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It ought to be a law as inflexible in human affairs as the order of day and night in the physical world, that if a man will work he shall both rest and eat, and shall not be harassed by any question as to how his repose and provisions shall come. Nothing less ideal than this satisfies the reason. —William Dean Howells.

# SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

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Comrades, you have heard the old saw that speaks of "killing two birds with one stone"—this matter of the union secretaries' fund is that kind of an apparatus. From such opposite points of the compass as Reading, Pa., and Denison, Tex., come the reports of the Central Trade and Labor Councils endorsing Socialism. What do you suppose did it? Literature?

Brother Gompers, in his campaign for the "pure and simple" policy, and the "Fizzle Federation," fears nothing so much as the systematic distribution of literature by the Socialists among the union bodies.

The elements of disunion now at work within the A. F. of L. must be counteracted by the careful and unremitting efforts of the Socialists, in order to save Trade Unionism to the labor world.

The capitalists are organizing a systematic campaign to destroy the unions, and nothing but the education of union men in the principles of the class conscious struggle is going to make it possible to hold them together in the coming struggle with capital. "Education" is the watchword. The printing press makes it possible, and as long as Mr. Madden lets us send the Herald through the mails, there is nothing so cheap and effective as sending this paper to the union secretaries.

Save the unions, and agitate for Socialism! Send in your money, and the paper goes right away to as many secretaries as you make possible.

It is a hard business deal, indeed, that the miners are forced to make with their stone-hearted economic tyrants, the coal barons, when John Mitchell feels forced to say, when asked to name a sum that he represents living wages for the people he represents, that six hundred dollars a year would be about the needed amount. It is an affront to our boasted American citizenship, an affront to our aspirations as the nation selected by destiny to lead the world to decent citizenship, that six hundred dollars a year is adequate to keep an American family going and enable it to produce the new crop of citizens on which the world must depend. And what kind of a commission is it that can sit unmoved when such a standard of living is suggested by the spokesman of the grasping poor.

It costs the city of Detroit, which has a municipal lighting plant, \$99,044.62 a year to light her streets, the number of lights used being 2042 arc and 6948 incandescent lights. It costs Milwaukee, who lets private corporations do the work, \$212,506 to light her streets, and she had 325 less arc lights than Detroit. The people of Milwaukee, who are not so miserably poor as they ought to be, in order that the corporation can make their graft out of the city. And worse still, the Sentinel is already feeling out, editorially, in favor of letting the street railway monopoly have the city lighting contract!

The doctrine of Anarchism in its essential purity is the most beautiful social theory ever constructed. It removes, in theory, of course, from the path of every human being all obstacles to the attainment of perfect content and happiness. It aims to accomplish exactly what the Socialists promise, but to bring about this result it would adopt a system diametrically opposed to that proposed by the Socialists. Anarchists advocate the abolition of all government, law, society, property, religion and the distinction between right and wrong. They would make each individual a law unto himself and permit him to choose for himself that which he may consider to be for his interests and to take it after having made his choice. Socialists, on the other hand, would strengthen the government, giving it its keeping. ALL PROPERTY, and all sources of production and DOING OUT TO INDIVIDUALS under conditions fixed by itself such articles of comfort and necessity AS IT MAY CONSIDER to be for the individual's advantage. Anarchism makes the individual supreme; Socialism strips the individual of power, if not of identity, in order that the state may become all powerful. And yet it presents an intolerable paternalism, owning everything and "doing out" what it itself thinks the people ought to have. The tendency of the times is toward democracy. Paternalism is NOT democracy, as the Sentinel doubtless knows. The Sentinel is a false teacher, and false teachers are criminals.

We have no quarrel with the law of the survival of the fittest, we Socialists. We know it is an inevitable law and must be reckoned with. And it is just because it must be reckoned with that we are determined to change the conditions under which the people must live and win their bread. Under bad conditions only bad men can hope to survive. We want good conditions so that good men can have a chance. Or, in other words, we want good conditions so that men can afford to be good. Do you see the point?

Man is by nature a social animal. Today in this country men are organized on a basis of political equality. Industrially, work is carried on socially. But economically, the condition of mastership and slavishness prevails. To secure right relations industrially carried on by social effort should be social also in the matter of its ownership. Then, and not until then, can man claim that this is a country of the free and equal.

"The minister of justice of the Kingdom of Spain—a member of the cabinet and a recent formal public address, made a proposal to prohibit marriages between persons who were not pronounced healthy by medical authority. Suggestions of the sort have been made in other countries, but this is the first occasion on which they have been taken up in Europe by high officials. The minister proposes first, to increase the minimum age for marriage, which is now 14 years for boys and 12 for girls, and to prohibit consanguineous marriages altogether.—N. Y. Sun.

It is hardly an overstatement to say that the majority of the people who marry in this country, rich or poor, are not in normal health, and it is but stating a truth to say that this is because of the conditions under which people must maintain themselves under the capitalist system, the poor being diseased and broken down by factory and other wage work conditions, the rich by their gluttony and dissipation and celebration of their economic victory over their fellowmen. But mainly, it is the working class that suffers in health by conditions. Under a perfect state where every person would have the chance to be sound physically such a law as that proposed above would be a complete humanitarian error. It is a recognition of the right of the future generations to be well born. But under present conditions it would deprive a possible majority of the people of the right to establish their own home—even poor houses are better than none—and to live up to the unwritten laws of a complete human career. Laws to prevent those suffering with extreme cases of disease would be humane and proper, of course. But an all-including law would be a beginning at the wrong end, and therefore wrong and futile.

## WE DEMAND THE APPOINTMENT OF RECEIVERS FOR THE COAL MINES, AS A TEMPORARY RELIEF, AND ULTIMATE OWNERSHIP OF THE COAL FIELDS BY THE GOVERNMENT.

The above was a demand made by the Knights of Labor, and it represented the sensible, up-to-date view, but alas! it is the capitalists who are in possession of the government in this country, if you please, and they have interests opposite to those of the common crowd.

## The Failure of Home Rule in America—Father Hagerty's Views.

"I have received a number of inquiries from Irishmen in this country about my letter in the Dublin Workers' Republic and I want to sharpen the things which I said in that letter. My parents were born in Ireland; and I am truest to their memory when I contend that Socialism is the sole remedy not only for Ireland, but also for the down-trodden race of man in every part of the world.

"We have home rule in America; and what has it done for the great mass of common people? You will find the answer in the slums of our big cities, in the sweat shops, in the glass factories and among the "bonded baby slaves" of the condition of our workmen is little better than that of their fellows on the continent. We have in America practically the same unequal distribution of the earth's treasures as that which obtains in every stronghold of capitalism. The earth is very wealthy; but ac-

quainted with the highest measure of comfort, working under an iron-clad agreement, absorbs the great profits and hides them away under tricky bookkeeping, by which 40 per cent, or more of the selling price of coal disappears as freight charges—paid by the monopoly to itself. Meanwhile the miner is permitted to dig when the mine is not shut down by agreement, making a bare living. He costs so little that the coal monopoly does not have to improve its methods. It can continue to use obsolete machinery and do its work in a wasteful manner because men are so cheap."

When the railroads go into politics openly the people generally see it, as they did in Wisconsin this fall. But the people are not yet the winners, the railroads are in politics secretly all the time. The owners of their stock sit in the halls of legislation, while those legislators who are not owners of stock generally succumb to the wiles of the lobbyist who is in the pay of the railroads. There is no relief for the people in sight, that deserves the name. What little legislation they may get on the surface will be simply to throw dust in their eyes. The farmers as long as they throw their strength to putting capitalist parties in power will lose the best part of their crops to the transportation companies and their cut-throat tariffs, while city folks will have to pay for their provender what it costs the farmers to raise it, plus the big fat rates of the companies.

## Capitalism a Self-Confessed Failure.

The following article is taken entire from the Chicago Tribune of current date, and it forms a significant and convincing indictment of capitalism as need be asked for. Out of their own mouths are they condemned, these capitalists, and certainly no "fulmination of agitators" could paint the picture of the hopelessness of capitalism as completely.

The testimony given by this officer of the poor shows what the Socialists have maintained: That the present boasted prosperity is a capitalist prosperity, in which the workers cannot hope to share. Under it, as the testimony here given shows, the poor are ground down worse than ever.

"As prosperity increases the hardships of poverty increase proportionally. Prosperity raises prices, but does not raise wages of washerwomen and scrubwomen, of day laborers. The present winter promises to test the resources of Chicago's charities to their utmost. Added to the high prices demanded for food is the high price demanded for coal."

In these words, Ernest P. Bicknell, superintendent of the Chicago bureau of charities, summed up the situation in Chicago. He spoke yesterday before the department of philanthropy of the Catholic Woman's National League, his subject being "The Recurrent Aim in Charity."

"If we have an old-fashioned winter," said the speaker, with reference to the fuel situation, "the hardships from cold weather in Chicago will be greater than in years past. Already we have had a larger demand for fuel than is usual so early in the winter, which would indicate that the demand during the winter will increase steadily as the cold weather increases."

"Even soft coal is much higher than it has been in years. It is an odd condition that compels those who can least afford it to pay the highest prices for coal. The fact that the poor are forced to purchase fuel by the basketful makes them bear the heaviest burden of the suffering resulting from the famine in fuel. Last year baskets of coal cost from 15 to 25 cents, this year the price is from 25 to 35 cents. Out of fifty or sixty coal dealers visited by the agents of the bureau of charities only two were found who sold any kind of coal at 20 cents a basket."

To sickness and death of the natural family bread winner, Supt. Bicknell attributes the destitution of a large majority of the dependents in Chicago. He said:

"The average family found in destitution, in a state of discouragement and resignation to their lot of poverty, can almost invariably be traced back to one cause—sickness and death. There is sickness, then, doctor bills, then destitution, or there is sickness, death, and doctor bills afterwards, followed by utter destitution. The widow is left with a large family and the result is inevitable. Where the natural bread winner is either dead or invalidated the result is dependence."

The above ought to remove the element of doubt from the mind of the man not quite reconciled to Socialism's indictment of the capitalist system. It comes from an authority and is given publicly by an ultra-capitalist newspaper. It puts the inviolability of the capitalist system as beyond doubt.

And this very pertinent question presents itself, and we challenge the capitalist press to answer:

How can the working class, in any way, prepare for the coming crisis? How can they by any possibility lay up anything in advance to meet the coming storm—which, whether it comes this year, as Capitalist J. J. Hill claims, or the next, will surely come—how can they meet the coming storm?

Let the capitalist press answer.

and Cincinnati gives the following statement gathered from personal interviews with nearly seven thousand workmen of these cities: The average cost of living is \$5.24 per week, and the average wage is \$3.83 per week. On a scale of the wages taken at random, which gives the condition of thirty-eight women wage-workers in Cleveland, twelve of them were earning \$3.00 per week and less, and six of them were earning \$2.00 per week and less. If we are horrified, and rightfully so, by what which causes the ruin of one life, what shall we feel and say of the injustice and wrong which ruins a hundred lives? To those who are permitted to see it, the tragedy of our modern industrial and social system is appalling."

All this, mark you, in a country enjoying—on paper—the highest measure of comfort, working under an iron-clad agreement, absorbs the great profits and hides them away under tricky bookkeeping, by which 40 per cent, or more of the selling price of coal disappears as freight charges—paid by the monopoly to itself. Meanwhile the miner is permitted to dig when the mine is not shut down by agreement, making a bare living. He costs so little that the coal monopoly does not have to improve its methods. It can continue to use obsolete machinery and do its work in a wasteful manner because men are so cheap."

There is so much distress in Germany that they are cutting up dogs for food. People starving in the sight of plenty—people able and anxious to produce wealth, but held back by conditions such as those of the capitalist system. It is about time our civilization was civilized.

A healthy body nourishes every part, or, if it fails, sickness results. Society is not healthy or normal until every member is above want.

People are actually dying as a result of the coal famine. Your brothers, your fellow creatures, your neighbors whom you should love as yourself, are being killed off by capitalism in the most cowardly and awful manner. Can you stand by and let them die? Can you withhold the force of your might, little or great, from the battle to end this great man-crushing system?

Do you realize that this paper gives you gilt-edge propaganda matter and the principal editor is a fighter who might be if you are not putting it into the hands of strangers to the movement? Order a bundle each week.

At last the Associated Press has waked up with regard to the Massachusetts municipal elections. Still ignoring the fact that the Socialists carried Brockton and just missed success in Haverhill, it figures that the vote fell off a few hundred as compared with that cast for governor. This discrepancy was due, of course, to certain local issues that figured in the municipal campaigns. In the general election of the state the Socialists polled a total of 10,869 votes.

Some of the leading athletes of the present day maintain that the best records are made by men who subsist on a fruit and grain diet, even though the food is controlled by the market forces. Apples are scarce and high in the markets and yet vast numbers of them rot on the trees. The same with other fruits, under the vandal and profit-nunty hands of the master class. The fruit of one state is bought up and sold at inflated prices, while the rest could be had at home much fruit is spoiled by attempts to hold it in cold storage, and so on. Even the street fruit vendors help to spoil this bounty of nature. In their attempt to escape loss from rotting fruit, they force the rotted fruits on their customers with the result that the good fruit is kept till it rots, and there you are! Its a wonderful system.

Today, a daily paper of Detroit has come out with an editorial endorsement of Socialism.

The Indiana supreme court has upheld the law which provides for the weekly payment of wages. The law is construed to prevent the uses of promissory paper by employers in their efforts to evade weekly payments. Once in a while the mill of "justice" slips a cog and drops out something in labor's interest.

fighting for home rule in Ireland; but, in the face of its overwhelming failure in America, I repeat that it is a clumsy makeshift and that as a remedial measure it means simply the transference of the seat of exploitation from Westminster to Dublin.

Home rule would not give the workers the full produce of their toil. Profit, interest and rent—the means whereby the few now live off the sweat and blunted hopes of the many—would still hold sway in the industries of Ireland. The iron laws of wages would not—may, could not be—abrogated by home rule under a capitalist form of society. In other words, the workers would continue to be robbed of all their earnings above that which is barely sufficient for their subsistence and for the propagation of other wage slaves when their own usefulness shall have ended in the treadmill of capitalism.

It is true that home rule would give home capitalists more direct control of the home markets; but it would not solve the great problems of happiness for the proletariat. Indeed, no half measures will accomplish that purpose. One may not trifle with a cancer. The only right procedure in such a case is complete excision down to the last vestige of the malignant vestige remains of the giant epithelial cells which have been waxing big at the expense of the entire organism. Reform will not suffice. If you do not wholly eradicate it, a cancer will readily re-form. We must have a thorough wiping out of capitalism and a genuine construction of Socialism before Ireland can be free and humanity can be freed from the prison bounds of squalor, hunger, misery and shame.

Thomas J. Hagerty.

## The Scandal of the Age—Coal Investigation Bringing the Fiendishness of Capitalism into Sharp Relief.

The testimony that is being brought out in the examination before the coal strike investigation dwarfs to littleness all previous crimes over which people have sighed and scolded.

Pitiless greed, the demand for capital for its increase, has been dehumanizing the wretches forced into the anthracite mine regions by the cracking whip of human necessity flourished overhead by the capitalist competitive system. After driving them into that luckless quarter and putting them absolutely at the mercy of the system, they have been pounced upon by the meanest, most-damnable brood of human harpies this world has yet produced and these harpies in broadcloth, the "respectable" fellow citizens, have almost picked their bones bare of meat. Their victims have had no chance to defend themselves, no show for their lives. When rats are caught in a trap they are at least liberated before the dogs are let at them. They are given a chance for their lives. Not so the anthracite miner. The damnable dogs of capital kept them in the trap and devoured them lick by lick—and remained "respectable" in the eyes of the world!

form of "gentleman's game," the game of capitalism, the game of "pluck-the-worker," the game of labor exploitation, is fiendish, it is abominable; ay, a monumental crime of crimes!!

There is no monster known to history so lost to all ideas of decency and fairness as the modern monster of concentrated wealth. Every dollar invested must have its increase. That increase must be had by hook or crook. To fasten must be had by hook or crook and the de- cent, for coal barons, in his heart he is fiendish, even in his kindly face, dresses in the latest fashion, drives behind coachmen, lives amidst splendor at home, at Newport or at the European resorts, or on steam yacht or in private car and exacts homage for public benefactions. Proudly he walks the streets, but in his heart he knows the real role he plays in modern society and that his game works because the people DO NOT KNOW!

to fair labor conditions in the anthracite regions. All untrue.

It is only necessary to run over some of the testimony being brought out in the investigation to see this. The following for instance:

Mrs. Kate Burns of Jeddo was then called to the stand and told a story of how she and her two boys worked thirteen years to pay off an accumulated house rent and coal taxes to the Markle company. Her husband was killed underground, leaving her with four children, the oldest of which was a boy of 8 years. The company never paid her a penny, but the employees gave her about \$180 to defray the funeral expenses. During these six years she said she kept her children at school; as the eldest child was 14 years she sent him to the mines to help earn the daily bread.

unsuspecting worm goes about on its way eating insects, the food that it supports to nourish it in its transition period when it is turning to a moth. But it is mistaken. The eggs of the fly draw nourishment from its body until the larva within are sufficiently matured to escape from the shell. The escape is all ways downward! They pierce the skin of the caterpillar, which continues to move helplessly about until the voracious grubs have literally eaten it alive and destroyed its nerve cells.

It is a horrible death!

Just as horrible as the way in which capital feeds on labor in the coal dis- pensary. Just as horrible as the way in which capital feeds on labor all over this great "land of the free." Just as horrible as the way capital feeds on the people at large, middle class as well as lower class, in its control of the necessities of life. Exploitation, exploitation every- where.

And when our patience has been tried to the point of revolt, we are blandly told that this is the greatest country on earth!

injured list for two years. The company took out of the collection the rent he owed.

Then followed the most pathetic story yet told the commission. The old miner, de- ceived by the company's false promises, was told of how the eviction was carried on. The wife was sick and her 100-year-old mother was blind and unable to walk. His wife became worse.

"We were greatly worried because of our having been turned out of our house, and one night," the witness said, between sobs, "she died."

From the above, you can see, can you not, the justification Baron Esce had for claiming that the private ownership of the mines was a trust from the creator! But here's more: Mrs. Andrew Chipple, the mother of the 12-year-old breaker boy who testified on Saturday that he had to work on the coal fields, her father, took the stand and substantiated all the boy had said. She gave the additional information through an interpreter, that the Markle company wanted her to sign a paper waiving all right to sue the company for the killing of her husband in the mines. The company promised her rent and coal free for six months, but she refused to sign. Upon her refusal to do so they charged up rent and coal, and the little boy was compelled to work at 4 cents an hour in the breaker, but his wages are so small that the debt is increasing.

President Hill of the Northern Pacific sniffs a coming panic. It is amusing to hear those wise financiers talk. He says it is due to lack of confidence and the trouble in Venezuela. The wage system has nothing to do with it, of course! The fact that the people get less wages than they did ten years ago and are expected to pay double prices for all their necessities cuts no ice, of course! When a great financier opens his mouth, wisdom of the simon-pure article comes out—nit!

The coal trust is now engaged in absorbing into itself a nice little wad of the people's wealth by the extortionate price it has set for its coal. If the people thought they would escape paying for the miners' strike they were fools indeed.

The politicians and candidates in this state, as required by law, are filing statements of their personal expenses in the campaign just past, and some interesting facts they bring to light. Passing over the statements of the Social Democratic candidates, who used no money to further their personal "candidatorial" interests, we come to the statement of Gov. La Follette. According to his schedule it cost him \$7738.77 to secure the re-election to the governorship. Now, seven thousand and odd dollars is a good deal of money. Not everyone is so well situated that he can afford to toss out seven thousand dollars to secure a two-year job that pays a yearly salary of \$5000. When a bird comes to the nest nearly as much money to get elected as the office will bring him in as salary, the suspicion is strong that he proposes to get what he has spent back, ever and above the salary. And aside from this, if he posts a man seven thousand dollars to get elected to a big office, where does the poor man come in? Where is the political equality? But let us pass to the "Democratic" candidate, Dave Rose. He says his campaign cost him \$3200. We have our doubts. We have a strong suspicion that this is a very decided understatement for Dave lavished money with a most prodigal hand—it was corporation money, doubtless, but still he lavished it—and the reports that came in to us showed that at nearly every point he touched with his campaign train of palanquins, he left a big pile of money in the "jollying up the boys," after the train had pulled out. If anyone ever tried to bribe the people into voting for him, he did. And everyone cannot be bribed with as cheap a thing as a toy rose, you know! And he visited several towns, a day or two in each, and spent car fare. Yet he says he only spent \$3200. As we have said, we are incredulous. Comrade Emil Seidel, our candidate for governor, spent nothing. In Milwaukee county the candidates of the capitalist parties spent thousands of dollars, and yet those thousands for their health—they will get it for the public, first or last. So there we have the spectacle of "popular government" in this enlightened age of the world. From all this we can see how, under capitalism, the people "choose" their rulers. Are you not proud of it, though? So it is no wonder that the people generally are experiencing a revulsion of feeling and that they are saying farewell to the old parties and coming into the pure air of the Socialist movement. Let them come with the determination to hold the keys of the world. We will vindicate popular government yet!

In Milwaukee county the Republicans and Democrats each expended about \$5000 during the recent campaign. The Social Democrats exp'd about \$900. The Republicans lost 10,000 votes and the Democrats lost 10,000 votes in the years ago. Here's where the value of the things the parties stand for comes in. The Social Democrats stood for progress and got a big increase in their vote.

"Hanna's Fizzle Federation meets in New York this week," says the Light of Truth. Right you are!

Cannot we say a word or two for the children? Let's see. The other day when the first flurry of winter's snow tried to cover the ground, we noticed a fellow with his last winter's sled trying to slide down one of the hills to the streets of this city. Just then a policeman turned the corner and the little fellow grabbed his sled and took to his heels. The trouble with this civilization is that it is too much immersed in bread winning and bread winning schemes to give the rights of the growing generation a thought. It is in youth that the muscles get their training for the work of the coming years and those muscles get that training in the pleasant form of play. The country boy has the spacious fields in which to disport himself, but the city boy is hedged in by ordinances and expected to take his play in a dignified and unnatural moderation. How would we remedy this? We would at least supply each child with an open air playground and set aside as many hills as possible for sliding purposes, why not? Even close up several blocks of a street if necessary, and take possession of vacant lots and flood them for free skating—why not?

Now, horrible as the above details of the treatment of labor in the coal districts are, it would be wrong to imagine that it is only there that capitalism crushes down brutally on labor's helplessness. The brutality of the coal fields finds its counterpart in the Southern cotton mills, the New Jersey glass factories, the mills of New England, the chair factory towns, the mines of the Western states, the paper mills of Wisconsin, etc., etc. It has simply happened that agitators organization each and every work of the coal field horrors have been first uncovered to the gaze of the people at large, whose attention has been the better focused upon it by reason of their interest in getting needed fuel.

Capitalism is just as burly, and imperious and inhuman as any other option. It is its nature. It is to the manor born.



Cubs of Three, \$1.25.

# Edward Everett Hale on Collectivism.

An old-fashioned traveler, who thinks he knows his own country well, and especially his own country, finds himself on a comfortable, old-fashioned railway train, and he has in Massachusetts, on his way to his alma mater, Amherst College.

He has just laid down the Sunday American, which he has read to the twenty-fourth page, and he says to himself, "This must be near their house," and he takes his handkerchief ready to wipe it as they pass Jabez Hinds' house. Hinds was his chum in college. He always does "ave it as he goes by."

"Thirty-seven miles, Clinton station; forty miles, Boylston, here we are," he says. "Why, no! What is there? What in thunder is that wall? What are those things digging? Porter, what has become of West Boylston?"

The porter does not know; the brakeman does not know; the conductor comes along, and he intimates that old Mr. Bixby is a fool because he does not know that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts happened to want West Boylston, and took it.

The bodies of the dead in the graveyard were tenderly removed to St. John's Cemetery. The houses were moved or taken down, and a lake three or four miles long by two or three miles wide is to take the place of West Boylston.

Simply, a million people, more or less, wanted more water to drink, and to wash their carriages and to flush their sewers. They went to the state house and said they wanted it. "All right," said the Legislature, and as soon as the great dam is finished, say next April, the water which these million people need will be filling up the "Wachusett reservoir."

# Concerning the Larger Troubles of the Poor.

Last week an evening paper told of the theft of a \$10,000 pearl necklace from a New York society woman, and of a low deeply grieved she was at her bed.

What would the space writers do if they were not for the troubles of the rich? Every newspaper conveys the idea that it is only the rich that have joys and sorrows. The infinitely smaller emotions of the poor are not worth the notice of the general public. Such things as feelings, in fact, are only for those who can afford them.

The real truth, in this regard, is that the poor have much more sensitive feelings than the rich. Their senses have not been blunted by satiety. They have not been everywhere and seen everything, as the wealthy have. It takes less to give them pleasure and less to give them pain.

# ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

Socialists constantly assert their belief in the speedy downfall of the present order, and the near advent of Socialism. There are many grounds, small and great, upon which we base our conclusions in this respect. The chief economic ground is that all the facts go to show that capitalism has reached the furthest term of its development. If it continues to exist it can only be by a process of artificial prolongation of its life through a suspension of that social development which in the normal course should effect its transformation into collectivism, as it is difficult to see any further organic changes through which it can pass. We might better point out as one of the signs of the end of capitalism, that it is already being controlled more and more completely by its financial side. In its earlier and immature stages, it is the commercial aspect which is dominant; it is the merchant who travels from city to city to buy and sell and get gainfully with raw materials, that is a typical representative. Little by little beyond this stage was made either in Antiquity or throughout the Middle Ages. During the subsequent development, the employer of labor, the manufacturer, became the "predominant partner" until, in the heyday of its vigor, throughout the great industry of the nineteenth century, the manufacturer, or in other words, the industrial side of capitalism, controlled the whole system. Now at the opening of the Twentieth century, we see the supremacy of the old industrial capitalist in its turn threatened and even more than threatened, by the man of money—the financier—of which the Rockefeller, the Bloods, and the Pierpont Morgans are types. This domination of the financial side of capitalism over the commercial and industrial respectively, which means the reign of trusts and big combines, denotes the last stage of capitalism, and the final extinction of the last useful

**Have Courage.**

To who would lead your fellowmen  
To tread a newer, better path?  
Who strive by deed and tongue and pen  
To lighten labor's galling load?  
Who deem your slightest effort vain;  
The world shall in the after years  
Pay tribute to each restless brain.

Must not claim the truths ye teach  
And follow where your dreams have led.  
The feet of progress soon shall reach  
The paths ye solitary tread.  
Indomitable shall sweep away  
The ignorance that brings you down;  
In being the world a brighter day,  
And place new gems in Freedom's crown.

The world has suffered, patient, long,  
Beneath the grinding soulless sway  
Of unjust laws and social wrong;  
Now, his your light shall sweep away  
Your words of reason, fire and truth,  
Shall set the tolling millions free:  
Bring hard the ax of Truth and Right—  
Strike at the wrong, where'er it be.  
—Robert T. Whitelaw.

**Kautsky Makes Comparisons.**

In a recent letter to the Philadelphia "Drebbelt" Comrade Karl Kautsky of Berlin says: "A comparison of our German Socialist party's growth with that of the American Socialist movement up to the present has not occasioned me to exclaim: America, you are better off!"

"We had one great advantage: in Germany our struggle produced tangible results immediately. We marched forward from victory to victory, and while we have not achieved so much as we desire, our progress in the last quarter of a century has been enormous when measured historically and not by personal desires.

"Entirely different with you. Your struggle in America meant twenty-five long years of endurance at a standstill. It was a struggle not only against the overwhelming power of the enemy, but also against the stupidity of those for whom you have fought and sacrificed.

"To continue the battle and not lose courage under such conditions and maintain and persevere are possessed by few. At the hour of this writing the election returns for the 4th of November are not yet at hand. Whatever the election results may be and how far they may have remained behind our sanguine expectations, every power comes from America shows that the leaves in at work in the American proletariat, working mightily, thanks to the leaves which the untiring masses of German Socialists pressed on the other side of the Atlantic.

"Great difficulties are yet to be overcome, which are less formidable in Europe. The differences of nationalities and the local differences within your own class are more important and more difficult to be easily eliminated. The American workman is greater, he is more independent, he has just shown that he does not bring immediate returns in dollars and cents, he is only persuaded to support the party politician and to repudiate economic development goes forward with

Now, I might go to any swell club in Boston, or I might go down State street and stop ten of the most intelligent men in the town and say to them that within three years the state has taken the property of a thousand men for the public good of the people of the state. I might say to them, "You could not wash your faces if the state did not do such things." And I should find that not one man in ten knows what Mr. Hinds did not know, or, indeed, cares, that a town had been swept out of existence that he might wash his face.

So simply and easily are such things done all the time when there is a public necessity.

Pray, why should Mr. Knickerbocker, whom I met at Sherry's, or Mr. Girling, whom I met at the Somerset Club, be so horrified when I tell him that the state of Pennsylvania must take a few square miles of coal fields and use them for the public good? He is living every hour of his life in a system which depends on such use of such power. Why does he call me all sorts of nicknames, "Anarchist, Socialist, Jacobin," and the rest, because I propose to do on a small scale what has been done a thousand times on a larger scale?

Who made the Central park? And where is the power that made the Central park?

Who made the Pennsylvania railroad, and where is the power that took a strip of land from Philadelphia to Wheeling to make it?

And why is not a coal field as necessary as a ride from the Delaware river to the Ohio, of a washbasin full of water?

Such are the tragedies that happen every day. They are the common events of real life, and of a great deal more importance than the much chronicled events of the unreal life of fashion and luxury.

It is of such trifles, as we would call them, that the life of thousands is composed. An increase of 10 per cent. in rent or a decrease of 10 per cent. in wages always causes an inconceivable amount of suffering among the working people who are affected.

Some time let us hope, and a Congress that shall not consider the luxuries of the few as of more consequence than the necessities of the many—that shall not give first place to the insatiable demands of those who already have more than they can enjoy, but to the needs of those who have always had less than they deserved.—H. N. Casson.

**Rattled the Dry Bones.**

The Chicago papers are commenting on the talks for Socialism made in an Evanston Bible class by Peter Miller, a harness maker.

Says the Chicago Inter Ocean: "Peter Miller, the Evanston harness-maker and Socialist, spoke again yesterday at the meeting of the Bible class in the First Congregational Church, Evanston, taught by J. Scott Clark, professor in Northwestern University. This class, called the 'co-operative class' because of the subjects discussed there each Sunday, is creating much interest in church circles in that suburb, and among those who are not men connected with the financial and manufacturing life of Chicago.

"To these yesterday the Evanston harness-maker addressed his remarks and answered rapidly and intelligently the questions propounded by these men and university professors, chief among these being Prof. John Gray, head of the political economy department in Northwestern University.

"A number of questions had been propounded to Mr. Miller to answer at this meeting, the first being: 'What can Evanston churches do for the workingman?' Mr. Miller answered by saying: 'The organized church can do nothing for the workingman and society. The workingman does not want the church to do anything for him, but for society who can what is done for society in general he will share. He wants no more done for him than for all others. The church can aid anything for him, but for society who can Christianity to everyday business life, and this it cannot do with its present economic environments.'

**Individualism and Socialism.**

The gospel of individualism is only half the truth; Socialism is the other half. There can be no true social relationship or brotherhood that is not based upon the full recognition of the absolute individuality and freedom of each member of that order, and which does not bend all the resources of the combined whole, in impartial ministry, to the perfection of each individual life. Nor, on the other hand, can there be a perception of the individual, except as he in turn gives himself in devotion to perfection of the whole. The realization of this constitutes the perfection and bliss of heaven, and only the translation of this heavenly state into the life on earth can bring in the long prophesied millennium. \* \* \*

Man, in his individual capacity, can no more work out the perfection of his own personal life independent of the help and associative influence of others, than could one of the organs of the human body perform its functions and live its individual life separated from the body. Nevertheless, the individuality of each organ in the body is completely maintained by a co-ordinating head and supremely in co-ordinating head.—The Christian.

**Why there are Tramps.**

Under Socialism there would be no tramps. A large number of people are tramps because they cannot get work. A vast number cannot get work that they are able to perform. Some are clerks, or book-keepers, or mechanics, and, having lost their positions, are unable to perform the hard labor of the railroad section hand. Some are tramps because they were discouraged by long hours of laborious toil, with insufficient remuneration. Some have become hardened by the asperities of the world. Some few are dishonest, but the public is not aware of the fact, and gives them a support. Some were born tired, because their mothers labored like galleys slaves during gestation, and the unborn foetus has been impregnated with ennui and lassitude, and comes into the world encumbered with physical debility. Under Socialism, the working day would be reduced to two hours, and there would be labor for all, with a just compensation, and your tramps would disappear from the nation.—Father McGrady.

**A Brand New Ism.**

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of the Columbia University, has made a discovery. He finds that the war between Socialism on the one hand and Anarchy on the other is arousing great interest, and so he comes forward and springs something on us called "institutionalism." In an address in Brooklyn, Dr. Butler said:

"The industrial democracy finds itself face to face with powerful forces, which until this time have operated at a great distance. The whole problem is now as we to wisely and sanely develop individuals who can work harmoniously at their best and live together without losing their individualism or individuality? By collectivism, or the killing of individuality, we should kill society to sleep. By anarchy, we should let loose every individual to his own irresponsible desires and passions. In the literature of today you will find these extremes smoothly promulgated. Henceforth we have come to view an educational idea having the merits of both and the defects of neither. We call it institutionalism. It stands for freedom of speech, a free press, protection of private property, respect for individual rights and liberty for all. I believe we shall have shortly to argue openly the question of collectivism and institutionalism."

Henry George attempted to find a middle ground with single tax scheme between Socialism and Anarchy, but up to date his discovery has not been accepted to any great extent. When and how will Dr. Butler institute his institutionalism? He should hurry because collectivism is moving rapidly and he may not be able to flag the train, as there are a great many stumbling blocks in his way.—Ex.

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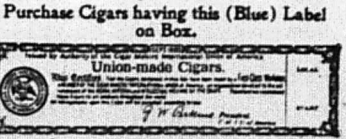
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# Gleanings from Busy Socialistic Fields.

## Notes from Yankee-land.

The Socialists expect to carry Butte, Mont., in the spring.

Comrade Job Harriman has left San Francisco and located at Kingman, Arizona.

Wyoming came into line, according to the official count, with 602 votes. Last time only 20 votes.

Comrade Kate O'Hare of Kansas City has been added to the editorial staff of *Wilshire's Magazine*.

Chicago comrades will hold their city convention on December 21. A full city ticket will be put in the field.

The official vote of New York state shows that Hanford, for governor, received 23,400. The S. L. P. vote was 15,886.

A city central committee has been formed at Seattle, the number of local branches now being sufficiently numerous to warrant such a step.

The Erie Socialists and Laborites are still talking of a daily paper to counteract the lies circulated against Labor's interests by the local capitalist sheets.

Comrade Frederic O. McCartney will introduce a bill in the Massachusetts Legislature memorializing Congress for the national ownership of the coal mines.

Comrade James S. Roche, assistant to Leon Greenbaum, has been elected a member of the local quorum at St. Louis, to succeed Comrade Hildebrand, resigned.

Comrade Guy H. Lockwood of Minnesota has identified himself with the Mills correspondence school. A magazine of lessons, called the *Socialist Teacher*, will be issued.

Are you as a comrade making the most of your opportunities? Are you letting your Herald lie around where no one can see them? Are you getting a bundle for distribution each week? If not, why not?

The students at the Wisconsin State University at Madison have formed a Socialist club under the auspices of the Social Democratic party. Comrade Simons of Chicago, a former student, will shortly deliver an address.

The official count for the state of Washington gives the Republicans 59,017, the Democrats 32,544 and the Socialists 4739. The Prohibitionists had 1785 and the S. L. P. 834. This was a gain for the Socialists of nearly 3000.

Criticisms are being heard in regard to the plan of the St. Louis headquarters in arranging a lecture tour for Comrade John C. Chase of Haverhill, Mass., through the South, especially while certain long standing party debts remain unpaid.

We urge our Socialist Trade Unionists in the cities to bring about a consideration in their central bodies of the plan for yearly conferences of central bodies looking to uniform demands for legislation in the interests of the working population.

The official returns for California give Brower, the Socialist candidate for governor, 9502 votes. This is below the average of the rest of the ticket, which is about 10,500 and gives our party the necessary 3 per cent. to entitle it to official standing.

The local differences in San Francisco, due to the disastrous union of the Socialists and the Union Labor party in the recent election, has caused a district resolution calling on Socialists throughout the country to speak out in opposition to the coalition there, in order that the friends of such coalition in San Francisco may be discouraged from further entanglements are printed.

Our Wisconsin comrades who have secured lecture dates for Comrad Carl Thompson are to be congratulated. They are casting bread on the waters that will bring them surprising returns, as this remarkable campaigner comes fresh from his triumphs in Montana and other Western states and is invincible. The special value of the Thompson lectures, outside of the treat they provide comrades themselves, is in the unusual chance they afford of bringing strangers into the range of Socialistic eloquence and logic. This latter point should be made the most of.

Comrade Walter Thomas Mills has contributed an article to the *International Socialist Review* defending state autonomy from the aspersions cast on it by the St. Louis quorum and ridiculing the idea of holding a national convention. He holds that those best quali-

fied to manage party work in a given locality are the members in that locality themselves, a rule from a national headquarters amounting at the least to a blundering interference. "The duty of the hour is to make 100,000 more Socialists," he says, and not "100 delegates in a national convention." Hear, Hear!

The official count in Missouri gives the Republicans 228,397, the Democrats 273,081, the Socialists 5335, the Prohibitionists 4945 and the Public Ownership party 3358. The S. L. P. tagged in behind with a vote of 939. From these figures it appears that our party fell back from the vote in 1900 to the tune of 793 votes. Judging from this result it would seem as if Missouri was in need of more state autonomy and less desire for absolutism on the part of the national headquarters.

In an otherwise meritorious article in favor of state autonomy Comrade Critchlow of Ohio says, in the *Seattle Socialist*: "State autonomy does not mean that Wisconsin can refuse the national organization a list of their state local branches; that Kansas can abolish the dues paying system," etc. Probably the writer Critchlow is not aware that there was an express understanding on the floor of the Indianapolis convention that each state was to have exclusive right to its lists, etc., and that under no pretext was the national headquarters to get possession of books and lists. Nor does he know, probably, that apparent efforts were made to disrupt the movement in Wisconsin which made it impossible for Secretary Greenbaum's demand for the state list be denied. That the campaign to break down state autonomy fell through is in no small share due to Wisconsin's action in defending its rights in this direction and to the results of the recent election. Even then, efforts were made from St. Louis to send speakers into the state without conferring with and even in spite of the wishes of the state organization.

## Wisconsin Notes.

Kenosha will have Edwards on the 12, 13 and 14 of January, and Thompson for three nights also.

We have Comrade Thompson billed for nine days in Milwaukee.

The Eleventh ward of Milwaukee is arranging a course of lectures. Funny how these Socialists can't stop campaigning after election.

Monroe has been stirred up by a visit of Prof. Ely, and is securing the cooperation of the ladies of the town in its propaganda work.

Port Washington came into line at the last minute in making up the dates for this month. Also there was a new charter made out with the name of Port Washington inserted recently.

The Agitator spoke at Plymouth last week Thursday, on "Socialism and the City," and had a good audience in spite of the fact that there were four other public gatherings in town that night. Many Republicans were out.

Fourteen new branches since the first of November is the story so far. Wonder if we can keep up that gait. We can if the comrades in the state will help. This will mean that we will be in shape for about 50,000 votes two years from now if we go on. Roll 'em up, comrades.

Strange, isn't it? how the election returns themselves seem to be making Socialists. Our work counts both before and after the election.

Fond du Lac comrades promised to have a branch organized and going by the time of the next issue, and we have no doubt they have kept their promise.

Sheboygan is going to have a week of Socialist revival meetings with Carl D. Thompson for the revivalist! Meetings will begin at Born's hall and go to the various parts of the city during the week, with one meeting at Sheboygan Falls, and then a final roundup at Born's hall. We are sure there will be many converts.

About three hundred people turned out to hear Comrade Gaylord's address in Plymouth Church, on last Sunday evening, in which he showed the essential harmony of the aim of Socialism and Religion. Dr. Titsworth is to be commended for his evident spirit of fairness, in opening his pulpit to a Socialist speaker, so soon after having himself spoken in criticism of it.

Comrade Debs has just concluded a lecture tour through Iowa, Michigan and Ohio, with crowded houses everywhere.

## Across the Herring Pond.

Swedish Socialists have doubled their parliamentary representation.

Glasgow, Scotland, has made a profit of \$2170 on the year's working of its municipal telephone system.

Two councilmen were elected by the Socialists in Schmoellu and two in Eisenberg, Germany.

Spain has 27 Socialist municipal offices in 13 towns, one Socialist review, 11 weekly and 2 fortnightly papers.

The Socialists have 34 members in the Belgian Parliament. They have a Socialist majority in 57 communities.

The Socialist party of Norway has 150 Socialist councilmen. The Common Council of Christiania, the capital of Norway, has 14 Socialist members.

There are municipal tailor shops in Berne, Switzerland. They were established to abolish home working rooms.

The French Chamber of Deputies has passed a bill forbidding public and private employment of more than six days a week.

In Moscow, recently, two under officers were arrested, charged with carrying on revolutionary propaganda among the soldiers.

The Italian Socialists of Milan have taken a stand against duelling and will henceforth expel duelists from the party.

The Hon. M. Jacobsen, Radical member of the German Reichstag from Schleswig-Eckernforde, has resigned on account of becoming a Social Democrat.

There are 58 Socialists in the German Parliament, 42 Socialists in the State Legislatures, and about 1000 Socialists holding municipal offices. In Saxony alone there are 741. The German Socialist press consist of 83 periodicals; 54 are daily journals.

The work houses in England are overcrowded. At Hartlepool the stress is so great that many must sleep on the floor. At Newcastle the trade union officials estimate that 14,000 men are out of employment. The high price of coal makes matters worse.

The government of Germany is making preparations to combat as far as possible the growth of Social Democracy and its chance of greatly increasing its representation in the Reichstag at the next election. A government newspaper is one of the means being resorted to to "educate" the people.

## To Wisconsin Branches.

In the interests of the work throughout the state as a whole, we want to ask of the comrades in all the branches, and for that matter, in all places where there are Socialists in Wisconsin, that they correspond with our state secretary or the state organizer before making dates for lectures on Socialism.

The reason for this is twofold.

In the first place, the state headquarters are constantly planning now to send speakers throughout the state, and can make arrangements to send any speaker at less expense to the branches or comrades and with greater efficiency to the movement as a whole by making all dates through the headquarters office. The single item of railway fare alone will count up a considerable saving, which will go for the benefit either of the points engaging speakers or of the state lecture bureau, to help out weak points.

In the second place, not all speakers on Socialism are desirable. There are plenty of good speakers to be had, when the comrades are ready to have them come; but there are also some who are either poorly informed on the subject and likely hence to be misleading in their statements. Others there are whose spirit is bitter, who antagonize people instead of leading them into sympathy with the movement of Socialism.

For these reasons, we urge the comrades in all places, before making any engagements for Socialist speakers, to advise this office and see whether some other speaker equally as good or better is not being planned for about that same time in your locality; or whether perhaps we are not planning to have the same speaker later, on some arrangement that will be more advantageous to the work of the state as a whole.

We invite the correspondence of the branches and comrades in this matter, and are always ready to answer questions.

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From The Mail Bag.

Monroe, Wis., Dec. 13.—Editor Herald: Prof. Ely lectured here last night and while we Socialists enjoyed the lecture, we stopped short right where the logical conclusion of his lecture would land him in Socialism. He traced the development of mankind down through the different economic stages to the trust era and ended up with: "We are going to have government ownership in natural monopolies such as railroads, telegraphs, coal mines, etc., and government control of competition in the other lines." He did not make it clear, however, why a railroad should be a natural monopoly any more than a large department store with enormous capital, and we asked him information on the subject after the lecture, also what he would do with the unemployed men who are by the trust method of production and distribution, which he evaded by saying that it would take too long to explain it. Now we want a speaker to continue where he left off and will try and make arrangements with the Woman's Club whereby we will furnish the lecturer if he will furnish the audience and the hall. We are to take up Socialism next month, think it will be to their benefit to have Socialism explained from our standpoint.

Otto Kundert.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Thickens.—The work of Zola that most endeared him to the Socialists is undoubtedly his story called *Germinial*, or *Nana's Brother*. It is well worth reading, especially now when coal strikes abound.

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