

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 49

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, MAY 26, 1900.

Whole No. 99.

BREAK IN THE RANKS OF THE MID-ROAD POPULISTS

The break has come; the evolution has been completed for a large number of middle-of-the-road populists during the past month, and the Social Democratic party is about to make a distinct and widely extended advance. This is noticeably true in Iowa, as the subjoined letters addressed to Mr. A. W. C. Weeks, chairman of the people's party state committee, will testify:

Populist Leader Quits

Lone Tree, Iowa, May 15, 1900.

A. W. C. Weeks, Chairman, etc., Winterset, Iowa:

Dear Sir—It has been a growing conviction with me for several years that the complete and final cure for the social and economic ills which today grievously afflict mankind can be brought about only by the reconstruction of society in harmony with the principles of modern Socialism. I am constrained to believe that reformers should work with a party whose aims are purely Socialistic, and whose principles permit of no compromise with capitalism, or fusion with capital serving parties, and should not scatter their votes through other and various organizations.

There is no middle ground on which to wage a conflict between the capitalism of the present day and its natural opponent, the co-operative commonwealth. Neither can there be harmony or compromise between these two forces.

"A step in the right direction" party will never secure anything further than that of obtaining public patronage for its politicians and of crushing the hopes of those of its supporters who sought for "half a loaf."

A party such as the people's, which is one-third capitalistic, two-thirds Socialistic, with capitalistic parties on one side and a Socialistic party on the other, has no ground on which to sow its seed. On the one hand the Bryan forces draw those who are easily attracted by "sounding brass" and the "tinkling cymbal"; while, on the other, the advanced thinkers easily see that in Socialism alone is found the means to overcome the inequalities of wealth distribution.

Under these conditions the people's party remains simply an exhibition of stubborn adherence to a name.

The democratic and republican parties are both undeniably capitalistic. They both defend individualism and uphold the competitive system. Socialism is the direct antipodes of each and of both. To a Socialist the conflict between these two parties is nothing more than a great national debate, the prize of which is public patronage.

Whatever good the people's party might have accomplished was rendered impossible when the knife of fusion was thrust into its vitals. The party is dead from this blow and without hope of resurrection under the same name and with the same ideals. The greenback party died from fusion wounds and brought in its stead the union labor party. Fusion again accomplished its deadly work and the people's party was born. Again was struck the deadly fusion blow and this time it is Socialism, which has risen in the place of the people's party. Each party has been a step to the final goal. All of the above parties have been more or less capitalistic, and notice that fusion has always been obtained on the capitalistic part of the platform, never on the Socialistic.

What we need now is a reform party which is Socialistic through and through, and in which there is not a vestige of capitalism. Such a party is the Social Democratic. We need a leader in whom the labor world has confidence. Such a leader is Eugene V. Debs, a man tried both by time and conditions. In view of all of the foregoing I cannot hesitate longer to enlist in the cause, and by this public announcement declare that such ability as I possess shall henceforth be devoted to the cause of Socialism.

Having declared my purpose in the above, it only remains to tender to you and to the populists of Iowa my resignation as, first, a member of the national people's party committee; second, a member of the state central committee; third, as secretary of the latter organization. Fraternal yours,
A. W. Ricker.

Joins Social Democratic Party

From Hon. Charles A. Lloyd, candidate for governor of Iowa on the people's party ticket, 1897 and 1899:
To the Members of the People's Party of Iowa:

In announcing my purpose to support the principles and candidates of the Social Democratic party, I feel that it is a severance of party ties in name only, since the state platform on which you named me as your candidate for governor last fall was clearly

on the lines of the principles of the Social Democracy. I have never been a stickler for mere partisanship, as such, perceiving that it is today the bond of subjection to oppression that makes reform of such slow growth, for could we have eliminated the fetich of partyism from the minds of the American laborers and producers of wealth, we would have long ago reached the conscience and convinced the judgment of the millions of party-controlled wage slaves and toilers that today are voting power that makes private monopoly, militarism and wage slavery of such long life; and surely we who have ever urged the breaking of party ties whenever such a course would best conserve the principles we love, should never hesitate a moment when our judgment leads us to believe that more can be accomplished by a new alignment for the fundamental principles of justice and liberty than could be secured in the old organization, and this, my fellow populists, is my sole reason for giving my support to the new and young party, the Social Democracy. It has life, activity, growth. The people's party was killed by fusion and the heroic efforts of the few brave and undaunted men who have clung to and shared its trials since then have only been rewarded by a constantly diminishing vote. The principles of the Social Democracy are placed upon the bedrock of a truly productive industry, founded in the solidity of the co-operative commonwealth, whose fruits are Plenty and whose ways are Peace.

My brother reformers, for the trust you have repeatedly reposed in and the honors conferred upon me, during the many years we have worked together, I can only express my eternal gratitude and cannot believe that this action upon my part will sever a single friendly tie that has heretofore bound us together. Very respectfully,

Charles A. Lloyd,
Muscatine, Iowa, May 11, 1900.

Is Now a Social Democrat

Van Horne, Iowa, May 18, 1900.
To A. W. C. Weeks, Chairman People's Party, State Committee, Winterset, Iowa—

Dear Sir: It becomes my duty to sever my connection with the people's party, and I hereby resign as a member of the state committee from the Fifth district. In leaving the people's party to join the Social Democracy I will briefly explain my reasons for said course.

In the first place, in leaving the people's party I am impelled by reasons that pertain to its management—rather mismanagement—in the past.

The people's party has shown itself incapable of self-management and become secondary and subservient to a party of incoherence, insincerity and sham reform. This is the testimony of the memorable campaign of 1896, whose story you know. Since that time the people's party, having once become inoculated with the fatal virus of fusion, has been as "a house divided against itself," and it was as clear to my mind then as it is today that in consequence it would fall.

Now, as for joining the Social Democracy. In doing this I need not and do not make a sacrifice of any principle which the people's party now holds or has held. As a matter of fact the intrinsic value, the real essence of the populist platform from Omaha down has been the Socialism they contained. I am simply leaving a party that is partially Socialistic, and therefore inconsistent, for one that is consistent, that is wholly Socialistic.

While on the one extreme the republican party is essentially capitalistic, or anti-Socialistic, it is at least honest and consistent; and while the democratic party is partially Socialistic, the fusion populists more, and the middle-roads still more so, yet all these three are discordant, incongruous, inconsistent bodies, collectively as well as individually, and show no fixed or well-defined aim, except it be that they point to the other logical extreme—namely, Socialism. Therefore the Social Democratic program, being purely, completely Socialistic, is consistent and logical, and is the only antithesis, the only real opponent of republican or republico-democratic capitalism. The future of this country lies between republicanism, which is capitalism, on the one hand, and Socialism, its logical antagonist, on the other. There is no middle-road, no fusion fence to climb on; it is one thing or the other. And no other party or system can prevent the line of battle from crystallizing down to these two positions finally, one or the other of which we must finally support. "Choose ye whom ye will serve." I am henceforth going the whole hog. I am going with

thousands of others into a movement that knows not fusion (and its logical result, confusion); a movement that is international in extent, a party that is universal in its scope, that aims at the dethronement of capitalism as a system, in all lands, whether headed by an Emperor William in Germany, a Queen Victoria in England or a Republican McKinley in the United States. And this by the enthronement, the institution of a system of co-operative industry, as well as government, culminating in the highest mortal ideal, the brotherhood of the human race. In so leaving I bear no ill will toward the people's party or any other reform party. And bidding adieu, I have the firm hope that I will meet the majority of true reformers again on the Social Democratic platform, sooner or later, according to how quickly and thoroughly each grasps the situation. Yours fraternally,
Dr. C. Wirth.

YOUR VOTE AND YOUR SYMPATHY

By Harry F. Dyruff

"Trust no future, how'er pleasant,
Let the dead past bury its dead.
ACT—ACT in the living present,
Heart within and God overhead."
—Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

I watched one day a cat playing with a mouse which it had caught; it would allow it a little freedom to spur it to renewed efforts for liberty, then would pounce upon it again, then release it, until it finally killed the little creature. This little incident brought to my mind the struggle between labor and capital in the United States. The mouse was oppressed by what was apparently the stronger, just as labor is oppressed by what apparently is the stronger. Yet in reality in which class lies the strength? All laborers individually are as the mouse, in the hands of the capitalists. Imagine a mouse realizing its power, calling together its fellow-mice, co-operating with them, and in one united co-operative onslaught overpowering the cat and ending its existence. So could the laborer crush and abrogate the capitalist were he to combine with his fellows and in one combined co-operative endeavor take to himself that which is rightfully his. Single-handed he is powerless; as a part of an organized body he is all powerful. The capitalist class now plays with labor as the cat with the mouse; it allows it a little freedom to spur it to renewed efforts, then crushes it again. If labor does not awaken to the needs of the situation and combination is not effected, it will be crushed when such combination will be too late to be effective. Many workmen look at the temporary relief sometimes given them by half-way reformers as a good thing for them—just as the mouse thinks temporary freedom is a good chance for him to escape, but its results are always reactionary. Shall we advocate, as the Bryan element does, the election of a man who would retard the perfection of industrial organization? Or shall we support the man who would seize for the common good these beautiful, co-operative, systematized industries after they have been perfected?

I say let us stop this silly play. Let us stop this compromising before our compromises have been accepted. Get down to good hard work and toil hard for the final ending. "Hitch your wagon to a star," and not to a flimsy balloon which may at any time burst and precipitate you to the ground. Aim high and don't forget to do more than talk, but act. Action speaks a thousand times louder than words. And don't be a hypocrite; don't preach Socialism and then go to the ballot box and act something else. Don't talk Socialism and then cast your vote for everything under the sun but Socialism! And don't croak. If there is anything that makes one feel disgusted it is to see a man going around saying, "Socialism is fine, excellent; I believe in it, but we cannot win." You cannot get results unless you work for them and work hard; you cannot get political reforms unless you vote for them—not only preach, but vote for them. If every Socialist would say, "Well, we can't elect our ticket this year, so what is the use of voting for it?" we would never get a step farther. By showing a large increase in your vote each year you would attract thousands who now say Socialism is impracticable and many others would open their eyes to our rapid growth and would say, "Well, there must be something practical in this or it wouldn't grow so fast." Therefore, don't forget that the only way to get Socialism is to vote for it, and not simply talk for it. Talk is cheap; it's action we want and need, and I hope you will be manly and true in November by voting the straight Socialist ticket, headed by those illustrious champions of labor and justice, Eugene V. Debs and Job Harriman.

Have your card inserted in the BRANCH DIRECTORY, 25 Cents per Month. It will help you in the work in your locality.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY WHEN ORGANIZED AND WHY

The Social Democratic party was organized at Chicago, June 11, 1898. At that time and for many years previous there existed the Socialist Labor party, an organization controlled by a faction in New York and conducting its affairs generally throughout the country through a system of espionage and persecution of individuals, which was carried to the extreme of suspending or expelling members on causes of the most trivial character and for no cause at all, and always arrayed in hostility toward the regular trades unions and those connected with organized labor.

The Socialist movement in the United States never made any notable advance as a result of the propaganda of the Socialist Labor party. While its principles were, in the main, sound and revolutionary, its spirit and method were repulsive and directly subversive of the ends which, as a Socialist organization, it sought to attain. The vote cast for candidates of this party, confined chiefly to New York City, was trifling, whether in local, state or national elections. It could not have been otherwise, for the objectionable party tactics were supplemented by the narrow bigotry of a party organ, the People, a weekly paper of very limited circulation.

In spite of the methods of the Socialist Labor party, however, and with almost no help from those known to be identified with that organization, the propaganda for Socialism was true and constant and the cause itself won new advocates and adherents in all parts of the country. This was noticeably true in the years 1894-'96-'98, when the Socialist vote was 33,133, 36,564 and 91,953, respectively, the last item including the first vote of the Social Democratic party and representing the total vote cast for Socialism in 1898. In that year the Social Democratic party was organized, but in only three or four states and a few communities in these states was the new party well enough organized to do effective work. Previous to that, however, in January, 1897, Eugene V. Debs issued a card announcing his conversion and adherence to the principles of Socialism. This action on the part of one so well and favorably known to the country, coupled with the great upheaval following the Pullman strike, unquestionably had much to do with the marked increase of the Socialist vote from 36,564 in 1896 to 91,953 in 1898. Here was a jump of 55,389 votes in two years. In the two years previous, from '94 to '96, there was an increase of only 3,431.

Another factor to be reckoned with in this connection is this, that while, as already stated, the Socialist Labor party papers had very limited circulation, and in whole states and divisions of the country were entirely unknown, such publications as the Coming Nation (distinctively Socialistic after August, 1896) and the Appeal to Reason, with a combined circulation of 100,000 copies weekly, were disseminating Socialist principles where Socialist Labor party papers were never seen and going in far greater numbers than Socialist Labor party papers into sections of the country where the largest Socialist vote was cast.

The cause of Socialism was advancing, not because of the Socialist Labor party organization and its antagonism to trades unionism and a hypercritical attitude toward those who were coming to an acceptance of the root principle of Socialism, but without its help and in spite of a species of insanity that characterized its alleged propaganda.

The Coming Nation and Appeal to Reason have been a positive, vital force in whatever acquisition to the Socialist movement has been shown at the polls since 1896 and even before.

The Social Democratic party was organized, not for the purpose of multiplying parties avowing the same principles, but both as a natural consequence of a growing American sentiment favorable to Socialism and as a protest against a pernicious policy which, to the present time, is a hindrance to the growth of the movement.

How Organized

Five or more persons can organize a branch of the Social Democratic party. Any reputable person subscribing to the principles of the organization is eligible to membership.

Desiring to organize a branch, application should be made to the national secretary for copies of the constitution, which should be placed in the hands of the prospective members. In these will be found the declaration of principles, as also the laws of the organization.

Having secured the names of five or more Socialists, a meeting is called and the branch is instituted by electing a secretary, treasurer and organizer.

The names of these officers are forthwith transmitted by the secretary to the

national secretary, together with the names and postoffice addresses of all the members and the required fee as hereinafter specified, whereupon a charter is issued by the national secretary and the branch is duly organized and prepared for active operation.

The admission fee is 25 cents per member and quarterly dues 25 cents per quarter, payable in advance, on or before the 1st day of January, 1st day of April, 1st day of July and 1st day of October. If the branch is instituted on or before the middle of the quarter, dues for the full quarter must be paid; if the branch is instituted after the middle of the quarter, the members are exempt for said quarter.

The admission fee of 25 cents and quarterly dues of 25 cents for each member must accompany the secretary's report, else charter cannot be issued.

Fees and Dues—How Applied

The question is sometimes asked, "What use is made of the funds paid in by members?" Information on this point is sought for by those who have not been accustomed to paying dues in political organizations. It is well known that the large amounts of money required for campaign purposes by the old parties are obtained from corporations and financial concerns, and that the rank and file of the voters are seldom if ever called upon to contribute. The Socialist movement necessarily depends for its financial support upon those who accept the principles of Socialism. The propaganda is maintained only at great personal sacrifice on the part of those who can ill afford to make it. But little could be accomplished, however, without organization, and since no organization committed to the revolutionary principles of Socialism can hope for financial support from the class which the adoption of these principles will dispossess of the means of exploiting the working class; no other alternative remains but to provide ways and means to apportion the expense burden among the members. The method of doing this in the Social Democratic party has been explained. The expense is \$1 per year for each member. In consideration of the payment of this amount a member receives every week a copy of the Social Democratic Herald, the regular subscription price of which is Fifty Cents. It is a feature of the policy of the party, justified by results in the past, that every member of the organization is helped and the interests of the party promoted by giving him a paper containing news and information of the movement and the organization. A publishing business and an organization require the services of a national secretary and editor and these persons have to be paid. Then there are such items as office rent, stationery, and so forth, that cannot be avoided because inseparable from the work to be done.

It will thus be seen that there is urgent need for every dollar paid into the organization and that the expenditure of all money is in the interest and for the extension of the principles upon which the organization is based.

Results Justify Party's Existence

Since the party was organized a most enthusiastic and resolute spirit has characterized the work of the comrades in the political arena, and in different sections of the country not less than thirty members of the party have been elected to public positions. It also has the support of many newspapers throughout the country, including the Appeal to Reason, with its circulation of over 100,000 weekly.

Object of the Party

The object of the Social Democratic party, stated in the platform, which will be found on the fourth page of this paper, is:

"First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

"Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism."

At the national convention of the Social Democratic party, held at Indianapolis, March 6 to 9, 1900, a revised constitution was adopted. This constitution is submitted to the members for a referendum vote and appears in another place in this paper.

Any additional information will be promptly furnished on application to Theodore Debs, national secretary, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

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Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

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JESSE COX, Chairman
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EUGENE V. DEBS, **VICTOR L. BERGER**
FREDERIC HEATH

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Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MAY 26, 1900.

REPUBLICAN LOOTERS IN CUBA

After the blowing up of the Maine in the harbor of Havana the United States government, in the name of God and good government, started in to confer upon the Cuban people, who had been plundered for centuries by the mercenary Spaniards, the blessings of civilization according to American ideals. Scarcely had this work begun when the whole civilized world was shocked by the discovery of systematic frauds carried on by favorites of the republican administration, and the latter today stands disgraced and all its hypocritical professions unmasked before the world. Strenuous efforts are being made to suppress the facts, but enough is known to convict the administration and those of its place-holders who have jimmied the Cuban safe, to make a return to power impossible with the aid of ballots cast by decent people. A large number of "true and tried" republican office-holders are involved in the schemes of robbery organized by the "civilizers." Their lootings have not been confined to the postoffice, as is shown by a report that a spur of railroad outside of the city of Havana has cost the Cubans \$1,400,000, notwithstanding that it could have been built at a maximum cost of \$125,000. Thus the art of good government and the blessings of civilization which a policy of imperialism seeks to foist upon a people no better off by being freed from Spanish robbers, are made paltry and contemptible.

Neely, the loyal republican who held the office of treasurer of the postoffice department of Cuba, once made himself conspicuous at Muncie, Ind., by trying to break up one of Eugene Debs' meetings. This is the fellow who has been guilty of frauds the extent of which has not yet been ascertained.

Rathbone, one of Marcus Hanna's right-hand men, accused of bribing a member of the Ohio legislature in behalf of McKinley's chief adviser, has been relieved from duty for being caught in the act of trying to graft republican methods on the good government of Cuba.

Of such is the kingdom of the Hanna-McKinley republican combine!

A prominent resident of Washington says of this outrage: "We entered Cuba with promises to the world that we would administer the affairs of that island with integrity and in a spirit of fair play. The result is too shocking to contemplate without anger. The unfortunate part of the matter is that we have yet to hear of the most outrageous betrayals of public and personal faith. I am informed by reliable persons that the conditions in Cuba are simply shocking. The government of that island has been little short of an organized loot."

FRENCH VIEW OF BELLAMY

Our scientific comrades of France are reported in the following dispatch from Paris to have just discovered in Bellamy's "Looking Backward" the "best instrument of Socialistic propaganda extant." This news is pleasing to some of us who organized Nationalist clubs back in 1889, but will throw some people into a conniption fit:

"Paris, May 12.—The Federation of Socialists has just discovered Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward." Leaders here are wildly enthusiastic and call the book the best instrument of Socialistic propaganda extant. They are having a French translation made. A cheap edition will be printed and distributed free by the million. Jean Jaures, the Socialist leader, said:

"The American master piece was quite unknown to us till now. We expect the book will do wonders toward dissipating hostile ignorance against our ideas. We shall erect a statue to Bellamy in Paris within six months. He has contributed more than twenty Deweys together to the glory of the American nation."

The Western Socialist News is the name of a new monthly that comes to the support of the Social Democratic party. It is edited by G. C. Clemens, and this fact in itself will be a guaranty of mighty interesting issues in the future. The subscription is 50 cents a year; office, Topeka, Kan.

NOTES AND COMMENT

It is pleasant to know and be able to record the fact that, notwithstanding the Herald for many weeks was made the vehicle for all the communications for and against union it could carry, there has been a steady addition of new branches and a breaking of ground for the Social Democratic party in new territory. Since the Indianapolis convention seventy-six new branches have sprung into life to work for the cause of human freedom. In this total the southern states are represented with eight branches, the east with thirteen and the west with fifty-five. The organization now has a grand total of 300 branches, the result of less than two years' work, and the prospect for great increase and wide extension of the party's influence has never been as bright as now. No such organization of Socialists has heretofore existed in the United States. Let us push forward to greater achievement.

When all the votes cast by members in good standing or otherwise on the proposition submitted by the executive board are counted, the result is a total of 2,702, a larger referendum vote than was ever cast by any Socialist party in this country. The vote was divided as follows: Against union, 1,453; for, 1,249. It determines the issue and settles the question. The Social Democratic party will now proceed with its proper work of organization. If others want political co-operation in the coming campaign, that can be arranged. If not, the S. D. P. will arrange its own campaign and attend to its own affairs.

We publish this week some very interesting news and letters from Iowa, where the beginnings of a great movement favorable to the Social Democratic party are discernible. The correspondence is indicative of a state of affairs existing wherever honest men have tired of fusion and come to see in Socialism the logical ground and program for the future. Comrade Ricker has been chosen state organizer for the S. D. P. in Iowa. We cordially welcome him and his co-workers to the International Socialist movement.

Reports that letters have been received from members who voted against union regretting their action, are unqualifiedly false. Such reports emanate from those who had union consummated by 95 per cent of the members long before the vote was taken. The trouble with some people is that they are too cock-sure that they are right and all others wrong.

While the looting of Cuba under an American administration is progressing, the patriots of the corporations at home are raiding the public treasury with all sorts of jobs, the latest being an attempt to appropriate \$725,000 to a private company for a pneumatic-tube service worth only \$225,000. How the capitalist class does love the country!

The republican party is to be put in the attitude of leading the fight against its most trusty supporters—the trusts. The republican leaders will appeal to the people to save them from the power, of which they are a part, which has controlled all republican legislation for thirty years.

Reports that the general government will take a hand in the strike and protect non-union men on the Chicago federal building are doubtless without foundation. The administration will do nothing until after election, when the votes are counted.

The American Ice company of New York city has raised the price of ice from 30 cents a hundred pounds last year to 60 cents this season. This is done because the people are so prosperous and the company does not wish to pose as a philanthropic institution.

Gen. Wood says the Cuban mail service should not be blamed for the faults of a handful of rascals. Very true; and nobody is blaming Cuba. The blame is on the administration which is responsible for the rascals, and it can't be shaken off.

Porto Ricans are now enjoying the blessed privilege of being independent under the stars and stripes, with employment at road building for 39 cents a day.

It has been found that one Boer is equal to four Britishers, but when the fifth red jacket is added the Boer farmer finds the odds too great and retreat is necessary.

The hard-working laborer receiving \$1.50 a day would have to work 150 years to earn an amount equal to Rockefeller's income for a single day.

To catch "suckers" some of the big corporations and trusts will put a 10 per cent raise-in-wages bait on the republican hook.

If the McKinley administration wins on its record, the prospects of the country for honesty and self-respect will be in a bad way.

Comrades E. V. Debs, Berger and Stedman left Chicago last Friday to attend a meeting at New York. In next week's Herald the outcome of this meeting will be reported.

Wyoming is going to be heard from. T. C. Tidball, formerly national committeeman of the people's party, has resigned and is in the field organizing the S. D. P.

A prominent supporter of Bryan in 1896, W. J. Walker, says the state of Washington will show 15,000 votes for the Socialist ticket.

INDIVIDUALISM RIPE FOR CHANGE

Amid all the turmoil of the political world, the careful student of economics can see that there is but one problem worthy of public attention. History takes cognizance of several thousand years in the life of the human race, during which time we have lived under a system of individualism. This system has reached its highest attainment. It has fulfilled its mission in that it has preserved the strongest, in that it has developed, the survival of the fittest. Under its workings the best in material civilization has been attained. Its motto has been "Every one for himself, everything for itself, that the strongest and best may survive." We do not contend that this system has not been the best for the world until the present time, and we do not pretend to say that a continuation of this system would not in the ages to come, as in the ages past, tend to develop the race along material lines. We think we can clearly see that under its operations the strong Anglo-Saxon race would become the conquerors of the world, and that in a material sense progress would be unchecked. * * * * * However, a system to be accepted for all time must be judged by the sum total of its effects. When we judge the individualistic system in this way, we can see untold misery and suffering for a large part of the human race. The first great instinct of man is to live, the second is to live happily. Individualism knows no humanity. Its vital principle is selfishness. It gets all it can and keeps it for its own pleasure. It carries its selfishness beyond the grave, giving to its posterity all it has created, with the injunction attached that the next in line of succession add as much thereto as possible. In order that individualism injure no one, it needs for its operation limitless space. So long as it does not take all, no misery results, but when it reaches the limits of a given space, then the master and slave are created. * * * * * We live in a world confined to so many square miles. These square miles are confined to so many acres and acres to rods and rods to feet. In other words we have a fixed and inexpandable space for our abode. With the people who are to live and draw their sustenance from this space, there is no such limit. The multiplication of the species is the unwritten law of nature. Now, let us state the problem more clearly for our consideration. First, a limited space from which to draw our sustenance; second, a population constantly and inevitably expanding; third, an individualistic system which gives to individuals a fixed and permanent control of a given space and the resources thereof; fourth, the inevitable accretion on the part of the naturally strong and the loss of all holding on the part of the weak; fifth, the "few" children born with the legal right to the control of all the resources of the earth and the "many" of posterity, with no privilege to the use of the earth excepting as they may pay tribute to the few; sixth, millionaires and tramps, landlords and tenants, masters and slaves, control of the earth, the liberty, the person and the destiny of the many by the few. Let us admit that individualism will build great navies, construct guns of enormous size, and projectiles of great destructive power; that it will produce magnificent architecture; that it will develop man's material genius by the strife engendered by individual rivalry and the desire on the part of each man to surpass his neighbor, but also let us admit that it will inevitably destroy democracy and equality, and that it will absorb into the hands of the few all the natural resources of the earth; that it is the destroyer of happiness, of honor, of virtue, of all the finer sensibilities of the race, and that it is the promoter of crime, beggary, vice and all the warlike and barbaric instincts of man. * * * * * The question for solution now is, "Which is to be more considered, property rights and the perpetuation of the same, or human life and the happiness of the race?" If we are to promote the latter, we must change our system. We must take away from the few the right to own and bequeath the earth and the fullness thereof, and place all the resources of the land at the disposal of the race to be used only for sustaining of life. The state, the body of people collectively, must become the protector and sustainer of every human life. We must substitute for individualism the system of co-operation. These two systems are wholly at variance with each other. They cannot be compromised in any way. The one champions the right of the individual to take all that strength and cunning will give, and to use that for his own selfish desires, while the

other champions the right of every man to the free use of that which will sustain life and promote happiness. Individualism is brutal. It is barbaric. It is cannibalistic and belongs with the dark ages from which man has emerged. It has served its purpose and if longer continued will involve the world in misery and pain too great for expression. The co-operative system is human, Christian, brotherly. It conceives all mankind as having a common interest in life. It defends the weak, champions the oppressed, promotes all that is good and beautiful in human character. It will give happiness and contentment to all the people. Vice, crime and all the relics of barbarism will disappear under its mellowing influence. Shall we be barbarians or humanitarians? is the question we must solve and solve soon. The capitalistic parties stand for individualism and barbarism. The Socialists are for co-operation and humanity.

Lone Tree, Iowa. A. W. Ricker.

A NEW POLITICAL CODE

Pitch party to the devil, boys—let's take a pull together,
And see what progress we can make when working for ourselves;
Too long we've followed demagogues, as sheep do the bell-wether,
And when they got in office they laid us on the shelves.
Select the men for candidates who stood the brunt of battle
Before stern railway managers, who sought to take their lives,
The men who fought for justice where fierce war of words did rattle,
Though oft it meant starvation for their little ones and wives.
Pitch party to the devil, boys—choose men who never faltered
When hunger and the blacklist awaited their defeat;
Who never sold their manhood or their code of justice altered,
If the battle went against them and compelled them to retreat.
Republicans and democrats, and populists and others,
Always used us and denied us every right for which we fought;
So, hereafter, choose our candidates from 'mongst our faithful brothers,
Those who faced the foe to aid us—they're the men who can't be bought.
—Shandy Maguire, in Locomotive Firemen's Magazine.

FROM A DEAD NUMBER

Editor Social Democratic Herald—My Dear Comrade: I am so well pleased with the vote on the fusion of the two Socialist parties that I must send in congratulations. To my mind a union, at this time, and in such an unsatisfactory way, was an absolute impossibility. I am glad the name—Socialist Democratic party—came out whole. The name is a winner. It is sufficiently American to suit every American. It covers the whole reform question. To change the name would be taking a step backward. Our enemies would rejoice over such a step. Every true reformer and Socialist will come over to it in time. A ship that is sailing on as grandly as Social Democracy will never go begging for passengers or crew.

For reasons once stated in the Herald, I have been a dead number in the reform world, but I never once forgot to be a Socialist. No honest man ever renounced Socialism after being truly converted to the cause. Socialism is politics and religion amalgamated into one gospel. To work for the good of man is far more tangible than to work for the glory of God. To love the creature is the highest respect man can render to the Creator. Nothing on earth higher than man; nothing anywhere higher than his Creator. Food and shelter for the creature is veneration for the Creator; justice for man is the highest tribute we can offer to the author of human existence; and Socialism includes all.

If human life is not sacred, if human justice is not sacred, if an opportunity for all to earn a livelihood is not sacred, then nothing is sacred, and the whole universe is a miserable farce—a nightmare of hunger and want—a dream among moldy graves—a skeleton in rags—a mockery—a gall-covered curse.

Labor can win a victory this year without electing a single candidate. Every vote is a victory—pile them up. The old party sharks are already a-tremble. The creators of wealth should be the creators of law. They should be the supreme judges, they should be the government, they should own the world.

But how can we arouse enthusiasm in monopoly cursed Pennsylvania? These poor slaves are still owned by the bosses, and the bosses are owned, body and soul, by the corporations. They will not read, they will not think, they will not act like free men. We have not a single paper to teach them the truth. We need newspapers that publish all the news, the same as the plute papers, and teach Socialism in small doses. A thoroughly Socialist paper scares them. Their mental stomach is weak, their brains are dulled with superstition and prejudice; moral cowardice is in the very air, conscience lies sleeping, liberty is dead.

I fear it would be a waste of powder to hunt for such timid game. Perhaps it is best to talk to people who will listen, who will read and who will think. Our people only drift with the tide, and we must wait here until the flood

reaches our shore. We have no organizations, no leaders, no workers, no one to rouse the sleeping wage slaves for the battle this year.

Let us work this year in localities where the cause is beginning to flourish, where the fire of truth is already lighted, where the hope of freedom is already a part of human life, where men are ready and willing to take hold, where the shackles are already broken, where the hearts beat strong, where the warm blood courses through responsive veins, and where laboring men realize that they are the only source of wealth.
Jersey Shore, Pa. Jacob Huff.

SOCIALISM THE SUPREME FORCE

By George Dale

Socialism is the ripe fruit of pure democracy, made imperative and inevitable by the conditions arising out of the socialization of industry and intercourse, and is the only condition possible finally to a free, enlightened and moral people. Philosophically, it is based upon the highest conception of justice, and recognizes for the first time in history in connection with human polity the mutuality of all true human interests, and that equality which nature so indelibly and persistently stamps upon mankind.

Historically, Socialism is phenomenal and unique; as a world movement it has no parallel; born of social necessity, it comes in its due-time and order, and, where the social seed field is especially favorable, it wins its way with the most imperfect and sometimes unconscious propaganda. Ignoring all fortuitous distinctions, appealing to the truly human in man, it sweeps into its ever-swelling ranks the earnest, the thoughtful and best of every race.

Intellectually, it is, to the honest and unprejudiced, irresistible, satisfying alike the proof-demanding, systematic thinker as readily as the common-sense trusting mass of humanity. Rather than utopian, it is the widest possible application of common-sense to human relationships in the place of inherited prejudice and privilege with their countless train of barbarities.

Socialism has many teachers, but no prophets, and is not taught by authority, ever keeping the "open door" to the expanding mind and soul, and multiplies cause with its own mysterious rapidity because nothing short of it fully satisfies man's natural impulsion toward perfection. Its root principle has been the inspiration of the noblest in all times, and all that is sweet and strong and true in philosophy, art, religion and literature is making for Socialism as truly as the gigantic economic forces of today. While the material and economic side is properly advanced first, being the basis and governing all other conditions, Socialism carries more in its lap than bread. Fraternity, a true social communion, now impossible, it is the mighty touch of nature making the whole world kin—it is the great heart-beat of humanity.

A REMARKABLE EDITORIAL

A correspondent recently wrote the New York Evening Journal asking what were the four greatest movements in the world today. The paper replied in a long editorial, headed "Earth's Four Great Movements, and a Fifth That Makes the Four Seem Petty." The four movements it specified were: 1. The struggle of Russia to get world territory. 2. The counter movement of England to absorb the world. 3. The German army, forming a formidable obstacle to Russian invasion of western Europe. 4. The Roman church. After explaining these the editorial goes on to say:

"These four movements in their effect on the fourteen hundred millions of human insects who inhabit this earth seem to us most important.

"More important than any of them, more important than all of them combined, perhaps, is the present movement toward industrial combination, generally spoken of as the formation of trusts.

"This extraordinary step in human social evolution must bring these results:

"Abolition of competition, which political economy has hitherto held permanently essential to human progress.

"Abolition of the individual, of individual prowess, as a factor in further human progress. (?)

"Compulsory control of government—that is to say, by all the people—of all industries.

"INAUGURATION OF NATIONAL AND ULTIMATELY INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM. That is to say, of a system of society in which all the affairs of men will be managed by the social organism for the benefit of the social organism; and no longer by individuals for individuals, as our affairs are managed now.

"Study this great movement of industrial organization. It is the most important on our earth now."

Michigan Socialists

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

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FUND

Previously reported \$247.65
Marion, Ind. 9.50
\$257.15

NOTICE TO SECRETARIES

The attention of Branch Secretaries is called to the
constitution in this week's paper. It is sub-
mitted for a referendum vote. Secretaries will please
bring it to the notice of their Branches without delay.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Don't forget the entertainment and
dance under Branch No. 7, Chicago,
at Hygeia hall, Friday evening, at Hygeia
hall.

Branches Nos. 4 and 6 of Rockville,
Conn., will have an outing at Nieder-
wieser's grove, May 27, to which all
comrades and their friends are invited.

Mrs. Corinne Brown addressed a
meeting at 65 North Clark street on the
question, "What Position Shall Women
Take in the Political World?" There
was a good attendance and an interest-
ing discussion followed the address.

Branches Nos. 4 and 7, Chicago, will
make arrangements for a lawn party
and a merry time at 1541 Central boule-
vard in the near future, when Social
Democrats and their friends will be ex-
pected to turn out to the last man.

Friday evening, May 25, an enter-
tainment and dance will be given at
Hygeia hall, under the auspices of
branch 7 of the S. D. P. It is hoped
that there will be a large turn out of
Socialists and their friends on this occa-
sion.

The following state committee has
been elected in New Hampshire: Chair-
man, Charles H. Mellen, Somersworth;
vice-chairman, S. F. Clafin, Manches-
ter; secretary, George Howe, Manches-
ter; treasurer, C. G. Levan, Manches-
ter; organizer, J. H. Bartlett, Bedford.

Beginning next Sunday afternoon a
series of meetings will be held at Arena
hall, 594 East Sixty-third street, to
which the public is cordially invited.
The hour set for these meetings is 3
o'clock. The addresses will be given
by Social Democrats, to be followed by
discussion.

An error occurred in the report of
the Illinois state convention last week.
The committee elected to represent the
party in negotiations for political co-
operation with the S. L. P. was not cor-
rectly given. Those chosen to serve on
the committee were F. G. Strickland,
R. H. Johnson, H. H. Fraelich, Sey-
mour Stedman, W. C. Horgan, Ellen
Edwards and Mrs. Corinne Brown.

A large number of Social Democrats
enjoyed an unusually pleasant evening
on Wednesday, May 16, at the home of
Comrade W. C. Horgan, Fulton street.
The occasion was the marriage of Com-
rade Michael Holsinger and Miss
Maud Horgan. About 130 invited
guests were present, and the merry-
making time had long been remem-
bered. Mr. and Mrs. Holsinger have
the best wishes of a host of friends.

The Herald learns with great pleas-
ure of the continued advocacy of the
principles of Social Democracy by the
Rev. Father Grady, at Covington, Ky.,
and vicinity. On Tuesday, May 15, he
delivered an eloquent and inspiring
lecture to an enthusiastic audience of
about 500 at Odd Fellows' Hall, Cov-
ington. This is his fourth lecture within
three months. The branch at Covington
is flourishing.

New Hampshire Ticket

The following ticket has been nomi-
nated in New Hampshire:
For Governor—Sumner F. Clafin,
Manchester.
For Congressman, First District—
Benjamin T. Whitehouse, Dover.
For Congressman, Second District—
Edward E. Southwick, Merrimack.
For Presidential Electors—James F.
Bean, Origin A. Downing, John H.
Bartlett and Louis Arnstein.

Iowa Socialists

All reformers living in Iowa who are
interested in the Social Democracy are
requested to communicate with the un-
derigned. By unanimous vote of the
S. D. P. branches of the state I have
been made the party organizer for the
state. I desire the name of every So-
cialist in Iowa.
A. W. Ricker.
Lone Tree, Iowa.

To Our Connecticut Readers

All unattached Socialists in the state
of Connecticut are requested to write
Louis Schlaf, 26 Spring street, Rock-
ville, for information concerning the or-
ganization of branches.

To Tennessee Socialists: For the
purpose of organizing branches and
putting a ticket out this fall, the under-
signed urges that you write to him at
once. Also send him a list of all unat-
tached Socialists. Wm. L. Hamilton,
Organizer Branch No. 1, 323 Russell
street, Nashville, Tenn.

NEW BRANCHES

The new branches of the Social
Democratic party organized since a
month ago, are located at
Wash.
Falls, Mont.

VOTE ON THE CONSTITUTION

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

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION.

Section 1. This organization shall be
known as the Social Democratic Party of
America, and its headquarters shall be located
at such place as the national conventions of
the party may appoint, or as may be fixed by
the National Executive Board subject to a
referendum vote.

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

First—Local branches limited to five hun-
dred members each.

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

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

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

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

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

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

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

Section 7. Any member of the National Ex-
ecutive Board may be removed, and his suc-
cessor elected by a referendum vote, as here-
inafter provided. All vacancies in the Ex-
ecutive Board, however occurring, shall be
filled by the remaining members of the
board, subject to a referendum vote.

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

REVENUES AND FUNDS.

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

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

OFFICIAL PAPER.

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

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

NATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

Section 13. The national conventions of the
organization shall be held quadrennially at
some date prior to the first of June, and at
such place as shall be decided upon by the
National Executive Board, subject to refer-
endum vote.

REFERENDUM.

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

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

LOCAL BRANCHES.

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

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

Section 17.—Any person desiring membership
shall make application to the local branch,
upon being recommended by a member of
said branch. And if accepted by a majority
vote, shall be enrolled as a member. Upon
objection to his admission being made, the
matter shall be referred by the branch to the
Central Committee of the locality, which shall
have power to act in the matter. In case
the decision of the local committee shall be

against the applicant, upon appeal by the said
person, or by the branch to which he has ap-
plied, the National Executive Board shall
have power of final action in the matter.

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

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

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

DUES AND FEES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Section 28. At the annual meeting the officers
shall submit complete reports of the trans-
actions of their several offices for the preced-
ing year.

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

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

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

In case there shall be no such Central Com-
mittee the application shall be made direct to
the National Executive Board.

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

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

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

Section 35. This constitution may be amended
by a referendum vote as hereinabove pro-
vided.

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

Second Annual Picnic

The comrades of Chicago will hold
the Second Annual Picnic of the Social
Democratic party of Cook county on
the Fourth of July, at Bergmann's
grove, Desplaines avenue and Twenty-
sixth street. The place will be reached
by the Metropolitan Elevated and Sub-
urban Electric. Full particulars will be
announced later of all arrangements to
make a grand success of the occasion.

Arizona Socialists

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

Southern California, Attention

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

The Union Label

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

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for
25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public
meetings every Sunday and Wednesday even-
ings, commencing at 8. Admission free.
Educational meetings (for members) every
Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public
Speaking, etc.
Business meetings (for members) every Thurs-
day evening.
Membership, with advantage of Educational
Course and Social Democratic Herald free to
each member, 25 cents per month.
Apply to the Secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk
street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sun-
day afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1254
Spring St. J. Franc, 709 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

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

COLORADO

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 3:00 p. m.
at 1715 California Ave. Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1629
17th Street.

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

CONNECTICUT

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

Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Tuesday
evening, at 198 State St., at 8 p. m. Cornelius Mahoney,
Secretary, 165 Frank St.

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

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held
regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of
each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 62 Dear-
born St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday
evening, Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 254 West-
worth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second
and fourth Sundays at 2 p. m. at Nagl's
Hall, 835 Blue Island Ave. Vaclav Jelinek, Sec-
retary, 696 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and
fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1080 W.
18th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sun-
days of each month at Andr. Muzik's, 40 String St.
Paul Chapska, Secretary, 364 Noble St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Chicago, meets every
first Saturday each month at 8 o'clock at Nagl's
Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. near 18th St. Albin
Geisler, Secretary, 726 W. 20th St.

Branch No. 8 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and
fourth Sundays, at 9 a. m., at 502 Linc Street. J. A.
Ambros, Secretary, 494 Wood Street.

Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 1148 W. 63rd st., first
and third Sundays at 3 p. m. Roswell H. Johnson,
Secretary, 652 E. 57th St.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Satur-
day evening and third Sunday afternoon of each
month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and
Noble Sts.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hiteam, meets every fourth Friday in
the month at opera house. S. B. Jamieson, chair-
man James Fisher, organizer; Joseph Schollcutt, secretary.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 2, Covington, meets first and third Wed-
nesday evenings and second and fourth Sunday after-
noon of each month. All agitation meetings except
Friday meetings. Good speakers. Secretary, F.
C. Stumpf, 201 8th street.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday
at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 560 E. Baltimore
St. Public invited.

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

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the
first Saturday of each month at 724 Washington
St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for
the State Committee should be sent to the
financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Spring-
field St., Boston. All other correspondence
should be addressed to the Corresponding Sec-
retary, Margaret Hall, 5 Glenwood St., Rox-
bury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and
fourth Mondays of each month at Springdale
Turne Hall. H. Schlichting, Organizer 557, Sumner St.
Branch No. 3, Lynn, permanent headquarters,
71 Munroe St. Business meeting every Monday night
at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Göttinger,
Sec., 425 Essex St.

Branch No. 10, Brockton, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m.
for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, cor-
ner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected
to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Bosworth,
Secretary, 201 Broadway.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Mon-
day at 8 p. m. at 99 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny
Segal, Secretary, 99 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 16, Newburyport, meets the second
Monday of each month, at Laster's Hall, 37 Pleasant
St. T. H. Chinnell, Secretary, 16 Collins St. A. L. Bin-
ley, 288 Merrimac St.

To Our Washington Readers

Comrade D. Burgess of New What-
com, Wash., has been selected as organ-
izer for the state and is prepared to assist
the Socialists of Washington in organ-
izing branches of the S. D. P. Corre-
spondence addressed to him will receive
prompt attention.

North Dakota Socialists

Socialists residing in North Dakota
and desiring to organize for effective
propaganda work in that state are re-
quested to correspond with Math. Eids-
ness, Tower, N. D.

California Socialists

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

Attention, Nebraska

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

To Texas Socialists

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

All Socialist papers please publish.

Oregon Socialists, Attention

You are requested to communicate
with J. D. Stevens, Box 204, Portland,
organizer for the S. D. P., with a view to
instituting branches of the party in your
community. The future belongs to So-
cialism. Lend a hand and get your state
thoroughly organized.

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

MICHIGAN

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

MINNESOTA

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

MISSOURI

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

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every
Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1800 Union Ave. G. J.
Storz, Secretary, 1330 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

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

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Liv-
ington at.

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

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

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

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of
Greater New York and vicinity meets first and
third Tuesdays of every month in Wilzig's Hall,
85 E. 4th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets
every first and third Thursday at 111 Clinton
St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 123 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 3, 24th Assembly District, meets
second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at
260 Second Ave., at the "Central." Henry Laug, Sec-
retary, 324 E. 60th St.

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

Branch No. 5, Brooklyn, New York, meets every Satur-
day at 8 p. m., at 56 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Com-
rades desiring to organize should communicate with
Secretary, 190 Boerum St.

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

Branch No. 12, Brooklyn, headquarters, 251
Rutledge St. Meets every third Thursday at
8:15 sharp. All persons interested are invited to
attend these meetings and co-operate in organ-
izing local branches in every district in the city.
Wm. Butscher, Secretary, 43 Rutledge St.

Branch No. 20, regular meetings are held first
and third Friday of the month, at Webster Hall, 140th St.
and third Ave., Borough of the Bronx, E. Springer,
Secretary, 87 E. 140th St. All persons interested in
Socialism and the S. D. P. are invited to attend.

OHIO

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's

THE BROCKTON BRANCH ISSUES A STATEMENT

The Brockton (Mass.) branch of the Social Democratic party has issued the following statement through its press committee relative to the expulsion of Alderman E. R. Perry:

"Branch No. 9 of the S. D. P., realizing that a misunderstanding exists in regard to its action in presenting the resignation of one of its members to the board of aldermen, and that its position may be more fully understood makes the following official statement: "To become a candidate for any political office the aspirant must stand squarely upon the platform and pledge himself to the principles of the S. D. P. of America. As a guaranty of his fidelity to those principles and a safeguard to the people supporting said candidates he is required to sign and lodge with the secretary of the branch of which he is a member a resignation from such office as he may be elected to.

"Section of by-laws governing representatives: 'Any member who shall be elected to office must at all times be governed in his official actions by the branch or party on any or all important issues which may arise.' If at any time a complaint should be made, accusing any representative of act or acts derogatory to the interests of the party, said representative shall be given a hearing before the branch, and if said complaint shall be sustained by a two-thirds vote of the members present and voting, the secretary of the branch shall be authorized to present said representative's resignation to the proper authorities, and said representative shall cease to represent the Social Democratic party in his official capacity. Alderman E. R. Perry accepted a nomination from the Social Democratic party with full knowledge of its principles and platform. He knew of the section of the by-laws governing resignation and had a copy of the same. He signed a resignation from office with full knowledge of the condition attached to the same.

"He also understood and admitted the right of the branch of the S. D. P. to which he was a member to instruct him as to what action he should take upon all important questions which should arise, and he so stated in a communication written by him to the Brockton Daily Enterprise on Dec. 1, 1899, in which he said: 'I recognize the right of the branch to instruct me upon all vital or important matters,' and he also admitted and acknowledged it by coming to the branch for instructions in regard to special water rates for the Y. M. C. A.

"The official act of Alderman Perry from which this issue arose—namely, his vote on the Massachusetts Telegraph and Telephone company franchise—may or may not be of great importance, but the principle involved—namely, whether our representatives in their official acts shall keep their promises to us, and by so doing enable us to keep our pledge to the people—is of great importance. There can be none greater.

"Is it not right and just to us that we may insist that they deal honorably with us, that we may not be false to the people? We believe it is; and shall so demand, for if they do not act in accord with the principles, how shall we be able to establish them? We do not care what position the representatives may take personally or individually as to their election; it is sufficient for us to know that we placed them in nomination before the people, asking their support, pledging our candidates to the principles enunciated in our platform, which they promised us they would stand squarely upon.

"We believed them and trusted them fully, and yet to further safeguard the people for the fulfillment of the same, we presented a copy of our resignation to them, which they freely and willingly signed, with full understanding of its objects and requirements. This is the position the party has taken with all its candidates for election.

"We hold them in honor bound to be true to us, that we may be true to the people, and no amount of turning and twisting and quibbling over this or that point will change it. Whether it be legal, or whether it can be enforced, is another question, but this fact remains, they must be faithful to us or they cease to represent the S. D. P. We believe that our representatives were elected to represent our principles, and whatever the majority believes is right is the proper course for them to pursue. That is democracy, pure and simple, and individualism has no place there. What this one may wish, or what that one may desire, is as the merest trifle when opposed to the majority.

"We firmly believe that all questions that affect the whole people, not only of today, but of the future as well, should be referred to the people for referendum vote, for we maintain that it is a power too great to rest in the hands of a few men. Believing this, we also believe we were right in asking our representative to use his influence and vote to refer to the people, for while on all questions there will be a larger or smaller majority, still the fact remains that all have an equal opportunity to express their desire. It is right and just government; it is equality; it is the position we take, and insist

that our representatives shall do likewise. This was what we asked Alderman Perry to do, and he refused; charges were presented against him and they were sustained by an overwhelming majority after a full and impartial hearing; his resignation was presented to the proper authorities, and he ceased to represent the S. D. P. We believe we were justified in so doing, and we sincerely trust and believe that it is a position from which the S. D. P. will never recede."

A LITTLE HISTORY

During the first days of the middle-of-the-road populist movement in Iowa grave doubt was in the minds of the leaders of the movement whether we would be able to get on the official ballot under the name of people's party. It was about this time that the Social Democratic party was formed, and in casting about for a name that name and movement was considered with great favor by the two persons who were then at the head of the party movement in the state. This is point number one.

The writer had the honor to be temporary chairman of the first mid-road convention, and there delivered a speech indorsing and favoring the cooperative commonwealth. This speech is still in print and can be produced in evidence. This is point two.

Last year a strenuous effort was made on the part of one of the leaders in the mid-road movement (an effort which the writer silently indorsed, he not being asked to concur) to get Prof. Herron, an avowed Socialist, to stand as the candidate for governor. Prof. Herron could not do so at the time, but did come to the convention and delivered a stirring Socialistic speech, which was heartily indorsed by all present. The platform made was vigorously Socialistic, and the canvass made by Hon. C. A. Lloyd, who was the gubernatorial candidate, was a stirring defense of Socialistic doctrines. This is point three.

The leaders of the mid-road movement have never expected it to amount to anything. Their efforts have been directed to keeping the populists from scattering to the old corrupt parties, intending to indorse the first Socialistic movement of character and standing. Such promises have repeatedly been made to the organized labor vote of the state. This vote is now asking for redemption of promises. The writer has, in affiliating with the Social Democratic party, been true to his convictions and his pledges. This is point four. Do you see the point?

A. W. Ricker.

Good One from the Appeal

Philadelphia, Pa., April 26, 1900.

1. The statement has been made to me that you are not a scientific Socialist and don't understand scientific Socialism. Is that true? 2. In the debate versus Maguire, Job Harriman says, "I am not a state Socialist, but a Social Democrat." What did he mean, and where do you draw the line between state Socialism and the other? 3. Why do some men say "I am a Karl Marx Socialist"?

Reader. Of course I am not a scientific Socialist—nobody is but the fellow who is, you know. Because, don't you know, he says so. If you want to know what the scientific article is, get him to explain. The difference between a Social Democrat and a state Socialist is, that both of them want the common ownership of the means of production and distribution. Do you see it? A Karl Marx Socialist differs from the others in that he wants the common ownership of the means of production and distribution. This great difference causes some people to expend much time and energy in discussing the best way to cook the rabbit, even before the have a stick with which to kill the rabbit, and before they have started on the hunt.—Appeal to Reason.

The Socialists in the Belgian chamber have been calling attention to the atrocities committed in the Congo. The whole system is one of the worst examples of capitalistic extortion that we could have; the king is interested in the business. Nominally he subscribes a large sum of money every year to the expenses, but he gets it back by being—under other names—a large shareholder in trading companies.

The editor of a Socialist paper at Magdeburg has been sentenced to one month's imprisonment for attacking the king. Really these sentences and prosecutions are very foolish, and only make the government ridiculous. Surely if Socialism was not stamped out by the vigorous laws under the Bismarckian regime of the state of siege these petty little sentences will have no effect, or rather they only make the government contemptible, though that is hardly what they aim at.

The French elections for the municipal councils—in France every parish or commune has a local council—will take place next month. The general committee of the Socialist party has issued an appeal to the electors pointing out that it is highly important that great efforts should be made to win as many seats as possible, because the work done by these councils is very important.

A CRITIQUE OF THE DOMINANT THEORIES OF MORALITY

(From Achille Loria's "Economic Foundations of Society.")

Since the human mind began to concern itself with problems of morality—which, indeed, are as old as philosophy itself—two concepts have battled for supremacy upon this field of thought. On the one side is ranged the theory that deduces morality from precepts of supreme justice, either conceived by man himself or revealed to him through some divine agency; while on the other side the opposite theory prevails, which considers human happiness the sole criterion of moral acts. According to the former theory, moral actions should be essentially altruistic—that is to say, they cannot be actuated by any personal interest of the agent himself. Following the latter theory, on the contrary the hidden spring that determines morality and the series of acts it counsels or commands is to be found in the well-ordered interests of the individual and of society. It is only through an analysis of the economic bases of morality that we can detect the organic flaw in each of the above doctrines, and at the same time recognize the particular phases of the truth represented by each, which explain their temporary success at different stages of civilization.

The theory which conceives of morality as the sublimate of individual egotism, and regards the pursuit of individual happiness as the highest criterion of ethics, collapses at once under the most elementary analysis of the capitalistic economy. Under such a social system the class that is numerically the stronger clearly acts contrary to its own interests in submitting to the usurpation of which it is the victim, and it is only by silencing the egoism of this class that capitalistic forms are able to exist at all. It is, indeed, so far from the truth that in this economic system moral acts are dictated to individuals by their real interests, and if every one were really to follow his egotistic instincts the entire social structure would immediately collapse like a house of cards. However inadmissible as a whole, this doctrine nevertheless contains a modicum of the truth. What though our imperfect moral systems be not grounded upon individual egoism, they are nevertheless always rooted in the egoism of the capitalist class; and what though the conduct of the poorer classes be in reality contrary to their actual interest, their acts nevertheless conform to any apparent egoism that is held before them artificially by means of a clever display of psychological force.

A like judgment must be passed upon the opposing theory which makes disinterestedness the dominant characteristic of the moral acts that God imposes upon His creatures as their inviolable duty. If applied to the laboring classes this theory has an incontestable appearance of truth, and it has no doubt evolved from actual experience with the conduct of the lower classes. It is perfectly true that the class deprived of its liberty of choice adheres to a line of conduct that is in fact, at least, altruistic, and which seems, therefore, inexplicable under any theory of egoism. It is equally clear if we except the period of slavery that such altruistic conduct has always been assured by means of a line of ascetic, religious and moral precepts that preach disinterestedness and meekness to the groaning multitude, and this in itself is sufficient to have engendered the concept of an abstract moral law revealed to man and imposed upon humanity as a duty regardless of the precepts of individual egoism and even contrary to the same; contrary, that is, to the happiness that human egoism naturally seeks. But the plausible look of this conclusion does not succeed in hiding its inherent flaw, for even so cursory an examination will at once reveal the fact that the conduct of the poorer classes, although altruistic in deed, is nevertheless directly and exclusively inspired by individual egoism. These facts are indeed altruistic in so far as their ultimate consequences are concerned, since they redound to the advantage of the capitalistic class and to the disadvantage of the poorer classes. They are nevertheless immediately egoistic, inasmuch as the laboring people have their own good in mind and are really seeking their own advantage. This class may indeed be mistaken in its calculations in that it prefers to forego present advantages in order to secure fanciful rewards or avoid imaginary ills in the future; but this does not prevent egoism from being the mainspring of their acts; nor does it preclude the possibility of ascetic morality and the ethics of submission and obedience being themselves rooted in the self-interest of the individual, which may, indeed, be skillfully perverted, but which is never entirely suppressed.

There is also an intermediary doctrine which deserves special mention because it is so generally followed. Morality, according to this theory, is the product of the egoism of the human species, or, as others express it, the product of our altruistic instincts. These are at bottom egoistic instincts, but they find their satisfaction, nevertheless, in the performance of just and benevolent acts. Thus, according to some writers, moral acts either result from the mere pleasure afforded by doing good, or emanate from that feeling of pity which vibrates in the hearts of most men, and urges

them with an irresistible force to the performance of disinterested acts.

But first we might ask these theorists whether the altruistic instincts upon which they rely actually exist, and whether, as a matter of fact, they do influence human conduct. And with still greater assurance we might request the doctrinaires of sympathy to tell us frankly if man were free to act as he would, and if the opposition of others in no wise restrained him, whether he would not kill his fellows simply "pour froter ses bottes avec leur graisse." We might, indeed, go so far as to say that this desire of explaining benevolent acts as products of an instinct is an easy way of avoiding deep research into the causes of acts and feelings, and we might also suggest that the process of reasoning through which these theorists have endeavored to afford a logical, metaphysical or positive basis for these instincts is extremely arbitrary. Or we might add, with Spencer, that sympathy becomes weaker as misfortunes increase, and that pity is less easily moved and less intense just when it should wax strong.

But an argument whose logical force runs along quite different lines may better be directed against the doctrines in

(Concluded next week)

THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

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

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be: First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of cooperative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America. The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man. As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

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

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

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

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

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

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

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

The Sixth Annual Issue of

The Labour Annual

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