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THE INCLUSIVENESS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

By Outis

Words have a continual tendency to become our masters. The convenient phrase is first used to condense language, but in the end it narrows thought. The term becomes a shibboleth, a test of orthodoxy, a cant word of the narrow-minded, the tool of a dogma. The only remedy for this is to occasionally let in the air on our phrases, to turn them over, and find out what they do really mean.

What is meant by the class struggle? Is this a phrase that is degenerating into a cant term? Are the orthodox using it to narrow the Socialist movement? This is a question which cannot be considered too seriously, and a danger that cannot be too carefully avoided if it really does exist.

As this expression was first used, it broadly expressed the great economic struggle of the age, less a struggle of men than of the irrepressible forces that stand behind them. But who constitute the class, and who are to carry on the struggle, are the two points which we must make clear to ourselves before we can rightly understand the term and use it intelligently.

First then if we take the working class as the class for the struggle, must we narrow this down to mean exclusively the shop and factory workers? If so we are resting on a slender support for the formation of our co-operative commonwealth, and a support which is growing relatively smaller. The use of machinery, the rapid growth of the trusts, are constantly throwing the factory hands out of employment, and this will continue for years to come at a geometrical ratio. The remarkable development of manufactures in the United States has hidden this displacement of labor from our eyes; but this development cannot always continue. We have already too many rivals in the world-market, and new ones are springing up in the most unexpected quarters. As the markets of Asia are being thrown open, India with her cotton factories on one hand, and Japan with her great variety of excellent manufactures on the other, stand ready to flood the East with wares just as good as those manufactured in America or Europe. The great industrial nations of the world will soon find their supremacy disputed on every hand; and the Socialist who expects our manufacturing population

to continue growing at the same rate as in the past, will probably be seriously disappointed. If it is on this class we are to rest our class struggle, then the struggle is decided against us at the start.

But let us open our ranks a little wider. Let us invite to our standard all the dispossessed. They at least are a growing class. Find your recruits with them, and we shall have an irresistible army, composed of the mass of the people. Only let us pitch our camp broadly enough, and never fear but it will be full of eager fighters. No narrow field is large enough for this great battle of the ages.

Who, then, are the dispossessed? Are not all men who do not own the tools with which they work either manually or mentally? Is not the writer who cannot give expression to his best ideas because the power of the press is in the hands of the capitalist—is he not one of the most cruelly dispossessed of men? The minister who eats the bitter bread of dependence on his wealthy parishioners—is not he a wage slave? The college professor finds that the capitalist supplies the tools with which he works, that is, the college buildings and equipments, and not to him if he offends his employer. Shall we exclude these men from our ranks, or shall we not rather expect a hearty support from all of these who have thought far enough to realize their own position?

Nor shall we stop here. There are other forces in the world besides self-interest and indignation at our own wrongs. "The august powers behind the veil" are also in league with sympathy, love and remorse. In the struggle before us many generous natures will stand with the class to which they do not belong; the stings of conscience and the sense of the world's suffering will drive many a man to act directly contrary to his own interests and the interests of his own class. The negroes were emancipated by the whites. Some of the Russian nobles suffered imprisonment and exile for their efforts to free the serfs. Perhaps no oppressed class was ever yet uplifted without the assistance of individuals of other classes.

Yes, it is a class struggle, but men will be found in all classes to fight for justice. Open the gates wide.

ranny and to maintain equal rights for all, but enemies have entered a door which we have neglected to guard. The policy of Jefferson and Jackson has degenerated into an infamous bureaucracy which holds the working classes by the throat while capitalists and tariff robbers plunder them.

Since government has become the defender of the monied classes, the masses justly and wisely hold it in contempt, but the worst of it is that any corrupt and mercenary judge has the power of consigning a labor leader to imprisonment for contempt of a contemptible court. Judges, too, are chosen that they may pervert justice in the interest of trusts, combines and plutocrats.

In view of these glaring abuses, is not our boasted freedom a thinly veiled form of insanity. We all know, or ought to know, that amidst our gigantic productiveness and superfluity millions of unemployed are existing within sight of starvation. The devil's doctrine of every man for himself, is now our industrial and business motto. Monopolists and corporations purchase legislation as they purchase land, lumber or any other commodity, and make rulers, judges and cabinet ministers to order.

This kind of language may, no doubt, appear very obnoxious and un-American to pensioners, office-holders and millionaires; but hard words, my friends, are softer than hard steel and bullets, and now is the time to speak out boldly if we desire to avert revolutionary violence and bloodshed.

A peaceful revolution is what the Socialist movement is intended to accomplish; but the inexorable law of evolution moves on kindly, yet cruelly, toward its vast ends. It seems to be a law of nature that war and the destruction of life and property is the heavy price we must pay for all that is greatly good. No Socialist, therefore, whose judgment is worthy of acceptance, can predict a peaceful solution to the tremendous problem that must be solved in the near future. The overthrow of capitalism and its long-established injustice, is no light work. The universal cry among laborers now is nothing earned, nothing saved, and countless millions stolen and squandered. The system that has caused this deplorable condition is capitalism, the parent of imperialism. A democracy, therefore, with a suitable industrial system, is our only remedy. Such an industrial organization is Socialism. Understand this, friends, and labor's battle is won.

Machine Gas-Blowers

The success of the machine glass-blowers at the glass works at Elmer, N. J., would seem to indicate that the invention is destined to ultimately supersede human lungs and hands. A prominent blower from Bridgeton remarked that it is only a question of a very few years when all glassware will be made in this way. The two factories are now completely equipped with the machines and are working satisfactorily. A year ago one of these machines was installed there as an experiment, and improvement after improvement has been made, until they are now perfect. Unskilled labor can be used.

A glassman went to Bridgeton recently and exhibited a patent "shutter," which is intended to take the place of a boy. If there is any one thing the average glass manufacturer would jump at it is a machine to replace the boy. In some plants a dozen "shops" have been idle almost daily on account of the scarcity of boys. This new contrivance does the work completely.

But what will the capitalist system do with the boys? Does it propose any way to provide for the boys who are not scarce? Not at all; Socialism alone can look after them and the human glass-blowers who will no longer blow their brains into glass bottles.

Ministerial Musings

MINISTERIAL MUSINGS.
Legislation is powerless when met by concentrated billions.

The only cure for private monopoly is public monopoly.

The popular religion aims at nothing and hits what it aims at.

The worst criminals on our scaffolds were spouting angels when six months old.

"Liberty before property; the man before the dollar" is an old maxim grown obsolete.

The modern Christian has not learned that Standard Oil does not mix with the waters of life.

Mammon, the god of our civilization, compels the many to die undeveloped that the few may live misdeveloped.

No world in the universe has so much hell in it as this one, where Christians talk about serving God while doing their best to swindle the Almighty in serving them.—Rev. E. M. Wheelock, Texas.

Subscribe for the Herald.

SOCIAL DEMOCRAT ON THE ISSUES OF IMPERIALISM AND MILITARISM

W. Liebknecht in the Clarion

Again and again I repeat the cry. It cannot be altered. Imperialism and militarism—that is the enemy. Clericalism, according to Gambetta, is the enemy, and is not dangerous any more. Mind, I say clericalism, not popedom or papacy, which will be a world power still long after the downfall of the last emperor, and which will be the last enemy of Socialism. But that fight is not a political fight. The last political form which grasping, accumulating, robbing capitalism takes is imperialism organically united with militarism. And as there is but one capitalism, there is but one imperialism and militarism, too. It may have a different shape in different countries; in substance it is the same everywhere.

In any case—and now I begin to refute the objections that have been made to me—in any case, imperialism has nothing to do with keeping together and defending the British empire. There is no need to plead the British empire against me. I dare say there are not many who have pleaded more and in deeper earnest for it than I have. The breaking up and downfall of the British empire would be the greatest disaster for humanity. It would be the triumph of Russia, and, consequently, of despotism and barbarity over liberty and civilization. This I have said and tried to make understood hundreds of times. And just because I have such a high opinion of England, and put so many hopes on England, I regret this South African war so much, and feel bound, in the common interest of liberty and civilization, to do what is in my power to avert the evil effects of this unfortunate war, and to prevent the catastrophe which growing imperialism and militarism are sure to bring upon you if the English people do not put them down before it is too late.

How much damage has this war already done to England. You, as free-born Englishmen, must know the value and power of public opinion and public feeling. And the public opinion and public feeling of the whole world have been turned against England by this war. And were it true what our jingoes and all other enemies of England say, that the war fever and lust to conquer, such as it shows itself at present, is inherent to the British nation, and not only a passing moral disease, then the friends and admirers of England would indeed have to confess that they were in error.

It is true the chief of your ministry, Lord Salisbury, does not see that public opinion and public feeling all over the world are against England on account of this war. "It is the press of the gutter that attacks and calumniate us," says my lord, haughtily and contemptuously. "Press of the gutter"! Lord Salisbury is wrong, as he has been so often already. He does not know the press of the continent, as there are many other things which he does not know.

Certainly we have a "press of the gutter"—the press of our anti-Semites, our jingoes, our junkers and other reactionists of all sorts and kinds; and this press of the gutter is certainly hostile to England, and villifies it on every occasion and in every manner. But it has been so and has done so since it existed, England being to it the detested land of the free; the country which broke the holy alliance under Canning—a crime never forgiven and never to be forgiven, by our would-be resurrectionists of the holy alliance; the hated country which for the last eighty years resisted all attempts of the continental politicians and policemen—with us synonymous as to our statesmen, policy, politics and police mean the same thing—to force or entice it to surrender the right of asylum, and to participate in the common international police-chase for hunting down democracy and Socialism.

This "press of the gutter," of course, did not miss the opportunity, and makes use of the South African war to attack and calumniate England with redoubled violence; but it is only a small fraction of our press. There is another press in Germany, the press that always defends England against the "press of the gutter." There is the Liberal (not National Liberal, which is identical with reactionary)—the Liberal press that looks upon England as the mother country of constitutionalism and parliamentary government. There is the democratic press that regards England as the great bulwark of liberty and sovereignty of the people. And there is the Socialist press—almost 300 newspapers in Germany—that always stood foremost in the defense of England against the "gutter press," and that believed in England as the only power able to cope with the Russian despotism, which drags behind it the Borusso-German junker and po-

lice empire and the French republic as far as it is under the influence of capitalism. "Press of the gutter"? No, the press of the German people.

There is not one newspaper in all Germany that advocates the cause of England in this universally condemned war—not one, except a couple of low stock exchange papers, written by the accomplices and agents of Rhodes and Chamberlain.

The same unanimity of condemnation in France, the same unanimity in Italy. Everywhere!

And how could it be otherwise? An empire of 400 millions against two dwarf commonwealths of, together, 300,000 men, women and children. That alone is sufficient to arouse the indignation of any human being with a sense of fair play. I know Lord Salisbury thinks there was a conspiracy between German adventurers and the Boers for the purpose of founding a Dutch-German counter empire; and I know, too, that some of these German adventurers have been in foolish relations with the German government, whose foreign policy is as silly and zig-zaggy as its home policy. But how could a man in his senses take such foolish plans seriously? Or has the world become a madhouse?

"Press of the gutter"! I return to the word. It is significant. There is a program in it—the program of hostility to the people. That your prime minister can use such a word is in itself a grave and a most alarming fact. It shows the progress of imperialism in England, of continental imperialism, the characteristic trait of which has always been and is:

Cult of power and contempt of public opinion. And public opinion is the people's opinion, the feeling and thought of the people.

Not yet of your people. But that is only a question of time, of short time; and Lord Salisbury's "press of the gutter" betrays what is in store for you.

I have not yet done with imperialism. I am told imperialism in the mouth of Englishmen means national unity; and I am taught what blessings unity has brought to France and to Germany—how necessary it was to get rid of the division in many provinces and small states. Maybe. Much might be said about the blessings of national unity. There is a unity of the jail, as Heinrich Heine, the poet, called it, and of which we Germans and our fellow-victims of "national unity," the poor Italians, could tell a long tale. However that may be, the comparison with German, French and Italian unity is more than limping. The different parts of the British empire cannot be compared with the different provinces and small states (kleinstaat) of Germany, France and Italy, which had to be united in the interest of national unity. This national unity Great Britain had before any of the modern great states. She has had it for three centuries and a half—since the reformation, which to you gave national unity and to us national division. Whether it will be possible or not to weld together Great Britain and her colonies into one organic empire, or whether the colonies will grow into new independent states, like the United States of America, that is a question which I shall not treat here, as it has nothing to do with the matter before us. But I am sure all Englishmen will agree that there cannot be a national union or unity of Great Britain and the Indian empire.

A Course of Reading

Editor Herald: Recently a friend wrote me for a list of books for a special course of popular reading in Socialism. Here is the list of ten that I made out. Perhaps some comrade can suggest improvements in it:

1. "Traveler from Altruria," Howells.
2. "Equality," Bellamy.
3. "The Co-Operative Commonwealth," Gronlund.
4. "News from Nowhere," Morris.
5. "Women in Past and Present," Bebel.
6. "From Utopia to Science," Engels.
7. "Fabian Essays."
8. "Signs of Change," Morris.
9. "Communist Manifesto," Marx.
10. "Working Class in 1844," Engels.

To this should be added the recommendation to read the history of the movement in this country, given in the Red Book. Wayfarer.

[In addition to the above the editor suggests "Principles of Scientific Socialism," Vail; "Socialism," Sombart; "Merrie England," Blatchford; "The People's Marx," Deville.]

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

By Charles Trench

(A discourse on the Boston Common.)
It was recently announced by Judge Cauty, who has just returned from the Philippines, that it will require a force of at least 300,000 soldiers to subdue the natives of those islands. He further stated that after a period of ten years, which would be required for the subjugation of the Filipinos, a standing army of a hundred thousand men would be necessary to maintain law and order in our recently acquired possessions.

And who is to benefit from the vast expenditure of life and treasure daily wasted in this diabolical scheme? The answer is: No one but gangs of politicians and capitalists, who are using the resources of this country for purely selfish and mercenary motives.

According to the avowal of the functionary above mentioned—who, by the way, is a Republican expansionist—the ultimate aim of the conspirators is to drive the Filipinos to the mountains, and then appropriate all the level and fertile lands of Luzon, and all other islands, which they intend to cultivate by Asiatic cheap labor. They will thus hold an absolute monopoly over the entire products of vast tracts of territory at the expense of the American tax-payers. The whole project, from beginning to end, is a gigantic and infamous fraud, and well worthy of the administration which is doing the dirty work of Hanna and his confederates.

According to the testimony of reliable eye witnesses, the devastation and slaughter in Luzon is appalling. It is described as war, merciless beyond any known degree of human ferocity. "Yet," says Judge Cauty, "it is as much as our army can do to hold even the ground under the soldier's feet." It is said, with truth, that the horror and hatred with which the Filipinos regard Americans and this government almost amounts to insanity. Stung to madness at the treachery and duplicity of the McKinley government, they have resolved, one and all, to drive out the odious robbers and usurpers from their country, or perish in the attempt. Let us hope and pray that their heroic efforts may continue to be crowned with

success. Remember, oh workingmen! that these patriots are fighting for you as well as for themselves. Is there a workingman, let me ask, who has given this question any critical reflection, who can doubt that the triumph of Hannaism in the Philippines will be attended with disastrous results to our working classes? It must be clear to any one with a grain of common sense that the Philippine Islands, in the event of conquest, would be used as a sort of half-way house for capitalists to inundate this country with Chinese labor.

Let us turn now, for a few minutes, to Cuba—another profitable field of exploitation for bastard imperialism. Rathbone, McKinley's postmaster-general, nicknamed "the Great," raised his own salary from \$5,000 to \$45,000 a year! "The more the benevolent administration of affairs in Cuba," says the Boston Herald, "is probed, the worse it appears. Neely—another patriotic American appointee—has been pilfering the postal department out of millions. Official speculators and forgers have been so busy confusing accounts, and making false entries, that the whole administration of public affairs in Cuba is a chaotic muddle which no accountant can unravel."

I can tell you, my working friends, that something of a very radical nature must be done to save our country from unspeakable disaster. No greater calamity can happen a people than when criminals take an active part in its government. Oppression, spoliation and bloodshed are crying out as if no ear heard their voice; but mind you, the time is approaching when we shall experience a rude awakening to the blunder we are committing in passively submitting to the iniquity of an imperialistic oligarchy.

The moral sense of great masses of our people has been so perverted by martial tomfoolery that the most atrocious massacres, rapine and plunder carry with them no blame, and their perpetrators and abettors are sedulously sheltered from justice.

The government of our forefathers was established in 1776 to prevent ty-

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NOTES AND COMMENT

Deprive the working class of their natural and social rights, deny them the opportunity to gain a livelihood by trying to galvanize a rotten-ripe system with middle-class reforms, compel them to pay rent for the privilege of occupying land (Does Bryan propose to abolish that "privilege"?), maintain the system which separates them from the means of production, burden them with war debts and the ruinous cost of militarism, invest corporations with power to hound them from the cradle to the coffin, and, if they are not model and contented citizens under such treatment, bring out the gatlings and murder them. That is the holy and sanctified business of capitalism and capitalistic government.

Currency reformers of the Democratic and Populistic stripe want profits; they want to readjust the "skinning" business so that in place of a few big "skinners," like Rockefeller and Havemeyer, we will have a whole lot of little profit "skinners." But that stage of affairs has been passed; to it we shall never return. Social Democrats want productive capital socialized and operated by an industrial democracy for the benefit of all the people without profit. Every "skinner" is opposed to Social Democracy.

One of the friskiest corpses that ever disappointed and dismayed a funeral party is Deleonomism. After twelve months of the lustiest sort of assurance that the thing was dead, behold it bobs up with old-time vigor, stops the ceremonies, enters the lists with a national ticket; and the other fellow, who thought he had been attending the last obsequies, is beginning to say that he was deceived from the start to the finish—which isn't a finish.

There is no help for the working class, no relief for society, no higher attitude of civilization possible, so long as private individual ownership of the social means of production and distribution exists. All talk of abolishing every "form of privilege" that does not strike at the privilege of property in social capital—the means of life—is political humbug, which workingmen will do well to "pass up."

Mr. Bryan proposes the impossible against the class interests of the capitalists when he talks about the abolition of all forms of privilege. How, for instance, is he going to abolish that form of privilege known as the wages system without abolishing capitalism. And if that is not in his program, then is not his declaration about the abolition of all forms of privilege merely empty twaddle?

Social Democrats declare that the class which has the mastery over the economic power of the country, which controls social capital, also holds the mastery over the government of the country. The Bryanators try to make you think they think if they could get control of the political offices they would then be able to control the capitalist class, but they don't believe it—not a single man of them.

What reason have you for supposing, since the wealthy class in any country and under any form of government has always been able to make or buy the laws they wanted, that the same class would not do the same thing if Bryan were president? There isn't a single human being living who can tell you, not even the "peerless one" from Nebraska.

The most iniquitous of trusts, as the Chicago Tribune looks at the matter, is the ice trust, in which Democrats are interested. But Tom Platt is represented in that trust by his son, and we are under the impression that Tom is a Republican boss.

The business failures for the month of May were the largest on record. But prosperity goes marching on.

Dr. Charles B. Spahr, author of "The Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States," says that for 4,650,000,000 shares of railroad stock now in existence, the original investors paid no more than \$465,000,000, or only 10 per cent of their face value. A railroad that pays 3 per cent is actually paying 30 per cent upon the real invested capital.

The republicans of China, the Boxers, whose distinguishing characteristic is a fervent patriotism much resembling that of Hannaitic Republicans in the United States, are still making a rumpus and preparing the way for a possible universal war.

It seems that some one blundered in representing that Deleon was dead and done for. He turns up with a convention composed of eighty-three delegates, plus a national ticket in the field and positively rejects the overtures for a funeral.

Scratch a Bryan Democrat who is a "Socialist too," and you will find a fellow with the profit hunger. He believes in the social necessity of competition and the sanctity of every skin game known to the capitalist system. But he's a "Socialist too"! Yes, he is!

The Bryan Democrats want to make laws to check tendencies; the tendencies they are after make up whatever is important in human history and civilization. Bryanism is nothing more than a lusty protest against the inevitable.

The Nebraska Socialist is the name of a new weekly, just out and supporting the Social Democratic party, which we welcome to our exchange list. It is published at Omaha by Branch 1 of the S. D. P. in Nebraska; 50 cents yearly.

There is a brand of soulful, sublimated sympathy with Socialism that reminds one of a church steeple—the higher it soars the narrower it becomes. Church-steeple Socialism is as bad and useless as church-steeple religion.

Chicago corporations (all composed of patriots and model citizens) owe \$473,916 in unpaid taxes. And they will to a man tell you this is the greatest country on earth. So it is—for chumps and looters.

A week ago 1,500 men employed by the McCormick company, Chicago, were laid off indefinitely. Cause: No work. But the advance agent and his satellites are still howling prosperity.

Progressive trades unionists will this year remember that it is better to vote for what they want and not get it than to vote for what they don't want and get it.

Concentration of the productive facilities and powers of society in fewer hands inevitably reduces opportunities for labor; yet it is the order and necessity of the times.

They have a rude and uncouth people in St. Louis, with no respect for a millionaire carrying a gun to protect property stolen from the community.

The world is going to be governed by an imperialism of capital or a fraternalism of labor joined to capital. Trades unionists, which shall it be?

Never estimate a working man by what he does not possess. No doubt the fellow he has worked for is well off.

The session of congress cost more than a billion dollars. All for liberty and civilization!

INTERVIEWS AND OPINIONS ON LIVE TOPICS OF THE DAY

President Kruger of the Transvaal: "Yes, it is quite true that the British forces have occupied Pretoria. That fact, however, by no means marks the end of the war. The burghers are fully determined to fight to the last, and will never surrender as long as 500 armed men remain in the country. Only now will the real struggle begin. I fear there is still to be much bloodshed, but the fault for that lies with the British government. The time has passed for us to talk. We have done plenty of that, but it has done no good. There is now nothing left for us to do but to keep fighting, keep fighting."

President Henry Wade Rogers of Northwestern University: "The tendency of the past has been to blame existing wrongs on the poor people. But it is a fact that the common people are at least no worse than the rich class. It does not follow because a man is wealthy he is a good man. Neither does it follow because a man belongs to the class known as common people he is a bad man. There has been too much of this sort of sentiment in this country."

August Bebel, German Social Democratic Leader: "The torpedo boat demonstration in China is ridiculous, and the Rhenish enthusiasm over it reminds us of cowards viewing a circus parade."

SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES IN UNEXPECTED PLACES

The United States presents many peculiar points of interest to the student of the world's economic development. In the prevalence of the trust we find a most marked advance toward associated or collective industry, existing side by side with political features of a most ultra individualistic type. Indeed, to the intelligent foreigners few facts surprise so much as the one that so many of the functions elsewhere performed by government are here left to the free play of private enterprise.

The keynote to our political institutions is found in the idea "that those governments govern best which govern least." Much of the unrest, uncertainty and disorder so characteristic of American political and industrial life can be finally traced to the constant and increasing antagonism between our associative method of wealth production and our antiquated individualistic political system.

It is my desire to show still another contradiction between our political theories and our social life. Have you ever noticed that while we proudly claim to be the most individualistic and competitive of nations, we have fostered and encouraged organizations—of a socialistic character—to minimize those evils that are direct results of unrestrained competition? To be plain, I allude to the remarkable development of fraternal and beneficiary societies in the United States, a development far surpassing that reached by any other nation. The cardinal principles of these fraternities, as exemplified in the Masons, Odd Fellows, Workmen, Knights of Pythias and kindred other societies, are identical with the ethical teachings of Socialism. Fraternalism teaches us the common brotherhood of man and our obligations to our fellow-members, that we should assist those members in distress, support the widow and educate the orphan, minister to the sick and bury the dead—in short, to do all in our power to make the lives of our associates prosperous and happy. This to be done not under the guise of charity, but as the result of sacred mutual obligations.

If these teachings are elevating and commendable when practiced by families and lodges, would they not be more worthy and potent if extended to the whole of the civilized world—instead of their benefits being restricted to coteries of selected individuals? This is a question I would ask all to seriously consider.

Socialism is merely the full and logical application of those lofty moral principles, preached so eloquently in our lodge room, to the details of our daily life.

Say, brother, are you in favor of this kind of expansion?

Ernest Burns, Jr.

PROBLEMS OF SOCIOLOGY

From "Some Problems of Life" by Annie Besant

The brotherhood which is a fact in nature is daily contradicted and defied in social life.

Society must again be based on a recognition of the fundamental laws of brotherhood; this alone can unite progress with order, assign social functions with justice, and insure abundance of material goods with propriety of distribution.

Conditions in the United States have brought about a complete disillusion as to republicanism in action, whatever arguments may be adduced for it theoretically by those who believe in human equality.

Men who twenty years ago were concerned in questions of government, now declare that whatever may be the form of government, it is a sound economic system which is needed to make a nation prosperous, contented and happy.

Trust and high honor are among the noblest and rarest of human qualities at the present stage of evolution, yet without these democratic Socialism must fail.

That a noble form of society is possible in which all the forces of the community shall be organized to subserve the general good, and in which all the plenty and happiness for which Socialists are rightly yearning, is indeed a truth.

The free combat that we call "civilization" is not a state that can endure.

In the older days those who were employed in supplying objects needed by the community were men: who, to a great extent, had joy in their work, the joy of the creator in his finished product.

More and more in our modern life the man who tends a machine is becoming a machine himself, a flesh and blood lever of the thing of steel and iron.

The stunting of the mind in mechanical work is the justification of the cry for shorter hours of labor, and should be

met by the co-operation of all classes in bringing them about

The fundamental unity of mankind is the central truth of the coming race, and the nation which first grasps and practices that great conception will lead the future, humanity falling into line behind it.

ECONOMICS WITHOUT ETHICS

We have all been used to the doctrine of ethics without economics, also economics without ethics. The solution of the problem that confronts us will be solved by bringing the two together.

It is time to ask seriously if the old style of preaching and practice is a success. If we find the world as a whole is not becoming better and mankind as a mass is not becoming happier, then it is a part of common sense and business principle to change our tactics.

Statistics tell us that all manner of crime is on the increase—not alone in numbers but in proportion to the inhabitants. That beggary, destitution, trampism and starvation is on the increase both in numbers and in percentage.

Our prohibition friends will tell you that where fifty years ago there were 1,000,000 kegs of beer manufactured for 32,000,000 inhabitants in this country, now there are 36,000,000 kegs of beer manufactured for 75,000,000 inhabitants.

The total consumption of spirituous and malt liquors and wines in the United States was in 1880, 506,976,400 gallons; in 1896, 1,170,379,448 gallons. (World's Almanac.)

Deaths from alcoholism have increased from 61 per million in 1860 to 68 per million in 1895.

Prison population has increased 16 per cent faster than the population outside of prisons.

In 1885 deaths from suicide numbered 978; in 1895 deaths from suicide numbered 5,750.

In 1885 murders committed were 1,808; in 1895 murders committed were 10,500.

Between 1860 and 1890 insanity has increased 50 per cent faster than the population.

What is the cause of this great retrograde movement in these vital particulars?

A few more statistics may show: Wealth per capita in 1850 was \$345; wealth per capita in 1890 was \$974. There is no cause for murder or suicide in that.

But wealth of workers per capita in 1850 was \$230.50; wealth of workers per capita in 1890 was \$184; wealth of non-workers per capita in 1850 was \$1,293; wealth of non-workers per capita in 1890 was \$8,085. The wealth of the worker per capita has decreased \$55.50 in forty years, and the explanation of the whole dark tragedy lives in that statement.

The few have increased, the many decreased. As they go down in economics they decline in ethics.—From an address before the Social Democratic party at Los Angeles, by Walter L. Young.

Exploitation of Inferior Races

The Fabian society, London, recently listened to a lecture by Mr. Gilbert Murray on the "Exploitation of Inferior Races in Ancient and Modern Times." Mr. S. G. Hobson presided. After discussing the problem as it presented itself to the ancient world, Mr. Murray went on to speak of what was happening in the world to-day. The most important fact was the way in which the native races were being exploited in their own country. White men were working their factories in countries where black labor was cheap, and this might have an important effect on the future of work in this country. The whole status of slavery had little to do with the question. The essential object seems to be the world-wide division of labor between different breeds of men. The problem was a difficult one; and it yet remained to be seen whether the British were to be a great beneficent power, or whether its disappearance as a conquering race was to be the signal for humanity to raise its head with a sigh of relief.

No Man is Good Enough

The only remedy for trusts is trust. Shall we have trusts for the people or shall we trust the people? No man, we long ago discovered, is good enough to be trusted with absolute political authority. Neither is any man, nor any corporation, good enough to hold the control of any of the necessities of life in trust for the people. All vast power has in it the seed of abuse. The whole people alone are worthy of the control of the economic life and death of men. Democracy does not mean competition; it means co-operation. We are not units struggling against each other; we are fractions to combine into one great unit. Let politics, therefore, be enlarged. We must believe in the people. If we believe not we shall be condemned. What condemnation we already have is due to our unfaith.—Dr. Frank Crane, Chicago.

The fellows who have been holding steady jobs for a while, now scent an impending change. 'Twas sure to come, as we told you.

AMONG THE TOILERS

Montclair, (N. J.) bricklayers secured eight hours and \$3.50 per day without trouble.

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen has gained over 3,700 members in the past year.

In the first 20 days of the St. Louis street car men's strike seven people were killed and 72 injured.

There are said to be 4,000 idle furniture workers in Grand Rapids. Another evidence of prosperity.

The carpenters at Dallas, Texas, have secured the eight-hour day and several minor concessions.

The St. Louis Brewery Workmen's Union will contribute \$1,000 per week in aid of the street car men's strike.

Five hundred master painters have signed the union scale at Philadelphia—the eight-hour day, at 2.70 per day.

The strike of the Westerly (R. I.) granite cutters has been settled, the men securing the eight-hour day at \$3.

In the mines around Nevada City, Cal., Japanese are being introduced, who are paid \$1 a day, boarding themselves.

Factory and mill hands, bench and machine men of Toledo, Ohio, have organized a branch of the International Woodworkers' Union.

The Women's International Trades Union Label League has organized a large branch in Chicago and is spreading to other western cities.

Blacksmiths and horseshoers at South Bend, Ind., have secured an advance of from 25 to 50 cents a day, and a reduction in the hours of labor.

Carpenters at Newport News, Va., demanded a nine-hour day with ten hours' pay and got it, and now other craftsmen are striking for the same.

Sixteen men at the Burlington shops at Hannibal, Mo., quit because they were getting 92 cents a day and 3 cents of that was taken for relief insurance.

The street car company at Kansas City has about \$45,000 as deposits from employes, the interest on which is sufficient to pay nearly the entire running expenses for one day.

The strike in the copper district of Michigan has been settled. An increase of 10 per cent has been granted, and the underground employes will receive full time for half shifts on Saturdays.

The dispute between the International Typographical Union and Machinists as to the jurisdiction of typesetting machine tenders has been referred to an arbitration committee of nine—three from the I. T. U., three of the I. A. of M. and three just appointed by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

The trade unionists of England have filed a petition containing 85,000 signatures, declaring that the South African war is purely capitalistic aggression and not favored by working people.

The Austrian government has introduced a bill for limiting the working day in mines to nine hours a day—i. e., fifty-four hours a week. If the masters wish at any time to work more, this will have to be assented to by a joint committee of masters and men.

A committee of the landtag—the local parliament—of Bavaria has agreed to the Socialist proposition that delegates of the miners be allowed to assist in inspection of the mines.

There is a strike of men employed by the Berlin tramways, and the police have shown great brutality in putting down a manifestation of the strikers.

At Haarlem, Holland, at a recent election for the states-general the Socialist candidate, though unsuccessful, obtained 633 votes. This is a distinct advance. In 1897 only 156 votes were cast.

The 1st of May in St. Petersburg, as in other large industrial centers, was signalized by an immense amount of proclamations and various other publications, as well as by arrests.

In the opinion of the Labor World (Tokio, Japan), war in the far East will be unavoidable in the very near future, because "Russia is trying to secure a naval station or two on the Korean coasts with utmost force." In its quaint English, the World remarks: "A brutal thirst over poor Korea is so strong as to forget the international morality entirely, and now this old but steady bear is pushing on toward the war with Japan. We are sure of bloody conflict with the northern barbarism soon. We oppose the war because any and all the war will be very burdensome to the working classes. We believe there is one way to escape war between nations, and that is all Socialists of the world should unite in one body and oppose war in the future."

Trust fever is beginning to rage in Japan. The plate-glass, muslin, and watch manufacturers' trusts are already formed. The coal, silk thread, tea, silk-weaving, habutai (a kind of silk fabric), coal, oil, rice, wine, beer, iron smelting, contractors' and spinning trusts are in process of formation.

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