

## THE HIGH PRIVILEGE OF TRADES UNIONISTS

Political Action, of Which Exploiters of Labor Take Advantage, is Necessary for the Emancipation of the Working Class

By Isador Ladoff

Dear reader, what would you think of the South African Boers if they would in their struggle with England refuse to take advantage of the very best modern weapons of warfare, preferring the use of bows, arrows, spears and other paraphernalia of antediluvian arsenal of the savage tribes? To put this question means to answer it. No sane person will attempt to argue against the proposition, that in order to have a ghost of a show of success, one must fight with weapons just as efficient as those of his adversary, and meet his enemy on a common ground. And yet there are quite a few self-styled labor leaders who would fain make believe that the best way to improve the condition of the working class is to turn the workingmen into political eunuchs, to emasculate them politically. These would-be friends of the laboring class, of course, pretend to be the true and only true champions of simon-pure trade unionism. They like to pose as indignant opponents of the virus of political corruption being inoculated into labor organizations. According to the dicta of these purists of trade unionism the struggle between labor and capital is a purely economical struggle, and has nothing to do with politics. Nay, even more than that; according to them, "the introduction of politics into trade unions would result in the dissolution of labor organizations."

Let us now examine the just briefly mentioned arguments. First of all, let us see if it is true that the struggle between labor and capital is a purely economical struggle. Is it? Who actually runs our national, state and municipal administrations if not the exploiters of labor and their hired servants? Who spends lavishly millions of dollars on political "educational campaigns" in order to manage, run and control the institutions of the republic, if not the same exploiters of labor? Who controls our schools and higher institutions of learning, the daily and periodical press, the pulpit, the bar, the courts, if not the exploiters of labor? Are the exploiters of labor taking all this trouble and indulging in these expenses out of pure love of country and the interests of the "dear people?" Of course not, we hear the simon-pure trade unionists say. The capitalists want to perpetuate their economic power over labor. Exactly, my dear friends! The exploiters of labor, through their hirelings, the professional politicians, engage in practical politics for "all there is in it," for the economic power it gives them over those "who do not meddle with politics," and are therefore and thereby compelled to play the part of the "under dog." As actual masters of the legislative and executive power of the republic, the capitalists enact, execute and enforce laws according to their sweet will and discretion. As actual commanders of the army and militia, they direct this tremendous physical power wherever and whenever they consider it necessary to their interest, be it, for instance, to create new markets for their goods by conquering new territory, or to teach the riotous laborers obedience by turning them into a target for bullets in the interest of law and order.

As owners of the press, as pious patrons of the church, as endowers of the higher institutions of learning, as inspirers of corporation lawyers turned into judges, they educate the children and shape public opinion in a way and manner most favorable to their economic interest. The exploiters of labor know their interests and how to advance them most effectively too well to draw lines of demarcation between economic and political activity. They use a considerable part of the wealth accumulated by them for acquiring and monopolizing political power, and use their political power as a means for increasing their wealth. The exploiters of labor know too well that in our modern times of industrialism and political democracy—it is futile to attempt to divorce economics from politics. And if that is true from the point of view of capital, can it be otherwise than true in respect to labor? If politics prove to be the mightiest weapon in the hands of capital, is it not simply suicidal on the part of labor to abstain from political action? Would not that anti-political policy on the part of organized labor mean actual treason to the cause of labor, to the cause of the proletariat, in the interests of organized capital? Politics are corrupt, claim the Simon-purists of trade unionism. Grant that this is true. But what of it? You venerable advocates of non-resistance to political

evil pronounce against the use of a strong and mighty weapon in the hands of your adversary because he misuses it in his struggle with and against you! How wise! How considerate! The unionists, pure and simple, are ready with the retort: "Why, we do not object at all to the exercise of civic rights by members of labor organizations as private citizens. We rather commend it. What we object to is to the exercise by a trade unionist of his civic rights in the capacity of a trade unionist." Quite a fine distinction without any difference! Can the purists show us which part of the body of a member of a trade union is the civic and which the economic?

The capitalists organized in corporations transact their business as members of those corporations and consider politics as a necessary part of their business transactions. Why should it be different with labor organizations? The argument that differences in political affiliation between the members of a trade union may result in the disintegration of the organization is nothing but a bugaboo to scare the timid and bewilder the weak minded. The trade unions have the purpose to advance by all possible ways and means the economic interests of organized labor directly and the interests of the proletariat generally. Politics are practically the strongest weapon in a republic. Consequently organized labor must take active part in politics. The laboring class cannot expect anything but the worst from the political organization controlled and run by its adversary, the capitalist class, as long as that class actually does not take part in the government in a class-conscious way and manner.

It is the duty of trades unions to lift and educate the laborers to a higher plane of aspiration than the mere selfish increase in wages and decrease of working hours. The pressing duty and high privilege of the trade union movement consists in making the laborer not only better clad and fed beasts of burden, but better, nobler, self-sacrificing men and citizens, who stand first and last for the broader interests of all the laboring class, all the toiling portion of humanity, as opposed to its exploiters and aggressors.

So far we have spoken only of the honest, bona fide opponents of political action on the part of trade unions, about these blind leaders of the blind. There are, however, many so-called labor leaders who oppose political action out of purely selfish, sordid motives. They use the influence they possess over their over-confident, but not over-bright, fellow workers, in the interests of one of the old political parties; they derive personal benefit by selling their influence to the highest bidder. These despicable traitors to the cause of their own class are as a rule the first to raise their voice against political action. These Judases ought to be unmasked and their hideousness shown to their blind followers; the latter will be consulting their real interests by investigating Socialism and voting the Social Democratic party ticket.

### Slavery and Free Industry

In his address at Chicago on George Washington, the English critic and philosopher, Frederic Harrison, said:

"I am by principle and conviction a republican, because the republic is the inevitable and final form of human society—the normal type of intelligent citizenship. It must dominate the future, for the future society must be an industrial society. Whatever else is doubtful, it is certain that the development of industrial life will be the key note to the generations to come. Now, industry is, of its nature, essentially republican; its life is the free co-operation of intelligent masses of men, working with good will to the common interest. Industrial life must ultimately eliminate every remnant of privilege, of caste, of monopoly, of prerogative; for the more industry becomes highly organized the more perfectly it demands the intelligent and free co-operation of workers. Slavery dies out before the sight of free industry. Military or feudal types of society, with caste, privilege, idleness, mastery, blazoned on their medieval heraldry, may struggle for their ancient rank, but industry will slay them in the end."

"An industrial world—and the world of the future grows more and more an industrial world—is a republican world. And the republican world is one in which the state belongs to all, exists for all, and lives by the help and good will of all."

### MAN'S SOUL TO THE SPIRIT OF TRADE

(WRITTEN FOR THE HERALD)

Oh! I would on and upward,  
Yet you delay my feet  
With a soul-destroying bondage  
Where man and hunger meet.

'Tis you are chasing phantoms,  
That breed a sad unrest;  
My dreams enrich me daily—  
With these I'm truly blest.

You've built a mighty fabric,  
With your looms and shops and  
Yet men are daily starving, [ships,  
With curses on their lips.

Yet, while want is of your traffic  
A wretched counterpart,  
With graver crime I charge you—  
'Tis the starving of the heart.  
—C. F. Blanchard.

### Socialism in Capitalist Paper

Without labor there cannot be wealth; without labor wealth will soon decay; without labor men cannot live. Modern society does not conform to these truths, and there is where the trouble comes in. Our systems of government and commerce absolutely prevent many men from working, and to that extent violate a fundamental law of nature, and a natural right and duty to all men. Then, again, these systems are oft-times unnatural in that they compel many other men to overwork and to work in occupations injurious to health. The present competitive system is responsible in the main for these violations of natural law. —"H. W. P." in U. S. Investor.

### A Priest's Noble Words

"Capital depends on labor, but the latter does not depend on capital. If all the laborers would vanish from the world today, capitalists would perish in less than six months, for production would cease and famine would reign from one end of the earth to the other. But if all the capitalists would pass down into the grave and bury their wealth in their tombs, laborers would not only survive, but grow rich, for then they would get the full amount of the wealth produced by their exertions. It is true that they would be without money and without machinery, but they would soon create these as they have created the wealth of the world."—Father McGrady.

### The Leaven is Permeating

Not more than two generations ago, much of the manufacturing and methods of labor were the result of individual effort. The housewife knit stockings, carded wool, spun cloth, and made clothes and carpets. The farmer mowed with a scythe and the blacksmith forged horseshoes for his vicinity. As population grew and business became diversified, inventors found that most things could be made better and cheaper in factories. Factories meant capital, and to acquire it combination of individual means was the only resource. First the combination took the form of partnership, then as greater capital was needed the corporation was evolved, and now in many lines smaller corporations have united in one large one commonly called a "trust." Increasing business needs have forced the development, and it has been natural.—Jerome A. Hart (editor) in the Argonaut, San Francisco.

### The Reward of Genius

Here is a true story from the Leeds (Eng.) law courts. It illustrates anew the quaint conception which some employers have of the rights of property. A mechanical engineer named Whitehead was employed as foreman mechanic by a firm of millionaires under a five years' engagement. It was his misfortune to be endowed with brains, and he invented a shuttle improvement to remedy certain defects in his employers' machinery, and as they refused to join with him in having this invention patented, he registered it in his own name. For this he was asked to apologize. He evidently thought that no apology was needed for having made use of his inventive faculties, and he was discharged.

This was in February last, and Mr. Whitehead hasn't been able to get employment since. He sued his employers for wrongful dismissal, and in court they actually claimed that they were "entitled to the ownership of whatever might result from his labor and ingenuity." Happily the jury thought differently, and gave him \$900 damages, though that will hardly compensate him for the loss of a five years' engagement. This ought to be a warning to workmen not to be too intelligent!

In New York state 910 persons were killed and nearly 40,000 crippled in shops, factories and industrial pursuits in the year 1899. In the war with Spain 280 Americans were killed and 1,557 wounded.

## THE DIVINE RIGHT OF HUMAN NEED

Subject of Professor Geo. D. Herron's Central Music Hall Lecture at Chicago, February 24—Report of the Address

"The rights of all the governments of the world are but as dust in the balance when weighed against the divine right of the downmost man to his daily bread," said Prof. George D. Herron Sunday afternoon, and the large audience which filled Central Music hall applauded the sentiment to the echo. Prof. Herron's subject was "The Divine Right of Human Need." He said:

"The question which a man will always ask when he comes to close quarters with himself is not whether he has always had justice done him, but whether he has given it that he ought to have given, been all that he ought to have been, done all that he ought to have done, whether he has made his life as far as possible a liberator of other lives. We do not ask whether we have given all that we ought to give, done all that we ought."

"Until a man has done that, until he has considered the question from that standpoint, he cannot pass judgment on the conditions surrounding him, unless he can base his decisions on his own life. In the last analysis it is not important whether I have had justice done me, whether I have had all given me when I have done a piece of work, whether I have received full compensation; what is important is whether, when I have written, I have written the whole of my life."

"I stood in judgment before some men in New York city the other day about a book I had written. The men belong to the upper classes (it is rather a shame we have upper classes, but we have), and they asked me if we had a right economic system would not the majority of people waste the opportunity given them?"

"The question for civilization to answer is not what men would do if we had equity; all that is irrelevant. That is a question society has no business to know. Until this collective brotherhood of man has been tried, until each man born into the world has equal inherent rights, society has no right asking irrelevant questions."

"Civilization has no right asking men if they will be good until civilization itself becomes good; society has no right asking men to be just until society itself is just. Until civilization becomes the incarnation of that equality in distribution which we advocate civilization betrays colossal impudence in asking what would men do if things were equal."

"There is no need of making progress through blood and disaster, as we are making progress; there is no need of the economic waste which we make, which shows a diseased state of society. If I should study human life in a typhoid-fever hospital you would not call that a true study, or my picture a true picture of human life."

"We have had no chance to study life as it should be. Darwin said he could not understand why the savagery displayed in animals was always most predominant where man was present. Until economic stress and uncertainty are removed, until every man stands as an equal, as a comrade with every other man, society has no right to ask questions."

"We must try the experiment of equality, try the experiment of Socialism, try the experiment of justice, before we can say that it is impossible. We have heard a great deal about the divine rights of almost everything that is wrong in this world; the divine right of kings, the divine rights of priests, the divine right of everything except man."

"It is time we heard something of the divine rights of man, the unlimited right of every human being to the means to live. Nature does not withdraw its resources, but recognizes this unlimited right of man to the means to live. There is no right, however ancient, however sustained by custom; there is no right that is not savage and monstrous when compared to the right of the common man to his daily bread."

"That right of man to his daily bread is right if it means to beg. If you wanted an ordinary courtesy you would not hesitate to ask for it, but when civilization puts the bulk of human beings in a position where they must labor year in and out for an uncertain sustenance, if one becomes a tramp we hear philanthropic diatribes against begging. When affairs are so badly administered that men are hungry they have as much a divine right to bread as the man who owns that bread."

"I will go further than that and say, although we have a very offensive word for those who steal little from those who have stolen much, that Augustine was right when he said that if the rich mo-

nopolize that which was meant for the common men they have a right to take what they need. Those who have stolen the labor products of the world make laws against those who steal little."

"A few years ago Cardinal Manning startled England by declaring that the unemployed in London who were through no fault of their own deprived of bread had the divine right to take it. This differs decidedly from our practices. Was any one ever helped by being denied bread?"

"I tried an experiment a few years ago where in the city I lived they lodged the tramps in the station. A brutal ordinance was passed forbidding the giving of bread. I did not abide by the ordinance, but gave orders that every one who came and asked should receive what he asked for. Of thirty-two who came in a short time all but two asked if they could not do some work for me in exchange for what they got to eat; and, in fact, most of them did work. Still I found they were down on the books as worthless characters. As soon as they were treated as human beings they acted like human beings; as soon as they were treated with fellowship they responded."

"Do you think a man who asks for bread at your back door is strengthened in his character by being refused? If the downmost man appears worthless and shiftless we helped to make him that, for the shiftless vagabond is the product of this thing we call civilization."

"What is the difference between the aristocratic pauper and the tramp, between the few who are the real parasites, who have begged the labor products and stolen millions, and the man who begs enough to eat? Why are we so anxious to bring the tramp to justice and leave the other who can count his millions and has produced nothing except misery and poverty in others? Civilization is parasitic. Even our most extolled philanthropists who endow universities, libraries and churches, are destroying the moral life of the world, because such endowments are parasitical in their nature."

"If we want men free, if we want men self-sustaining, self-respecting, we must have a just civilization. We should have learned that a bad tree cannot bear good fruit. If we have a civilization based on equality, fraternity, liberty, then common life will supply its wants, it will build its own libraries and museums, it will do away with that monstrous habit of endowing institutions with the stolen fruits of a fellow-man's labor."

"It is immoral that some men should be placed in a position of favor from other men. There can be fraternity only where they stand together. There is a fundamental immorality in the attitude of the world. The Socialist seeks the equality of distribution, not for the things themselves but for a broader purpose and a deeper need. What makes a true man? It is the going out of his own life to help others. We are bound together for good or ill. Whether we like it or no, we are one."

"In New England girls are working in cotton mills in an atmosphere which breeds consumption and makes them old at 27. Every smoke-stack that goes up in China reduces their wages. It is the divine right of every man to be his brother's keeper. It is the divine right of every one in this hall to eat his bread without the thought that it is costing the blood of his brothers and sisters. It is a divine right to be a brother's keeper, and other rights must soon get out of the way of that right."

"Man is not given an opportunity to be a man, to be a son of God, until he has been put in a position where he has a voice, a creative part in the whole life of the world. That is Socialism. It means that every man's life goes out of himself. It is the divine right of the human soul to go out and co-operate with the whole world."

"There can at last come through this co-operative process a man who can look trees, stars and his fellow-man in the face and be not afraid, a man who can say he has been true, an order of man that can say we have found the truth, and each man can walk the earth as a full-born son of God."

The second National, Social and Political conference will be held at Detroit on June 28th to July 4th next, the subject of the conference being "How Can Reforms be Accomplished?" All desiring invitations or other information should write at once to the secretary, Darwin F. Meserole, 160 Joralemon street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

**Social Democratic Herald**

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE  
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

**Executive Board**  
Seymour Stedman, Chairman, Illinois  
Isador LaDoff, Secretary, Illinois  
Victor L. Berger, Wisconsin Alfred Hicks, Colorado  
Corinne S. Brown, Illinois Frederic Heath, Wisconsin  
C. G. Clemens, Kansas G. H. Goebel, New Jersey  
F. A. Lyburner, Iowa L. E. Miller, New York  
Margaret Halle, Massachusetts

**TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.**—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

**A. S. EDWARDS**, Editor  
**THEODORE DEBS**, National Secy-Treas.  
126 Washington St., Chicago.

**139** is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 140 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MAR. 2, 1901.

Social Democratic Party Vote  
**1900 (PRESIDENTIAL) 97,024**  
**1900 (S. L. P.) 34,191**  
**TOTAL 131,215**

Our civilization can be made better in a thousand regards, while it can be made worse only in a few instances.

Socialism not only proposes to supply all the wealth the nation requires, but the equitable distribution of the wealth after it is created.

Socialism is entirely willing to let "well enough alone." The trouble is to find the "well enough"—the bad enough is found everywhere.

The "reorganization" of the democratic party evidently means the resurrection of the party from the grave where it was buried last November.

It is well to comprehend the fact that the increase of what is called "national wealth" degrades those who create it—coal miners, for instance.

Wealth, it is said "creates wealth." Nay, verily, pile it up and it will remain as inert as rocks until touched and vitalized by the genius of labor.

School Teacher (to the class)—To whom does the earth belong?  
Bobby—My dad says the earth belongs to the Standard Oil company.

All wars, except those waged for liberty and independence, justice and equality, are to be deplored. They are crimes against humanity.

By concentrating wealth you widen the domain of poverty; vast sums in the hands of the few means little or nothing at all in the pockets of the many.

The advance of Socialism, tersely stated, depends upon the advancement of labor from conditions of aggression to conditions of independence.

It is not a pleasant spectacle to see workingmen riveting their fetters with their votes for the satisfaction of those who forge them—which is done on every election day.

Kaiser William of Germany is imperially and relentlessly hostile to Socialism. So much the better for the cause. It is the battle that makes the soldier—not the dress parade.

A distinguished M. C. remarks that when the rates of wages are determined by the employer they are always reduced "to the point of bare subsistence." Beginning to see something.

The greatest failure of our civilization is the universal injustice meted out to those who make it possible to have and to maintain any civilization at all. Eliminate labor and the whole superstructure falls.

It occurs sometimes that men out of work and out of money, but ready to commit suicide, steal just to secure something to eat, furnished by the government in jails, workhouses or penitentiaries.

It should be everlastingly kept before the people that Socialism demands for wage workers all they earn, and that no decree from the court of the eternal God has ever been issued opposing the demand.

The Chicago Inter Ocean says that business is a little dull at present, that it is due to the fact that country merchants are not buying for the summer but only for the spring trade. Just so; a fool can see the logic and wisdom of that statement. If the country merchants were buying for the summer, business would be good; exactly.

Rich men don't know when they have not enough money, and the poor don't

know when they have got enough poverty. The rich persist in their robberies and the poor keeps on voting for the robbers.

Possibly it is unfortunate that all the gold and silver in the world cannot be melted into one vast mass, just to provoke a Kilkenny cat fight in the ranks of the greedy. Once begun nothing would remain of the pirates but their tails.

The irrigation of lands in the rainless regions of the far west is a subject of great interest to the states where the arid lands are located, but the irrigation of stocks and bonds is reduced to a science and the annual profits amount to millions annually.

It is not wise to be in a hurry in the accomplishment of great results. A mushroom, starting from a spawn, matures in a day. Socialism is not of mushroom growth. It is more like the oak—defying the storms when a hundred years are gone.

Capitalism has so adroitly perfected its system of spoliation that a strike is usually jumping out of the frying pan into the fire. In the pan, the striker is fried; in the fire he is roasted and consumed and usually gets back into the pan as soon as possible.

It would be vastly interesting for those who oppose Socialism to name some good thing in government, industry, economics, civilization, education or religion which Socialism opposes. This is never done. Socialism is opposed for its virtues—not for its vices.

If congress would appoint a commission, something after the style of the interstate commerce commission, to investigate railroad stocks and bonds, for the purpose of determining how much water they carry to the dollar, with power and authority to squeeze it out of them, the result would be of vast benefit to the public.

Socialism is not empiricism; it is not quackery; it is not a patent medicine with the name of the patentee blown in the bottle. It is not sentimentalism, nor spiritualism. It is not theology nor biology. It is neither fad nor fiction. On the contrary, Socialism is a scientific and philosophic presentation of principle relating to government and to the welfare of the governed.

The theory of wages is vicious, fundamentally defective. It not only suggests a labor market, but creates it. It is wages that degrades labor to a "commodity" to be bought and sold. Socialism does away with the wage system. It neither buys nor sells labor. It does not claim labor as a "commodity." Under Socialism men work and obtain all they earn. The piracies of capitalism cease.

Some one has said that "wealth, in certain quarters, is amassed with ease and rapidity." This may be true of its possessors, but not true of the creators of wealth. Wealth being the result of work, those who create it know that its accumulation is neither rapid nor easy, but slow and toilsome. Young Vanderbilt, with an income of \$1,500,000 a year, amasses wealth with ease and rapidity, because he has 20,000 employees, from whose labor he derives his wealth.

The New York People (De Leon) in its last issue took occasion in a quiet, humorous vein, to criticise the national platform of the Social Democratic party. This is a welcome innovation; it shows a marked advance in the treatment of Socialist controversy. When we can discuss our differences in platforms and organization, free from personalities, we will not only be of greater assistance to each other, but to the people and the movement generally.

The science of politics which relates to government is all right. Every voter in the United States is to an extent engaged in politics if he votes, and if he does not vote he evinces a disregard of government as pronounced as if he were a Russian serf. The trouble is that politics in the United States has ceased to be a science and has become, in the hands of Dick Croker, Mark Hanna and others of their ilk, simply a scheme for public plunder and partisan pulls, and the party, or the individual receiving the largest share of the pillage is on top.

Says the Chicago Tribune: "Chicago was never so rich as now. Banks are crammed with money. Money is an embarrassment to the financial institutions. Chicago has reached a high mark of prosperity."

Take another view of it: Chicago was "never so rich" and never so dirty. Chicago was "never so rich" and never burdened with more poverty.

Chicago banks are "crammed with money" and working class pantries contain no bread.

Chicago financial institutions are "embarrassed" with money and Chicago wealth producers are embarrassed with poverty.

Chicago has reached "a high mark of prosperity," and business men are

pressed to the wall every hour because riches are so plentiful and business so good.

Chicago has more dirt, more crime, more idle men, more misery and "more money" than ever before.

There are numerous objections to perpetual loyalty to party. The shibboleth, "My party, right or wrong," is fortunately losing its grasp upon the popular mind, and this will be the more pronounced as man advances in intelligence. The independent voter is becoming more numerous every day. His platform is "principles, not party"; "measures, not men." The siren song of the spider no longer allures him. In this is seen the strength of Socialism. Its principles, being right and just, its measures in consonance with public welfare, as the old parties disintegrate Socialism increases in power and the work is going on bravely throughout the country.

It has often been stated that the organization of labor is not a "new thing"; that it dates back to the middle ages, and was resorted to as a means of protection against the rapacity of the rich and powerful. It, doubtless, accomplished some good, but on the whole was a failure, as subsequent history shows. Labor organizations at the present are also of some benefit in securing better wages, but the present, those capable of reading the signs of the times, see in the organization of labor the full orb of Socialism, the co-operative commonwealth, a revolution which will emancipate men from the thralldom of wage slavery. Labor organizations are the preparatory schools in which working men will learn to know their rights and to comprehend that Socialism, and only Socialism, can respond in achieving their highest aspirations.

The United States declared war against Spain because of sympathy for the Cubans, who had struck to better their condition. About this there is no question. In this purely sympathetic war the United States spent millions of money drawn from the pockets of taxpayers, and sacrificed thousands of lives, and the country applauded as the war proceeded. But when one labor organization strikes against robbery and oppression, and another labor organization, out of sympathy, goes to its assistance then a wild hue and cry is raised against a sympathetic strike, and the men who go to the assistance of their fellow working men are denounced by the capitalist class and their henchmen as imbeciles, influenced by sentiment. In such cases sympathy is stigmatized as idocy, deserving of reprobation rather than commendation. The capitalist Weylers, who are oppressing and robbing their employes want no sympathetic warfare against their system of rapine, but rather to be left severely alone to pursue their cussedness unmolested.

**A Man-Wrecking System**

When the convicts in a penitentiary are unemployed the charge is made that enforced idleness drives them to despair and insanity. The statement goes uncontradicted, and a deal of sympathy is felt for the prisoners by a great many good people.

These criminals are well fed, well clothed and well sheltered. They have no care upon their minds. They are not troubled by the cry of wife and children for bread. If they get sick the state supplies all that is required in the way of remedies. If they want to reform, a moral instructor is on hand to help them. If they are inclined to read, books and papers are supplied. On the outside of the prison there are thousands of men who have been driven into idleness and made to suffer more keenly than the unfortunates behind the bars. They do not get three square meals a day; they are not well clothed nor well sheltered, and their sufferings are intensified on account of a helpless family dependent upon them for support.

When convicts are deprived of employment and driven to "despair and insanity" it may be regarded as an additional penalty for crimes committed against society; but when honest, law-abiding men are deprived of employment by a defective and vicious civilization, society may be arraigned for the perpetration of a crime not only immediately deplorable, but far-reaching in its terrible consequences. It fills the land with poverty, squalor, despair and insanity. It wrecks homes, adds indefinitely to the criminal class, and ceaselessly increases the roll of paupers and the inmates of prisons, insane asylums and reformatories.

The conditions productive of such results are purely artificial. The remedy and the only remedy proposed is found in the bedrock principles of Socialism. There is work enough for all, food, clothing and shelter enough for all. With proper adjustment of forces, the just distribution of wealth, every physical need of the people may be supplied. No honest, intelligent man denies the proposition. It is largely within the realm of the practicable to change conditions. Socialism is pledged to the performance of the task. It is herculean, demanding courage and tenacity, patience and faith in the triumph of justice—and this the world will learn

as Socialism is more thoroughly comprehended by the people.

**Co-operative Coal Mining**

Socialism advocates co-operation in industrial affairs. In a broad and general sense, co-operation—working together for the accomplishment of specific ends exists and has always existed. Single handed men accomplish little or nothing in the way of progress. It is only by united effort that the world moves. On this point no extended dissertation is required. Axioms do not require argument.

By co-operation in any industrial enterprise, in which only working men would be engaged, the profits of the business would be divided between the co-operators, each man receiving all he earned.

To conduct an industry upon the co-operative plan there must be a plant. The plant would cost a sum of money in proportion to its magnitude. To be specific, suppose coal mining be selected. It is a great industrial enterprise and superficially examined would lead to the conclusion that only capitalists are equal to the undertaking. This difficulty disappears in the light of facts, and it is found upon examination that coal mining offers inducements for co-operative effort upon a large scale exceptionally favorable.

Clay County, in Indiana, is one of the coal-mining centers of the middle West. There are a number of coal mines in Clay County, having an average area of sixty acres. In Clay County the average price of coal lands is \$40 per acre. This would give as the cost of the land for an average mine, \$2,400. The cost of opening and equipping an average mine, in Clay County, ranges from \$8,000 to \$20,000. Taking the highest amount, \$20,000, and it is seen that an average coal mine in Clay County would cost \$22,400, giving employment to 150 persons.

With reference to the capacity of miners to furnish the funds necessary to establish a co-operative mine in Clay County, or elsewhere under equally favorable conditions, the financial report made to the convention of the United Mine Workers, recently held at Indianapolis, is conclusive. In that report it was shown that during the last fiscal year the members of the organization contributed \$333,945, enough to have purchased fourteen average coal mines of Clay County, Indiana. The report further disclosed the fact that the organization had a surplus of \$130,304 on hand, enough to have purchased five average coal mines, such as are in operation in Clay County, Indiana.

Such facts settle beyond all controversy the possibility, in so far as funds are required, to establish co-operative coal mining. All else relating to the subject, concerns details, and in no wise involves the main question.

The question of the capability of coal miners to manage successfully a coal mine is not debatable. It goes without the saying. Nor need the question of agreement between the co-operators be mooted. The assumption, based upon common-sense, being that coal miners, like other men will harmonize, when concord promotes their welfare.

Socialism, in advocating co-operation, is not supporting a fad, a scheme of delusion, impractical and foreign to the discussion of economic conditions, but rather a question of supreme importance to workingmen, and therefore supremely conducive to the public welfare.

**The Working Class**

Omitting theories relating to evolution and to revolution, except to say that "history repeats itself," the real questions of the hour are, What does the working class want? and by what means and methods is it to secure what it wants? In answering such queries in the severest brevity admissible, it may be said, (1) the largest possible opportunity for employment; (2) the largest possible share of the wealth which labor creates.

Assuredly, such postulates invite to broad fields of investigation and discussion, challenging the best thought of the times. Our space does not permit more than a few outlining suggestions, leaving to each reader and thinker the task of working out the details of the problems.

Broadly stated, the working class is in the majority, and that it is the prerogative of majorities to rule—"provided," as the lawmakers say, the majority is united instead of being broken into fragments.

The old aphorism has it: "United we stand, divided we fall."

And just here a bit of history from sacred writ is introduced, confirmatory of the overmastering power of united effort.

It appears from the record that there was a time when the human "tribes" were united and spoke one language and erected a tower (Babel). It appears that this vast co-operative undertaking attracted the attention of heaven, and the Lord came down to investigate the work, and said:

"Behold, the people is one and they have one language and now nothing will be restrained from them which they have imagined to do."

That is it exactly—united and speak-

ing one language, the working class can have what it wants. No power can restrain its determination to work out its salvation.

The working class, it may be said, by organizing in unions, and in the federation of unions, is taking the initial steps toward that more "perfect union" which is ultimately to secure its redemption from present conditions, evolution leading to revolution, a development of intellectual force preceding and presaging victory. Having passed the preparatory stages of organization and federation, developing at every step a higher intelligence, the united voice will demand the ballot, which, speaking one language, will demonstrate that nothing can be restrained from the working class which it resolves to do for its emancipation.

At this supreme juncture Socialism becomes the central hope of the working class. It is the ultima ratio of logic and the ultima thule of effort. It solves all the problems of civilization. It invites the people to elysian fields of peace. It would wipe out the blood stains of war from the face of the nations and usher in an era of good will. Let no one say that such aspirations are vagaries, the stuff of which dreams are made.

In all of this Socialism is as practical as lever and fulcrum, and as axiomatic as that "the whole is greater than a part."

Socialism champions the unification of the working class; it selects as its weapon to achieve progress the ballot. Being in the majority and united, the ballot would accomplish all that is demanded. It would elect congresses and legislatures, presidents, governors and mayors. It would dominate in national, state and municipal governments. It could annul vicious laws. It could purify the judiciary. It could disband standing armies, furl battle flags and hush to silence war drums, and bless mankind with a better civilization.

The working class, with an ever expanding and far-reaching intelligence, grasps the situation, and is more sharply defining the program of operations.

Socialism, at once a benefaction and a benediction, is here to stay. It builds its fortresses upon the immovable foundations of truth and justice, and in pushing forward its achievements, it calls to its aid only such forces as science and logic and common sense afford. With one great and overmastering ambition the welfare of the working class, primarily in view, and ultimately all mankind, it forms no entangling alliance with error.

In its onward march, as victory succeeds victory, capitalism and wage slavery will go down together to their native hell.

What does the working class want? It wants opportunities to work and all that it earns. To gratify these essential wants Socialism stands pledged, provided the working class unite as one, speaking one language of liberty, and choose the ballot as their emancipating weapon.

**To Whom it May Concern**

Referring to the letter of Comrade E. V. Debs, which appeared recently in the "Kangaroo" People and was reprinted without comment in The Herald, it should be said that the People claims to have taken its information from a report to the New York Forward by Comrade L. E. Miller. The latter, in a communication to this paper, too long for publication, denies that such was the case and shows that Forward was not the source of the People's information, pointing out that a mistranslation of a phrase, as it appeared in the Forward report, was not repeated in the People, but that the latter's quoted passages coincided exactly with a report that appeared in the Chicago Inter Ocean. Comrade Miller, therefore, insists that the People got its information from the Inter Ocean.

This statement is made in justice to all parties concerned. The People's explanation was not printed in The Herald because Comrade Miller's rebuttal was almost immediately in our possession after its publication, and the matter is referred to now only to dismiss it from further discussion in these columns.

**ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS**

V. H. C., Branch 10, Missouri.—The account of a bill for railway nationalization which appeared in the Herald is authentic. It is known as Senate Bill 1770 and was introduced by Senator Pettigrew. Accompanying the bill was an argument by David J. Lewis, of Cumberland, Md. This is known as Document No. 53. You can procure the documents by writing to your congressman. It is true that the bill has been given almost no notice by the daily press.

F. M., New York.—The World Almanac's figures on the presidential vote of the Social Democratic Party are incomplete. By a mix-up it gives our vote in Wisconsin to the S. L. P. It reports no vote in Alabama, Georgia, Kansas, Texas, Vermont and Virginia. Transferring the vote of Wisconsin to the proper column and including that in the states named above, the total vote for Debs was 97,024. While, as previously stated, the votes actually cast for our ticket were probably double the number credited to us, these figures will stand as the Social Democratic Party vote for 1900.

Branch Secretary.—Communications received by branches of the Social Democratic Party from the Springfield committee soliciting the vote of said branches on any subject, should be promptly sent back without action. We hope to vote together after next September on matters of party organization and interest; until then we vote separately. Union has not been but is to be effected.

OUR LONDON LETTER

LABOR AND POLITICS IN ENGLAND

By John Penny, Gen. Secy. I. L. P.

Labor Representation

At the Plymouth Trade Union Congress in 1899 a resolution was passed instructing the parliamentary committee to convene a conference of working-class organizations to consider ways and means of obtaining more representation for labor in the House of Commons.

Twelve months have elapsed since the formation of the committee, during which time a general election has taken place, and the First Annual Labor Representation Conference was held in Manchester on Friday, February 1st.

According to the committee's report forty-one trade unions, with an aggregate membership of 353,000, had affiliated, paying the fee of ten shillings per thousand members during the year.

Other points in the report were not of great public interest and at the Conference there was not much debate, the report and a number of resolutions being carried with practical unanimity.

There may be some doubt in the minds of outsiders, however, as to what is the exact meaning of the united labor movement, and perhaps I can best illustrate it in this way.

Such combination for more or less immediate political objects is the basis of the partnership between the Socialist and trades union organizations.

The London Docks

What is probably the biggest scheme any municipality has ever taken in hand was under consideration at the meeting of the London County Council last week, when it was proposed by the rivers committee that the council should obtain powers to buy out the various dock companies and place the whole management of the Thames from Teddington to the sea under the control of a board to be called the "Port of London Committee."

that it was supported by moderates and progressives alike makes us realize the truth of Sir W. Harcourt's famous aphorism: "We are all Socialists now."

Tips

The Amalgamated Waiters' Society in this country has long waged war on the system of "tipping," which is so prevalent in hotels and restaurants, holding that men and women should be paid fair wages for their services and not be dependent for their livelihood upon the gratuities they receive from the customers.

The Dead Level of Equality

The strangest thing about society as it exists today is that while everybody acknowledges good society to be the highest expression of civilization, the purest joy and sweetest pleasure of it, many people, especially society people, should fear to have its greatest blessing, its most delicate beauty and subtlest charm imparted to the whole life.

If you speak of social equality before some women they imagine that you want to take their pretty clothes away and put them in the kitchen along with the cook, or, at best, expect them to dust their own parlors. Some men conceive of it with like force and intelligence, and ask you if you believe they ought to get no more money for toiling all day in a bank parlor or managing a large business than the fellow who works on the roads or tends a machine in a mill.

I do not suppose there was ever a human being who got any good from inequality, and I think one may safely defy those who abhor equality to say what harm there would be in it. I, for my part, should like to have some one say why its level would be dead. Do those people live most who are the most deeply and hopelessly sundered into castes?

A Military Power

In a recent debate in the Senate Mr. Allison (Rep.), chairman of the committee on appropriations, remarked that "in round numbers, the appropriations for the next fiscal year will be probably from \$760,000,000 to \$780,000,000," and the following colloquy ensued:

Mr. Hale (another Republican member of the committee on appropriations): "We have not found any place yet where we could cut off anything. The tide, immensely swollen heretofore, is more swollen and more turbid." Mr. Spooner (Rep.): "And still rising."

Morality Say, can you learn amidst the clash, Of satire keen, and wit's quick flash, And argument, and loud dispute, And heavy blows—that logic suit—

The jumble of erratic hash That many offer us—for cash— Requires such a stomach strong That few retain the mixture long;

Say, don't you know that morals are But codes of ruling classes, for Preserving the respect and awe Of ruled for custom and the law;

Say, don't you know it was all right, Indeed, a customary sight, A necessary, moral deed

When man ate man at hunger's need; But later, when man wiser grown, Possessing fields that must be sown,

The "moralist" of present day Has for the subject of his lay, The "honesty" of business life, The "glory" of the soldier's strife,

The chain, complete, shows by this light That morals mean excuse for might.

A. A. KAUTZ.

Popular Ethics

Eugene Field used to amuse himself by writing "pieces" for a "primer." Here is one of them, capitals and all: "The old Man is Blind and cannot See. He holds his Hat in his Hand and there is a Dime in the Hat. Go up quietly and Take the Dime out of the Hat. The Man cannot see you. Next Sunday you can put the Dime in the Sabbath School Box, and the Teacher will Praise you. Your Papa will put some Money in the Contribution Box, too. He will put More in than you do. But his opportunities for Robbing are better than yours."

Municipal Collieries

Owing to the unprecedented increase in the price of coal, the city of Glasgow has decided to consider the advisability of establishing a municipal colliery. The corporation, for the purpose of its various departments, is a large purchaser of coal, and in the current year has contracted for over 700,000 tons.

Industrial Conditions in America

We take the following facts and figures from a speech delivered in Los Angeles, Cal., by Hon. R. A. Dague, and reported in the Forward Movement Herald of that city. The statistics were obtained from government records: In 1850 the wealth of the American nation was \$8,000,000,000; the producers' share was 62 1/2 per cent; non-producers' share, 37 1/2 per cent.

In 1860 the wealth had increased to \$16,000,000,000. The producers' share fell to 43 3/4 per cent; non-producers' increased to 56 1/4 per cent.

In 1870 the wealth was \$30,000,000,000. Producers' share was 32-3 per cent; non-producers' share, 67-3 per cent.

In 1880 the wealth had increased to \$48,000,000,000. The producers' share went down to 24 per cent, while the non-producers' share had increased to 76 per cent.

—D. O'B.

WHAT IS INTEREST?

From "Merrie England"

What is interest? It is money paid for the use of money. If you lent me \$500 at 5 per cent interest, that would mean that I must pay you \$25 a year for the loan of the money as long as I kept it and that such payment would not reduce the amount of the loan.

Where do I get the interest from? I have to work for it. But you get it from me. You don't work for it. You possibly worked for the principal—that is, for the first \$500—but you do not work for the interest, the second \$500.

Suppose I have \$5,000. I put it in a bank and draw 3 per cent—\$150 a year—interest for it. At the end of twenty years I shall have drawn out \$3,000 and yet there will be \$5,000 to my credit. How does my money breed money? How do I get \$8,000 for my \$5,000? How can the banker afford to pay me more than I put into the bank?

If, instead of putting my \$5,000 into a bank, I locked it up in a safe and drew out \$150 a year for twenty years, would there be \$5,000 left at the end of that time? There would not. There would only be \$2,000. Money does not breed money. Interest has to be worked for.

Suppose a rich Jew has lent five million to the government at 3 per cent. He draws every year \$150,000 in interest. Who pays it? It is raised by taxation. Who pays the taxes? They are all paid either by the workers or by those who get their money from the workers. And the Jew gets his interest forever. That is to say that, after he has drawn back all his five million in interest the government goes on paying him out of your earnings, my hard-headed friend, \$150,000 a year as long as anyone is left to claim it.

And the worst of it is that the money the Jew lent was not earned by him, but by the ancestors of the very people who are now paying his descendants interest for the loan of it.

Nay, worse even than this. It is a fact that a great deal of so-called "capital" for which interest is paid does not exist at all.

The Duke of Plaza Toro is a wealthy peer. He has an income, a rent roll of \$150,000 a year. The Earl of Chow Bent has \$200,000 a year, the Marquis of Steyne has \$250,000 a year. These noblemen, together with a rich Jew, a couple of rich cotton lords and a coal owner, decide to form a company and construct a canal.

They engage some engineers and some navvies. To pay these men their wages and to provide tools and other plant, they need "capital."

They get an estimate of the cost. Say it is \$2,500,000. The capital of the company is \$2,500,000. But that is needed to complete the work. It can be started with much less. They therefore issue 50,000 shares at \$50 each; \$10 payable on allotment, and the rest at stated times.

The company consists of five men. Each takes an equal number of shares, each pays down an equal sum, say \$50,000, making a total of \$250,000. With this amount they can go on until the second call is made.

Now look at the position of the duke. He has paid in his \$50,000, and at the end of the year he will have another \$150,000 ready in the shape of rent. The others are in similar positions. The Jew waits for his interest, the coal owner and the cotton lords for their profit. And all these sums—the rent, the interest and the profits—are earned by the workers.

So the canal is made. Who makes it? Not the rich share owners. Oh, no. The canal is made by the engineers and the navvies. And who finds the money? Not the rich shareholders. Oh, no. The money is earned in rent or interest or profits by the agricultural laborers, the colliers and the cotton operatives.

But when the navvies and engineers have made the canal, and when the laborers, miners and spinners have paid for it, who owns it?

Does it belong to the men who made it? Not at all. Does it belong to the men who earned the money to pay for it? Not at all.

It belongs to the rich share holders, and these men will get other men to work it and will keep the profits of its working.

That is to say, all the goods which are carried on that canal must pay tollage. This tollage, after the costs of repairing and working the canal are defrayed, will be profit and will be divided among the share holders in the form of dividends. Who will pay the tollage? The tollage will be paid by the people who carry the goods, and they in turn will charge it to the people who buy the goods, and they in turn will charge it to the people who use the goods. And the people who use the goods will be either workers, who pay the toll out of their earnings, or rich people, who pay the toll out of the earnings of other workers.

The canal being made, the duke takes tollage, which is paid by the workers, much of it, perhaps, by the farm laborers, navvies, engineers, spinners and colliers, who found the money for the canal or did the work of making it.

LOCAL BRANCHES
Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA
Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening.

CONNECTICUT
The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at 2 p. m. at P. Schaffer's, 1099 Main street, Hartford.

ILLINOIS
Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 32 Dearborn street.

INDIANA
Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month.

MASSACHUSETTS
Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springdale Turner Hall.

MICHIGAN
Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at 2 p. m. at 10 W. Main street.

MINNESOTA
Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main street.

NEW YORK
The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street, Windsor Hall.

PENNSYLVANIA
Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 428 N. 3d street, until further notice.

WISCONSIN
Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Mondays of the month at Brewers' Hall, southeast corner 4th and Chestnut streets.

WEST VIRGINIA
Branch No. 1, Wheeling, meets every third Sunday in the month at Trade and Labor Assembly Hall, 154 Market street. H. A. Leeds, organizer.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Eugene V. Debs lectures at Kokomo, Ind., March 6.

Joseph Novotz has been nominated by the Social Democrats of the Ninth ward for alderman.

The comrades of Jacksonville, Ill., met in convention Feb. 25 and nominated a city ticket.

Comrades Seymour Stedman and Philip S. Brown will address a meeting at Grossdale, Saturday evening, February 30.

"Resolved, That we vote against the question: 'Shall the action of the convention in the selection of officers be ratified?'"

Branch 3 at Readville, Mass., is conducting a series of debates and lectures with good results to the cause in that community.

Branch 1 of New Jersey in reporting its vote on the referendum sends the following resolution, which was adopted by a vote of 15 to 1:

Comrade Geo. H. Goebell, member of the executive board, is making a western business trip and, incidentally, putting in a lecture here and there for the party and cause.

There will be a meeting next Tuesday evening, March 5, at Garfield Hall, corner of Chicago and Hamlin avenues. Speakers: Charles H. Soelke, candidate for city attorney, Seymour Stedman and A. S. Edwards.

Comrade Geo. J. Miller of Branch 6 has received the nomination of the party for alderman in the Twelfth ward. A good choice; Comrade Miller will get the Socialist vote of the ward.

Ed. Rosenberg, secretary of the San Francisco Council of Labor, delivered a fine lecture on compulsory arbitration at the Turk Street temple in that city, under Social Democratic auspices.

One year ago there were but two known Socialists at Clancy, Montana; today there is a good strong branch of the Social Democratic party and scores of readers of Socialist papers.

"Whereas, According to the principles of democracy the work of nominating officers for the national executive board ought to be done direct by the rank and file instead of by delegates; therefore,

The Evansville (Ind.) Evening Post runs a column of "Socialist Chat" in its Saturday issue. The "chats" in a recent number were all taken from The Herald. The selections showed good judgment as well as a knowledge of the source from which good things can be had.

The old Lassalle band, a musical organization of Chicago, including string and brass instrumentalists, has been organized into a branch of the Social Democratic party. The band belongs to the Musician's Union, and meets for practice at Stegermann's Hall, 662 Laflin street.

James Oneal and Ed. Evinger addressed a good meeting at the Social Democratic headquarters in Brazil a week ago Saturday night. The Socialists of Brazil have comfortable quarters which are open every evening. Many of the leading labor papers are on file in the rooms.

Comrade Alfred Hicks, who was elected a member of the national executive board at the January convention and shortly thereafter sailed for England, did not, it now transpires, make the voyage alone. He was accompanied by Mrs. Alfred Hicks. The honeymoon will be passed in London and vicinity.

Comrade Guy H. Lockwood, a member of the Terre Haute branch, is energetically working a plan to get an automobile on the road for propaganda purposes. For four years Lockwood has carried on almost single-handed an effective work and now looks for the co-operation of comrades to make it more efficient.

"Mother" Mary Jones is still in the front line of battle. From leading big parades of Pennsylvania miners and organizing branches of the Social Democratic party in the mining region, she has taken to lecturing on Socialism in New York city, where, last week at Grand Central Palace, she addressed an audience of 6,000 people.

Comrade W. J. McSweeney, national organizer, returned to Chicago last Saturday from a very successful trip in Illinois, during which he organized eight new branches of the party, visited many places where he organized last fall and materially added to the strength of the party in this state. He everywhere met with a hearty reception and found the comrades earnestly striving according to their opportunities to promote the cause. Illinois now has sixty live branches. We're getting on fine!

Comrade Goebell, member of the national executive board, writes from Indianapolis: "I have held very good meetings at Pottstown, Pa.; Wheeling, W. Va.; Cincinnati, Ohio, and have appointments for Marion, Ind.; Peoria, Ill.; St. Louis and Liberal, Mo. I find the comrades all encouraged by what they see in their own communities and without exception in favor of the convention. A few think it was fixed for too late a date, as some of the states have elections this fall."

How Corporations Use Streets

Before the Twentieth Century Club at Boston recently, Mr. Chas. H. Morse, consulting engineer of the Cambridge water board, showed how the public streets are used to enrich private corporations. He said, in part:

"To give some idea of the multitude of these conduits in the city let me cite those which are laid under one street, in the central portion of the business section. This is the schedule:

"Boston electric light company (two sets), Edison electric light company (three sets), New England telephone and telegraph company, Postal telegraph company, District messenger company, Boston elevated railway company, Massachusetts telephone and telegraph company, refrigerating system, gas company (three pipes), Boston water board main, pneumatic tube, sewer and salt water fire protection pipe.

"Thus there are thirteen different concerns using this one avenue which is filled with no less than eighteen different conduits.

"When it was first suggested that the electric wires be put under ground there was the strongest opposition on the part of the various corporations. Above all was this opposition directed against municipal ownership and control. The legislators were deluded by arguments that the whole scheme was impracticable and then when the public clamor threatened the success of the main project they were overwhelmed with the plea, in public and private, that 'the city should not be loaded down with taxation for the benefit of corporations.'

"This plea came mainly from the corporations. I met a South Boston man at the state house, working with might and main against allowing the city to construct the conduits, and I could not understand his object. Finally a bill was passed requiring the corporations to do the work, and establishing the office of commissioner of wires. The man received a large amount of money soon after, and then I could understand the reason for his zeal."

Socialism on the Way

The St. Louis Mirror, a republican paper, has discovered something which the Socialists have been talking about for years. It says:

Let us not get excited over the Morgan-Hill-Vanderbilt-Rockefeller scheme to control the railroads of the country. The scheme is bound to succeed sooner or later. There is no getting away from the fact that the railroad business must be brought to a more strictly business basis, that competition which does not benefit the people, and does cripple the competitor roads, can only give away to consolidation. \* \* \* Let the formation of the railroad trust go on. When it is formed, full-rounded and complete, we know what will happen. The nation will take it, either at a reasonable compensation, or simply by confiscation, through mandate of the people that will set aside even the Supreme court. The ultimate logic of the railroad trust, which eventually will combine with other trusts, which, in fact, springs from the other trusts, is government ownership. And then—well, then ye shall have the great burden of an official class of operatives of government properties; unless, indeed, everything be nationalized and we be all employees of the government, or, let us say, of the people. There is not the least doubt that the development of the consolidation idea renders all protest against ultimate Socialism futile and foolish. Democracy tends in that direction. Republicanism tends in that direction. Christianity looks in that direction. The wealth of the people will go to the people, when the people shall be fit and ready for the change.

Silk Concerns Combine

Twenty silk thread mills will change hands and 6,000 employes will be affected by the consolidation of the silk thread manufactures in the United States, which, it is announced, will take place within ten days. Ten branch concerns in Chicago will be included in the combine. Their western offices will be given up and each company will sink its individuality in a common company and name.

The deal, which involves \$12,000,000, is being engineered by an English syndicate, of which the Coats Thread company is the main factor. Negotiations for the consolidation have been under consideration for two years, but it was only within the last few weeks that an agreement was reached between the English and American capitalists.

It is a cash transaction and the money will be paid over to the American owners. All of the largest firms in America, including Belding Bros. & Co., the Nonotuck Silk company, the Brainard & Armstrong company, the Holland Silk Manufacturing company, the Winstead Silk company and the Richardson Silk company, have accepted the offer of the English syndicate. In all ten concerns, some of which have several mills, will be bought. The reason advanced for the consolidation is economy. It is the plan of the syndicate to do away with the different branch concerns in one city, leaving one at each business center. This will save, it is figured, a large expense in the number of clerks and salesmen needed.



AROUND THE WORLD

A recent invention enables the marble carver to strike 6,000 blows a minute, as against 30 by the hand process.

The new billion-dollar iron and steel trust will employ about 400,000 workers, so that probably about two million persons are directly dependent upon the octopus.

Socialists the world over are grieving over the death of Olivier Lissagaray, well-known author of the history of the Commune. He died at Paris, January 25th.

The employees of the State railways of Denmark threatened to strike if they did not receive an increase of wages. The Minister of Public Works has to grant the advance asked for.

The yearly conference of the Social Democratic Labor party of Holland will be held at Easter, and will be chiefly devoted to the elections and the relation of the party to the trade unions.

In Austria 25 per cent of the women who earn their own living are engaged in mines and factories. An examination of the general conditions under which women exist in Austria gives very lamentable results.

The minister of war of Belgium reports that Socialism is making great inroads in the army; that it could be relied upon to repel an invasion, but is doubtful if it could be used to suppress an insurrection of the people.

A new law has been passed in Switzerland by which industries dangerous to health are brought under the law. Formerly, according to the provisions of the law of 1887, there were only 11 of these trades; there are now 23.

In the three years 1896-1898 there were 1,085 cases of lead poisoning among the workmen in England. It is only a few months ago that a linotype operator on the Boston Herald was laid up several weeks with lead poisoning.

The most amazing bull of all the list ever collected or perpetrated is not Irish, but English. It is that which appears twelve times a year on the title page of a London magazine: "The Fortnightly Review, Published Monthly."

Thirteen negro miners were entombed in the coal mines of the Alabama State Insane asylum, about two miles from Tuscaloosa, this afternoon, by a flood of water from an abandoned shaft, which rushed in upon the men, filling the mine to the depth of ten feet.

The Rev. Dr. Stocker has been finding fault with the German Socialists because they are too selfish, but, as Singer told him in the Reichstag, this is a strange accusation for a man to make who belongs to a party that has made bread dear for the people.

The allied printing trades of Des Moines, Iowa, last month signed a four-year agreement with the proprietors of that city, which provides for the recognition of all unions and increase in wages, amounting to 20 per cent in the case of the bookbinders.

In a recent speech in the Reichstag of Germany, Bebel, the Socialist, showed conclusively that the Boxer movement was a patriotic movement, and that the European powers were the real aggressors. Sir Robert Hart, who has lived in China, over forty years, makes the same statement.

Of the 33,000 operators in the cotton mills of Massachusetts, 15,800 are women and children. Skilled men receive \$1.10 per day; unskilled, 66 cents; skilled women, 65 cents; unskilled women, 47 cents; and children, 21 cents—working from ten to twelve hours per day.

The yearly current cost of holding the Philippines amounts to nearly or quite \$2 per individual. It accordingly amounts to \$10 per year for each family. To the large majority of families in the United States this sum is nearly or quite equal to what the heads thereof are able to earn in a week.

The total acreage of Scotland is 19,500,000, of which over 2,000,000 are devoted to deer forests, from which all but the owners, their friends and keepers are rigidly excluded. The total area under tillage in Scotland is 3,500,000 acres. Since 1883 nearly 600,000 acres have been added to the deer parks.

The announcement is made that John Most, the anarchist, is about to appear in a play, and that if it is a success he may take to the stage altogether. Most is collaborating with a number of other reds in writing the play, which will be a tragedy in five acts, entitled "The Strike." Most is to be the star, and is writing his own lines.

A Socialist Priest's Book

"Socialism and the Labor Problem: a Plea for Social Democracy," by Father T. McGrady of Kentucky. The boldest arraignment of capitalism ever penned. Send 10 cents for a copy to the address below. Unexcelled for propaganda. 100 copies sent postpaid for \$3.50. Address Debs Publishing Company, Terre Haute, Ind.

COMMUNE CELEBRATION  
SUNDAY, MARCH 24, 1901  
AT 3 P. M.

LASSALLE CELEBRATION  
SATURDAY, APRIL 6, 1901  
AT 8 P. M.

ARBEITER HALL, TWELFTH AND WALLER STREETS

CONCERT AND BALL

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The West Side Sangerkranz and several excellent Soloists will take part. ALSO MUSIC WILL BE RENDERED BY THE LASALLE BAND

Speakers will be CARL KLEIST, of Milwaukee, and SEYMOUR STEDMAN, PHILIP S. BROWN, and PETER KNICKREHIM, of Chicago

TICKETS, INCLUDING WARDROBE CHECKS  
35 CENTS

ADMISSION AT THE DOOR  
50 CENTS

SPECIAL OFFER FOR THE MONTH OF MARCH

During the month of March Socialists throughout the world celebrate an event of great historical interest, the Paris Commune. We desire to call special attention in this connection to three important books with which Socialists should be familiar, and to make a SPECIAL OFFER on these books for the month of March only.

1. History of the Commune of 1871  
Translated from the French of Lissagaray by Eleanor Marx Aveling. 8vo, 515 pages, clear and large type. Cloth \$1.00

2. The 18th Brumaire of Louis Napoleon  
By Karl Marx. Translated from the German by Daniel DeLeon. An elegant volume of 78 pages with Marx's picture as frontispiece. Price 25-cents

3. The Civil War in France  
By Karl Marx, with an introduction by F. Engels. Translated from the German by E. Belfort Bax. Price 25 cents

The History of the Commune, with your choice of the other two, will be mailed to your address postpaid, for \$1.00. This offer is good for the month of March only.

THEODORE DEBS  
126 Washington Street CHICAGO

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY

Karl Marx Capital, Cloth.....	25.00
F. W. Sprague—Socialism from Genesis to Revolution. Cloth.....	1.00
Gronlund—The Co-operative Commonwealth. Paper.....	.50
August Bebel—Woman; Past, Present and Future. Paper.....	.25
Blatchford—Merrie England.....	.25
Edward Bellamy—Looking Backward.....	.50
Edward Bellamy—Equality. Cloth.....	1.25
Lissagaray—History of the Commune of 1871.....	1.00
Charles Vall—Modern Socialism.....	.35
Ashplant—Heterodox Economics and Orthodox Profits.....	.15
Henry D. Lloyd—Wealth Against Commonwealth. Paper.....	1.00
Voynet—The Ruins of Empire.....	.50
Thomas Paine—The Rights of Man.....	.25
Hurry George—Social Problems.....	1.00
Osborne Ward—The Ancient World.....	1.50
Adams—President John Smith.....	.50
Richard T. Ely—Socialism and Social Reform.....	1.00
Suchner—Man in the Past, Present and Future.....	1.00
Lissagaray—The Industrial Revolution.....	1.00
Herron—Between Jesus and Caesar.....	.40
Fabian Essays.....	.50
Rogers—Six Centuries of Work and Wages.....	.50
Donnelly—Cair's Column.....	.50

THEODORE DEBS, Secretary Treasurer,  
126 Washington Street, Chicago.

**GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LITERATURE**

**SOCIALISTIC LETTERS**  
Being the chapters of Merrie England done into German and suited to American conditions  
BY VICTOR L. BERGER  
200 pages - - - - - Price 15 cents

**THE MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS**  
A German adaptation of the pamphlet by C. H. Vall.  
BY JACOB WINNEN  
12 pages. Price 5c., in larger amounts, 3c.

**TWO GREAT SPEECHES**  
Should be Read by Socialists Everywhere and Put into the Homes of Non-Socialists

Delivered at Central Music Hall, Chicago, Saturday, September 25, 1900, by

**EUGENE V. DEBS**  
AND  
**PROF. GEO. D. HERRON**

A Splendid Campaign Document

Sixteen Page Pamphlet. Price, Three Cents One Hundred, \$2.00

Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago

**Appeal to Reason**  
Socialist Weekly with 100,000 subscribers and the number growing with every issue

Is Unique—Nothing else like it

Will be sent to your address fifty-two weeks for fifty cents. Girard, Kansas

Watch this space for Appeal announcements

**THE CHALLENGE**

A Weekly Paper Published by H. Gaylord Wishire.

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA.  
50 Cents per Year.

**SPRAVEDLNOST**  
(JUSTICE)

BOHEMIAN WEEKLY PUBLISHED BY THE BOHEMIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC BRANCHES OF CHICAGO

Subscription, \$1.50 a year  
Address, 700-702 Leomis Street, Chicago, Illinois

Now Ready! 138 Pages!

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY  
**RED BOOK**

EDITED BY FREDERIC HEATH  
Printed on Plate Paper Handsomely Illustrated

This is an annual publication for Social Democrats who will find it indispensable for reference purposes. This first issue is of especial value because of the historical character of its contents. Among the features are:

A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA  
Covering 76 pages, with portraits of Robert Owen, Etienne Cabet, Wilhelm Weitling, etc., etc.

ALBERT BRISBANE  
The first American agitator, with portrait.

A TRIP TO GIRARD  
By Wayfarer, with view of Appeal to Reason office.

KARL MARX ON THE SINGLE TAX

MACHINE vs. HAND LABOR  
Compiled from government reports by Lador Ludloff.

SHORTER PIECES  
Labor Conflicts in 1899. Gronlund. Grant Allen. Chronology for 1899. Directory of Social Democrats. Socialist Controversies of 1899. The "Golden Rule Mayor." Prof. Herron's "The Social Democratic Platform, Etc.

BIOGRAPHIES OF WELL KNOWN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. Twenty in all.

ELECTION STATISTICS  
Covering the Socialist movement down to the present year. A valuable reference.

A SOCIALIST PORTRAIT GALLERY  
Comprising seventeen likenesses of leading workers in the movement, distributed through the book.

Best postpaid a receipt of price, 15 CENTS.

DEBS PUBLISHING CO.  
TERRE HAUTE, IND.

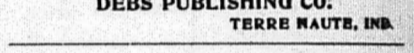
**THE Book You Need**

**PRINCIPLES OF Scientific Socialism**

By Rev. Charles H. Vall  
Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

**CONTENTS:**  
The Industrial Evolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Surplus Value.  
The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Useless Vocations, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Directors, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers.  
The Evidences of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Spirit and Aim: Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Inanity, etc.  
Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress, Industrial Depression and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery.  
Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off Today Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Land Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; that Extravagance is the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Thwart Inventions and Improvements; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality. Conclusion and Index.  
12mo, 236 Pages; Paper, 35c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO  
THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St.  
CHICAGO



**A PRIMER OF SOCIALISM**

A 32-page pamphlet which contains in addition to the "Primer of Socialism," by G. G. Clemens, "Socializing a State," by the late Laurence Gronlund, and "Economic Terms and Phrases," by A. P. Hazel.

One of the strongest pamphlets for propaganda yet issued. A splendid vote-maker, and thousands should be circulated before election.

PER COPY, 5 CENTS—PER 100, \$1.50  
Address, Debs Publishing Co., Terre Haute, Indiana.

**MERRIE ENGLAND**  
(German Edition)

The Famous Book by Robert Blatchford, translated into German by Victor L. Berger, Editor of Vorwaerts.

188 Pages. PRICE, 15 CENTS  
Admirable for Propaganda Among Germans  
Send Orders to this Office

**BRANCH SUPPLIES**  
Membership Cards (per 100)..... 1.00  
Membership Applications (100)..... .25  
Constitutions (each)..... .60

Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.