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Socialists of America Unite; You Have Nothing but Your Prejudices to Lose, and the Western World to Gain.

MARX'S THEORY AS TO THE EQUAL VALUE OF ALL LABOR-TIME.

[From Sprague's "Socialism."]

"All labor of a higher or more complicated character than average labor is expended in a more costly kind of labor-power whose production has cost more time and labor, and which, therefore, has a higher value than unskilled or simple labor-time. This power being of a higher value, its consumption is labor of a higher class; labor that creates in equal times proportionally higher values than unskilled labor does."

KARL MARX.

It is charged against Socialism that it proposes to pay the same price for all kinds of work on a simple time basis. For example, equal hours of labor, whether of sweeping or superintending the streets, whether of wiping or driving an engine, should be regarded as equivalent in value. Thus all kinds of work will be put upon the same level; the hod-carrier would receive equal pay with the mason, the water boy with the conductor, the yard hand in the mill with the superintendent.

We are told that labor-time alone, quantity of labor, irrespective of quality or conditions, determines the amount of recompense. This is objected to as both unjust and absurd. Does Socialism advance this doctrine? That it is charged with it may be seen from nearly all its recent critics. Dr. Woolsey says, "It is impossible to count hour's work in different employments as having the same value, or to put difficult or dangerous work by the side of easy or safe work, as though they ought to be subjected to the same measure, or to give equal rewards to intellectual and artistic work and to that performed by the common operative."

Mr. Rae thus paraphrases Marx in "Das Kapital": "Value, then, is quantity of abstract labor; and now what is quantity of labor? How is it to be ascertained? Labor is the exertion or use of man's natural powers of labor, and the quantity of labor is measured by the duration of the exertion. Quantity of labor is thus reduced to time of labor and is measured by hours and days and weeks."

That Mr. Rae by the quotation, "Quantity of labor is measured by the duration of the exertion," represents Marx as placing the same value upon all hours of concrete work, whatever be the occupation, is evident from the following statement, which he naively quotes from Marx: "A day's labor of given length always turns out a product of the same value."

Thus put into circulation by the ablest critics of Socialism, this charge has become widely current, and is continually reiterated from the press and platform. In reply, we say, first, it is not true; and secondly, if it were true, that is, had a few Socialists indulged in this sentiment, it would no more discredit Socialism than the crusades or its other excrescences discredit Christianity. Socialism, like Christianity, consists of a body of principles admitting of great variety and latitude of expression and application.

1. This charge is inherently unreasonable and absurd. Is it natural to suppose that men of learning and sound judgment, like Rodbertus and Marx, would claim that health in occupation is of no account? That, for an example, the man who inhales sixty times as much carbonic acid gas as the laborer in pure air, should receive no more than the latter for one hour's labor, or should work the same number of hours for the same pay, which amounts to the same thing? Shall occupations that endanger life and limb, and in which the record of mortality is frightful, be put on a par with those wherein is perfect safety?

Is the severest strain on mind, muscle and nerve to receive the same compensation per hour as the most indifferent, happy-go-easy sort of work? Shall that has cost half a lifetime and an outlay of thousands of dollars, to be paid no more than the young, green hand who picks up a shovel or broom for the first time! Such are the interrogations and exclamations indulged in by people who really believe that Socialism indorses such absurdities. They remind us of the poor ignorant whites in the South during the war, who assured us that when they first saw the Yankees they were surprised to find them without horns and tails, which they had been told by their leaders that all Yankees possessed.

2. The alleged quotation from Marx which furnishes the foundation of Mr. Rae's criticism, is a glaring misquotation: it is that, "a day's labor of given length always turns out a product of the same value." Marx says nothing of the kind in his great work on capital, neither does any other Socialistic writer regarded as authority.

The words of Marx, in "Das Kapital," which Mr. Rae is criticising, are:

"The same labor, exercised during equal periods of time, always yields equal amounts of value." Marx shows that even this rule would be varied by different degrees of production; it holds only *caeteris paribus*. It is then "the same labor," and not "a day's labor," in any occupation that produces equal values. The two statements are as wide apart as the poles of the earth. The former is eminently true; the latter eminently untrue, and even ridiculous. Furthermore, Marx does not mean by the "same labor" concrete labor at all, but average social labor; that is, labor in the abstract. This renders the misrepresentation still more glaring. Mr. Rae's quotation is thus seen to be a false witness, doing the greatest injustice to Marx. It has not even the merit of a caricature, which generally deceives no one; while this misrepresentation is caught up and believed, not only by newspapers and magazines, which touch lightly on the profoundest themes, but also by eminent writers, who have until recently been obliged to accept their knowledge of Marx at second hand, and is made the occasion of animadversion and ridicule, which have filled the popular mind with prejudice and even indignation.

3. The utter groundlessness of the charge under consideration is at once apparent when Dr. Woolsey's strictures are carefully examined.

In his chapter on "The Theory of Marx," he says, "It is impossible to count hours of work in different employments as having the same value; or to put difficult or dangerous work by the side of easy or safe work, as though they ought to have the same measure," etc. He does not claim to give the exact words of Marx, but only the idea. Marx is represented as counting all hours of work, of whatever kind, as having the same value. One of "common" is equated to one hour of "skilled" labor; one hour of work of "the common operative" to one hour of "intellectual and artistic work."

Let Marx reply to this parody on his views. "Skilled labor counts only as simple labor intensified, or rather, as multiplied simple labor, a given quantity of skilled being considered equal to a greater quantity of simple labor. . . . A commodity may be the product of the most skilled labor, but its value, by equating it to the product of simple, unskilled labor, represents a definite quantity of the latter labor alone. The different proportions in which different sorts of labor are reduced to unskilled labor as their standard, are established by a social process that goes on behind the backs of the producers; and, consequently, appears to be fixed by custom. For simplicity's sake we shall henceforth account every kind of labor to be unskilled, simple labor; by this we do no more than save ourselves the trouble of making the reduction."

Throughout his monumental work Marx adheres to this rule, which, indeed, is the only scientific basis on which the discussion can proceed.

So far from counting "hours of work in different occupations as having the same value," Marx distinctly recognizes the different sorts of concrete labor as having for equal hours different values. So far from equating one hour's work of "the common operative" to one hour of "intellectual and artistic work," as Dr. Woolsey alleges, he sharply distinguishes "simple," common labor from skilled labor. "Skilled labor counts" not as simple, but as "simple labor intensified, or rather as multiplied simple labor." Notwithstanding his plain and emphatic words, "A given quantity of skilled being considered equal to a greater quantity of simple labor," his critic persists in representing him as counting "hours of work in different employments as having the same value." What is the more remarkable, Marx nowhere employs any dicta in which this egregious misrepresentation can take refuge; on the contrary, he repeatedly emphasizes the difference in value of different kinds of work for the same periods of time; "all labor of a higher or more complicated character than average labor is expenditure of labor power of a more costly kind, labor power whose production has cost more time and labor, and which therefore has a higher value than unskilled or simple labor power. This power being of higher value, its consumption is labor of a higher class, labor that creates in equal times proportionately higher values than unskilled labor does."

Further citations are unnecessary. (Concluded on page 4.)

A MESS OF POTTAGE.

Ho! miner, down by the deadly damp,
Ho! sailor, far at sea,
And toiler, bent under midnight lamp,
Is this where men are free?
Do you hold the reins, yet wear the chains,
Great God, that this should be!

Will you sell your right for that so cheap
Which men have misnamed Life?
Rouse, laggards, up from your sodden sleep,
Leave sister, mother, wife;
There's a noise of drums and something comes,
Incarnate, huge with strife.

For a birth-right fair is each man's claim,
Live and let live as well;
And who so yields it taunts his shame
As black as the gates of Hell;
And the clink of gold where Honour's sold
Is the sound of Freedom's knell.

Turn, then, on your so-called masters,
As the Vandals did on Rome,
Read arch and broad pilasters
And level each spire and dome;
And for what is just ere you change to dust,
Strike, when you do strike—Home.

For the land is rotten with pillage,
Its rulers bribed with gold;
In city and town and village
The hearts of the crowds grow cold,
And the careless laugh and the reckless quaff
Where tales of greed are told.

Do you toil, and where is your guerdon?
Do you suffer, and in vain
Do you bear like beasts of burden
The yoke of the Lords of Gain?
By God, indeed, you are slavish seed
And worthy their disdain.

Bind, then, your axes round the pillars tall
That balance the halls of State;
And strain till they break and clashing fall,
Mere stones at the world's wide gate;
And among them lie, if you needs must die,
Borne down by a Samson's fate.

A SHIP, A RAFT AND THE S. D. P.

An incident.
A few years ago I had occasion to take several days' trip on a towing steamer on Lake Huron. The boat was large, its engines strong, its speed capacity good, but its engines and energies were crippled and controlled by the raft of logs it had in tow. At the rate of a mile an hour we poked our lazy way through the water.

By and by the wind and waves rose. We were in a tempest. At our rate of speed the boat could make no headway against the storm. The logs heaved heavily behind, held by their bond of clinking steel.

We had our choice between danger or death with the raft, or safe progression without it. Our captain was a wise man. He cut the hawsers. We were safe!

A comparison.
During the past year, in the S. D. of A., the political ship and the colonization raft have crawled along, the live energies of the one crippled by the dead weight of the other. For months the two have tugged and chucked at the fraternal bond that bound them together.

We had lit the fires of enthusiasm, we had generated the steam of energy, we had smoothed the roughness of the constitutional machinery with the oil of tolerance, we had cast our fiscal faggots in the furnace, but it has resulted simply in the vain kicking of the screw against a sea of circumstance.

Recently in passing through the storm center of the Windy City, a tempest rose. Peril lay before us, and behind. We had the same choice—leave the raft and live, or go to pieces with it. Wise judgment prevailed. The cables were severed, and our good ship bounds ahead on its way.

A wise choice.
The cutting asunder of the cables might have been a bit anarchistic, but a storm is anarchistic, and you must reckon with it on its own ground.

It might have been pleasant pastime to have spent a few centuries in towing the raft through a smooth sea to the port of the Co-operative Commonwealth, but time was short, the sea rough, and lives are more valuable than logs.

The raft might, perhaps, have held together, but it is doubtful if all the mines of Colorado could have supplied metal enough to make a boom that would endure the future tempests on the industrial sea.

The logs might have been brought safely to the promised land, and be cut up by our little individualistic jigsaws into the pattern and plan of our privately-projected paradise, but chances are, when our ship reaches port, that the wooden age, both of head and house, will have passed away, and the genuine Commonwealth be already built.

What might have been was subser-

vient to what was, and what is most important now.

Floating isn't enough.
The severance of the colony cables wasn't altogether a question of life and death. The ship and the raft might have floated safely through the gale.

Almost anything can float. Any putrid carcass will float, if enough gas has been generated inside of it. And so a rotten scheme may float, under similar conditions. A water-soaked log can keep its head above water, but only a living organism, with power and vitality within, possesses the magic of motion.

In this age of rapid progress, motion is absolutely essential. The yacht in a race never drags a whaleboat behind her, and in the race for the political year-posts, we cannot cumber ourselves with any unwieldy hulk of twisted timbers.

And so our duty at this time is to get well clear of the logs, and to get out into the open—both in politics and finance.

We're off!
That's the main thing. The issue is past, the decision taken, the course laid down. It remains for us now simply to go ahead.

There is no chance for factional conflict. If you are on the ship, and think the raft safer, don't get mad—get off. If you want to float on the raft, float; if you want to go ahead on the ship, go ahead.

We believe that the fleet of industrial ships is fast being driven before the storm of monopoly toward the port of the Co-operative Commonwealth. It is for us to hasten forward and remove the snags of prejudice that block the harbor, and to put educational beacons on the shoals of ignorance, and to build a broad political wharf to ensure a safe landing.

True, there is a wharf, but it is a narrow, one-plank affair, with a turnstile at one end, and a fumigating room at the other—a wharf where only a scientific acrobat may land.

Then to this broader work let us hasten, lest the ships of the nation dash themselves against the rocks in the chaos of revolution!

We're off! Coming?
COLLIER CASSON.

THE STRIKE AT CLEVELAND.

Again Cleveland is in the midst of a great strike. The wire-drawers, nail-makers and other employes of three large-mills in the East End are out to resist a threatened reduction of 20 per cent. on top of a previous cut of 33 1-3 per cent., as well as a surreptitious attempt to destroy the unions of the workers.

The American Steel & Wire Company is a gigantic corporation capitalized at \$24,000,000, and controls 14 plants in various parts of the country. This colossal combine, however, is confronted by a number of powerful competitors, and it is its policy to drive these out of business and secure absolute control of the wire and nail trade.

To gain possession of the market and ruin its opponents, the combine is riding roughshod over its working people, closing down a mill here and enforcing a reduction there—upon the pretence of "equalizing" always. In the local mills high-priced skilled mechanics of former days have drawn \$8, \$10 and \$12 for two weeks' pay, and \$1.25 to \$2 a day is considered good wages, where double that amount was received a few years ago. It has, therefore, resolved itself into a question of whether the employes should starve as slaves or starve and resist.

In the neighborhood of 2,000 men have pledged themselves to stand out, if necessary, until the snow flies, or longer, and they will be given the moral support of every organized man and woman in Cleveland, and as much financial aid as possible. It is hardly probable that workers can be found to go scabbing—wages are too begrudgingly to attract even the meanest and most poverty-stricken slave under the circumstances.

It remains to be seen whether the authorities and the people generally will stand by Cleveland citizens or take the side of a greedy foreign octopus that is attempting to crush honest labor.—Cleveland Citizen.

A cablegram from Germany says: "It is now certain that the government will make a determined effort in the coming Reichstag to amend the constitution in the direction of abridging the franchise in several important particulars, especially raising the age limit from 25 to 30 years. Not only is the Conservative and Reactionary press vigorously advocating this as a necessary step in fighting the increasing spread of Socialism, but the government press has joined in the hue and cry."

APPEAL TO THE INDIVIDUAL.

WILLIAM CROWDER IN LONDON JUSTICE

We have been urged by the well-meaning to appeal to the individual not to injure nor rob, neither to lie nor cheat, but to act nobly and unselfishly—to think more of other people's happiness. Appeals have been made at and from all ages. Martyrs, poets and philosophers not only have appealed, but lived as examples to humanity. Buddha, Christ, Plato, Aristotle, Shakespeare, Carlyle, Joan of Arc, Whitman, Thoreau, are but a few who have written, preached, and prayed; and the strong and cunning ones are still robbing, lying, injuring and deceiving the weaker ones.

We give a Letter the opportunity to impose upon, rob and starve men, women and children. The Christs have preached to him beforehand to be gentle, noble and merciful, and he is fully aware of it; he knows before he robs mankind the injury he will do; he knows as well as anyone, if he raises the price of wheat that to those who can scarcely buy a loaf for their babes now it means death in many instances and semi-starvation to millions of others. Yes, he knows full well, and yet he will raise the price of wheat. Such a man will apparently laugh to scorn the life of a Buddha, the martyrdom of a Joan of Arc—no matter how vividly hellish your Carlyles will describe the results of a French revolution, and the causes that led to it. Given the opportunity, your Leiters will rob and murder (for murder in such an instance it is) as others have done, and others would do, and we are yet advised not to agitate, not to make people dissatisfied, but to "Appeal fervently to the noble impulses that lie latent in every human breast. Endeavor to persuade employers to regard their employes as brothers and sisters." You Socialists should remember what Carlyle says: "if a man wrong thee unknowingly is he not thy brother, and to be pitied? And if he wrong thee knowingly, is he not still thy brother and to be pitied still more?" Yes, it is true, we can regard all men as brothers. The lying and unscrupulous politician, the jerrybuilder, the hypocritical parson who draws a dividend earned at the cost of his "phossy jawed" sisters—whom he will enjoin on Sundays to "Bear ye one another's burdens?" How many of his sisters are driven to hire themselves on the streets through the insufficiency and irregularity of their earnings? Our brother parson knows as well as we how many. We can accept as a brother the employer who takes the earnings of his lead-poisoned employes! He doesn't know, does he? That the lives of children and women are sacrificed to make profits for him! His proud wife and noble children would not consent to live at such a terrible cost to women and children—not they! "They feel sure that the means which provide them with luxuries, leisure and a classical education not only come from honest and honorable sources, but give work to many poor people."

One wonders, if we had relied on appealing to the employers to be merciful, kind and brotherly, how long it would have taken before the little children, women and men, who have worked in coal mines—aye, little children four years old, who were treated like beasts, and whipped to their work like cattle—how long, we wonder, would it have taken to persuade the coalowner and factory lords to grant the improved conditions that their employes have to-day? Did they voluntarily and willingly alter the brutal lot of their workers? No! Did their class in Parliament pass laws which minimized the ill-treatment of children out of pure love for the children? No! But because they knew if such hellishness continued much longer the physical degeneration of the workers meant the smashing up of their profit-mongering business and themselves as well. Given the same economic conditions now as then, take away all political restrictions, and we would have the same conditions for the workers in mines and factories to-day. How long would we have to appeal on behalf of the "half-timers" before their employers consented—from a purely ethical standpoint—to dispense with such a source of profit-making? If they cannot find a new form of competition as a substitute for children, and if the state doesn't interfere, we could appeal till we Socialists were all dead and buried, and then, I am afraid, "half-timers" would still be working.

You may, if you are able, "demonstrate that brotherhood is a fact and a law in Nature," but do not interfere (Concluded on page 4.)

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Behind every prosperous villain is a multitude of pauperized victims.

The practicality of Socialism becomes clearer in the light of the developing monopolies and trusts.

The world is going to be governed by an imperialism of capital or a fraternalism of labor joined to capital.

Fools rush in to the capitalist tread-mill while the stripped and scarred victims rush out.

While private employers of labor are free to establish wages, the State will always find it impossible to establish justice.

The aim of the Social Democratic Party is to emancipate land and industrial capital from individual and class ownership.

You practical men, you who object to Socialism, how are you going to fix it so that men who are willing to work shall not starve?

Capital controlled by society at large would be a means of supplying every human need; in the hands of private owners it is a means of increasing human misery.

The ideal government of the world, according to the patriots who howl for honest money and more soldiers, is one that workmen support and capitalists control.

If you could completely annihilate the theory of Socialism and refute every argument of Socialists, would that help you any? Wouldn't we still have the problem with us?

The ideal workman for the capitalist system would be one with two pair of hands and no stomach. The fact that workmen have stomachs is perplexing. The human stomach has always disturbed the serenity of tyrants.

A combination of needle manufacturers, with a producing capacity of 2,000,000 needles daily, just formed, is the sort of thing that makes opportunities for young and industrious men "to rise in the world!"

Chicago has no public music hall, no public art gallery, no public theater, no public baths, no public store, no public hotel, besides many other things it should have; but it has 150,000 men with no work and no chance of getting work.

To show how thoroughly capitalists understand their business, it may be mentioned that to the cost of building a new armory at Pittsburg, the Carnegie Steel Co. have contributed \$20,000; the Frick concern, \$10,000; and Jones & Laughlin, \$5,000.

A man who works should never indulge in the pleasures and aspirations which belong solely to the parasitic class. The man who can hold a job, do something useful and support others in idleness, is fortunate! He should be content in doing that which God and Nature intended him to do!

Thomas I. Kidd, secretary of the National Woodworkers' Union, is under arrest on a charge of conspiracy in connection with the Oshkosh strike. He was released on bail of \$2,000, and threatens a suit against the mill owners. After release he was again arrested Saturday night and confined over Sunday, without the knowledge of his friends. The purpose of the mill owners is for each employer to arrest him in turn, not to determine the responsibility for the riots, but to prevent Kidd from doing it.

The laborer who does not receive all he earns, in things for his own individual use and benefit, or in Social and collective advantages to all, is robbed; the exploitation of the individual producer is also a loss to society.

Our unselfish "devotion to humanity," "liberty for the oppressed" and a "higher civilization," and other high-sounding phrases, are in danger of turning out to be empty phrases in our dealings with people outside our boundaries, just as they have in dealings with the people inside.

Friends of the Hull House Settlement have contributed \$20,000 to erect an auditorium for lectures and entertainments, a much needed acquisition to the pioneer social settlement of Chicago. The use of land for the building is given gratis until 1920 by Miss Helen Culver.

The farmers of Harvey County, Kan., are reported to have started a movement to set aside one cent for every bushel of wheat raised in the county this year to "assist Joseph Leiter in recovering his late losses in wheat deals." L. Z. Leiter said "the offer was very kind," but that the plucked and impoverished Joseph, now out of the city, must decide upon its acceptance. Joe will no doubt tell the "prosperous" farmers that it is magnanimous on their part—and laugh up his sleeve over the chance for the fool-killer in Harvey County, Kan.

Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, three major-generals, four brigadier-generals and the official "push" generally of Gen. Shafter's army in Cuba, struck against an order from General-Manager McKinley and Alger for the army to move from Santiago inland to a more healthful location. Result: The officers will have their own way and the army be moved to north coast pleasure resorts. What the general managers should have done was to organize a riot among the men to change public sentiment. Private exploiters of labor can give the government points on how to manage a "strike."

Having failed to coerce the union woodworkers of Oshkosh to return to work on their own terms, or to change the public sentiment of the community, which favors the strikers, the mill-owners, assisted by the police, have gone into the rioting business. As a rule employers of labor are not averse to using foul means to injure and defeat workmen, and if they can succeed by any indignity or outrage in forcing the men to do what they ought not to do, and by that means alienate public sympathy, the strikers' cause will be lost and the temporary masters of capital will be jubilant.

A Chicago Tribune editorial on the opportunity now existing for the United States in the Philippines, says: "Many devout people all over the United States are convinced that our nation now stands within the presence of the divine opportunity, which is given to us with a divine purpose and which we may not lightly ignore or throw away."

This is no doubt very true; it is also quite as true that many "patriotic" people in the United States are convinced of the right divine of kings to rule and would be pleased to see a huge military establishment with a king in ermine instead of a president in broadcloth.

On Friday, August 5, the entire operating force of the Rapid Transit Company of Syracuse, N. Y., struck, completely suspending street railway traffic throughout the city. The cause of the strike, as given to the daily newspapers, was an order issued by the company compelling every laborer, motorman and conductor to deposit with the company \$25 cash for the privilege of working. The men objected to the obnoxious rule and the company then demanded from every man a bond of \$100. To this the men were equally opposed and a strike resulted. Injustice like this is natural in a system of private control of public services. President Mahon of the National Association of Amalgamated Street Railway Employees is on the ground in charge of the men.

The first county in the state of Washington to put a Socialist ticket in the field is Clallam County. Our comrades there held a convention at Port Angeles, July 27, and effected a complete organization for the campaign. The Daily News of Port Angeles, their official paper, says in its issue of July 19: "Eugene V. Debs, one of the leaders of the new Social Democratic Party, was not always a Socialist, and it is just possible that had he not put in six months in prison rather than acknowledge government by injunction he might not have been a Socialist. But Eugene V. Debs had a heart for the cause he had advocated, he was fighting the cause of labor against capital. Then it was that the scales dropped from his eyes and he realized for the first time he was traveling the wrong road; in fact, instead of making progress he was butting his head against the wall of competition upon the tread-mill of the law, ever since then Eugene V. Debs has been a Socialist, his sincerity has been tried, he is above purchase and knows no fear. We believe that Debs was right and that is why we prefer to follow his flag and advocate his cause."

"College professors and college men," says Miss R. B. Holmes, assistant superintendent of the Chicago Bureau of Charities, "have ceased to be rarities at this office," and she tells of a highly educated Frenchman, a professor of languages, for whom she has tried for a week to find work of any sort by which he could pay for his board and lodging. During the year the bureau has had many similar cases. And so it is seen that a knowledge of Greek and Latin is no more a guarantee of daily bread than a knowledge of mechanics. Under the capitalist system of industry neither learning in the head nor skill in the hand means security, and they never will.

MUNICIPAL THEATRE.

A deputation waited upon the General Purposes Committee of the London County Council recently in support of the petitions in favor of a municipal opera-house, presented recently to the Council. Mr. R. Strong was in the chair, and the following gentlemen attended to support the prayer of the petition: Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Sir Herbert Parry, Professor Villiers Stanford, Mr. Randegger, Mr. Hamish McCunn, Mr. F. H. Cowan, Mr. Moul, late manager of the Alhambra Theatre; Mr. Edward German and Mr. S. Aitken. Mr. H. Lawson introduced them to the committee, and Sir Alexander Mackenzie expressed the desire of the signatories, that the Council should by an annual grant of money, not excessive in amount, bring about the establishment of a permanent opera-house in London, which, among other advantages, would promote the musical interests and refinement of the public and the advancement of the art of music. The deputation had a courteous reception, and Professor Stanford, Mr. Moul, and other members were questioned on the practical bearings of the project. Several members of the committee indicated approval of the scheme.

JAURES ON THE ELECTIONS.

In an eloquent speech regarding the recent national elections in France, Belgium and Germany, delivered in Paris recently, Prof. Jaures, the celebrated orator and Socialist agitator, said in part: "Of what a crime against itself, against civilization, against humanity, would the proletariat be guilty if it were not everywhere organized, everywhere ready to fight for a common idea. Are we to be taken by surprise by events? It is not only the interest of the proletariat, it is European civilization which is seriously endangered by an unfettered reaction. The middle class is seized with dissolution; its liberal elements are dying of incapacity and the inward faction. Liberalism is smashed in Belgium; liberalism is wrecked in Germany; radicalism in France, instead of becoming the ruling power by its wide programme is discredited by its vague and childish combinations. The Socialist proletariat stands solitary and alone, unshaken, as the power of the future, a power from which salvation may be hoped. The proletariat alone can fight for political freedom, for Social righteousness against clerical, capitalistic, and military rebellion."

WE LACK IDEALS.

What we lack is ideals, not idols. Our idol has been the practical man, who by his superior cunning has amassed the wealth of his fellow-man, as our model of success; but we are coming to see that all such success is purchased at the price of the failure of many. The movement for public ownership is government seeking the good of all, against the individual who seeks only his own good; it is dethroning the millionaires and exalting the millions. It is short-sighted and idle to sneer at the bribe-taker without visiting the same condemnation upon those who offer bribes, but the facts are that the men who send their agents out to purchase the votes of the legislators are our wealthy men, who live in the big houses and ride behind horses with short tails; while the man whose vote they seek to purchase lives in the narrow street and small house, and probably serves his city without a salary, and frequently finds himself without a salary from any source or other visible means of support when the poison of the briber is offered to him. . . . Why does not patriotism call for service in time of peace as well as in time of war? Why should not our hearts be moved to pity as we contemplate our own great army of disinherited, disheartened, discouraged, hopeless ones, beaten in the race of life? I am not making a warfare upon wealth. I am pleading for more wealth. . . . Public ownership is government seeking the good of all; it is organized love manifesting itself in service; it is patriotism of the highest and purest type; it is a practical demonstration of the brotherhood of man. How much better is Glasgow's sign, "Citizens, Protect Your Own Property," than ours, "Keep Off the Grass."—Mayor Jones of Toledo.

The blank despair and the hardened cynicism which alternately possess those who assume to defend the existing commercial and industrial anarchy, on the ground that if the "system" is disturbed, ruin will follow, are slowly passing away before the terrible fact of the ruin that now is.

THE INCENTIVE TO EXERTION.

When organized society becomes the owner of the means of production and distribution the incentive to exertion with the many will be not unlike that which exists to-day. As society must necessarily produce in order to exist, so necessity will require that only those that work shall receive any part of the general product. If any other were the rule there might be little or no product, since there could be no incentive to produce for the benefit of the idler. No work, no pay, will necessarily be the rule. It cannot be otherwise. Necessity, then as now, will be the parent of exertion. Under the capitalist system, of course, the capitalist can be an idler, since his capitalist enables him to exploit the non-capitalist worker, who must work for him or starve. The capitalist retains the larger portion of the worker's product as the condition of employment. But the power of the individual to thus exploit the worker will not exist when the public owns the machinery of production and guarantees employment to all. In such case the person who attempts to get a living from society without working for it will simply be obtaining the product of others without giving any consideration for it, which would be stealing. Such a person will doubtless be punished as a thief.

As the capitalist will no longer be as he is to-day, the organizer of labor, he will have no place in the social system. He can no longer exploit any labor except his own. He will therefore be obliged to work like the rest. His capital will be of no use to him. Society itself will be the organizer of labor, and social organization will largely take the place of capital. The land, machinery, and other property necessary to carry on production will belong to the whole people as a body politic, and all will have the right to use it under proper social regulations.

But under such a system it does not follow that the rewards of labor will be always equal. Doubtless owing to the contamination of the capitalist system, there are many so demoralized that they will shirk their proper share of labor. Therefore, no doubt, until society shall regain its health, the reward of the worker will depend on the amount of his product, those producing much obtaining much, and those producing little having little. Thus the incentive to exertion will be determined by the rewards of exertion.

But it must be remembered that, however much a person may produce, his accumulations can never be used to exploit his fellow man. He can never employ labor to increase his hoard, since to do this he can pay the laborer only a part of his product, retaining the rest. But no one will work for such a one for a part of his own product, since by working for society the worker can obtain the whole of his product. There will therefore be no saving by individuals for purposes of investment, since investment implies exploitation of the labor of others. Like the manna in the desert, only such of the products of labor as can be used by the individual for his present sustenance and comfort will be retained by him. If he attempted to hoard his products they will spoil upon his hands, or be a nuisance to him. His surplus products will go toward enriching the community, in public works which will benefit all.

Of course, those too young or too old to work, the feeble, sick and women engaged in the care of children will be supported by the community. A certain part of every man's product will be retained for this purpose, as well as for maintaining industrial plants.

The foregoing remarks apply only to the many, and even to those only until health is restored to people will work from a sense of duty and because of the pleasure of it.

But there will always be those who will act from a higher motive than mere gratification of physical wants. Were it not for these the world would never be saved, and never be worth saving. Scientists, litterateurs, artists, inventors, statesmen, these will be far removed from fear of want, and will have leisure to devote themselves to their special pursuits. The incentive to exertion in their case will be the desire to benefit humanity, an incentive which has led thousands to self-sacrifice and which will, when society is cured of the ills which have been the result of capitalism, lead all to the very highest exertions for the good of all.

In a long communication, which is not printed entire because of our limited space, W. A. Hall of St. Louis, proposes that the various Socialist and Christian Socialist organizations select representatives to a conference to formulate a political constitution and platform as a basis of uniting all in one body, and thinks we might possibly get a united party as a result. The proposition is endorsed by C. Shattinger, Ada C. Shattinger, E. D. Waldorf, E. H. Elliff, J. G. Fritton, Aug. C. Fritton, H. Slickerman, Izelle M. Witherell and Henry Gerhold.

The Grand Trunk railway was caught the other day trying to appropriate (that is what the daily newspapers call it) thirty feet of a public street for its own use. If there is anything an American gang of capitalists wouldn't steal from the public, we would like to know what it is.

PLATFORM OF THE S. D. P.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIALISM.

BY ISADORE LADOFF.

IS SOCIALISM AN ART. WHAT IS SOCIALISM?
 Is Socialism an idle fancy of noble dreamers, or an exact science founded on the impregnable rock of economical materialism? Is it a panacea for all the evils of humanity, or an antidote to the poison of capitalism—a kind of an antitoxin against the microbes of modern industrialism?
 Frenchmen say: "A comparison is no reason," and yet an analogy elucidates sometimes more than volumes of scientific proofs. We will, therefore, make an attempt to answer the question put at the head of this note by using a comparison. Medicine, preventive and curative, is an art founded on the so-called natural sciences and on the knowledge of the human body. Medicine is impossible without this knowledge. A physician without this knowledge is a dangerous quack. Society exists, just as well as the human body, according to certain natural laws. Its well-being or disease depends on the conditions of its life and activities. If these conditions are in accord with natural laws—society prospers, and vice versa. Human society can be, and is studied by scientists. The science about society is known by the name of Sociology. Sociology is to society what natural sciences are to the human body—the real basis and foundation of its treatment in health and disease. Socialism, however, is the "art of Sociology," the "application of the science to the practical problems of social life," the "materia medica," the hygiene and curative methods of the social body. This conception of Socialism is immensely broader than that of the economic materialist and more harmonious, taking into consideration all the human wants instead of only the material ones. The social unit of the economic materialist is not a living human being, with all its faults and passions, desires, and ambitions, altruistic and egotistic inclinations, moral and immoral tendencies. This social unit is an abstraction, a man from which all human traits, except greed for possession of material goods, is eliminated. Economical problems play a great part in human life, and consequently in social life, too. But they do not constitute all of it: Economy as a science is a part of Sociology; the skeleton is a very important part of the human body, but a living man is infinitely more than a skeleton. The science about bones—osteology, is necessary for the general knowledge of the human body. But would it not be preposterous for osteologists to say that their science is all that is necessary for a practical physician? Economics are the osteology of human society, and to base on it the art of the treatment of society is simply preposterous. As the knowledge of all the parts of the human body is the condition sine qua non of a good physician, the knowledge of all the qualities, properties and laws of human beings is necessary for every Socialist, who deserves to be called so. Socialism is not an idle dream any more, it is not a panacea, a specific cure against a certain disease; it is not a science by and for itself—it is indefinitely more than all that—it is the application of all the results of scientific investigation of the results of human thought and noblest feelings to the problems of social life. Great is the dignity of a healer of afflictions of the human body, and preserver of the health, but great are also their responsibilities. To be called a Socialist is the highest compliment that can be paid by one man to another. To be a true Socialist is the highest distinction a man can attain to on earth. But how many deserve to be called so and how many pretend to be Socialists, without any shadow of right to be counted as such? It is not enough to repeat thoughtlessly certain ready-made maxims and sentences in order to be a Socialist. It is necessary to study society in all its aspects and phases, to read, think and investigate much and long in order to have the right to call oneself a Socialist. One independent thinking man is worth thousands of thoughtless repeaters of other people's ideas. It is a great and noble thing to "make Socialists," but the proper way to do it is to make them study, think and judge for themselves, to put them on their own feet. Feeling alone, sincere and deep as it may be, is not a secure foundation for a soldier of Socialism. Knowledge and conviction coming from knowledge and independent thought, are the most precious qualities of a healer or social reformer. The so-called leaders who are opposed to academic study, because they "want fighters," are false prophets. Socialism in order to succeed has to start an educational crusade. German Socialists owe their success to the systematic education of the masses, started by the general F. Lassalle and kept up to our day. The Socialists of England try to do the same. The American Socialists have to adopt the same policy. An ignorant soldier is a poor fighter. That is why the organ of the American Social Democratic Party publishes in its columns popular lessons in Sociology and allied sciences in order to give to its readers a possibility to self-culture and study along the lines indicated.

A SOCIALIST IN IRELAND.

[From the Clarion.]

For well-nigh a hundred miles this week they have been rattling my bones over the stones in an Irish jaunting car. Those of you who have ridden in one of these curious and not too comfortable conveyances will appreciate my feelings when I say that I would a good deal rather stretch outside under the pine trees for a long sweet sleep, than sit straight up in a high-backed chair to write copy.
 Since I first set foot in Ireland, five or six years ago, my heart's desire has been to visit the real distressful country, either in Connemara or Donegal. Now that desire has been granted, so far as Donegal is concerned, and I am a wiser as well as a happier woman.
 If the darkest hour is that which comes just before the dawn, surely the dawn of a brighter era is just about to come to gladden the hearts of the poor, poverty-stricken peasantry of county Donegal. It is this hope and this belief which is making me happy. If nothing stands still, then when things are at their very worst they must move on to mend.
 If I had not been a Socialist, the drive from Donegal to the outlying districts would have made me one.
 The fields, once so fertile, are now almost without exception fallow. Where once the strong cornstalks stood, and bent their heads with the burden of their grain, now rushes and thistles flourish—useless alike to man and beast. The mills which once used to grind the golden grain and convert it into food have now fallen into a state of ruin and decay, and serve only to remind the passer-by of what has been and what might be now were it not for the hand of the oppressor.
 Even the heather on the heights has lost the heart to bloom, save a few solitary patches here and there, which are to me like so many sturdy little Socialists determined to stand by their colors till the good times come. For they will come—they must come!
 Our friend the driver had spent the whole of the sixty odd years of his life in those parts, and seen many changes. There had been no evictions for the last few years, because there was scarce anyone left to evict. As fast as the young people grew up they left for America, and after the old folk had died in their homes, the walls were allowed to tumble. On the whole, I think we passed more "evictions" (as we called the empty and tumbling dwellings) than inhabited houses. It was hard to believe that some of the filthy, dark little hovels were really homes to human beings. But there was no mistaking this fact when you saw the dim outline of a half-starved face peering through the dirt-darkened little panes of glass called by courtesy windows.
 By way of sounding his feelings, I asked the driver what he would have done himself, had he been a small tenant farmer unable to pay his rent, and been served with an eviction.
 "Begorra," he said, "before they'd evict me, I'd have me gun loaded, and blow their brains out, every one of them. If a man has only to die once, he may as well swing by a rope as be starved on the hedge side; and if the worst had to come, I'd die a happier man for having killed a few of them blackguards."
 I won't pretend that his reply was quite in such polite language as this. But this is as near as I can give it in the Clarion.
 Then his blood was up, and with his whip he wildly pointed from side to side, and asked how a man could pay rent for such land and live? Some of them did do it, the fools, and had to fast half their time. This man was in rags, evidently as poor as poor could be. Yet he was a teetotaler—would neither drink at his own expense nor any other man's. A bit o' bacca was his only pleasure, and that he accepted gratefully.
 Not in any English city have I ever seen such miserable slums as are to be found in the town of Donegal itself. Starting from Ballyshannon by the mail car about three, we did not get into Donegal till after six, and by the time we had had tea it was too late for me to think of making any calls. But, in truth, it would have taken a braver heart than mine to have entered those formidable dwellings, inhabited by what seemed to me no less formidable people. They were so dirty and wild as to look almost inhuman, and that's a terrible sad thing to say. Probably they made some attempt at keeping themselves clean, for in one window I noticed a filthy small-toothed comb, which was surely more for use than ornament.
 In some of these living-rooms, peat was piled from floor to ceiling, occupying quite half the space. And I ask, how can people lead decent, cleanly lives in such conditions?
 But all the Irish are not poor—not by any means. We came across one of those poor unfortunates (as he termed himself)—an Irish landlord. We met him and his stately spouse at a hotel in Strabane. He had been staying in Donegal a week, as he had property there, and wanted to see how things were looking. He had other estates elsewhere which joined the Countess of Leitner's. They paid better. "But these in Donegal were scarcely worth having. "The tenants value your life at 4d., the cost of an ounce of tobacco," he said; "and if you do not give it,

they are ready to shoot you." I made some sort of a reply, but would rather have asked him why he did not save himself all his anxiety by giving to the people those estates which were scarcely worth anything, rather than tobacco which would cost at least 4d.
 Then his wife told me how she had been annoyed. At Lisdoonarragh I'll call it, for it was something like that, although I could not catch the name, the car-man had taken them to his own hotel. In the evening there were some festivities, and they were asked to join. To make themselves agreeable, they did. But to her intense horror and disgust, among the dancers was the very car-man himself. She had never been subject to such an insult, and, of course, they had been taken to the wrong hotel. Then she said that her cook could never make pancakes like those they had in Bundoran, where they were delicious, like one mass of yellow foam. Would I be sure to order pancakes when I went to Bundoran?
 She liked something else as well as pancakes, as one of our party noticed that she carried it in a special little bottle in her satchel, and used it at dinner in preference to that she might be able to get at the hotel.
 Then she began to complain that although they were good and bad landlords, they all had a bad name, and this she attributed to the agents, who were mostly cruel and heartless. But I don't see how any other than a cruel and heartless man could be a successful agent in those poverty-stricken districts. Rather than be obliged to extort rents from such starving people, I would blow my own brains out.
 The landlord can, and does for the most part, live away. But the agent must be on the spot. So far as I have been able to observe, however, the agent lives in a good house, and so does the priest. In some parts of Ireland, I know, the priests lead Christ-like lives, and are as poor almost as Christ was Himself. But I saw no indications of priestly poverty in Donegal. They travel first-class, have good horses, and live in good houses. How, or by what means, the people have raised the money to build and maintain the costly churches and chapels is to me a mystery. But they have done it. The Christ who gave up his very life for His people's welfare, and had not where to lay His head, would scarcely approve, I think, of such costly edifices being erected to His honor, while the people for whom he died were perishing for the want of the commonest necessities of life.

ABOUT POLITICAL UNIONS.

The editor of the Brauer-Zeitung comments as follows on Comrade Gordon's views of the relation of the S. D. P. to trades unions, printed in this paper last week:
 "As to our own view on the possible and necessary development of the trades unions, there is a slight mistake in the terms used by our esteemed Comrade Gordon in his otherwise very well pointed remarks.
 "The union, to be itself a political organization, would presuppose a state of almost perfect political unanimity on the part of the organized workmen. Well, as soon as such a state of intellectual progress within the rank and file of labor shall have been reached there will be no more use for the union in its past and present capacity as an organization for warfare against the encroachments of capitalism. For the latter could then be abolished without further delay, and it will be done away with by the politically organized proletariat taking in its hands the whole machinery of government. The trade organizations may then be called upon to perform the great task of reorganizing the industries for the common welfare, but it is self-evident that there will be no more use for them as fighting organizations.
 "Whatever the future may bring about, it is certain that Socialists cannot reasonably expect the unions to become political organizations and go into political action as a body themselves. This can only be expected from the trade unionist individually, and it will be done by a great majority of them in due time.
 "The unions can and, we hope they will become more and more imbued with the spirit of Socialist insight of the everyday facts and the unavoidable decline of 'pure and simple' economic tactics; thus they will become progressive, truly modern, up-to-date, class-conscious trade organizations."

BRANCH MEETINGS.

[Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25c per month.]
 Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesdays, at 614 State street.
 Jacob Hunger, secretary, 614 Chestnut street.
 Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America meets first and third Mondays at 8 o'clock sharp at 614 State street. Frederic Heath, secretary, John Doerder, secretary.
 Branch No. 3, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Tuesdays at 13th and Wyoming streets. Wm. Ruesche, secretary, 3338 Iowa avenue.
 Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Frank Whitney, Bannock building, secretary.
 Branch No. 2 Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Stengel's Hall, corner Monroe and Pearl streets, every Monday evening.
 Colorado Branch No. 1, of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday eve at Conservatory of Music, 14th and Arapahoe, Denver, Colo., 8 p. m. Halsey Butler, Chairman; Mrs. Marian Steele, Secretary.

ORGANIZATION.

Instructions for organizing local branches will be sent by the National Secretary.

Copies of the constitutions now before the members for discussion and amendment, printed in pamphlet form, sent for 3 cents each.

Members of the old branches on joining the Social Democratic Party have only current dues to pay, and not the admission fee.

THEODORE DEBS,

National Secretary,

Room 56, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

UNION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Desiring to keep intact our well-organized and harmonious state movement, and before it was known how our branches would stand, an appeal was sent out by the branch at Amesbury to the Social Democrats of Massachusetts, of both old and new parties, asking them to unite in the fall campaign as previously planned, irrespective of their views on colonization. Each branch was asked to ratify the ticket nominated at the State convention in May, which platform (S. D. P. or S. D. A.) it desired them to stand on—whether it would abide by the decision of the majority as to platform—and to elect a delegate to a joint campaign committee.
 Responses were received from fourteen branches, and a convention of the delegates elected is called for Sunday, August 14, at 2 p. m., at 724 Washington street, Boston, to perfect arrangements for the campaign. It is not necessary to urge attendance. The Massachusetts comrades are eager for the fray.
 M. HAILE,
 Sec. Boston C. C. C.

AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION.

The National Executive Board, at its meeting held at Milwaukee on the first day of August, 1898, adopted the following amendment to the constitution of the Social Democratic Party:
 Hereafter the members of the executive board may be removed by the imperative mandate in the following manner:
 Any three members of the National Council may demand the resignation of any member of the National Executive Board, by filing a petition with the secretary of said executive committee; and upon said secretary's neglect or refusal to act upon said petition within five days after filing the same, then by filing a petition with the chairman of the said executive board; and upon the said chairman's neglect or refusal to act, by filing such petition with three members of the National Council, other than the petitioners, who shall act as a committee for the purpose of receiving and acting, as herein provided. Such petition shall contain a statement in writing setting forth fully and at large the grounds upon which the recall is demanded. Such officers or committee with whom such petition is filed shall forthwith deliver a copy thereof to the person whose recall is demanded, if such person can be found; and said person shall have the right to answer such petition in writing, which said answer shall be mailed by registered letter to the officer or committee holding said petition within fifteen (15) days from the receipt by the person whose recall is desired of the copy of the petition required to be delivered to him.
 The petitioners shall be served forthwith by registered letter from the officer or committee holding the petition with a copy of said answer, and such petitioners shall have the right to file, with such officer or committee, a replication to such answer within ten days after receipt of such copy.
 Thereupon the said officer or committee holding said petition shall mail a complete copy of the proceedings to the person whose recall is sought, and five (5) days thereafter said officer or committee shall mail to each member of the National Council a complete copy of all the proceedings and shall demand a vote of each member of the National Council thereon.
 All proceedings shall be open to the inspection of any member of the National Council at all times.
 The time for filing the answer and replication may be extended by the officer or chairman of the committee holding such petition for ten (10) days; and such answer may be amended at any time to meet the allegation of the replication or otherwise.
 Recall of a member of the Executive Board shall not affect the standing of such member as a member of the National Council.

GREATEST OF HIS KIND—POWERLESS AGAINST SOCIALISM.

Otto von Bismarck, a former chancellor of Germany and the last great champion of feudalism in Europe, is dead. Twenty or twenty-five years ago this news would have agitated all of Europe. It might have changed the political constellation of the great powers and created panics on the bourse. "Sic transit gloria mundi"—nothing of the kind will happen now. They will write and speak a great deal about the man for a day or two—considering what he has accomplished, and still more, considering what he has not accomplished. But that will be all. For Prince Bismarck, so far as power and influence is concerned, has been dead for some years.
 Bismarck has tried the impossible. He wanted to stop the wheel of human progress in a certain respect. He, the last great representative of a by-gone epoch, did not seem to understand that the change in the mode of production had changed the economic condition of the people and had created a new class, which asked for its share of human happiness. He tried to resist that class, the wage-working class, in its fight for political and economical freedom, and failed. The Social Democratic Party of Germany proved to be the rock on which the boat containing his fortune split and foundered.
 Bismarck, lucky as he was in his external politics, was unfortunate in managing the inner affairs of the empire which he united by "blood and iron" and by not being over-scrupulous in the selection of his methods. Had he tried to read the history of the future in the pages of the history of the past—as some other great men did—then in the beginning of the '60's he might have done a signal service to the ruling house whose devoted servant he was all his life, by listening to the advice of Ferdinand Lassalle. In those days the establishment of the "social kingdom" was still possible in Prussia. Since then the words Socialism and democracy have become inseparable and the prospects are very gloomy for the house of Hohenzollern.
 It is the irony of history that Bismarck helped to strengthen the Social Democratic Party of Germany by all the great efforts of his life. The unification of Germany helped the Socialists, and so did the general enfranchisement of all the male adults in Germany, though Bismarck intended it as a conservative measure. And when he tried "special force laws" he simply hammered the different Socialist groups into one gigantic party. He had even less luck when he tried to cure the workmen of Germany of Socialism by giving them social reform in homeopathic doses, for while his labor legislation was good enough as far as it went, it did not go far enough for the Socialistic wage-workers of Germany. They refused to be appeased by any small gifts and asked for their rights. And after their vote had increased to over a million, Bismarck and his system had to go.
 They have since in Germany tried all kinds of ways to stop the growth of the fearful Social Democratic Party. But neither could the new lord (William II.) accomplish what Germany's greatest statesman had tried in vain. The last election showed a further growth of the Socialists, their vote reaching 2,250,000. But take Bismarck all in all: He was a man who, according to the ideas of feudalism, tried to serve his king, not his people. He was a man though, a great man, probably the greatest statesman of this century. But if the greatest statesman of this century, with all his cunning, craftiness and strength, proved powerless against Socialism, who in the world do we have to fear?—Milwaukee Vorwaerts.

Last Sunday afternoon, in the presence of 4,000 Chicagoans, there was a "beef-killing contest" under the auspices of the Dexter Park "Pleasure" Club. The winner killed and cut a beef in halves in 5 minutes 9 1/2 seconds. Such a scene in Madrid would have been barbarous; in Chicago it is a pleasurable way of spending a Sunday afternoon!

Criticism of government is always frowned upon by the rich; but how long would the rich submit to a government they did not control?

UTAH EIGHT-HOUR LAW.

Florence Kelley, of Hull House, executive inspector of Illinois under Gov. Altgeld, and best known to the Socialist movement by her translation of Frederick Engels' "Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844," contributes a paper to the current American Journal of Sociology on the scope of the recent Utah eight-hour decision, which we reproduce below in slightly condensed form. She says:

"Although it has passed almost unheeded by the serious journals devoted to sociology as by the daily press, the recent decision of the supreme court of the United States sustaining the constitutionality of the Utah statute, which constitutes eight hours a legal working day in mines and smelters, may without exaggeration be compared to the Dred Scott case as a decision of the highest national importance. For while that decision fomented rebellion and contributed mightily to the forced reconstruction of the southern states, this decision averts a danger no less actual, though more insidious and slow to be perceived:

"In 1895 the supreme court of Illinois decided that the state cannot restrict by legislation the hours of labor of any adult. About the same time the legislature of Colorado inquired of the Colorado supreme court whether a proposed statute limiting to eight hours the working day of laborers and mechanics would be constitutional; or whether it could be rendered constitutional by an amendment providing that it should apply only to mines and factories. The supreme court of Colorado replied that both proposals would be unconstitutional, because they violate the rights of parties to make their own contracts—a right guaranteed by our bill of rights and protected by the fourteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States. In 1894 the Nebraska supreme court had decided that an act of the legislature of that state providing that eight hours should constitute a legal day's work for all classes of mechanics, servants, and laborers throughout the state, excepting those engaged in farm and domestic labor, and making violation of its provisions a misdemeanor, was unconstitutional. Of these decisions and opinions so careful a writer as Mr. F. J. Stimson said, no longer ago than the September issue of the Atlantic Monthly: 'These decisions have undoubtedly given the quietus in the United States to any attempt to limit generally the time that a grown man may labor.'

"Undeterred by the three recent and discouraging decisions of western courts, the people of Utah fell back upon the precedent of Massachusetts, whose supreme court had decided in 1876 (People vs. the Hamilton Manufacturing Company) that the Massachusetts legislature had the power to restrict by statute the hours of labor of adult women employed in factories. From the days of this sweeping Massachusetts provision, which took effect Oct. 1, 1880, and has remained in force in Massachusetts unchanged to the present day, the tendency has been to reduce the powers of legislatures, both by restrictions inserted in state constitutions and by the interpretation placed upon those constitutions by state supreme courts. Strongest of all has been the use of the fourteenth amendment by the state courts. How far the pendulum has already swung back toward the position of Massachusetts in 1880 is shown in the action of the people of Utah, in the decision of their supreme court, and in the present decision of the supreme court of the United States. The people of Utah, instructed by the supreme court of Illinois in 1895, showed by their action in 1896 that they had learned their lesson. For, not content with such sweeping generalities as those of the Massachusetts state constitution, they incorporated in their own constitution of 1896 an article dealing explicitly with the rights of labor.

"On June 26, 1896, one Holden was arrested under a warrant charging him with employing a man to work in a mine ten hours in one day. The court, having heard the evidence in the case, imposed a fine of \$50 (fifty dollars) and costs, and ordered the defendant to be imprisoned in the county jail for a term of fifty-seven days, or until the fine and costs were paid. The case was immediately appealed, under habeas corpus proceedings, to the supreme court of Utah, and the law was sustained. The case was then carried to the federal supreme court, which handed down its decision on February 28, Justices Peckham and Brewer dissenting. The law was again sustained. The position of the supreme court of the United States was defined as to the constitutionality of statutory restrictions upon the hours of labor of adults; and as to the powers and duties, in general, of the states with regard to the health and welfare of employes as such. Although the decisions of the supreme courts of Nebraska, Illinois and Colorado are referred to indirectly only, they are all comprehensively overruled. But the great, the incalculable service which is rendered by this decision is its rout and destruction of the bogey-man with which state supreme courts have for years been terrifying themselves, and each other, and timorous legislatures, under the name of the fourteenth amend-

ment to the constitution of the United States. Says the court:

"The constitution of the United States, which is necessarily, and to a large extent inflexible, and exceedingly difficult of amendment, should not be so construed as to deprive the states of the power to amend their laws as to make them conform to the wishes of the citizens as they may deem best for the public welfare, without bringing them into conflict with the supreme law of the land."

"And again the court says: 'Of course, it is impossible to forecast the character or extent of these changes; but in view of the fact that, from the day Magna Charta was signed to the present moment, amendments to the structure of the law have been made with increasing frequency, it is impossible to suppose that they will not continue, and the law be forced to adapt itself to new conditions of society, and particularly to the new relations between employers and employes as they arise.'

"Having thus come to the rescue of the state legislatures and their powers in general, the court deals with their duties in regard to the health of employes as such. It sets forth the general proposition that: 'It is as much in the interest of the state that the public health should be preserved as that life should be made secure. With this in view, quarantine laws have been enacted in most, if not all, of the states; insane asylums, public hospitals, and institutions for the care and instruction of the blind established; and especial measures taken for the exclusion of infected cattle, rags, and decayed fruit. In other states laws have been enacted limiting the hours during which women and children shall be employed in factories; and while their constitutionality, at least as applied to women, has been doubted in some of the states, they have been generally upheld.'

"The court also settled the vital question: Who shall decide which occupations are sufficiently injurious to justify the restriction of the hours of daily labor of persons employed in them? On no point have state courts been more arrogant. The federal supreme court says: 'These employments, when too long pursued, the legislature has judged to be detrimental to the health of the employes; and, so long as there are reasonable grounds for believing that this is so, its decision upon this subject cannot be reviewed by the federal courts.'

"The logical result of this decision should be renewed activity on behalf of the statutory eight-hours' working day for all young people, on grounds of health; and for all adults in occupations injurious to the health."

There has been so much prosperity in Chicago that in one section of the city alone, West Town, real and personal property valuations have decreased nearly \$3,000,000 from last year. And the average business man, the hard-hearted practical man, still thinks that prosperity of that kind will save him and the country at large!

APPEAL TO THE INDIVIDUAL.

(Continued from first page.)

with the individualist's beloved law of free competition, and your philosophical demonstrations will only be ignored. Even if some of the humanitarian employers—and we know there are many—were in favor of dispensing with "half-timers" and making substantial improvements in the conditions of their employes, while there are a few of the less scrupulous ones left entirely free, it would simply mean the absorption of the trade of the better natured employers by their more greedy competitors and the same conditions for the workers.

The only way to improve the lot of the workers and to dispense with "half-timers" is for the state to intervene and raise the plane of competition a little higher, and protect the more scrupulous against the less scrupulous employers.

We may regard as brothers the hypocritical parson, the lying politician, the sweeter and poisoner. But surely that is no reason why we should still leave it in their power to rob and murder the remainder of our brothers? We believe in "appealing to the individual," but it is to work for a condition of society where it will be impossible for a Letter or anyone else to rob millions of human beings. We consider it would be more brotherly to give equal opportunity to all; in education, in time for enjoyment, in culture and development, and, seeing that Nature permits it, to give all the opportunity not only to earn the means whereby they live, but when they have earned it to give them what they earn, not merely a portion. In short, we do not believe in allowing some brothers to live on the earnings of others while they are able to work themselves. Socialists do not consider it very sensible to give one man the power to injure millions of others, and then implore him to be kind and brotherly. Those that believe in appealing to the better nature of employers show by their attitude that they deplore the existence of poverty and misery. We invite them to assist us in evolving a society where one man cannot possibly deprive others of their means of livelihood. Then appealing for mercy in that respect will be unnecessary.

THE WOLF AT THE DOOR.

There's a haunting horror near us
That nothing drives away—
Fierce lamping eyes at nightfall,
A crouching shade by day;
There's a whining at the threshold,
There's a scratching at the door—
To work! to work! in heaven's name!
The wolf is at the door!

The day was long, the night was short,
The bed was hard and cold;
Still weary are the little ones,
Still weary are the old.
We are weary in our cradles
From our mother's toil untold;
We are born to hoarded wealth,
As some to hoarded gold.

We will not rise! We will not work!
Nothing the day can give
Is half so sweet as an hour of sleep;
Better to sleep than live!
What power can stir these heavy limbs?
What hope these dull hearts swell?
What fear more cold, what pain more sharp,
Than the life we know so well?

To die like a man by lead or by steel
Is nothing that we should fear;
No human death would be worse to feel
Than the life that holds us here,
But this is a fear that no heart can face—
A fate no man can dare—
To be run to the earth and die by the teeth
Of the gnawing monster there.

The slow, relentless, padding step
That never goes astray—
The rustle in the underbrush—
The shadow in the way—
The straining flight—the long pursuit—
The steady gain behind—
Death-wearied man and tireless brute
And the struggle wild and blind.

There's a hot breath at the keyhole
And a tearing at the teeth;
Well do I know the bloodshot eyes
And the dripping jaws beneath!
There's a whining at the threshold—
There's a scratching at the door—
To work! to work! in heaven's name!
The wolf is at the door!

—Charlotte Perkins Stetson.

DOES MACHINERY DISPLACE LABOR.

C. Wood Davis in the July Forum: But what of the future? During twenty years farms were added at the rate of 95,000 per annum, on which were placed an average of 540,000 units annually. New farms absorbed and employed the equivalent of the 8,050,000 immigrants reaching our shores in the twenty years, and some 2,750,000 others born in America or immigrating earlier. Instead of the farm absorbing as heretofore, one-fourth more people than we import, it will hereafter pour a constant stream of employment-seekers into the urban districts—unless the surplus labor units born upon the farm shall be placed in a standing army.

That the anticipated progressive displacement of labor by machinery is not imaginary, is apparent from innumerable facts, among which may be named that the setting of tobacco and other plants is effected by machines; that the seed potato is cut by one machine and planted by another, while the product is dug by a third; that the "self-feeder" of the threshing machine displaces two men; while "blast-stakers" and gasoline engines will, when in general use, reduce the labor of threshing 75,000,000 acres of grain annually in the equivalent of constant work for 150,000 men; that the "Two-Row" cultivator will displace labor in cultivating 110,000,000 acres of rowed crops in the equivalent of constant employment for 130,000 men; that in the pastoral regions the "hand-shearer" has been displaced by machines making 3,000 clips per minute; that Mr. Edison is, with a handful of men, demolishing mountains and converting them into iron ore and building sand, while on the Mesba range the steam-shovel now mines and loads ore which displaces that formerly mined at an average labor cost of one dollar per ton; that the pneumatic atomizer enables one unskilled laborer to paint more freight cars than can fifteen skilled hand-workers, while with the eight-pound pneumatic hammer the workman drives more nails, rivets more bolters, caulks more seams, and cuts more stone than can twenty men with older appliances. The list of such recently invented labor-lessening and employment-destroying devices is endless.

Till recent years no enduring dearth of employment has resulted in the United States—only, however, because of an existing safety-valve in the arable public domain, and because we were one of a very limited number of machine-using peoples.

Rockefeller's fortune increases yearly by millions of dollars; when he goes to breakfast every morning he is \$25,000 better off than he was the night before; yet he objects to paying a paltry \$500 a day taxes on his princely Tarrytown property. The patriotism of the masters is truly wonderful.

Injustice is becoming more and more insupportable; and that means that the present system is becoming more and more intolerable.

In the city of Washington, capital of the greatest republic on earth, laborers employed on the streets of the city are paid \$1.25 per day, and must furnish their own picks and spades.

In the same city the government provides the facilities free of cost to the Western Union monopoly to furnish the correct time of day, for which the company receives thousands of dollars a year.

But this is the only country in the world where the laborer receives any consideration!

VALUE OF LABOR-TIME.

(Continued from first page.)

It is evident that Marx has been misunderstood and misrepresented. The charge that he advocated the same pay per hour for all sorts of work has no foundation, save in the imagination of Dr. Woolsey, Mr. Rae and others, who have given it wide circulation. The bubble is no sooner pricked by the truth than it collapses. The false impressions created cannot, however, be so readily counteracted.

These critics, though unfriendly, doubtless intended to be fair. Dr. Woolsey was the embodiment of candor and fairness, but he was a born aristocrat and capitalist; but how hardly is it possible for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of Socialism? His chapter on "Leading Features of the Theory of Marx" abounds in errors and misconceptions. We have already seen that the assertion that Marx advocated equal pay for equal hours of all kinds of work has not the shadow of support. Take another instance equally unjust to Marx. The latter says, "That which determines the magnitude of the value of any article is the amount of labor socially necessary, or the labor-time socially necessary for its production." Dr. Woolsey, assuming that manual labor of wage-workers alone is intended, replies, "It is not true that the amount of labor is the only source of value; . . . the employer is a vital factor in all work which requires time for its completion, which is conducted on a large scale, which requires many hands and careful supervision," etc. The clear implication here is that Marx denies this; that in the phrase "the amount of labor socially necessary," he does not include the work of the "employer" or superintendent, who, Dr. Woolsey says, is "thrown out of calculation and treated as of no account."

Nothing could be further from the truth. Marx distinctly and repeatedly recognizes the functions of the brain as well as the hand in work. "Each such function," he says, "whatever may be its nature or form, is essentially the expenditure of human brain, nerves, muscle, etc." Such expressions as "the work of supervision," "the labor of superintendence," are continually employed. "In order to labor productively," he says, "it is no longer necessary for you to do manual work yourself." Indeed, there is not a syllable in "Das Kapital" to support this inference of Dr. Woolsey. Again, the latter says of Marx's system, "The differences of influence upon the amount produced by skilled and unskilled, efficient and inefficient work, . . . and by labor little above brute force are not estimated. . . . All who work an hour are paid alike." So far is this from being true that Marx repeatedly shows the keenest appreciation of these various factors in production. For example, he says, "In every process of creating value, the reduction of skilled labor to average social labor, for example, one day of skilled to six days of unskilled labor is unavoidable; we therefore save ourselves a superfluous operation, and simplify our analysis by the assumption that the labor of the workmen employed by the capitalist is unskilled average labor."

It fairly takes one's breath away to be told, after statements like this, as to the parts played by skilled and unskilled labor, that "they are not estimated." "Efficient and inefficient work" are also carefully distinguished, the one from the other, in his theory of value.

The value of a commodity is constituted not by the particular labor embodied in it, but by the labor commonly required for its production; by labor socially necessary, according to the average skill, efficiency and other conditions prevailing at any given time and place.

It is not, then, any particular degree of efficiency or inefficiency, but the average quantity of labor, that determines value. Marx is sometimes hard to be understood, but there is no obscurity here. He says, "Some people might think that if the value of a commodity is determined by the quantity of labor spent on it, the more idle and unskillful the laborer, the more valuable would his commodity be, because more time would be required in its production. The labor, however, that forms the substance of value is homogeneous human labor, expenditure of one uniform labor power. The total labor power of society, which is embodied in the sum total of the values of all commodities produced by that society, counts here as one homogeneous mass of human labor power, composed though it be of innumerable individual units."

However these units may differ in other respects, they have one common character as component parts of "the average labor power of society," which alone determines value. No author was ever more completely travestied than is Marx in this remarkable chapter by Dr. Woolsey. The implication contained in his question, "Suppose that all the profits were paid over to the operatives; would that mitigate any of the evils of society?" is as misleading as to Marx's position as anything to which we have called attention. His statement that a body of German Socialists expect that in "the new Socialist world of the future all the returns from labor will go to the laborer; for instance, that a year's production of cotton cloth, consisting of fifty million yards at ten cents the yard, or \$5,000,000, would have no deductions made from it by the new em-

ployer, the state," is the most fetched, fictitious and utterly unrepresentable of all. "The state," proper support of which is a sine qua non, is the very foundation of Socialism, recognized by all representative Socialistic writers. This eminent error could find no authority for this statement, or others to which we have called attention, nor does he pretend to give any. These statements, however, have been regarded as authority in the subject-matters to which they relate by large numbers who recognize the great ability and reputation of their author.

TAX THE CHILDREN.

This is the plain, cold statement of a governmental infamy.

By the law—a proper one—every child less than sixteen years old who desires to work for wages must produce a certificate from the board of health that he or she is physically fit to work.

By an infamous provision of the revenue law enacted by the congress just adjourned each child is compelled to buy a ten-cent stamp and affix it to this certificate.

The express, railroad and telegraph companies shift to the shoulders of their customers the tax which the law sought to impose upon them. The millionaire brewer and tobaccoist thrusts upon consumers the tax which the law imposed upon them. The millionaire landowner, the Astor or the Bradley-Martin, living abroad in luxury on money drawn, perhaps, from the tenements in which these very children are squallidly housed, pays not one penny of the war tax.

But the little children, whom an unrighteous, un-Christian and anarchistic Social system compels to work in their play-time, must pay ten cents each in war taxes before they can acquire the privilege of even seeking work.

We are warring for humanity, but we wring the cost of the war from that part of humanity least able to stand it.—N. Y. Journal.

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