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# SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD

A JOURNAL OF THE COMING CIVILIZATION

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## CURRENT COMMENT

BY FREDERIC HEATH

Shanghai's new Socialist Journal, Hsin Socialist, is printed partly in Chinese and partly in Esperanto. "Socialists have one aim—to get political power," says Emma Goldman. You bet. And that's what worries capitalism, that has used political power to cover the people all these years.

That latest evidence of the hellishness of a capitalist owned military system, as shown in West Virginia, has opened a few more eyes. The people will not tolerate this sort of thing many years more.

A Texas comrade, W. T. Flowers, proposes to start a magazine devoted to answering the clerical attacks on Socialism. He lives at Tolbert. As premiums with each subscription he will offer some medical prescriptions "good for what ails you, or words to that effect, secured by him when he was formerly in the drug business."

At the review of the St. Patrick's day parade in New York city the other day Governor Sulzer sat on the left hand of Cardinal Farley. The reason for this was that a decision published last year settled the rank of a cardinal, he being a prince in the view of the church, as above state officials, and whether Sulzer took the right seat or was shown to it is not known.

The Socialists of Spain have one representative in the national parliament, but he is a man of stern stuff, not a mere voting accident. Some weeks ago a party was current that he had been asked to call on the king. He soon set the matter at rest by issuing a statement to the effect that he was not a believer in kings and that he therefore had no intention of doing any hobnobbing with his man-created majesty.

We have received many copies of resolutions on the West Virginia brutalities which we should like to print only that it would take a lot of our space with virtual repetitions. They show however how the people in all systems are needed curbing and the working class wherever it may be located. This shows the solidarity, the growing solidarity of labor. Every legitimate battle with capitalism affects the entire host of labor.

Most inventors die poor while some other chaps die rich by exploiting their inventions, but here comes the inventor of rough rats and "up and dies" rich. By the way, the protection that goes with a government patent amounts to mighty little. Capitalism has found that it is unnecessary to pay a poor man for his invention simply to let it and dares the poor fellow to go to court if he wants to. He may want to but he isn't able to—and the trick is turned!

Some genius would have us believe that the editorial comment, in the capitalist press on Haywood's recall, wherever such a party is present, always proves that capitalism fears Haywoodism, hence approves of the way the vote went. Well, I guess, no one expected the capitalist press to betray its real feeling. Rest assured, capitalism fears Haywoodism mighty little compared with the steady political advance of the workers toward the seizure of the reins of government. Capitalism has laws to deal with lawlessness, but none, as yet, to forbid political action.

One Fred C. Smith, who jumped to self-entitled fame by being a principal cutter-up in the recent Man and Religion Forward Movement, has been again heard from, this time in rosy reports from the Philippines, where he claims his movement has won many converts. Smith financed his movement in this country with the mammon of unrighteousness plundered from rich robbers under an understanding that the Socialists would be wiped off the map. Some of his alle was fierce, but got to many rebuffs that he subsided, and one or two others along with him, who had been attracted by the smell of unholy lucre. Hooray for Smith!

Rabbi Heller of Louisiana, preached a pretty radical sermon to a New Orleans congregation in which he pointed to the unmistakable signs of the times that show that Socialism is on the way. He said the postoffice showed what the people were demanding and that they were not likely to rest until they were what they feel they need. Industrial and social justice for the masses together with equality of opportunity was a cry that nothing could long stand out against. He also said the power of the courts is needed curbing and that the courts should be turned into real justice dispensers, which certainly no one will accuse them of being now, I am sure. It is refreshing to see a spiritual advisor who takes his office so seriously that he can feel for the common people, and for the common needs of the people. Refreshing because, at least in the past, the rule has been quite the other way.

Mayor Stolze, Socialist, of the city of Manitowoc, Wis., declined to run for a third term on the ballot, withdrawn when non-Socialists added their voice and the voice of their press to the insistence of the Socialists. An attempt was made to get some man to run against him, but even one whose name finally got on the ballot, withdrew at the last minute. He goes to the election therefore unopposed. It is a singular situation, and yet not so strange, either. Stolze, himself a large manufacturer, found himself in the bitter kind of a fight with other manufacturers when he decided that he would not rest until his city got possession of the water works and

other utilities. The fight was bitter to the core. He was downed for reelection by the wettest and crookedest election Manitowoc ever had, but the seed planted by the party as represented by him was taking root. One of his plans was to have city electric light and to make it free up to a certain amount, so that no matter how much the rich burned no one would be too poor to at least have a certain amount of it. His election a year ago showed how he stood with the voters, and the opposition simply threw up its hands in despair.

After maintaining a sullen silence for several weeks following the German charges of misappropriation of funds contributed for the defense of Steve Adams, Haywood finally, to try to still the murmurs of this labor movement, drafted a reply not addressed to Germany, but to President Moyer, of the Western Federation of

### CATHOLIC SOCIALISTS IN ENGLAND AND IRELAND

English and Irish Catholics and their clergy are accepting Socialism very rapidly. Deep-thinking Catholics—like all right-minded men who study Socialism—find its doctrine worthy of their support. Socialism teaches unselfishness and is also in accord with the Christian spirit. Catholic workmen and their dependents are as much in the toils of capitalist slavery as any other workmen and are all bound to become Socialists. —The Irish Review.

## COMPETITION—AMONG THE WORKERS.



Miner's headquarters either criminally or through faulty accounting. There was no occasion to bring Moyer into the affair, but Haywood referred to him as a "jealous enemy," and sought to connect him with the "malicious lies" of the German charges. All this aroused the lion in Moyer and his reply just printed is almost blistering in places. He calls Haywood's communication contemptible and adds: "As to being jealous of your standing in the labor movement, Socialist movement or elsewhere, I will only say that the human being who would aspire to follow in the path which you have followed, which is known to those who know you best, would be a freer, only second to yourself." Moyer declares the I. W. O. "so-called labor organization which has done everything in its power to destroy the Western Federation of Miners." He says the working class is entitled to know the truth about the Haywood collections but that this will be only allowed through a member of the union as no outsider would be permitted the right to go through the union papers and records.

## The Class Struggle and the Socialists—By Victor L. Berger

THERE are some decent men who really believe that the Social-Democrats are trying to create class antagonism and are preaching the class struggle.

There are really well-meaning men in this country who still believe that, this being a republic, there are no classes in the United States. They claim that everybody here is free and the equal of everybody else.

There are some such people in the middle class, and there are some even among the working class, who repeat these hollow phrases. And here and there even a capitalist may be found who will say so, although he does not believe it because he knows better.

As a matter of fact, under the present capitalist system, we have three classes, roughly speaking.

The first class is the plutocracy, composed of wealthy bankers, railway magnates, corporation directors, trust magnates, etc., or people who are doing nothing and inherited their wealth.

The next class is the middle class, composed chiefly of small manufacturers, merchants, farmers and some professional men.

The third class is the proletariat, made up of wage workers and some persons in professional occupations.

Now, according to the census of 1900, the total wealth of this country was about \$95,000,000,000.

The capitalist class numbers over 250,000 persons. They own over \$67,000,000,000, or 70.5 per cent of the total wealth.

The middle class numbers over 8,430,000 persons, owns over \$24,000,000,000 or 25.3 per cent of the total wealth.

The proletarian class numbers some 20,400,000 persons actually employed, and owns \$4,000,000,000 or 4.2 per cent of the wealth.

It is unnecessary for me here to dwell on the difference in the lives, mode of living and general standard of the different classes.

But the existence of classes is nothing new—the class struggle is many thousand years old. It began the very moment civilization began.

In the most democratic republic of Athens and the aristocratic republic of Sparta, and later on in Rome, the people were divided into different classes, with different rights and different duties, according to their wealth. Some of these classes were hereditary to begin with—always provided that the respective family could keep its wealth. In Rome, the Censor would assemble the Roman people every four years, have every citizen show up his wealth and put him into his respective class. And the great Cato the Censor got the honorable name of Censorius because he would expel from the senatorial class the man who could not show the necessary wealth to belong to that class.

And in all these ancient commonwealths there was to be found a large stratum of citizens who owned nothing—and which in Rome was called the proletariat, because the only capacity in which its members could serve their country was by furnishing children for the state.

Nor was this all.

Lower still—most numerous—and belonging to no class were the slaves. They did not own their bodies, and were not supposed to have any souls. Plato described the slaves as "animated tools." The slaves were either captured as prisoners of war or were made slaves on account of debts—or were the descendants of such persons.

The class struggle then was very crude and very brutal. So much for ancient civilization.

We all know that the classes almost took the form of castes under the feudal system. Everybody was pressed into an iron mould.

Society then was really a pyramid with the king on top. The high clergy and the feudal lords, the patricians and the burghers of the cities formed the upper layers, and the serfs owned by the lords formed the lower layers of the pyramid.

And under the feudal system also as everywhere else, wealth and land gotten by force, cunning, or in any other way, furnished the basis of the classification.

The capitalist system, of course, has changed the mould. But the class distinction and the class differences and the class struggle have remained. In fact, the struggle is now more subtle, but more bitter than ever.

Under former civilizations, in almost every case the class distinction was the result of war. And the ruling class was made up of the members of the victorious tribe or the victorious nation. This was generally the case in ancient times and almost invariably so during the middle ages.

The ruling class usually was the stronger, the more able part of the population. As a whole it was the only class that had any education fitted for the conditions of the time.

Thus the medieval lord was unquestionably the best fighter of his day. He was trained for warfare, clad in iron, and spent all his life in hunting or fighting. The average medieval lord in war was good for about twenty peasants. Five or six hundred of these lords could go out to conquer a country.

When the Archduke Leopold undertook to conquer Switzerland, he had an army of about six hundred, and that was considered a most tremendous fighting force. And if it had not been for the mountains and the rocks of Switzerland, he would have accomplished his purpose.

Without any doubt, in former days the ruling class were made up of the most capable and energetic part of the people. The great mass of the respective nation was also inferior to them intellectually.

Besides, in every one of these epochs they could claim, and did claim, that it was the will of God Almighty that they should rule, and that the others should serve and obey.

In old Greece and old Rome the patrician families usually also claimed descent from some god.

And all during the middle ages the church supported the claim of the feudal system to be "God ordained." The church was a beneficiary of the system to no small

extent—the bishops and abbots having great estates and ruling the people.

Besides, the ruling classes were not only more able than these lower classes, but in many cases they differed in nationality, speech and general make-up.

Thus, for instance, the Norman lords spoke French in England for a long time. In France, the Franks were a German tribe who had taken possession of Gaul. In many parts of Germany, the Germans had subjugated the Wends and other Slavic tribes. Hence there was an element of conquest in every case.

In modern countries, the conditions are entirely different.

The conquered class is of the same nationality, the same speech, the same mode of thought. And the ruling class is not better or stronger, nor more able in anyway.

Since the general introduction of public schools, the proletarians as a whole get at least the elements of the same kind of education. The ability to read and write opens to them the same avenues of knowledge and mental power that the ruling class possesses.

The proletariat and the middle class not only do all the useful and necessary work which is to be done under the present civilization, but they also have to keep up that civilization.

Today civilization depends entirely upon the proletariat and middle class for its existence.

And what is more, the capitalist class is even unable to defend its position in case of danger. If there is any fighting to be done, the capitalist class has to hire the proletariat to do the fighting.

The capitalist class holds its position only because the proletariat is asleep and is not conscious of its strength.

A statesman of old Rome said that the Romans could hold their slaves because they had never counted themselves and their masters.

However, since we have universal suffrage, there is a good chance to count ourselves and our masters at every election.

Nor would the claim that God has ordained class rule, hold good today. Not even the most stupid would believe Ogden Armour that God has ordained that he should speculate in wheat or put rat manure in sausage in order that he may make millions every year and thus keep up his end in the plutocracy. And there are very few priests who would dare to support such a theory in all its nakedness, no matter how much Armour might be willing to pay.

Nor would any one believe young Thaw or young Astor that they are descended from gods.

Unless plutocracy can persuade the majority of the people to close up all the public schools and make illiterate of the next generation, and unless it can also persuade them to give up the electoral franchise, plutocracy is doomed. So much is clear.

And that is the reason why we Social-Democrats can look with such equanimity and complacency into the future.

## Emma Goldman's Little Stunt for Capitalism Again Pulled Off in Milwaukee

Emma Goldman does not believe in politics, the divil a bit, and yet Emma has been playing a rather peculiar political role in recent years. As regularly as clockwork whenever there is an election approaching in Milwaukee, Emma bobs up with her lubberly male consorts in her wake, to campaign against the Social-Democrats.

She does the same with regard to St. Louis, and other cities where capitalism is menaced by the political movement of the working class. It is as though she said to the capitalist interests in so many words: You look out for the general campaign and leave the Socialists to me, only give me the necessary free advertising. And they respond enthusiastically. Then Emma frames her speeches with the idea of picking off a Socialist here and there in her audience with her specious arguments, in the hope of cutting down the Socialist vote. Meantime she sends a smiling, green-gaited column to the venemous staff about the Socialists emitted by their ally. Emma has just repeated her little game in the judicial and school board campaign that ended this week in Milwaukee, and the capitalist press gave columns to the venemous staff about the Socialists emitted by their ally. It is not stuff that appeals to thinking people, but by the rule of percentages much relied on by capitalist politicians it was evidently figured that a certain percentage of working people were doltish enough to swallow it. Her speeches are brimful of the usual anarchistic inconsistencies. And also she made it clear that syndicalism is anarchistic. In fact Miss Goldman is nothing if not specious and adroit. Take this bit

of humbug for the unthinking "rom her first Milwaukee speech: "Political action is periodical, so it can't bring about an evolution because it is operated only occasionally."

But political action is not periodical, it is constant. Our agitation never lets up for a moment. It is Emma's political action that is periodical. She

bobs up in Milwaukee and St. Louis and other cities where Socialism is strong at a recurring election, doing service for the capitalist interests.

The Socialists in Milwaukee will accomplish a political victory, but that will not bring Socialism. It will be just an increase in votes. Socialism is not given to the

people in true, uncompromising form. Just "an increase in votes!" Content of the governed is always a terrible thing in the eyes of the Anarchists. But it was on syndicalism that she was most at home.

"Sabotage has been declared as criminal. In the French railroad strike of 1910 perishable goods were sent to the wrong destina-

### Stockholders' Adjourned Special Meeting.

To the Stockholders of the Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Co. Please take notice that the special meeting of the stockholders of the Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Co., called to be held at Brisbane Hall (large hall), Sixth and Chestnut streets, in the city and county of Milwaukee, state of Wisconsin, on Friday, March 14, 1913, at 3 p. m., to act on a resolution increasing the capital stock of the company and transfer such other business as may properly come before said meeting, has been adjourned for the purpose of quorum to meet at the same place and hour Friday, April 11th, 1913. For the purpose of such meeting the stock transfer books will be closed April 8th, 1913, at 6 o'clock p. m., and remain closed until April 12th, 1913, at 8 a. m. A large attendance is necessary to insure a quorum, and as the stockholders are widely scattered all over the country, it is urged that all stockholders attend, either in person or by proxy. If you cannot attend this meeting personally, kindly assist in the tabulation of the proxies and prevent delay in calling the meeting to order promptly at the time specified by having your proxy, properly filled out, filed with the secretary at the office of the company, not later than 3 o'clock p. m., April 11th, 1913. Dated, Milwaukee, March 15th, 1913. H. W. BISTORIUS, Secretary.

### FORM OF PROXY.

BE IT KNOWN, That I, \_\_\_\_\_ Name of Shareholder, \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_ County, State of \_\_\_\_\_ have constituted and appointed, and do hereby constitute and appoint \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_ County, State of \_\_\_\_\_ of Milwaukee Give Name and Post Office Address in Full, \_\_\_\_\_ of Milwaukee County, State of Wisconsin, to be my true and lawful substitute and proxy, for me, and in my name and stead, to vote at the adjourned special meeting of the stockholders of the Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Company, to be held April 11th, 1913, or any and all adjourned meetings thereof, as fully as I could if I were personally present. Witness my hand and seal this \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, 1913. Signed in presence of \_\_\_\_\_ Shareholder Sign Here. \_\_\_\_\_ Witness Sign Here. \_\_\_\_\_ Number of shares \_\_\_\_\_

How Capitalist Sheets Welcome Goldman Woman.



# THE RESULTS OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE

## Women's Citizenship Gains Party Attention Here and in the Countries Across the Ocean

BY J. L. ENGBAHL.  
CHICAGO, Illinois.—For the first time in the history of the United States this country is witnessing the spectacle of women hastening to the naturalization courts to take out naturalization papers.

This movement is being greatly stimulated by the work of the Socialist party which foresees the spread of woman's suffrage and is anticipating the day when the greater proportion of the nation's women will be enfranchised.

This feature of the work among women will be made the subject of reports by the woman's national committee upon the national committee of the Socialist party which meets in Chicago, May 11.

"It is my belief that before the national presidential campaign of 1916 comes around in the United States two-thirds of the states of the nation will be enfranchised," declares Winnie E. Branstetter, general correspondent of the woman's national committee of the Socialist party. "This means that many women will be unable to vote unless they take steps immediately to see that they are naturalized. When the women become enfranchised we want them to have the opportunity of voting and not to be barred because they have not been naturalized."

**Women Barred.**  
One peculiar phase of the naturalization laws that have been hidden in the indifference of women up to the present time to become naturalized is that women of American birth lose their citizenship when they marry aliens. This has developed the fact that some of the most prominent of American Socialist women, of American birth, have come to this country and have not yet been residents here long enough to take out their naturalization papers, thus barring the women Socialists from voting if the status of citizenship is not obtained before the coming of the ballot for women.

All alien women coming to the United States who are not married to native Americans or naturalized foreigners must get their naturalization papers. The wife and children of a naturalized alien become citizens without going through the process of naturalization.

**Naturalization Necessary.**  
The necessity for the naturalization of women of foreign birth, now that the ballot is being universally bestowed upon both sexes, is seen in the fact that in 1910 the foreign-born population in the United States was 1,910,000, according to the bulletin of the thirteenth census just issued, of 1,518,886 there were 7,667,748 men and 5,848,133 women. The ratio is therefore 131.1 males to every female, which is not such a large ratio as is generally imagined. The figures for the different countries are as follows:

Country and birth	Male	Female
Austria	17,652	15,508
Belgium	29,395	19,508
Bulgaria, Servia and Mont.	19,730	17,811
Canada	605,946	498,681
China	54,949	17,788
Cuba and other West Ind.	26,764	20,871
Denmark	169,239	125,239
France	1,018,829	890,829
Finland	78,928	56,828
Germany	1,517,775	1,192,775
Greece	82,447	78,828
Hungary	1,018,829	890,829
Ireland	81,528	146,988
Italy	890,829	692,221
Japan	1,018,829	890,829
Mexico	135,477	83,238
Netherlands (Holland)	52,342	51,709
Poland	236,118	198,238
Portugal	52,313	25,468
Roumania	56,821	29,402
Russia	1,018,829	890,829
Scandinavia	146,659	116,417
Spain	168,745	82,823
Sweden	228,432	228,432
Switzerland	72,726	51,127
Turkey in Asia	28,424	19,262
Turkey in Europe	28,424	19,262
Wales	45,387	37,091
All other countries	42,912	24,644

**What the Toilers Get.**  
Under the heading, "Toilers Get Nothing," The Labor World of Spokane in a recent issue had the following editorial comment:

"The largest pension bill ever passed by congress was railroaded through the house, carrying appropriations aggregating \$180,000,000. This enormous sum is paid out to veterans and their relatives for work of militarism.

"No pension was granted to the soldiers in industry who do the productive work of the world. Oh no! They may die in the poor house, they and their wives and children may starve for want of a little food, proper clothing and decent shelter through the house carrying appropriations aggregating \$180,000,000 which they are the real producers—in fact produce these \$180,000,000 which is paid to pay these pensions. Yet not one penny does congress appropriate for their benefit. When, oh, when will you ever awaken, ye men of labor!"

The answer to this is that the laboring people of this country get what

**BETTER THAN SPANKING.**  
Spanking does not cure children of bed-wetting. There is a constitutional cause for this trouble. Mrs. M. Summers, Box 57, Notre Dame, Ind., will send free to any mother her successful home treatment, with full instructions. Send no money, but write her today if your children trouble you in this way. Don't blame the child, the chances are it can't help it. This treatment cures bed-wetting and other troubles with urine difficulties by day or night.

northwestern Europe, came to a large extent in families and settled permanently in this country, while much of the immigration from southern and eastern Europe consists of single men and of married men who have come only for temporary stay and have left their families in their home countries.

This shows the nature and the extent of the foreign born women in this country and sets as a guide as to the kind of work that must be carried on in order to enlist them in the Socialist voting army of working class women.

**Nine States Have Ballot.**  
The nine states that have already given the ballot to women are in the Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast west where the percentage of foreign born women is not as great as it is in some of the "eastern" states. But most of the states are gradually moving toward the bulwark of reaction against votes for women in the New England and southern states. And foreign born women in the United States can take out her first papers at the age of 18 years by paying \$1. She must have been in the United States for five years before she can take out her second papers, which cost \$4.

"Practically nothing has been done

**Socialism is the Next Logical Step for Society**  
BY GEORGE E. LUNN.  
Every intelligent person in America today must admit that there is something fundamentally wrong in our industrial life. Difficult as we may as to the remedy to be applied, there can be little room for controversy as to the fact that cruel injustices abound relative to poverty and misery which do us a disgrace to have among such abounding resources as we have in America. We Socialists are openly at war with the present social order because we believe that social order must be destroyed and the highest and most noble life of the great majority of our people. During times of ordinary prosperity so-called, at least 2,000,000 men are unemployed and during times of industrial disturbance nearer 3,000,000 men are completely unemployed. If we admit that there are certain undeniable human rights, surely the human right to work in order to provide food, clothing and shelter for one's self and loved ones is the most fundamental. Under the present social system the fundamental right to work is insidiously and tyrannously taken away from the mass of the people. No man can work unless he has access to the tools of production. In America, however, the tools of production today have the power which is absolute in deciding who shall work, how many shall work and what they shall be paid for their labor. This power is in the hands of the capitalist class, and it is to them and to whom they please assign the small minority of the people to exploit the great masses of the workers which the attendant misery which such exploitation entails.

Therefore, we rebel against a system which places in the hands of a few the power which should reside alone in the hands of the many.

We claim that Socialism is a phase of civilization and that in the natural economic evolution Socialism is the logical next step in intelligent progress. As feudalism succeeded a prior social order and capitalism succeeded feudalism, so Socialism comes into being as the logical next step after capitalism. It is not a worked out system that we insist on bringing down upon society but it is rather the logical economic development out of the present social system.

The strength of capitalism lies in

they vote for. The Labor World is slightly in error, when it takes the position that the "Toilers Get Nothing." The toilers get all the burdens that are wrapped up in an appropriation of \$180,000,000. From the sweat of the toilers will come the sweat shop children in Chicago.

"Who can be good without any back yard?"

To this question social settlement work has perhaps given a more practical answer than has yet come from other sources.

About the issue raised by this inquiry has raged the battle royal of science during the last quarter century. Broadly stated, it is the relation of heredity and environment. The pluto class, while settled from the standpoint of science, practically the great seething world of life has answered the child's question affirmatively.

To the scientist it is not impossible to the backwardly, but the latter greatly favor the possessor of the back yard.

A potato vine in a rich, loamy soil, on a sunny, well watered slope, differs materially from the pale, sickly, greenish yellow vine which has its roots in equally good soil at the bottom of a cellar, and struggles to reach the flickering sunlight breaking through the accumulated dust of the cellar windows.

The essential life and soil from which it springs is the same in each case. The result in one is life plus good environment and in the other minus the environment—in the first instance a back yard and in the latter none.

Full of promise for the future is the fact that humanity is coming to understand and to act on the knowledge that while rare cases good citizens may come from homes without back yards, yet from the great mass of humanity, the more back yards and the better kept they are, the better will be both individual and social life.

**The Fruits of Labor.**  
Writing in the March Metropolitan on the direct action advocates among Socialists, Job Hazard says:

"Take warning, Direct Actionist. 'Plutocracy's greatest power and advantage is in the bullet. Democracy's greatest power and advantage is in the ballot.'

"They organize the army by diverting funds from us. We organize democracy by diverting funds from them.

"We are strong in peace. They are strong in war.

"The plutocrats never fight. They hire the workers to fight. The workers will quit fighting whenever it becomes more profitable to live in peace.

"Let not democracy be pitted against the shot and shell of a plutocratic mercenary army. Let us not pit force against force in an open field of battle, but turn our backs upon the paths that lead to catastrophes, bloodshed and disaster, and take shelter in the irresistible and abiding evolutionary process.

"Democracy and altruism are the essential products of the labor movement; democracy, because the power of each individual is limited to himself, altruism, because the efficiency and hence the advantage of each is increased by combining with his fellows.

"Individualism and militarism are the essential products of capitalism; individualism, because the power of capitalist is limited to his own capital; militarism, because the efficiency of the army is coextensive with the military fund.

"Our task is to prevent the accumulation of this fund in private hands and to grow it by the stimulation of the products of the working class.

"Individuals and classes grow by nourishment and not by warfare. Sometimes warfare becomes necessary in order to get nourishment. But the processes of growth are checked and sometimes even stopped and decay sets in during the period of warfare.

"By co-operation and direct legislation the products will yet learn how to turn the fruits of their own labor from the coffers of the rich to the common or public treasury. Around this common treasury or surplus fund the forces of democracy will gather and grow and organize and function as naturally and as efficiently as does capital now and function upon the same food, it is by the exercise of democratic principles alone that democracy can last and grow into an abiding and growing civilization."

**A Vicious Proposal.**  
The strenuous advocacy by Big Business organizations, newspapers and politicians, of the so-called Cooley bill for vocational education shows the set of the wind. When the Cooley bill was introduced by Mrs. Young (the Chicago public school superintendent), an education committee was organized to minimize differences and formulate a generally acceptable bill. This committee, by a large majority, recommended a compromise bill. It differs from the Cooley bill in no important particular except that it makes the vocational-education system a part of the established public school system. The Cooley bill would create an independent system, a proposal that should not be tolerated. Two public school systems is not only indefensible but impossible. It is impossible because separate systems would swallow the other. But the bill would create two educational systems, one a state run one by the Big Business interests, which, with the encouragement of ultramontane Catholic influences, are perpetrating the so-called Cooley bill. They demand that

in this country to secure the naturalization of women," declared N. Juel Christensen, secretary-translator of the Scandinavian section of the Socialist party, who is interested in this work. "Practically all of the attention of the Socialist party has been centered in getting men to take out their naturalization papers. This condition of affairs will be changed immediately."

It is planned to carry on an extensive propaganda in the foreign Socialist press in an effort to secure the naturalization of all foreign born women of the working class. The naturalization propaganda will also be carried on in the Socialist party branch organizations and the Socialist Party state and branch women's correspondents. The women are now organized under the banners of Socialism in the United States. The woman's national committee of the Socialist Party is now voting on a motion by May Wood Simons that Winnie E. Branstetter, general correspondent, be appointed to the national committee and that the woman's national committee proceed at once to elect a member of its committee to prepare a report for the committee on plans and respective work to be presented at the national committee meeting.

realized the principle of democracy in government. In school is no argument against the principle of democracy to the government and to the school. We Socialists see that the same principle must be applied to industry so that industry shall be of use to the people. In other words, political democracy and democracy in education are the logical forerunners of industrial democracy. When political democracy was suggested the conservative mind rebelled against it. It is against it, saying that we always had fatherly kings to rule over us and it was a dangerous experiment to turn the government over to what they termed the mob. The same cry was raised against Socialism in the name of democracy to education on the ground that public schools would reduce the children of the rich and the poor to a common level to the detriment of the nation.

But these foolish cries against the principle of democracy have been gradually applied. We have now arrived where we must decide between democracy in industry or autocracy in government. Today the mighty arm of democracy, the ownership of the social tools of production, are exerting a power over government, education, press and pulpit that threatens every liberty that we have ever held dear. Autocracy in government is creating enemies. Democracy cannot co-exist. Either industry must become democratic or government will become absolutely autocratic. We cannot remain a small part economically free, and the great mass economically slaves.

Capitalism is the logical development of an individualism practically unrestricted. Our government has always taken the position that an individual should be restricted in those activities which affect the interests of the whole people. Therefore the demand of the Socialists that capitalism with its absolute tyranny over the workers who are the mass of the people, be overthrown, is the demand in the interest of the highest and best and most noble life of the workers. The complaint that Socialism would destroy individuality is a complaint without foundation in fact. The facts are patent to all of us that the individualism of the individuality of the mass of the

conclusion absolutely, and with all their power are striving to drive it through the legislature.

Why the Big Business interests demand two independent systems there is no difficulty in understanding. It is not because they are afraid that one would inevitably swallow the other. It is because they do see it. If the vocational system were made independent of the rest of the public school system, the latter would be swallowed and the former the swallower, and this is what Big Business wants. In other words, our whole public school system is looked upon by Big Business as a toothsome prey. In the name of vocational education the public schools, devoted to industrial specialization at the expense of general culture of hand and mind, would become mere adjuncts of the factory—mere sources of a narrowly specialized child-labor supply. The only secure guard against this danger is to maintain the public school system as a unified system with subordinate departments of vocational education, to the end that the pupil may be trained in mind and hand not merely to "tend" a machine in some routine way, but to be its master.

—Louis F. Post in The Public.

**WHO ARE SOCIALISTS?**  
Professor Charles Zubein says: "You may disapprove of Socialism or not, as you please, but it is here to be reckoned with and you ought to know about it at least. Most college men are Socialists—and most of the really intelligent people everywhere. You may not believe that, but if you will take the pains to investigate you will be convinced. People who never read books are not Socialists."

"That's straight talk; isn't it?"

"Especially since it comes from a professor of the University of Chicago."

The Socialist movement is a movement of education. Its progress depends upon arousing the intelligence of the working class.

**FORCED TO 'REJOICE.'**  
While the oligarchy of Russia, headed by the representatives of the orthodox church, is forcing the people to celebrate the tercentenary of the rule of the Romanoffs, the government officials are driving hundreds and thousands of political offenders to suicide, not being able to bear the constant torture. In many parts of Poland the workers were driven from their places of employment by renderings to the churches to pray for the health of the czar and "rejoice" at the anniversary. In Lodz, Warsaw, Chelm, and other cities the assembled manifesters of their dissatisfaction by singing "God Save Poland." In every case the singers were stopped by police and soldiers. In Lodz more than 40 men were arrested in one church alone.

**TROUBLES IN GERMANY.**  
The tariff negotiations in the wood trade in Germany have been resumed. The employers had decided to lock out 42,000 workers Jan. 15. The tariff negotiations, in which 15,000 members of the Transport Workers' section of the Longshore-

## Plea for the Ballot for Woman Made to the Wisconsin Legislature by Mrs. Victor L. Berger

(An address delivered by Mrs. Victor L. Berger before the committee on elections of the assembly of the Wisconsin legislature.)

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen.—It is as a Socialist and a member of the Social-Democratic party that I appear before you this afternoon.

The Social-Democratic party was first—and for a very long time the only—political party that recognized woman's cause by incorporating an equal suffrage plank in its platform as long ago as 1842, at the international congress in Bale, Switzerland. There was a reason for this. And the reason was not the one which prompted recognition for women on the part of a recently-born political organization in this country.

Socialists the world over are students of economic conditions and economic development. Socialists foresaw in 1842 the industrial revolution which has taken place during the last half-century, and "regards to woman. And as a matter of justice to women, the equal suffrage plank was placed in the international platform—not as a vote-catching proposition.

Gentlemen of the committee: We could give you all the reasons for woman's suffrage that you yourself have for man's suffrage. Our lives

and interests are precisely the same as yours. But I shall confine myself to only three larger facts today.

First, we ask for equal suffrage as a matter of justice. I have never met a REALLY INTELLIGENT man—even though opposed to woman's suffrage—for other reasons—who could say that universal suffrage was just the principle of equal suffrage was not just. Women have the same right to the pursuit of happiness and civic liberty as men have. No one will deny that. No matter how able men may represent men in legislative bodies, they cannot possibly represent women with the same ability—not any more than women alone could represent men. To believe that men can do that is a part of the barbaric prejudice against woman that has left behind. To exclude women from civic rights and their highest modern expression, the ballot, is an injustice not worthy of the Twentieth century.

Second, the franchise—the right to vote—is not a natural right, so-called, for either men or women. But the right to vote on all matters of government is based first and foremost on the democratic theory of government. It is the theory of government in which this country was committed in the great struggle of the past. The just powers of government are

derived from "the consent of the governed."

Now just what does that sentence mean? It means that in order to have a true democratic government, we must be sure that the "Demos"—(the Greek name and the personification of the people)—the people as a whole—must have an opportunity to express their opinion as to how they are to be governed. But women are a part of the people—just like men. Women form one-half of the people. And is not their vote in the last analysis, just as necessary as an expression of an opinion as to the vote of the men? The moment you get that conception of the ballot, the moment you agree that it rests on a true democratic theory, that moment you have no argument against equal suffrage. Even the German American Alliance which was so poorly represented here—and I am sorry for this because I am of German descent myself—has no longer any basis for its opposition.

Third, by far the most important argument for woman's suffrage is the economic argument.

Women are not asking for suffrage for fun or to be "impudent," to use the ill-advised phrase of one of our opponents. Women base their right to suffrage on the change of the social and economic conditions which have come about through our capitalist methods of production. The economic changes brought about by industrial development are calling for political and social revolution. You can avoid violent changes by timely social reforms. Intelligent legislators for some years have been working along new lines in order to meet new conditions. With the introduction of machinery in all fields of industry, an entirely new economic structure appeared—which made itself felt in every household of the nation.

The old-fashioned ideal mother had many duties to perform in her day. In addition to the rearing of children, she had to cook and bake. She formerly had to grow fax, spin yarn, weave linen and sew the clothes. In days gone by, she had to shear the sheep, comb the wool, spin the yarn, knit the stockings and make the cloth. I am not very old, but I can remember the days when my grandmother made tallow candles and cooked soap.

Today the laundry does the washing better and cheaper, the baker shops bake the bread, the canneries cook and can fruit and vegetables, fish and meats, the textile industries spin and weave and the garment making shops sew the clothes cheaper than the housewife can do it.

The same industrial evolution that has taken away the wash tub from the wife—has compelled women to enter the economic field in a broader sense—and has forced women into the labor market.

The status of woman, as a consequence of the new economic conditions has passed through a marvelous transformation.

Today one-fourth of all women in this country, or about 3,000,000, are compelled to earn their own living and many of them at starvation wages. The low pay, the long hours and the hard conditions are largely due to their disfranchisement, although inherited prejudices may have something to do with it, but men have a double weapon in their unions and

(Continued to 4th page.)

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The title of the latest one just off the press is:

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Millions of sincere American men and women who have lately become interested in the subject of Socialism are confused and bewildered owing to the attitude of the Socialists in their attacks on Socialism by spokesmen of the church.

Ameringer's new book is just the thing to put into the hands of people seeking after the truth concerning the Socialists. It is a masterpiece of Socialism, Communism and Religion.

Who are the Socialists? The Herald who have read Ameringer's "Socialism, What It Is and How to Get It," of which we have a quarter of a million have been reading during the past eight months and still selling better than ever. This new pamphlet on the market, will know what to expect from the Socialists on the burning question of "Socialism, Communism and the Church."

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The price is 75 cents a copy, 75 cents per dozen, \$5.00 per hundred, \$50.00 per thousand.

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What you have done this morning...
Introduction to Socialism...
The Socialists...
The Socialists...
The Socialists...

The Minimum Wage is Right on its Basis
BY CARL MINKLEY
Mr. Minkley is a member of the Wisconsin legislature...
Some of our union men are a little bit alarmed about the power that is to be vested in the industrial commission...

AN INTERESTING PROPOSITION
The Menace of Socialism
An Address Delivered in Boston by the Rev. Father Gasson, S. J., and the Reply of James F. Carey
The Argument is Clinched by VICTOR L. BERGER'S "WORDS OF THE SAINTS"

UNIONISM COMPARES WELL
Pope in his essay on man tells us that "all nature is but art...
Inasmuch as the quality of a given piece in art is determined by comparison with adjoining tones it would be well for the versatile critics of the labor movement to compare its total...

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PARTY NEWS OF THE WISCONSIN MOVEMENT

The Legislature
Social Democrats in State Legislature...
Senator, Gabriel Zophy, Assembly, Carl Minkley, Edward J. Zinn, E. M. Kiefer, Gerald J. A. Smith...

EAU CLAIRE

EAU CLAIRE, Local No. 1.—The first, and at the same time the last, attempt for publication from this, your old friend, the Eau Claire, is made...

Minkley's Drastic Bill for Human Rights

MADISON, Wis., March 26.—"If it is fair to protect property, it is fair to protect the workman," asserted Assemblyman Minkley before the assembly committee on labor speaking on his bill to provide that the railroad commission shall follow the same general methods in determining the capital worth of an employee of a public utility...

Municipal Ice

MADISON, Wis., March 25.—The assembly bill which gives Milwaukee the right to establish a municipal ice plant. The measure was ordered to engrossment without opposition.

Henry Ashton
BY ROBERT ADDISON DAGUE
Attorney-at-Law
This thrilling little story, written in a fluent and attractive style, with enough love affair work in it to make it palatable and interesting...

Tells of Pension Fund

Rosenkrantz said that the present law covered the situation and that there was no need of the measure. He launched into a long discussion of the conditions among the men employed by the street car company...

To Head Off a Steal

MADISON, Wis., March 25.—Senator Zophy slipped an amendment into the upper house this morning which will make it obligatory upon order of the railroad commission for the Milwaukee Street Car company to use the tracks over the Twenty-seventh street viaduct...

Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Co. Book Dept.
Brisbane Hall, Milwaukee, Wis.

A Needed Law

MADISON, Wis., March 25.—Senator Zophy won a victory Tuesday morning when his bill, which provides that any public officer against whom charges have been brought and who is forced to defend himself and go to expense to do so, shall be compensated by the state was ordered to engrossment.

Woman Suffrage

MADISON, Wis., March 27.—At last night's hearing on the woman's suffrage bill, Assemblyman Minkley spoke for the passage of the measure which would submit the amendment to the voters at the next general election.

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IT HAPPENED IN MILWAUKEE

"With the wide expanse of discussion relative to the low wages paid by the large department stores throughout the country and investigations that are now being made to remedy the situation...

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OUR YOUNG BOYS

Every Week.
stayall sheets! Let go and haul!" And with a clatter and a rush the yards would come around, the sheets were hauled home and the ship would be on her way...

TWO RIVERS

With his office books under his arm and carrying the assessment roll of the city, Two Rivers, Editor Fred Althen, of the Reporter, convicted last week on a charge of criminal libel and sentenced to 60 days in jail...

The Young Jack Tar
PART II OF HANS, THE GERMAN BOY.
BY MARTIN GALE.
CHAPTER XXXIX—Continued.
When at four o'clock the tide had turned and risen considerably a strain was once more put on the hawsers and, shortly after, the ship was hauled off and moored to the Saratoga's buoy...

THE LYCEUM LECTURES

The Lyceum Course will soon close in Wisconsin. The results of this course seem to have been most satisfactory, for the locals which have been able to avail themselves of these excellent speakers...

MANITOWOC

MANITOWOC, Wisconsin.—Henry Stiles, Jr., twice Socialist mayor of the city and a candidate for reelection will be unopposed in the election on April 1. Max Richter, whose name was written in on the primary ballot, failed to file a notice of acceptance of the nomination...

The State Movement

The Lyceum Course will soon close in Wisconsin. The results of this course seem to have been most satisfactory, for the locals which have been able to avail themselves of these excellent speakers...

THE BASKIN

"In the social production which men carry on, they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production...

CHAPTER XL

Hans Gets a Cheer.
One fine morning an officer belonging to the Imperial fleet got under way, shaping their course towards Newport, against a head wind so it was, "All hands work ship."

CHAPTER XL

Shott a Deserter.
A few days later all of the boys were landed on Coasters Harbor Island for a grand dress parade which marked the end of the summer drills at Newport. They were reviewed by Commodore Luce, C. inspecting board and a crowd of sailors from Newport.

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The Social Democracy of the Social Classes

By Karl Kautsky. At the side of the 'new middle class' the intellectual, the old one, the small capitalist class, still vegetates. This portion of the middle class was at one time the backbone of the revolution...

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A Practical Look at the "Learned" Judges and Their Law

It has been proven by statistics that about 35 per cent of all the cases decided by our courts in Wisconsin, that have been appealed, were reversed by the higher courts. In other words, fully one-third of all these cases had been decided wrongly in Wisconsin and our state is known to have a 'fair judiciary'...

NOTICE—To Change Address. First—Always give both old and new address. Second—Return wrapper in which the paper went to old address. If you will follow these instructions there will be no delay in getting your paper to your new address...

The Builders' Column. By A. W. Mance. MAKING GARDEN. This is the time of year when something within us tells us to plant seed in the fields and gardens. Everything is bursting into new life...

The Ballot for Woman

(Continued from 2d page.) The reports of the vice commission of Illinois published recently are perhaps the very best arguments put forth for woman's suffrage this year. No one doubts for a moment that these girls, women and widows, would not use the ballot to help save themselves from a condition worse than death itself...

SEED SELECTION. If you want seed that will assure a good yield of Socialists in your community, see that the Social-Democratic Herald gets into the hands of every discontented and dissatisfied individual in your community. As a Socialist maker the Herald has proved its worth on a thousand different soils. Go after a club of four for \$1.25. Order a bundle weekly for free distribution...

To Interest the Young

CHICAGO, Illinois.—Active work has been started by the national Social-Democratic party here to interest the 3,000,000 young men and women of the nation who have Socialist parents, in the cause of Socialism. The initial effort is being made by the Chicago Young People's Socialist League acting jointly with the woman's party...

OUR YOUNG FOLKS

getting ready and helping to put the ship in trim, and who had to wait on a breakfast of hardtack and coffee till past 4 o'clock in the afternoon when they returned to the ship, without a bite or a drink this seemed anything but pleasure. At sunset the bunting was hauled down and the ships of the fleet once more thundered forth a salute that boomed across the water, reechoing among the hills for several minutes after the firing had ceased...

With Our Readers

THE SOCIAL EVIL. Editor The Herald: We Socialists know what is really at the bottom of all the evils and we are not satisfied with the numerous attempts to cure the different effects. We know that we should use a salve to the skin disease when we find that sickness of the stomach is responsible for them. Therefore, all these reforms are only of value to us in so far as they mean real meaning for the people and forced to a knowledge of the existence of the evil...

Puzzles

Delay in getting the cut in time for this issue puts over the publication of the second picture puzzle contest to next week and in its place we will substitute for this time a word hunt, with the usual prize. A suitable prize will be offered for the picture puzzle when it appears next week. We have a letter from the winner of the first picture puzzle prize acknowledging the receipt of the prize, as follows: Dear Young Folks' Department. Received book named "Stout Heart" all O. K. I am much pleased. Many thanks. Yours, THOMAS MCGILCHRIST, Salem, Oregon. March 22. So this week let our puzzleers see how many words they can get out of the word DETERMINISM. Answer to Fled Line and Hidden Name puzzle in No. 4: "The fast, alley bred, gaze wide eyed at the Splendor." Hidden name: "Lassalle." Prize for best answer goes to Ned Owens, Kentucky.