

Let the People Own the Industries.

At my time of life—at every time of life—a man ought to feel that if he will keep on doing his duty he shall not suffer in himself nor in those who are dear to him, except through natural causes. But, as things are now, no man can feel this. And so we are going on pushing and pulling, climbing and crawling, thrusting aside and trampling under foot; lying, cheating, stealing; and when we get to the end, covered with blood and dirt and sin and shame, and look back over the way we've got to a palace of our own, or to the porchhouse (which is about the only possession we can claim in common with our brother-men), I don't think the retrospect can be pleasing.—Wm. Dean Howells.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

A JOURNAL OF THE COMING CIVILIZATION.

Fifth Year. No. 30.

TEN WEEKS TRIAL SUBSCRIPTION, 10 CTS.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., SATURDAY, JANUARY 17, 1903.

ONE YEAR, 50 CTS. CLUBS OF THREE, \$1.25.

Whole No. 233.

Good News for Herald Readers

This paper has decided on an increase of size! It will make the paper bigger and better—the third increase in page form since the paper made its bow to the public as the official organ of the Social Democratic Party of America (note the Socialist Party in some states) way back in 1898! How well we remember its first issue—five columns to the page—it was small but beloved!

The second year it was enlarged to six columns—now we have outlived that and it will be seven columns after Feb. 14! Three cheers for The Herald!!! Besides this, several pages will be added for local and state readers.

But why? Someone may ask.

Because it is necessary—no better reason could be asked for. The times demand it. The battle is a big one. These are momentous days. A hard fight now will save many ACTUAL BATTLES in the future. The last election showed that a great army of voters in this country not only know what Socialism is, but are enlisted in the ranks to help vote it in. But of the rest of the people there is a large number who are willing to learn about Socialism. There are others whose economic condition is such that they ought to know about Socialism. Literature is needed to take the message to them. That literature must be of the best.

Next week we will tell you of some of the special features that will appear in the enlarged Herald, and of the corps of writers of note who will help make its pages glow.

We mean to make The Herald a complete Socialist weekly; the best for propaganda, the best for the home, the best for workers and for strangers. More than that it will continue to be Democratic Socialism that we expound; not reactionary, but thoroughly in accord with the latest thought in the international socialist movement of the world. It has stood for this from the day it was started. At that time the Socialist movement in the United States was practically at a standstill. This was because of wrong tactics, wrong methods of spreading the light and an attempt to inculcate a narrow scientific, sectarian and therefore utopian conception of Socialism. This paper was the mouthpiece of the so-called Debs' movement which succeeded in making Socialism native to the soil and starting it on its all-conquering mission, of making it worthy of the love and brains men who gave it a purpose in the world.

Out out this pledge, sign and mail TODAY.

PLEDGE

TO THE MILWAUKEE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PUBLISHING CO., 614 State Street, Milwaukee, Wis.

1903.

I hereby pledge myself to contribute the sum of \$ _____ each month for one year for the establishment and maintenance of an enlarged Herald.

Name _____

Address _____

Out out this pledge, sign and mail TODAY.

And now a direct word to our comrades. It is our part to plan and help provide the means of war, the means by which propaganda can be carried on. Instead of our urging on the comrades to do their part, the comrades should urge us. They do it, so we are not complaining. But we must work in union.

To the branches of the party we urge that all possible effort be made to disperse of stock in the paper. Give us as far-reaching an ownership as possible. A share is \$5 and it carries with it a life subscription to the paper. Also see pledges for donations (local comrades can get blanks at this office) and show all, canvass for subscribers.

To the unions we would say much the same thing. Become part proprietors in the work of issuing emancipating literature. Get as many subscribers as possible, for we intend to make the enlarged Herald second to none in the way of union news. Better still, we shall always fight the battle of organized labor against capitalism.

To Milwaukee friends we call attention to the plan to hold a meeting to organize a Herald army of workers, at a date to be announced later. State readers should also form local organizations, so that the seed of Socialism can be systematically planted. Canvassing committees should be appointed—and especially in Wisconsin where the comrades already see the advantage of having a national paper published in their midst.

To work! To work!!!

First mate—Cap'n, we'll have to let up on the men a bit. They're almost ready to mutiny.

Cap'n—Damn the let-up. Serve 'em an extra spoonful of grog each mornin'. An' then give 'em three cheers, understand? An' make 'em work harder!

The cost of living has advanced 35 per cent. The workers cannot live on the wages they get, on an average. They are raising up bills. Sooner or later that will be played out. Then—mutiny.

The Milwaukee street railway company, one of the meanest labor-robbers in the face of the globe, has just made its "voluntary" increase in pay. It returns it asks for more "faithful and industrious" service. Really, that's the way.

It is a raise of 1 cent an hour. The men work TEN hours a day and SEVEN days a week. Says the announcement: "It now gives me great pleasure to announce that, taking effect January 1, 1903, the pay of our motormen and conductors will be increased 1 cent per hour, making a total of wages as follows: 19 cents per hour for the first year, 20 cents per hour for the second year, 21 cents per hour for the third year, 22 cents per hour for the fourth year and thereafter."

What the above really means is that the men have been raised to 20 cents an hour, for it is rare that a man stays in the company's service longer than two years. He cannot live on the pay, so he finds a better job, or his wife or babies die and he turns tramp, or some such reason. So it can be fairly reckoned that through the great munificence of the great "four-flusher," John I. Debs, a street car employe has an income of \$12 for a six day week, to say nothing of lay-off, and he makes two dollars more by working on the seventh day. "The security of the home is the safety of the nation," say the Fourth of July orators.

The men buy their own uniforms and must keep them neat and in repair. The company maintains a very large extra stock, as many men as it can hold are kept on this extra list. The reasons are obvious. The extra men are given work for a few days a week—enough to keep them hanging on and to enable them to just about live—all in the hope of getting a regular run, in order to earn \$14 a week by working practically all their waking hours, day in and day out throughout the year. Some men are kept on the extra list as long as two years. "I desire to assure you of my personal regard," says Mr. Debs to the men in his announcement. Yet any employe of labor who forces his workers to work every day in the year is an enemy of society and a monster.

The company maintains a spy system to keep the men from organizing into a union. It keeps mysterious blacklists of the names in which men suspected of dissatisfied talk are listed and removed when the offense becomes pronounced enough. "A man who is satisfied with his position," says the famous Mr. Debs, "will be more successful in the discharge of his duties." This is the spy system!

Why the great street car monopoly is so humane, benevolent. Generous enough to give its slaves nearly enough to live on. Humane enough to use the pitiful situation of its wage slaves as a means of vaunting itself as a public benefactor. Benevolent enough to avoid

which we speak the cars on the State street line were 10 and some even 15 minutes apart! People wishing to ride down town were forced to stand in the cold waiting for such lengths of time. The company expects its unpaid employes to be "enthusiastically courteous" to the patrons, but how does it treat those patrons itself!

Like other "philanthropists" of its class, the street car company always gains by its generosity. When the hourly rate was "voluntarily" granted by the city it was soon followed by an order by which street crews did the work formerly required of twenty! The recent raise came as an ominous one to the men. They know that a killing time card for the spring will follow. It means two or three more turns in the vicious strain under which they work. The men on the sick list always form a large number—and their pay always stops meantime. This spring the number is sure to increase.

Do you know what would happen if the city acquired the street car service? Let the scenes fall from your eyes. Listen to what happened in the city of Glasgow:

A private corporation of profit greedy capitalists had a lease of the street car service in Glasgow from 1871 to 1894. They gave bad service, and paid poor wages, naturally, and when they could not come to terms with the city over an extension of the franchise, the city gave them the right about and undertook the work of running street cars itself. When the company's lease expired the city put on a new service of cars, brand new and in every way better than the old. The private company ran opposition bus lines to try and block the city's game, but the city surmounted all difficulties. One-penny fares were arranged, longer rides were given for 2 cents, wages were raised and hours shortened and free uniforms provided, better service given, and at the end of the year, in spite of all this, there was a profit of \$120,000, showing that wages could have been raised still higher and the fares lowered still lower. Many more people made use of the cars and where there were 170 cars under the private company, there were 322 under the management by the people. On the basis of last year's business, had the private company been in control, and given as good and as expensive a service as the city, that private corporation would have pocketed a cool \$500,000!

These are facts—facts that the street car company's Milwaukee Sentinel takes pains to withhold from you. The same condition now exists in Milwaukee as would exist in Glasgow had the private company kept its franchise. No wonder, then, the Milwaukee street car system, owned by Eastern capital and is considered double-distilled "gilt-edge" property!

In the recent election the Democrats put up John F. Donovan as a candidate in the Fourth Wisconsin district, but without a platform. So John let out his coat, a bit and fixed up his own platform and filled it full of what he thought was bait for Socialists. But he was beaten just the same. Last week he spoke at a Democratic banquet in Chicago and got off the following piece of "straight-laced" wisdom:

"Let us be true to ourselves. Too long has Democracy been offering populus the patent medicine of a cure for the ills that infest the body politic. Too long has Democracy been firing with and absorbing the lies and fallacies which now seem to be the only medicine in vogue. It is no wonder capitalism is becoming alarmed. The present exasperation of the populace over the coal outrage is only a training for further things. When the people of Milwaukee turn upon the street railway system and demand, too, that it shall be municipal property, run for and by the people, the soulless crew that have been harvesting our nickels these many years for a service that has not accommodated the people or given the car employes a living treatment, will have their own sins to blame for it. It is no such a far step from demanding municipal coal and wood to demanding municipal street cars.

On one of the coldest evenings of last week the editor of the Herald took note of the way the car company handled the 6 o'clock crowd. Not one car passed this office but was so packed with desperate people that those on the outside kept missing their footing and falling off. Even women were in the bunches of humanity that clung to the steps. Not a car but was thus crowded—and why? Simply because the company will not run cars enough to accommodate the people. Think of the cruelty of forcing men not actually dressed for such long exposure to the cold to ride in a bitter wind for miles in such a way! And to show the bad management and the inadequacy of the service, the company bunches as many of its cars as it can downtown to take care of the 6 o'clock home-going crowd, with the result that from 6 to 7 the numbers of cars bound for downtown are few and far between. On this particular evening of

How Milwaukee Socialists Forged the City to Relieve (?) the Coal Situation!

What cowards these capitalists are! If anything can frighten them, Socialism can.

Milwaukee has just had a little experience with coal matters. In common with other places the people of the city were denied coal by the local representatives of the coal conspiracy. The thing grew worse and worse. Many poor people had to stay in bed to keep warm. Heartrending stories of suffering flooded the press. Sick wives and babies were threatened with death by cold. The distress was widespread and increasing, looked upon it unmoved. So long as their own interests were not threatened what did they care?

But they finally bestirred themselves! The Social Democrats did it! Seeing nothing was being done, save to talk of charity and the like, the Socialists arranged a public coal-famine mass meeting. That sounded dangerous. The Socialists were known to be people who meant business. The mayor planned a foxy game. Such a scurrying round of bankers and politicians you never saw! By the day of the meeting they had the plan fixed up. By noon the capitalists and the officials looked upon it unmoved. So long as their own interests were not threatened what did they care?

held in the afternoon at the city hall. A prominent Social Democrat thought he would attend. When he appeared there were nervous glances and he was accused by one of the bankers.

"This is a private meeting," he said. "And in the next breath he added, 'You don't intend to hold your mass meeting now, do you, now that we are going to get 10,000 tons of coal here?'"

"We certainly shall have it," was the reply. "And hold it we did, and it was a rouser."

Lincoln hall was packed to the doors. Comrade Carl D. Thompson made the principal address and the meeting was one of the most enthusiastic ever held in the city. The following resolutions were passed by rising vote:

Resolved: That the Capitalistic system has again broken down at a vital point, and has shown the increasing difficulty of supplying the necessities of the people under the profit method of doing business, in the coal famine, which now exists in the city of Milwaukee and many other places where the people must live; and

Resolved: That this famine must occur as a result of the stoppage of the production of coal in the anthracite coal region, no action has been taken by the owners of the mines, the United States government, or the state or municipal authorities to prevent the inevitable suffering on the part of the people from this cause; and

Mayor Rose is imitating the chamber of commerce gamblers. He is supplying coal for July delivery.

Words come to us that the painting of the black boards in the Milwaukee schools is being done not only by non-union labor, but by school boys hired by a contractor. The claim is made that the city has to pay 75 per cent. more under this arrangement than it did formerly when the work was done in the usual way.

A local preacher says Socialism would hamper personal initiative and keep the young men from developing the talent there is in them. Present day poverty doesn't hamper young men, oh no! He urged young men to seek the places at the top by becoming specialists. If all the young men could do this, it would depopulate the factories. But the capitalists are not a bit alarmed. They laugh in their sleeves to think that there are still lots of chumps who will believe what the preacher says. Oh, what a game!

We urge our trade union readers to pass resolutions of protest in their unions with regard to that bill now before the Senate at Washington, as told of last week by Comrade Wentworth, which proposes to establish a military reserve of 100,000 men to be at the command of the President. Read what was said of it in last week's paper over carefully and make your protest good and strong. Write letters to your daily papers. Wake the people up to the game that the capitalists have afoot and show them that their liberties are threatened. Capitalism is playing a desperate game. Turn on the light.

Bradley, the millionaire lumberman, is dead and the capitalist press say he was a self-made man. But he wasn't. He was made by other men, men most of them who will die poor. He was an appropriator of other men's labor, a depleter of other men. He was one of the men who are numerous enough, who have gotten rich by getting possession of the natural wealth of the country and exhausting it for their own personal profit. This country is being stripped by such men, men more voracious than Kansas grasshoppers—and the fawning plute press calls them self-made. This particular man, Bradley, practically owned the town of Tomahawk, Wis. He ruled it despotically. Now that he is dead some of the townsmen will dare to admit openly that they are Socialists.

At the coal investigation in Pennsylvania the other day it developed that there is a Pennsylvania law which permits the use of a deputy sheriff to enforce in other words, the deputy sheriff, officers of the public, but are in reality given their orders and paid by the rascally mine owners. The laws do not permit the state to pay the deputies to watch the mines, so the barons pay them to do so. Every man who dares to control. Under such an outrage, it is wonder is that the strikers did not riot more than they did during the strike.

A more shameless special pleader for capital than Rev. Hodgins of Milwaukee would be hard to find. Last Sunday he again preached on Socialism and a more astute sermon never. Hence, his ignorance of what Socialism really is was profound. The burden of his plea was that there was lots of room at the top—which is true, seeing that the cormorants at the top are eating each other up—and that the man who could not get to the top was too stupid for the business world. Every man should become a specialist, he said, an Edison, Marconi or the like—and his FORTUNE would be made—not a question of service, you see, but fortune hunting. But these fortunes, now, where would they come from if all the men had left the ranks of labor and become specialists! We suppose he would have the machines tended by women and little children. It was notable that of all the men mentioned as having attained to the top, not one was a giant of finance or industry, yet these are the men who are actually at the top. The specialists are only rich as some financier has exploited their inventions or discoveries and then had the graciousness to divide a little with them. In fact, it is notorious that inventors are the special prey of the vultures of the business world, men who by their own cunning and innate rascality are able to escape the necessity of earning a living by honest productive toil. It isn't the worthy men who are rich or always the case. Eugene Field, who was enriched the poetry of the nation, was proverbially improvident, and Opie Reed, the novelist, has gone hungry at just the times when his output has been greatest. Many a "shrewd" publisher, a specialist in his line, has plundered him. But enough. Rev. Hodgins belongs to the class of time servers who talk to small and "select" audiences, because he does not talk in the true interests of the masses. Last Sunday he spoke before seventeen men and double that number of women.

Whereas: The action now proposed by bankers and officials only in the nature of temporary relief, and is taken to stop the clamor of the people whose patience is becoming worn out by the barefaced and shameless greed of the capitalist class on the one hand and the time-serving, office-seeking ambition of the unscrupulous politicians on the other hand; therefore be it

Resolved: That we demand of the State Board of Health, that in case the actions of the bankers and officials should prove insufficient for the rapidly growing needs of the people, they, the State Board of Health, shall take possession of the existing supplies of coal in the vicinities where needed, and distribute the same in such manner as may best preserve the health and lives of the people. Be it also

Resolved: That we demand of the Mayor and City Council of the City of Milwaukee that they shall immediately take such measures as will lead to the establishment of a Municipal Coal and Wood Yard, for the furnishing of fuel to the people at cost, as much of a necessity in this climate as the furnishing of water and light, and as properly within the province of the municipality. Be it also

Resolved: That we demand of the Governor and State Legislature of the State of Wisconsin, that they shall immediately enact such measures as will empower every incorporated city within this state to establish a Municipal Coal and Wood Yard, for the furnishing of coal and wood to the people at cost. Be it also

Resolved: That we demand of our representatives in Congress, and of the Pres-

The Catholic Church and Socialism.

It is vigorously claimed by the Roman Catholic Church that it will be the only reliable bulwark against the tides of Socialism, which to the minds of the best thinkers is going to be the next phase of Western civilization.

A prominent writer has gone so far as to say that "One after the other all the statesmen and citizens who believe in the present order of things will be seeking shelter from the approaching storm by gathering under the canopy that surmounts the chair of Peter. That means, in other words, that the Catholic Church is to be the last refuge of capitalism.

Let us see whether this is true. There is Belgium, for instance. Belgium has for centuries been Catholic and "Popish" to the core. Belgium has a population of more than six millions of whom only fifteen thousand are Protestant and three thousand Jews. All the rest are Roman Catholic. There is a case of confessional solidarity. The Catholic Church has been the leading factor and force in the history of Belgium. With some few exceptional cases she has controlled the whole educational system of the country, especially the elementary and public schools.

Now, how has the Social Democracy fared in Catholic Belgium? Nearly one-third of all the votes cast have been given for the candidates of the Social Democrats, and we must remember that on the side of non-Socialistic candidates are found all the "rural votes"—it being the law in Belgium that the wealthy and educated classes and the priests exercise the right of "plural votes," i. e. their votes are counted two or three times. Belgium is becoming rapidly the Eldorado of the Social Revolution, although the Belgian Social Democrat, in so far as he has attended a school at all, has been a pupil in a Roman Catholic school supervised by the priest, and although in Belgium more than a million Catholic sermons and catechetical lectures are delivered each year, so that the country has rightly been called the "land of cloister and clergy."

The progress of the Social Democratic party has been just as remarkable in Italy and Austria—both of them Catholic countries.

And we Socialists cannot see how this can be far otherwise. In opposing Socialism the Catholic Church is compelled to turn its back upon the teachings of early Christianity.

The Socialists demand that capital and the instruments of production shall be socialized. Christianity from the very beginning has insisted that private property is not absolute; that it is held in trust for the good of society; and that the application of a portion for the benefit of those in need is a duty of strict justice—debitum legale (a legal debt) says Aquinas, the great Roman Catholic theologian. That "right to existence" which is one of the foundations of Socialism, is fully recognized by the Catholic Church, we are told by eminent Catholic writers.

Now this right being recognized, it belongs to the primary sphere of natural rights and therefore overrides the right to private property, which belongs to the secondary sphere, if the two come into conflict. Hence the Catholic doctrine that extreme necessity makes all things common and that he who, through no fault of his own, is in danger of perishing by hunger or cold, may without sin take from another against that other's will (etiam invito domino) what is necessary for the sustenance of life.

Once more: The Socialists protest against the rampant egotistical individualism of the age, against the exploitation of man by his fellow man, against the treatment of laborers as mere chattels, as only so much muscle and physical power. Socialists deny the position that industrial relations can only be regulated by supply and demand, by what is called "free" competition, by the conditions of trade and private profit.

And the Catholic Church also claims to lift up her voice against the view that labor is mere merchandise. Prominent Catholic writers like Count de Mun denounce "l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme," as the powerful French phrase has it, the exploitation of workmen by the capitalists. And so Leo XIII, in his Encyclical on Labor in 1891 (Rerum Novarum), said: "It is shameful and inhuman to treat men as mere chattels for the purpose of money-making, or to look upon them as only so much muscle and physical power."

We will admit that Pope Leo XIII, has now gone back entirely on that famous Encyclical. But that makes very little difference. For there was an essential opposition between the solution proposed even on the basis of that document and the Socialist solution.

The Catholic Church wants to leave the production and distribution in the possession of the capitalist class as it is now. But this capitalist class is to give by "charity" and by "alms" to the "poor" as much as it sees fit for the sake of religion.

The Socialists, on the other hand, declare that this question is not a religious problem, in fact that it is purely a politico-economic question which has very little and only indirectly to do with religion, i. e. in as much that it is almost impossible to be a truly good and honest Christian under the present system. The Socialists furthermore contend if Christianity, if the Catholic Church and its charity could have solved the problem, it had 1900 years' time to do so; yet as a matter of fact all reform and progress has been brought about only after a terrific struggle with the church.

The Socialists furthermore point out that the question being purely economic and political it ought to be dealt with as such. The Socialist accordingly propose the change in the mechanism of society which has been made necessary by the invention and application of machinery, by the concentration of wealth and the formation of the trusts. This change will NOT mean the "division of property," the plunder of the HABENTES for the benefit of the NON-HABENTES. It will simply mean the expropriation of expropriators, the restitution of the means of production to those who use them. It will restore property to all, without virtually taking anything from anybody which he can beneficially use. This restitution can only take place collectively, and the new system will make it possible for everybody to live on his own life and to develop his personality, as long as he does not infringe upon the rights of others.

In other words, it is a question whether this civilization is to develop further upon a higher plane and accept Socialism—or whether we are to go back to the barbarism of the middle ages and possibly to anarchy. The trend of events and the development of economic conditions favor Socialism. Will the Catholic Church be strong enough to oppose it? As I have pointed out at the beginning of this article, if we are to judge by the run of events in Belgium, France, Italy and Austria, the Catholic Church will not be strong enough.

Victor L. Berger.

"The people need the coal—they must have it. If the government needed this coal it would seize it and why should it not do this for its private citizens who are in such dire straits. Then, too, I believe the state board of health has the power to seize every pound of coal in Milwaukee if it would do so. Something ought to be done. Detroit convention, while it did not accomplish all that could be desired, had some effect in agitating the question, and agitation never leads to a case."

"I believe such a convention as Mr. Maybury now proposes would accomplish much if it were composed of the right kind of men. It will do no good to send a lot of bankers, politicians and lawyers there to ask these things."

"If I should again be appointed to represent this city in such a convention, and should be selected as a member of the committee on resolutions, I should work to have a set of resolutions adopted similar to those adopted at the mass meeting in this city Saturday night."

"It is a case in which the 'eminent domain' of the government should be exercised. If the government needs a man in the ranks it drafts him into the service, and pays him for it. If it needs supplies they are seized without the asking and paid for. Why, then, has it not the same right now?"

Senator Hoar touched a weak point in Socialism when he said it would reduce life to a dead level, and made a safe prediction that while it might do for China, it will never be a Yankee remedy.—Evening Wisconsin.

Here we have a brace of ignorances publicly parading their ignorance. Socialism is a public question, but United States senators and newspaper editors have no excuse for being ignorant on the subject. It is stupidity to say Socialism might do for China, when in point of fact Socialism can only come as a successor to capitalism, as the common ownership of the forces of machine production is not possible in a country that has not passed through the developing and organizing era of capitalism—some certainly China has not. There's an awful lot of ignorance in high places.

The city of South Milwaukee cast 70 votes for Socialism at the recent election, a gain of 62. The capitalist press reported the vote the other day as 2, and some thoughtless people in that place have been twitting our comrades on their "poor success." The joke is on them, however.

At the moment of going to press the following telegram is received: Boston, Mass., Jan. 14.—Frederic Heath, editor Social Democratic Herald, Milwaukee: The supreme court gives the Socialists the decision in Haverhill majority case. William Manly.

At the municipal elections in the Massachusetts cities December 2 last, the Socialists carried the city of Brockton, but failed in the city of Haverhill by 14 votes, due to the grossest of frauds such as capitalist politicians are proficient in. The Socialists took the matter into the courts, with the above result. Comrade Parkman B. Flanders, Social Democrat, is therefore the new mayor of Haverhill.

Of course the coal has not arrived yet, and there are evidences that it will not arrive and that the whole thing was a politician's bluff, a little flyer of Rose's to try and spoil the coal mass meeting in the interests of his political schemes and the peace of mind of the bankers—a cruel trick of course to play on the people in their extremity and distress; cruel, unspeakably cruel!

Since then the mayor's office has been crowded by people applying for the coal. Their names have been taken down and they have been told that they will be served in their turn WHEN THE COAL ARRIVES!

Still the incident is instructive. It shows that the only way the people can get activity out of the rulers is by moving themselves.

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Social Democratic Herald.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE Milwaukee Social Democratic Publishing Co. Directors:—H. H. Thomas, Pres.; Victor L. Berger, Vice-Pres.; Dr. Fred Bernheimer, Secy.; Chas. T. H. Westphal, Treas.; Seymour Steinman, John Doerder, Sr., Edmund T. Melms; Eugene H. Rooney, Jacob Winick.

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The Man He Killed.

1901! And the murdering of men by war still goes on! Scene: The settle of the Fox Inn, Stagfoot Lane. Characters: The speaker (a returned soldier), and his friends, natives of the hamlet. Had he and I but met By some old ancient inn, I shot at him as he sat down to wet Right many a nipperkin.

But ranged as infantry, And staring face to face, I shot at him as he at me, And killed him in his place. Wealthy slave owner, at Harper's Ferry at the time of the John Brown raid. Washington was taken prisoner to be held as a hostage for the freedom of the negroes of the vicinity and his own slaves liberated, and the sword was taken by his captor to John Brown, who used it while in command of the United States army.

Facing a Problem. And in these days, it has come to pass that many good men, believing that Socialism is a danger—perhaps urged to that perception by such rulers of the land as the Emperor William (sacred of their temporalities)—cry out that "the church should come into closer touch with the workingman." Well, well, well, for the purpose of restraining him, and contenting him with the existing order, not particularly for his own benefit, but for the salvation of society in its present form.

EDITORIAL SHEARINGS. The Youth's Companion recently related how Capt. Otto Svedrup, the Swedish Arctic explorer had been awarded the pension of his government of \$520 per year, and adds: "When Peary receives the honors and rewards he deserves, The Companion will make mention of them. We wonder why it is that so many sensible people think it perfectly proper to grant pensions to Arctic explorers and to soldiers, but think it the weight of sin to grant the same to worn-out carpenters, bricklayers and others who have during their lives added materially to the wealth of their country and the blessings society enjoys. Arctic explorers and to soldiers, but think it the weight of sin to grant the same to worn-out carpenters, bricklayers and others who have during their lives added materially to the wealth of their country and the blessings society enjoys.

Where Socialists Control. The Socialists are in control in the city council of Berlin, and it may not be a coincidence only that experts in municipal problems are almost unanimous in the opinion that the city government of Berlin comes nearest to the ideal than that of any other great city in the world. There every one of the prominent municipal officers, from the mayor down, is employed because of his talents and peculiar skill, instead of for political reasons. The municipal officers of Berlin are selected just as the board of directors of a railway company select their engineers, their general managers, their superintendents, in order to obtain the highest degree of talent and secure the best service, and to raise them above the control of any individual or corporate anarchist, or party organization, who may desire to interfere with the management of public affairs.

From the Book Table. RESIST NOT EVIL. By Clarence S. Darrow. 180 pages, cloth. Price 75 cents. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co. This is an attack on the despotism of the state, present and past, with the unfortunate fact that the author makes the state and despotic rule synonymous for the moment. In spite of this anarchistic turn the book is a well written reading, especially for a certain type of Socialist, who happily some in number, who would have Socialism when it comes to restrain, rather than inaugurate, rule from below, and even invade proper personal rights. Summed up in a few words, Mr. Darrow launches his protest against the policeman and the soldier, making out a case against them in a direct, lawyer-like fashion. In his attitude toward the criminal he takes like ground with Ingersoll, whose pamphlet, "Crimes Against Criminals," did pioneering work in this particular field. There is much in Mr. Darrow's views as to crime and its causes, to commend. No thoughtful investigator will deny that modern conditions and the modern policing of society is provocative of crime. And as to war, its "glory" is slowly departing from the minds of men. It is coming to be looked on in its proper light, as hideous, indefensible, monstrous. Yet, sentiment or no sentiment, it is not likely to be abolished until (like slavery) it has ceased to pay—unless, indeed, Socialism has gotten possession of the world before that condition has been attained.

Suing Labor Unions. The British trade unions, for many years regarded as the strongest in the world, and rightly so, were delivered a staggering blow in the final decision in the now celebrated Taff Vale railway case. The British legal fraternity and newspaper agree that the outcome of the trial has "changed the whole industrial situation of Great Britain." Now those New York and Massachusetts capitalists who have been clamoring for laws to incorporate the unions will change their minds and simply instruct their judicial puppets to be guided by the precedents established in English jurisprudence. The American unionists might as well get ready for a judicial onslaught all along the line. In fact, the new ideas have already taken root and suits for damages against unionists and organizations are becoming quite common. The American union hurlers will like nothing better than to proceed to confiscate union treasuries. What's the remedy? What else but political action? Labor must place itself behind instead of in front of the judicial guns!—Cleveland Citizen.

THE HERALD FORUM.

Comrade Gordon Has the Floor. Boston, Jan. 4.—Editor Social Democratic Herald: There seems to be a misunderstanding as to what I meant by saying the Socialist party could not carry the Southern states in 100 years. The real point is this: Two or three years ago the Socialist party became so "scientific" that it kicked the "farmers' programme" from its platform. One reason for doing this was the fear of the taunts of the De Leonites, who, in New York and other places, were calling the S. D. P. "populists." Well, from that day the party became a party of, and for the wage workers. It has on the whole become more and more scientific, i. e., more and more narrow and fanatical, until now its tactics are De Leonized in many places like Chicago, where some of the best Socialists are tired and disgusted (they feel as I have said for a year or two). In the first place the South is not a wage working country, but a farmers' country, especially since the negroes have largely been disfranchised, and it ought to be clear to any philosophical mind who understands humanity at all that no matter how much propaganda may be made, there is no hope of winning a single Southern state. What kind of a reception does our Arkansas comrade think a Socialist orator would receive in most parts of the South if he were to preach the brotherhood of the black and white man? Maybe the day will come when the S. D. P. or S. P. will be broad and open, and then it may stand some show in the South. F. G. R. Gordon.

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Socialism The Foundation and Fulfillment of American Ideals.

The following is from an address... in the big Pantheon hall meeting in Boston recently, by Dr. H. A. Gibbs...

er Hill of the new Revolution. I do not believe that this is a mere accident. I believe that there is a direct and vital connection between these revolutions...

mation of the work of those men who along the grassy slopes of Gettysburg, in the prison pens of Libby and Andersonville, on a thousand battle fields throughout the sunny Southland, laid down their lives...

of civil and religious liberty, but we have learned that there can be no such thing as civil liberty, no such thing even as economic slavery. Political equality and economic inequality, political freedom and economic slavery, can never exist side by side...

structure of civil and religious liberty; this is the mission of the working class in the present class struggle. For this purpose it is marshalling its hosts under the banner of Socialism in every country and every clime...

we have consecrated ourselves to the task of giving to this nation, and not merely to this nation but to the whole grand brotherhood of nations, a new birth of economic freedom, a freedom which shall not destroy, but which shall only round out and complete and fulfill all those ideals for which our fathers fought.

Who Keeps the Rich? By Robert Blatchford.

There is one excuse which is still too common made for the extravagance of the rich, and that is the excuse that "The money is theirs."

borer's money the tailor would have work? Yes. Then it is not the duke's money, but the laborer's money, which keeps the tailor from starving? Yes. Then in this case the duke is the laborer.

There is no excuse in the world which is so ridiculous as the one which is made for the rich by the rich. It is a matter of great importance that this subject of luxury and labor should be thoroughly understood by the people.

What would the farmer or the workman say? "Would he not say, 'Why should I employ you to smoke cigars which I pay for? If the cigarmaker makes money, why should not employ him, since I am to pay for them?'"

The fact is, the duke has omitted the most essential factor from the sum; he does not say how the rich man gets his money, nor from whom he gets it.

Work is useless unless it be productive work. It would be work for a man to dig a hole and then fill it up again, but the work would be of no benefit to the nation.

What does the landlord do with the rent? He spends it. We are told that he spends it in finding useful employment for the poor, and one intelligent newspaper says:

Do not imagine, as some do, that increased consuming is a blessing. It is the amount of wealth you produce that makes a people prosperous and the idle rich man, who produces nothing, only makes his crime worse by spending a great deal.

What We Social Democrats Are After. The following is the national platform of the Social Democrats: The Social Democrats, in their political action, are guided by the principles of International Socialism...

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective power of capital, by concentrating themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

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The Rich Law Breakers.

When the law today, through the accident of an occasional honest and public spirited lawyer, comes into collision with the capitalist class the law gets so battered by its own makers...

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A Lesson for Voting Cattle.

The next move on the checkerboard of financial skulduggery will be the killing of free coinage of gold. Old Senator Stewart told the editor of this paper three years ago that the bankers were at work quietly rigging things up to stop the coinage of gold by some trick like the trick of 1873 against silver...

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NOTES FROM YANKEE-LAND.

Comrade A. W. Ricker of Iowa is now on the editorial staff of the Appeal to Reason. The Rev. Thomas C. Wiswell, a Congregational preacher of Seattle, has joined the Socialists. The unionists and Socialists in Brooklyn cleared over \$12,000 at their fair for the Labor Lyceum.

The Twelfth ward branch, Milwaukee, will give a social at their hall, 867 Kinzie Avenue, Saturday evening, January 31.

The new Socialist paper at Portland, Ore., will be partly owned by Cartoonist Fowler, whose work has been so much enjoyed in the West.

The national headquarters at St. Louis has issued local chapters to New Orleans, Springfield, Vt., Montreal, Ark., and to Prairie Creek Mine, Ark.

Comrade Stolz of Manitowish wrote a sharp letter to the Evening Wisconsin of Milwaukee last week in reply to a stupid piece of editorializing on Socialism.

The Southwestern Advocate of Enterprise, Kansas, has a new engraved heading. It is one of our most interesting exchanges. It was formerly published at Winfield in the same state.

Socialists in New York City held a monster mass meeting at Cooper Union with addresses by Prof. Herron, Ben Hanford and James F. Carey of Massachusetts. A big fair is being arranged.

Comrade Simons writes us that the Crerar library in Chicago has secured Prof. Richard T. Ely's collection of Socialist literature and papers which was formerly at Madison, Wis. It will be put in condition for reference and will be helpful to students of social science.

To break a dead lock in a vote to fill a vacancy in the Battle Creek board of aldermen, some of the aldermen cast their votes for Comrade Victor C. Bailey, who was put forward by the Socialists, thus making a Socialist representation of three in the body, Bailey being victorious.

The Clarion Club of Cincinnati has issued a very handsome prospectus for a course of lectures by Richard Le Gallienne, Dr. George D. Herron, Edwin Markham, Ernest H. Crosby, Eugene Y. Debs, Charles Gilman, William Thurston Brown, Bolton Hall, Franklin H. Wentworth and Marion Craig Wentworth.

Up to the present, D. M. Parry, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, has not accepted Editor Hayes of the Cleveland Citizen's challenge to debate. Parry attacked the A. F. of L. convention's vote for Socialism in an Associated Press dispatch, in which he charged the Socialists with all sorts of crimes and made a personal attack on Comrade Hayes.

Comrade M. Winchevsky of New York City, editor of Zuk mist, passed through Milwaukee last Sunday on a business trip to the West, finding time to clasp hands with old acquaintances in the movement, between trains. Comrade Winchevsky does not think that the attempt to call a national convention will come to anything, and that there is a growing sentiment in favor of state autonomy in the East.

"We gave the Union Labor party all the chance it desired to hold the local field as a workingman's party. It failed, in so far as it permitted alliances with the political tool of the capitalists, the Democratic party. We can now claim the field ourselves without the possibility of being attacked as opposing independent political action by the working class," says the San Francisco Advance, in the course of an article on the recent agreement between the Socialists and the Labor party.

Rev. Thomas McGrady, who a short time ago resigned his church (St. Anthony's) in Bellevue, Ky., has decided to devote his time in the future to lecturing and writing in the interest of Socialism and the Socialist movement. Father McGrady has already spoken in many of the larger cities and his services are in great demand at this early date. Last week he spoke to the largest audience ever congregated to hear a Socialist speaker in Cincinnati and the 3000 people

attended him time and again as he so forcibly stated why he had taken the position that he has.

Comrades Franklin and Marion Wentworth of Chicago are to make four Massachusetts. Their dates for January are: Ware, 21; Haverhill, 22, 23; Whitman, 24; Boston (Paine Memorial hall), 25; and Lynn, 26. They then go up into Maine, being at Lewiston, January 29 and 30. One the way East they will speak in Rochester on January 18 and also in Comrade Thurston Brown's church in that city. On their way from the East back to Chicago several dates will be filled.

The Herald is in receipt of a copy of long resolutions passed by the city central committee of St. Louis, in which disapproval is expressed at the defense of the fusion in California by Comrade Leon Greenbaum, E. Val. Putnam, James S. Roche and M. Ballard Dunn, editor of the Missouri Socialist, and calling on the national committee to remove them as officers of the national party. The copy sent us is scarcely legible in all parts and also its length precludes its publication in full; but the above gives a correct idea of it. It begins to look as if the St. Louis comrades were trying to arrange a "possum hunt" for the amusement of the national committee men when they assemble in the latter part of this month.

The Thompson Lectures—A Resume. The first bunch of the Thompson lectures was finished in Milwaukee Monday evening—nine meetings, and every one a success! We were "up against" a storm or a bitter cold wave every night of the meetings; and on the night of the South Milwaukee lecture the Racine car broke an axle and held us half an hour. But it didn't matter. We went right through it all and came out with a record, with the most unique record for a series of meetings ever made in Milwaukee—and we think anywhere.

It speaks well for the Milwaukee method of organization and the strength of the movement from the personal point of view when we say that every meeting was well manned with ushers, canvassers for the literature, and agents for the Social Democratic Herald.

Comrade Thompson came to us fresh from his triumphs at Elgin, where he had been winning a recalcitrant lot of single taxers over to the new gospel of labor. We felt the impact of his enthusiasm and his method of manner were new to many of the comrades, and his broad and humane treatment of the various phases of his subject lent a peculiar interest to each lecture. He spoke for nine evenings, each time on a different aspect of the great question of Socialism, and those who attended the various meetings found themselves more and more interested as they heard him again. His subjects ranged from the more abstruse, such as "The Class Struggle," to the most personal and immediately interesting, such as "Socialism and the Home," and many a person who had thought of Socialism as a narrow and rather limited system of thought began to appreciate the universal effect and value which it has for the whole range of human life and experience.

The method of the meetings was also unique, and was well expressed in the name given to the series, "The Socialist Revival." As Comrade Thompson said, "When the orthodox revivalists had pictured heaven and hell, and sung the song of praise and the high hymns, and then they would say, 'Everybody who wants to go to heaven—stand up!' Then they would pray." But in these meetings, when the logic of the Socialist message had been driven home by the humor and pathos of the speaker, he would then urge action. Everybody who desired to escape from the inertia and misery of the present social system was asked to join the Social Democratic party, and to get to work.

In connection with these meetings a beginning was also made towards putting the movement in the state on a firm financial basis. As the comrades all understand, our party cannot hope for very much support from people of means, though it is receiving some. But if great insurance companies can build up a tremendous profit-making business on the basis of 5 and 10 cent payments, the

Social Democratic party can also organize on the same basis. It is simply a matter of the comrades understanding the necessity of the situation, and each one doing his share in a properly organized effort to gather the funds which are absolutely necessary for the great state of Wisconsin to be won and organized for Socialism.

And so cards were passed, which contained both an application for membership, and a blank subscription for a monthly amount, to be collected quarterly by an authorized collector of the state executive board, for the work in Wisconsin.

The returns from these cards were very gratifying. About sixty new applicants signed the cards, while the amount subscribed on the cards in this short time and with the incomplete canvass was about \$250 a year.

Now for the rest of the work! We have 16,000 straight votes in Wisconsin. It is a small thing to ask that we should secure the national committee to remove members. But let us set our stake at that point for the next six months, and see how near we can come to accomplishing it.

And with regard to the financial matter. It is becoming a physical impossibility to do the work required of our office force in the narrow quarters in which we have been working. A new headquarters is among the imperatives of the near future. We need \$5000 a year to carry on the work of the party in an effective manner. This sounds very large, until we say that if one-third of those who voted the straight ticket were to pay an average sum of 10 cents a month it would more than furnish this amount. It would be subscribing a dollar, some 50 cents, and some a quarter a month. Every one can do as much as 5 cents a month; and all ought to line up in this battle with the giants. This is like the old battles where the archers would discomfit the knights in their armor—not because every shaft could be aimed exactly true, but because there were veritable showers of arrows, and they literally rained them down upon the men in armor, so that if there was an exposed spot anywhere it was found and pierced.

It is not in our individual economic strength that the victory will lie, but in the fact that we are many, and can meet the enemy on this field even, by organization and the power of numbers.

Comrade Thompson will carry the method and the spirit of this attempt throughout the state, and we look for a hearty co-operation on the part of the comrades, so that our movement shall find its true footing, and be free in the financial sense to carry the good tidings to all the state.

Comrade Thompson's dates after Milwaukee are as follows:

JANUARY. 13—Plymouth, Turner hall. 14—Kiel, Reseburg's hall. 15—Hayton, Ecke's hall. 16—Stockbridge, rink. 17—Chilton, Turner hall. 18—Bristol, Opera House. 19, 20, 21—Whitewater. 22—Janesville. 23—Darlington. 24—Racine. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 and 30—Sheboygan and Sheboygan Falls.

FEBRUARY. (Partial.) 2, 3, 4, Manitowish. 5, 6, 7, Two Rivers. 8, 9, 10, Neenah. 14, 15, New London. 16, De Pere. 17, 18, 19, 20, Green Bay. Others will be fixed within a week extending into March. Gaylord.

AGENTS FOR THE HERALD. L. JUSTER, 42 Gouverneur street, New York, takes subscriptions for this paper. S. L. Bundy, 197 Clinton street, New York. N. Rosenzweig, news dealer, corner Tenth and Market streets, Philadelphia. Vandervoort, 148 South Peoria street, Chicago. Max Falter, 363 Sedgwick street, Chicago. Milwaukee agents: Rooney, Neumann and Heintz, not to vote against business agent; Paul Mueller, Brown and Thirty-first streets, Nick Petersen, 2714 North avenue. Fred Leist, 430 Greenfield avenue.

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With the Workers. Enclosing a nice list of subscribers Comrade Slenker of Missouri writes:

Dear Comrades: This will seem like a message from a distant land, no doubt, but we are not quite outside the pale of Socialist influence. On the contrary, we are being due allowance for our tropical temperament, we think we are very respectable in numbers. We must admit that we fell many votes short of our number in the late election, but no daunted we are preparing for a good municipal campaign, in the spring. Many of us read your most worthy paper. The above list represents new interest in it. We wish our working class to begin with the first number of this calendar year. James A. Slenker.

Missouri, Jan. 6. This letter tells the story in simple words of the general effort that is going on everywhere. Persistent work by the sort that counts. The hard work of today, will make lighter the task of tomorrow.

Editor Herald.—My time has expired and so I renew my subscription. I am trying to get others to subscribe. The Herald is one of the best papers exposed to the eyes of Socialism I have read. I will do all I can to increase its circulation and wish I was able to take a bundle. . . . and now, Right! For the Socialism movement is coming! Many people think so but think the old parties will adopt it. I am sure they will be deceived. However, if adopted by any party, let 'em come! It is all the same when it is in operation, and that's what we are after. J. A. Axson.

It is quite likely that some of the steps toward Socialism will be yielded by the old parties, but not for Socialism's sake, but in the hope of getting Socialists to drop their direct fight for Socialism. The old parties being office-hungry, will make some compromises. But Socialism itself they will never give us. Still the more we oppose them the more they will give us!

Here's a letter from Comrade Stumpf of Cincinnati that shows how the fight is being forced into new territory.

Social Democratic Herald.—The comrades here have invaded one of the strongest Republican wards in the city and organized clubs. They will have the Herald on file in their reading rooms. The regular business meetings are held every Sunday morning at 9:30 at the hall, 29 E. McKicken avenue. Frank S. Stumpf, Secy.-Treas. Cincinnati, Jan. 1.

And now comes a request we will have hard work to grant. The Herald editors lately have been exhausted nearly every week. Who can accommodate Comrade Hutchinson? It warms our editorial heart to hear of the real fire that burns in the Massachusetts movement. "Keep the Fire Alive" was an old saying of the Antees. And so say we.

Dear Herald.—There was a number several weeks back of your paper containing an article by Dr. Lyman Abbott on "Why Socialism is Inevitable," a number I want, as it failed to reach me. . . . We had a roughing old time down at Paine Hall last evening. The house was packed with enthusiastic Socialists. Cary and McCarty's appearance, coming up the stairs,

was, as it always is, the signal for tremendous clapping and all sorts of applause. They and Mrs. Avery (who by the way I regard as the profoundest thinker and wisest Socialist in relation to the workers in America) are stirring things up here in Boston and making their influence felt. H. L. Hutchinson.

In answer to several questions by Comrade Stetson of Bangor, Me.—No, Comrade Debs still has his home at Terre Haute. The Standard Pub. Co. formerly Debs' Pub. Co., is still located there and the management is the same. There has been a disposition to overstate the recent vote of Socialist returns are not yet all in, but from the figures that have been furnished a total vote of about 232,000 is indicated.

A comrade writes that we might give a little space to what The Herald workers are doing for The Herald. So we might—and hereafter we will try to do so, opportunistly permitting. Let's see, well here comes Comrade Guli of Nebraska with eight yearlings. He gets one of Dr. Greer's books—by the way such a book ought to be in every family. Comrade O'Neil of Burma, Ark., has been appointed a Herald agent.

The business manager tells us that the bundle of Socialist literature in coming included last week, but Minnesota, Montana, Michigan and Illinois were not so very badly left in the race. The Thompson meetings made The Herald many new friends.

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