do not want to alarm conservative business interests, they should get together where they belong and set up one cry for the preservation of the "holy rights of property."

Here comes that name Fairbanks again! Senator Fairbanks is to prepare the republican anti-trust plank. Fairbanks? Where did he come from? Did he formerly live in Illinois?

Socialists adopt certain fixed principles and adhere to them. These principles, put into practice in industry and society, will free the workers from the slavery of capitalist production. Republican and democratic politicians adopt certain political planks, like anti-trust declarations to land suckers on. Adherence to these planks by the workers keep them in subjection to their capitalist masters.

The increase of the Socialist vote in Belgium over six years ago, as shown by the last election, is about 140,000. This "foreign importation" has remarkable vitality at home in some places. But watch and see the greater increase abroad—in the United States. It's just as well to know what it is, for it's coming, sartin!

Great Britain is in possession of the mines, and the cause of the war is thus removed, or passes into other hands. Now, let there be a special season in the English church for returning thanks to Almighty God for the triumph of British arms in the glorious cause of civilization.

So long as the Standard Oil company can sell oil that costs to produce only 2.9 cents a gallon at 18 cents, there should be no difficulty about big dividends, and Mr. Rockefeller will be enabled to continue his contributions to the spread of the gospel which teaches that the poor shall be rewarded "over there."

In the Italian elections last Sunday the Socialists all wore red neckties, and the women, wearing red carnations, handed the voters Socialist pamphlets on entering the polling places. Report says the Socialists elected eleven deputies and made great gains.

A constitutional amendment to deal with trusts proposed just as congress is about to adjourn is only offered for campaign purposes to fool the gullible voters.

It is pleasant to know that Lord Roberts, the successful butcher of South Africa, is in full sympathy with the things taught by the Galilean carpenter.

The administration of Cuban affairs has apparently been on the principle that whoever could get his hand on public money was entitled to keep it.

The Chinese government, which is having much trouble in suppressing the "boxers," should turn the job over to the editor of this paper.

The turn of events in the iron and steel industry seems to lend justification to the views of the late lamented Magnate Gates.

The big cotton slump is a "baleful" warning to the prosperity howlers who have got to have funds to re-elect Bro. McKinley.

Think of it—an anti-trust proposition from the republican party!

If this collapse of big concerns goes on, what will Hanna do for funds?

The Cuban frauds are the logical result of Hannanism.

KEEP TAB ON THE FUSIONISTS AND BOLTERS

Against the will of a majority of their own party, regularly expressed by a referendum vote, five members of the committee appointed at Indianapolis for the purpose of effecting a union of the Socialist forces, which union was effectually prevented by the perfidy of the S. L. P. committee, propose to force their scheme for fusion, not in the interest of Socialism and their national organization, but to promote their individual and local interests. This is what they call loyalty to the Socialist cause. Reject all overtures coming from them. They are a disgrace to Socialism.

While Job Harriman is recalling the incidents of the past three or four months in public talk, he should not omit to tell the people what was the procuring cause of the "unity issue" and fiasco, viz., his own individual failure to do the thing at New York that he promised at Indianapolis he would do. He may talk as much as he pleases, but no amount of talk can obscure the fact that he agreed to do a certain thing he did not do. Harriman is responsible for the fiasco. His subsequent prattle about "spirits" cannot cover the hideousness of his own guilt.

Bear the fact in mind that half a dozen Social Democrats who are now co-operating with a committee of the S. L. P. to capture or destroy the Social Democratic party are doing so in open and flagrant defiance of the will of the majority expressed in a referendum vote. They have repudiated the majority judgment of their own party. Their names are J. F. Carey, J. C. Chase, G. A. Hoehn, W. Butcher and W. P. Lonergan.

It is not true that the S. D. P. in New York and other states mentioned is working with the fusionists. It is true that a few individuals who propose to ignore and repudiate a majority vote of their party are working together with the S. L. P. promise-breakers and diplomats to destroy, if possible, an organization which they have failed to deliver. New York branches all stand pat.

"Before the tribunal of honest and unprejudiced opinion he made his plea," says the Haverhill Social Democrat in a report of a meeting held in New York at which Harriman spoke. The plea was against the charge of having "broken his pledge," and the applause, the report intimates, left no doubt that the verdict was that Harriman didn't do it. All this in the Haverhill Social Democrat, whose editor knows that the pledge was made and broken!

The "spirit" of the S. L. P. is permeating the eastern segment of the S. D. P. in fine style, as witness the following from a speech by Leonard D. Abbott in New York: "The hands of the Debs-Berger faction are red with the most dastardly crime ever committed against the cause." Just think of a union with that "spirit"! Gee! What a time we would have!

No report made up by the eastern fusionists has been or will be submitted to the membership of the S. D. P. The majority of the party will stand upon the decision rendered by the vote already taken. Fusionists and bolters, having failed in their designs, will follow their own inclinations, but Social Democrats will adhere to their own organization.

Indications point to an early exodus of Socialists from the played-out S. L. P. who are satisfied with the "spirit" and methods of the Social Democratic party. We give you this hint while the fusionists are counting chickens before they are hatched.

The Haverhill Social Democrat does not speak for the Social Democrats of Massachusetts. It speaks for some and for some only.

JACK POTTS' OBSERVATIONS

Three out of six men whom I induced some weeks ago to subscribe to a Socialist paper are now unalterably determined to vote for Eugene Debs next fall. There are probably hundreds of propagandists who are doing as well as I am. I guess the Socialist vote will make a pretty respectable showing!

This week I saw one of my insurance friends. I asked him how he liked our "prosperity" and he replied: "Another dose will kill us."

A man said the other day: "I am mighty glad I have got done voting the old party tickets. I feel as though I had got a great load off my mind."

A sensible man remarked recently: "There are many people these days who talk much of 'brotherhood,' but too many of them stop at talk; they don't VOTE it. Now it seems to me that as each man has a vote it would be more practical if every man who talks thus would vote with the Socialists. That is the least he can do. I think that all these men who talk 'brotherhood' and don't vote for it are, to use a slang phrase, simply making 'hot-air' conduits of themselves." There is much truth in what he says. The man who votes as well as talks for the brotherhood of man is terribly in earnest! A big, robust Socialist vote will beat metaphysics in some quarters. The "practical politicians" have their ears to the ground and they can hear the steadily growing rumble of the Socialist movement. They are scared, boys. Roll up the vote! Don't let any small frictions interfere with you. Whenever any of the old mossbacks ask you to vote for their candidates tell them that their proposition interests you only as a study in degeneracy.

We have got 'em on the run right now! Inside of eight years the industrial goblin will get them all, whether or not they "watch out."

JACK POTTS.

A Churchman on Socialism

Individualism regards humanity as made up of disconnected or warring atoms. Socialism regards it as an organic whole. The aim of Socialism is the fulfillment of service; the aim of individualism is the attainment of some personal advantage—riches, place or fame. Socialism seeks such an organization of life as shall secure for every one the most complete development of his powers; individualism seeks primarily the satisfaction of the particular wants of each one in the hope that the pursuit of private interests will, in the end, secure public welfare.—Dr. Westcott, Bishop of Durham.

At the convention of the Western Federation of Miners at Denver resolutions denouncing President McKinley and Governor Steunenberg of Idaho were adopted.

THE FISH IN THE WELL

A boy once caught a fish and put it into his father's well. There it lived for years, and because the well was small, it swam around and around, all day and day after day, in little narrow circles. After many years the boy drew the fish out of the well and carried it to the great lake near his father's dwelling. There he threw it in, and watched, expecting to see it swim merrily away, in the full enjoyment of its new-found liberty.

Now this was an immense lake that stretched far, far away, till its waters melted into the very margin of the skies. The big, blue waves flowed on and on, and seemed to be running races to the horizon, and even far beyond it. Before the little fish were space, freedom and infinitude. But it had spent so many years in the little well that it had lost its power of moving about freely in the great world of waters; so even in the boundless lake it swam around and around in tiny circles, just exactly the size of the narrow well in which it had lived its little life.

A Socialist party was once constrained by the force of circumstances to move in an exceedingly narrow sphere. The time was not ripe for its principles to be adopted by the people, and therefore for many years all its activities were cramped and its energies confined to one limited course of action. In this narrow circle its tactics grew narrow, its spirit grew narrow, even its language was narrowed down to a set of stock phrases. And this could not be otherwise under the circumstances which then prevailed.

But after many years there came a mighty change. Men began to wake, and waking they saw before them the great vision of the co-operative commonwealth. But this fresh strength, this new-born power, was not to be tied to a set of phrases or forced into one narrow groove of action. Here were men and women of all classes, of all creeds, of all cultures, from the East and the West, differing in everything else, but united together by one purpose of laying the foundations of Socialistic order. Here was the opportunity for a broad Socialist movement, founded on the love of Humanity, and the faith of common brotherhood, a movement which should be firm and elastic, and in which there should be room for all. Such an opportunity had never come before.

But alas! the Socialist party that had lived so many years in its own small round of thought and action, had now lost all power and desire for larger things. It persisted in moving around and around as of old in its own little narrow circle; in that circle it is moving still, and in that circle it will continue to move, even to the very last moment and the final hour of its existence.

E. H. T.

Socialism in the Colleges

An intercollegiate Socialistic movement was launched at Boston May 30 by the meeting called in Foresters' hall of Socialistic students from many American colleges and universities. The purpose is to perfect an organization and formulate plans to spread the Socialistic doctrine next fall when the colleges reopen. In a circular issued by the promoters "the barbarous nationalism in France" and "the spread of imperialism in England and the United States" are violently assailed and "the dangers of militarism everywhere" are forcefully alluded to.

Invitations to attend the convention were sent to all the colleges by Henry B. Slade, Brown, '95, of Providence, R. I. The institutions represented include Harvard, Boston college, Tufts Medical school (represented by a woman), the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Wellesley, Amherst, Columbia of New York and the University of Chicago.

Muncie is Indignant

Muncie, Ind., where Mr. Neely is well known (we believe he runs a newspaper there) is scandalized. Throughout the rest of the country the Cuban postal frauds have awakened emotions ranging between deep disgust and mild indignation; but in Muncie the excitement is at fever heat. Little knots of men gather on the streets corners and denounce in bitter and unmeasured phrases—what? Neely's dishonesty? Not a bit of it. Here is the cause of Muncie's indignation, as set forth in a Muncie dispatch to an Indianapolis paper:

"The feeling against Corydon Rich, who, it is said, confessed to the defalcations in the Cuban postal service, is very strong here, and he is roundly condemned for peaching. He is under obligations to Neely for his appointment, and his confession is pronounced by his political friends the basest ingratitude."

Muncie contains the printing establishment suspected of turning out bogus postage stamps for Cuban consumption. Rich's treachery has given business in the town a setback. Hence the indignation.

Nice, moral place, Muncie. It really ought to be a suburb of Philadelphia. Indiana is a shade too respectable.—Chicago Journal.

Subscribe for the Herald.

NOT A REFORM BUT A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Eugene V. Debs in New York Journal

Eugene V. Debs in New York Journal. The Social Democratic Party is not a reform party, but a revolutionary party. It does not propose to modify the competitive system, but abolish it. An examination of its platform shows that it stands unequivocally for the collective ownership and control of all the means of wealth production and distribution—in a word, Socialism.

The modern tendency is toward centralization and co-operation. This has given us the trust, and there has been a great hue and cry about this latest phase of the economic development. The Republican and Democratic parties, yielding to the popular outcry, will declare in favor of destroying or restraining the trust, but just how puerile and dishonest such declarations are every member of the Social Democratic Party knows too well to be deceived into voting for either of said parties. As a matter of fact the trust is the inevitable outgrowth of the competitive system, and to declare against the private ownership of the trust is to declare against the system itself. That neither the large capitalists, who own the trusts, nor the small capitalists, who are opposed to them because they do not own them, favor the overthrow of the capitalist system of production and distribution is a foregone conclusion. The Republican party represents the former class and the Democratic party the latter class. Both stand for essentially the same system of exploitation, and the Socialist wage worker realizes that it makes precious little difference to him and his class whether they are exploited by a few great capitalists or an innumerable brood of small ones. They propose to put an end to exploitation entirely by abolishing the system and transferring the means of production from private hands to the collectivity and having them operated in the interest of all alike. To carry out this programme the first step necessary is political organization, and this step has been taken by the Social Democratic Party.

The Social Democratic Party is necessarily an international party. It is as wide as the domain of capitalism. It is everywhere and always the same. It takes no backward step. The reins of government is its goal. It refuses to be flattered, bribed, stamped or otherwise deflected from the straight course mapped out for it by Marx and Engels, its founders, and pursued with unflinching fidelity by their millions of followers. Before its conquering march every throne in Europe is beginning to tremble. The last one of them will fall to the earth while the century is still in its swaddling clothes.

Among the last countries to organize, for reasons so generally understood that they need not be discussed here, is the United States, but the conditions which develop Socialism have come upon us so rapidly during the past few years that it now seems certain that the American movement will soon become the most formidable of them all, and that here, where political democracy was first achieved, industrial democracy will gain its first triumph.

The Social Democratic Party has no interest in any of the so-called issues over which capitalist politicians fight sham battles. They care nothing about the currency question, the tariff or imperialism. They stand first, last and always for the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution, and they will press forward unceasingly until they secure them, thereby liberating the race and solving the problem of the centuries.

The Freedom of Democracy

The violent unrest called labor trouble, is the striving for liberty on the part of the working class which asserts itself in a demand for higher wages, which the workers imagine the employers can give them. The inefficiency of individuals to solve the problem has been demonstrated and it still remains unsolved. Want and the dread of want should be removed. Inequality bores. That is why we have classes. We are getting more and more equality and therefore more good society. When we speak of equality to some women they imagine we mean to take their pretty clothes away and put them in the kitchen. They are afraid of a dead level. In a democracy no man is free without the means of livelihood. The rich are freer than the poor.—From a speech of William Dean Howells, printer and novelist, before New York Printers' Club.

The article in this number of the Herald by Comrade Peter E. Burrowes, entitled "The Ethics of the Future," is the first chapter of a book contemplated by the writer. The reader will find this article of special interest. It was at a recent meeting of the Brooklyn Co-operative Club.

The Union Label

on everything you buy is a guarantee that the producers thereof receive a fair rate of wages for its production

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NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FUND

Table listing names and amounts for the National Campaign Fund, including Vanderbill, Lewis, Malac, etc.

\$786.15

NOTICE TO SECRETARIES

The attention of Branch Secretaries is called to the revised constitution in this week's paper. It is submitted for a referendum vote.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

"Z," Chicago, sends 50 cents to the propaganda fund.

Do all in your power between now and July Fourth to make the annual picnic a great success.

Calls for organizers are coming in from many localities. The Herald would like to hear from comrades ready to take the field.

All Milwaukee comrades are invited to the basket picnic by Branches Nos. 2 and 23, Sunday, June 10, along the river between Washington bridge and the dam.

Comrade H. Derkin of New London, Conn., reports the organization of a new branch which he says will become the largest in the state.

Two new branches have been organized in Massachusetts by Comrade McCartney, one in Natick and one in Ware. The open-air meetings are now beginning in various places.

Alzina Parsons Stevens

It is with profound regret and sorrow that we learn of the death of Mrs. Alzina Parsons Stevens, a woman beloved by all Social Democrats who had the privilege of knowing her and an earnest sympathizer and supporter of every movement designed to benefit the working class.

Call For Convention

All members of the S. D. P. of the Twelfth congressional district of Massachusetts are notified to meet in mass convention at Brockton, Socialist hall, 86 Main street, on Sunday, July 1, 1900, at 2:30 p. m., to nominate a candidate for congress and transact such other business as may come before the convention.

Iowa Socialists

All reformers living in Iowa who are interested in the Social Democracy are requested to communicate with the undersigned. By unanimous vote of the S. D. P. branches of the state I have been made the party organizer for the state. I desire the name of every Socialist in Iowa.

Second Annual Picnic

The comrades of Chicago will hold the Second Annual Picnic of the Social Democratic party of Cook county on the Fourth of July, at Bergmann's grove, Desplaines avenue and Twenty-sixth street. The place will be reached by the Metropolitan Elevated and Suburban Electric.

Arizona Socialists

In every community should correspond with M. J. Casper, Box 178, Globe, Tucson, Ariz. We have plans for keeping organizers in the field to organize branches in every town in Arizona before November; 500 Socialists pledging 25 cents per month each will do it. Don't miss it—write at once.

Municipality of London is going into the telephone business.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PICNIC

Last Sunday, June 3, is a day that will be recalled with pleasure by the crowd that attended the second annual picnic of the Bohemian branches of the Social Democratic party in Chicago. A beautiful place had been selected at Riverside for the gathering, and at an early morning hour Social Democrats began to assemble. The day was none too warm, and a healthful and invigorating breeze played all day through the grove, bringing the ruddy glow of health to every cheek.

One of the incidents of the day not on the programme and unknown to the great crowd that succeeded in finding the picnic ground, was that many comrades rode for hours over the surface lines connected with the elevated line, in a fruitless search for the location. Among these were Comrades Theodore Debs, Seymour Stedman and Azel Pierson, the latter of Jacksonville, Ill., and candidate of the Social Democratic party for lieutenant-governor.

NEW BRANCHES

Oakland, Iowa. Saginaw, Mich. St. John, Wash. New branches are in process of formation in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Ohio, Wisconsin, Iowa and other states in the west.

New York Stands Pat

At a joint meeting of all the comrades in Greater New York City the following resolutions were adopted by a vote of 57 for to 5 against:

"Whereas: A recent attempt was made to disrupt our party and derange our party's organization; and

"Whereas: This attempt, made under the guise of negotiations for unity, culminated in a meeting on Sunday, May 20th, at which some of our esteemed comrades were grossly insulted and Comrades Haile, Berger, Debs and Stedman withdrew; and

"Whereas: All peaceful overtures tending to political unity were contemptuously rejected by the Volkszeitung faction of the S. L. P.; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we extend our fullest indorsement to the action taken on Sunday, May 20th, at the alleged unity conference by Comrades Haile, Debs, Berger and Stedman, and further pledge our heartiest support to our present national executive in its attitude towards those members of the Volkszeitung faction of the S. L. P. who have recently approached our party with words of unity in their mouths but purposes of discord and dissension in their hearts; and be it further

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to our party papers, the S. D. Herald, the Appeal to Reason, the Forward, etc."

Joseph William, Sec. Pro. Tem. James Allman, Chairman.

At a meeting of Branch 10, with Comrade Fliashnick in the chair, the following resolution was adopted unanimously:

"Resolved, That we indorse and give our fullest support to the National Executive in all its actions, including the publication of the manifesto, and their subsequent stand towards a reopening of the alleged unity conference on May 20."

Joseph William, Organizer.

In the mines around Nevada City, Cal., Japanese are being introduced, who are paid \$1 per day, boarding themselves.

Southern California, Attention

All Socialists in the seven southern counties of Southern California should now get to work and so far as possible form branches in every voting precinct. To further this end communicate at once with James T. VanRensselaer, 1618 Terman street, Los Angeles, Cal.

THE ASSASSIN FUSION

Comrade Editor—In the Herald of May 26th appears three communications from former brother Populists, now comrade Socialists, in which the genuine gospel of truth is set forth in such terms that I cannot see how anything more can be added thereto. I hope they will be copied by every friendly paper in the country.

I have sent in my vote in favor of the adoption of the constitution, not deeming my objection to Section 26 sufficient to negative the instrument as a whole. Let me quote three sentences from the letter of Comrade Ricker, referred to above:

"The Greenback party died from fusion wounds, and brought in its stead the Union Labor Party. Fusion again accomplished its deadly work and the People's Party was born. Again was struck the deadly fusion blow and this time it is Socialism which has risen in the place of the People's party."

Will the time come when Comrade Ricker can say of the Social Democratic Party that "fusion (has) again accomplished its deadly work?" Comrade Editor, we all know the insincerity of political platforms that are framed by unscrupulous politicians. Imagine the Republican party, under plutocratic rule as it is, adopting the S. D. P. platform bodily and then asking us to "fuse!" There is no power by which we can hold our members to any line of action by any written decree. Nothing but a conscientious devotion to the principles that are the foundation upon which the decree rests, can be relied upon. Firmly believing this, I do not question the intention of those who drafted Section 26, but I do question its adequacy in the matter of setting forth the policy of the Social Democratic Party. I can not view it otherwise than as leaving the door insufficiently guarded against the Assassin Fusion! As a private in the ranks of the People's Party, I fought in my humble way against the corrupt practices of the old parties. I wanted to see the party banner held up as the untarnished emblem of principle. I contended for that until every star was obscured by the black cloud of policy for the sake of office, and every stripe tarnished by corruption. I left the party, and am not one of the mourners over its unhonored grave.

I voted for the adoption of the constitution with the view at the time of calling attention to Section 26, believing that a discussion of the question will be of great value, educationally, whether it results in a change of the language of the section or not. I firmly believe that our branch might today have ten times its present membership if we could convince those who are in accord with our principles that they would not again be betrayed and sold for a mess of pottage for some conscienceless schemer to eat.

I. Hiatt, Oregon. Sec. Branch No. 3.

The Hod-Carrier's Pay

"Thirty cents an hour for hod-carrying! Why, that's \$3 for a ten-hour day!"

The portly and prosperous business man who made that comment on one detail of the labor-strike was indignant. That is the sort of thinking and talking which come from failure to make use of the brain. I pictured to myself this plump citizen climbing up a ladder with a hundred pounds of bricks on his shoulder, and doing it over and over again for an hour. What would he do to the man who at the end of the hour should offer him 30 cents as a more than just reward for the awful drudgery? Hit him with the hod, likely.

"Put yourself in his place" is a maxim that has an idle time of it. Good fortune is selfish, and death to the imagination, from the exercise of which sympathy springs—not pity, understand, but the sympathy that realizes the plight of the other man.

You have heard about "highly paid American labor" until you believe it, and comfortably take it for granted that the American workman is a pampered person. But is he? As a matter of cold fact how would you like to be in his place? Relatively to the workers of other countries he is well off; but leaving that aside, how would you, my well-fed, well-housed, well-dressed and socially well-stationed friend, enjoy doing what he has to do for the wages he gets? How would you like to live in his house and wear his clothes?

He is not essentially different from yourself. He loves his wife and children just as you do, and has the same ambition to get ahead that you have. And there is not so tremendous a chasm between your intellect and his as you modestly suppose. In nine cases out of ten the workingman is a workingman because his father was. If yours had been one, the chances are ninety-nine in a hundred that you would now be out on strike with the rest of the boys.—The North American.

Michigan Socialists

All Social Democrats and all unattached Socialists residing in Michigan are requested to write at once to Henry Ramsey, 84 Railroad street, Battle Creek, Mich., and thus aid in placing a Social Democratic state ticket in the field this fall.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Educational meetings (for members), every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc.

Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Membership, with advantage of Educational Course and Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1254 Spring St. J. Franc, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Alameda, California, holds free public meetings every 2d and 4th Sunday, 8 p. m. at Foresters Hall, cor Park St. and Santa Clara Ave. Business and Educational meetings (for members) 1st and 3rd Mondays, 8 p. m. at 2408 Encinal Ave. Allan A. Crockett, Secretary, 1610 Walnut St.

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 8:00 p. m. at 1715 California Ave. Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1629 17th Street.

Branch No. 3, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m. at City Hall. Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville. L. Schial, Secretary.

Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Tuesday evening, at 196 State St. at 8 p. m. Cornelius Mahoney, Secretary, 165 Frank St.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall, meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwerfer, Box 760.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 52 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 264 Westworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 2 p. m. at Nagl's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. Vaclav Jelinek, Secretary, 606 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1089 W. 18th place. Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Andr. Muzik's, 40 String St. Paul Chlapecka, Secretary, 304 Rubie St.

Branch No. 7, Chicago, meets every first Saturday each month at 8 o'clock at Nagl's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave, near 18th St. Albin Geisler, Secretary, 726 W. 20th St.

Branch No. 8 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 2 p. m. at 5602 Lincoln Street. J. A. Ambroz, Secretary, 4940 Wood Street.

Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 1148 W. 63rd st., first and third Sundays at 8 p. m. Roswell H. Johnson, Secretary, 652 E. 57th St.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday of each month at 8 p. m. at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

Branch No. 2, Hiteam, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. S. B. Jamieson, chirmra James Fisher, organist. Schollacut, secretary.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hiteam, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. S. B. Jamieson, chirmra James Fisher, organist. Schollacut, secretary.

Branch No. 2, Covington, meets first and third Wednesday evenings and second and fourth Sunday afternoons of each month. All agitation meetings except third meeting in month. Good speakers. Secretary, F. C. Stumpf, 201 5th street.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 660 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wenzel's Hotel, 328 W. Camden st. Good speeches. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Barre st.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Haile, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springdale Turner Hall. Organizer, 557 Sumner St.

Branch No. 5, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Gotlimer, Sec., 42 Essex St.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Bosworth, Secretary, 81 Prospect st.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 39 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 29 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month, at Lester's Hall, 87 Pleasant St. T. H. Chisnell, Secretary, 16 Collins St. A. L. Binley, 288 Merrimac St. Secretary, 24 Warren st., 2d and 4th Fridays of every month. Public invited

To Our Washington Readers

Comrade D. Burgess of New Whatcom, Wash., has been selected as organizer for the state and is prepared to assist the Socialists of Washington in organizing branches of the S. D. P. Correspondence addressed to him will receive prompt attention.

North Dakota Socialists

Socialists residing in North Dakota and desiring to organize for effective propaganda work in that state are requested to correspond with Math. Eidsness, Towner, N. D.

California Socialists

Socialists resident in California and not members of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with John Carter, 929 Twenty-second street, San Francisco.

Attention, Nebraska

Persons living in Nebraska and accepting the principles of Socialism are requested to communicate with T. A. Edwards, 3220 California street, Omaha, with a view to the organization of branches of the Social Democratic party.

To Texas Socialists

For purpose of State organization, the Bonham Social Democratic Branch requests that every Socialist in Texas who reads this notice, will please send name and address to the undersigned. Please attend to this at once. W. E. Farmer, Bonham, Texas. All Socialist papers please publish.

SOCIALISM is the coming issue in politics. Each one of us has a part to play in it, but in either case you need to understand it, and so you need to read THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co. By special arrangement with the publishers we offer THE REVIEW and THE HERALD one year for only \$1.00. The first number of THE REVIEW appears July 1, 1900. Address this Office.

Branch No. 21, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 3 p. m. at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 22 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1300 Union Ave. G. J. Storz, Secretary, 1230 W. 9th St.

Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 57 Livingston st.

Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 3d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1206 Kaigh's Avenue.

Branch No. 3, (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans Hartwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Helvetia Hall, 54-56 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 246 Edmund St.

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street, Winsor Hall. James Allman, Secretary, 22 Suffolk st. care of "Forward."

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 119 Clinton St. A. Gayer, Secretary, 123 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 3, 24th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 1059 Second Av., at the "Central." Henry Lang, Secretary, 324 E. 60th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 189 W. 99th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m. at 55 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Pressman, 190 Boerum St.

Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 209 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited.

Branch No. 12, Brooklyn, headquarters, 251 Rutledge St. Meets every third Thursday at 8:15 sharp. All persons interested are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate in organizing local branches in every district in the city. W. Gutscher, Secretary, 251 Rutledge St.

Branch No. 20, regular meetings are held first and third Friday of the month, at Webster Hall, 140th St. and Third Ave., Borough of the Bronx. E. Spranger, Secretary, 217 E. 14th St. persons interested in Socialism and the S. D. P. are invited to attend.

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

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelieu Hall, southeast corner 9th and Erie streets, every second p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Jos. Jasin, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

Branch No. 5, Dayton, Ohio, meets every 2d and 4th Friday evening, in Hall 27, Central Trusts Council Block. Everyone interested in Socialism invited. J. C. Schawe, Chairman, W. Harringer, Secretary, P. O. Box 224.

Branch No. 8, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, 1213 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 1804 Frintz St.

Branch No. 11, German, Columbus. Ed Greiner, Secretary, 886 Mohawk St.

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at K. of L. Hall, 716 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stein, Secretary, J. E. Perry, 119 Sansaffrass St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburg, meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m. at Funk Hall, S. 9th and Josephine Sts. W. Bohm, President, 244 Addison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 2218 Jane St.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish), Philadelphia, meets every Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Tacoma. Meets every Monday evening at 8 p. m., 413 11th Street.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Kraus' Hall, 21 and Center St., at 8 p. m. Secretary, Rudolph Loeschman, 1129 23rd St.

Branch No. 23, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month, at 324 Clark street. Henry Harbicht, Sec., 1074 7th Street.

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Branch No

SOCIALISM IS INEVITABLE

Lucien Sanaia in N. Y. Journal

Socialism is not a theory. It is a living force, evolved by the class struggle from the development of economic conditions and irresistibly increasing with that development.

Philosophers may philosophize, poets may poetize, theologians may anathematize, but for the very reason that capitalists capitalize, socialism will socialize.

Nor must "human nature" undergo a change before "human society" can pass from the present economic system to the next in the order of evolution. To be sure, no such change was required in Europe to bring about the fall of feudalism and the advent of capitalism; nor in this country to pass from colonial vassalage to national independence and from Jeffersonian middle-class democracy to imperialistic McKinleyism.

Who in the light of history does not see today that it is the characteristic property of human nature to constantly modify its surroundings, while adapting itself physically, intellectually, morally and politically to its new conditions of social existence? And who, in the light of every day happenings, does not see also that, according to the economic environment, not human nature but its possible manifestations assume forms and aspects widely different?

Nor are the philosophers, the poets and other "intellectuals" seriously threatened by socialism with the loss of their "individuality," if they have any. True, the thing thus named may then be so defined and understood that it will no longer be possible for logomachists to connect it genetically with "individualism."

Of course Socialism will put an end to that kind of individuality which consists in monopolizing the means of production. By this very act, purely economic in its character, but pregnant with ethical consequences of the highest import, it will immensely broaden the field of all true kinds of individuality.

Such ethical results are already flowing from the mere progress of Socialist sentiment, and this phenomenon of powerful individualities brought forth and strengthened by modern Socialism may be observed all over Europe.

To refuse to see the inevitable or to fight it away when it is seen coming is not the act of sensible men. Socialism, I say, is inevitable and it is coming. Every step that the capitalists are of necessity driven to take is of necessity also hastening its advent.

The law of capitalistic development is to-day as well known as the law of gravitation. Step by step competition leads to concentration. With the progress of invention, with the gradual transformation of the simple tool into machines more and more powerful and costly, the independent artisan is first supplanted by the small firm; the small firm is then superseded by the corporation, and the corporation by the trust.

Evidence is not wanting that by the same law the trusts of each industry must some day be absorbed by a trust of trusts, or king trust. And as government, at any given time and in any forcible maintenance and full development of the economic system prevailing at that time and in that country, King Trust will say, like the Grand Monarch: "L'etat c'est moi." (I am the state.)

Let us suppose—as we may safely do—that this last stage is reached. A condition of affairs is established that might be termed "capitalistic Socialism" (productive of the highest possible despotism), in opposition to genuine Socialism (productive of the highest possible freedom).

The whole engine of production and distribution is jointly owned by capitalists in proportion to the amount of unpaid labor crystallized into wealth which they have respectively been able to appropriate during the previous period of "capitalistic anarchy."

All conflict between them is at an end. The middle class, from which the plutocracy emerged, has been annihilated by its own offspring. On one side stands the capitalist class, mighty in wealth, small in numbers; on the other side the great wage-earning class, mighty in numbers, economically impotent.

Not the manual worker alone, but the "man of brain"—from the technical director to the inventor—is a stipendiary, whose value as a value-producing labor power is arbitrarily determined by King Trust, and whose only stimulus to activity is the whip of want.

and the corruption of government. His "saving," his "industry" his "wages of superintendence," when they are still trotted out by his Manchesterian mouthpieces, are looked upon by sensible persons as metaphorical travesties, all the superintendence, all the exertion and all the saving being done by other men. And while it remains true, or becomes every day truer, that under our present economic arrangements no one can work and save for a capitalist without his permission, it becomes also every day plainer that the capitalist has no more part in the creation of capital than the potato bug in the raising of a crop of potatoes.

In a word, some of the people have ceased standing on their heads and seeing things inverted. And from that moment the class struggle gradually takes another course. The demand of the laboring class is less and less for an increase of wages, which it cannot get, or against a reduction, which it cannot prevent, but more and more for all its rights as wealth producer. The ground of battle is shifted from the economic field, where that class is impotent, to the political field, where it can be sovereign.

The issue, there, is direct between capitalism and Socialism—"Shall the trusts own the people, or shall the people, in their corporate capacity, own the means of production?" And upon this single plain issue, identical throughout the civilized world, Socialism is marching with giant's strides to the conquest of the public powers. Who can stop it? In Germany it ran over Bismarck whose iron hand for twelve years tried to choke it. In France, since 1893, it broke down a president and three cabinets. In Belgium it is already backed by a majority of the voters, and will soon have a majority of the votes, notwithstanding the "plural suffrage" feature of the constitution, which gives two, three, and even four votes to men of property.

In Austria, as in Belgium, it gained the franchise for the workingmen. In America, where its activity is of most recent date, the rate of its progress is even more rapid than in any other country. Since 1892, when it first entered the national field, its vote has more than quadrupled.

Viewed as an international factor Socialism is the only force today that preserves the peace of Europe, and it may soon be the only force capable of preventing a stupendous war between the British and the American "empires" for the absolute control of the markets of the world.

Aye, Socialism is coming, and no one needs to fear it who, understanding it, truly longs for peace and freedom.

A CRITIQUE OF THE DOMINANT THEORIES OF MORALITY (Conclusion)

question. If, as a matter of fact, pity and the satisfaction of doing good really constitute the mainspring of human acts, then the social schism that is characteristic of the capitalistic economy would carry with it no sinister results. Nor would it involve usurpation, since the privileged classes, if inspired with such altruistic sentiments, would naturally endeavor to eliminate all chance of injury to the poorer classes resulting from their inferior conditions, and themselves abstain from the commission of all violent and illegitimate acts. It is scarcely necessary to add that nothing of the sort has taken place, but that, on the contrary, in the relations between capitalists and laborers free rein is given to exploitation and the most unprincipled spoliation. We are therefore forced to recognize that altruistic sentiments play no part in the more normal and really important relations among men; but that on the contrary absolute egoism there reigns supreme. If pity really affects human actions, its influence must therefore only be subsidiary, and exerting with a view toward mitigating and making partial amends for the wrongs done by the egoistic acts of man.

According to this view, egoism would supply the motive for the habitual and more important acts of life, and thus constitute the mainspring of morality, while altruism would merely form the motive of a secondary ethical code serving to blunt the too sharp and painful edges of egoistic morals. Men would act, in short—to follow a comparison made by Lange—like the English dealers in Indian idols, who in their capacity of merchants favor Buddhism, but as Christians give alms to Protestant churches and encourage their missionary work. That is to say, the individual in his capitalistic capacity might practice the most shameless extortion against his fellows, while as a compassionate being he loaded his own victims with kindness. But the co-existence of two such contradictory systems of morality must appear, upon a moment's reflection, to be the acme of absurdity. What importance are we to attach to sympathy of this kind, and how can we possibly regard it as an autonomous moral factor or take it as a guide to conduct when it does not succeed in directing us in the more serious and important affairs of life, but leaves us still under the sway of our egoism? But the moment we recognize the fact, and there is, indeed, no help for it—that pity is after all but a subsidiary moral factor acting within the limited sphere allowed it by our

dominant egoism—the way is already opened to a more synthetic, harmonious and truer conception, according to which egoism determines not merely the essential but also the subsidiary moral code, and is only masked behind the altruistic sentiments which appear to dominate the latter. Sympathy is but the outward and visible mantle, while the unseen hand operating under this cloak is none other than egoism itself. It is the voice of egoism that advises the dominant class to relieve the sufferings it has caused, in order to avoid the danger of possible retaliation. To be sure, egoism of this character is far too remote to be directly appreciated by the beings it inspires. Their conscience merely perceives a mirage which causes their acts to appear like spontaneous outbursts of pity and love—for certainly no one would think of saying that he who succors the poor and unfortunate does so with the premeditated intention of avoiding possible reactions on the part of the downtrodden classes. But it is none the less true that the alleviation of misfortune is in the interest of the very classes that have unconsciously caused it, and it is this very interest that constitutes the unrecognized impulse of their benevolent acts.

All unattached Socialists in the state of Connecticut are requested to write Louis Schlaf, 26 Spring street, Rockville, for information concerning the organization of branches.

VOTE ON THE CONSTITUTION

The following constitution is submitted to the membership for a referendum vote. It was adopted at the Indianapolis convention to be referred to the members for approval or rejection. Branches are requested to take it up at once and report action through their local secretaries to the national secretary, 126 Washington street, Chicago, not later than June 23. The question is on the adoption or rejection of the constitution as it stands, and the vote must be Yes or No.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION.

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 national conventions of the party may appoint, or as may be fixed by the National Executive Board subject to a referendum vote.

Section 2. The Social Democratic Party of America shall be organized as follows: First—Local branches limited to five hundred members each.

Second—A National Executive Board of nine members, five of whom shall be chosen from territory convenient to the national headquarters, and shall be called "resident members," and the remaining four shall be chosen, so far as possible, from other parts of the country. All members of the Executive Board shall have equal rights and powers; but the resident members shall have power to act and a majority of said resident members shall constitute a quorum. The non-resident members shall not be required to be present at all meetings of the board, but shall be kept advised of all proceedings of the board. The Executive Board shall be elected by the national convention.

Third—The form of state organizations shall be left to the branches in the respective states.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Section 3. The Executive Board shall have supervision of the party organization, and shall have power to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures as may be required to carry out the object of the organization; provided, that no action shall be taken which will conflict with the constitution and declaration of principles.

Section 4. The National Secretary, Treasurer and editor of the national organ, and such other officers as may be required, shall be elected, and their salaries fixed by the Executive Board, to be approved by the direct vote of the party members through the referendum; and they and each of them may be removed by the Executive Board, subject to such referendum.

Section 5. The office of National Secretary and Treasurer may be held by the same person. Such Secretary and Treasurer shall make a report of the financial standing of the party semi-annually, to be given to the branches, and shall make a report to the Executive Board whenever required by it.

Section 6. Members of the Executive Board shall receive no compensation for their services. They shall hold annual and stated meetings at times to be fixed by the Board, and such special meetings as may be required; reasonable notice shall be given to each of the members of the Executive Board of all meetings.

Section 7. Any member of the National Executive Board may be removed, and his successor elected by a referendum vote, as hereinafter provided. All vacancies in the Executive Board, however occurring, shall be filled by the remaining members of the board, subject to a referendum vote.

Section 8. At each annual meeting of the board the officers of the board shall render complete reports of the transactions of their several offices, and transmit a copy thereof to each local branch.

REVENUES AND FUNDS.

Section 9. The revenue of the organization shall be derived from an admission fee of twenty-five cents for each member, and quarterly dues of twenty-five cents for each member, payable in advance on the first days of January, April, July and October.

Section 10. The funds of the organization shall be deposited in such bank or banks as the board may direct; and the National Secretary and Treasurer shall be required to execute a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such an amount as the board may require.

OFFICIAL PAPER.

Section 11. This organization shall continue the publication of the official paper, called the Social Democratic Herald, under the supervision of the Executive Board. Each member of the organization shall be entitled to a copy of the official paper in consideration of the payment of quarterly dues.

Section 12. The columns of the national organ shall be open at all times to reasonable criticism and discussion of party matters by members of the party.

NATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

Section 13. The national conventions of the organization shall be held quadriennially at

some date prior to the first of June, and at such place as shall be decided upon by the National Executive Board, subject to referendum vote.

REFERENDUM.

Section 14. The National Executive Board may submit any question to a referendum vote of all the members of the party in good standing. The referendum vote may also be had upon the petition of ten local branches addressed to the National Executive Board, requesting such board to submit any proposition therein specified to such referendum vote; and upon the receipt of such petition said board shall forthwith so submit such proposition.

Upon the submission of any proposition to a referendum vote not less than three weeks shall be allowed for amendments to such proposition; and not less than six weeks, after the expiration of said three weeks, shall be allowed for the transmission of the votes to the Executive Board; provided, that if the votes transmitted by all the branches in good standing shall have been received by the board before the expiration of such time, the board shall announce the result of such vote forthwith.

LOCAL BRANCHES.

Section 15.—Any respectable person who subscribes to the principles of the Social Democratic Party and severs all connection, and renounces allegiance to all other political parties, shall be eligible to membership.

Section 16. A local branch shall consist of not less than five, and not more than five hundred members. Branches shall fix their own quorum.

Section 17. Any person desiring membership shall make application to the local branch, upon being recommended by a member of said branch. And if accepted by a majority vote, shall be enrolled as a member. Upon objection to his admission being made, the matter shall be referred by the branch to the Central Committee of the locality, which shall have power to act in the matter. In case the decision of the local committee shall be against the applicant, upon appeal by the said person, or by the branch to which he has applied, the National Executive Board shall have power of final action in the matter.

Section 18. Any member of good standing in one branch may, upon the request, be transferred to another branch; and the Secretary of the branch in which he holds his membership shall, for that purpose, furnish him with a transfer card.

Section 19. A member in good standing may terminate his or her membership by obtaining from the Secretary of such branch the card of withdrawal.

Section 20. Each member shall be entitled to a card of membership, to be furnished by the National Executive Board, and issued to the members by the Secretary of the local branch.

DUES AND FEES.

Section 21. The admission fee which shall accompany each application for membership shall be twenty-five cents, which shall be forwarded to the National Executive Board.

Section 22. The dues of the members shall be fixed by the branch; but such dues shall be sufficient to include twenty-five cents per quarter, to be paid on the first day of January, April, July and October in each year to the National Executive Board.

Section 23. At the close of each meeting of a local branch the Treasurer thereof shall transmit to the National Secretary the names of all members admitted at said meeting, their postoffice addresses, and a remittance by postal money order of their admission fee.

Section 24. A member admitted on or before the middle of a quarter shall pay dues for the full quarter. A member admitted after the middle of a quarter shall be exempt for that quarter.

Section 25. On or before the fifth day of each quarter the Treasurer of each local branch shall remit by postal money order the quarterly dues for the current quarter to the National Executive Board, and each local branch shall be responsible for and remit the full amount due for the entire membership of the branch.

Section 26. The officers of the branch shall consist of a Secretary, Treasurer and Organizer, and such other officers as may be determined by the branch; said officers shall be elected at each annual meeting and serve until their successors are qualified. They shall perform such duties as appertain to their several offices, and as the local branch may direct. Any officer of the branch may be removed by a majority vote of the members of the branch.

Section 27. Each local branch shall hold at least one business meeting a month, and such other meetings as they may see fit.

Section 28. At the annual meeting of each branch shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices for the preceding year.

Section 29. Branches shall be numbered with reference to states, the numbers to be assigned by the National Executive Board.

Section 30. The National Executive Board shall issue a charter to each branch, which charter may be suspended or revoked by the National Executive Board in case of violation of the laws, principles or regulations of the organization, subject to referendum vote.

Section 31. Persons intending to organize a new local branch shall apply to the then existing city or state committee of the locality where said branch is to be located, for its indorsement; and upon receiving such indorsement shall forward to the National Executive Board their application, together with the names and addresses of the proposed members, and their admission fees and dues. The National Executive Board shall thereupon, if they find the application in regular form, issue a charter to such center.

In case their shall be no such Central Committee the application shall be made direct to the National Executive Board.

Section 32. The local branch may adopt such by-laws as the majority of its members may determine, provided they do not conflict with this constitution or the platform and declaration of principles of the party.

Section 33. Any member violating the laws or principles of the organization may be suspended or expelled by a two-thirds vote of the members in good standing of the local branch of which he is a member; provided, that any charges against such member shall be preferred in writing, and the accused shall be entitled to a fair trial. The person so accused, if dissatisfied with the decision of the local branch, may appeal to the National Executive Board, and the person or persons preferring such charges shall have a like appeal to the National Executive Board. The action of the Executive Board on such case shall be final.

Section 34. This constitution shall be in force and effective from and after its indorsement by a majority in a referendum vote of the membership of the party in good standing.

Section 35. This constitution may be amended by a referendum vote as hereinabove provided.

Section 36. Under no circumstances shall the Social Democratic Party fuse with or act with any other political party, either in national or local elections, unless such party shall have substantially the same platform and principles as the Social Democratic Party.

SOCIALIST 4th OF JULY OUTING Second Annual Picnic SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY Of Chicago JULY FOURTH, 1900 At Bergman's Grove On Desplaines River

Watch The Herald for full particulars. A large attendance of Social Democrats with their families and friends is expected.

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NATIONAL FUND

The following is a list of comrades who have agreed, in response to the appeal of the National Executive Board, to contribute monthly for one year to the national fund. Other names will be added as they are received.

Table listing names and contributions from various states including Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, and Wisconsin.