

Social Democratic Herald

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For the Abolition of Capitalism, and the Coöperative Production and Distribution of all Wealth.

Colonize Congress.

No Escape from Capitalism Until the Great Majority of the People Can Be Moved to Demand It.

The Rev. W. D. P. Bliss in his admirable little brochure on "What is Socialism?" says very truthfully, "In America, Socialism being a younger movement, has scarcely outgrown its utopian stage." It is to be deplored that this is so, yet the fact must be reckoned with, nevertheless. To the scientific Socialist, one who believes in social evolution and that Socialism must succeed capitalism as a historic necessity and because there is no escape from it, all utopian schemes call forth deep regret, yet at the same time almost a feeling of resignation to what seems inevitable. For it appears almost fated that many sincere people must go through such trying and futile experiences as is involved in a colony scheme before they get that clear vision of the Socialistic movement that makes safe leaders. No argument will get the colony idea out of their heads and only bitter experience will set them right. It makes no difference to them that colonies are foredoomed to failure, the particular scheme they are interested in is always a little different from the rest and therefore a sure winner.

Those who have been following Walter Wyckoff's notable contribution to Socialistic literature, "The Workers," now running in Scribner's Magazine, must have felt somewhat chagrined at his criticism of the American Socialistic movement in the installment for May, and yet the general status of the movement gave him warrant for his conclusions, as we must in all candor admit. Colony schemes are multiplying and dying one after another. It is easy to hold up visions of a promised land, a colony where the ills of the present civilization can be avoided, but as Mr. Wyckoff says, wisdom shows that the promised land is within and not without. We cannot have it until society is purified from within. Well meaning colony enthusiasts to the contrary notwithstanding, we cannot have Socialism until the great majority of the people can be moved to demand and require it—and be it. Right here lies our duty as Socialists who would hew to the line. There is no escape from capitalism save to fight it to the death on its own ground. This we must make clear to the people. The very atmosphere encircling the globe is capitalistic; breathe it we must until we are able to convert it into a Socialistic atmosphere.

When a colony claims it has Socialism in operation, it says what cannot be true and thus does mischief to the revolutionary movement. The Ruskin colony deserves praise for its attitude in this regard. It is a stock company and cannot claim to be anything else. It is not self-sustaining, and has solved no great social problems. In one way the colony schemes are a positive hindrance to the American Socialistic movement. They are an abandonment of the revolutionary fight and are reactionary in so far as they serve or attempt to relieve capitalism of its congested centers of population. For mark you, capitalism believes in colonies, too—for the dispossessed class! Not long ago some capitalists on the New York Corn Exchange devised a plan to start colonies in New England, to which the unemployed of New York City could be sent. Naturally capitalists consider it a kindness when Socialists undertake the same sort of work. We have only to look back a year to see this. When the Social Democracy's colonization scheme was launched the capitalistic press even looked on approvingly. It thought the party was trying to solve one of capitalism's most vexing problems: that of taking care of the ever-growing army of hunger. This army that could only be appeased and kept tractable by "charity" is so large that its demands have become galling. And so the colonization scheme was looked upon as help from an unexpected source, and the papers were full of praise of the movement that seemed to be arranging to entice the discontented and dispossessed away somewhere (or anywhere) where they would cease to be a burden and a menace to their capitalistic fleecers. When it dawned on the press, however, that the Social Democracy was primarily a revolutionary party and that even its colonization scheme was not an economic but a political measure, its tone changed, and the old abuse of Comrade Debs was resumed and with its old-time fury.

One of the unfortunate things about

colonization schemes is that men who would otherwise expend their strength in the revolutionary movement become side-tracked by their colony ideas and their energies are absorbed in channels where the good to the cause is reduced to the minimum. The toiler, the drudge, the human machine and the child slave thus have their deliverance extended so much farther into the future. In Germany and France, and even in England, where there are no colony distractions, the energies of the revolutionists are centered on the main issue, and great revolutionary political parties are the result. It is high time the same was true of America, where not only the wage slave, but the whole society is groaning for a speedy deliverance. In America, where the people have a free ballot, the recent wonderful growth of Socialism should have, ere this, found expression by the presence in Congress of a score or more of representatives, placed there by conscious Socialistic ballots. It is time we returned Social Democracy's message from Europe. The legislative hall is our logical fighting ground. There it is that we must line up our fighters for battle. It is there that they must show their strength and there also that their strength will be nourished. Were our fighters to leave the fight and bury themselves in some colony, to there struggle for food under conflicting conditions, the cause of Socialism would wane and the proletariat would be engulfed by capitalism without so much as a protest. Experimenting with colony problems may be all right in its way—and all of us feel more or less interested in these experiments—but when it causes men to desert the real battle, it is a costly and even a criminal thing.

Not only do we breathe a capitalistic atmosphere, but our habit of mind is capitalistic in spite of ourselves. This may be clearly seen by the fact that one of the elements of weakness in a colony, and one that the projectors never figure on, is human nature itself as it exists under capitalism. Were a colony to secure material prosperity, it would not be secure, its prosperity may turn out to be its greatest weakness. In the Icarian colony there was the most discord at the very time when the colony was the most prosperous in a material way. Thus it appears that the modern colony is too much of an experiment not to engross the members' minds over numerous petty matters and to take their minds entirely away from the great world-wide struggle between the fleecers and the dispossessed. The work in hand is too important and the issue too sacred for us to distract our minds with experiments in colonization. Let us courageously face the enemy.

FREDERIC HEATH.

WHAT SOCIALISM IS.

The whole aim and purpose of Socialism is a closer union of Social factors. The present need is growth in that direction.—Richard P. Ely.

Socialism is the ideal and hope of a new society founded on industrial peace and forethought, aiming at a new and higher life for all men.—William Morris.

Let no man fear the name of "Socialist." The movement of the working class for justice by any other name would be as terrible.—Father William Barry.

The abolition of that individual action on which modern societies depend, and the substitution of a regulated system of coöperative action.—Imperial Dictionary.

A theory of society that advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed.—Webster's Dictionary.

The science of reconstructing society on an entirely new basis, by substituting the principle of association for that of competition in every branch of human industry.—Worcester's Dictionary.

A theory or polity that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor through the public collective ownership of land and capital (as distinguished from property) and the public collective management of all industries. Its motto is, "To everyone according to his needs."—Standard Dictionary.

Any theory of system of labor organization which would abolish entirely, or in great part, the individual effort and competition on which modern society rests, and substitute co-operation; would introduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products of labor, and would make land and capital, as the instruments of production, the joint possession of the community.—Century Dictionary.

AL HASSAN AND THE KING.

Al Hassan was the minstrel of a king. The sweetest singer of the court. And once The monarch said to him:—"Go forth into the world and seek for themes of mirth. Take then Thine harp and sing, sing songs that thrill the heart. With gladness; that waken joyous echoes, Blithesome, sweet; that send the blood swift coursing Through the veins till even the old and middle aged Grow young again."

Then on his quest the bard Went forth; and with a slight prophetic keen, The vision of a seer—for poets all Are seers—he scanned the world of things and men. Then to his sovereign he returned. The king Gave to the wanderer welcome meet, while All the court pressed round the bard to hear him Sing the songs of mirth and gladness he had Gathered in his quest.

Slowly the bard arose And turned his eyes, deep, dark and burning with The mystic fire, from face to face, and there Was that in their still depths which none might read. The lyre he smote with trembling hand; and His voice he raised in place of the blithe and mirth. Provoking sounds it broke and fell in sighs Deep-drawn and long. And then the golden harp Aside he flung.

"O, king," he cried, at thy Command I went into the world of men; I sought full earnestly the thing which I Might weave into the gay and lightsome song. I found it, king; 'twas there. Had I the art To look but on the fair outside I nothing Else had found. That art not mine, I saw what Lay beneath. And seeing thus I could not sing; For there, in dens more vile than wolf or jackal Ever sought, were herded, stiding, foul, the Writhling, crawling masses of mankind. Man! Ground down beneath oppression's iron heel Till God in him was crushed and driven back. And only that which with the brute he shares Finds room to upward grow.

"And in this world I saw how womanhood's fair flower had Never space its petals to unfold. How Childhood's tender bud was crushed and trampled Down in mire and filth too evil, foul, for beasts To be partakers in. For gold I saw The virgin sold; and motherhood was made A mock and scorn.

"I saw the fruit of labor Torn away from him who toiled, to further Swell the bursting coffers of the rich, while Babes and mothers pined and died of want. I saw dishonor and injustice thrive. I saw The wicked, ignorant, greedy and unclean, By means of bribes and baseness, raised to seats Of power, from whence, with lashes pitiless And keen, they scourged the hungry, naked throng Whom first they robbed and then enslaved.

"All this I saw, and more, until at last, heartsick, Away mine eyes I turned. And then upon Mine ears a sound arose. A muffled sound—A mingled, hideous roar. O, king! 'twas made Of sighs and groans; of wallings loud and curses Deep, of Terror's shrieks, and madmen's cries; of Prayers which there were none to hear.

"And looking, Listening then my brain took on each vibrant Thrill. My heart grew into one with this great, Moaning, throbbing heart of all the world. Each Nerve grew tense and quivering with its throes Of mortal pain. And thus I learned that I Was one with all that is. That each man's wrong, Or woe, or shame, is mine.

"And this is why, O, king! when asked for songs of joy and mirth By thee, thy bard, Al Hassan, cannot sing. —Stanley Fitzgerald.

The proletariat who has nothing but his two hands, who to-day consumes what he earned yesterday, who is dependent upon all possible incidents, and who hasn't the least guarantee for his ability to earn the necessities of life—every crisis, every whim of his master can deprive him of his bread—this proletariat is placed in the most outrageous and inhuman position imaginable. To the slave, at least, a living is guaranteed by virtue of the selfishness of his master; the serf has yet a piece of land from which he lives; they are, at least, guaranteed a bare living—but the proletariat alone is dependent on himself and at the same time unable to apply his labor-power in such a way that he could rely on it. Everything the proletariat can do for the betterment of his condition vanishes like a drop of water before the floods of vicissitudes to which he is exposed and over which he has no control whatever.—Frederick Engels.

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

Rosa Proletaire.

Her Humble Opinion of Harmony—The War and Our Starving Coal Miners—Socialist Growth in Europe.

From the contents of your last letter I learn that you are perfectly in accord with the new Social Democratic Party movement. Indeed, Brother John, every intelligent Socialist must feel satisfied with the outcome of the Chicago convention. Some good-hearted, but short-sighted, comrades may be of the opinion that things ought to have been harmonized, or as a New Jersey comrade writes in the "Gold Brick," every effort should be made to bring the two factions together. Now, believe me, John, I am as sincere and earnest in the movement as the next, but I venture the assertion that nothing more injurious could happen to our movement than to "harmonize" the clear-minded Socialist elements in the S. D. P. of A. with the Socialistic-Democratic - Populistic - Anarchistic-Colonistic-Goldbrickistic combination that still attempts to heap disgrace on the name Social Democracy.

Brother John, please tell me frankly: Could such discordant elements as were represented in the Uhlich's Hall convention be truly harmonized? Would such harmony be anything less than a farce and a lie? Can we ever think of building up a solid Socialist movement on a basis such as that represented by the Chicago "colonizers" that forced their way into the convention like the lowest sort of old party ward-healers? Of the Social Democratic Party we can now proudly say "our way is clear. Harmonious accents greet the ear. Nothing short of a clear, Socialist movement will lead the American proletariat to victory and success."

The Social Democratic Herald is an excellent little paper. It will do honor to the International Socialist movement. John, we must insist that every comrade secure a number of subscribers. Fifty cents a year, 25 cents for six months! Can you get any cheaper bona fide Socialist literature? To work, comrades! By next week you should send in your list of subscribers: Don't hesitate!

By the way, Comrade Wayland's paper, "Appeal to Reason," ought to be widely circulated as a means of agitation. It is 25 cents a year. Address: Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas. There are other good Socialist papers worthy the support of our comrades.

Yes, the war is still on. About \$500,000,000 or more have been blown in. May the bloody work soon come to an end. Suppose the American government had spent \$500,000,000 for the welfare of the American wage workers! Suppose Uncle Sam had used this money to buy up the coal mines of the country, thereby freeing the million or more coal miners and their families from the tyranny of the coal barons! Why, our capitalist editors would have gone crazy about it; they would have caused a civil war, because to save 6,000,000 starving people in the mining regions of America would be "paternalism," it would mean a social revolution, but to expend \$500,000,000 to blow up warships and to send thousands of poor, Spanish proletarians directly into heaven or hell by means of monstrous dynamite guns—yes, Brother John, that is called true patriotism, and whoever does not believe in this capitalist dynamite patriotism is denounced as an enemy to our country, as a Spaniard.

It will be well for every American and Cuban proletarian to remember the words of Comrade Herbert N. Casson:

"When workers have nothing, and idlers have all, Law is a farce and a lie; When prices rise higher and wages grow small, Freedom means freedom to die."

Citizens of America, bear in mind the fact that a true republic will not, and never can, prosper under the banner of bloody war. In peace and friendship our republican institutions will grow and become a general benefit to the people. In peace and useful labor lies our freedom. He who does most good for our own people, for the toiling masses, shall be the hero of the nation and his name shall be written in golden letters on the pages of history. We want no feudal war heroes, we want no generation of war patriots,

but men and women whose main object in life is to make our country a paradise to live in. We want a nation of such true, noble souls as Patrick Henry, Thomas Paine, Lovejoy, Brown, Phillips, Bellamy, Debs, etc. Let the American youth not be filled up with that dangerous spirit that makes a hero out of every man on horseback or in soldier's cloth.

Socialism is not specifically American; neither is it English, German or French. Socialism is international; it is the cause of all mankind. The man without any knowledge of Socialism is like the ship without the magnetic compass on mid-ocean. Socialism enables you to view the social, economic and political conditions from the true standpoint. Socialism is the new code of morals and ethics, it contains a new philosophy of life, because it aims at revolutionizing the very foundation of social life, without which our individual life would be reduced to the condition of our ancestors in the wilderness.

In spite of all the combinations of the old capitalist parties, in spite of all the gerrymandering of the government, in spite of all the election frauds, our Socialist-comrades of Germany have elected 57 (fifty-seven) members to the Reichstag, against 44 in 1893. The Socialist vote increased from 1,786,738 in 1893 to 2,125,000 in 1898! About one-fourth of all the votes cast were given for Socialism. Keep in mind that no man can vote before he is 25 years of age.

In the kingdom of Saxony the Social Democratic Party polled 270,654 votes in 1893, against 321,781 votes received by all the capitalist and reactionary parties combined. Just listen: On June 16, 1898, the Socialist vote in Saxony was 299,000, while all capitalist and reactionary parties combined received but 281,000 votes. No wonder the American capitalist press occasionally reports that Socialism was dying out in Germany. The king of Saxony and Emperor William are now discussing ways and means to abolish universal suffrage in order to kill the Socialist movement. God speed!

If things were properly arranged, i. e., if the governmental gerrymandering were done away with, the Socialists should have 120 instead of 57 to the Reichstag, having received several hundred thousands more votes than any other party. The new Reichstag will be composed as follows:

Members.	
Clerical (Catholic) Party.....	108
Social Democratic Party.....	57
National Liberals.....	49
Freethinkers or People's Party.....	30
Poles.....	14
Other parties.....	41

In France the Socialists have increased their vote from about 600,000 in 1896 to 1,000,000 in 1898. In Belgium the Socialists have increased their vote by about 100,000, although the capitalist parties made a desperate fight against them. In England our movement is steadily gaining ground and the Socialist papers, like London Justice, London Labor Leader, Clarion, etc., are doing excellent work for the elevation of mankind.

Even in little unfortunate Spain the voice of Socialism is making itself heard. "The Spanish Socialists are in favor of peace!" report our capitalist telegraph censors. Hm! While the pious Christian aristocracy of Spain and the Christian American nation are exhibiting their mutual Christian love by hurling dynamite-bombs and galling cannon-balls against each other, the despised, "un-Christian" Socialists call out to the world: Peace on earth, good will toward men!"

In conclusion, a few more remarks concerning our movement at home. The Social Democratic Party of America to-day stands out as clear as sunlight. It will be the guiding star of the American wage-workers in the great struggle for emancipation. John, the next thing you must do now is to get the branches in good condition; get good material in the first place, for 100 solid members, clear in their mind, convinced of the truth of Socialism, aware of the historic mission of the Social Democratic movement, can accomplish much more good for our cause than 9,999 confusionists who want to harmonize all sorts of "isms" without ever trying to get a clear and sound idea into their heads.

ROSA PROLETAIRE.

When recommending Socialist papers to friends, do not forget the Appeal to Reason; 25 cents a year.

The Impairment of Motives to Exertion.

FROM FRANKLIN M. SPRAGUE'S "SOCIALISM."

It is objected to Socialism that it would impair the motives to exertion, and thus diminish production and retard progress. "The purely economic argument against Socialism is that it would be less efficient in producing wealth."

the official has no economic interest at stake. Under Socialism, such interest is bound up with the results of the social production. In the former case he draws his pay regardless of the quality of his work; in the latter, both pay and position are affected by the quality of work. It is certain that when political preferment and honor depended upon economic products, a stimulus would be given to production.

greatly increase production; and the further fact that the immense waste of capitalism would be saved under Socialism, and tend still further to the total production. Suppose, then, that material "progress" was retarded; what would happen? Is it absolutely certain that society could not survive the terrible consequences should it slacken its pace in "making haste to be rich?"

THE PLATFORM.

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights. That private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes with conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the socially-due share of their product.

FROM OUR MAIL BAG

ST. LOUIS SOCIALISTS.

Branch No. 6 of the Social Democratic Party of St. Louis, Mo., is pushing the good work. Sunday, July 24, in the afternoon, and evening, this branch will give a pleasant garden festival at Eversback's Garden, corner of Arsenal street and Gravois avenue, to which all comrades of St. Louis and their families are urgently invited.

BRANCH 3, ST. LOUIS. Branch 3, St. Louis, in meeting June 28, took action on the delegates' report on the convention made in the previous meeting. After a long discussion it was unanimously decided to withdraw from the S. D. of A. In meeting of July 12, after receiving a constitution of the S. D. P. of A., it was decided that this branch reorganize under the S. D. P. of A., all members expressing themselves in favor of independent political action on the lines of International Socialism.

Mailed postpaid for price. Address Social Democratic Herald, Room 56, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.