Social Democratic Herald

VOL. 1

CHICAGO, ILL., SATURDAY, JULY 23, 1898.

For the Abolition of Capitalism, and the Coöperative Production and Distribution of all Wealth.

Colonize Congress.

No Escape from Capitalism Until the Great Majority of the People Can Be Moved to Demand It.

The Rev. W. D. P. Bliss in his ad-mirable little brochure on "What is Socialism?" says very truthfully, "In America, Socialism being a younger movement, has scarcely outgrown its utopian stage." It is to be deplored that this is so, yet the fact must be reckoned with, nevertheless. To the scientific Socialist, one who believes in social evolution and that Socialism must succeed capitalism as a historic must succeed capitalism as a historic necessity and because there is no es-cape from it, all utopian schemes call almost a feeling of resignation to what seems inevitable. For it appears almost fated that many sincere peo-ple must go through such trying and futile experiences as is involved in a futile experiences as is involved in a colony scheme before they get that clear vision of the Socialistic move-ment that makes safe leaders. No argument will get the colony idea out of their heads and only bitter experi-ence will set them right. It makes no difference to them that colonles are foredoomed to failure, the particular scheme they are interested in is al-ways a little different from the rest and therefore a sure winner.

scheme they are interested in is al-ways a little different from the rest and therefore a sure winner. Those who have been following Wal-ter Wykoff's notable contribution to Socialistic literature, "The Workers," now running in Scribner's Magazine, must have felt somewhat chagrined at his criticism of the American So-cialistic movement in the installment for May, and yet the general status of the movement gave him warrant for his conclusions, as we must in all candor admit. Colony schemes are multiplying and dying one after an-other. It is easy to hold up visions of a promised land, a colony where the ills of the present civilization can be avoided, but as Mr. Wykoff says, wisdom shows that the promised land is within and not without. We can-not have it until society is purified from within. Well meaning colony enthusiasts to the contrary notwith-standing, we cannot have Socialism until the great majority of the people can be moved to demand and require it mend be it. Right here lies our duty can be moved to demand and require it—and be it. Right here lies our duty as Socialists who would hew to the line. There is no escape from capital-ism save to fight it to the death on its ism save to light it to the death on its own ground. This we must make clear to the people. The very atmos-phere encircling the globe is capi-talistic; breathe it we must until we are able to convert it into a Socialistic etmosphere. atmosphere.

When a colony claims it has Social-When a colony claims it has Social-ism in operation, it says what cannot be true and thus does mischief to the revolutionary movement. The Ruskin colony deserves praise for its attitude in this regard. It is a stock company and cannot claim to be anything else. It is not self-sustaining, and has solved no great social problems. In one way the colony schemes are a positive hindrance to the American Socialistic movement. They are an abandonment of the revolutionary fight and are re-

colonization schemes is that men who would otherwise expend their strength in the revolutionary movement become side-tracked by their colony ideas and their, energies are absorbed in chantheir energies are absorbed in chair-nels where the good to the cause is reduced to the minimum. The toller, the drudge, the human machine and the child slave thus have their deliverance extended so much farther into the future. In Germany and France, and even in England, where there are no colony distractions, the energies of the revolutionists are centered on the main issue, and great revolu-tionary political parties are the result. It is high time the same was true of America, where not only the wage slave, but the whole society is groaning for a speedy deliverance. In America, where the people have a free ballot, the recent wonderful growth of Socialism should have, ere this, found expression by the presence in Congress placed there by conscious Socialistic ballots. It is time we returned Social Democracy's message from Europe. The legislative hall is our logical fight-The legislative half is our logical ight-ing ground. There it is that we must line up our fighters for battle. It is there that they must show their strength and there also that their strength will be nourished. Were our fighters to leave the fight and bury themeeting is some delay. to there nghters to leave the nght and oury themselves in some colony, to there struggle for food under conflicting conditions, the cause of Socialism would wane and the proletariat would be engulfed by capitalism without so much as a protest. Experimenting with colony problems may be all right much in its way-and all of us feel more or less interested in these experimentsbut when it causes men to desert the real battle, it is a costly and even a criminal thing. Not only do we breathe a capitalistic

atmosphere, but our habit of mind is capitalistic in spite of ourselves. This may be clearly seen by the fact that one of the elements of weakness in a colony, and one that the projectors never figure on, is human nature itself as it exists under capitalism. Were a colony to secure material prosperity, it would not be secure, its prosperity may turn out to be its greatest weakness. In the Icarian colony there was the most discord at the very time when the colony was the most prosperous in a material way. Thus it appears that the modern colony is too much of an experiment not to engross the members' minds over numerous petty matters and to take their minds en-tirely away from the great world-wide struggle between the ficecers and the struggle between the interest and the dispossessed. The work in hand is too important and the issue to sacred for us to distract our minds with experi-ments in colonization. Let us con-stantly face the eneuy. FREDERIC HEATH.

WHAT SOCIALISM IS.

The whole aim and purpose of So-cialism is a closer union of Social fac-tors. The present need is growth in that direction.—Richard P. Ely. Socialism is the ideal and hope of

a new society founded on industrial peace and forethought, aiming at a new and higher life for all men.—Willlam Morris.

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

AL HASSAN AND THE KING.

Al Hassan was the minstrel of a king. The sweetest singer of the court. And

The sweetest singer of the court. And once "Go forth into "Go forth into The world and seek for themes of mirth. Take then Thine harp and sing, sing songs that thrill the heart With gladness; that waken joyous echoes, Bilthesome, sweet; that send the blood swift coursing Through the yeans till even the old and middle aged Grow young again."

Then on his quest the bard Went forth; and with a slight prophetic, keen, The vision of a seer-for poets all Are seers-he scanned the world of things and men. Then to his sovereign he returned. The king Gave to the wanderer welcome meet, while All the court pressed round the bard to hear him Sing the songs of mirth and gladness he had Gathered in his quest.

Slowly the bard arose And turned his eyes, deep, dark and burn-ing with And turned his eyes, deep, dark and burn-ing with The mystic fire, from face to face, and there Was that in their still depths which none might read. The lyre he smote with trembling hand; and when His voice he raised in place of the blithe and mirth Provoking sounds it broke and fell in sighs Deep-drawn and long. And then the golden harp Aside he flung.

"O. king," he cried, at thy Command I went into the world of men; I sought full earnessity the thing which I Might weave into the gay and lightsome

I found it, king; 'twas there. Had I the Art To look but on the fair outside I nothing Else had found. That art not mine, I saw

what Lay beneath. And seeing thus I could not

Lay beneath. And seeing thus 1 could not sing: For there, in dens more vile than wolf or jackal Ever sought, were herded, stifling, foul, the Writhing, crawling masses of mankind.

Man! Ground down beneath oppression's iron heel Till God in him was crushed and driven and only that which with the brute he shares Finds room to upward grow.

"Andy in this world I saw how womanhood's fair flower had Never space its petals to unfold. How Childhood's tender bud was crushed and trampled Down in mire and filth too evil, foul, for heasts

beasts To be partakers in. For gold I saw The virgin sold; and motherhood was made A mock and scorn.

"I saw the fruit of labor Torn away from him who tolled, to further Swell the bursting coffers of the rich, while Babes and mothers pined and died of want. I saw dishonor and injustice thrive. I saw The wicked, ignorint, greedy and unclean, By means of bribes and baseness, raised to seats of power, from whence, with lashes pitiless And keen, they scourged the hungry, naked throng Whom first they robbed and then enslaved.

"All this I saw, and more, until at last, heartsick. Away mine eyes I turned. And then upon Mine ears a sound arose. A muffled sound-A mingled, hideous roar. O, king! 'twas made Of sighs and groans; of wallings loud and correse.

curses Deep, of Terror's shrieks, and madmen's cries: of Prayers which there were none to hear.

"And loooking, Listening then my brain took on each vibrant Thrill. My heart grew into one with this great, heart grew into one with this Moaning, throbbing heart of all the world. Each Nerve grew tense and quivering with its throes

Rosa Proletaire.

Her Humble Opinion of Harmony -The War and Our Starving Coal Miners-Socialist Growth in Europe.

From the contents of your last letter I learn that you are perfectly in accord with the new Social Democratic Party movement. Indeed, Brother John, every intelligent Socialist must feel satisfied with the outcome of the Chi-cago convention. Some good-hearted, but short-sighted, comrades may be of the opinion that things ought to have been harmonized, or as a New Jersey comrade writes in the "Gold Brick," every effort should be made to bring the two factions together. Now, be-lieve me, John, I am as sincere and earnest in the movement as the next, but I venture the assertion that nothing more injurious could happen to our movement than to "harmonize" the clear-minded Socialist elements in the S. D. P. of A. with the Socialistic-Democratic - Populistic - Anarchistic -Colonistic-Goldbrickistic combination that still attempts to heap disgrace on the name Social Democracy.

Brother John, please tell me frankly: Could such discordant elements as were represented in the Ublich's Hall were represented in the Chinen's Hall convention be truly harmonized? Would such harmony be anything less than a farce and a lie? Can we ever think of building up a solid Socialist movement on a basis such as that represented by the Chicago "colo-nizers" that forced their way into the convention like the heat of the factors. convention like the lowest sort of old party ward-heelers? Of the Social Democratic Party we can now proudly say "our way is clear. Harmonious accents greet the ear. Nothing short of a clear, Socialist movement will lead the American proletariat to vic-tory and success."

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The Social Democratic Herald is an excellent little paper. It will do honor to the International Socialist movement. John, we must insist that movement: John, we must insist that every comrade secure a number of subscribers. Fifty cents a year, 25 cents for six months! Can you get any cheaper bona fide Socialist litera-ture? To work, comrades! By next week you should send in your list of subscribers: Don't hesitata' subscribers:' Don't hesitate!

By the way. Comrade Wayland's paper, "Appeal to Reason," ought to be widely circulated as a means of agitation. It is 25 cents a year. Address Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas. There are other good Socialist papers worthy the support of our comrades.

Yes, the war is still on. About \$500,-000,000 or more have been blown in. May the bloody work soon come to an end. Suppose the American govern-ment had spent \$500,000,000 for the welfare of the American wage workers! Suppose Uncle Sam had used this money to buy up the coal mines of the country, thereby freeing the million or more coal miners and their families from the tyranny of the coal barons! Why, our capitalist editors would have gone crazy about it; they would have caused a civil war, be-cause to save 6,000,000 starving people in the mining regions of America would be "paternalism," it would mean a social revolution, but to expend \$500,000,000 to blow up warships and to send thousands of poor, Spanish proletarians directly into heaven or hell by means of monstrous dynamite guns-yes, Brother John, that is called true patriotism, and whoever does not believe in this capitalist dynamite patriotism is denounced as an enemy to our country, as a Spaniard.

but men and women whose main obbut men and women whose main ob-ject in life is to make our country a paradise to live in. We want a nation of such true, noble souls as Patrick Henry, Thomas Paine, Lovejoy, Brown, Phillips, Bellamy, Debs, etc. Let the American youth not be filled up with that dangeneous minis the up with that dangerous spirit that makes a hero out of every man on horseback or in soldier's cloth.

Socialism is not specifically Ameri-can; neither is it English, German or French. Socialism is international; it is the cause of all mankind. The man without any knowledge of Socialism is like the ship without the magnetic compass' on midocean. Socialism enables you to view the social, eco-nomic and political conditions from the true standpoint. Socialism is the new code of morals and ethics, it contains a new philosophy of life, because it alms at revolutionizing the very found-ation of social life, without which our ation of social life, without which our individual life would be reduced to the condition of our ancestors in the wilderness.

In spite of all the combinations of the old capitalist parties, in spite of all the gerrymandering of the govern-ment, in spite of all the election frauds, our Socialist-comrades of Germany have elected 57 (fifty-seven) members to the Reichstag, against 44 in 1803. The Socialist vote increased from 1,786,738 in 1893 to 2,125,000 in 1898! About one-fourth of all the votes cast were given for Socialism. Keep in mind that no man can vote before he is 25 years of age.

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In the kingdom of Saxony the Social Democratic Party polled 270,654 votes in 1893, against 321,781 votes received by all the capitalist and reactionary parties combined. Just listen; On June 16, 1898, the Socialist vote in Saxony was 299,000, while all capitalist and reactionary parties combined re-ceived but 281,000 votes. No wonder the American capitalist press occasionally reports that Socialism was dying out in Germany. The king of Saxony and Emperor William are now discussing ways and means to abolish universal suffrage in order to kill the Socialist movement. God speed!

If things were properly arranged, i. e., if the governmental gerrymander-ing were done away with, the So-cialists should have 120 instead of 57 to the Reichstag, having received sev-eral hundred thousands more /votes than any other party. The new Reich-stag will be composed as follows: Members. If things were properly arranged.

Members. Clerical (Catholic) Party.....108 Freethinkers or People's Party... 30 Poles 14 Other parties.... 41

In France the Socialists have increased their vote from about 600,000 in 1896 to 1,000,000 in 1898. In Bel-gium the Socialists have increased their vote by about 100,000, although the capitalist parties made a desperate Wight against them. In England care fight against them. In England our movement is steadily gaining ground and the Socialist papers, like London Justice, London Labor Leader, Clarion, etc., are doing excellent work for the

actionary in so far as they serve of	1;
attempt to relieve capitalism of its	
concepted centers of nonulation. For	ł
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onies too-for the dispossessed class;	t
Not long ago some capitalists on the	8
New York Corn Exchange devised a	8
plan to start colonies in New England.	r
to which the unemployed of New York	
the could be sent Naturally Capi-	8
tallete consider it a kindness when	C
Socialists undertake the same sort of	t
work We have only to look back a	h.
wear to see this. When the Social	t
Democracy's colonization scheme was	
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looked on approvingly. It thought the	S
narty was trying to solve one of capi-	ſ
talism's most vexing problems: that of	0
taking care of the ever-growing army	t
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"charity" is so large that its demands	C
have become galling. And so the	d
colonization scheme was looked, upou	t
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on the press, however, that the Social	0
Democracy was primarily a revolu-	a
tionary party and that even its	C
colonization scheme was not an	t
economic but a political measure, its	1
tone changed, and the old abuse of	0
Comrade Debs was resumed and with	C t
its old-time fury.	1000

sarry.

The abolition of that individual ac-The abolition of that individual ac-tion on which modern societies depend, and the substitution of a regulated system of coöperative action.—Impe-rial Dictionary. A theory of society that advocates a more precise, orderly and harmoni-bus arrangement of the social rela-tions of mankind than that which has atthete prevailed —Webster's Dic

itherto prevailed.-Webster's Dic-

ionary. The science of reconstructing so-iety on an entirely new basis, by subtituting the principle of association or that of competition in every branch human industry .-- Worcester's Dicionary.

A theory or polity that aims to se-A theory or polity that aims to se-cure the reconstruction of society, in-crease of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor through the public collective owner-ship of land and capital (as distin-guished from property) and the public collective management of all indus-tries. Its motto is, "To everyone ac-cording to his deeds."—Standard Dic-tionary.

onary. Any theory of system of labor organany meet of would abolish entirely. zation which would abolish entirely. r in great part, the individual effort nd competition on which modern soiety rests, and substitute co-opera-ion; would introduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products f labor, and would make land and apital, as the instruments of producone of the unfortunate things about the multiple of the com-multiple of the unfortunate things about the solution of the comthrees Of mortal pain. And thus I learned that I Was one with all that is. That each man's wrong, Or woe, or shame, is mine.

"And this is why, O, king! when asked for songs of joy and mirth By thee, thy bard, Al Hassan, cannot sing. —Stanley Fitzgerald.

The proletarian who has nothing but his two hands, who to-day consumes what he earned yesterday, who is de-pendent upon all possible incidents, and who hasn't the least guarantee for his ability to earn the necessaries of life—every crisis, every whim of his master can deprive him of his bread this proletarian is placed in the most outrageous and inhuman position imaginable. To the slave, at least, a living is guaranteed by virtue of the selfish-ness of his master; the serf has yet a piece of land from which he lives; they are, at least, guaranteed a bare living --bat the proletarian alone is dependent on himself and at the same time unable to apply his labor-power in such a way that he could rely on it. Everything the proletarian can do for the betterment of his condition vanishes like a drop of water before the floods of vicissitudes to which he is exposed and over which he has no con-trol whatever.—Frederick Engels.

Orders for bundles should be sent to us in advance; they will be filled at 50 cents per 100 copies. Our friends will materially help the circulation by sending out copies every week. It will be well for every American and Cuban proletarian to remember the words of Comrade Herbert N. Casson:

"When workers have nothing, and idlers have all, Law is a farce and a lie; When prices rise higher and wages grow small, Freedom means freedom to die."

Citizens of America. bear in mind the fact that a true republic will not, and never can, prosper under the ban-ner of bloody war. In peace and friendship our republican institutions will grow and become a general benefit to the people. In peace and useful labor lies our freedom. He who does most good for our own people, for the toiling masses, shall be the hero of the nation and his name shall be written in golden letters on the pages of his-tory. We want no feudal war heroes, we want no generation of war patriots,*

elevation of mankind.

Even in little unfortunate Spain the voice of Socialism is making itself heard. "The Spanish Socialists are in favor of peace" report our capitalist telegraph censors. Hm! While the pious Christian aristocracy of Spain and the Christian American nation are exhibiting their mutual Christian love by hurling dynamite-bombs and gat-ling cannon-balls against each other, the despised, "un-Christian" Social ists call out to the world: Peace on earth, good will toward men!"

In conclusion, a few more remarks concerning our movement at home. The Social Democratic Party of America to-day stands out as clear as sunlight. It will be the guiding star of the American wage-workers in the great struggle for emancipation. John, the next thing you must do now is to get the branches in good condition; get good material in the first place, for 100 solid members, clear in their mind, convinced of the truth of Socialism, aware of the historic mission of the Social Democratic movement, can ac-complish much more good for our cause than 9,999 confusionists who want to harmonize all sorts of "isms" without ever trying to get a clear and sound idea nto their heads. ROSA PROLETAIRE.

When recommending Socialist papers to friends, do not forget the Appeal to Reason; 25 cents a year.

NO. 3

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.



CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JULY 23, 1898.

FUND FOR PRINTING OUTFIT.

If a corporation had a conscience it couldn't pay dividends.

The incentive to labor under Socialism would be this: The man who per-formed no socially useful work would not draw dividends from the Social fund. . . .

The rich have no incentive to work, that is to do any socially useful labor, because their wants are supplied by the poor who do work.

The continual exchange of his labor by the workingman for the return of a fraction only of what that labor produces, means more capital for the employing class and more misery for the working class.

Capital, divorced from labor, has no power to produce anything: yet the owner of capital has succeeded in making workingmen believe that capital, and not labor, is the basis of all progress and the builder of civiliza-

The objections to Socialism disappear when it is understood, not as a scheme proceeding from the brain of an individual who has been a "fall-ure," but as the necessary and inevitable result of the historical evolution of society.

. . . The poor "consent" by their labor to produce all useful and luxurious things because they cannot help themselves-or have been persuaded by the owners of capital that there is no help for them except as working chumps for private masters and this is called freedom!

In proportion to population the percentage of the tenant or home-renting class in the United States is greater today than in any European monarchy, except Great Britain. Dependence on private landlords is the best the greatest republic on earth has to offer the vast majority of its wealth producers in return for their devotion and patriotism!

. . . The world's workers not only pro vide the world's idlers with food, rai-ment and shelter, and then supplement these essentials of life with luxulabor creates), but they deny them-selves food, raiment and shelter, be-cause they do not know that society is organized in the interest of the rich.

society organized in behalf and for the benefit of the rich class, and that this rich class has the government to which he is so devoted transformed from a government by the people into a government by a capitalist syndicate. .

Collective ownership of the means, of production and distribution means freedom, enlightenment and higher civilization. If the letter carrying service was in the hands of private in-dividuals, its cost would be higher and its patronage less. The liberties and the welfare of the people are every-where restricted or jeopardized by private ownership, just as they are everywhere expanded and secured by public ownership. Private ownership limits progress; public ownership insures it.

The net earnings of the American Bell Telephone Company for 1897 were \$4,443,636.65. This was the profit after paying all laborers, clerks, attorlegislators, aldermen, etc. Good Yes; it puts over four millions thing! into the coffers of the rich, to be organized into working capital for the pro-motion of "competition." Under a system such as the Social Democratic Party proposes what would these "net earnings" do? They would pay over 4,443 unemployed men and women \$1,000 per year, enabling them to live comfortably and die outside the poorhouse. But then, why dwell upon the benefits of collective ownership? If men and women were economically as Socialism would make them, wouldn't we all lose our liberties?

The silly objection to Socialism that it wants to "divide up" is still made by the thoughtless who do not know that t was long since exploded, as well as by the dishonest who know better, but lack the moral courage to be on the right side. The fact is that Socialism seeks to stop division according to the rule of capitalism, which has brought about the following result in the United States; the nation is composed

The working class, 52 per cent. The middle class, '39 per cent. The capitalist class. 9 per cent. The national wealth is owned by:

Working class, 5 per cent. Middle class, 24 per cent:

Capitalist class, 71 per cent.

Here you have the outcome of "dividing up" according to the rule which capitalists approve. You see we don't need to look for a system to "divide up;" such a system is already here.

* * * There are great times ahead for the Cubans, according to the Chicago Journal, which has this to say as to the results which are to follow the passing of Spanish rulership over the island:

"It means the establishment of order in the place of chaos, of law in the place of anarchy, of justice where the rich and the powerful, and the profigate preyed for three hundred years upon the weak and the wretched, and the helpless, and in the place of the confiscation of the fruits of labor and the discouragement and degradation of the laborer, it means the restoration of the people to their rights and the elevation of serfs to the dignity and independence of free manhood.

"The American will supplant the Spanish system, the sacred rights of home and hearthstone will be pro-tected, the fruits of toil will go into the pocket of the toiler instead of some remorseless Spanish tax gatherer. As greed and theft give way to justice, on the other hand despair and helplessness will in time give way to courage and home and enterprise, and a new Cuban people will arise, self-reliant, strong, secure in the rights of human beings.

It is perfectly safe to say that this program will not be carried out, its promises, like the promises of old political parties to the American people, will not be realized. It is equally safe to say that if the American "sup-plants the Spanish system." the results to the Cubaus will be the same as the American people have experienced. "American system" is capitalistic, and as it has worked at home, so will it work in Cuba, and that will be exactly the opposite of the Journal's predic-tions. The "American system" has not protected the "sacred rights of home;" the "American system" has not "secured the rights of human beings;" the "American system" has not pre-vented the "confiscation of the fruits of labor." The "American system" is capitalistic.

of sanctioning by law the use of machinery to private profit, Socialism would make it the joint property of society as a whole, thereby insuring production for public use instead of private profit.

The modern use and private ownership of machinery in production is the most revolutionizing fact in human history, and for this reason, that men under the new conditions which dis-covery and invention have brought upon us are unable by their individual efforts to gain a livelihood, as did their forefathers. An almost complete and universal change has taken place in the possession and ownership of the means whereby a living can be made. This is not a theory, but a condition, the certainty of which cannot be de-nied. Millions of men are being reduced to beggary and the dependent class, solely because of the monopo-lization of the modern means of production, the labor-saving machinery. When the present century opened, nearly all work was performed by hand, and the various industries afforded opportunities for living-getting. The persons engaged in them were to a large extent the owners of the tools and instruments of production. But today we see a marvelous change. Work, in constantly increasing degree, is done by machinery, and the various industries afford opportunity for gaining a living to a comparatively few only, and a diminishing few, with al-most unlimited opportunity for the private owners of machinery to extend their dominion over the human race. The machinery in the mills and fac

tories of Great Britain alone is equal to doing the work of 700,000,000 menmore than all the adult inhabitants of the earth at this minute. The single state of Massachusetts has machinery enough to do as much work as 50,000,-000 men. The same state has in its shoe factories enough machinery to produce in six months all the shoes that all the men, women and children in the United States require in twelve months. Yet there are men, women and children in Massachusetts shoeless and starving! And Great Britain, with all its mighty increase in productive power, has one pauper in every ten of its entire population.

The productive power of society, by discovery and invention, has been doubled every ten years, and even in less than ten, during the century, yet misery, want, degradation, insanity, suicide and murder, nearly all having their procuring cause in the economic distress of the masses, are commonest where capitalism is strongest. Private ownership of the machinery of production, which machinery is quite as essential to society now as the indi-vidual tool used to be, threatens and menaces society to-day more than any other one fact. Unless the machine is socialized, that is, transformed from a fleecing machine privately owned and used as an instrument of plunder into a socially-owned and publicly-administered feeding machine, blessing instead of blighting, operated for use instead of profit, universal desolation involving the destruction of civilization is inevitable. The subject of what is to be done

with labor-saving machinery is not one for flippant and heartless comment. It is by all odds the greatest of all great questions, and is answered only by Socialism. Abolish capitalism and establish coöperative production and distribution of all wealth. This requires the social ownership of the means of production, the machine which will benefit every human interest and secure a luxurious living to every human being.

GLORIOUS WAR.

The following description of a scene on a Spanish warship is another page in the history of human beings sacrificed on the altar of a selfish ambition:

FOLLY OF INDIVIDUALISM.

"Life seems a perpetual succession of events to which man submits. We never how from which direction the sudden blow will come. Misery and happiness enter or make their exit like unexpected guests. Their laws, their orbit, their prin-ciple of gravitation, are beyond man's grasp. Virtue conducts not to happiness, nor crime to retribution. Conscience has one logic, fate another, and neither con-cide. Nothing is foreseen. We live con-fusedy, and from hand to mouth." "This language. written many years

This language, written many years ago by Victor Hugo, as well describes the condition of men and women today, as it did when it was written. Rich and poor, high and low, alike live in a state of insecurity. The dan-gers, which threaten and the calami-ties which befall each are different: but danger and calamity are real and imminent to all classes

The so-called accidents of life are innumerable, and for the most part cannot be foreseen or avoided. And from these, few or none are exempt. A very slight knowledge of the private life of all classes is sufficient to convince us that there is but little real happiness in the life of any. Over the life of everyone is a cloud, in which there is here and there a rift. But the rift soon closes and the darkness gathers. Theologians describe it by saying that the "trail of the serpent" is over all

There are but few persons of age and experience who will deny the truth of these statements.

Victor Hugo did not state the causes of the phenomena of life he so ably describes. But all phenomena are the results of causes.

If we should take a delicate and complicated machine, and deprive it of a necessary screw here, and a connect ing link, there, disconnecting many of its co-operating parts, and then attempt to operate the machine, we should properly expect nothing but disaster from it. The reason of this would be plain. The parts not being properly connected, the organization of the ma-chine would be injured or destroyed. and the several parts of the machine, instead of co-operating to produce the result for which the machine was intended, would simply crush against each other and destroy themselves. Society is an organism as much as

is a machine. But our present society is an organism of an imperfect type, and its parts (that is the individuals which compose it) do not properly co-operate. Instead of all these parts acting in harmony, they are for the most part in conflict with each other. Each individual has interests which conflict with those of every other individual. Every man's hand is against every other man. The individual parts of the social organization, being imperfectly organized, are, therefore, in the condition of a machine whose supposed co-operating parts are dis-connected, and which is attempted to be run in that condition. Any mechanic would say that the remedy in case of the machine is to connect the disconnected parts and arrange the several elements of the machine so as to perfect the mechanical organ-But in the case of the social or ism. gauism our capitalist economists, who are supposed to be our social doctors, say, do not perfect the social organ-ism by bringing together the several individual parts into a complete cooperative organization, but let each part act as it will, running at cross purposes with other parts, the stronger portions destroying the weaker, and thus you will realize the highest ideals of civilization, and perfect your social machine. Folly and imbecility! your names are capitalist nhilosophy

Capitalist philosophers! the fools will follow you until the disorganized parts of the social organism dash themselves to pieces against each other. ' The people will endure the miseries of our wretched society until they become unendurable; and then perhaps they learn f human happiness can exist only when all the parts-that is, the individualsof society are harmoniously organized for all industrial as well as political purposes, when each shall work for each and a'l for all; when the conflict of interest being removed by such harmonious organization, all shall be brothers and partners in the great business of life, which is to make each other happy.

CAPITALIST PATRIOTS.

It can inake no possible difference to a Socialist whether the capitalist class of Spain pay big premiums on life insurance to an American or a Spanish insurance company. The principle in either case is the same. It happens, however, that the New York Life Insurance Company has a large and profitable business in the country with which the United States is at war. It is reported to have 5,000 Spanish policyholders. It maintains a director in Spain in the person of Dwight T. Reid. It has made so much money in its general business that it patriotically offered to lend the United States government \$10,000,000 at any rate of interest the latter m ght choose to give. But it has a different way of showing its "patriotism" in its dealings with the Spaniards. The constitution of the United States defines treason as follows, in section 3 of article III: "Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort."

Now, in a special circular printed in Spanish newspapers, over the signature of its Spanish director, and presumably with the full consent and approval of Mr. John McCall, president, the New York Life Insurance Com-pany has canceled all restrictions as to military or naval service contained in their policies for Spain. The circular says:

"Therefore, any Spanish subject holding a policy of the New York Life Insurance Company can, without fear of prejudice to his insurance, and without paying any other premium than the one mentioned in his policy, do military service in active war.

"The insured, therefore, can be sure that in case of his death in the war the company will not refuse payment on account of his having met death in "Furthermore the company declares

that it will give the insured all the facilities so that they can keep up their payments.

"If said policyholders should find themselves in difficulties to pay the premium when it falls due, the com-pany will make loans for said payments whenever the value of the policy

"The company also informs the insured that existing contracts will be treated as if there was no war, payments on due policies shall be made punctually, death payments shall be made as soon as proof is received and premiums shall be paid at the same place and in the same manner as heretofore.'

This may not be giving the enemy "aid and comfort," but it looks very much like it. There have been so many examples of capitalists treating the constitution as obsolete, and of no binding force when their interests are touched, that the New York Life Insurance Company is probably quite safe in giving "aid and comfort to the enemy." Great is the "patriotism" of Great is the "patriotism" of the capitalists!

NEW HAMPSHIRE LEADS.

Before any active organizing work has begun, and in advance of the de-cision of scores of branches as to where they will stand in the future, the comrades of New Hamp-shire are in the field with a Social Democratic Party ticket and propose to wage active warfare against the enemy at the ballot box next fall. They have a candidate for governor in Sumner F. Claffin, of Manchester. For congressman from the Eirst District, Comrade Charles H. Mellen, Somersworth, has been nominated, and from the Second District, Edward E. Southwick, Nashua. F. G. R. Gordon, Manchester, N. H., will furnish information to an

Socialism opposes and would abolish rent, interest and profit. It has no fight against the individual who appropriates these, but against the sys-tem which makes them necessary and is supported by then, it has. It as-sails no man who owns two houses living in one and renting the other; nor the man who hires out onney to bring increase without lending a hand at production; nor the merchant who takes what are termed legitimate profits in the distribution of commodities. It attacks the system which makes these things necessary and does not provide a house and the comforts of life for every human being.

William Waldorf Astor, who owns enough land and houses in New York City to give him an income of about \$4,-000,000 a year, lives in England, where he spends his money. From this gi-gantic fortune, the New York Journal tells us, the United States government derives no revenue. But the thing is quite different with the workingman who lives (and works) in America. The latter pays a tax on every cup of tea, every glass of beer, every cigar or pipe of tobacco, and every other old thing that he consumes. Yes, and he does it not knowing that he lives in a

MACHINERY IN PRODUCTION.

Few persons who are given to mouthing apologies for the present system of industry understand the tremendous effects of the modern use of machinery in production: Most of them purposely ignore the true attitude of Socialists toward machinery, The notion very largely prevails that Socialists are opposed to machinery, and trace the misery and privations which the producing class suffers to the machine itself. Both conclusions are wrong. So far from opposing the labor-saving machine, the truth is that Socialism welcomes it; instead of charging the wretchedness and poverty of the working class to the machine, the truth is that Socialism finds the cause of poverty and wretchedness in private ownership of the machine. Hinched from the furnace doors, was a blessing that they were allo to drink themselves to madness."

"Never were scenes of greater horror than those which marked the destruction of Spain's magnificent fleet. "There was one point toward which the men on Ericsson did not dare to look. Everyone got one glance into this fragment of the pit and turned away sick and almost swooning.

"A great wound had been torn in the side of the Vizcaya. The port beam gaped, and through the flamelipped gashes the engines and fire-rooms of the wreck were visible, Pistons still plunged, and wheels went around, for the engines still throbbed like the heart of a man wounded unto death, but still alive. The wheels astern still churned up the water, but the ship was hard aground.

"Amid the thrashing machinery the dead were thick. The plunging beams racked and crushed the dead and dying. In the basement of this inferno firemen-some of them were still alive -writhed amid the furious flames. Some were dead, and the fire danced over their torn bodies, wreathing the naked shapes with fire, and giving their features a look that no human

being ought to gaze upon and live. "These poor wretches were doomed from the start. Others had a chance for their lives, even in the event of the expected defeat, but these poor devils shut in by bolted hatches had to die. They were kept to their work by officers who stood over them with pistols and shot them down when they flinched from the furnace doors.' It was a blessing that they were allowed

THE WAIL OF THE POOR.

I cannot join with the old time friends In their merry games and sports, While the pleading wail of the poor ascends

To the Judge of the Upper Courts. I cannot sing the glad free songs That the world around me sings, While my fellows move in crying throngs

At the back of the golded kings. -Joaquin Miller.

Socialism has become a power; it permeates every fiber of our social and political life; it regenerates the nations of the world. During the present war excitement the American people have heard very little of the general prog-ress of the Socialist movement. While the monstrous machines of destruction were in operation on the West Indian waters and while our good but mis-guided people were eagerly waiting for the sensational war reports, important historical events occurred in old Europe. General elections were held in Belgium, France and Germany.

siring to organize branches of the Social Democratic Party.

AMONG THE BRANCHES.

Branch 7, Boston, Mass., has surrendered its old charter and is reor-. ganized as a branch of the S. D. P. with the following officers: A. Makler, chairman; M. Reitman, secretary; A. Roseneuer, treasurer; Morris Jolles, organizer.

At a regular meeting of Branch 15. Brooklyn, N. Y., the members decided to withdraw from the S. D. of A. and join the S. D. P. Officers will be chosen at the next meeting of the branch.

Number 3 of Missouri, St. Louis, ap-plies for charter in the S. D. P., all members present at the meeting agreeing that the branch reorganize.

Without one dissenting vote the members of Branch 12, Wisconsin, join the S. D. P. and are more enthu-slastic than ever for the cause of Socialism.

Another accession from Brooklyn is Branch 5, which comes in a body to the S. D. P.

The Wisconsin comrades, now very busy preparing for the fall campaign, report a fine list of members from Branch 1, Milwaukee.

Branch 20, the German branch of New York City, is for International Socialism and the S. D. P. Officers of the branch have been chosen and much is expected from the comrades. Sec-retary, Gustave Ehrhardt, 1675 Avenue A

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

VISION OF THE FUTURE.

Fve salled the dancing waters, The trod the golden strand, Fre spoke the sons and daughters of that enchanted land;

I've drunken of her fountains, The sweetest and the best; I've rambled o'er her mountains, I've reveled in her rest.

Within her spacious borders Within her spacious borders No needy man I found, No aimless, idle hoarders, No gentle woman bound; There Truth was more than treasure, And Love the scales doth hold;

here Mercy hath no measure, And Man is more than Gold.

That land is straight before us: Oh, hall her, Star of Morn! Come, join the joyous chorus Of sons to Freedom born. Come, help each burdened nation From sorrow find surcease

In world-wide federation. An everlasting peace. —Walter Ratcliffe.

USEFUL FACTS.

About two-thirds of the larger German cities now own and operate their wn waterworks; they yield from 10 to 15 per cent. profit annually.

The Japanese have established com-mercial schools where the methods of business practiced by capitalists in America are taught.

The British House of Commons has appointed a committee to consider the question of municipal telephones.

The government of New Zealand is pntemplating a loan of \$10,000,000 to be used in railroad construction and irrigation.

Matches are sold in Japan at .S cents for 600 dozen boxes. Just think of Japanese competition with American match makers.

There are reported to be 333 electric light plants in operation under municipal ownership in the United States. The cost of construction of the great

Siberian railway by the Russian gov ernment has been \$188,014,938. The cost of the war, against Spain for a year, ending June 30, 1899, ac-cording to official estimates, is \$379,-

192,000 The telegraph system of Japan, controlled by the government, comprises 12,000 miles of land lines, 388 of submarine cables, and the cable to For-mosa, which is 800 miles.

Last year Manchester made a profit of \$100,000, Bradford a profit of \$30,-000, and Edinburgh \$17,000 from municipal electric lighting.

German officials charged with securing of recruits for the army find that owing to the increasing industrialism in Germany the bodily length and strength of the factory population is steadily diminishing. Some of the ex-clusively industrial districts by the Rhine and in Westphalia, Saxony and other sections do not furnish 50 per cent. of the recruits they did 50 years

MUNICIPAL WORKSHOPS.

In the parish of Battersea in London the contract is unknown, all of the work of the parish since October, 1895, being carried on by the vestry's own men, whether it is making of a main sewer, laying of a pavement or con-struction of a public building. Battersea is ahead of all other English communities in this respect, for not even Birmingham, Manchester or Glasgow have dispensed wholly with the con-tractor. Battersea is also first to establish municipal workships, and the building just completed contains shops for carpenters, wheelwrights, wagonmakers, plumbers, blacksmiths, painters, masons, harness-makers and other trades. All sorts of tools are provided. At least 160 skilled mechanics will be employed within doors, while between 700 and 800 are employed outdoors.

THE CHICAGO ALDERMAN.

The International Journal of Ethics prints an able article by Jane Addams, of the Hull House, on "Ethical Sur-vivals in Municipal Corruption," from which the following is taken: "Because of simple friendliness, the

alderman is expected to pay rent for the hard-pressed tenant when no rent is forthcoming, to find jobs when work hard to get, to procure and divide among his constituents all the places which he can seize from the city hall The alderman of the Ninete ath Ward at one time made the proud boast that he had two thousand six hundred people in his ward upon the public pay-roll. This of course, included day-laborers, but each one felt under distinct obligations to him for getting the job. When we reflect that this is onethird of the entire vote of the ward we realize that it is very important to vote for the right man, since there is, at the least, one chance out of three for a job.

we recollect, further, that the franchise-seeking companies pay re-spectful heed to the applicants backed by the alderman, the question of voting for the successful man becomes as much an industrial as a political one. An Italian laborer wants a job more than anything else, and quite simply votes for the man who promises him one. It is not so different from his relation to the padrone, and, indeed, the two strengthen each other. "The alderman may himself be quite

sincere in his acts of kindness. In certain stages of moral evolution a man is incapable of unselfish action the results of which will not benefit some one of his acquaintances; still more, of conduct that does not aim to assist any individual whatsoever; and it is a long step in moral progress to appre clate the work done by the individual for the community. An office-seeker may begin with the simple desire to alleviate suffering, and this may grad-ually change into the desire to put h s constituents under obligations to him: but the action of such an individual becomes a demoralizing element in the community when a noble purpose is made the cloak for the satisfaction of lower impulses, and when the plastic morals of his constituents are thus formed to his own undeveloped standards

"While our political system has grown more and more complicated upon the basic assumption that the individual merges his interest in those of the community, and attains his own ends in terms of the common w(a), such men living in the community are seeking solely their own advantage and striving to obtain personal ends at the expense of the state. As the pol.t.cal system cannot change its direction, it brings the incongruity to the extreme limit of contradiction. A man holding office is known to the community to be there for the sake of 'what there is in it,' or a candidate openly an-nounces that his business affairs have gone badly; that he wants his chance at public office; that his opponent is now rich enough.

The alderman gives presents at weddings and christenings. He sez s these days of family festivities for making friends. It is easiest to reach people in the holiday mood of expansive good will, but on their side it seems nataral and kindly that he should do it. The inderman procures passes from the failroads when his constituents wish to visit friends or to attend the funerals of distant relatives: he buys tickets galore for benefit entertainments given for a widow or a consumptive in peculiar distress: he contributes to prizes which are awarded to the handsomest lady or the most popular man. At a church bazaar, for instance, the alderman finds the stage all set for his dramatic performance. When others are spending pennies he is spending Where anxious relatives are dollars. canvassing to secure votes for the two most beautiful children who are being from both sides, and laughingly defrom both sides, and laughingly de-clines to say which one he likes the best, buying off the young lady who is persistently determined to find out with five dollars for the flower ba-zaar, the posies, of course, to be sent to the sick of the parish. The moral atmosphere of a bazaar suits him ex-actly. He murmurs many times. Never mind: the moves all goes to the 'Never mind; the money all goes to the poor,' or 'It is all straight enough it the church gets it,' or "The poor won't ask too many questions.' The oftener he can put sentiments of that sort into the minds of his constituents the better he is pleased. Nothing so rapidly prepares them to take his view of moneygetting and money-spending. "There is something archaic in a community of simple people in their attitude toward death and burial. Nothing so easy to collect money for as a funeral, and one involuntarily remembers that the early religious tithes were paid to ward off death and ghosts. At times one encounters almost the Greek feeling in regard to burial. If the alderman seizes upon festivities for expressions of his good will, much more does he seize upon periods of sor-row. At a funeral he has the double advantage of ministering to a genu ne craving for comfort and solace, and at the same time of assisting at an impor-tant social function. That curious feeling of remorse, which is an accom-paniment of quick sorrow, that desire to 'make up' for past delinquencies, to show the world how much, after all, we loved the person who has just died, is as natural as it is universal. "In addition to this, there is among craving for comfort and solace, and at "In addition to this, there is among

the poor, who have few social occasions, a great desire for a well-arranged funeral, the grade of which almost determines their social standing in the neighborhood. The alderman saves the very poorest of his constituents from that awful horror of burial by the county; he provides carriages for the poor, who otherwise could not have them; for the more prosperous he sends extra carriages, so that they may invite more friends and have a longer proces sion; for the most prosperous of all there will be probably only a large 'flower piece.' It may be too much to say that all the relatives and friends who ride in the carriages pro vided by the alderman's bounty vote for him, but they are certainly influ-enced by his kindness, and talk of his virtues during the long hours of the ride back and forth from the suburban cemetery. A man who would ask at such a time where all this money comes from would be considered sinister. They certainly do not discuss the ald rman's corruption during the long ride You cannot very well run a man down when you are sitting in a carriage provided by his generosity. The tendency to speak lightly of the faults of the dead and to judge them gently is trans-ferred to the living, and many a man at such a time has formulated a lenient judgment of political corruption and has heard kindly speeches which he has remembered on election day, 'Ah, well, he has a big Irish heart. He is

good to the widow and the fatherless. 'Indeed, what headway can the no tion of civic purity, of honesty of administration, make against this big manifestation of human friendlines. this stalking survival of village kindness? The notions of the civic re-former are negative and impotent before it. The reformers give themselves over largely to criticisms of the pres-ent state of affairs, to writing and talking of what the future must be; but their goodness is not dramatic; it is not even concrete and human.

"Such an alderman will keep a standing account with an undertaker, and telephone every week, and sometimes more than once, the kind of outfit he wishes provided for a bereaved constituent, until the sum may roll up into hundreds a year. Such a man understands what the people want, and m'nisters just as truly to a great human need as the musician or the artist does.

THEORY AND PRACTICE.

The theory is the plan, the practice is the execution. When we want to build a ship, a bridge, a cathedral, a house, do we set to work without any plans? Could we build at all without a theory of architecture; or make engines without a theory of mechanics; or keep accounts without a theory of arithmetic?

You cannot have a practice without a theory; you cannot do a thing until you decide what to do, and how to do it. The theory is the how; the practice is the do.

Therefore, when a man tells you that you are too practical to believe in theories, or that you are too practical to follow ideals, you may conclude that he is either a rascal or an idiot.

Again, when you are told that "as a practical man you will see that it is impossible," just say to yourself, "As a practical man, I mean to find out why it is not possible, or how it might be made possible; and I will begin by trying to find out why you wish me to condemn it without any investiga tion.'

Further, as a really practical man you will give due weight to the fact that many things which these "Impos-sibles" declared Impossible have actually come to pass, have been done, have proved practical.

In science, in art, in industry, in politics, in war, the Impossible has been accomplished over and over again. And as practical men you will feel that what has happened.once may happen more than once. Further, when you demand more wages, shorter hours, healthier homes, cheaper fares, better water, to what do the "Impossibles" appeal for reasons for refusing? Tell me, is it not true that the demands of the worker are commonly met by allusions to "Politi-cal Economy"? What is "Political Economy?" It is a theory! Aha! It Economy?' It is a theory! Aha! It is a theory, and a false and stupid theory, And do not these "Impossi-bles" implore you to mistrust all theories? They do. But the "Law of Supply and Demand," the "Iron Law of Wages," and all those other im-mutable "laws," are nothing but theories theories. Now, my hard-headed, practical friends, what do you think of these editors and members of Parliament, of these journalists and statesmen? When you want a thing which they When you want a thing which they don't want you to have they say it is impossible. When you ask them why it is impossible they appeal to the theory of Political Economy. When a theory is against you, they bid you accept it; when it is for you, they bid you refuse it. They tell you in one breath that you despise theories. They flatter you that you are too practical to trust words, but must have facts, and all the while they are giving these two words Impossible and Practical instead of the things you want and need. And your cheer them, and believe And your cheer them, and believe them, and clect them, my intelligent, hard-headed, practical friends, and they play you for Chinamen.—Robert Blatchford.

Constitution of State Union.

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

HOW ORGANIZED.

shall consist of delegates representing local branches in the state, and shall constitute the legislative body of the staté,

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

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

cil or the declaration of principles. Sec. 4. The officers of the Board shall consist of a chairman, vice-chair-man, secretary, treasurer and organ-izer, and such others as may be deter-mined, who shall be alcored at each mined, who shall be elected at each annual meeting of the board and serve until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall perform such du-ties as appertain to their several offices, and for their services shall re ceive such compensation as the State Union may determine. The Board shall hold stated meetings in April of each year and such special meetings as may be required.

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

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

Sec. 7. Any member of the Board may be removed at any time by the State Union. Sec. 8. No member of the Board

shall hold political office, except under the Social Democratic Party.

Sec. 9. All questions not provided for in the constitution, and all questions of appeal from local branches. shall be decided by the chairman, such decisions to be final and in full effect unless otherwise ordered by the Board. Sec. 10. At each annual meeting the officers of the Board shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices and transmit a copy to each local branch.

REVENUES.

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

THE STATE UNION.

Sec. 12. The State Union shall meet annually at such place as its members may determine, in April. The chair-man of the Executive Board shall preside over its deliberations. The sccre-tary of the Executive Board shall serve as secretary of the State Union and keep a correct record of its pro-ceedings, submitting a copy of the same to each local branch in the state. Sec, 13. At each annual meeting of the State Union an Executive Board of five members and representatives to the National Council shall be elected. who shall serve one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified. Sec. 14. The State Union shall enact such laws as may be necessary, deter-mine the policy of the state organiza-

tion 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.

Constitution of Local Branches.

NAME AND LOCATION.

DUES AND FEES.

3

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 Na tional Council the names of all members admitted at said meeting, their postoffice addresses and a remittance by postal money order of their admission fee.

Sec. 10. The dues of a member shall be payable quarterly in advance, on or before the first day of January, April, July and October, in such an amount as the local union may determine, pro-vided 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 lues for the current quarter to the National Council, and each local branch shall remit the full amount due for the entire membership of the branch.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Sec. 12. The Executive Board shall consist of five members, elected an-nually 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, 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 State Union, the constitution of the National Union, or the declaration of principles.

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

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

Sec. 15. No member of the Board shall hold political office, except under the Social Democratic Party. Sec. 16. The local branch shall hold

meetings at such times as the members may determine.

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

JURISDICTION.

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

ELECTIONS.

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

BY-LAWS.

Sec. 20. A local branch may adopt such laws as a majority may deter-mine, provided they do not conflict with this constitution, the constitution

employed eight hours a day, are paid trade union rate of wages, are entitled to a week's holiday each year, sick pay, and a pension in cases of accident during employment. Meanwhile the parish has found a real economy in the plan. From October, 1895, to Jan. 1, 1898, work had been done to the amount of £21,818, and it is note-worthy that this was £1,858 below the estimated cost. estimated cost.

The economic and Social evolution is even now being prepared by the in-herent weakness of the capitalist system, which has already seen its best days. The capitalist class itself has conclusively shown that it is unable to handle the great means and instru-ments of production and distribution in any way to the advantage of the community. Periods of wild inflation and ruinous depression; overcrowded towns and deserted country; luxury towns and deserted country, toxing above and starvation below; physical improvement of the well-to-do class, accompanied by continuous deteriora-tion and enfeeblement of the working class; monopoly extending yet the powers of the state used against the more and and an enfeeblement of the more against the people—such are a few of the more obvious shortcomings of fully-devel-oped capitalism which are preparing its downfall in every country.--H. M. Hyndman.

Every membér who receives The Herald should regard it as a duty to the party to secure one or more sub-scriptions at 50 cents per year. The paper is yours, and the movement will grow with its circulation.

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

MEMBERSHIP.

Sec 2. Any reputable person sub-scribing to the principles of this or-ganization shall be eligible to membership.

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

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

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

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 enti-tied 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.

of the State Union, the constitution of the Naional 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 twothirds vote of a local branch, provided that any charges against a member shall be preferred in writing by a member ber in good standing and the accused shall be entitled to a fair trial.

APPEALS.

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

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

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

Sec. 24. Upon application of five per cent of the membership any matter re-lating 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 pational, shall be submitted to a direct vote of the membership, through the Initiative and Referendum, and a majority vote shall determine the result.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

The Impairment of Motives to Exertion.

FROM FRANKLIN M. SPRAGUE'S "SOCIALISM."

It is objected to Socialism that it would impair the motives to exertion, and thus diminish production and retard progress. "The purely economic argument against Socialism is that it would be less efficient in producing wealth." This is investigation wealth." This is important if true. Mr. Rae says, "The incentives to energy of production would be relaxed." Again he tells us that "producer's wealth, they [Socialists] hold, should be common property, and neither be owned nor inherited by individuals. If this theory were to be enforced it would be fatal to progress.

It is admitted that without incen-tive men will not labor; that without labor there can be no production; and that without production there can be no progress; and, further, that, caeteris paribus, in proportion as these causes operate will be their respective effects. But this is not in issue. The question is, would Socialism weaken individual incentive and occasion the ills com-plained of? Mr. Rae answers in the affirmative. How does he know? He does not. He boldly assumes that so-clety is still, and must continue to be, in that stage of development in which, if every man fights for himself and all fight each other, "production" and "progress" will be greater than if all the members of society should work together for a common end under a system of co-operation. Such co-operation is Socialism. In opposing Social-ism, Mr. Rae finds it necessary to lay down the principle that in dis-union there is strength; a principle that an-tagonizes all history and experience. The following considerations are pertinent to this subject:

1. This objection does not affect the principles of Socialism, but only its modus operandi.

2. The objection is founded on the assumptions of the existing political economy, and is true under this sys-tem, but has no application to a Socialistic state. Adam Smith said, "A person who can acquire no property can have no other interest but to eat as much, and to labor as little, as pos-sible." He is speaking only of slave labor under a capitalistic regime. His statement is a general truth. Under Socialism, where every one is a free-man and a joint owner of the entire capital, and the conditions are different, toto coelo, it is unwarrantably de-clared that the results will be the same.

3. It is evident that no one can safely dogmatize in this matter. Dr. Woolsey frankly admits that "an unknown quantity enters into the question. Everything depends on the influence of the new conditions of work and on the new causes in general acting upon the character of the workmen themselves. Will they be made manly, selfrelying, conscientious, and provident, or the opposite of all this?" 4. It is conceded that an economic

interest on the part of the individual must be maintained under Socialism Schæffle says, "Socialism would Schæffle says, "Socialism would have to give the individual at least as strong an interest in the collective work as he has under the liberal system of production. It would have to secure to every sub-group a premium on extraordinary

amounts of collective production, and a loss through collective slackness; . . . to bestow effective distinction on all special success in technical development, and duly to reward great individual merit." It by no means follows, however, that the interest in the one system need be exactly equal to that in the other. An excess of economic zeal has destroyed the harmony and happiness of many lives.

5. The objection under consideration proceeds on the assumption that economic interest under any regime necesthe official has no economic interest at stake. Under Socialism, such interest is bound up with the results of the social production. In the former case he draws his pay regardless of the quality of his work; in the latter, both pay and position are affected by the quality of work. It is certain that when political preferment and honor depended upon economic products, a stimulus would be given to production. 8. At present large numbers do not

work; they have no contact with labor, no interest in lightening its burden or improving its methods. Under Socialism, all are workers; all will therefore have an interest in lightening the burden of labor, and we might reasonably expect an era of labor-saving inventions such as capitalism has never dreamed of.

9. There are other motives to exertion even stronger than the desire of riches, but which are generally ignored by the critics of Socialism. There are, besides the demands which satisfy merely physical wants, the love of glory, the desire of esteem, family affection, the love of justice, the passion for knowledge, and even the re-ligious principle, all of which are springs of human activity often more potent than the love for money; and when their activity and realization are made to depend entirely upon labor, manual, mental, or moral, is it reasonable to suppose that there would be any lack of incentive to economic or other social effort?

We have only to witness the generous and wholesome rivalries among a thousand college students where the stimulus of pecuniary reward is un-known, to satisfy us on this point. We speak from personal observation and knowledge in saying that we have never witnessed a nobler ambition and spirit of self-sacrifice than was displayed in the army that suppressed the Rebellion. Soldiers, without the least regard to a money consideration, vied with each other in performing the most difficult and dangerous duties. 10. The maxim, Each for all and all for each, admits and demands that only that kind of degree of self-interest

which is just or tolerable in a state of society. 11. It is inherently probable that production would be vastly greater

when men assisted and encouraged each other, than when they opposed and ruined each other. To hold to the contrary is anarchistic, unethical and unnatural.

12. The capitalistic system, by depriving wage-workers of a just share in the product, tends to destroy their interest in the work, and to render them lazy, wasteful, and inefficient. The bitterest and most universal complaint of employers of labor is, The workmen take no interest in their work."

13. A clear distinction should be made between the motives to efforts for a comfortable subsistence, and the motives to efforts for acquiring riches. It is the last class of motives of which capitalism is ever jealous, but for which Socialism, backed by ethical science, declares the judgment day to be at hand.

14. The argument that State-help would impair the motive to effort is fallacious. It employs the term Statehelp as the equivalent of charity. It contrasts State-help with self-help under the capitalistic regime, and as-sumes that Socialism will render all citizens objects of charity, quasi paupers, and as such socially demoralized. This is a strange mistake. The very object of Socialism is to render Statehelp in this sense unnecessary. There is a sense in which the State helps and must help its members. Property, as now conceived, can neither be acquired nor held without the aid of the State through its laws. State-help, in pro-tecting life and limb, is demanded by all. Economically speaking, men are becoming more and more dependent upon the help of each other. "In his economic position, and in the manner and in the success of his economic ac-tivity, and in all that pertains to his income and to his resources, the individual becomes dependent upon the economic activity and acts of others." Indeed, all communication by mail, telegraph or telephone is through State-help. We cannot go anywhere, nor transport anything, nor engage in any business, without the assistance and security of the laws; that is, withand sectority of the laws; that is, white out State-help. This is the nature of State-help which Socialism will ren-der to individuals. It will help them to help themselves. It will encourage them by removing obstacles which soclety now puts in their way. It will help them, as State-help, by its roads and regulations, now assists a traveler way, and enables him to reach on his his destination. Besides these considerations which bear directly on the question before us, and render it at least improbable in the Co-operative Commonthat wealth the motive to effort would be impaired, production diminished, and progress retarded, another phase of the subject is worthy of attention. We will pass by the fact that, even if the incentive to effort should be somewhat weakened, the large number of

greatly increase production; and the further fact that the immense waste of capitalism would be saved under Socialism, and tend still further to the total production. Suppose, then, that material "progress" was retarded; what would happen? Is it absolutely certain that society could not survive the terrible consequences should it slacken its pace in "making haste to be rich?" The most recent and significant

voice of political economy says, "To show that a practical measure will create wealth is not enough to commend it. The main question is, what effect will it have on the entire life of the nation, also of humanity? The true starting point in economic dis-cussions is the ethical community, of which the individual is a member." This is well and bravely said. The race of nations is not always to the swift. 'This country would live longer if it lived more slowly. Our mush-room growth, however flattering to our vanity, is anything but assuring to the students of history. The result of economic zeal under capitalism is the vast accumulation of private riches; and this, if history repeats itself, will be the signal for national decay and dissolution. Not until "silver was in Jerusalem as stones," was the pow-erful kingdom of the Israelites divided and destroyed. Mighty Babylon suc-cumbed, not to the armies of Cyrus, but to the fatal revelry begotten of her wealth and splendor; and the wonder of the whole world became "an astonishment and a hissing, without an inhabitant." The glory of Sparta de-parted with the acquisition of wealth. A single sentence of the historian reveals the cause of her fall: "The primitive simplicity of Spartan manners had been completely destroyed by the collection of wealth into a few hands. and by the consequent progress of lux The rise and power of the difury." ferent states of Greece were contemporary with the industrious habits of all the people. Chiefs and nobles at first performed manual labor, and their wives and daughters not only wove and spun, but assisted their slaves fetching water and washing garments; but with the accumulation of wealth, and the consequent weak-ening of physical and moral fiber, came national decay and ruin.

Gibbon dates the decline of the Roman Empire from the accession of Commodus, when the wealth of all Europe, Asia and Africa lay at her In more recent times when feet. Spain began to overflow with gold un der Charles V., her national power and glory began to ebb. Professor Ely says truly, "Economic forces, are prominent in the decay of civiliza-tion." History furnishes abundant evidence that in all ages cities and counbecome popular and powerful, tries then perish from their riches and con-

sequent moral rottenness. Mr. Rae tells us that "Socialists ignore the civilizing value of private property and inheritance." A more important question in the light of history is, do political economists and advocates of the capitalistic system appreciate the demoralizing and ruinous tendencies of these institutions?

If all social "progress" depends on the amassing of property, at what point does society begin to progress backwards?

This word "progress" may yet break the back of free institutions. The notion is now practically limited to ma-terialism in its broadest and grossest sense; it suggests gigantic financial schemes, the development of natural resources, the utilization of the forces of nature, and the material aggrandizement of individuals and nations; in a word, the enthronement of physical science as paramount to all other considerations, temporal or eternal. Moral and psychological science of infinite importance to the race is comparatively neglected and ignored. We do not worship "the good old times," nor do we care to have civilization set back to primitive times; but we have no objection to going back to what was good and better than now. We forget that the world got along fairly well without steam engines, railroads, electric wires and printing presses Plato was something of a traveler and writer. Socrates succeded in getting around Athens without an elevated railway, and he understood tolerably well the art of conversation. Could Noah have availed himself of our progress" and built the ark in thirty days, the day of doom for the race would have been hastened one hundred and twenty years. The "fulness of time," according to infinite wisdom so far from being in the nineteenth century, was two thousand years ago. Christ managed to get along without steam, and actually went on foot through Palestine. Bacon and Shak-speare, Franklin and Washington, without the telegraph and telephone, contrived to say and do some things worth remembering. Flatter ourselves as we may, material "progress" alone will never restore "the lost arts," bring back the as yet unapproached Attic culture, or introduce the millen-nium. We believe in "progress," only do not let us as individuals or nations seek to gain the whole world at the expense of losing heaven both here and hereafter. The sole condition of all healthy, happy human life, is mens sana in corpore sano.

THE 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 f production and distribution of 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-work ers, who are deprived of the socially due share of their product. That capitalism, the private own-

ership of the means of production, is responsibile 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 coöperate 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 mis-sion to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of A merica.

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 rail-

roads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water works, gas and electric plants,

and all other public utilities. 4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, coal, iron, 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.

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 and lack of employment and pensions in old age.

10. Equal civil and political rights for women, and the abolition of all

laws discriminating against women. 11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of

FROM OUR MAIL BAG

ST. LOUIS SOCIALISTS.

Branch No. 6 of the Social Democra Party of St. Louis, Mo., is pushing in good work. Sunday, July 24, in is afternoon, and evening, this trans will give a pleasant garden festival Eversback's Garden, corner of Arsen street and Gravois avenue, to which all comrades of St. Louis and ther all comrades of St. Louis and the families are urgently invited. Family tickets are 10 cents. Zither music by Comrades Dorn, Jost, Lavinski, Eri and others, has been secured, also other good concert and dancing music Songs, recitations, etc., are op the pro-gram. Comrade G. A. Hoehn will speak on the subject, "The Birth of the Social Democratic Party of America." Comrade Julius H. Friton will give a fine recitation. One of the features of the festival will be the features of the festival will be the singing of Socialist songs by all the comrades on the ground.

Every Socialist and friend of our cause whom this note reaches in St. Louis and vicinity should attend. It will be a pleasant Socialist garden festival and an excellent Socialist mass meeting at the same time. Don't forget the date-Sunday, July 24. THE COMMITTEE.

BRANCH 3, ST. LOUIS.

Branch 3, St. Louis, in meeting June 28, took action on the delegates' report on the convention made in the previous meeting. After a long discussion it was unanimously decided to with-draw from the S. D. of A. In meet-ing of July 12, after receiving a constitution of the S. D. P. of A., it was decided that this branch teorganize under the S. D. P. of A., all members expressing themselves in favor of independent political action on the lines of International Socialism. We are well pleased with the stand taken in regard to the trade union movement. We are glad to know that at last we Socialist party under whose banner the trade union can fight their oppressors on political lines. We are also well pleased to have our true Comrade E. V. Debs to lead us in the

new party. the oppressed throughout the land take new hope and work for the early establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

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sarily depends for its healthy existence and operation upon the opportunity and expectation of accumulating private riches. This assumption cannot for a moment be admitted.

6. Inasmuch as the income and social well-being of every individual would depend, first, upon his own zeal, and second, upon the zeal of others, he would be doubly interested in secur-ing the largest possible product; for his share of this product would meas-ure the amount of necessary comforts and luxuries which he would receive. Each workman would, therefore, have a personal interest in the work of every other. A careless or lazy workman would receive less than the more worthy; every one would be interested in the efficiency of labor, by which cost would be reduced and the social product increased. So far from impairing the motive to effort, it is easy to imagine almost any degree of hon-est pride and enthusiasm of labor when every workman had a personal interest in the work of every other; and, on the other hand, the detestation with which idleness and laziness would be regarded when these vices assumed the character of direct injury to one's fellows and of treason to the State. 7. Because public functionaries in a capitalistic state are often indifferent as to economic results, it is erroneously inferred that the same would be true in the Socialistic state. "It would," we are told, "render universal the maladministration inherent in all public productive departments." It is entirely overlooked that the conditions are wholly changed. Under capitalism

Keep your bundle orders filed in adpresent non-producers which would be vance, so that provision will be made added to the army of workers would for them; 50 cents for 100 copies. representatives by the voters.

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

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

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

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

as a cost. 3. The postaf, railroad, telegraph and telephone services to be so united that every post and railroad station shall be also 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.

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