

Social Democratic Herald

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

THE SCIENTIFIC SPIRIT OF MODERN SOCIALISM.

BY WM. SCHOLL McCLURE.

To the significance of everyday events, it would seem as if the mind were numbed or deadened by the very fact of their frequent occurrence. We see them—and yet fail to realize them. And as many are made fully conscious of the power of life and the beauty of its surroundings only by the thrilling touch of the artist, so, too, most of us seem insensible to the common barbarities and injustice of the social condition, until the searching pen of the philanthropist or the burning words of the agitator rouse the conscience in revolt against them.

A rational thinker, when confronted by a new idea contradicting that which he has been accustomed to accept, will realize that it must be based either on facts which he has overlooked, or on a process of reasoning with which he is unfamiliar. Until, therefore, he has examined thoroughly, if he is an honest thinker, he will hold his judgment in abeyance. The judicial temperament, however, is rare. Egotism and prejudice never stop to examine fairly the opposite point of view, but assume, rather, that there is none, and pass judgment offhand.

Yet one would suppose that the socialist theory, advanced solely for the avowed purpose of securing justice for the poor and a general betterment of our condition, would command impartial consideration at least, in order that society might avail itself of whatever good there might be in it. Quite otherwise. It has met the common fate of all disturbers of the mental repose. At the mere mention of it, people bridle up as if threatened with personal injury, and—scarce one stopping to examine—denounce it voluminously and vociferously. Ignorance has appealed to ignorance, and prejudice to prejudice. Misrepresentation, ridicule and abuse have been heaped upon it.

There is perhaps no statement more persistently reiterated and commonly believed than that the laborers are today vastly better off than they ever have been. And from this the inference is drawn that labor really has no just cause for complaint, but is actually getting its fair share of the increased productivity which has resulted from the development of machinery.

It would seem as if the worker's condition had improved, not because, but in spite, of machinery. And it was this fact which led John Stuart Mill to declare that "it is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being." Why this is so will be considered further on. Enough for the present that herein is the gist of the socialist indictment of the capitalist system from the historical standpoint. Its manifest failure, with the vastly increased powers of production which it controls, to effect any proportionate improvement in the condition of the workers. Clear evidence that something is out of joint.

Is there not something amazing about such a state of affairs? It is admitted that every able-bodied man is capable of producing, by his work, value equivalent to subsistence, at least. No one pretends that the resources of this country are exhausted, or have been outrun by population. Nor does anyone claim that there is such an abundance for all that it is unnecessary for these men to work. For we know well enough that, under present conditions, no matter how much he has produced, stoppage of work to the worker means starvation.

Alongside this fact of the enforced idleness of the men, consider the growing employment in our industries of women and even children in their places. It is not for us to point the finger of scorn at the savage because he makes the squaws do the work! The census reports show that this evil is growing steadily. And as a direct result of it, a danger is arising that threatens the very life of our institutions, depended as they are for their success upon the intelligence of the people.

Few seem to be aware of the change in the character of socialistic thought that has taken place during the last fifty years.

The nature of the change has been well defined as a development from the static to the dynamic. The Socialism proposed by such men as Owen and Fourier was of a Utopian cast, and was characteristic of the methods of thought in vogue before the diffusion of the evolutionary ideas.

This phase of Socialism still survives to some extent, and experimental col-

onies are attempted now and again. To German scholars is largely due the development of Socialism from the Utopian stage to the scientific.

"One of its leading characteristics is its thoroughly scientific spirit. Sentimentalism is banished, and a foundation sought in hard, relentless laws, resulting necessarily from the physiological, psychological and social constitution of man, and his physical environment. . . . Coldly, passionlessly, laws regulating wages and value are developed, which show that in our present economic society the poverty of laborers and their robbery by capitalists are as inevitable facts as the motions of the planets. Histories, blue-books, and statistical journals are searched, and facts are piled on facts, mountain high, to sustain every separate and individual proposition. Mathematical demonstrations as logical as problems in Euclid take the place of fine periods, perorations, and appeals to the Deity. Political economy is not rejected, but in its strictest and most orthodox form becomes the very cornerstone of the new social structure. . . . English political economy is developed to its logical and consistent conclusion with wonderful learning and skill."—Prof. Ely.

These are not the words of a Socialist, and cannot, on that account, be accused of partiality. It is the testimony of a cautious and independent thinker.

To understand Socialism rightly, a clear comprehension of the nature of and reason for its criticism of property rights is most necessary.

Capitalism, as it exists today, is of comparatively recent date. In the middle ages the workers were, as a rule, in possession individually of the means of production—the land and the tools. Each family, to a great extent, supplied its own needs; or exchange was largely within the limits of the community, a matter of mutual services. Here, then, is a simple and true form of private property. It is self-earned. There is individual ownership of the means of production, individual production, and individual appropriation of the product. But as a productive system, it was necessarily meager in its results.

As the advantages of combined effort, with division of labor, or co-operative production, came to be appreciated, the older form began to be gradually superseded. But when this division of labor, by reducing production to a series of simple operations, opened the way for mechanical invention, a rapid transformation followed and modern capitalism was soon in full sway.

The means of production had passed from the hands of the workers to the capitalists. And as a result of the change, things now stand in this wise: Socialized production, but capitalist ownership of the means of production, and capitalist appropriation of the product. The owner of the means of production, though no longer the producer, still appropriates the product, and the character of the appropriation is fundamentally changed.

This is the genesis of capitalist private property. Once the result of one's individual efforts, under capitalism property has largely become the appropriation of that which is produced by the labor of others. It is the robbery of the workers. Can you wonder, then, that when men talk glibly of the sacred rights of property, meaning capitalist property, the Socialist, knowing whence it is derived, refuses to bow down and worship?

Property, once self-earned, now rests on the exploitation of the workers. And ownership of the means of production is the key to the situation; for to the owner goes the product. Thereby comes the power to rob; for to gain access to them the workers must forego their right to that which they produce.

This, then, is how it stands. On the one hand, workers who must get access to the means of production or starve; and access possible only through acceptance of a competitive wage. On the other, capitalist owners of the means of production forced by competition among themselves to buy the labor offered at the lowest market price. So long, therefore, as this system remains unchanged, the robbery of the workers is its inevitable result. Production might be increased to any extent, with no advantage to them whatever! Who, then, are benefited? Plainly those who own and monopolize the means of production—the capitalist class.

SONG OF THE FACTORY SLAVE

The land it is the landlord's;
The trader's is the sea;
The ore the usurer's offer fills,
But what remains for me?
The engine whirrs for master's craft;
The steel shines to defend;
With labor's arms, what labor raised,
For labor's foe to spend?
The camp, the pulpit, and the law
For rich men's sons are free;
Theirs—their are learning, art, and arms;
But what remains for me?
The coming hope, the future day,
When wrong to right shall bow;
And hearts that have the courage, man,
To make the future now.

I pay for all this learning,
I toil for all their ease;
They render back in coin for coin.
Want, ignorance, disease,
Toil— toil—and then a cheerless home
Where hungry passions cross;
Eternal gain to them, who give,
To me eternal loss!
The hour of leisure—happiness—
The rich alone may see;
The playful child, the smiling wife—
But what remains for me?
The coming hope, etc.

They render back, these rich men,
A pauper's niggard fee;
Mayhap a prison, then a grave,
And think they're quits with me.
But not a fond wife's heart that breaks—
A poor man's child that dies—
We score not on our hollow cheeks
And in our sunken eyes,
We read it there, whenever we meet,
And as the sum we see,
Each asks: "The rich the wealth have got,
But what remains for me?
The coming hope, etc.

We bear the wrong in silence,
We store it in our brain;
They think us dull, they think us dead,
But we shall rise again.
A trumpet through the lands will ring,
A heaving through the mass,
A tramping through their palaces,
Until they break like glass.
We'll cease to weep by cherished graves,
From lowly homes we'll flee,
And still as rolls our million march,
Its watchword brave shall be:
The coming hope, the future day,
When wrong to right shall bow;
And hearts that have the courage, man,
To make that future now.
—Ernest Jones in London Social Democrat.

THE GERMAN ELECTIONS.

... That the government would only be too glad to revise the electoral law can well be understood. It knows—as every thoughtful observer knows—that the universal suffrage is the effective instrument by which the Social Democratic Party has achieved its present powerful position, and hopes with every reason to become before long a determining factor in the Reichstag. In the Prussian Landtag, thanks to the narrow franchise on which it is elected, the Socialists have never been able to obtain a strong voice, and it is only recently that they have obtained seats at all. In the Reichstag, however, they have, during the last twenty years, ominously increased their strength at every election, with one single exception. Given a continuation of the present electoral conditions, and it is not unlikely that the time will soon come when the Socialists will become the most powerful of the fractions of the Reichstag. Assuming that an alteration of the electoral law would be justifiable it is evident that there is not much time to lose. For, once let the Social Democratic Party get the predominance at which it aims, and nothing short of an open coup d'état on the part of the Federal Government, either supported or not by a portion of the Reichstag, would accomplish the constitutional revision which many deem to be desirable and not a few to be indispensable.

The recent elections have, however, shown another way of meeting the onslaught of Social Democracy, and this is one of the most remarkable features of the contest. It is the way of combination. Never before did the "parties of civil order" manifest so serious or so general a determination to prevent the tide of Socialism from spreading across the floor of parliament. In the first ballots the most of the fractions confronted each other with genuine hopes of success; it was only here and there that agreement was come to, outside of the groups closely allied in principle and aim, to fuse forces with a view to routing the common enemy. But no sooner were the first elections decided than from the headquarters of every party the injunction was issued that wherever Social Democratic candidates were in the field, no effort should be spared to inflict upon them crushing defeat. Mr. Berlin, the counsel of the Conservatives, issued a formal appeal to the rank and file to forget their conservatism for the moment, and to vote solidly for the Radical candidates. The appeal was heeded, for in two of the Metropolitan districts in which they were successful the Radicals would have been overwhelmingly defeated had not their traditional enemies come to their rescue. . . . Alone amongst Germany's many parties the Socialists have fought the election by their own unaided strength.

W. H. DAWSON,
In National Review (England).

ITALY IN 1851 AND IN 1898. HIGH TREASON TO HUMANITY.

Edwin D. Mead in New England Magazine.

The lessons which Gladstone's life and thought have for England and America at this time was our theme in these pages last month. We pointed out that Gladstone was a lover of peace and a hater of war, that he was the great representative of the principle of international arbitration, that he was an earnest worker for the disarmament of the European states, that he was the great opposer in his time of the jingo spirit in England, that he was the untrusting denouncer of the new "imperial" policy of England as a policy which precisely reverses the dictates of good statesmanship. But while he denounced "imperialism" as like the folly of the farmer who converts more and more land when he has neither capital nor skill to turn to account what he already has; while he denounced the declaration of Lord Salisbury at the time of the seizure of Cyprus, that it was always the policy of England whenever there was a great war in Europe to seize a piece of territory at a point which was the chief center of interest in the war, as words "more like the statements of a political bandit than the statements of a British minister;" and while he pronounced the lust of territorial aggrandizement "the original sin of nations," there was no Englishman of his time of whom it could be said less truly that his attention was narrowly absorbed by domestic interests and needs. The charge raised now and then, as it was, by his "imperialistic" enemies, that Gladstone, so strongly emphasizing questions of reform at home and the duty of good house-keeping, had made himself the apostle of British insularity, was too poor and feeble ever to confuse anybody. Naples, Bulgaria, Armenia, Greece—we repeat our words of last month—all rise to proclaim that it has been he in this time who has thought most and done most for the world at large. We return to the subject here not for general reasons, but for a particular and specific reason. With Gladstone's memorable services for Greece, Armenia and Bulgaria we have not now farther to do; but England and America have solemn occasion to remember at this time that it was in behalf of the suffering political prisoners of Italy that Gladstone first made himself conspicuous as a humanitarian statesman and a responsible citizen of the world. We need to remember it, for we are witnessing at this time a state of things in Italy startlingly like that which provoked the Neapolitan Letters half a century ago.

Gladstone's Neapolitan Letters, addressed to the Earl of Aberdeen, with which all England and all Europe rang, were written in 1851. Domestic reasons took Mr. Gladstone to Naples for a residence of several months in the winter of 1850-51; but in Naples he quickly became aware of a state of things in political and public life which made it impossible for him to confine his attention to his private affairs. He found that large numbers of the citizens of Naples, who had formed the opposition in the Chamber of Deputies, had been exiled or imprisoned by King Ferdinand, and that upward of twenty thousand of that monarch's subjects were said to have been thrown into prison on a charge of political disaffection. The conditions reported to him were too monstrous to be believed; but he made a careful investigation, and found that the worst which was told him was true. He had treated as incredible a statement that nearly all those who formed the opposition in the Chamber of Deputies under the constitution were in prison or exile; but a list in detail was given him which showed that, out of one hundred and forty deputies, seventy-six, an actual majority of the representatives of the people, had been either arrested or had gone into exile for the sake of escaping prison. In utter defiance of the law of Naples, the government "watched the people, paid domiciliary visits, ransacked houses, seized papers and effects, and tore up floors at pleasure under pretence of searching for arms, imprisoned men by the score, by the hundred, by the thousand, without any warrant whatever, sometimes without even any written authority at all, or anything beyond the word of a policeman, constantly without any statement whatever of the nature of the offense. Charges were fabricated to get rid of inconvenient persons. Perjury and forgery were resorted to in order to establish charges, and the

whole mode of conducting trials was a burlesque of justice." Describing the dungeons, Mr. Gladstone said: "The prisons of Naples are another name for the extreme of filth and horror. I have seen something of them, but not the worst. This I have seen, my lord: the official doctors not going to the sick prisoners, but the sick prisoners, men almost with death on their faces, toiling upstairs to them at that charnel house of the Vicaria, because the lower regions of such a palace of darkness are too foul and loathsome to allow it to be expected that professional men should consent to earn bread by entering them."

Gladstone entered in detail into various individual cases—that of Settembrini, of Pironte, formerly a judge, of the Baron Porcari, of Carlo Poerio. This distinguished patriot and orator was a refined and accomplished man, of the highest character, yet he had been arrested and condemned for treason. "The condemnation of such a man for treason," wrote Mr. Gladstone after a careful examination of his case, "is a proceeding just as conformable to the laws of truth, justice, decency and fair play and to the common sense of the community—in fact, just as great and gross an outrage on them all—as would be a like condemnation in this country of any of our best known public men—Lord John Russell, or Lord Lansdowne, or Sir James Graham, or yourself." Poerio, whose name was one of the dearest to his Neapolitan fellow countrymen, had been tried and condemned by the most iniquitous methods, his sole accuser being a worthless character; and when at last he would have been acquitted by a division of four to four of his judges, Navarro, who sat as a judge while directly concerned in the charge against the prisoner, procured by distinct intimidation the number necessary for a sentence. Mr. Gladstone minutely describes the inhumanity of the imprisonment of Poerio and sixteen of his fellow sufferers in a close dungeon, each prisoner bearing a weight of chain amounting to thirty-two pounds, these chains being undone for no purpose whatever; and Poerio was condemned after this to still harder conditions. "Never before," wrote Gladstone, "have I conversed, and never probably shall I converse again, with a cultivated and accomplished gentleman, of whose innocence, obedience to law and love of his country I was as firmly and as rationally assured as of your lordship's or that of any other man of the very highest character, while he stood before me amidst surrounding felons and clad in the vile uniform of guilt and shame. But he is now gone where he will scarcely have the opportunity even of such conversation. I cannot honestly suppress my conviction that the object in the case of Poerio, as a man of mental power sufficient to be feared, is to obtain the scaffold's aim by means more cruel than the scaffold and without the outcry which the scaffold would create."

We have turned back the pages of history of forty years for a purpose. Gladstone's condemnation of the Neapolitan government was a solemn prophecy; and the prophecy was inexorably fulfilled, as every sober prophecy against blind and deaf despotism or against folly and wrong of any sort must be fulfilled. It is not half of half a century since Gladstone gave Italy another warning. He warned her that the costly attempt to keep up an imposing military power, to maintain a showy and ambitious foreign policy, the wasting of substance upon a great army and great navy instead of the lowering of taxation and the thrifty development of her own resources, could not jeopardize the solid conditions of a really powerful and prosperous future and eventuate in disaster. This day is the prophecy being fulfilled in our sight. It was a long step from Ferdinand and Francis II of Naples to Victor Emmanuel, and Cavour; but it is a longer step from Victor Emmanuel to Mazzini—yet the inevitable and now imperative step for Italy. New Italy, united Italy, is not free and democratic Italy; and the cruelties and tyrannies now being practiced in Italy to maintain a regime as irreconcilable with the best ideals of the close of the century as was the regime of Ferdinand of Naples with the enlightened European politics of the middle of the century are no less cruel and tyrannical.

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Consider the rude sons of their fathers, how they tell not, neither do they spit; yet I say unto you that Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.

The Dun agency says the ending of the war has brought quite a remarkable expansion of business. It also says the failures for the week ending August 20 were 154.

The report of a bank failure at Preston, Minn., says the cashier is in a critical condition, the failure having prostrated him. Nothing is said about the condition of the depositors.

A large number of persons in Chicago who have had temporary employment making brown duck uniforms for United States troops are now looking for jobs. And their only chance of finding work is for the government to engage in more war for humanity!

A general committee is in process of formation among friends and admirers of the late Sir E. Burne-Jones, the artist and Socialist of England, to raise a fund for the purchase of some representative work by him to be presented to the British nation as a memorial.

A "pure government" party, whatever that may be, has been organized at Decatur, Ind. The main purpose of the purists is to "go over the books and straighten them out." For this work, each candidate, if elected, is pledged to return half his salary to the treasury. It is sufficient to add that the principal candidates are republicans and democrats.

Christian Zellner and wife, both more than 60 years of age, both industrious and frugal, ruined by the failure of a Chicago loaning and robbing association, were found in a miserable lodging-house in Milwaukee, cold in death. Over the face of each was a handkerchief which had been saturated with chloroform. The bodies were taken to the morgue and the mills of capitalism continue to grind.

There's plenty of work for everybody in the United States, so there is! A party of farm hands arrived in Chicago the other day from Port Huron. As soon as the train stopped at the station they were all arrested and marched two by two to the office of a United States marshal. Exercising the "right" of freedom of contract, they had contracted to work in this country, and for their pains got into jail!

Having reduced the wages of miners to the starvation point and made conditions such that no man can endure them, the mine operators at Pana, Ill., are to have the protection of the state in employing black slaves to be imported from the South to take the place of strikers, and Gov. Tanner will pick out one of the regiments now at the front to give the strikers bullets instead of bread. Great is free government—for capitalists!

The war for humanity being practically ended, the propertied class are returning to their old tricks. The assessed valuation of Cook county property contains some very curious items. For example, the railroad property in this second largest railroad center of the country is represented to be worth only \$909,685, including 1,466 acres of land! The steam engines and boilers in Chicago are worth the paltry sum of \$107,333. All the carriages and wagons in the county are worth but \$371,583. The value of pianos is fixed at \$18.94 apiece and, to make the farce complete, all the franchises in the county are worth nearly \$500!

Professor Rontgen, the discoverer of the X-rays, is a Socialist. When asked why he did not get his great discovery patented, in order to prevent others from using it to their advantage, he replied that everything he did was intended for the benefit of humanity, and that he would continue working in that direction, the welfare of his fellow man being his brightest incentive.

The past week has been an exceptionally prosperous one for business men in various sections. A big clothing concern at St. Louis went under, with liabilities of \$64,000; assets, an unknown quantity. At Decatur, Ill., a firm of grain buyers went down the line with \$70,000 liabilities and assets of \$2,000 in book accounts. Sanford S. Small, St. Paul, joined the prosperity caravan with an indebtedness of \$60,000, and personal property valued at \$45!

A curious incident is reported from Hamburg, aent the late elections. In the 35th precinct of the first district of that city, the pastor of the neighborhood was the first to enter the booth and cast his ballot. Entering the booth he piously remarked: "I come as the first to extend the blessing over this ballot box," with the result that when the votes were counted more than seven-eighths bore the name of August Bebel, the prominent Socialist! Whether this result was satisfactory to the parson the report sayeth not.

BRICE'S DEGENERACY.

The Century for July published an article on Equality by James Brice, which has been profusely copied with approval by many of the leading newspapers of America.

Mr. Brice does not seem to believe in equality of any kind, but speaks approvingly of political and civil equality. In fact, throughout the article the positions he assumes are equivocal and when he goes to the industrial problem, which is the only reason here for mentioning the article, without giving an authority of any kind, because none exists, he says: "If ten men were to be started on Monday morning with equal property and left to themselves for six days, no two would be found to have equal property on Saturday night, because no two would have the faculty of acquiring and the faculty of spending it the same."

Thus, in this manner, he disposes of a question which is agitating the industrial world and which gives his articles such pre-eminence that the Chicago Tribune quoted it with approval.

It is needless to say that the Socialists, and, in fact, no economic school contends for "dividing up," but simply for equality of opportunity.

Knowing that Brice is a shrewd and observing author, those familiar with his "American Commonwealth" and "Impressions of Africa" will be disappointed that this brilliant man should cause a shadow over his intellectual integrity which must perforce affect the value of those works which have given him his celebrity.

Continuing he observes that the "Capital difference between inequality of economic conditions and inequalities of civil rights, or of political powers. . . . In the two last named cases one man's gain is another man's loss. . . . As one of the scales rises so the other sinks; with property it is otherwise."

It would be well for Mr. Brice to explain why it is otherwise with one and not with the other. There is certainly a limit to production, and where through inequality of opportunity one acquires a great deal, the others must acquire a corresponding minimum. We may expect Brice to say in his next articles, with equal logic, that while fresh water will run down hill, "it is otherwise with salt water."

[He disapproves of charity and cites that the demoralization of the poorer class of Rome was developed by free distribution of corn. "If he had been honest he would have mentioned the fact that the people of Rome were demoralized by their extreme poverty and that charity was simply a consequence of Caesar's on one hand and slavery on the other; that in most other cases charity has simply been the superfluous brigandage and has always traveled side by side with extreme and agonizing slavery and demoralizing wealth."]

The proletariat and the admiring readers of Brice may not hope that he will argue these problems from the side of the weakest, but they may demand honesty of every savant who discusses these questions.

The time has gone when a majority of the people of any country can have their choice of a wide range of productive industries. It has gone never to return. There is no going back to primitive methods in production. Individual production is a thing of the past. Why not recognize this fact and try to understand its importance? Civilization hinges on mechanics. The greatest of all questions is how to use the machine for the good of society at large?

Orders for bundles should be sent to us in advance; they will be filled at 50 cents per 100 copies. Our friends will materially help the circulation by sending out copies every week.

LABOR DAY.

Earnest and thoughtful men who are affiliated with labor organizations will not permit Labor Day to pass by without helping to disseminate the true principles of industrial emancipation as taught by Socialism.

Members of the S. D. P. will best manifest their interest in the party and its future by giving a wide circulation to THE HERALD of Sept. 3, which will contain special articles appropriate to the occasion. Among the contributors will be Comrades Eugene V. Debs, Jesse Cox, Victor L. Berger, Seymour Stedman, Margaret Haile, G. A. Hoehn, James F. Carey, Louis E. Miller, Sylvester Keilher, William Mailly and Frederic Heath.

Extra copies of the edition will be mailed to any address at 50 cents per hundred; smaller quantities at the rate of 1 cent per copy.

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OUR COMRADES OF GERMANY.

In consequence of the recent electoral triumphs of the Social Democrats of Germany, a period of violent persecution is beginning. Such is the latest reliable information received from Berlin. This action on the part of the government has precluded the possibility of the International Conference of Socialists and Trades Unionists being held in Germany next year, as was decided at the London conference of 1896. In a letter bearing the joint signatures of William Liebknecht and Paul Singer, the veteran representatives in the Reichstag, the following passages occur:

"We made the necessary inquiries and we had in view two towns in Southern Germany where we thought the Congress might be held under conditions guaranteeing the liberty of debate and the personal security of the delegates. . . . But in view of the turn things have been taking in our country, we have been forced to resign this hope and this honor. The progress and the victories of the Socialist movement have struck such terror in the minds of the governing class that a new period of violent persecution is beginning, and the conditions cannot be fulfilled under which alone the Congress can take place without sacrificing its nature and our principles."

In consequence of this untoward development, the next International Socialist and Trades Union Congress will not be held until the year 1900. It will then assemble in Paris, this alternative having been decided upon at the last sitting of the London Congress.

PRESENT PROBLEMS IN FRANCE.

In writing on The Present Problems and Politics of France, Baron Pierre de Coubertin has this to say in the August Review of Reviews of the Radicals and the Socialists: "None of the existing parties has gained or lost much. The fact that Jules Guesde and Jaures, who were considered the heads of the Socialists, or among the Royalists, the Duke of La Rochefoucauld-Doudeauville, who had represented the Department of Sarthe for more than twenty-five years, were not re-elected this time does not mean in any way that the Socialists will be less strong or the Royalists much weaker than was the case before. Royalist weakness proceeds chiefly from the fact that the vast majority of Frenchmen have lost their faith in the usefulness of hereditary government and are even strongly opposed to it, while Socialist strength lies in the obstinate belief of many that there is no serious reason why the Socialist theories could not be brought into practice, and that even if the regime did not work well, it would not be much worse, from the standpoint of social justice, than the present state of things."

About eight months after Felix Faure's election as president of the republic, a Radical cabinet was formed and remained in power for six months. Although some of the men who composed this cabinet were well intentioned men, it soon became obvious that the Radicals would pave the way for the Socialists. Indeed, they start from the same depot and by the same train, but they pretend not to go so far; they mean to stop somewhere before they reach the terminus point and think it will be easy to get down. The question is whether the Socialist train will stop at all. Many think not, and that any restraint put on the right that a man has to grow rich, if he can, must lead progressively to the suppression of such a right, while it is impossible for the state to protect the workmen unless they come under its direct control. The Radicals fail to see that. They are theorists, and as such unable to admit that theories are often opposed by facts. The Socialists have not lost one single occasion to show what they felt toward the Radicals and how they looked upon them as the vanguard of their party.

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIALISM.

BY ISADORE LADOFF.

II. SOCIETY AS A SUBJECT OF STUDY. MONOPOLY.

Society is not an organism, but an organization. Indeed, it is the highest stage of organization of matter to be met with in nature. Sociology is a natural science in the full meaning of the term. Society is governed by the same laws which rule the rest of the inorganic and organic world. The proper method of studying society consists in the analysis of the forces which form and keep societies alive, the causes of the appearance and activity or social aggregations of men. Before we begin the analysis of social forces, however, we must cast a cursory glance at the probable stages of the development of society among primitive men. The first stage consisted probably in a grouping of men for the purpose of a more successful acquirement of food, in small numbers. The second stage was the association of larger numbers, in consequence of a more rapid multiplication of man, due to his increased sagacity as a food provider. The establishment of some rude forms of government formed the third stage of social life. Tribal development can be accepted as the fourth stage of the association of man, eventually resulting in the union of tribes into nations and the union of nations into higher aggregates of a cosmopolitan character.

This brief historic review will suffice to give us an idea about some tendencies of the human animal as a gregarious being. Let us now see what are the social forces, of which we have spoken. Society is an aggregation of man and we have therefore to consider the forces of human activity in particular in order to understand their general and complex manifestation in society. The animal world is governed by two primary principles. One is the self-preservation of the individual and the other the propagation of the race. These principles are manifested in corresponding desires. These desires are natural forces, compelling their agents to perform certain acts leading to certain results. The human animal makes no exception to these primary principles of organic life.

Hunger, thirst and cold are the most powerful stimulants to human activity. It is want of food, clothing and shelter that compels men to work, to create industries, to accumulate wealth, to proclaim rights of property, to fix rules of conduct, to found cities and establish states, to inaugurate wars and arrange peace. The great difference between man and the brute creation consists not in the desire of the individual to live and reproduce his kind, but rather in the method of gratifying these blind but strong desires, which Shopenhauer calls the "will." In animals the method is brute force, forming a straight line between the point of desire and the point of gratification. In man the method is indirect and along the line of least resistance. Nature is prodigal in its methods, man economical. Nature has efficient causes, but no aims or purposes. Man does everything with an aim or purpose in view.

Why does the human being employ indirect methods, while the rest of the living world employs direct ones? The answer is found in the fact of the peculiar spiritual mind of man. Nobody denies now that man is an animal, but very many forget that he is immensely more, that his reasoning faculty elevates him far above all the rest of the living world. This reasoning intelligence in man constitutes a powerful force in human society. Men use their intellects to their own advantage. They observe and study nature in all its manifestations and use the acquired knowledge for their practical purposes.

The study of nature is science; the application of the sciences is called art. The primitive appliances of the savage of the Stone age for hunting animals, his rude cave dwelling, the manufacture of skin clothing, the discovery and production of fire, all were the results of some crude knowledge of the laws of nature and an awkward attempt at applying it to the needs of practical life. All the progress of the human race was of necessity along these lines of knowledge.

But there was another field of knowledge. The knowledge of human nature itself. Increased intellect, deepened sympathy and refined feeling resulted not only in the perfection of food, shelter and clothing, and in the development of duty and justice and in economical progress, but it created the desire for fine arts, evolved the higher feelings of patriotism and the desire to serve humanity out of the purest motives of usefulness to the race. The knowledge of nature and men is a means to these ends. Once we know what must happen under certain conditions, we may either modify these conditions or take precautionary measures. Knowledge enables men to artificially change their environment. All the culture and civilization of the world is in this sense artificial—the result of art, of applied science. It is the indirect method of gratification. The return to nature advocated by Rousseau would mean return to animalism,

the degradation of man to the brute level. The artificiality of society is not only unnatural, but is in entire harmony with nature. Society in its advanced condition contains both highly developed individualism and co-operation in all fields of activity. Nature works through competition, i. e., through the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence. Men as rational beings prefer the more economical way of co-operation leading to the survival of the best. Nature destroys its weak children without mercy; men protect theirs with love and sympathy. Competition is a brute force. Co-operation a humane method, founded on rational principles of conservation of energy and economy of forces.

Even monopolization of transportation, exchange, finance and industry is a higher stage than chaotic competition. It is not true that competition leads to cheapness and monopoly to higher prices. Competition is always wasteful and uneconomical. If monopolies lead to higher prices it is not on account of the inherent quality of the organization itself, but in consequence of the unchecked avarice of the owners of the concern.

The real remedy for monopolies is not their abolition, but their nationalization.

The overwhelming power of so-called capital, as opposed to so-called labor, the superiority of the so-called monopolies as opposed to the great numbers of consumers, consists only in the fact of their organization as opposed to competition. The laborers and consumers compete with each other, while the capitalists and monopolists cooperate.

The real way out of this dilemma of seemingly opposed interests is organization of the consumer and worker.

To expect success in a fight against organization with the weapons of competition is just as reasonable as it would be to expect a victory for a warrior of an Indian tribe, armed with arrows, in a battle with a trained soldier armed with a rifle of latest pattern. Another great popular fallacy is the principle of laissez faire, laissez passer—"let alone" in the domain of social life. Historically the principle of extreme individual liberty and possible limitations of the controlling powers of the state was a negation of the extreme paternalism of the French monarchy. The term long ago outlived its usefulness. Thoughtless, illogical and ignorant people have built a whole system on that foundation of sand. Misuse of a principle does not prove its inherent inadequacy. The transgression of legitimate limits by the French or other despotic government does not prove that government in general is hurtful. Just the reverse must be the strictly logical conclusion. If a government under unfavorable conditions may be a powerful agency for evil, the counterpart of this proposition must be equally true. That means that government under favorable conditions must be a powerful agency for good. Organized society is an artificial creation of men with the purpose of the best possible accommodation of its individual members. It is a mistake to look on government as something apart from the people and hostile to their interests. The so-called evils of government are due to misgovernment or false government. The blessings of a true democratic government must be great if properly executed.

NEW BOOK BY H. D. LLOYD.

Socialists will be interested to learn that Henry D. Lloyd, author of "Wealth Against Commonwealth," has a new book in press. It will be called, "Labor Co-partnership," and will be out in a few weeks. The Harpers' are the publishers. The Herald will print a review of the book at the earliest moment, written by a leading Socialist.

BE SOMETHING.

Be something in this living age And prove your right to be A light upon some darkened page, A pilot on some sea. Find out the place where you may stand, Beneath some burden low; Take up the task with willing hand, Be something, somewhere, now!

Be something in this throbbing day Of busy hands and feet, A spring beside some dusty way, A shadow from the heat. Be found upon the workman's roll; Go now, go reap, or plow; Bend to some task with heart and soul, Be something, somewhere, now!

Merrie England

BY ROBERT BLATCHFORD

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Now that the protocol has been signed and we are to return to the arts of peace, I am willing to admit, what I kept denying to myself all along, that I have not been able to tell just where I stood with regard to the war. Instinctively I dislike the thought of war, and I hate a professional soldier just about as I execrate a hangman, but after all there were some things to be remembered about this particular war. It was in one sense a war in the interest of civilization. It is certainly in the interest of civilization to have modern ideas of sanitation and education spread among our Cuban neighbors, even if the throwing off of the Spanish tyranny will have to make way for a newer style of mastership, the mastership of capital—ravenous, relentless, cruel capital. So, in spite of the mere change in the form of the oppression, the Cubans will be gainers.

The new mastership will bring with it certain civic ambitions that will make the Cubans more restless still, and restlessness is the handmaiden to progress, you know. When people get better understanding of things, their wants increase. The higher they rise in the scale of refinement, the more dissatisfied they become with the things around them that are mean and base. Ah! that so, Brother Edwards? Of course it is. That's why we are Socialists.

Well, as I was saying, or as I was going to say: it seems now as if the change of masters will bear unexpected fruit to the exploiting class, the taskmasters of our industrial society. They'll wake up some fine morning and find the Cubans organized as Socialists! The doctors say that if you want to know how rheumatism feels just imagine you have your finger is a vise and it has been given one turn too many for comfort. Then if you imagine another turn having been given, that's gout. Gout, of course, takes place in the toes, we all know that, but don't let a little discrepancy like that spoil the force of the illustration. Capitalism to-day is a good deal the same way. Its toes are in a vise with the screw turned several times. That represents impending Socialism. Give the screw another turn and that's more Socialism. A Socialistic development in Cuba will add a turn to the apprehensions of class-conscious capitalism.

I said some things about cleanliness in Cuba a minute ago. Do you know what a momentous matter that is? Do you know that if we had had control over Cuba in the past that we would have been able to stamp out the scourge of yellow fever? It's a fact. The fever always started in Cuba, and arose from the lack of a sewage system in Havana, Key West and other places, and the ignorance of the inhabitants with regard to cleanliness. It is just such another case as that of the origin of Asiatic cholera. Perhaps you do not know that this country sent a commission some years ago to Asia to discover where the cholera started. I have the story from the lips of a member of that commission. They found that the river Ganges, which is a sacred river to the ignorant natives, dried up at a certain season of the year, leaving pools of stagnant water in the places where the river bed was deeper than at other places. To these pools the natives made pilgrimages. They camped on the banks by thousands and bathed in the dirty water, believing that they were thus being cleansed of their loathsome ills. Now, there was no possible sanitation in the neighborhoods, so that the accumulating filth and the like from the camps ran or drained down into the already polluted water. Naturally these people had to pay for their ignorance, and outraged nature cursed them with epidemics of cholera. Still worse, they carried the disease to innocent people, for thus the innocent have to suffer for the presence of ignorant and guilty persons among them. Now that we will have something to say in Cuba we can give orders to clean up. What has all this to do with Socialism? You don't see? Well, it has a good deal to do with it. Socialism concerns itself with the good of society as opposed to the little narrow selfish interests of the individual. Socialism is but another name for cleanliness. Cleanliness of mind as well as of body; cleanliness in morals, so that our neighbors shall not suffer for our vices and misdeeds. Cleanliness means justice, therefore; and surely Socialism stands for justice. If you are at all observing you will notice that true Socialists are always found advocating all measures tending to better society and to raise and ennoble its people.

But to return to the subject of war. How many of those who went to war went from romantic and adventurous promptings, and how many because it appeared to be a war for humanity? With a good many of them, I am afraid, it was merely a big adventure; some left their wives and children at home to starve. There was a chance to hunt for big game—

human beings. To have such a spirit stirred up among our people is a calamity, for you know what happens when a people become cruel and disregardful of the rights of the less warlike. In countries where the death penalty is administered for trivial offenses, as in China, for instance, the people have small regard for the sacredness of life. I have had a good chance to observe some of the veterans of the civil war, and nice men that many of them are, I can see that their war experience has made them almost partisan for war. They are great leader-worshippers and want to see people shot down who do not respect our flag. It does not occur to them that the way to have that flag respected is to have it represent true justice, and not the sham sort that dominates the administration of capitalist government. You can be sure that these men are always for shooting when labor rebellions occur, and I am afraid our boy soldiers will return from the war which is just closing with too much of the same contempt for the people's rights of protest against abuses, and too much worship of our unrepresentative government. We shall be visited with spasms of flag worship and glorification of leaders until we are disgusted. All these things have a bearing on the war question. I am afraid labor will be dealt more harshly with than ever.

One reason why I have not been able to get my bearings with regard to the war was because the Socialist papers were not a unit in the matter. One was opposed to it, partly because it was being used to feather the nests of contractors and partly because the real people in the quarrel weren't shooting at each other. Another charged that the war was inspired by the lowest motives of capitalism. It held that the war was deliberately brought about by the ruling class of exploiters, who found it a safe way to diminish the embarrassing horde of distressed out-of-work, at home, while beating the drum patriotic. The exploiters regarded war as a very serviceable safety valve. More than this, the People was opposed to the wiping out of Spanish rule in Cuba because it brought more territory into the capitalist area and thus made the Socialization of capitalist territory a more extensive job. The Da'ny Vorwaerts of Milwaukee took a different view. It regarded it as an advantage to the movement to have Cuba advanced to the capitalistic stage of development, believing that every gain for civilization was a gain toward Socialism. Blatchford in his Clarion said: "I don't believe that this war was made with mercenary motives. Perhaps the kinless dollar-hunter will try to profit by the bravery and sacrifice of his or any other country, but America had not dollars in her mind when she reluctantly drew the sword." So you see they don't agree at all, and there is excuse for my perplexity. I am free to confess that I do not know which is the better—to have our soldier boys shooting down benighted Spaniards in Cuba, or shooting down defenseless workmen at home. Take your choice!—The Philosopher.

THE NASHVILLE WORKMAN.

The Nashville Workman, official paper of the Trades and Labor Council of that city, gives two columns each week to a department on Socialism. It is under the exclusive supervision of the Nashville Socialist Club. From the last issue of the Workman we extract the following: "Socialists come to you with a variety of arguments in favor of their principles, and if you are not yet convinced that they are on the right track it is because you are satisfied with present conditions, or else Socialism has not been presented to you in the right light. We insist that there is an argument in favor of Socialism that will meet every case and convince every human being that is honest with himself and favors justice to every man. Are you convinced that public ownership for the good of all is better than private ownership solely for profit? Are you satisfied with the present planless methods of production, resulting in long hours of tedious labor for those who are fortunate enough to have jobs, and trampism and threatening starvation for the multitude out of work? Are the hungry, unfed because of insufficient food on the market? Are the half-clothed in destitution because of a lack of clothing and shoes in the stores? To the last two questions you will answer, No. We hear it alleged that the hungry and destitute are so in most cases because they won't go to work; that there is plenty of work if they will only seek it. "Seekers after employment have become so common that business men, continually beseeched for employment, turn many applicants away daily, and in many instances the applicant is treated rudely for presuming to annoy busy men with their presence. And yet you say there is plenty of work. The conditions prevailing in Nashville fairly represent the general conditions all over the country. We will agree with you that there is plenty of work (and long and increasing hours) for those holding jobs. With more workers than there are jobs the inevitable result will be a general decline in wages, as there is no possibility of the surplus labor being taken off the market and engaged in new industries. So you see that your thoughtless assertion that there is plenty of work for all falls to the ground."

MUSINGS.

Some enthusiasts are like lucifer matches. They ignite at the first rub, set others afire, but are themselves spent before you can say Jack Robinson. They are also put out by the slightest breeze.

What if the hands be crooked, and the dial dusty, so long as the spring within the movement is sound? The watch is all right, lads. Bear this in mind whenever you chance to meet with something like a spoiled hand upon the dial of the movement, which marks the progress of the age.

Socialism was conceived in the womb of ancient Greece when she was wedded to Plato. Its cradle was France, its school Germany, its workshop England. And she would, fair Columbia might have the celebration of the nuptials, now that grown up Socialism is to be espoused by the world. Would she, though?

Edward Bellamy came like a flash of lightning on the dark and cloudy sky of America.

Seeing that Percy Bysshe Shelley was with us, Charles Algernon Swinburne near us, and William Morris of us, we can well afford to see What-is-his-name poet laureate to Queen Victoria.

Beware of the straight-jacket Socialists who would imprison ever-growing, ever-developing Socialism within the narrow limits of a party constitution. It is the life within the egg that bursts the shell when it assumes a new form, and whoever would preserve the shell at the expense of the new life is an idiot.

An army of Socialists is all right. What we object to is the turning of militant into military Socialism.

I know a party that stands upon its "head" and uses its legs for the purpose of indiscriminately kicking in the air, never hitting any one but those "nearest" to it. It is a pitiful sight.

"Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!" There are parties that have this label without the slightest notion of the article. In 1879 I saw the grand watchword of the French Revolution over the gateway of a Paris jail, and here in New York you can see it—never mind where.

An auctioneer never tells a lie; he yells it.

The Bed of Procrustes, to which the dimensions of all travelers were reduced, its amiable proprietor having hit upon the plan of lopping off the superfluous of the tall ones and stretching the limbs of the short ones, may have served its purpose. It hardly, however, behooves us to act upon the same principle in forming our organization for the propaganda of equality.

Bismarck died in 1890 and was buried in 1898. Lasalle was buried in 1864, and was still alive when last heard from. M. WINCHEVSKY.

NEW HAMPSHIRE NOTES.

The comrades are now hustling for names on nomination papers.

Comrade Geo. Howie of Manchester is the champion worker. He has secured nearly 200 names on nomination papers.

The Nashua comrades have voted to join the S. D. P.

Comrade Stewart of Exeter reports that they will soon organize a branch. It will be a good one.

Comrade Clafin, our candidate for governor, is a well-known and popular man all over the state, and we expect to give him a fine vote.

The S. D. A. have nothing left in New Hampshire.

Comrade C. G. Levan, one of our best workers and one of our best men, is quite prominent in the temperance cause. He is an able and effective worker for Socialism and temperance. GORDON.

The S. D. P. is to have another strong support at St. Louis in the Arbeiter-Zeitung and Volks Anwalt, a new German Socialist weekly, for the publication of which our comrades have been preparing for some time. We welcome it and wish for it long life and power.

The comrades everywhere will be glad to learn that three sections of the Socialist Democratic Federation have voted to join the S. D. P., in addition to a number of individual members. The sections are located at Holyoke, Mass., Rockville, Conn., and Baltimore, Md. Comrade Max Silz, secretary of the Federation, writes that more will follow.

Every week Branch 2, Cleveland, sends in a small list of subscribers to The Herald; a good example for every branch in the party.

An S. D. P. campaign club has been organized by young Socialists at Brooklyn. With the help of Branch 5 our young friends will be able to do good work in distributing Socialist literature.

AMONG THE BRANCHES

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 Doerfler, treasurer.

Branch No. 3, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Tuesdays at 15th and Wyoming streets. Wm. Ruesche, secretary, 3335 Iowa avenue.

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Frank Whitney, Roanoke 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.

"It's comin' yet, for a' that and a' that!" The men who were recently on strike at South Omaha have presented to Comrade Mary Jones, organizer for the Social Democratic Party, a good serviceable wagon, in recognition of her services during the strike. "Mother" Jones had previously secured a horse and with this outfit, accompanied by Comrade Anna Ferry Smith, is now ready for the effective mission work which these devoted and able women are capable of doing for the cause.

Branch 1, of the Social Democracy at Philadelphia, has dissolved and reorganized under the banner of the Social-Democratic Party. The officers of the Branch are: Chairman, Fenton Mullins; Vice-Chairman, Dr. Stern; Treasurer, Thos. Whitworth; Organizer, Geo. Edwards; Secretary, J. C. Frost. Communications should be addressed to the secretary at 612 Callowhill street.

This is the emblem which the Comrades at Baltimore will likely adopt for their ticket in the approaching election for congressmen:

EQUALITY.

It was suggested by the arithmetical sign on the cover of Edward Bellamy's book. Since the S. D. P., less than three months old, already has straight Socialist candidates nominated in New Hampshire, Indiana, Illinois, Maryland, with other States coming into line, suggestions for an emblem for the official ballot to be used by the party throughout the country will be in order.

The first genuine revival of Branch No. 1, St. Louis, since its reorganization came rather unexpectedly last Friday night at their weekly meeting. Several new members were admitted. From time to time a few of the more earnest workers had met in the hall, but it was not until the recent meeting that the old feeling of humanity and love for their class reasserted itself. Although for a time during the hot weather the cause appeared to lag, but in no instance have we heard a single member of either the old or the new Branch express himself other than for the Co-operative Commonwealth. On account of business necessities H. Slickerman had to resign the chair, and G. A. Hoehn, secretary, owing to being forced into so much work for the S. D. P. because of his ability; at the request of themselves both positions were filled by other comrades. A. F. Haussler was selected for the chairmanship, and J. C. Wibel to act as secretary. The branch feels much encouraged at the prospect in the future and invites all old members to visit us at the first opportunity. Bring a friend next Friday evening and receive a welcome at 1223 North Broadway. J. C. WIBEL, Sec.

The comrades at Baltimore, Md., propose to be known by their works, rather than by their words. Besides organized a good local branch, the members have taken the field with three candidates for Congress. They met in convention August 15 and nominated from their respective districts Comrades Chas. Backman, William Fox and C. E. Taylor. This means hard work for our Baltimore friends, but the party there is represented by experienced and enthusiastic men who are equal to the demand that will be made upon their energies and devotion.

Comrade Chris. Rucker, an earnest, faithful worker at St. Louis, lectured on "Topics of the Day," before Branch No. 1, St. Louis, last night.

Branch No. 3, St. Louis, met last Thursday evening and nominated a candidate for the Tenth Congressional District on the S. D. P. ticket. Full report not yet received.

The Nashville Socialist Club arranged for a meeting last Tuesday evening to discuss the relation of Socialism to trades unionism. There was a good attendance of trades unionists and a profitable time was had in clearing away erroneous ideas and misunderstandings on the subject.

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

THOROUGH WORK AT BOSTON

The Massachusetts Campaign Committee met Sunday, August 14, and ratified the state ticket already nominated, filled some vacancies on it, adopted the S. D. P. platform, elected an executive board of six, instructed it to get out nomination papers at once, to issue subscription lists, and turned over the matter of a joint picnic, for the purpose of raising funds, to the Boston City Committee. The proceedings were submitted to referendum vote, asking an answer by the next Saturday evening; and it certainly speaks well for the zeal and business ability of the Massachusetts comrades that all our branches but two took action in the short time allotted to them; and endorsed the proceedings. The executive board, not to be outdone, met Sunday morning, Aug. 21, and mapped out a general plan of campaign; and the nomination papers, ready for signatures, were in the hands of the branches next day. The spirit of energy and earnestness shown by our members in taking up this work promises well for a lively campaign.

The joint picnic is planned for the middle of September, likely the 18th, and will probably be held at or near Lynn, already famous for its enjoyable picnics and social gatherings. Our members and sympathizers there understand just how to make an affair of this nature a success; and we expect, with their help, to have a picnic that will net us a goodly profit for campaign work and at the same time give to everyone who attends a genuine good time. BOSTON.

THE PARTY IN WISCONSIN.

The following official call for a state convention of the Social Democratic Party in Wisconsin has been issued:

To the Voters and Members of the Social Democratic Party, Greeting: There will be a state convention of the Social Democratic Party in Milwaukee, Friday, September 2, for the purpose of putting a full ticket in the field in the state of Wisconsin. Every ward in Milwaukee and Sheboygan, where the Social Democracy had tickets last spring, is entitled to a delegate and also to an additional delegate for every fifty votes cast, or major fraction thereof. Every branch of the Social Democratic Party in the state in good standing is entitled to a delegate, and also to an additional delegate for every fifty members or major fraction thereof. All bona fide trades unions are entitled to the same representation.

Voters of the Social Democratic Party, remember that our party is organized for the purpose of emancipating the producers of the country through their own efforts by making a proper use of the ballot. The Social Democratic Party will free the wage-workers, help the farmer and relieve the small business man. It will bring this about by gradually changing the present system of production and distribution.

Under the present system the army of the unemployed must constantly increase with every new invention in machinery, thus making the achievements of human genius a curse instead of a blessing. Under the present system, no scheme of tariff, finance or tax legislation can bring any more prosperity. The present system has outgrown its usefulness; it is now essentially a system of spoliation, where every success means a hundred failures, where the hand of one man, in business, is against the others, and where the poor wage-workers are forced into a struggle with each other to see who shall live and who shall starve. This system has produced parasites and vampires. It has produced oppressing plutocrats and has put into their hands even a deadlier club than competition, i. e., combination among themselves whenever it serves their purpose. It has put cash in place of dignity and has increased crime and misery on every hand.

The existing political parties cannot afford any help. The old parties are the outgrowth of the old ruling classes. They are bound to uphold the present system. Their "reforms" are a farce and a delusion, and at the same time a snare to catch the votes of the oppressed. The sham battle between the old parties has divided the votes of the producers for years. The Populist party, like other so-called reform parties, not having a clear understanding of the inner working of the capitalist system, was caught in the "reform trap" and easily traded off by some of its leaders, in spite of the protest of the others, to one of the capitalist parties. The producers can never be free so long as they vote the tickets of the master class.

Producers of America, you are in the vast majority! Unite at the ballot box under the banner of the Social Democratic Party (of Wisconsin), 614 State, to insure plenty for yourselves, not for a mere change of office holders. All reports of delegates elected and other communications are to be sent to the central committee of the Social Democratic Party (of Wisconsin), 614 State street, Milwaukee.

WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE?

Pat Flynn had sixty-seven hats, And wanted sixty more; It was an odd, strange whim of Pat's, For only one he wore; But he would toll by night or day To get a hat to lay away.

'Twas "Hats" the first thing in the morn, And "Hats" at noon and night; The neighbors laughed the man to scorn, And said it was but right, To send such crazy cranks as he To spend their days at Kankakee.

A million dollars Peter Doyle Had laid away in store, Yet late and early did he toll To get a million more. He could not use the half he had, And yet he wanted "more," bedad.

His neighbors praise him to the skies, Wherever he may go; They call him great and good and wise, And bow before him low. Is there such difference as that Between a dollar and a hat? —Indianapolis Journal.

ITALY IN 1851 AND IN 1898.

(Continued from first page.)

nous and no less extensive than those of 1851, and they call no less for a Gladstone with his solemn condemnation and appeal to the conscience of America and England and humanity. There lies before us as we write a private letter to a friend from the widow—herself an American and now in America—of the Italian republican journalist Dario Papa, the woman whose recent articles in the North American Review and the New York Sun on "Hunger and Poverty in Italy" and "Italy Ripe for Revolt," are such harrowing reading, pleading for assistance for the families of some of the working men thrown into prison for connection with the late Italian disturbances. For the members of Parliament, three of whom she names, she does not write, though she testifies to their being honorable men wrongfully imprisoned—for "they are men of means and will be elected out" for Parliament; but the working men, arrested as Socialists and republicans, will remain for years, and their families deprived of support, are in great need. "It hardly impresses one in free America," she writes, "to hear that there are two thousand people in prison in Milan alone—Italy is so far away and it is so hard to realize what confinement in horrible Italian prisons means; but after what I have seen in Italy, I am horrified at the accounts of court-martial trials now taking place, in which innocent people are condemned to from one to twenty years of imprisonment. All my friends there are either in prison or have been compelled to leave all and escape into Switzerland though guilty of nothing worse than having a political opinion, the opinion that seventy millions of us here in America have, that a republic is better than a monarchy."

We hope that this cultivated woman's published articles, to which we refer, will make the impression and receive the attention which they ought. "It is the economical condition of Italy," she says, "which has brought about the present political situation there. The clamor for bread was the cause of the uprising called 'bread riots,' but the recent revolt was brought on by the government, which, through mere fear of revolution, turned the troops against its unarmed citizens. The reasons for revolt were very strong and have long existed, with consequent agitation against the government. To quell this agitation effectually the government has found the means, and the occasion was made an excuse for entirely suppressing the opposition in the press and in Parliament. The condition of Italy has not been known abroad, because of the strict censorship of the press and the telegraph. The truth could not be told in Italy. All mouths that could not be stopped by corruption or in some other way were silenced by imprisonment or banishment to regions where they would not be heard from. The few who told the truth abroad were not believed, for the truth was too terrible to be believed easily, and it seemed that if such a state of affairs existed it would already have been known."

Her picture of the condition of the poor in Italy is heart-rending. "Each year a hundred thousand people go mad from hunger in Italy. This is according to official statistics, and does not include the thousands in a half-demented state from lack of nourishment. There are hundreds of thousands who never have enough to eat. The Spanish-American conflict may have aggravated the conditions, for the increase of a centesimo, the fifth of a cent, on a pound of corn meal is felt. There are 4,965 cantons where the use of meat is unknown, except in monied families, and there are 1,700 where food made of flour or grain is rarely eaten except on holidays or in cases of sickness. In some parts roots and acorns are largely used."

Of the "bread riots" she says that starving people go to the town hall asking for bread, supposing in their ignorance that the municipal authorities can provide it. When such crowds have grown large and portentous, the soldiers frequently of late years have fired upon them. In Milan, which is the first commercial city of Italy, and has been republican at heart since the war of independence, bodies of peaceable citizens, outraged at the severe proceedings of this kind in May, went unarmed to make a demonstration of sympathy with the hungry or against the government; and the frightful

massacres began, which led to the violent revolt on the part of the university students and so many hundreds of wrathful and radical men and to the great Socialist and republican demonstration. This was after our attention in America had become almost entirely mortgaged by the war, and it was impossible for our newspapers to tell us as much about these Italian riots as they would have done at another time. It is in turning the files of a great London newspaper like the Chronicle, from the 10th to the 20th of May, with its columns of full despatches from Italy, that we realize the extent and significance of this uprising, which overspread Italy all the way from Naples to Milan. In Milan alone many hundred men were killed, some estimates reaching as high as one thousand. "No one can estimate the number of the dead and wounded," writes the Chronicle's correspondent, May 12; "the former are immediately carried off to the cemeteries, and the hospitals are so full that the wounded have to be cared for in the schools, which are closed for educational purposes." It is said that two thousand were thrown into prison, to be tried for high treason—Socialist deputies, republican editors, secretaries of trade unions, monks, professors, students, and all sorts and conditions of men. The Italian correspondent of the Chronicle, on May 18, sends these statistics of the persons arrested and imprisoned at Milan: "Ten per cent. include members of the liberal professions, doctors, lawyers, engineers and journalists; 60 per cent. are workmen; 27 per cent. are criminals and vagabonds; and 3 per cent. are peasants." Many liberal papers have been suppressed, and trade unions, republican societies and workmen's clubs have been dissolved, and their books, letters and papers sequestered by the police. The universities of Pavia, Naples, Bologna and Rome were closed by the government for several days, because the students were proposing to hold demonstrations in honor of the memory of young Mussi, a Pavia student and the son of a deputy to the Italian Parliament, who was killed in the riots. For a noteworthy fact to which an Italian writer to the Chronicle calls attention is the fact that the following of the radical agitators and leaders is mainly recruited "not from the slums, but from the universities. An enormous proportion of Italian students," he says, "are Socialists; moreover, it is the best, intellectually and morally who are Socialists, or sympathetic with the Socialist cause. One of the most ominous signs of the doom of the present system is its incapacity to attract the support of the new generation." The universities are the very center of the new movement. The most prominent in the group of theorists is Professor Enrico Ferri, whose name is known throughout the scientific world, who before the government suspended him was professor of criminal law at the historic university of Pisa, and who has been perhaps the most brilliant orator in the Italian Parliament. Filippo Turati, the editor of the Critica Sociale, son of a high government official, is an even sharper and more forcible critic of the "complex of incapacity and wickedness which is rotting the ruling classes of Italy;" and the list of scholars, of professors, economists and jurists who support and contribute to Turati's review—including names, among those known to Americans, like Lombroso and De Amicis—is a most significant one, representing indeed "the flower of Italian intellectual aristocracy." "The government," says the Chronicle writer, "cannot count on the moral support of any large and important class; the seeds of discontent are sown in all classes, and those who are not actively discontented are apathetically indifferent. The only support of the government so far is the army. This, however, is mainly recruited from the very classes now in revolt, and the number of young officers in the army who hold Socialist opinions is a large one. The chief security is the disposition of the southern troops in the north, and the northern in the south. The southern troops who repressed the riots at Milan understood nothing of aims, or even of the language, of the crowd on which they fired. But for this there would have been of this rising in Milan a very different tale to tell."

This reference to the army brings us back to Gladstone and to Mrs. Dario Papa, who after touching on the frightful taxation under which the people are groaning, and the burdensome bureaucracy, the civil list being the largest in the world compared to the resources of the country, adds: "In the meantime millions are being wasted for the monarchy with its armies and other follies, such as the 'civilizing' of Africa." Mr. Haweis, the well known London clergyman, whose acquaintance with Italy dates back to the time of Garibaldi, has recently well said: "The army and the administration in Italy have swallowed up everything."

Such is the condition in 1898 of the New Italy for which Cavour and Garibaldi and Mazzini labored forty years ago. It is the reductio ad absurdum, the reductio to ruin and to crime, to high treason against the nation and against humanity, of the system of bloated militarism perpetuated in the modern state. We have glanced at the condition of the kingdom of Naples in 1851; we have noted Gladstone's ex-

posure and judgment and his warning of what would surely follow if his word was not heeded; and we have seen what did follow. We see the condition of Italy in 1898—a military and oligarchic despotism as cruel and as hostile to freedom as the Neapolitan despotism of 1851; we have noted Gladstone's solemn warning of the disaster which must come from the continued maintenance of an impoverishing militarism instead of a system of economy, of thrift, of industry and freedom; and it needs no Gladstone to prophesy what must surely and speedily follow in Italy, when things have come to the pass which we now witness, unless the ruling powers of Italy heed his warning and the thunderous warning of history—and they will not heed it.

But what is all this to America, asks a "patriotic" American, with Monroe's message of 1823 in his vest pocket; and he reads from the Monroe doctrine: "Our policy in regard to Europe is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers," Europe for Europeans, and America for Americans! he says.

The war for the liberation of Cuba has made it plain that humanity, in some of its branches, has reached a stage where "atrocities" and "horrors," where cruelty and devilry on the part of any political power, will no longer be permitted by peoples who take note of them and who are able to stop them. No more Bulgarias, no more Armenias, no more Cubas!—the word has gone forth. If the men of peace have not talent and force enough to organize for the world the methods and institutions of peace, then for a time the great red-blooded people, when the horrors and wrongs have waxed gross, will have recourse to the crude and savage old methods of war! if no judiciary yet, then a vigilance committee; but somehow the thing will be done. If we do not want war, if we do not want revolutions, then we must be wise in time.

We had a responsibility in Cuba. We did not recognize it until it was too late—and we are paying the awful penalty of war. We have—and the country of Gladstone has, and every lover of freedom in Europe has—a responsibility to Italy and the men who are struggling and suffering for freedom there. "Wherever liberty is," said Thomas Jefferson, "there is my country." "Where liberty is not," exclaimed Thomas Paine, striking a higher note, "there is mine!" It was in that spirit that Gladstone wrote the Neapolitan Letters. Has America a minister at Rome to-day who will be a voice to America for the wrongs of Italy, as Gladstone was a voice to England in 1851? Will the president of the republic receive his message and support him, as Lord Palmerston supported Gladstone? Will the American people, at any rate, take the trouble which Gladstone took at Naples, and inquire diligently whether these things are so?

Among the nations which contributed to the colonization of America, Italy strangely was not one; yet strangely all of the great original discoverers and explorers were Italians. Columbus, who revealed the Old World to the New, and Americus, whose name the New World bears, both sailing in the service of Spain, were both Italians; so was Verrazzano, who first explored our shores in the service of France; so was John Cabot who first came in the service of the English power which ultimately was to control the continent and shape its civilization. How better can the great republic of the New World, which these great Italians thus revealed, pay its debt than by helping Italy, through the influence of that public opinion which from now on rules mankind, to the knowledge and the exercise of those political principles which are our blessing and security, the knowledge of the truth which maketh free?

According to the Fanfulla, the total number of newspapers arbitrarily suppressed—both temporarily and permanently—during the recent Italian troubles amounts up to 116, of which by far the greater proportion were, naturally, Socialist and revolutionary. There were fifty Socialist papers, twenty-five Catholic, ten Republican, eight Anarchist, one Monarchical, one anti-Anarchist, and the remaining twenty-one of unascertained political views.

In Zwickau, Germany, the carpenters and joiners, who have been out on strike for the last nine weeks, were on the point of victory, several of the employers having conceded the men's demands, but the others were still obstinate. The police, however, assumed the role of arbitrator, and informed the strikers that they considered the strike at an end, and the men had to return to their work for fear of having their funds confiscated by the police.

The Socialist mayor of Nicotera, Italy, has, by a decree of the Prefect, been suspended from his functions. This has been done notwithstanding the fact that the commune of Nicotera had become a model municipality under the suspended mayor's direction. A search for the discovery of treasonable documents was made by the police in the municipal offices; but, as in other cases, without success. The whole town was greatly incensed by these arbitrary proceedings.

WITH THE CHAFF BLOWN OUT.

According to the New York Journal of Commerce there are 200 trusts in active operation, with a capital of \$3,662,000,000.

Prof. and Mrs. Sidney Webb are out with a new book, "Problems of Modern Industry," published by Longmans, Green & Co.

The annual report of the English Fabian Society shows a slower rate of increase in the membership than in previous years.

Herbert N. Casson will speak at Nashville next Monday. From there he goes to Ruskin and will edit the Coming Nation.

"The Socialist movement in Holland," says Henry Polak, "is steadily gaining ground; a few weeks ago the first Social Democrat was elected as a member of the Provincial Council of our province of Groningen, the successful candidate being comrade J. H. Schaper."

The Berliner Post says that during a recent voyage of the Siberian convict ship Angara from Tiumen, Siberia, to Tomsk, capital of the government of the same name, on the Tom, western Siberia, thirty-one out of 500 prisoners died from suffocation and overcrowding.

In their decision to take over the property of the London Tramways Company and work it themselves, the County Council offered £800,000, and the directors expressed themselves as willing to accept £900,000. The difference is split, and the figure now fixed upon is £850,000.

Among the educated workmen of Japan there are many Socialists who are well acquainted with the movements in Europe and America. A young Japanese, who resided in Australia a few years, has founded a Socialist paper in Tokio, called The Worker's Future.

The total length of the sentences dealt out by the Milan military tribunal against Socialists from May 23 to July 22, this year, amounted to over eleven centuries of punishment! Eight hundred and sixteen persons were judged in the course of these two months, of whom 690 have been condemned, and to these 690 were allotted exactly 1,112 years 4 months and 14 days of imprisonment, and 280 years of special police supervision to boot! Long live "free" and "united" Italy!

The bricklayers' strike at Magdeburg, Germany, has assumed further developments. The strikers have been replaced by Italians, and the masters have resolved to pay the latter considerably more than what the German bricklayers were asking for. Four hundred and sixteen Italian bricklayers and 100 Italian carpenters have already been engaged. The strikers are still enthusiastic in spite of this latest development, and continue to hold meetings, although the police confiscate the collecting boxes thereat.

Vorwärts, the organ of the German Social Democrats, has obtained a copy of a document, addressed by the Prussian Minister of the Interior to the heads of the separate provinces of Prussia, which again shows the Government's inability to understand, and therefore to cope with, the advance of Social Democracy. In this secret instruction, Herr Von Der Recke requests his subordinates to inform him of the shape and development which the Social Democratic movement has assumed in the separate districts, and what special conditions, social or otherwise, have conduced to its growth. Vorwärts remarks (and its opinion is indorsed by the Liberal press): "Were not the Minister imbued with the omnipotence of the police regulation system over the great movement of civilization, he would know that the growth of Social Democracy is due largely to the innumerable mistakes, political and economical, of the legislation of the last few years."

From its annual report for 1897 it would appear that the Amalgamated Society of Engineers is recovering satisfactorily from the terrible exhaustion of its recent struggle with the employers. The struggle cost it £690,399, but even this enormous expenditure has not broken its back. "This marvelous recuperative vitality," says the New Age, "is a sore disappointment to the Society's enemies, who imagined they had pretty nearly killed it. Some of these, we regret to see, are showing a very nasty spirit. They are taking their revenge most heathenishly wherever they can. No fewer than 300 capable men in Oldham, who were prominent in the struggle, have never been employed since. Even when any of them go to other towns and get work they are dismissed when their 'references' from Oldham arrive. No explanation is vouchsafed to them; but they know the reason why. Supposing even the men were entirely in the wrong (as we do not believe they were) should their church and chapel attending masters not forgive them their trespasses, having themselves also so much need of forgiveness?"

MILWAUKEE.

Active preparations are being made for the fall campaign, just beginning. Wisconsin elects full state officers and congressmen, and county elections will also be held in various parts of the state. The Social Democratic convention will be held in Milwaukee at the Freie Gemeinde Hall, Fourth street, Friday evening, September 2, and we expect quite an attendance from outside this city. Plans are made for the organization of branches in various cities and towns, and some of the party's best speakers will make agitation trips, among them Debs and Stedman. In an interview in a local daily Victor Berger predicts a Social Democratic Party vote of 25,000. The Populists are preparing to fuse with the Democrats and will run a false initiative and referendum campaign. Already they are making demands for the number of offices they want on the fusion ticket. This is rich, considering that their best members have left them and that their ranks are thinned out that they do not dare go into an election alone. The Republicans have renominated Governor Scofield, a typical capitalist representative.

The Federated Trades' Council of Milwaukee has honored the Socialists by securing two of our comrades to make the addresses at their picnic on Labor Day. Seymour Stedman of Chicago will speak in English and Julius Vahlteich of Chicago (former private secretary to Ferdinand Lassalle) will speak in German.

Some of our South Side members are planning to run a stereopticon on the prominent streets during the campaign. CREAM CITY.

Dr. Edward Aveling died August 2 in his 48th year. He was a D. Sc. of London University and the author of many scientific works. In conjunction with Eleanor Marx-Aveling, daughter of Karl Marx, he wrote, "The Woman Question," and "Working-Class Movements in America," and was known to most Socialists in this country.

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