

On the Question of Arming the People.

Old German artisans can still remember the **GUILDS** ("Zuerfte") which lasted from the middle ages far into the nineteenth century. In the industries of old they had a similar position to that held by the labor unions in modern industries, with this essential difference, however, that in those days the employers (masters) were members of the UNIONS, and indeed completely controlled them. This disadvantage was offset by the fact that in those days every ordinary journeyman had an opportunity to become a master himself, for the tools were then primitive and cheap. An opposite interest between master and journeyman did not make itself felt strongly until the beginning of the modern era.

The guilds played a great role in the mediaeval cities of Europe. Every one who knows history is aware of the fierce fights they waged in Germany, England, Italy, France and Brabant. The guilds not only defended the cities against the knights, princes and bishops; in the latter part of the middle ages they also fought bloody battles against the patricians and merchants in the cities themselves. All the privileges and liberties of the lower middle classes in Europe before the French revolution were the result of these battles. Although the battles themselves generally ended in the defeat of the common people, yet for fear of new uprisings the ruling class in the cities—the patricians—usually granted afterwards of their own accord what they had refused before with force of arms. Of course, the complete emancipation of the city population was only effected by the two great revolutions, the English in the seventeenth century, and the French in the eighteenth century.

At any rate, the crafts, guilds and companies, in spite of all the grotesque and barbaric mummery connected with them, rendered great service to mankind during the Middle Ages and saved the masses of the people from enslavement. For what they gained was afterwards a benefit to the peasantry also, who in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries flocked to the cities in great numbers.

With the hand-industries the crafts and guilds of course disappeared; in their place have arisen the labor unions. England was the first country in which large industries worked with machinery developed to any extent, and there first the labor unions became numerous and powerful.

But the influence which the crafts, companies and guilds wielded in their time is not possessed by the labor unions of the present day, neither in England nor any other country.

In the number of their members, the unions are indeed incomparably stronger than the guilds ever were, but the **POWER** of our modern labor organizations is incomparably smaller than the power of the labor organizations in the Middle Ages.

What is the cause of this strange contradiction? The reason lies close at hand. In the struggle for existence, people only respect what they fear. This law holds just as good today as it did a thousand years ago.

The mediaeval guilds were respected because they were **COMBATANTS**. They were armed. The modern labor unions are despised and scorned because they are **NON-COMBATANTS**. They are unarmed.

Do not misunderstand us. We know right well that the "**SOCIAL QUESTION**" can no more be solved by street riots and insurrections, than by bombs and dynamite. Yet, by the ballot **ALONE**, it will also scarcely ever be solved. Up to this time, men have always solved great questions by **BLOOD** and **IRON**.

Every sensible man will admit, however, that in our country the ballot-box may contribute more to the solution of the problem than any other means, because the ballot can put in our hands the necessary power to solve the question either one way or the other.

But it is not easy to manage a ballot in this country; indeed, it is not easy in any country. It requires considerably more personal intelligence to handle a ballot rightly than to handle a shotgun. Even ignorant men handle a shotgun carefully, but not a ballot. And, therefore, in this country far more mischief has been done by ballots than by bullets. At any rate, workmen whose standard of life has sunk lowest understand least how to handle a ballot. Moreover, they are least accessible to education and enlightenment.

And what is worse, the workmen who have sunk the lowest are bought up the easiest. They furnish the capitalists not only with **VOTING CATTLE**, but also with Pinkertons and deputy sheriffs and soldiers.

For example, in the state of Pennsylvania live the most enslaved workmen of the present America. But it is just there, in spite of the experiences of Homestead and Hazelton, of steelworker strikes and miners' strikes, that the Republicans get their largest majorities. These men who were knocked down like rabbits by the constables of the steel trust voted Republican last November and for beer, cigars, fine words and free lunches, will vote the Republican ticket again next fall, if their lives are spared. Only if bad should come to worse and votes come high, they will so vote that in the coming year they will no longer be shot by Republican deputy sheriffs, but by Democratic deputy sheriffs instead.

The standard of life of these poor wage-slaves has sunk so low that it goes without saying they can make no intelligent use of the ballot. From men who like the Pennsylvania miners earn a dollar a day on an average when times are good, no sensible political action can be expected as a rule. And the worst is, their children are degenerating to a still lower condition.

Similar conditions prevail in other states. There is no soil among such workers for a campaign of education and enlightenment.

If such conditions should become universal in our country, and the tendency of the times is to make them universal, then our civilization at some future day will meet a fearful end. The horde of hungry slaves will become ever larger and more ignorant. When that heated kettle of poison boils over some day and empties its hellish contents, when the hunted millions turn around and fall upon their masters and their families—then not only our pseudo-culture, but probably all culture, will be destroyed for a thousand years to come.

A further lowering of the standard of living of the working people must therefore be prevented at any cost, in the interests of Humanity.

But the great question is, how to accomplish it? How?

Of that more in our next issue.

Remember, we do not believe that we can jump from the capitalistic system into the Co-operative Commonwealth overnight. Yet, we want to **WASTE NO TIME** on palliatives or patches or extensions of the **PRESENT** system. We want **SOCIAL REFORMS** that proceed to a **CHANGE OF BASE** at once. There is the cardinal point in which we differ from capitalistic reforms.

We do not believe in force, unless cornered. But in case one is compelled to fight for his freedom, one should be prepared for the emergency. We think every proletarian owes it to his cause, his family and himself to quit drinking and smoking and to acquire a well-selected little library and a good magazine subscription. Yes, books and guns. And a free man ought to learn how to use them both. The library in times of peace, the gun in case of war. Yet, no man who uses intoxicants in any form is to be trusted with a gun, and our advice would only hold good to abstainers.

The Social Democratic Herald readily admits that the majority of the rank and file of all the political parties are honest and to the Social Democratic Herald a man who votes the Republican or Democratic ticket is not so ipso aascal or a fool. All we claim is that the man has in most cases not heard the other side, or at least has not heard it explained right. Besides, a man may be averse to

the socialist principle even when he understands it, and still be a good man. All we claim is the right of enlightenment and free discussion. The reality is with those who assume the sole right to feed the multitudes, and to dictate the kind of mental food they shall eat.

When we see the wicked prosper, the poor starve, the just man persecuted, and the tyrant successful in war, we are almost inclined to say with Napoleon, "Bah! God is always on the side that has the most money and the most cannon." Does God ever sleep?—Chipewawa Falls Catholic Sentinel.

We do not know. But we DO know that the **CHURCH** never does.

Our Milwaukee "reformers" intend to make an issue at the next spring election of the franchise presented to the Milwaukee Electric Street Railway and Light Company. It is true that company did fight desperately to maintain its monopoly of the city's streets. And one is pretty safe in claiming that the street car company has influenced our reform mayor, David S. Rose, in one way or the other—in a probability it influenced him in both ways. And it also bought up our aldermen for cold cash on delivery. But all of this can be no reason to put in another set of reformers and thieves into office. Besides, the affair as such is too small for an issue. Do you think that we are only after the political scalp of a tricky, demagogical mayor? Or after the pelts of a handful of thief aldermen?

That would please the monopoly, which has no more love for its tools than we have. Oh, no—we are after bigger game. We are after the monopoly itself. And the monopoly is spending its money in vain. Monopoly is dying. The era of the people is at hand. Do you suppose that any contract made last year will be binding for the twenty-five years in the future? If it did, the next generation would have to be made up of even bigger fools than we are. The next generation will laugh at such contracts. One generation can bind the other only when its own children are imbeciles. That our children will not be.

In truth, all social wealth is the creature of **CO-OPERATIVE LABOR**. Labor could effect no noticeable improvement in human conditions were the effort made in personal isolation and disjointed from the product of the labors of the past and the anticipated future. The only question practically arising is one of division and ownership. Shall the division of brain and brawn, of the past, present and future production of wealth be made by a ratio of deed, of work performed, or by rule of birth, inheritance, of money and usurped privilege? Every man and woman in the land should choose sides on this question.

A New York Socialistic paper has been excluded from the mails as second-class matter and hence practically suppressed, by the order of the third assistant postmaster general, on the ground that "it advertised his (the editor's) ideas too much." Well, if things have come to that pass, that an editor cannot "advertise his ideas," there will be mighty few of us left, after a little. Some of the brethren, however, will be perfectly safe, but we wouldn't like to mention their names for fear of creating hard feelings.—Appleton Post (Rep.).

The biggest wood-working plant in the state of California has been erected by the unions of San Francisco and is now turning out material as fast as 2000 union carpenters can place it on the buildings in San Francisco and Oakland. It gives employment to 100 union mill men. And while these things do not help "to solve the social question," they ought to be encouraged because they show that while capital is necessary, the capitalist is superfluous.

A New Municipal Issue.

Eureka! Finally in Milwaukee our small shopkeepers and ditto business men who would like to become millionaires, may have a brand new issue in the next municipal campaign, and that will be of the greatest interest to large classes of our population. But alas! as usual the interests of the different groups of these men of business are not identical, in fact, they are antagonistic.

About this time of the year—i. e., between Thanksgiving and Christmas—most of the small printing shops in the outlying districts of the city are busy in rushing out handbills for saloonkeepers announcing turkey and poultry raffles, and in almost every saloon there is a row of these announcements pinned to the wall telling the reader that at this, that or the other saloon the opportunity to win a fowl or two will be afforded on some certain night.

But another set of business men of Milwaukee look with envy upon this bit of enterprise on the part of the saloonkeepers. The retail butchers know by experience that the saloonkeepers buy their turkeys, geese, chickens, etc., wholesale, thus not only robbing the retail butchers of the profit due to the middle man but also robbing them of their customers.

Therefore the members of the Retail Marketmen's association are clamoring for an enforcement of the law against gambling so far as it reaches these raffle saloons, and claim that the district attorney has recently decided them contrary to law.

But Chief Jansen of the police force says that the district attorney gave him no opinion on the subject. The chief knows that that was not the butchers' "that made Milwaukee famous" and refuses to have anything to do with the matter. "I know nothing about the turkey raffles. I do not know that there are any going on at the present time," said he.

But the meat men declare that they will not let the matter drop.

The thing is up to the mayor now, and probably even the Ministers' association, that is just now looking after vice in Milwaukee, may take a hand in the fight.

So we should not be surprised a bit if this war on turkey should develop to be one of the issues of the capitalistic parties in the Milwaukee municipal campaign next spring—both sides claiming to represent the "rights of the people."

If this should be the case, we will suggest that they raffle out which side is to win and save the city the cost of an election.

India seems to be the land of cheap railway traveling. The returns of the East Indian railway show that in twelve months 18,500,000 passengers used the line, and that of these 17,000,000 traveled third or lowest class. The cost of carrying was one-eighth of a penny per mile, and the charge to the passenger was a little more than one farthing. Great as is

the difference between the cost of transit by this line and our parliamentary or even workmen's rates, the comparison between incomes of the lowest class of passengers in India and Great Britain is still greater. The average monthly income of the former in shillings (25 cents) corresponds with the number of pounds (five dollars) earned by the latter in a like period.—London Globe.

And in China the wages are even lower than in India. That is the reason why Secretary Gage and his clique of plutocrats are in favor of the repeal of the Geary law prohibiting the importation of Coolies. And there are some Socialists dogmatic and doctrinaire and stupid enough to talk and vote in favor of the repeal. But we really cannot see that even the capitalist class would be benefited by bringing our working class down to the level of Chinamen and Hindoos. Secretary Gage ought to study the reports of the railroad earnings in India and China, and that alone ought to settle the matter.

The industrial crisis just now holding sway in Germany is terrible to contemplate. In Berlin alone there are 30,000 men out of work. It is hard to tell what will be the outcome. In Germany as in this country most of the wealth is tied up in the hands of a small class, while the vast majority is suffering the most abject and humiliating poverty. Besides under the present capitalistic system where workmen cannot get the full value of their work—the employing class making a profit on it—such industrial crises (PANICS we call them in this country) are bound to appear in more or less regular intervals. And one of two things is bound to happen sooner or later in every civilized country. During some crisis the people will rise up in their madness and wipe the capitalist class literally off the face of the earth, abolish civilization and go back to barbarism. Or, the people will use sense and gradually vote capitalism out of existence and introduce the Socialist system, which will mean a higher and more just civilization.

Roman civilization went on a rapid pace towards extinction when the wealth of the people became massed in a few hands. Even the Anarchist agitator, a scourge as he may be, is a blessing to the country, compared to those self-satisfied conservatives who can't see that a like congestion of capital in the United States will produce a like disease, which, if it runs long enough, will be attended with the old Roman result, if the people do not adopt the only remedy—**SOCIALISM** as it comes and is made necessary.

Again we say the daily press of this country and some of the monthly magazines are the most rotten elements in our public life today. They are owned and controlled by men who are wholly mercenary, unprincipled, avaricious, corrupt and corrupting. Most of them will have to be extirpated some day in order to improve the race.

It is well known that the men who conducted the main industries down South—before the War of the Rebellion—were compelled by law to provide for their operatives in industry and idleness, in sickness or health. The workers were black and slaves. Now the employers down South do not have to do any such thing. The workers are mostly white and they are free.

John D. Rockefeller, Sr., the Standard Oil magnate, has been superintendent of a Baptist Sunday-school for thirty-five years. And his son, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has also taken up the good work. They are both good men, always ready to PREY.

When the capitalistic surplus account of a nation absorbs more than half its production, the point is reached when determined men must call a halt. If, after deducting the expense of sustaining mere life in the working people and paying the cost of government that keeps them in subjection and ignorance, there is in the midst of all this "prosperity" nothing left for the class that produces it all, then the time is reached when trouble may be looked for within a short time. This covers the situation in the United States, and the political economist does not live who can successfully dispute it. The statement can be proven by the twelfth census.

In a co-operative commonwealth there will be no kings, capitalists or idlers, but a grand people, whole, happy, educated and free, held together by a fabric of social labor and individual enjoyment.

From all over the world we hear the complaint that immorality and crime are growing. No wonder. The effect of too much hard work is the same as that of too little—it is brutalizing and demoralizing. It is perhaps a shocking thing to say that the morality of many of the children of the slums of large cities is really on a par with the morality of the sons and daughters of our millionaires.

Usury, in one form or another, is the foundation in which this capitalistic supremacy stands. Labor is an essential factor in the earning of "interest money." The cheaper the labor employed in any enterprise the more interest and profit can be paid out of the "surplus value" of the laborer's work. Rest assured that the capitalist will insist on the utmost possible amount of profit being squeezed out of any business in

Anarchism Impossible in Practice.

We are not afraid of the Anarchists ever playing any other part in public life than that of shocking the people. And people soon grow weary of being shocked; the shock that is expected loses half its effect.

One thing is clear: Anarchism is impossible.

When you leave the domain of imagination and begin to walk among earthly things, the impossibility of Anarchism becomes obvious at once.

You will at once see commodities and possessions the uses of which are debatable, you will at once encounter common rights and communal matters that are naturally within the region of dispute.

Where there is no law, no code of regulations, no tribunal of decision, most differences of opinion will have to be settled by force of arms. Under such circumstances the strongest, the most cunning and the most selfish will come out on top.

But the tendency of all teaching and of all true philosophy is to neutralize the selfishness of human beings; to substitute altruism for the egotism of the rule of brute force. It cannot be supposed that even in an anarchic community the selfish bully would be allowed to trample on his weaker and less assertive fellowman. That is pretty certain.

Yet, whenever some self-appointed body, term them "vigilance committee," "regulators," or what you like, step forward to curb the unruly, to curb the ill-behaved, to protect the feeble, from that moment "rule" is re-established.

Anarchy would therefore simply set aside elected or appointed government for self-selected or self-appointed control.

Now, rule is rule, no matter who the ruler may be.

And since even Anarchists seem to acknowledge that in thickly-populated, highly civilized countries there must be some generally accepted rules for communal and territorial (using this term in a general sense) guidance—then even Anarchists must see that Anarchy is practically out of question in a civilized country.

which he is interested. And capitalists as a class control our entire production and the distribution thereof. And control means complete mastery in this case. The capitalist does not only control the factories, mines, railroads, telegraphs, telephones and steamship lines, but he is also master of the workmen that depend on employment and who are held in ignorance and subjection. The capitalist class has no use for workmen possessed of manliness, intelligence and independence. The capitalist class looks to profit and interest money. That and that alone.

The following dispatch we find in a Milwaukee morning paper:

"Chicago, Ill., Nov. 22.—An old-fashioned pillory system of punishment which it is claimed has the sanction of the board of directors, of which Bishop Samuel Fallows is president, has been unearched at the Pontiac (Ill.) state reformatory.

"The pillory is a door with two holes in the upper panel. Through these holes the prisoner puts his hands and a chain is attached to the wrists to keep them in place. The arms are thus extended on a level with the shoulder and can be moved in no direction because the holes in the door are not large enough to permit it.

"In this trying position Charles Miller, a 10-year-old boy, asserts he was forced to spend twenty hours at a stretch. He was taken down for ten minutes at noon, when bread and water were furnished him. Supt. Mallory of the reformatory is quoted as corroborating the statement. Young Miller's offense was whispering in school."

And we call this a civilized country. And we live in the Twentieth century. And Bishop Samuel Fallows is considered a great and good man and a "reformer."

To h— with such philanthropists!

Christ scourged the money changers out of the temple—says the Bible. Now most of the temples are owned by the "money changers," or they have at least a mortgage on them.

Any sensible man looking at the fight between our Republican governor, Robert La Follette, and the Republican party machine of this state, and at the manner in which it is conducted on both sides, must become disgusted with capitalistic parties and capitalistic politicians for the rest of his life.

The street railway company is made the black beast of hatred in this city. Now, admitted that it is a thievish concern. That it will buy up our aftermen at a cheap price—thereby depressing the common capital market for Chicago—and that Messrs. Payne and Pfister never have any scruples against taking the mayor into the bargain whenever they find such a proceeding necessary for the welfare of the company. But admitting all this, wherein is the railway company worse than the gaslight company or any other company or contractor that has dealings with the city? Why, even the justices and constables of our county cheat the county whenever and wherever they can, and they all act the same, without difference of party, nationality, religion or other previous condition of servitude. This is capitalism, and with the unwritten law. "Do the others, or the others will do you," what can you expect? A man needs backbone and the new ethics, the ethics of Socialism, to stand straight in this crowd.

"This dying for principle is all rot," said our worthy reform mayor, David S. Rose, at the Democratic national convention in Kansas City last year. Now let's see what Mayor Rose will die for next spring.

The Chinese exclusive convention, composed of 3000 delegates, representing the state and county governments and industrial and civic organizations in all parts of California, met in San Francisco last Friday and adopted the following resolutions:

"First, we demand the continuance of existing treaties with China and the re-enactment of the Geary exclusion law."

"Second, we recommend that the California delegates in Congress act unitedly in the presentation of a bill to accomplish the purpose and use their utmost

endeavors to secure its immediate enactment into a law."

As a supplemental report the committee on resolutions presented a statement, which was adopted, recognizing the menace to the industrial conditions of the coast of the rapidly increasing number of Japanese and other Asiatic immigrants, and asking that the matter be referred to the executive committee with instructions to take such steps as may be necessary to secure all possible protection in the evils set forth.

And in our opinion the Socialists of California, and of the entire country for that matter, ought to support the movement. Otherwise the capitalists will not only reduce us all to the level of the Chinese within a short time, but some day also have enough coolies and negroes to shoot us down, if we should revolt. When Marx said: "Proletarians of all countries unite!" he meant the proletariat of civilized countries, not of Shang-Hay and Timbooctoo.

The following flowers of the capitalistic system were taken from a single column of a daily paper:

Trenton, N. J., Nov. 25.—John B. Harding, the 86-year-old suitor of his adopted daughter, aged 20 years, has officially announced that the wedding will occur Friday.

Mr. Harding took the young woman when she was a child only 9 years old, and she has lived with his family ever since. She has always called him grandpa. The old man has made the following statement:

"I have concluded to marry because of the fact that a certain individual who has completely stripped me of my property through his sharp practice, has made threats that he will attach my personal property for debt, which I understand he can do if I remain single."

Binghamton, N. Y., Nov. 25.—Nelson Burr, an extensive property owner of this city, was ordered to take a bath and purchase a new suit of clothes by the board of health. He says he took the bath and he got the new clothes, but objects to wearing them, as he says his old ones are pretty good yet.

Burr lives alone in a large brick block, which is full of old furniture and oddities, including his coffin and grave-stone.

Newark, N. J., Nov. 25.—An old engine cylinder is the novel home of William Berkheimer, a machinist, whose age and reverses have brought him down in the world. Berkheimer has lived there for more than two months, supporting himself by doing odd jobs in the neighborhood. The cylinder is three feet wide and six feet long and during the cold nights of the past week the man has been obliged to lie crumpled up on the cold iron with no covering but his clothing.

Let us analyze these cases with a few words as possible.

The 86-year-old man in Trenton married his adopted daughter of 20 in order to secure the meagre pension of a few paltry dollars a month. And the young woman evidently did not marry him because she was in love, but because she wanted to keep her home.

The extensive property owner in Binghamton, N. Y., who had to be compelled to buy a new suit of clothes and to take a bath is also a product of this system with its terrible uncertainty of livelihood and possible misery in old age, which is so pathetically illustrated by the last case, the old man making his home in an old cylinder.

Down with this miserable system that breeds misery and crime and prostitution everywhere.

The whole trouble in the Republican party is arising itself down to this simple question: Shall the government be under the control of a few "money bags"?—Plymouth Review, Rtp.

The editor of the Plymouth Review ought to be shown in the dime museums of this country for editing a "Republican" paper and asking such a question. He has surely reached the pinnacle of stupidity or hypocrisy. Or can it be that he is playing pinocce so much that he cannot hear nor see what is going on in the world?

A strike of patternmakers has been on at Denver for two months, with no prospect of settlement. The local association at that place requests all patternmakers to stay away until notified.

AN UNACCEPTED CHALLENGE.

Sent by Rev. Thos. McGrady to the Editor of the Catholic Columbian.

Sir: In all history there is no crime more dastard than that of poisoning the wells, so that all who go down to drink thereat shall be slain along the paths...

dealing with Mgr. Moretti, Mgr. Gherardi and Pere Vergniaud in Miss Correll's "Master Christian," and Cardinal Montanelli in Vorlich's "Gadfly."

Under the present economic system of competitive industry, the government does, indeed, "touch" the people with a good abandon, but the people with a good...

Furthermore, you write that a "large number of Socialists are in favor of bringing about their aims by violence if need be..."

Following your article paragraph by paragraph, your next argument is, in the very groundwork of things, antecedently impossible.

"You tell a story of a friend whose pet phrase was 'working for humanity.' You seem to fancy that this Socialist is routed, bag and baggage, by the clergyman with whom he was conversing..."

"The magnificent achievements of the race in the century just closed are so great as almost to blind us to their purpose and promise for the future."

modern society reveals the face of the Sphinx that cries out to us, 'Solve or perish.' Whatever is the cause, and whatever may be the remedy, threatening social facts stare us in the face.

THE MAN BEHIND THE PICK

There has been all kinds of gush about the man who is "behind" - And the man behind the cannon has been toasted, wine and dined;

Up the rugged mountain side a thousand feet he takes his way, Or as far into the darkness from the cheerless light of day;

Borrowing Expensive.

A man who was too economical to take a paper sent his little boy to borrow the copy taken by his neighbor.

An Inverted Fable.

"Now," said the big buck deer to his eldest born, "I will show you a sight that you never saw before, and I am so proud of it that I feel like walking around on my hind legs all the rest of my life."

Karl Burki Dead.

From Switzerland the death is announced of Karl Burki. He was born at Zurich on July 30, 1823. He was a tanner and when young went to work at Hamburg.

Crisis in British Coal Trade.

Comrade John Penny, national secretary of the Independent Labor party of England, in a letter to The Herald, writes on the crisis in the British coal trade as follows:

SOCIALISM

UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC.

By FREDERICK ENGELS.

The materialist conception of history starts from the proposition that the production of the means to support human life and, next to production, the exchange of products, is the basis of all social structure.

individual producers, of commodity-producers, the new mode of production thrust itself. In the midst of the old division of labor, grown up spontaneously and upon no definite plan, which had governed the whole of society, now arose organized labor upon a definite plan, as side by side with individual production appeared social production.

the producers have lost control over their own social inter-relations. Each man produces for himself, with such means of production as he may happen to have, and for such exchange as he may require to satisfy his remaining wants.

What is, then, the position of modern Socialism in this connection? The present structure of society - this is now pretty generally conceded - is the creation of the ruling class of today, the bourgeoisie.

In the mediaeval stage of evolution of the production of commodities, the question of the ownership of the product of labor could not arise. The individual producer, as a rule, had, from material belonging to himself, and generally his own handwork, produced it with his own tools, by the labor of his own hands or of his family.

The artisan of his own, it is true, had from the first to produce for exchange. But they, also, also, themselves supplied the greatest part of their own individual wants. They had garden and plots of land. They turned their cattle out into the communal forest, which, they, yielded them timber and felling.

Then came the concentration of the means of production and of the producers in large workshops and manufactories, their transformation into actual socialized means of production and socialized producers. But the socialized producers and means of production and their products were still worked, after this change, just as they had always been, as the means of production and the products of individuals. Hitherto, the owner of the instruments of labor had himself appropriated the product, because, as a rule, it was his own product.

Before capitalist production, i. e., in the Middle Ages, the system of petty industry obtained generally, based upon the private property of the laborers in their means of production; in the country, the agriculture of the small peasant, freeman or serf; in the towns, the handicrafts organized in guilds. The instruments of labor - land, agricultural implements, the workshop, the tool - were the instruments of labor of single individuals, adapted for the use of one worker, and, consequently, small, portable, circumscribed. But the reason they belonged, as a rule, to the producer himself. To concentrate these scattered, limited means of production, to enlarge them, to turn them into the powerful levers of production of the present day, this was precisely the historic role of capitalist production and its upholder, the bourgeoisie.

Finally, modern industry and the opening of the world-market made the struggle universal, and at the same time gave it an unshakable firmness. Advantages of natural or artificial conditions of production now decide the existence or non-existence of individual capitalists, as well as of whole countries and nations. He that fails is removed from the struggle, as the Darwinian struggle of the individual for existence transferred from Nature to society with intensified violence. The conditions of existence natural to the animal appear as the final result of human development. The contradiction between the social production and capitalist appropriation now presents itself as an antagonism between the organization of production in the individual workshop and the anarchy of production in society generally.

Now, in what does this conflict consist? Before capitalist production, i. e., in the Middle Ages, the system of petty industry obtained generally, based upon the private property of the laborers in their means of production; in the country, the agriculture of the small peasant, freeman or serf; in the towns, the handicrafts organized in guilds. The instruments of labor - land, agricultural implements, the workshop, the tool - were the instruments of labor of single individuals, adapted for the use of one worker, and, consequently, small, portable, circumscribed. But the reason they belonged, as a rule, to the producer himself. To concentrate these scattered, limited means of production, to enlarge them, to turn them into the powerful levers of production of the present day, this was precisely the historic role of capitalist production and its upholder, the bourgeoisie.

The first capitalist found, as we have said, alongside of other forms of labor, wage labor ready-made for them on the market. But it was exceptional,plementary, accessory, transitory wage labor. The agricultural laborer, though, upon occasion, he hired himself out by the day, had a few acres of his own land on which he could at all events live at pinch. The guilds were so organized that the journeyman of today became the master of tomorrow. But all this changed, as soon as the means of production became socialized and concentrated in the hands of capitalists. The means of production, as well as the product of the individual producer became more and more worthless; there was nothing left for him but to turn wage worker under the capitalist. Wage labor, a former exception and accessory, now became the sole remaining function of the worker. The wage worker for a time became a wage worker for life. The number of these permanent wage workers was further enormously increased by the breaking up of the feudal system that occurred at the same time by the dissolving of the retainers of the feudal lords, the eviction of the peasants from their homesteads, etc. The separation was made complete between the means of production concentrated in the hands of the capitalists on the one side, and the producers, possessing nothing but their own power, on the other. The contradiction between socialized production and capitalist appropriation manifested itself as the antagonism of proletariat and bourgeoisie.

mode of production thrust its way into a society of commodity producers, of individual producers, whose sole aim was the exchange of their products. But every society, based upon the production of commodities, has this peculiarity: that

Can a Catholic Be a Socialist?

Boston, Mass., Nov. 20. - Rev. Thomas McGrady, pastor of the Catholic church at Bellevue, Ky., who has achieved considerable fame as a radical Socialist, Sunday discussed the recent attacks of Socialism by certain high dignitaries of the Catholic church, and took the ground that there was nothing in the teachings of the church to prevent a Catholic from being a Socialist.

Hattermakers' Business Agent.

Patman W. Bistorius, who has been elected business agent of the Hattermakers of Milwaukee, that position having been made a permanent one, has heretofore had considerable experience in the work of the office, having served as temporary business agent while the late strike of the hattermakers was in progress. He is well qualified for the position also by reason of a wide acquaintance among laboring men generally, and he has commended himself to the employers by a spirit of fairness. He is active in Social Democratic circles, being a member and one of the founders of Branch 43 of the south side.

The United States government is having a machine constructed in Washington that will displace thirty expert mathematicians in the bureau of coast survey, which calculates the movement of the tides.

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Can a Catholic Be a Socialist?

"But it is equally true that among the most intellectual leaders of the Catholic church in Germany and Switzerland there are scores of noble priests ever ready to do the pansy of war to fight for the downtrodden masses. The memory of Archbishop von Kettler, the friend of Karl Marx, of Canons Moufang and Hitz, Fathers Weiss and Kopping, and St. Gaspard Securdus, will live when the names of Rockefeller, Morgan and Rothschild will be mere hieroglyphs beyond the skill of the future Champollion to decipher."

Can a Catholic Be a Socialist?

"My love for the Catholic church is too profound to keep me silent when distinguished representatives of the lowly Nazarene openly condemn a righteous movement for the liberation of the toiling masses from the bondage of industrial serfdom."

Can a Catholic Be a Socialist?

When reminded that several ecclesiastics of high authority, led by Archbishop Corrigan, are making a determined campaign against Socialism, Father McGrady said:

SOCIALIST PARTY NEWS.

GENERAL NOTES.

John Spargo is on a lecturing tour in Canada. Kansas Socialists will hold state convention at Parsons on November 20.

STATE AND NATIONAL COMMITTEEMEN ELECTED.

The vote for state and national committeemen for Wisconsin is reported below. The first table relates to resident members of the state committee, the second to nonresident members and the third to national committeemen:

Table with columns for Branches, Berger, and Born. Lists names of candidates and their respective vote counts for various districts.

WISCONSIN NOTES.

Eau Claire branch has moved into new headquarters and is arranging a lecture for Comrade McGrady. A new branch has recently been organized at Manitowoc.

Table with columns for Branches, Berger, and Born. Lists names of candidates and their respective vote counts for various districts.

Latest Election News.

The Socialist party has obtained official standing in Hudson county, New Jersey. The official count gives Comrade James Baxter, candidate for governor, 297 votes in Dubuque county, Iowa.

Table with columns for Branches, Berger, and Born. Lists names of candidates and their respective vote counts for various districts.

NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN.

Table with columns for Branches, Berger, and Born. Lists names of candidates and their respective vote counts for various districts.

Federated Trades Council.

Regular meeting of the Federated Trades Council was held Wednesday, November 6, 1901. The meeting was called to order by the corresponding secretary, Bro. John Reicher.

commended that the council take a stand in relation to the building of warships by the government, to the effect that the petition of the Labor Council of San Francisco relative to the matter be amended so as to include all warships.

Continuing his report, Bro. Andersen stated that since the office had been established quite a large amount of work had been done for a number of organizations. Regarding the complaint of the cooperators that the office had followed the method employed by Mr. McLean and the airing of his personal views had a tendency to hamper the good work of the council and the organization committee.

ness, and desired that the business agent be instructed to enforce the letter and spirit of the contract on all brewery work. The report was accepted. The metal trades section reported progress in the amalgamation of the metal trades it was deemed expedient to enlist only skilled labor, and not admit the members of Federal Labor unions to start with.

The various sections were reported to hold regular meetings at the business office hereafter. A communication from the publisher of the Union Signal (said to be a labor paper) had also been authorized to express approval of the idea of organizing sections and uniting the different crafts and extending an offer of co-operation in the movement.

The Glass Struggle. News of the Labor Movement Throughout the World.

The central labor body of Minneapolis is making war on the blacklist. The United States industrial commission is now in full session in Washington framing its final report to Congress. President Lynch of the International Typographical union issued twelve charters during the month of October.

Grand Entertainment and Ball. GIVEN BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF MILWAUKEE. Sunday, Dec. 8, 1901. At the Bahn Frei Turn Hall, 12th St. and North Ave.

Save Money Buy your Piano of The Kreiter Piano Company, 330 Grand Ave. and 377 Third Street. Largest Piano Business in the Northwest. Special Sale Commencing Monday, Nov. 4.

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Are You in the Race? The Free Scholarship IN STOLL'S COLLEGE, Eau Claire, Wis.

THE RIGHTS AND WRONGS OF LABOR. BY W. J. McSWINEY. We can recommend "Mac's Book" for distribution among those who have given the Labor Question and Socialism little attention.

SUNDAY EVENING LECTURES. Branch 1, Social Democratic Party, gives Free Lectures on Social Economics every Sunday evening at Kaiser's Hall, Fourth St.

Branch Meetings. The city central committee meets every first and third Monday evening of the month at Kaiser's hall, 298 Fourth street. EUGENE H. ROONEY, Sec.

FRIENDLY CONTEST OF WORKERS. As hitherto announced in The Herald, we are prepared to give a Free Scholarship in Stoll's College, Eau Claire, Wis., the cash value of which is \$50, to the one sending in the largest number of subscribers at 50 cents a year to this paper.

TO INCREASE THE CIRCULATION. The Herald and aid the cause of Socialism should be made available to take advantage of his good luck for financial reasons alone. Principal Stoll agrees to find implement for his design the year in order to give our comrades and friends ample time to make the canvass, it has been decided that the contest shall remain open from

Standard Socialist Literature. LIBRARY VOLUMES. The Co-Operative Commonwealth; Grundriss; Ca. Ins. or Danton in the French Revolution; Grundriss; Paper, 50c; Cloth, 1.00; Our Destiny; Grundriss; Paper, 50c; Cloth, 1.00; Looking Backward; Bellamy; Equality; Bellamy; Paper, 50c; Cloth, 1.00; The People's Party; Deville; Principles of Socialism; Vall; Modern Socialism; Vall; The Paris Commune; Benham; The Eastern Question; Marx; Six Centuries of Work and Wages; Socialism; John Stuart Mill; Socialism and Anarchism; Thos. Carlyle; William Morris; Foot; Artist; Socialist; Fabian Essays in Socialism; The Economics of Herbert Spencer; Owen; Horace Greeley; Farmer, Editor, Socialist; Sotherr; News from Nowhere; William Morris; Beyond the Black Ocean; McGrady; Government Ownership in Production and Distribution; Trotsman; History of Communism of 1871; Lisovsky; (Translated from French by Eleanor Marx Aveling); Cloth, \$1.00; Library Edition; Socialism from Genesis to Revelation; Sprague; Socialism and Modern Science; Ferr; Progressive Thought; Library; ADDRESS: Standard Publishing Co., Terre Haute, Ind.

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Resident Members.

BRANCHES.	32	28	47	24	6	51	43	12	20	18	29	19	1	9	8	4	11	17	39	39	16	23	
F. Heath.....	6	5	8	13	4	9	6	7	7	3	7	.....	6	13	8	7	18	.....	9	.....	.....	8	144
F. O. Rebfield.....	6	5	8	5	1	.....	1	2	2	.....	1	.....	3	22	.....	4	4	.....	9	.....	4	.....	77
H. C. Berger.....	6	.....	8	6	5	9	1	4	13	7	1	.....	2	5	8	11	6	19	.....	.....	.....	.....	111
Jos. Ruemel.....	6	.....	.....	1	2	.....	3	.....	.....	1	1	.....	1	3	.....	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	22
J. Doerfler.....	6	5	.....	8	.....	.....	3	3	17	7	.....	.....	1	2	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	9	8	73
H. Tuttle.....	.....	5	8	14	3	9	9	2	17	7	6	9	5	22	8	14	19	.....	.....	8	9	8	182
E. Ziegler.....	.....	5	.....	.....	4	9	2	6	4	2	1	9	5	2	.....	.....	16	.....	9	.....	11	.....	85
N. Anderson.....	.....	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	5	.....	1	3	4	.....	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	.....	.....	37
J. Shehan.....	.....	.....	.....	5	2	.....	4	.....	4	4	1	.....	.....	11	.....	1	8	19	.....	8	.....	8	75
J. Housman.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	2	.....	2	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11
G. Moerschel.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	15	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	21
J. Hunger.....	.....	.....	.....	9	4	.....	3	4	6	6	5	.....	6	8	.....	1	.....	19	9	8	11	.....	107
F. Brockhausen.....	.....	.....	.....	2	2	.....	4	.....	1	1	1	9	.....	20	8	7	13	.....	9	8	8	8	101
R. Meister.....	.....	.....	.....	8	8	.....	1	5	.....	3	2	9	1	9	8	8	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	64
E. Seidel.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	9	3	3	4	4	1	9	8	8	.....	6	11	19	.....	.....	13	.....	101
P. Siegel.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	4	1	.....	1	.....	.....	2	.....	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	12
C. A. Blodgett.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	2	1	5	.....	1	.....	.....	11	5	19	.....	.....	.....	.....	45

tional committeeman:

Non-Resident Members.

	32	28	47	24	6	51	43	12	20	18	29	19	1	3	17	11	4	9	39	33	16	28	
R. O. Stoll.....	6	5	8	13	3	9	4	8	6	4	1	9	7	8	19	23	10	23	9	8	13	8	204
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N. Venner.....	6	4	2	9	1	5	3	1	1	17	10	99
A. Zander.....	5	3	6	7	10	1	2	1	1	7	9	52
B. P. Hassinger..	5	8	6	9	2	8	3	19	8	6	8	82
J. W. Born.....	.....	.....	8	1	.....	.....	1	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	17
Aug. Mohr.....	.....	.....	8	1	4	.....	2	8	1	4	8	.....	1	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	9	.....	.....	.....	56
C. Allinger.....	.....	.....	.....	2	2	.....	5	.....	8	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	19	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	34
E. G. Lindner.....	.....	.....	.....	1	3	9	3	.....	.....	3	7	9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	.....	.....	47
H. J. Amman.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	8	15	6	1	.....	7	8	.....	23	2	9	.....	.....	13	8	110
M. Biedinger.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	8	.....	1	.....	1	.....	6	8	.....	23	9	9	.....	8	8	8	82