

...who has been in an...
...has required a...
...is willing to sell...
...a very...
...the front with the...
...has a right to...
...of his own body...
...such mutilation...
...It is clear that...
...lacks knowledge...
...to what men do...
...with their bodies...
...in these days...
...Every day...
...men are compelled...
...to consent to the...
...mutilation of their...
...bodies. They can...
...be found in mills...
...and mines and on...
...railroads everywhere...
...And they do it...
...for the benefit...
...of others and seldom...
...for themselves...
...Yes, for a dollar...
...a day anywhere in...
...this free land, men...
...consent not alone...
...to mutilation but...
...to murder in order...
...that other men may...
...be benefited.

It is commonly charged that criminals as a class are not amenable to kind treatment and cannot reform. Many are made criminal directly by the industrial system and nothing so demoralizes men as lack of employment. An instance of men unable to better their condition outside a prison occurred the other day:

Judge Skinner, in the court of quarter sessions at Newark, N. J., sentenced Max Miller and Alfred Welling, two housebreakers to eighteen months each in the penitentiary at Caldwell.

When the judge was about to leave the bench a note from the two prisoners was handed to him. He ordered that Miller and Welling be again brought before him. This was done, and the judge in a kindly tone asked: "Why do you want to go to state prison?"

"Because we want to learn a trade, so that we may earn an honest living when we come out," was the answer. "Do you understand," asked the judge, "that I cannot send you to state prison for less than two years?"

"We understand that," came the reply. "And it is because you want to learn a trade that you are willing to serve the extra six months?" asked the judge. "It is," came from the prisoners in unison.

"Your request is granted," said the judge, "and I hope it will cause you to become good men, so that when you come out you will be an ornament to society."

And when they have learned a trade—what then? They will find all jobs taken. Then they can "turn to something else," which will probably be the old business of housebreaking. Such is the dreary-go-round of capitalist industry.

Dr. Thomas' Successor.

The Herald is not concerned with the theological beliefs or unbeliefs of Dr. Frank Crane, who succeeds Dr. H. W. Thomas in the People's church, Chicago. That he is too large a man intellectually for the creed of the Methodist church, however, is apparent. He is one of a very few pulpits who, when most of them were frothing with rage and cries for bloody revenge against the Anarchists, insisted that Socialists and reformers of every class were advanced thinkers. Among other things he said:

"You say that Socialism, and nearly all reforms are wrong. How do you know? Have you studied these questions? No, you prefer to travel in the same rut that you have traveled for years."

"Down at the public library you will find books on political economy and on sociology thumbed and worn and marked. Who did it? Did any of you believers in the constitution of the same old social order of things that we have had for years do it? No, it was done by the men who cannot afford to buy the books they love."

"They are progressive and they study the questions that you condemn without reason. Those men are thinkers. You are the dead ones."

The Skinners Will Stay.

Thirty-six railroad companies doing business in Chicago are the owners of property values amounting to \$182,508,802. In 1900 this property was assessed for taxation purposes at \$10,383,712. This assessment is based on the returns of the railroad companies, who swore that their holdings were worth \$21,112,705 only. The assessment is made by the state board of equalization and it is seen that that body favored the railroads by cutting in two the valuation placed upon the property by the railway officials themselves. This result is attained, of course, by the connivance of railway officials, and the companies have ever refused to pay taxes on the low assessments. Over a hundred and fifty millions of property escapes taxation because it is property belonging to corporations having power enough in the state to control its government and subject every interest of the people for which government is supposed to stand to the private interests of wealth.

An attempt is being made to compel these and other corporations, like the street railway companies and the gas trust, to pay their just share of the public burden. Immediately after a decision adverse to them is given by a court the cry is set up that "capital will leave the state" and "the corporations will go elsewhere." The corporations may go elsewhere—to Hades if they please; but "capital" will remain in Chicago; manufacturing plants will not to any great extent relinquish the profitable pastures where they have been successful in plucking the people. No; there is no danger that corporations, having grown rich where they have done business, will abandon their opportunities. Oh, no; as long as the people are willing to pay the taxes, the business will stay.

HERALDRIES.

...who don't work get an...
...better living than those who do...
...work?

...the whole world is at all...
...with twelve months of starva-...
...tion. So long as laborers are blind...
...to their rights the drones will continue...
...to exist.

...you believe in political and...
...social democracy, but deny the...
...practicality of industrial democracy? Do...
...you know why? Or have you never...
...thought about it?

...Shakespeare in the Sixteenth...
...century could say "The spirit of the times...
...is such and such," what would he...
...say in our day, when steam and elec-...
...tricity are getting to be tediously slow?

...professor in Rutgers college has lost...
...his job because he declared there were...
...1000 Anarchists in the Democratic...
...Party. The trouble is that the professor...
...was not exact. He should have said 499.

...officials who quizzed Osolgoas for...
...evidence decided that every man had a...
...hat, evidently did not know that...
...Cardinal Manning who said that a...
...man who was willing to work but could...
...not work had a right to steal bread.

...It is futile to attempt to stay the...
...progress of the age and to return to the...
...old methods of primitive times. So-...
...cialism is in order. Put your shoulder...
...to the wheel and help the advance...
...movement of the times.

...Archbishop Corrigan says his main...
...objection to Socialism is that there would...
...be "no drones in the hive." Exactly...
...An industrial system wherein there was...
...no place for the Corrigans, Crokers...
...and Derseys would be an uncomfortable one...
...indeed.

...There is an old English statute which...
...says that every one has "a right either...
...to work, or to bread without work." But...
...the law says, "Thou shalt not steal."...
...The organized taking from the working...
...class what they earned is exempt from...
...the command.

Here's a Pretty Picture.

The New York Independent, a magazine which pretty respectably represents whatever really deserves to be called half-way respectable in capitalist society, has this to say on the attitude of the business men toward corrupt government:

"Many thousands of business men will vote for Mr. Low because they are Republicans, and Mr. Low is the regularly nominated candidate of the Republican party. If these same business men had formed the habit—such as the reformer would long ago have had them form—of thinking of municipal politics as something to be divorced from national politics, it is safe to say that they would not vote a Fusion ticket. With a single-minded enthusiasm that would take the reformer's breath they would put IN THEIR WORK FOR TAMMANY HALL. This we know is a well-nigh appalling statement. But we also know that it is unqualifiably true. The average business man in New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, right down to the bottom of his heart does not want an unflinching, honest, business-like administration, which will enforce the law to the letter, and mete out even-handed justice. On the contrary, he wants an administration that he can 'see.' He wants policemen who will stroll stolidly by while the sidewalk litter of his warehouse is piled ten feet high with packing cases. He wants a board of assessors who are 'all right' on the delicate subject of special assessments for street improvements. He wants a building department which will let him put in wood for iron, sand for cement, and brick walls for windows. He wants a board of health that won't get 'too nasty' when he burns soft coal, or violates the ordinance in regard to the storage of noxious materials. These are hard sayings, but every man in New York City who has survived the age at which human beings are supposed to cut eye teeth knows that they are true; and no one knows it better than the average New York business man himself. In his moments of relaxation, when he talks with you freely on the railroad train or at the club, he owns up to every one of these indictments, and says even harder things about himself and his associates. There could be no greater nonsense than the talk that the strength of the Tammany organization lies in the ignorant and vicious classes of this great city. THE STRENGTH OF TAMMANY IS IN THE RESPECTABLE, GOD-FEARING, CHURCH-GOING, WELL-TO-DO, BUSINESS CLASSES, AND THEY KNOW IT, as everybody who is not a simpleton knows it. They are the men who can shake off and trample down this whole organization of villainy in municipal politics if they choose to do so. As long as they can make the people in general believe that responsibility rests with them, but on the ignorant and the vicious, and as long as they can keep the dream reformers babbling about some childish change in political machinery, or about the necessity of carrying business methods into politics, the temptation to go right on with their actual practice of business methods in politics will doubtless be great. The appeal must be made to something infinitely greater than their business interests and their business sense. It must be made to their manhood, to their citizenship, to their sense of moral responsibility.

His exact language as reported by the daily newspapers was this: "The great forces of industry, business and politics seem to be passing under the dominance of single central control. You cannot stay this movement toward centralization. It is natural evolution. Injunction against strikers will not stop. Legislation against trusts will not. Attempting to stay the movement of its chariot wheels by injunction or by statute is lunacy compared with which Dame Partridge's effort to stop the Atlantic with a mop was supreme wisdom."

There is here matter for profound reflection for the fippant opponents of Socialism who have been accustomed, in the absence of argument and reason, to berate the Socialist advocate as mentally unbalanced. It is as if Justice Brewer had taken almost bodily the words he used from the speech of a Socialist agitator. It is more than that. It is confirmation, or rather admission, from an unexpected quarter, that Karl Marx's contention that all other interests are subordinated to the economic system is grounded in stern and irresistible fact.

Every day adds its proof to the complete failure of legislation to stay the progress of centralization. Every hope held out to the people that it can be done is a delusion and a snare. Search where you will you will find to discover any rational method of dealing with the problem, save in the manner that socialism suggests. The truth is that it is not a problem to be tinkered with, but a fact to be accepted. The thing to be done is to decide whether the "dominance of a single central control" shall continue, or whether society as a whole appropriate to its use and benefit the indispensable means of life, which, we maintain, it is necessary to do for the preservation of civilization.

The following disbursements were made during the same periods:

Item	Amount
Herald (Printing)	\$1,671.99
Herald, postage, addr. wrappers, etc.	468.13
Office Expenses	173.27
A. B. Edwards, salary	602.90
Printings	134.50
Rest.	100.00
Organizer's Fees	16.00
Elizabeth H. Thomas, loan	100.00
Theodore Debs, salary	602.90
Literature	21.28
Clertica Services, stenographer	716.00
Total	\$3,996.78

The liability of the party, as shown by the financial records, is as follows:

Item	Amount
Eugene Dietzgen, loan	\$25.00
A. B. Edwards, salary	478.00
Theodore Debs, salary	251.40
Total	\$954.40

RECEIPTS.

Item	Amount
Admission Fee	910.00
Quarterly Dues	823.20
Expenses	841.75
Sec. Debs, Herald Advertising	818.24
Contributions	628.70
Literature, Part No. 1, Loans	578.00
Part No. 2	510.00
Part No. 3	510.00
Part No. 4	510.00
Total	\$5,188.89

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In connection with the above report, I beg to say that I have in my possession all financial records, receipt stubs, receipts, vouchers, etc., showing in detail the sources from which all revenue of the party was derived and the manner in which it was disposed of, from my introduction to office, June 16, 1898, to the present time; also office equipment and other property of the party.

In conformity with the resolution passed by the convention, all this will be turned over to the new national secretary, Comrade Greenbaum, as soon as the referendum vote, which I understand will be favorable, is announced by the committee in charge.

In conclusion I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to the members of the executive boards and comrades for their loyal support, their kind and generous assistance.

With confidence in and best wishes for the growth and prosperity of the new party, I am, fraternally,
THEODORE DEBS.

THE STRUGGLE OF LABOR IN GERMANY.

Industrial Courts a Branch of the German Judicial System—Special Boards of Arbitration.

The Germans are not much in advance of us in their methods of settling labor struggles, and manufacturers over here appear to have even more trouble with their employes than those in the United States, writes William E. Curtis in the Record-Herald. During the year 1898, the latest for which statistics are obtainable—and I must say that we are far in advance of the Germans in the prompt publication of statistics and government reports—there were in the German empire 1336 strikes, involving 7121 employes and 154,017 workmen. Of these 69,338 persons struck work voluntarily and 10,122 were forced or induced to stop work by strikers. The largest number of strikes was in the metal trades, the second largest number in the mines and the third in the textile manufacturing. 1129 of the strikes were for higher wages, 379 for shorter hours of labor and in 596 other reasons were involved. Of the total number of strikes 333 were entirely successful, 528 entirely failed, 439 were compromised or were partially successful, and the remainder were pending when the report was published.

A permanent branch of the German judicial system, called gerichte, or industrial courts, has jurisdiction over all disputes of an industrial character, just as the commercial courts settle commercial matters and the criminal courts prosecute crime. These industrial courts are established for the express benefit of labor employes, mechanics, factory operatives, domestic servants, clerks, bookkeepers and wage-earners of every description, and in all cases involving less than 100 marks (\$25) their decisions are final. In suits of greater importance appeals may be taken, but there are no fees and no costs. The members of such boards are appointed by the minister of justice acting on behalf of the Emperor, one court for so many population, located at the most convenient point. In large cities and manufacturing centers the courts are permanent and hold regular sessions like the other courts, but where the population is scattered they are called together as their services are needed.

They have authority to sit as mediators or arbitrators in strikes if either party petition them to do so, or they can offer their services, but except in certain circumstances, hereafter described, they have no power to compel disputants to submit their claims, and, like our own boards of arbitration, must depend upon public opinion to do so. If both parties agree to submit matters in dispute they must abide by the decision, or appeal from it within ten days to one of the higher courts, as in an ordinary lawsuit. The industrial tribunal is a court of record, and its decisions have the same force as the other courts in all cases.

Special boards of arbitration are frequently appointed in emergencies by the local authorities where labor disputes have arisen, and both parties are invited to accept mediation or arbitration, but they cannot be compelled to do so. If both accept, the arbitration board is given the same authority and its decisions have the same force as an ordinary court. It has the right to summon witnesses and compel their attendance. The members of such boards are usually laymen of recognized character and integrity, who are familiar with labor conditions and enjoy the confidence of the community, and their chairman or president is usually a member of the judiciary, who has the power to administer oaths, is familiar with the laws, the rules of evidence and judicial procedure.

The Lake Shore railroad is reported as having put on 35 large engines that will draw 3000 tons and laid off 175 men, hereafter described, they have no power to compel disputants to submit their claims, and, like our own boards of arbitration, must depend upon public opinion to do so. If both parties agree to submit matters in dispute they must abide by the decision, or appeal from it within ten days to one of the higher courts, as in an ordinary lawsuit. The industrial tribunal is a court of record, and its decisions have the same force as the other courts in all cases.

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BRANCHES.

SECTION.	4		35		33		6		18		29		12		9		17		16		11		31		25		20		1		19		24		43		Shelbygan Branches.		TOTAL.	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
1	18		1	7	6		19		2	8	X		7	2	15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		284	17
2	18		8		6		19			10	X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		23	1	7		11		14		7		21		240	11
3	18		X		6		19			10	X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		241	10
4	18		X		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		251	
5	18		X		6		19		10		X		7	2	15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		249	3
6	18		X		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		241	10
7	18		X		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		251	
8	18		X		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		251	
9	18		8		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		230	21
10	18		X		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		251	
11	18		8		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		251	
12	18		X		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		251	
13	18		X		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		6	1	21		239	22
14	18		X		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		251	
15	18		X		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		251	
16	18		18		6		19		10		X		9		13	2	15		10		35		9		5		34		7		11		14		7		21		198	58
17	18		X		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		251	
18	18		X		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		220	31
19	18		X		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		251	
20	18		X		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		251	
21	18		X		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		251	
22	18		X		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		251	
23	18		X		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		251	
24	18		X		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		251	
25	18		X		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		241	10
26	18		X		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		6	1	21		250	1
27	18		X		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		251	
28	18		X		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		251	
29	18		X		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		251	
30	18		X		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		241	10
31	18		X		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		241	10
32	18		X		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		251	
33	18		X		6		19		10		X		9		15		15		10		35		9		5		24		7		11		14		7		21		251	