This that they call Organizing of Labor is, if well understood, the Problem of the whole Future for All.—Carlvle.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS



ON....LABOR DAY AND.....ITS MEANING.

LABOR DAY.

It is eminently fitting that THE HERALD, as the representative of the HERALD, as the representative of the Social Democratic Party, should show due recognition of Labor Day. This day is consecrated to the working class, and the Social Democratic Party is the party of that class.

What shall be said of Labor's holi-

day and its opportunities? The inter-regatory is inviting. Much can be said and will be said, but only that is worthy of consideration which pro-vokes inquiry or challenges reflection.

Where the day is given wholly to sports, most of which do not rise above the "greased pig" level, its sigafficance is lost. For such as these, labor Day means nothing except a few hours release from slavery. I would not have solemnity the order of the day-I would not deny a due share of pleasure and recreation, but above all, the central object of the day, that of discussing the rights and duties of the working class, and conidering ways and means of emancipation from the bonds of capitalism, should be the commanding feature of every programme and impressed upon the minds of all.

The capitalist class are immensely pleased to see Labor Day turned into a cheap circus and given entirely to "horse-play." They commend the day and contribute to its observance and smile upon the antics of their slaves. Long ago it was written:

"Labor itself is but a sorrowful song, The protest of the weak against the strong." Alas, how truly these lines describe the present situation. Think of New Bedford and Oshkosh-of the West Virginia coal miners whose "sorrowful sag' has been changed to one of thinksgiving that they are not deprived of their rags and crusts and that they are permitted to remain upon the earth. They have been sunk to a level where they seem glad that the many still must labor for the

Think of the railroad employes who have become too weak to protest—who are satisfied if the baying hounds of the blacklist no longer pursue them and who willingly wear chains as the price of the bread their loved ones eat. I have seen them all over this fair land, and at the dead of night, when others slept, have heard the whispered stories of their pursuit, capture and moral death. At the approach of a loss I have seen the smile of servility light up their faces while hate and scorn rioted in their hearts.

Victor Hugo said:

"A smile in irons! Can anything be more hideous? He who is not free is not a man; he who is not free has no sight, no knowledge, no discernment, no growth, no comprehension, no will, no fatth, no love; he has no wife and children, he has only a female with vanue." with young

Here we have themes for Labor Day for ten thousand rostrums. Let the burning, quivering issues be discussed and let the truth ring wherever the voice of labor is heard. The antiquated "pure and empple"

Labor omnia vincit," has fulfilled his mission if he ever had one. everlasting rear with the "leader" who persists that there is nothing better than the strike and boycott, and who opposes political action.

How many more thousands of work-

ingmen are to be clubbed, imprisoned, wandeled and murdered before the fact is recognized that emancipation does not lie in that direction?

There is but one course out of the ough of capitalism and that is Socialism. Progressive trades unionists, such, for instance, as compose the Central Labor Union of Cleveland, realize this fact and are shaping polieles and adopting tactics to meet deds. While struggling to maintain what they have on the economic field, y are preparing to fight the enemy on the political field by organizing, no in antagonism to, but in support of, eir trades-unions, into a class-con-ious, that is to say, independent and uncompromising political party, and, this done, as it will be done through-out the country, it will not take long

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND the day. It is the friend and ally of trades-unions. It does not believe in destroying them, but in molding and adapting them to modern needs in the economic struggle. The trades-unions are ours, built by our labor and con-secrated by our suffering, and we propose that they shall serve the noble purpose for which they were intended by rescuing them from those who would dwarf and restrain and subvert them, that they may pursue unfettered their march to emancipation. EUGEND V. DEBS.

CAPITALISM IN THE SOUTH.

From every section of the South comes fresh news daily that the workers are awakening to the true sig-nificance of the labor movement. Wherever industry has developed to the point where the line of demarcation between employer and employe is sharply drawn, there also will be found Socialists and Socialist propaganda. Side by side with the expansion of capitalism in the "New South" rises the Socialist agitator and organization.

Basking complacently in the contemplation of his own shrewdness and cunning, the capitalist entered the South, built railroads, factories and workshops, opened up coal and iron ore mines, grabbed up the richest agricultural lands, corrupted legislatures, trafficked in city councils, swindled, robbed and exploited in the manner peculiar to his tribe convinced that here at last was the promised land where the agitator dwelt not and the way of the exploiter of labor would be serene and uninterrupted for all time to come. And for a time things did look roseate to the view and allyring to the senses of the self-sufficient capitalist. But with the departure of the "boom" days there came a different condition of things. Business lost its effervescent character and the era of commercialism set in in earnest. Reduction after reduction in wages took place, improved machinery was ushered into use, and an army of un-employed appeared. All this because capitalism was probing for a foundation, throwing off superfluous waste and establishing commerce upon an economical and scientific basis. The trades-unions organized during the "boom" were not made up of the material necessary to withstand the rapid transition from a competitive to a semi-capitalistic state. They received a shock that almost swept them out of existence. The survivors found new problems, new difficulties confronting them, and out of the wreck and ruin arose a new agitator—not the antediluvian exhorter of the "rights of capital and the rights of labor"-but a new agitator who, quick, observing, intellithe true meaning of things and with a fresh, clear light shining upon his brain, raised his voice and wielded his pen for Socialism. And to-day there is not a city, factory town or mining camp in the South which does not contain its Socialist or Socialist club, branch or section.

Capita'ism's progress in the South has been swift and wonderful, the change in ten years being nothing short of marvelous. Still a very young section industrially, yet the condition of the workers in the cities and min-eral districts is as bad as anywhere else in America. Wages have been pounded down almost to the level of bare subsistence. The factory system in the largest cities is, I am convinced, worse than in New England, and the stories told of the northern coal fields can find their counterpart coal fields can find their counterpart in those of Alabama, Kentucky and Tennessee. The farmers are selling their produce at prices lower than was ever dreamed of before. The young men are swarming into the cit les from the farms, and accepting wages which stagger the city worker. The small business man is being forced to the wall, and is joining the army of unemployed. Small stores are wiped out and department stores are springing up. Traditions and customs, hoary with age, are being torn up by the roots and scattered, never to rethe first time in the history of all the ages it can truthfully be declared that "Labor omnia vincit."

The Social Democratic Party is in harmony with the progressive spirit of the identity of interests is becoming more general. "Race conscious-

ness" is giving way to class conscious-

ness.
With conditions such as these, with a growing number of intelligent, clearcut, energetic, Socialists springing up on every hand despair and pessi-mism have no place among us. True, there may be in certain places labor organizations unworthy of the name, labor officials who are such for their own and the capitalists' benefit, and these may seem to prosper now, but their prosperity will be short lived. When the time comes they will be swept aside and progressive organizations and progressive men will take their places.

On this Labor Day, the Socialists of the South have cause to be hopeful and enthusiastic. Standing sure-footed and secure upon safe, economic grounds, the present has no terror for us, the future only opens to us work to be done, duties to be performed. Renewing our pledges to the cause of the working class, we will face the future filled with determination that our labors will not cease this side of the grave until the capitalist system of production and distribution has been destroyed and Socialism has triumphed.

WILLIAM MAILLY. Nashville, Tenn., Aug. 23, 1898.

LABOR'S DAY.

The day of Capitalism is drawing to a close, and the day of Labor is at hand. The day of Capitalism has been a long and a terrible one for the toil ers who have had to bear its burden and its fierce heat, and have sweltered and fainted and died under it. Many of them, unable longer to hold out. have sought death by their own nands; and many more, in dogged enducance. have toiled on, weak and weary, in the slower death of an existence de-prived of all that marks off the human from the animal, of all that makes

life worth while.

But the end of that day draws near, thank God! All honor to those toilers who would not die without a mur-mur, who would not submit in passive endurance to the insistent encroachments of capital. All reverence to those who dared the lash of the law and the bloodhounds of hunger for Freedom's sake, and would not be slaves! All homage and heart's devotion to those who, throughout the century, have taken their rives in their hands in defense of their rights as they saw them, and so worked out a grander result than they dreamed of: What matters it if they did not grasp the full scope of the problem with which they were struggling? They struggled. What matters it that they did not foresee the worldwide and everlasting effect of their protest and their sacrifice? They protested and sacri-ficed; and future generations will reap the seed they sowed. The coral in-sects in their cells do not realize to what shapes of beauty and higher usefulness their little lives are tending. Our union men, even though they did not go into all the subtleties of Socialist political economy, yet recognized with ever-increasing inclusiveness their common interests as against those of the exploiting class, and that in union there is strength to protect those interests. They have kept be-fore the minds of the people in general the fact that there is a labor problem, and a problem that will not down until it is solved. The fellaheen of Egypt were not a race of strikers; and they are to-day using the same implements and utensils and wearing the same shackles that their fathers did in the days of the Pharaohs. If the wage-workers did not create and keep alive this irrepressible problem, if they calmly submitted to be slaves, who would listen to the arguments and theories of Socialists?

In the broader view of the evolution of the race, even the purest and simplest kind of trades unionism is no

In the final triumph of the principles of union and brotherhood, trades unionist who ever went on strike, whether he won or lost, will

be at last a victor.

And we, if we do our duty according to our light as nobly and as unflinchingly as they did theirs, we shall do well. And if we know enough to go ahead and do our day's stint of world's work in its place, and build upon the foundation these others have laid in toll and tears, but upon the solid rock, instead of trying vainly to tear it down to make way for one of our own present-day imagining, we may be as useful in our day in the evolution of the race toward Social-ism as the pure and simple trades unions and the defeated strikers were

We may earn that highest of all honors-we may be used to help bring about Labor's Day.

MARGARET HAILE.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC OF.....TRADES PARTY

THE... FRIEND UNIONISM.

ROSA PROLETAIRE TO BROTHER JOHN.

Dear Brother John:-Labor Day demonstrations with capitalist politicians as orators are a disgrace to organized labor. I don't know what you may think about this. Perhaps you admit the truth of my assertion; perhaps you consider it unwise to use such language on Labor Day, fearing that it might on Labor Day, ... cause ill feelings. .

Be that as it may, you know, Brother John, that flattering is none of my virtues, and when it comes to the question of telling the truth I am ever ready to express my opinion freely and fearlessly, though it may cause ill feel-ings with some people. What have the capitalist politicians to do with our Labor Day? Is it not their main object to deceive and belie the organized wage workers? Their glorification of labor's cause—is it not a most poison-ous pill capsuled in shells of sugar? What have the capitalist politicians done for labor?

Our conservative labor leaders say the capitalist politicians have done a great deal for "us fellows." Oh, yes; if "we fellows" consider ourselves the lowest, most foolish sort of mules, then we may believe that these political hirelings of our masters have done much for us, since we are still per-mitted to live under their rule and vote for our oppressors on each and every election day.

Tell me, John, what have they done for us poor wage slaves? Answer, John. Answer my question before listening ton another capitalist fake orator next Monday.

Is it not true that our present capitalist system, with all its crimes and horrors, is the ideal of the capitalist politician? Is it not true that every law enacted by these hirelings is for the benefit of our masters? Is it not true that these fellows in our national, state and municipal leg slatures silently sanction every crime committed against the working class? And still these mercenaries of capitalism, no matter how "liberal," how "radical," or how anti-monoplistic they pretend to be, are invited to deliver the Labor Day orations?

Draw the line! Let every wageworker decide on which side of the "trocha" he wants to fight. There are but two general interests at stake: The class interests of capitalism and the interests of the working class. There are but two armies in this great struggle between capitalism and labor. Take your choice.

At this very moment the fight is on more serious than ever before. During the last twelve months we have witnessed the bloody work of Hazleton, the terrible fight in Oshkosh, and the present state of civil war in Pana, III. Hazleton-our brothers shot down and killed like dogs! Their families suffering! The murderers exonerated! By whom? By the capitalist politicians in office. By the political and judicial tools of our masters.

To all those conservative, good-natured, "practical" labor leaders that are so fond of listening to capitalist Labor Day orations, I should earnestly recommend: "Invite Sheriff Martin of Hazleton! He will give you a splendid Labor Day oration on the subject: Harmony Between Capital and Labor."

The recent woodworkers' strike in Oshkosh, the present miners' strike in Pana-is this not strong enough a pill to cure you of your capitalist politics? Don't you be afraid. You will get more Hazletons, Oshkoshs and Panas in the near future. Our American bourgeoisie is just beginning to "expand." Our masters are just considpand. Our masters are just considering the "annexation of China." They insist on having a "fair share" of the world's market. They want our New England Yankees to manufacture the cheap goods for the Chinese coolies, and the moment the Yankee wage-workers will not behave nicely and work cheaply the "free American sovereigns" will get some more doses of Sheriff Martin's medicine.

Brother John, in case you are to be called upon to make a Labor Day

speech, I trust that you will give the speech, I trust that you win give the poor wage slaves straight goods. Talk-Social sim pure and simple and give them clearly and distinctly to under-stand that "Labor Day" will soon be robbed of its historical importance or become a thing of the past provided become a thing of the past, provided the wageworkers will recognize the fact that the modern labor movement can be made a permanent success only by putting it on the rock foundation of scientific Socialism. John, remem-

ber this.
Your beloved sister,
ROSA PROLETAIRE.

A THOUGHT FOR LABOR DAY.

Every man belongs to a party. Every workingman identifies himself with a party as soon as he is able to vote, and even before. It is the duty of everyone to take part in politics, for ours is a government of and by the people, and if the people do not take part or if they let others do the active work, they must not complain if we have bad government and government for a certain class only. The workers of the country are the strength of the country. They produce the wealth, although by reason of the profit system and the private ownership of ma-chinery, they are not able to possess the wealth after they have created it. The workers being the most valuable and worthy part of the population, it is clear that the government should be run in their interests. But for much the same reason that the most industrious people are the least rewarded in the matter of comfortable living and proper food, just so they are the least thought of by the government which their presence in the land gives sta-bility to. These are things it is time

bility to. These are things it is time laborers thought over.

The toilers are the vast majority of the population. If that vast majority once determined to do a certain thing, no power under the heavens could block its path. If that majority determined that this country should be ron honestly and that the industrious only should have its best protection. only should have its best protection, all other interests would vanish before it like the dew before the sun. When that majority of worthy but misused people wakes up to its real needs, something will drop, and drop hard. When it does wake up, look out for

In olden times when the kings wanted to keep their discontented subjects in submission they got up wars, appealed to the patriotism of the masses and the people forgot their troubles and went forth to claw each other to pieces for the glory of their despotic rulers. It is much the same in the political field to-day. There are two parties, the Democrats and the Republicans, both managed and controlled in the interests of the capital'st class. Between these parties fake issues are sprung on the unsuspecting people and thus the toilers are kept divided. They go to the polls and fight each other. and the capitalists and their hirelings, the politicians, smile slyly to them-selves, and look upon it as a great joke. Just watch it for yourself. As jeke. Just watch it for yourself. As soon as election time comes round the politicians begin to talk of certain "is-They get the people worked up over them and then after they have caught their game and the election is over, the issues die out of the public

Fortunately for the workers, the workers themselves have a party, and all the corruption money in the coffers of the plutocrats cannot buy it. That party is the Social Democratic party. and it aims to change the system so that private ownership of machinery and land will disappear. It insists that the people shall live as brothers instead of as masters and servants. It has grown out of the heart of the toilers and stands for the best interests of all humanity.

When the workingman begins to take an interest in politics he must make a choice of parties. Which shall he choose? Shall he choose one of the capitalist parties, which is simply making game of his ignorance, or shall he join the party that stands for his own people, the Social Democratic party? His own good sense ought to tell him which.

To all the toilers of the city and country. I offer this thought for Labor Day. It is a serious matter: it must not be passed by without deliberation.

FREDERICK HEATH.

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Under Socialism no man would have any rights-without duties.

If you would be truly patriotic these days, you must be an imperialist.

Hanna is an imperialist, and who is there to question Hanna's patriotism?

True Americanism nowadays quires the repudiation of your old-time patriotism.

Socialism is a system of co-working for social efficiency, supplemented by equity in distribution.

If the poor are vicious, consider the system of which they are productssystem which the rich would main-

If workingmen will have nothing to do with Socialism, that is no reason why Socialists should have nothing to do with them.

There is nothing under the stars that is not amenable to change—except perhaps the stupidity of the wageslave who supports capitalist parties.

Wealth was never produced except by the association of industry with the resources of nature. No combination of capitalists has ever produced

All true capital is a product of labor. Capital in and of itself is barren. Labor, applied to the bounty of nature. has created all capital and is the source

Capitalism does not call human beings property, but it uses men, women and children as capital. The great majority of the working class are used as nothing else than capital.

The lives of workingmen are the dullest, their leisure the shortest, their opportunities the fewest, and their rewards the scarcest. Socialism will multiply their rewards, broaden their opportunities, lengthen their leisure and brighten their lives.

As at the beginning of the century men were largely masters of their handicrafts, so near the beginning of the next, they will be no longer subject to the caprice of private capitalists, but the owners of machinery and masters of economic power.

The need of cheaper production is forcing the employment of female labor in some of the brass foundries of the West. The Cleveland Recorder is authority for the statement that 10,000 women are employed in industries of that city in positions which, a few years ago, were occupied by men

Since all progress, fundamentally considered, consists in the subjection of the rude elements of nature and the transforming of materials into socially useful things for the sustenance and comfort of the race, the producers of wealth are deserving of and ought to receive the first consideration. And unuer Socialism they

Senator Cush K. Davis, of the peace Senator Cush K. Davis, of the peace commissioners, says we want more battleships and after that "more cruisers and battleships again," and the Chicago Tribune, joining the chorus of the imperialists, says "the senator expresses the sentiments of his constituents." It would be more correct to say that the senator expresses rect to say that the senator expresses

the sentiments of some of his con-

A portion of the capitalist press affects to ridicule the idea of imperialism in America, but at a recent meeting of the Pennsylvania Bankers Association, one of the speakers in a speech which the reports say "was full of patriotism," open declared himself an imperialist and advocated imperial-

That men, women and children are degraded and society as a whole greatly injured by private ownership of the machinery of production, none can deny. It is that simple fact, sim-ple but stupendous in its importance, that will yet force the true and only solution—Social ownership of ma-chinery, to stop misery and promote happiness.

Opponents of government ownership, and especially those who see in the simplest expansion of government functions an approach to Socialism, seem to be overlooking the fact, that the government proposes to operate a line of ships between the United States and its "newly acquired possessions." What have the private corporations to

The principal ground on which dear old Senator George F. Hoar is being urged for ambassador to Great Britain is that he is the "one American who, without great wealth, could maintain the prestige of an ambassador to London, for he is almost the only American who could safely live as he liked."
As an indication of the pure snobbery to which we have descended, this is very rich.

What is the social prospect on this Labor Day of 1898? There are Alps of affluence and glory, and aby-ses of misery and want; there are peaks of plenty bathed in sunshine, and morasses of privation steeped in night; there is honor and ease for the idle and cunning, and nearly hopeless slavery for the skillful and industrious: there is power and place "or the brutal and unscrupulous, and bitter days and nights of sorrow for the worthy and useful; there is one class made rich by immoral and fraudulent titles to land and the legalized largear of wealth, and another poor and wretched because they have been robbed-poor. not so much from faults of their own as from the greed and heartlessness of those by whose special privileges they are wronged and oppressed.

THE PROBLEM OF DISARMAMENT

Whatever may be the motive of the Russian Czar in proposing disarmament of the nations, it cannot but be regarded as a proposition of far-reaching and stupendous importance. The cry for peace, coming from one of the most powerful of the ruling class, is,

of course, the veriest mockery.

There can be no peace while the rulership of that class exists. Only its complete abolition and the substi-tution of national and international administration of the industries and businesses of the people on a purely democratic basis, can insure to the world the blessings of peace. It cannot for a moment be supposed that the Czar suggests disarmament as a step preliminary to the inauguration of Socialism. And yet, so surely as the nations disbanded their standing armies and beat their swords into plowshares, would the final triupmh of Socialism be brought nearer and diffuse the blessings of peace throughout the

But no such prospect is before us Nevertheiess, it may well be pointed out that the bare suggestion of the Czar is another indication, clear and unmistakable, of the breaking up of the present system. The "burden of it all" is the procuring cause of the idea; the load is too great and the ruin too awful. Then, too, it is a timely and significant warning to that loudmouthed patriotism which in America is demanding the burden and the ruin of a great military establishment.

But if the nations were disarmed, what then? What can the present economic system offer to the millions of men who would be thrown upon it? With machinery displacing labor in every branch of industry, and millions unable to gain a living; with every profession overcrowded, thousands starving or living precariously in an almost hopeless struggle to exist, and thousands more from college and university forced into them and making the condition more perplexing; with opportunities for individual enterprise ever lessening and great capitalistic undertakings ever enlarging; with monopoly in control of the earth's bounty and of the means of produc-tion, where are the millions of soldiers to go and how are they to obtain a

Millions of men in every country on the globe are already mustered out of the world's army of workers, and misery and want are worldwide con-ditions; act on the Czar's proposition, strip the military uniform from men and throw them into the competitive struggle for wages, and what becomes of the capitalist system? Socialists would, of course, hall with delight the realization of the Muscovite idea, because Socialism alone would be adequate as a solution. But will court czars and capitalist czars bring on that issue? We shall see,

SOCIALISM AND THE FARMERS.

Advocates of a Co-operative Com-monwealth of industry, differ widely as to the methods of bringing the new system into effect, as well as the period of time which will necessarily elapse before their hopes can be realized. Differences of opinion on these subjects among those who have studied them are to be expected. No man, however great his ability, can master all the details of a science so vast as is sociology; yet it would be neces-sary to do this in order to predict the exact course of industrial events. This much, however, is certain, that the development of industrial affairs is now going on at a rapid rate, and that changes of a stupendous character are almost at hand.

That agricultural industry is being affected simultaneously with urban in-dustries, is a matter too plain for successful denial. The extent, however, to which agricultural industry is being affected, may perhaps furnish matter

for controversy.

While it is true that the farming lands in the United States are still widely distributed among millions of owners, this fact does not at all conflict with the view that the farming industry is subject to a competition rapidly growing to be as strong as that which has forced the concentration of the urban industries into the hands of a few men of great wealth. And it is this great competition, and not the concentration of industry, which is merely the result of competition, that is ripening the fields for the harvest of Socialism.

It is true that the land, economically considered, is only an instrument of production, and that this instrument s still to a very large extent in the hands of the men who toll upon it. In this respect the farming industry is still unlike the mechanical or urban industries. But when competition has forced the prices of farm products to a point at which the American farmer can no longer subsist, at the standard of living to which he has been accustomed for generations, he may not, owing to his peculiar situation, be able to unite with his fellows to form a trust, or combine, or great corporation to absorb the industry, but he will turn to organized society for relief, which can be afforded him only by the establishment of a co-operative and all-embracing system of industry, in which all the necessaries, and comforts of life shall be produced, and in which all the workers shall share. In other words, the farmers' trust will be the nation

That the competition, not only of the farmers of the United States with each other, but also with India. Russia. Egypt, the South American states, and even with Africa, is driving the price of farm products below that at which the farmer can subsist at his accus-tomed standard, is being rapidly proved. The opening of the Suez canal has brought the vast and fertile territory of India almost to the very gates of Europe; and the astonishing im-provements in steam machinery for ransportation has decreased the cost of carrying the products of these coun tries to a mere trifle, compared to what was only twenty years ago. It is this foreign competition in the markets between the United States and countries in which labor can be had for seven cents a day, that will rapidly make Socialists of the farmers; and this will happen before many more years have elapsed.

Collective or common ownership of land will never be forced upon the farmers by any other power than com petition: Their lands will never be taken from them by organized society against their will. On the contrary. competition will make their lands valueless, and the farmers will be glad to shelter their defenseless heads be neath the protecting shield of the fraternal commonwealth.

This condition is not far off. Already thousands of acres of land in the eastern part of this country, which once afforded a living to a great population, have been abandoned. And this is true also of some parts of Europe, except when crops fail in other countries; the prices of farming products already. prices of farming products already sink in this country below the cost of production.

Socialism is very near us. Its com ing will not long be delayed. It will come, not with one industry at a time, as some suppose, but all at once, as the rising sun bursts upon the darkened earth, flooding the world with the sunshine of happiness.

JESSE COX.

WHERE TRADES UNIONISTS

WILL FIND THE S. D. P.

The trades 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 both must cooperate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

-Social Democratic Party Platform.

THOUGHTS FOR LABOR DAY.

The first and greatest demand of n an's nature is to be free. The second is the opportunity to better his condition. Freedom and opportunity make the pursuit of happiness possible. And happiness is after all the aim and object of all men.

Now, to begin with, are we free? It is true, state constitutions, party

platforms, preambles, etc., usually call the inhabitants of this country a free people. But to call a man free does not make him so. To call a country a republic does not mean that the people rule.

What does it mean to be free? For one to be master of the conditions of his own life, or at least to enjoy an equal right for an existence with everybody else. What is it to be a slave? To be

compelled to accept the conditions of another for the privilege of existing. Whoever controls the conditions by which I live is my master. If a man has to sell himself, i. e., his time, to another individual in order to make a living, his life depends upon somebody else. It is resurrecting slavery when my labor must sell like corn and cattle to the highest bidder. To show me a printed piece of paper wherein it is stated that I am free and born equal with my master means to mock my misery. It is foolishness to say that the workingman is free to accept the terms of the employer or to reject them. The laborer must accept. When the alternative is starvation or exile, it is preposterous to talk about freedom of contract. If the workingmen were at least as sure of shelter, clothing and food as are their employers, then there would be some freedom of contract-now there is not. The neces sity that compels me to toil for another makes me the other's slave.

Workingmen are merchandise now. The abolition of chattel slavery brought to an end only one form of

And in some aspects this modern form of slavery is even worse than the old one. The old slave was at least, sure of getting work and being taken care of under all circumstances. even when sick or old. For, the chattel slave represented capital that belonged to his master. A good slave was worth \$1,500-or even more, sometimes-and a capitalist will take good care of a \$1,500 horse or a \$1,500 machine, we know. So the chattel slave got good medical treatment when sick and was cared for when old, for if he could not do much work he could do a little, which was better than noth-

How about the wage slave? Does the employer, who often does not even know him by name, care when he is sick? Or when he is old? The employer is losing nothing by his perishing. There are plenty waiting for a chance to take his place.

There are now over a million workingmen idle all the year round-dur-ing the so-called "good times," although willing to work and depending on work for the support of their fami-There are now over three million men idle part of the year, during periods extending from six weeks to eight months, also during the "good times." The number of unemployed reaches four million during

Talk about patriotism. About the stars and stripes." What is left to stars and stripes. What is left to the poor tramp but the "stars and stripes?"—the stars above him when he camps in the free air in summer and the "stripes" upon him when he is sent to the "correction house" in

But they tell us that this is the necessary effect of machinery. That ma-chinery "saves labor." But we ask what is right? Did genius brood over books and drawings, work about models and laboratories to lift the burthe toiler time for mental feasts and domestic pleasures? Or does the genius of humanity intend that by his achievements millions of human beings shall be retired to their miserable abodes and die there of hunger and want? provided they do not prefer to leave their homes and families and become tramps.

Capital is called the fruits of labor saved. Well, if so, the capitalist saves the fruit of the labor of others. Our ruling class says that all wages come from capital. The contrary is true, all modern capital comes from wages that have not been paid. Modern capital, where it does not originate from direct robbery, originates in the unpaid surplus over the wage-worker's consumption.

We understand that all this has come by historical development. That under the present economic system the workingman cannot get the full value of his product because the employer (the capitalist) must nowadays make a profit on the work of his laborers. That this is considered perfectly right and legal and necessary. That if the capitalist, the owner of the machinery and the raw material, does not see any profit in engaging workingmen for the purpose of producing, he will not produce. That his selfishness is excusable and necessary.

But if the spirit of selfishness is to predominate and control the entire human race—so are We selfish. And since we cannot help ourselves individually, since the means of produc-tion are so concentrated now that only in collective form can they be returned

to us. OUR selfishness has taken COLLECTIVE FORM. And the p ress of the age and the existence civilization depends upon the of OUR selfishness.

We must help all in order to help us. And that is our aim. That is the si of Socialism.

We Socialists protest against a ing cash and demonizing man. We a against exalting the products of h and degrading the laborer. We that a brave, industrious man, is worker on farmer, who lives and le is better than a pile of gold or a pactage of greenbacks. We demand the even to-day in every industry requiring dead capital and living work ing dead capital and living workand labor—the man should be considered the more important of the tra

We resent the refined brutality that excuses enforced idleness and its con comitant evils-misery, starvation and shame—by arguing that the "price of labor must be regulated by the law of supply and demand." If labor is to ther we, the producers, want to have the control of the supply and the demand. And there is only one way to

do it, i. e., by public ownership.

But there are Americans who claim that while public ownership might be all right in other countries, it would never do in this, because here we would have too much stealing. Is that a good argument? Aside from the fact that stealing is going on now, because people are made corrupt by necessity and but the incompiler of the stealing is going on now, because people are made corrupt by necessity and but the incompiler of the stealing is good to be the stealing of the by the insecurity of our economic co ditions that compels even the rich to steal—can it be that the American peo-ple have become so dishonest in ther nature that they dare not trust then selves to do their own business? If so then the time has come when we mus give the scepter of civilization to an other race.

That time has not come. But the time has come for a thorough, general "house-cleaning."

There are two ways of effecting great social changes in a republic-the ballot and the bullet, and we may have use for both of them. But no one but a fool will consider the latter now, until the former has been used with all the effect in it.

And I believe the ballot has great efficiency. I believe that while the ballot itself will not make us free, it will put the means into our hands of achieving our freedom.

For that purpose the ballot must be used in the right way. If you want Democratic Socialism you must have Social Democratic Party, None of the old parties can help us. Capitalism has no special politics but success. "Money is no object" if it will secure the interest of capitalism. The leading editors, lawyers, and politicians of all capitalist parties, including the dead Populists, are in the const employ of the capitalists. Just think of it: Thousands of daily and weekly papers identify expitalism with pa-triotism and Socialism with disorder. Over two hundred thousand politicians, from the Republican president of the United States down to the Populist garbage inspectors in Milwau-kee, are for a similar purpose pald in cash by capitalism from the earnings of labor. It is the business of these politicians to warn the people against Socialism and to tell them to demand "protection," or free silver, or to "re-solve" to demand the "referendum" of the lawmakers. These politicians will tell you: "Look out for the Socialists! They want to break up your party, or, "The Socialists are d—fools. They want to divide up everything;" while as a matter of fact Socialists do not concern themselves about the capital ist parties and want to stop the division of property that is going on now

In short, capitalism controls all natural resources, the money, the com-merce, the transportation lines, the congress, courts, legislatures and executives; it controls the press, the churches, the police, the militia, and the political leaders. There is no hope unless the laboring people-the producers of the country-organize in one great body which will fight capitalism everywhere, in politics, in the press, in the pulpit, in the economic field, and will apply the the transfer of the product of wiffancillets if the time and the necessity Hirives.

I concede that this preaching is "law-less." But what of it? Lawlessness of the right kind is a lever that has moved the world forward. It was by an unlawful conspiracy that the Magna Charta was obtained; the Reformation was a rebellion against God and the Holy Church; regicide, then the "black-est of crimes," barred out of the Eng-lish constitution the doctrine of "divine right;" grand larceny in Boston harbor led up to the Declaration of Independence; the blood of kings, bishops and nobles washed away feudalism in France; and John Brown's lawless raid freed the negro slave. We should be grateful if the social revolution, the freeing of seventy-five million whites would not cost more blood than the freeing of four million negroes in 1861. And the better we are organized, the more political power and social strength we obtain, the less bloods

the revolution will be. Therefore, workingmen of America, organize in your unions; join the 80 cial Democratic Party; and think of the tremendous duty before you. These are the only befitting thoughts for a Labor Day, A. D. 1898. VICTOR L. BERGER.

Where millionaires are surfeited millions are suffering.

Proletarians have nothing to lose but eir chains. They have a world to gain. Workngmen of all countries, unite!"



From the "Communistic Manifesto."

WRITTEN BY MARX AND ENGELS IN 1847.

**** E Communists* have been reproached with the desire of abolishing the right of personally acquiring property as the fruit of a man's own labor, which property is alleged to be the groundwork of all personal freedom, activity and independ-

"Hard-won, self-acquired, self-earned property! Do you mean the property of the petty artisan and of the small peasant, a form of property that preceded the bourgeois form? There is no need to abolish that; the development of industry has to a great extent already destroyed it, and is still destroying it

"Or, do you mean modern (bourgeois) private property?

"But does wage-labor create any property for the laborer? Not a bit. It creates capital, i. a., that kind of property which exploits wage-labor, and which cannot

increase except upon condition of be-getting a new supply of wage-labor for fresh exploitation. Property, in its present form, is based on the antagonism of capital and wage-labor. Let us examine both sides of this

"To be a capitalist, is to have not only a purely personal, but a social status in produc-Capital is a collective product, and only by the united action of many members, nay, in the last resort, only by the united action of all members of society, can it be set in

'Capital is therefore not a personal, it is a social power.

"When, therefore, capital is converted into common property, into the property of all embers of society, personal property is not thereby transformed into social property. It is only the social character of the property that is changed. It loses its class character. "Let us now take wage labor.

"The average price of wage-labor is the minimum wage, i. e., that quantum of the means subsistence which is absolutely requisite to keep the laborer in bare existence as a aborer. What, therefore, the wage laborer appropriates by means of his labor, merely ices to prolong and reproduce a bare existence. We by no means intend to abolish this personal appropriation of the products of labor, an appropriation that is made for the mintenance and reproduction of human life, and that leaves no surplus wherewith to amand the labor of others. All that we want to do away with, is the miserable character of this appropriation, under which the laborer lives merely to increase capital, and is allowed to live only insofar as the interests of the ruling class requires it.' *The earlier scientific Socialists called themselves Communists.

AS I UNDERSTAND THEM.

Labor day is again here, and many people will hear Socialism preached for the first time on that day, either in private argument or from the public platform. The Socialist is coming to the front in all quarters, and he uses such terms as Capitalism, Class-con-scious, Proletaire and Bourgeois, which, to the average citizen, is so much Greek.

I notice that many heated disputes could be avoided if terms used were understood or agreed upon between those who discuss. Then, too, many people hate to ask for information that is taken for granted. I light my candle on the following:

CAPITALISM is a term used by So-cialists to describe the present organization of society, as contrasted and distinguished from Feudalism, which pre-ceded it. Capitalism may be said to begin with the payment of a money wage. But it is the wonderful devel-opment of machinery, with the accompanying factory system (associated production), that is driving society to adopt another change, which the world-wide movement for the associated ownership of all the means of production, distribution and exchange, proclaims to be Socialism. Socialists do not fight capital, but are opposed to the capitalist.

CLASS-CONSCIOUS means that one has reached the conviction that the logical and historic development of the capitalistic system is to divide society into two classes. Those who possess the means of production, distribution and exchange, and those who possess only their labor power, which classes have no mutual interests. The Socialist desires a condition of society where there will be no economic class distinctions or interests. Once thoroughly class-conscious, the individual becomes uncompromising.

PROLETAIRE (pro-la-tar) is defined by Webster as, "One of the common people; a low person; the commonalty as an influence or estate in a country. The Socialist applies the word to the propertyless wage-worker, for whom

BOURGEOIS, is a French word, pro nounced boor'-zhwau, and is defined by Webster as, "A man of the middle rank in society; a citizen." This class stands between the capitalistic and proletarian classes, but they are being forced into the latter class by reason of the competition resulting from the logical development of the capitalistic

The class-conscious Socialist regards all movements and parties calculated to foster or maintain the Bourgeoisie (boor'-zhwau-zie) class as a useless waste of time; therefore, his effort to unite the proletarian class for the overrow of classes, and, in the words of Karl Marx, says, "Workingmen of all countries, unite!" They are moving. Tiffin, O. CHAS. R. MARTIN.

The world's workers have mined and molded the resources of nature and created enormous wealth, and yet they re kept in a desperate state of insecurity, while the dependent classes enjoy art, travels, luxuries and ease. falists advocate a system that will bestow ease, luxuries, travels and art pon all who are engaged in socially

LABOR, OLD AND NEW.

Ben Johnson said "raising the wages of day laborers is wrong; for it does not make them live better, but only makes them idle, and idleness is a very bad thing for human nature." This thought is prevalent to-day in different forms. It is said that laborers spend too much for liquor, cigars. tobacco, and so forth.

Such sentiments have been common, from the time the rude swain first broke the sod and the first artisan lifted his trowel, because in the past and present, slavery, i. e., services forced by lash or hunger, has been made demeaning and contemptible in the eyes of the "masters of bread." Listen to "God's white winged mes-sengers of peace:" the shots and death

Oshkosh, Hazelton, Cour d'Alene; the moan from the bread rioters of Italy and Spain. Labor has never unitedly protested against its chains, and there is no honor in the breast of the unprotesting slave. Dishonor never receives respect.

Labor now and then has a recess, a day for repairs. Labor Day is yet to

Antiquity had its Gods of heroism. love, hatred, music, poetry, peace and war; almost every virtue and vice was expressed by some deified form. But labor was so low, degrading, mean and servile, that no God could be found to receive its homage.

While the caravan on the sands and the galleys on the seas were impelled by servile hands, the sun blistering bent backs, and winter's blasts freezing the Titans upon whose shoulders world was poised, still there was no day of triumph, galas or festivities in their honor; the scourge, the lash, the goal, whipping cart, and red hot iron was the incentive to long hours and active, woeful effort; beasts of burden whose mingled tears and groans seldom touched a responsive heart. But brighter days have come, when one day each year we may contemplate the past, observe the present and prepare for the future.

At present the loathsome lives of many, self-destruction, want, and the agony of competitive warfare, must spur us on to valorous deeds to bring the time when no man beneath the twinkling stars shall meet his master and no master shall behold his serf.

History has demonstrated that with the receipt of an increased proportion of their products, labor becomes energetic and active, and secures a better

SEYMOUR STEDMAN.

LABOR DAY MEETINGS.

Seymour Stedman, secretary of the Executive Board of the S. D. P., speaks at a meeting under the auspices of our

comrades at Milwaukee.

Comrade J. L. Franz, editor of the Brauer-Zeitung, has been engaged by the United Coal Miners' Union of Staunton, Ill., to speak at that place. His expenses are to be paid by the Na-tional Union of the United Brewery Workmen.

The Social Democratic Party will provide the speakers for a great meeting to be held at Spring Valley.

Comrade George Koop will probably be the speaker of the day at Linton.

THE WAGE-SLAVE'S DREAM.

[Written for the Heraid.] Not time, but toll and care had bowed his And furrowed deep his face, As, wrinkled, bent and shattered by life's

storm, He stood and mused a space:

"My days are spent; and yet I have not lived!
Mid mouldering hopes I stand.
My strength is gone, yet naught have I achieved
Of all my youth had planned.
"In life's bright dawn with high solviers."

"In life's bright dawn, with high ambition

filled.
Invincible and free,
I planned the house of life my hands should

build, The Man that I should be! "I would be great; men poor and as:un-learned.

As fettered in the race, Had greatly blest their kind, and nobly earned Fame, happiness and place.

"I would surmount all obstacles at length,
Treasures of knowledge gain,—
To me should honor's portals open by the of mine own hand and brain."

"Caught in the mad world's fierce, resistless coil, As by some monster dread, From drowsy morn till weary night I toll, To win-but daily bread!

"With other toll-worn slaves, like those who built the pyramids of old, My strength of hand and brain, my blood is spilt, To heap our Pharaoh's gold!

"Vainly I clutched at knowledge; idle breath Was all my glowing plan! A wage-slave's life is aspiration's death, And leaves him less than man. builded palaces and served dainty

fare,
Made garments kingly fine,
Yet, homeless, hungry, in a hovel bare.
In wretched rags I pine.

"My days are spent, and yet I have not

Mid mouldering hopes I stand!
My strength is gone, yet maught have I nchieved
Of all my youth had planned!
—MARGARET HAILE.

NOON HOUR WISDOM.

Having read about what they are doing with Socialistic mission wagons over in England—they call them vans there-I felt like throwing up my hat and shouting when last week's Herald brought the news that Comrades Anna Ferry Smith and Mary Jones had been furnished a wagon and were about to across country. Bless them in the work, two braver hearts could not be enlisted!

In England the vans sell large quantitles of Socialistic literature and in other ways do a wonderful work. The reports of the meetings held by the van inmates furnishes the rousingest kind of reading. Of course in England, the small size of the country and the close proximity of the towns makes the van work easier. At almost every place Socialists from the surrounding territory, who have kept track of the route announcements, are on hand to help take part in the meetings, and there is a sort of national Socialistic bicycle organization, and its members come scorching to the wagon from all sides wherever it makes a stop. They have a plan there, too, by which the people who run the vans change off from week to week, so that almost all the workers in the field have their go at the work. But while some of these things can hardly be expected in our broad land, still vans can do a world of good. It is comparatively inexpensive propaganda, and besides it is a healthy life to lead. We ought to have a van working in every state, and more if possible.

I see they are preparing to persecute the Socialists in Germany on account of their big gain at the last election. I should think they would learn wisdom by experience, for in the past the Socialists have grown most when they were persecuted the most. A Socialist co-worker of mine says he wishes the capitalist class would try persecution in this country, for it would wake the workingmen up and make them see the necessity of uniting for Socialism. I don't know but he is right. There is one trouble, though. It isn't so pleasant to go to prison in this country as it is in most European countries. Over there they make a distinction between political and criminal prisoners. Here they don't. Over there, if you are a political prisoner you get pretty decent treatment and the government takes care of your family while you are detained. Here they throw you in with the thugs and the vicious, and your family can starve for all anyone cares. You see there are some differences between monarchial countries and this Yankee land where a bird of prey serves as an emblem.

And so another Labor Day is here. Well, does it find labor any better off than it was a year ago? Alas, no! With all our progress, our growth in industries, the growing up of great fortunes, the one important factor in the whole affair remains one step removed from a beggar. Labor, the giant, is still in chains, and outside those who are in the unions, the laborers are still hugging their chains. It

is a sad fact. We are told that the wages paid are we are too that the wages paid are as high as the employing class can afford, and that they would have to go out of business if they had to pay higher. Then where do the big fortunes come from? Whence spring those palatial mansions and private carriages? We Socialists know that they are the sum of unpaid labor time -the surplus value-the fleecings of labor-but, alas! the laborers themselves are so slow in learning the fact! THE PHILOSOPHER.

AMONG THE BRANCHES

BRANCH MEETINGS.

[Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25c per mouth.]
Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesdays, at 614 State street. Jacob Hunger, secretary, 614 Chestnut street.

and fourth Wednesdays, at 644 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 Doerfier, treasurer.

Branch, No. 3, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Tuesdays, at 12th and Wyoming streets. Wm. Ruesche, secretary, 2338 Iowa avenue.

Branch 1 of Illinols, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Frank Whitney, Roanoke building, secretary.

Branch No. 2 Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Stengel's Hall, corner Mosroe 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. Marlan Steele, Secretary.

Branch 1. Philadeiphia, meets every Saturday, 8 p. m., City Hall, North Plaza. The branch issues a call for a general conference of Philadelphia Socialists for Friday, 8 p. m., September 30, at 223 North Twelfth Street.

One of our New York comrades has promised 100 subscriptions to THE

Branch 3 of Wisconsin, at Sheboygan, has been reorganized as a branch of the S. D. P. with a fine membership.

Mrs. West Paul of Osborne, O. T., sends a list of subscribers and ays: "It is a paper that should be in every home." The comrades are again urged to be up and doing to procure sub-scriptions to THE HERALD; it is the way to make Socialists and build up strong local organizations.

Beginning with this number, or at any time from September 10 to October 29. THE HERALD will be sent in separate wrappers to single addresses nine weeks for 10 cents. This offer is made to enable comrades to push the paper during the fall campaigns. It is hoped that it will result in gaining for THE HERALD a large permanent increase in circulation.

Branch 4 of New Hampshire, at Manchester, is a Swedish branch. The comrades are doing active work, espe-cially in securing readers for Socialist literature. A first annual excursion is being talked of; it will probably be at a lovely lake near Manchester, and every comrade with his family and friends will co-operate to make it suc-

The following amendment to the constitution, Sec. 16, has been adopted by Branch 7 of Massachusetts, and will, no doubt be approved and adopted by the branches generally as a reasonable safeguard of the unquestionable right of members:

The columns of the official organs shall be at all times open to all reasonable criticism and discussion of party matters by members of the party."

MORRIS JOLLES, Org.

WISCONSIN.

Interest in the state convention to be held in Milwaukee Friday evening is on the increase, and letters from various parts of the state are coming in to the central committee daily. Some splendid Socialists are developing in various sections, and a fine state movement is assured.

Plans have been perfected to send Comrades Debs, Stedman, Soelke and others on tours throughout the state. and the points they will visit have been practically decided on.

Reports from Oshkosh are vorable indeed. It is assured that several live branches will be organized there as soon as we can get an organizer in the field. Oshkosh's recent experience with the claws of entrenched capitalism is decidedly in our favor.

O. A. Mack, a Milwaukee Socialist who has been traveling in Germany in the interests of a bicycle house, has returned to the city for a brief stay.

George Moerschal of Branch 4 wid act as grand marshal of the Labor Day parade of the Federated Trades.

CONNECTICUT.

MILWAUKEE.

New Haven, Conn., Aug. 20, 1898.
At a meeting held on Friday, the
19th inst., in Comrade Bienstock's
house, a local of the S. D. P. of A.
with 13 charter members was organized, with the following comrades as officers: Chairman, Greenwald: vicechairman, Alpert; treasurer, Lennarz (a prominent member of the S. L. P.); secretary, Bienstock, and organizer,

Everyone who wants to join the S. D. P. shall apply to Comrade Bien-stock, at 124 Washington avenue, where the meetings of the local will

be held every Friday night.
Sample copies of THE SOCIAL
DEMOCRATIC HERALD can be got-

ten in the same place.
A mass meeting was held on August 23 at Thirteenth and Wyoming, under the auspices of branches Nos. 6 and 3

of St. Louis, every branch in the city being represented. Comrade Christ Rocker addressed the meeting, after which Comrade Chas. Keefer, chair-man of Branch No. 3, was nominated as candidate for Congress of the Tenth Missouri district. After a general discussion on the coming state election, it was decided to call a nomination convention for September 4, 2 p. m., at Bohemian Gymnasium, Ninth and Allen avenue, St. Louis, Mo. All members should attend.

WM. RUESCHE, Secv.

Secure members for the party and subscribers to the "S. D. Herald!"

ST. LOUIS CAMPAIGN NOTES

To harmonize the Socialists is all right, but to unite Socialists and anti-Socialists is and always must be a. failure.

Comrade Leon Greenbaum has been very sick for some time; but is getting better and will soon again take up the good work.

Comrade Hauessler proposes the holding of a festival for the benefit of the campaign fund within a few weeks. A very good idea!

Branches 3 and 6 are ready for the political battle, and will soon be heard from. Their sphere of activity comprises the two Socialist banner wards of St. Louis.

Our comrades in St. Louis are waking up! An energetic campaign has been inaugurated. The banner of labor and Socialism will proudly wave during the fall campaign.

A clear cut Socialist movement! No fusion! No popocratic considerations! No waste of time with capitalistic would-be reforms! Socialism, clear Socialism as advocated by the International Social Democracy!

In these times of general confusion and political ignorance, it becomes an absolute necessity for the Socialists to cut a straight, clear path, and to send out the searchlight of scientific Socialism, so the people may find their way out of the wilderness of capitalism.

No comrade of St. Louis should fail to attend the convention of the Social Democratic Party of St. Louis, Sunday, September 4, at 2 o'clock p. m., at Bohemian Gymnasium, Ninth street and Allen avenue. A full ticket will be non-inated. English and German speakers will address the convention.

In every congressional district of St Louis the Social Democratic Party has nominated its candidate: Comrade Charles Keefer, chairman of Branch 3, 10th Congressional district; Comrade Charles Gebelein, organizer of the United Woodworkers' council, formerly national secretary of Interna-tional Furniture Workers' Union, has been nominated for 11th Congressional district; Comrade L. P. Tomsen, of the Stationary Engineers' Union and financial secretary of Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis, for the 12th Congressional district. Tomsen is an exceptionally quiet, but also exceptionally bright fellow; he is possessed of a good portion of the old Saxon fighting spirit, and he is respected by everybody. Comrades Keefer and Gebelein will also make excellent nominees on our Social Democratics

Comrade Hall, our old and earnest friend, attended last Friday's meeting of Branch 1. He enjoyed Comrade Rocker's lecture very much, but his mind and heart are still full of "Chicago convention," i. e., he still be-lieves the "split" could have been avoided, if the "bolters" had acted differently. Every honest comrade here has the highest respect for Comrade Hall's opinion; the desire for harmony is natural with him. But the good comrade should not forget that those thirty-six men and women who left the Uhlich's Hall convention to organize the Social Democratic Party of America, are perhaps as stanch friends of harmony and peace as Comrade Hall. But seeing that the honor, the existence. the future of the Social Democratic movement was at stake, their duty compelled them to do what they did, and they did the only proper thing that could be done under the circumstances. Experience will prove that they acted right.

The Social Democratic Party of America was organized at Chicago, June 11, 1898, and despite the hot season of the past two months, and the fact that no active organizer for the party has yet taken the field in its behalf, it has working branches in twelve states, and in at least half of these will this fall have candidates pledged to the Socialist principles of its platform. THE HERALD is the party's own paper, and is sent to any address one year for fifty cents.

The London Times comes to the front with the suggestion that the terms of American office holders be made longer. The suggestion will no doubt meet with a good deal of approval, and the Times will find plenty of Americans ready to take office and hold on

THE STRIKERS.

live on the terms you give us. Our lives, the lives of our wives and children, we set against your

[From Bellamy's "Equality," sent postpaid for \$1.25.]

ton common, absorbed in conversation, a shadow fell athwart the way, and looking up, I saw towering above us a sculptured group of heroic size.
"Who are these?" I exclaimed.

"You ought to know if any one," said the doctor, "they are cotemporaries of yours, who were making a good deal of disturbance in your day."

But, indeed, it had only been as an

involuntary expression of surprise that bad questioned what the figures

stood for.

Let me tell you, readers of the twentieth century, what I saw up there on the pedestal, and you will recognize the world-famous group. Shoulder to shoulder, as if rallied to resist assault, were three figures of men in the garb of the laboring class of my time. They were bareheaded, and their coarsetextured shirts, rolled above the elbow and open at the breast, showed the sinewy arms and chest. Before them, on the ground, lay a pair of shovels and a pickaxe. The central figure and a pickaxe. The central figure with the right hand extended, palm outward, was pointing to the discarded tools. The arms of the other two were folded on their breasts. The faces were coarse and hard in outline and bristled with unkempt beards. Their expres-sion was one of dogged defiance and their gaze was fixed with such scowling their gaze was fixed with such scowling intensity upon the void space before them that I involuntarily glanced behind me to see what they were look-ing at. There were two women also in the group, as coarse of dress and features as the men. One was kneeling before the figure on the right, holding up to him with one arm an emaciated, half-clad infant, while with the other she indicated the implement at his feet with an imploring gesture. The second of the women was plucking by the sleeve the man on the left, as if to draw him back; while with the other hand she covered her eyes.

But the men heeded the women not at all, or seemed, in their bitter wrath, to know that they were there.
"Why!" I exclaimed, "these are

strikers!" "Yes," said the doctor, "this is the strikers, Huntington's masterpiece,

considered the greatest group of statuary in the city, and one of the greatest in the country

"Those people are alive!" I said. "That is expert testimony," replied the doctor. "It is a pity Huntington died too soon to hear it. He would have been pleased."

Now 1, in common with the wealthy and cultured class generally of my day, had always held strikers in contempt and abhorrence, as blundering, danger-ous marplots, as ignorant of their own best interests as they were reckless of other people's and generally as pesti-lent fellows, whose demonstrations, so long as they were not violent, could not unfortunately be repressed by force, but ought always to be condemned, and promptly put down with an iron hand the moment there was an exfor police interference. There was more or less telerance among the well-to-do, for social reformers, who, by book or voice, advocated even very radical economic changes so long as they observed the conventionalities of speech, but for the striker there were few apologists. Of course the capitalists emptied on him the vials of their wrath and contempt, and even people who thought they sympathized with the working class shook their heads at the mention of strikes, regarding them as calculated rather to hinder than help the emancipation of labor. Bred as I was in these prejudices, it may not seem strange that I was taken aback at finding such unpromising subjects selected for the highest place in

"There is no doubt as to the excel-lence of the artist's work," I said, "but what was there about the strikers that has made you pick them out of our generation as objects of venera-

"We see in them." replied the doctor, "the pioneers in the revolt against private capitalism which brought in the present civilization. We honor them as those who, like Winkelried, 'made way for liberty and died.' We revere in them the protomartyrs of co-operative industry and economic equality."

"But I can assure you, doctor, that these fellows, at least in my day, had not the slightest idea of revolting against private capitalism as a system. They were very ignorant and quite incapable of grasping so large a conception. They had no notion of get: ting along without capitalists; all they imagined as possible or desirable was a little better treatment by their euployers, a few cents more an hour, a few minutes less working time a day. or maybe merely the discharge of an unpopular foreman. The most they aimed at was some petty improvement in their condition, to attain which they did not hesitate to throw the whole industrial machine into disorder."

"All which we moderns know quite well," replied the doctor. "Look at

Presently, as we were crossing Bos- | those faces. Has the sculptor idealized them? Are they the faces of philoso-phers? Do they not bear out your statement that the creixers like the workingmen generally were as a rule ignorant, narrow-minded men, with no grasp of large questions, and incapable of so great an idea as the overthrow of an immemorial economic order? It is quite true that until some years after you fell asleep they did not realize that their quarrel was with private capitalism and not with individual capitalists In this slowness of awakening to the full meaning of their revolt, they were precisely on a par with the pioneers of all the great liberty revolutions. The minutemen at Concord and Lexington. in 1775, did not realize that they were pointing their guns at the monarchial iden. As little did the third estate of Frances when it entered the convention in 1789, realize that its road lay over the ruins of the throne. As little did the pioneers of English freedom, when they began to resist the will of Charles the L. forsee that they would be compelled, before they got through, to take his head. In none of these in stances, however, has posterity considered that the limited foresight of the pioneers as to the full consequences their action lessened the world's debt to the crude initiative without which the fuller triumph would never have come. The logic of the strike meant the overthrow of the irresponsible conduct of industry, whether the strikers knew it or not, and we cannot rejoice in the consequences of that overthrow without honoring them in a way which very likely, as you intimate, would surprise them, could they know of it, as much as it does you by their originals." We sat down upon one of the benches before the statue, and the doctor went on:

"My dear Julian, who was it, pray, who first roused the world of your day to the fact that there was an industrial question, and by their pathetic demonstrations of passive resistance to wrong for fifty years kept the pub lic atention fixed on that question till it was settled? Was it your statesmen, perchance your economists, your scholars or any other of your so-called wise men? No, it was just those despised, ridiculed, cursed and hooted felspised, ridiculed, cursed and nooted fel-lows up there on that pedestal who with their perpetual strikes would not let the world rest till their wrong, which was also the whole world's wrong, was righted. Once more had God chosen the foolish things of this world to confound the wise, the weak things to confound the mighty.
. "In order to realize how powerfully

these strikers operated to impress up on the people the intolerable wicked-ness and folly of private capitalism. you must remember that evenis are what teach men that deeds have a far more potent educating influence than any amount of doctrine, and especially so in an age like yours, when the masses had almost no culture or ability to reason. There were not lacking in the revolutionary period many cultured men and women, who with voice and pen espoused the workers' cause and showed them the way out; but their words might well have availed little, but for the tremendous emphasis with which they were confirmed by the men up there, who starved to prove them true. Those rough-looking fellows, who probably could not have constructed grammatical sentence by their con bined efforts, were demonstrating the necessity of a radically new industrial by a more convincing argument than any rhetorican's skill could frame. When men take their lives in their hands to resist oppression, as those men did, other men are compelled to give heed to them. We have inscribed on the pedestal yonder where you see the lettering the words, which the action of the group above seems to

'We can bear no more. It is better to starve than live on the terms you give us. Our lives, the lives of our wives and of our children, we set against your gains. If you put your foot upon our neck, we will bite your

"This was the cry," pursued the doctor, "of men made desperate by op pression, to whom existence through suffering had become of no value. It was the same cry that in varied form, but in one sense, has been the watchword of every revolution that has marked an advance of the race-Give us liberty, or give us death! and never did it ring out with a cause so adequate or wake the world to an issue so mighty, as in the mouths of these first rebels against the folly and the tyran-

ny of private capital.
"In your age, I know, Julian," the doctor went on in a gentler tone, "it was customary to associate valor with the clang of arms and the pomp and circumstance of war. But the echo of

away forever with the ideal of man-hood which he illustrated. But that group yonder stands for a type of selfdevotion that appeals to us profoundly.

"Those men risked their lives when they flung down the tools of their trade, as truly as any soldier going into battle, and took odds as desperate, and not only for themselves, but for their families, which no grateful country would care for in case of casualty to them. The soldier went forth cheered with music, and supported by the enthusiasm of the country, but these others were covered with ignominy and public contempt, and their failures and defeats were hailed with general acclamation. And yet they sought not the lives of others, but only that they might barely live; and though they had first thought of the welfare of themselves and those nearest them, yet not the less were they fighting the fight of humanity and posterity in striking in the only way they could, and while yet no one else dared strike at all, against the economic system that had the world by the throat, and would never relax its grip by dint of soft words, or anything less than disabling blows. The clergy, the economists and the pedagogues, having left these ignorant men to seek as they might the solution of the social problem, while they themselves sat at case and denied that there was any problem, were very voluble in their criticisms of the mistakes of the workingmen, as if it were possible to make any mistake in seeking a way out of the social chaos, which could be so fatuous or so criminal as the mistake of not trying to seek any.

WITH THE CHAFF BLOWN OUT

Lucy Pierce, a Chicago stenographer out of work and not knowing how to live without work, committed suicide by taking morphine.

At Scranton, Pa., where until recently 150 wagons were employed in the milk business, only 35 are used to day. A combine did it.

Now that the country is to have more battleships, the steel men have succeeded in effecting a combine with a capital stock of \$200,000,000.

The appropriations voted by the last session of Congress foot up a total of \$\$93,231,615. Of this vast amount \$361,859,927 are on account of the war with Spain.

A Wall street broker has started out to organize a flour trust. He will probably get there, since he is reported to have behind him interests representing \$150,000,000.

Edward J. Possel, a German who insured his wife for £10,000, then threw her over a cliff at Florence, Italy, tried to collect the insurance money and failed, shot himself through the head at Paris.

Frederick T. Day of Milwaukee has gone into bankruptcy with liabilities of half a million dollars, and assets of one office desk, some wearing apparel valued at \$100, and some law books said to be worth \$200. All of the asexcept the office exempt under the law.

The price of typewriters, says London Tit-Bits, is kept up by means of a "corner." This was recently in dan-Manufacturing charges having been reduced by improved methods, certain firms talked of a reduction in selling prices. The actual factory cost of certain makes prominently before the public is said not to exceed \$15.

Following the trend of the times, a milk trust is to be established at De-The promoters think that large profits can be made by consolidation and saving expenses, and no doubt they are right. The business, now employing 423 wagons, will be done by the combine with 175, effecting a saving on this item alone of \$10,000 per year.

The United Typothetæ of America (employing printers' association), at its recent annual meeting, decided against the request of the labor unions for a nine-hour day and also provided for fighting the question of placing the union label on national, state or municipal printing. The next card for printers to play is municipal and state ownership of printing plants.

The miners at Hazleton, Pa., who were starving a year ago and are starving still, have petitioned Congress to make an appropriation for their benefit and compel by law a wider use of anthracite coal. The coal trust reconcentrados should have learned by this time that the government, which is kept busy caring for the interests of capitalists, cannot help workingmen in distress. Workingmen must capture the government and help themselves.

Recently a "corner" was created in a brainy inventor. He is paid £500 a year to do absolutely nothing. After inventing several valuable machines, he surpassed himself by inventing one for bootmaking. This brought him £25,000. He was about to commence improving on it, but his employers stopped him. Fearful that he might succeed, and thus supersede the first machine, and not being rich enough the fife and drum comes very faintly up to us and moves us not at all. The soldier has had his day, and passed a rest.—London Tit-Bits.

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FALSE TIDINGS.

(Written for the Herald.)

"Ho, happy news! For Peace is now descending,
Myrtle-crowned Peace, with olive bough in hand!"
Liurs and fools! Know ye not, war unending,
War, cruel war, is raging in the land?

"Ho, happy news! No battle, flerce and frantle.

Dyes the sea waves with fratricidal striffe!"

Fools: from the Golden Gate to the Atlantic
Brother with brother struggles for his life.

Peace, peace!" you say; there is no peace, I tell you; See how your neighbor lies in wait for

you, Waits to betray you, waits to buy and sell Say, 15 true? is this peace, and are your tidings

No! in the fierce, fierce fray of competition.

Lo, how the war goes on by day and night;

Lo, men and women strive without contrition;

Lo, little children trampled in the fight!

Oh, let it end! Oh brother, and Oh neighbor! Truce to this cruel, cruel war for bread! Come, let us join in peaceful, common labor; Come, and unite in social toll instead.

Then shall come peace, real, lasting, world-wide, splendid;
Then shall the weary, dreary battle cease;
But till that day, say not that war is ended;
Bring me no lies, and tell not me of peace;
ELIZABETH H. THOMAS.

ORGANIZED LABOR.

The attitude of the Social Demoeratic party toward organized labor and trades unionism is defined in the following resolutions, adopted June 11. 1898. These resolutions represent the unanimous sentiment of the party:

"Whereas, We hold the trade union movement to be indispensable to the working people under the prevailing industrial conditions in their st .ggle for the improvement of their condi-tions, as well as for the final abolition of the wage system; we further recognize, the urgent need of thorough organization among the workers; therefore be it

Resolved. That we commend an honest co-operation to that end by the members of the Social Democratic Party of America, by becoming members of the unions in their respective trades or callings, or of the Federal Labor Unions, and strive to organize all such trades as have heretofore not been organized and assist the organiza-

tion of labor in every way possible: "Resolved, That in order to more effectively resist the encroachments upon labor we advise organized labor to combine into national and internation al unions, pledging ourselves to extend to them all possible assistance to accomplish this end.

"Resolved, That we reaffirm the truth expressed in the proceedings of the International Labor Congress, held in London in August, 1896, that while it is absolutely necessary for the working people to make use of the political power in order to secure and enforce the demands of labor, yet differences of political views held by members of the labor organizations should not be a reason for separate organization in the economic struggle causing dissensions and disruptions.

"Resolved, That we consider strikes and boycotts as historically necessary weapons to obtain the demands of trades unionism; we further recognize in the union label an important factor in strengthening the power of organi-

zation, and educating the public to zation, and educating the public to demonstrate in a practical way its sympathy and assistance to the cause of labor; and we therefore indorse all the labels of the bona fide trades unions, earnestly recommending to the membership of the Social Democratic Party of America to patronize only such concerns salling products begins such concerns selling products bearing the same.

"Resolved, That we condemn the attempt to disrupt the labor movement by organizing rival unions to the bona fide trades unions.

"Resolved, That we encourage the movement of organized labor for the establishment of a legal eight-hour workday and the Saturday half holi-

"Resolved. That we condemn the modern white slavery of the sweating system."

THE MAN OF BLOOD AND IRON.

After all real happiness only comes from moral achievements. No other sort of success leaves a sweet taste in the mouth. So it was with Bismarck. Great as were his achievements they were not in the interests of the people taken as a whole-indeed, they represented heartless crushings of the people, a ruthless stamping out of their ple, a ruthless stamping out of their rights as component parts of their country. That the man's life was an unhappy one, in spite of his rich surroundings, was only natural.

"I have seldom been a happy man," he said. "If I reckon up the rare minners of real happiness in my life I do

utes of real happiness in my life I do not believe they would make twenty-four hours in all. In my political life I never had time to have the feeling of happiness. But in my private life there have been moments of happiness. I remember, for instance, a really hap-py moment in my life, and that was when I shot my first hare." On another occasion he said: "No-

body loves me for what I have done. I have never made anybody happy, not myself, nor my family, nor anybody else. But how many have I made unhappy! But for me three great wars would not have been fought; eighty thousand men would not have perished. Parents, brothers, sisters, and widows would not be bereaved and plunged into mourning. That matter, however, I have settled with God. But I have had little or no joy from all my achievements; nothing but vexation, care, and trouble."

No other condition of mind was pos sible to the conqueror of France, the man who, when complained to that the Germans were firing on the sick and blind of the Blind Institute could have the brutality to say: "I do not know what you find in that. You do far worse; you shoot at our men who are in sound and vigorous health." The man who, when told that among the French prisoners taken at Le Bourget were # number of Francs-tireurs—only so in name, since the "Francs-tireurs de la Presse" wore uniform—roared in dis-gust: "That they should ever take Francs-tireurs prisoners! They ought to have them shot down by files!" The savage who, informed of the masses of conscript prisoners taken in one of Prince Frederick Charles' battles on the Loire, exclaimed: "Prisoners! more prisoners! What the devil do we want with prisoners? Why don't they make a battue of them?"

One is not surprised therefore to hear such a man give utterance to such a

sentiment as this:
"Universal suffrage is the govern-ment of a house by its nursery."