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HOW I BECAME A SOCIAL DEMOCRAT.

Eugene V. Debs writes of his conversion in *The Comrade*.

As I have some doubt about the readers of the *Comrade* having any curiosity as to "how I became a Socialist," it may be in order to say that the subject is the editor's, not my own; and that what is here offered is at his bidding—my only concern being that he shall not have cause to wish that I had remained what I was instead of becoming a Socialist.

On the evening of February 27, 1875, the local lodge of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen was organized at Terre Haute, Ind., by Joshua A. Leach, then grand master, and I was admitted as a charter member and at once chosen secretary. "Old Josh Leach," as he was affectionately called, a typical locomotive fireman of his day, was the founder of the brotherhood, and I was instantly attracted by his rugged honesty, simple manner and homely speech. How well I remember feeling his large, rough hand on my shoulder, the kindly eye of an elder brother searching my own as he gently said, "My boy, you're a little young, but I believe you're in earnest and will make your mark in the brotherhood." Of course I assured him that I would do my best. What he really thought at the time flattered my boyish vanity not a little when I heard of it. He was attending a meeting at St. Louis some months later and in the course of his remarks said: "I put a tow-headed boy in the brotherhood at Terre Haute not long ago, and some day he will be at the head of it."

Twenty-seven years, to a day, have played their pranks with "Old Josh" and the rest of us. When last we met, not long ago, and I pressed his good, right hand, I observed that he was crowned with the frost that never melts; and as I think of him now:

Remembrance wakes, with all her busy train,
Swells at my breast and turns the past to pain.

My first step was thus taken in organized labor and I felt that a new influence had entered my life to fire my ambition and change the whole current of my career. I was filled with enthusiasm and my blood fairly leaped in my veins. Day and night I worked for the brotherhood. To see its watchfires glow and observe the increase of its sturdy members were the sunshine and shower of my life. To attend the "meeting" was my supreme joy, and for ten years I was not once absent when the faithful assembled.

At the convention held in Buffalo in 1878 I was chosen associate editor of the magazine, and in 1880 I became grand secretary and treasurer. With all the fire of youth I entered upon the crusade which seemed to fairly glitter with possibilities. For eighteen hours at a stretch I was glued to my desk reeling off the answers to my many correspondents. Day and night were one. Sleep was time wasted, and often when, all oblivious of her presence in the still small hours, my mother's hand turned off the light, I went to bed under protest. Oh, what days! And what quenchless zeal and consuming vanity! All the firemen everywhere—and they were all the world—were straining:

To catch the heat
Of my tramping feet.

My grip was always packed; and I was darting in all directions. To tramp through a railroad yard in the rain, snow or sleet half the night, or till day-break, or be ordered out of the roundhouse for being an "agitator," or put off a train, sometimes passenger, more often freight, while attempting to deadhead over the division, were all in the programme, and served to whet the appetite to conquer. One night in midwinter at Elmira, N. Y., a conductor on the Erie kindly dropped me off in a snowbank, and as I clambered to the top I ran into the arms of a policeman who heard my story, and on the spot became my friend.

I rode on the engines over mountain and plain, slept in the cabooses and bunks, and was fed from their pails by the swartly stokers who still nestle close to my heart, and will until it is cold and still.

Through all these years I was nourished at Fountain Proletaire. I drank deeply of its waters and every particle of my tissue became saturated with the life of the working class. I had fired an engine and been stung by the exposure and hardship of the rail. I was with them in their weary watches, at the broken engine's side, and often helped to bear their bruised and bleeding bodies back to wife and child again. How could I but feel the burden of their wrongs? How the seed of agitation fall to take deep root in my heart?

And so I was spurred on in the work of organizing, not the firemen merely, but the brakemen, switchmen, telegraphers, shoopmen, track hands, all of them in fact, and as I had now become known as an organizer, the calls came from all sides and there are but few trades I haven't helped to organize and less still in whose strikes I have not at some time had a hand.

In 1894 the American Railway Union was organized and a braver body of men never fought the battle of the working class.

Up to this time I had heard but little of Socialism, knew practically nothing about the movement, and what little I did know was not calculated to impress me in its favor. I was bent on the conquest and complete organization of the railroad men and ultimately the whole working class, and all my time and energy were given to that end. My supreme conviction was that if they were only organized in every branch of the service and all acted together in concert, they could redress their wrongs and regulate the conditions of their employment. The stockholders of the corporation acted as one, why not the men? It was such a plain proposition—simply to follow the example set before their eyes by their masters—surely they could not fail to do so.

It is useless to say that I had not yet to learn the workings of the capitalist system, the resources of its masters and the weakness of its slaves. Indeed, no shadow of a "system" fell athwart my pathway; no thought of ending wage misery marred my plans. I was too deeply absorbed in perfecting wage servitude and making it "a thing of beauty and a joy forever."

It all seems very strange to me now, taking a backward look, that my vision was so focalized on a single objective point that I utterly failed to see what now appears as the obvious and complete organization of the whole workingman, however dull, uncomprehending, can resist it.

But perhaps it was better so. I was to be baptized in Socialism in the roar of conflict and I thank the gods for reserving to this fitful occasion the fiat "Let there be light"—the light that streams in steady radiance upon the broadway to the Socialist republic.

The skirmish lines of the A. R. U. were well advanced. A series of small battles were fought and won without a loss on the number of men. Then came the fight on the Great Northern, short, sharp, and decisive. The victory was complete—the only railroad strike of magnitude ever won by an organization in America.

Next followed the final shock—the Pullman strike—and the American Railway Union again won, clear and complete. The combined corporations were paralyzed and helpless. At this juncture a blow was struck which was not expected, and then opened wide my eyes—and in the gleam of every bayonet and the flash of every rifle the class struggle was revealed. This was my first practical lesson in Socialism, though wholly unaware that it was called by that name.

An army of detectives, thugs and murderers were equipped with badge and beer and bludgeon and turned loose; old hulks of cars were fired; the alarm bells tolled; the people were terrified; the most startling rumors were set off; the press wailed and thundered, and the nation sped the news that Chicago was white with that red clutch of a mob; injunctions flew thick and fast, arrests followed, and our office and headquarters, the heart of the strike, was sacked, torn out and nailed up by the "lawful" authorities of the federal government; and when in company with my loyal comrades I found myself in Cook county jail at Chicago with the whole press screaming conspiracy, treason and murder, and by some fateful coincidence I was given the cell occupied just previous to his execution by the assassin of Major Carter Harrison, Sr., overlooking the spot where the Anarchists were hanged a few years before, why then I had another exceedingly practical and impressive lesson in Socialism.

Acting upon the advice of friends we sought to employ John Harlan, son of the supreme justice, to assist in our defense—a defense memorable to me chiefly because of the skill and fidelity of our lawyers, among whom were the brilliant Clarence Darrow and the venerable Judge Egan Trumbull, author of the thirteenth amendment to the constitution, abolishing slavery in the United States.

Mr. Harlan wanted to think of the matter over night; and the next morning gravely informed us that he could not afford to be identified with the case. "For," said he, "you will be tried upon the same theory as were the Anarchists, with probably the same results." That day, I remember, the jailer, by way of consolation, I suppose, showed us the blood-stained rope used at the last execution and explained in minutest detail, as he exhibited the gruesome relic, just how the monstrous crime of lawful murder is committed.

But the tempest gradually subsided and with it the bloodthirstiness of the press and "public sentiment." We were not sentenced to the gallows, nor even to the penitentiary—though put on trial for conspiracy—for reasons that will make another story.

The Chicago jail sentences were followed by six months at Woodstock, and it was here that Socialism gradually laid hold of me in its own irresistible fashion. Books and pamphlets and letters from Socialists came by every mail and I began to read and think and dissect the anatomy of the system in which workingmen, however organized, could be shattered and battered and splintered at a single stroke. The writings of Bellamy and Blatchford early appealed to me. The "Co-operative Commonwealth" of Gronlund also impressed me, but the writings of Kautsky were so clear and conclusive that I readily grasped, not merely his argument, but also caught the spirit of his Socialist utterance—and I thank him and all who helped me out of darkness into light.

It was at this time, when the first glimmerings of Socialism were beginning to penetrate, that Victor L. Berger—and I have loved him ever since—came to Woodstock, as if a providential instrument, and delivered the first impassioned message of Socialism I had ever heard—the very first to set the wires humming in my system. As a souvenir of that visit there is in my library a volume of "Capital" by Karl Marx, inscribed with the compliments of Victor L. Berger, which I cherish as a token of priceless value.

The American Railway Union was clubbed but not conquered—overwhelmed but not vanquished. It lives and pulsates in the Socialist movement of America, and its defeat but blazed the true way to economic freedom and hastened the sunrise of human brotherhood.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

"I. O. Thilmany of Kaukauna, who will not again employ men who quit work last night."

This is the caption over a picture of a Wisconsin captain of industry which the Milwaukee Sentinel printed last Sunday. Through the workings of the present economic system this man is in position to hold over workmen on strike the ominous threat of "no more work."

The present system gives this fiend in human garb a terrible advantage over men so docile that they submit without question to the capitalistic fleecing system as a rule, and only finally rebel when conditions are utterly obnoxious to them. "For daring to rebel," says this modern monster, in effect, "you will get no more work to do. Now go, and serve, and welcome."

And the worst of it is that there may come a time when this sentence will be potent, for concentration is stalking through the land, and ownership of businesses is becoming the province of fewer and fewer men. The time may not be far distant when a man with a little shriveled up Thilmany soul may be in control of all business in some certain division of industry. His sentence on workmen incurring his displeasure will be as despotic and fiendish as that of absolute monarchs in the far East, who for trifling inconveniences or vexatious hand over their subjects to the ax-man or the superintendent of the boiling oil department to be given a "lingering but humorous" death!

A week ago a majority of 104,748 Chicago men, out of a total vote of 204,379, voted for the public ownership of the lighting companies.

It was decidedly a step in advance, and there will be those to claim that it was a great victory for what is known as Direct Legislation. We do not take this view.

The opportunity was afforded the people of the Western metropolis to say whether they would prefer city ownership to private ownership of the lighting service. It is an opportunity that comes none too often to people who are menaced by the aggressions of wealth in the form of municipal monopolies—corporations more rapacious than the robber barons of feudal days, and who seek and maintain their monopoly by bribery and intimidation. It is an encouraging sign that in spite of the corrupting atmosphere of a modern business metropolis like Chicago, the people grasped the opportunity and putting aside their little petty dishonest tendencies, rolled up such a decisive and tremendous majority for progress and sane government. It presages the day when the people will vote squarely on the subject of collective ownership of the factories. And it was by a referendum that they did it.

But it was not a victory for Direct Legislation.

Direct Legislation is a plan, whereby, with the help of both the Initiative and Referendum, the people may make their own laws without the intervention of common councils, legislatures and congresses. It is argued that the plan would prevent the continuance of the monster corruption in legislation which so disgraces our present form of civilization, and shows our captains of industry in their true light, that of immoral and vicious brigands every fiber of whose being is seeped with the virus of civic pollution. We wish this hope were a valid one.

The referendum is only sensible when it is used with common sense. Under present conditions it would be a failure if the people undertook to make all their laws by direct means. This is not the fault of the principle of the referendum but because of the system under which we live today and which we are ruled by. So long as society consists of myriads of conflicting private interests, just so long myriads of laws will be passed. It would be impossible for people to vote knowingly on all these measures, they would not have the time or the inclination to study up each case, and thus many a foxy, dangerous proposal would be enacted into law without their realizing it.

The activity of the legislative corruptionist must merely shift his base of operations.

Instead of corrupting and misleading legislators, the paid lobby of the rich would direct its efforts at misleading and confusing the voters themselves, principally through the press. Even today the great wealth interests are getting possession of the city dailies, and this gives them increasing power in persuading and fooling the people into voting

Few people when they ate their eggs on Easter Sunday realized that they were paying tribute to Armour and Swift and other big meat packers. They were, however, and had been for weeks past. The fact is, the present high price of eggs bears no relation to the amount of the "hen fruit" actually in existence.

A month or so ago Armour and Swift saw a chance to corner the egg market. The eggs on the market were largely "cold storage" eggs. The big packers had large refrigerating plants handy and it was no trick at all to buy up practically all the eggs in sight and lock them up where they would keep cool while the people grew hot. They got hold of enough to make an egg famine and the price of eggs was gradually forced up to 35 cents a dozen. They then began to slowly unload and the stake is said to have been well worth playing for. Even today the price of eggs has not gotten down to the normal.

The day is not far away when men who succeed in gambling in food stuffs will be strung up to the telegraph poles. The Socialists, when they get hold of enough of the political power to do it, will take a genuine pleasure in providing such a law. And at the same time they may repeal some laws that today send a hungry wretch to a house of correction for stealing a loaf of bread, or a coat for his back. Cardinal Manning has said that rather than starve a man has the right to steal.

in opposition to their true interests. They also, from being the financial props of the churches, control the eloquence of a good many of the more subservient high-salaried preachers. They have the best lawyers retained and under orders. A Madden stands ready to shut off papers that tell the truth about capitalism when the occasion is serious enough to warrant risking such high-bandedness. A capitalistic president who is vicious enough to forbid government employes from seeking to better their wages and hours through legislation, would be despot enough to issue equally un-American mandates to help perpetuate the control of the wealth interests were it necessary.

So that men who say that all the ills of capitalistic society would vanish once we established government by referendum talk thoughtlessly.

And yet the referendum is a most valuable thing. We Socialists expect to use it a good deal even before we get the co-operative commonwealth. We do not wish to use it for little things but for important emergencies, when the public attention is focused on a vital development and the people can move on the enemy's intrenchments with precision. When the co-operative commonwealth is at hand, the referendum will be used as a matter of course.

At present the thing called direct legislation is being boomed by a number of faddish reformers whose minds are so constructed that they cannot grasp the industrial and social problem in the large. But the novelty of their proposal has worn off and they are not able to distract attention from the main fight, as they formerly were.

The best feature of the event in Chicago is that it waked a good many people up. They will be more watchful hereafter and the things they will see if they keep their eyes open, and do their own thinking, will logically land most of them in the camp of the Social Democrats.

Watch your congressmen. See how their class interests—not to speak of their willingness to be "silled"—will cause them to vote on the nefarious ship subsidy bill now pending. The bill proposes to give men who maintain American ships on the ocean a bonus and John D. Rockefeller, that prince of commercial bandits, who steals hotter things than red-hot stoves as a mere pastime, stands to win some hot millions of out and out "velvet" by it. The Standard Oil Company maintains a large fleet of tank steamers that carry American oil to Europe, and on each one of these a subsidy could be drawn from the United States treasury if the bill becomes law. No one appears to know just how many of them there are in existence, but travelers say they pass them with great frequency on the voyage to and from Europe. They average from 2000 to 3000 tons and carry only oil. Rockefeller is for the law, all right. It means for \$500,000 to \$1,500,000 a year of out and out steal for him.

And you, Mr. Workingman, whose vote makes such capitalistic "legislation" possible, you who are this moment stewing your brains out over how you are going to reduce that grocery bill or meat bill or clothing bill, or meet the back rent—eh? what about you? Do any subsidies come to you? Isn't it about time to drop that old habit of voting for all this looting of the national coffers?

Before election the Allis Company had it printed in all the papers that it had granted its operatives a half day on Saturday for the year round. That was before election. Now it appears a number of the men have petitioned the company to take the privilege away again. This is after election. We do not say the Allis people are petitioning themselves through these workmen, we have no proof that it is so. The best thing the workers can do is to have Saturday half holidays decreed by legislative enactment so that big firms cannot juggle with the thing for electioneering purposes.

In the recent Milwaukee election the anxiety of the old party politicians to know who were Socialists among the "silent voters" was very strong. In one booth on election day the inspectors put up a game on the Social-Democratic voters that worked pretty well for awhile. They provided themselves with a blue pencil, and when a man came in who was suspected of being a Socialist he was given the blue pencil to mark his ballot with, otherwise a black pencil was handed out.

ATTEMPTS AT OLD AGE PENSIONS IN EUROPE.

In the leading countries of Europe the question of old age insurance for workingmen has of late been the subject of lively debate in labor circles, and has already led to various legislative measures, without indeed producing final results which workingmen can pronounce entirely satisfactory.

Germany adopted a law in the year 1889 for the regulation of old age insurance for workingmen. The results of this law, while it has produced some good, are insignificant compared with the aim which it pretended to reach. When we in America contend for such a law, of course we have in view no imitation of the German law, but rather measures which will actually accomplish what they promise—a provision for workingmen in old age.

The German law guarantees to every workingman whose trade comes under its provisions, a right to an old age pension as soon as he has completed his seventieth year. The government, the employers and the workingmen unite to raise this fund. The government contributes 50 marks (\$12.50) a year for every pension that falls due. Employer and workingman contribute in equal shares 14, 20, 24 or 30 pfennigs (3½, 5, 6 or 7½ cents) weekly, according to the four classes into which wage workers are divided. The lowest pension is 106.40 marks (\$26.35) a year, the highest 101 marks (\$47.75).

The inadequacy of the German old age insurance lies in the high limit of age which is demanded and in the small amount of the pension. How many workingmen reach their seventieth year? Or if they attain it, what can they do with a bare income of 30 pfennigs a day?

But apart from this, what is especially interesting to Americans in this German law is the manner of defraying the expense. We see that the government, the employer and the workingman each contribute a share to the total cost.

Austria in this respect follows the example which Germany has set. After the Social Democrats and the labor unions had started up a vigorous agitation for an old age pension law, the ministry worked out a plan which provides a pension from the beginning of the workingman's sixty-fifth year. Here also the expense is defrayed by the employer and workman in equal shares, while the government, as in Germany, grants an additional allowance.

A bill which also provides for workingmen's old age insurance is now before the French Chamber. According to this bill also the government, employers and workmen will share the cost of the insurance.

Of especial interest for us in the United States is the question which plays a part in the deliberations of the parliamentary commission on the French bill. In the original bill of Millerand, the minister of commerce, all foreign workmen in France were excluded from the benefits of the law. However, after it was submitted to the commission, the provisions of the bill were so altered that the law applied also to foreign workmen of long residence in the country. Employers are thus required to pay a contribution of 4 per cent. of the wages of foreign workmen employed by them and settled and registered in France. Two per cent. of this shall be registered in the wage book of the workman and shall become his property immediately, just as the French workman also receives at once the right to own and dispose of a part of his payments. The other 2 per cent. payment of the employer for the foreign workman must be laid away and paid him after ten years, together with his own payments and the interest.

While the Austrian and French laws follow the German example in regard to the manner of defraying the cost, it appears that in England the working class is not satisfied with this way of raising the necessary funds.

At a conference of delegates of labor unions and societies held in London in the middle of January to consider the question of old age insurance, the opinion was almost unanimous that the government alone should defray the costs of the insurance. The following resolution was adopted: "The conference considers it a pressing necessity that the government introduce a national system of old age pensions. It should be universal in its application; all citizens, male and female, without exception, on attaining their sixtieth years should be entitled to a pension of at least 5 shillings (\$1.25) a week; the government to defray the cost by means of an imperial tax."

The advantages of such a system over the German law are evident. In the first place the workmen are not required to contribute to the expense. Besides the old age insurance begins not at the workingman's seventieth but at his sixtieth year, and finally the pension is not 2 marks (50 cents) a week, as in Germany, but 5 marks (\$1.25) a week.

Little enough indeed, but nevertheless better than nothing. And at any rate it is a step in the right direction.

The supreme court of Wisconsin recently decided that the law taxing inheritances was unconstitutional. The question was raised by members of the tax-dodging rich class. The decision was only to be expected.

The ground for the decision was that the law provided that a legacy below a certain sum in total value escaped the tax, while if it was a penny over the limit the tax was operative. The suit to test the constitutionality of the law was brought by the heirs of the late John Black, a wealthy Milwaukee liquor dealer, while a large number of other estates watched the developments with breathless and greedy anxiety. And they are now rejoicing at the decision which held that the law discriminated unjustly as between estates of more than \$10,000 and those of merely a dollar under that sum.

We should like to apply the court's logic in another direction—a direction in which humanity instead of dollars is at stake.

There is a law in this state that a child under 14 years may not go to work in a mill or factory pen, while a child over 14 may. The courts hold that it is wrong for an estate valued at \$9999 to escape the inheritance tax, while one valued at \$10,000—merely one dollar more—must pay. The law rushes in to protect "dead" wealth. Why should it not come to the rescue of the living girl factory slave? Why should the supreme court not say: The law exempts the child who is a day under 14 years from the brutality of the soul-crushing factory prison, while the child that is one day older is free to be forced by conditions into factory servitude. This is an unjust and inequitable discrimination, therefore it is unconstitutional!

But we need not worry. The supreme court and the laws exist for another purpose. They are not there to protect the weak and defenseless. It is their "job" to protect the strong.

On the day after election a man at the Filer & Stowell foundry had his ankle crushed and his leg had to be amputated. On the day following another poor fellow stumbled and fell forward on a mass of molten metal and burned out both his eyes. If he lives he will have to go through the world sightless. He can work no longer, but there are plenty ready to take his place.

John D. Rockefeller is said to be losing his hair.

The papers round the country are

printing columns about this "great calamity" that has befallen the oil magnate. Did you see anything in the papers about the misfortune of these two workers in the Filer & Stowell works? These beasts of burden, these mere factory hands, what does the world care about their misfortunes? There are charity hospitals, charity almshouses and charity graveyards for them. They have no kick coming, these "common cattle," these sovereign American citizens so beloved by the capitalistic politicians before election! But let John D. Rockefeller lose a few of his hairs, or let Hanna run a sliver in his finger, and the papers work up great public interest in the matter. But a common workman in a factory, who cares anything about his life!

We make the prediction that the newly elected board of aldermen in Milwaukee will make a record for corrupt dealings scarcely paralleled by any of those which have preceded it in the history of the city, in spite of the fact that some very rotten men failed of re-election. There is no other view possible. The personnel of some of the men elected, their records, manners of life, and the influences that conspired to place them in power, are indications not to be misunderstood. A looting of the city treasury under various disguises is inevitable and the indications are that the railroads will be strongly represented among the beneficiaries. They took a very active part in getting certain aldermen elected, which is prima facie evidence of intended corruption. It is generally understood that the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul road got a favorable council by its activity during the election. There will be quite a little railroad legislation this coming year.

In Milwaukee grand juries are chosen by the bodies whose corruption is to be "investigated." Hence the grand jury never discovers any crookedness. They seem to do it a little differently in St. Louis and the disclosures are sensational in the extreme. For the few disclosures, however, the percentage of those who escape is mountains on mountains high.

A Milwaukee shoe worker who was on his way East looking for a job, the Sentinel tells us, was killed by a train on which he was stealing a ride. And it may be he was one of those short-sighted fellows who refused to listen to some of our speakers during the campaign just closed!

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It will be less beer and more socialism that will make Milwaukee famous in the future.

Milwaukee Social Democrats have done well and hope to do still better in the future.

The last battle in Milwaukee was virtually a battle of literature. Let the good fight go on.

And let us make a point of trying to create a good working organization of the Social Democratic party in every county, city and township of the state of Wisconsin.

No man could become wealthy above others if he merely gave as much as he received in business. The richest men are those who have been smart enough to give very little to society and get very much.

The writer of these lines is a modest man, but he agrees that if society will give him as large an income as Andrew Carnegie gets, he will be even more liberal than Andy. This is a cold business proposition.

Statisticians have figured that in the United States the rich are taxed 4 per cent, and the workers 78 per cent, upon their possible earnings. No matter how you investigate you find that the brunt of everything falls upon those least able to stand it—and then think of the tax-dodging by the rich!

It used to take two days to make a pair of shoes and about two days' wages to buy a pair. Now the shoes cost nearly as much and they can be made by machinery in half an hour.

Even now, when people are better informed than they used to be, because they used to believe the daily newspapers, the remark is occasionally made that the Socialists are the enemies of the government.

Why is it that if it is only the people who live in monarchies that are oppressed, we hear every day of people starving to death in our own free land? The death of one person by starvation ought to be a greater cause for concern on the part of our people than the serious illness of the President's son, who has never suffered the pangs of hunger, but most of our people are not built that way.

There is one thing that the workers in the factory pens, mining hells and other places of toil should bear in mind at all times. It is wise and necessary to be organized into unions, but the influence of the unions will be only limited to small things unless a workers' party is back of them to make them a force that cannot be whipped.

There is air enough for every single person on the globe, and it is free. There is water enough for every single person on the globe, and it is free. There is land enough for every living soul and to spare, but private ownership has possession, and it is not free.

It has been figured out that it costs, all told, \$4000 for every heathen converted by the missionary societies in the benighted land of the pagan. If our people care about the savage negro or the Arab or the Mohammedan to the tune of \$4000 in each individual case, their indifference as to the well-being of the work slaves of this country is simply criminal.

We feel thankful of course for the implied compliment, when someone says that Socialism might do for a race of angels but that man is too bad by na-

ture to stand it. They do not say it to be complimentary, either, as a rule, but simply to make some kind of an opposition. But the angel argument is altogether foolish. Under Socialism the incentive to wrongdoing would be largely gone.

By injunctions issued by Judges Grosscup of Chicago and Phillips of Kansas City, fourteen Western roads were recently restrained from further ignoring certain provisions of the interstate commerce law.

When the railway companies, eight years ago obtained from the courts injunctions to prevent their employes from striking, or from performing actions in aid of their strikes, the novelty of the procedure attracted universal attention.

The interstate commerce commission has turned the tables on the railway companies by getting them enjoined from violating the interstate commerce act.

The following from the New York Press, whether meant as satire or earnest, is interesting reading:

The persons who rant and rail against watered stock are those who hold none of it. As I take it, watering a stock is an excellent device for allaying the passion and dispelling the communistic cloud of the community.

We always supposed that charity began at home, but Mark Hanna in playing his star engagement with the Civic Federation strike-preventing aggregation, seems to take care that his operations shall be carried on well away from his own fleeing territory.

The flip retort the cocky capitalistic apologist used to make that the Socialist, if he didn't like this country, had better leave it is brought to mind by the following from the Chicago News:

Mr. Pierpont Morgan has what might be termed a clench. Anyone who does like Mr. Morgan's country can leave it only in one of Mr. Morgan's boats.

Dispatches from Rome, Italy, state that in the registration of electors every workman qualified as opposed to the monarchy—as belonging to a party in opposition! If this is generally the sentiment appearing.

What the Socialist movement needs in some other places is more real propaganda by good literature and less "oratory" from the certain "great men"—in their own estimation.

Illinois' Stand on Dues Question.

The executive committee of the Socialist party of Illinois, at a meeting held March 4, unanimously adopted the following resolutions relating to payment of dues to the national committee:

"Whereas, there has been a demand made upon the state committee of Illinois to pay dues prior to the organization of the Socialist party of Illinois, and

"Whereas, the state committee of Illinois stands ready to meet all obligations which it is bound to pay since its organization, and whereas the clause of the national constitution regarding the payment of dues is as follows:

"Section 6. The state committees shall pay to the national committee every month a sum equal to 5 cents for every member in good standing within their respective territories."

"Therefore, be it resolved that the state committee of Illinois declares itself not liable to the national committee for any dues for former members arising prior to the issuance of the charter to the state on October 4, 1901, and requests that further correspondence in regard thereto be discontinued."

"Section 4. In states and territories in which there is one central organization affiliated with the party and representing at least ten local organizations in different parts of such state or territory, respectively, the state or territorial organization shall have the sole jurisdiction of the members residing within their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda, organization and financial affairs within such state or territory, and the national committee and subcommittee or officers thereof shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective state or territorial organizations."

"It has come to the notice of the state committee of Illinois that the national secretary claiming authority from the

national quorum, has written numerous letters to the press in Illinois regarding both financial and propaganda matters.

"Such actions are not only in conflict with the national constitution, but are producing confusion and discontent among the branches in the state. We therefore express our disapproval of the conduct of the national secretary, and demand and insist that such practices be discontinued. And since the national committee has no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the state organization, we desire to place ourselves on record as refusing our consent to such interference."

War, Horrid War!

What, speaking in quite unofficial language, is the net purport and upshot of war? To my own knowledge, for example, there dwelt and still in the British city of Dunmurry, usually some 500 souls. From these, by certain "natural enemies" of the French, there are successively selected, during the French war, say thirty able-bodied men; Dunmurry, at her own expense, has suckled and reared sixty dumb canasses, which she then sends to France, without difficulty and sorrow, fed them up to crafts, and even trained them up to cradles, so that one can weave, another build, another hammer, and the weakest can stand under thirty stone avoirdupois.

The Old Communist Club.

Our readers will be interested to know that the old Communist Club, which has for so long occupied premises at 49 Tottenham street, is about to betake itself to a new home at 107 Charlotte street, Fitzroy square.

The drawing of the piano and prizes on admission tickets to the recent fair will take place Saturday, April 12, at the evening concert at the Socialist Maennerchor at the Liedertafel hall, Seventh and Prairie streets, Milwaukee.

To Holders of Piano Tickets.

The drawing of the piano and prizes on admission tickets to the recent fair will take place Saturday, April 12, at the evening concert at the Socialist Maennerchor at the Liedertafel hall, Seventh and Prairie streets, Milwaukee.

EDITORIAL SHEARINGS.

Mr. Harriman the railway magnate's testimony on the railway merger was to the effect that the entire country would be benefited by having all the railroads under one control.

The British trade unionists are in a quandary. The House of Lords decision in the Taff Vale case, according to which capitalists have the right to sue unions for damages because of strikes and boycotts, has thrown the officials into more or less of a panic.

At least a dozen cases against various unions are now in the courts. The employers want damages because of strikes and boycotts. The unionists are consulting the ablest lawyers in the kingdom, and they suggest the formation of a sort of subsidiary company to collect and distribute the organizations' funds.

Under this plan strike benefits would be handed over to the unions merely as gifts. The progressive element ridicules the scheme.

They point out that the method would be cumbersome and unsatisfactory, that the funds, which amount to many millions of dollars at present, would be attached in other ways, and that the only safe way to defeat the enemy is to smash him at the polls with votes, secure control of Parliament, and elect and interpret laws to safeguard their own interests.—Cleveland Citizen.

Milwaukee Election Comments by the Press.

It's all over now, but the headches, and today some have them because they won, and others because they didn't. The claims of the Social Democracy for a large vote were exaggerated. Mr. Tuttle having received 8401. This vote was the unknown quantity and both parties were claiming that it would be drawn from the other. Rose's plurality, according to the complete returns, is 8288, but 113 less than the total Social Democratic vote.

The existing conditions make it hard to determine whether the Social Democrats are to be credited with a great gain in strength or not. The fact that they more than trebled the vote of the spring of 1900 and doubled the vote of the fall of the same year would indicate a great increase in the following of official Democratic doctrines.—Daily News.

The Social Democrats cut a larger figure in the contest than it was popularly supposed they would. Two years ago they polled about 2500 in the entire city. Their vote, combined with the vote of the other Social Labor party, did not altogether make a showing of about 3000 at that time. This year Howard Tuttle, Social Democratic candidate for mayor, received nearly 8500 votes.—Evening Wisconsin.

The vote cast at the municipal election in the city of Milwaukee yesterday

was the largest ever cast in the history of the city at a municipal election, and was within 81 votes of the vote cast at the presidential election in 1900. The figures yesterday are 58,135 against 58,216 in the presidential contest. The Social Democrats showed the largest net gain of any party in the vote, their figures having been increased nearly 6000 over the election of two years ago, when the vote cast for Heath for mayor was 2584 against 8411 cast for Howard Tuttle yesterday.

There was not a ward in the city in which some Social Democratic votes were not cast, and the results in all the wards were pleasing to the Social Democratic managers.—Daily News.

The most significant feature of the Milwaukee election is the large Social Democratic vote which was polled. This vote reached 8441 on the head of the city ticket, an increase of nearly 6000 over two years ago and 4000 more than the vote cast by the party at the presidential election in 1900.

The greater part of this increase came from Republican wards. It is safe to say that of the 7358 plurality received by Mayor Rose, 4000 came through the drafts made by the Social Democrats on the Republican ranks.—Chicago Record-Herald.

Federated Trades Council.

Regular meeting of the Federated Trades Council Wednesday, April 2, 1902.

The meeting was called to order by the corresponding secretary, John Reichert. Delegate A. D. Schwades was elected chairman and Delegate Fred Brockhausen vice chairman for the evening.

The roll call of officers showed all the officers to be present. The roll call of organizations was dispensed with. The minutes of the last regular meeting were read and approved.

Credentials for delegates from Hardwood Finishers' Union No. 115 and from Glove Workers' Union No. 102, respectively, and being favorably reported on by the committee on credentials, the same were received and the delegates obligated and seated.

The executive board announced that it would audit the books of the officers Sunday, April 6.

The committee on resolutions reported that it had not met with the school board in regard to the making of school seats by the city as yet, but would do so at an early date. On motion both reports were received.

On motion the label section was instructed to visit the different labels, especially the Garment Workers' label.

The business agent reported that he could not follow the instructions received last meeting in regard to building trades, as the forming of the card question would involve the council in unwilling trouble. He, together with Secretary Reichert, had been to Chicago to see President Gompers of A. F. L. in regard to the matter, who advises us to keep up educational policy pursued heretofore.

He further reported that he had helped the Glove Workers' Union in their trouble, with the result that they had one point settled satisfactorily. Moved that report of business agent be accepted. Carried.

The business agent also reported that he had accidentally been to Pabst park with a committee of the Musicians' Union, and had found that dance hall would be too small to accommodate all the people expected to participate in the Labor day celebration.

There is another hall in the park, but the manager stated that same was not included in the contract. The special committee states that the managers of the dance hall, during the ensuing discussion, had called for the Pabst park proposition was read for and was read by the secretary.

A communication from the Musicians' Union stating that Schitz, Pabst and Schneider's park managers had agreed to hire the Pabst park for the Labor day celebration. Moved that the committee be instructed to include both halls in contract, if made. Motion lost. Motion made to reconsider action taken last meeting in regard to renting Pabst park. Carried by a vote of 46 yeas to 4 noes.

Motion made to refer matter to local unions and report next meeting, amended to appoint preliminary committee. Moved that all previous motions lay on the table. Carried. Motion made to enlarge present committee to five. Carried.

Delegate Huebner resigned. Moved that resignation be accepted. Carried. His appointed Delegate Anderson, Reichert, Esche and Basenbrug to act in conjunction with Delegate Heath of former committee. Moved that committee stand instructed to look over parks and report next meeting. Carried.

NEW BUSINESS. Brockschlaeger, Brockhausen resigned the delegates to support the labor press. Moved that the business agent stand instructed to ask the Social Democratic Herald what cost would be for having a reporter here to take the minutes of the council for said delegates. Carried.

Huebner requested council to take definite stand in regard to Building Trades Section. Moved to annul contract made with Brewers' Association. After a lengthy discussion motion was lost. Moved to send delegates to general meeting of the Carpenters' union.

COMMUNICATIONS.—A committee from the local Musicians' union, requesting council to appoint a committee to confer with a like committee of theirs to make arrangements for the furnishing of music for Labor Day, was received and request granted. The chair appointed as committee delegates Brockhausen, Reichert, Esche and Basenbrug.

A committee from the Metal Polishers' Union of St. Louis notifying us that the Wrought Iron Range Company is still unfair, they also request us to inform the public of the fact and request them not to buy Home Comfort ranges was received and request granted. A committee from the Ship Carpenters' Union of Toledo, O., requesting us to forward some circulars to local Ship Carpenters' union, as there is no such union here, same was filed. A committee from the Central Labor Council of Jamestown, N. Y., requesting us to write to the roadhead Worsteds Mills, whose owner is also president of the Street Car Company there, telling them that their product would be declared unfair, if the street car strike was not settled, was received and request granted. A committee from the Building Trades Section was instructed to send list of unions not sending delegates to the Trades Council here, also list of independent unions. Moved to be received and concurred in. Carried.

A committee from the Journeyman Bakers and Confectioners of N. A., requesting us to notify the local unions to refrain from buying flour of the National Biscuit Company, as said trust had been placed on the unfair list was received and request granted. A circular letter from the local Tobacco Workers Union stating that they were engaged in a life and death struggle with the American Tobacco Trust, they also request organized labor to give support to the B. Leidersdorf Company who is the only firm using their label. Moved that circular be endorsed, carried. Moved that secretary stands in-

THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE.

Workers can protect themselves through associations. Even Prof. Gunton says so.

A veritable stalking horse for the rulers of today is Prof. George Gunton of *New York City*, of which no less a "scientific mind" than broncho-breaking Teddy Roosevelt, is the president of the board of counsellors.

Prof. Gunton is a kept economist of capitalism, a foxy gentleman, who substitutes his abilities in order that the trend of popular attention to economics and sociology may be guided, as far as possible, in the interests of the vested rights of our industrial rulers.

In order to head off and misdirect the popular thought he has to adroitly slip in his false teaching amidst quite a little that is based on truth. Otherwise he could not hope to get the sympathy of the working class.

In one of his truth telling moments he recently had this to say of trade unions and sympathy strikes:

"It looks very unfair that a strike of forty or fifty men, about wages or conditions of some particular character, should be made to cause a strike among 5000 or 6000 men in other trades that have nothing apparently to do with that particular case. Yet there is often some sense in that, so long as conditions are as they are. What are the conditions?"

"Why, right along the conditions have been that the capitalist, the employer, has first objected to the laborer's organizing at all; he always wants to deal with the laborer individually. Now, Mr. Jones, why can't you and I agree? What have these other fellows to do with you? Jones feels as if he could agree, but if Jones should go to his employer and say, Mr. Carnegie, I should like to work eight hours a day instead of nine or ten, Mr. Carnegie says, Why, man, it is impossible. I cannot talk to you about that; this whole shop of 7000 men must all work alike. All our machinery must start at the same hour, therefore if you work eight, and Thompson works eight, and Brown works eight, the others must work eight. I cannot have three or four different times. You must all work alike."

"Jones realizes very quickly that he cannot work individually. He cannot make a bargain for himself about his hours of labor, he cannot make a bargain for his wages. He must get what the others get, start when the others do, stop when the others stop, do as much as the others do. He realizes by and by, at any rate, that he is not an individual any longer in that situation, but he is one of the 5000, he is one of the group. There is a general welding of not only the interests, but the action of this body of men."

"Therefore, they say, we are all in the same boat, we cannot act separately, we must act together or not at all. The result is the smelters, we will say, and the heaters and the furnace men and all the rest of them become a part of a general whole. If, therefore, there is anything the matter in this or that quarter, if they stand aside and see one group dealt with and defeated, it is only a question of their turn coming next, and then it will be another group, and when a half dozen groups have been cornered the whole will have to yield."

HOW IT COMES AND HOW IT GOES.

How playful Reggy Vanderbilt gambles with the fleecings of Labor.

Mr. Reginald Vanderbilt, scion of the railroad family, played roulette one night at Mr. Canfield's gambling house in Forty-fourth street, in the city of New York, and lost a large sum of money, estimated as high as \$125,000. He rose with a smile of good-natured indifference.

Thus briefly the news reports tell one incident of life in a great city, where the very rich and the very poor dwell together in harmony.

A man with six children and a wife gets up at daybreak—his wife has been up before him to prepare some thin coffee and fat bacon.

He takes his heavy crowbar and starts out for the distant point on the New York Central Railroad track, where he has been ordered to work. With the heavy crowbar and other tools he works all day long, tamping down the stone ballast under the ties.

He goes home at dark, having earned one hundred and twenty-five cents—a dollar and a quarter.

Mr. Reginald Vanderbilt, whose family is made prosperous by the labor of tens of thousands of men, arises at 10 or 11 o'clock, walks on Fifth avenue, lurches at Delmonico's, rides in the park, dines leisurely, goes to the theater and drifts into Canfield's.

He nods to the croupier, who, with his apparatus all ready to swindle, is most affable.

A small ivory ball, spun by nervous fingers, swings around the hollow wheel. It strikes, jumps, rattles, settles down, and one play is over.

For an hour or two it jumps and rattles on. Then Mr. Vanderbilt goes away, having spent the day satisfactorily. He has lost at gambling \$125,000.

He never earned a dollar in his life.

The gambling amusement of one evening represents the labor for one day of 100,000 men.

Is Reginald Vanderbilt a bad, vicious boy? Not at all. He simply takes what our stupid social organization gives him—the labor of other men. He tries to get what pleasure he can out of life and what excitement he can for his nerves.

Not young Mr. Vanderbilt is to blame—nor can you justly blame the swindling vampire who owns the gambling house. Both of them are products of actual conditions. Both are even useful. For the little gambling story which leaks out is a splendid lesson. It impresses on men's minds the horrid injustice of turning over the earnings of a hundred thousand men, the railroad wealth of a great state, to a foolish, dissipated boy. It impresses even on the dullest mind the gross stupidity of a system which compels the man to work and suffer that the few may be dissipated, ruining themselves while they deprive others.

Society is afflicted with many diseases. The particular ailment which results in the above wrong can be abolished by public ownership of public franchises.—New York Journal.

Young Vanderbilt gets most of his "spending money" from the railroads in which much of the family fortune is invested; doubtless, but it is arousing false hopes to say that government ownership of railroads would stop young Reggy from squandering or living sumptuously on wealth not created by his own hands. In some European states the governments own the railroads, yet such parasites as young Vanderbilt flourish. It is the system itself that must be abolished. If the Vanderbilt fortune were not invested in railroads it would find investment in other channels, of which the number increases daily. The railway lords are no worse than the factory lords, or any other lords of industry. All these capitalists fatten on what they rob from labor through the prevailing wage system and their kind can only be abolished by restoring to the workers the ownership and control of the means and forces of production and distribution. Capital is mobile. If it cannot play the vampire on labor at one point, it will in another, so long as it has a free field to operate in.

Taking over the railroads by the government, all proper enough as far as it goes, will make bread and butter no easier of acquisition by the workers as a whole, nor worry the capitalistic shirkers to any great degree.

Extracted to send some copies to the Chicago Trades Council. Carried. The following bills were allowed: \$4.00 B. Kaiser, hall rent; 9.40 J. Reichert, R. R. fare Ex.; 2.50 N. Anderson, R. R. fare Ex.; 7.00 Leo Blank, office rent; 38.40 S. Anderson, business agent, salary; 20.50 J. Hunger, printing; 5.00 Labor literature. Total expenses, \$86.80.

THE RECEIPTS. Dottle Bear Emp., No. 213, \$18.12; Coopers' Union, 30, 8.10; Coopers' Union, 35, 4.23; Wood Carvers' Association, 3.70; Tolacco Workers, No. 18, 1.10; Glove Workers' Council, 3.00; Car. Wag. Workers, No. 29, 6.00; Typographical, No. 10, 4.32. Total receipts, \$48.63. There being no further business the Council adjourned.

EMIL BRODDE, Rec. Sec. FEDERATED TRADES COUNCIL. John Reichert, Corresponding Sec'y; Emil Brodde, Recording Sec'y; Nels Anderson, Business Agent; Gus. Esche, Treasurer.

Meetings are held on the first and third Wednesdays in each month at Kaiser's Hall, 288 Fourth Street. Metal Trades Section meets first and third Monday. Label Section meets every second and fourth Wednesday. Building Trades Section meets second and fourth Thursday. Miscellaneous Section meets first and third Thursday. Office of the Business Agent: 318 State Street. Telephone 9111 White. Commercial Printing. JACOB HUNGER, PRINTER, 602 Chestnut St., cor 6th., - Milwaukee, Wis.

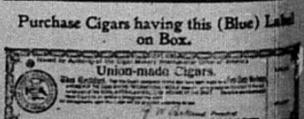
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Cigarmakers' International Union, No. 25, office and employment bureau, 318 State Street. Regular meetings second and fourth Tuesday at 602 Chestnut St. J. Reichert, Finance Secretary.

SOCIAL ANARCHY.

... By the Late ... LAURENCE ... GRONLUND, M. A.

In modern society the workers are plucked by competition, and other classes do not escape.

"It is not to die, or even to die of hunger, that makes a man miserable. It is to live miserably, to know not why; to work and yet get nothing; to be heart worn, yet, yet isolated, unloved, left in with cold universal selfishness."

"Competition guts our markets, enables the rich to take advantage of the necessities of the poor, makes each man snatch the bread of his neighbor's mouth, converts the nation of brethren into a mass of hostile, isolated units, and finally involves capital-

The wage system may be said to be of vital interest only to wage workers. They are a considerable part of the nation. They include not only the operatives in our factories and mines, but the whole army of railroad employes, all the clerical laborers, all clerks engaged in stores and mercantile establishments; all, in fact, who help to create values and receive a stated salary. But though the wage workers are an important fraction of the population of every country, they, nevertheless, are but a fraction. If socialism had regard to them only, it were nothing but a class movement.

"What is it that is something wrong in the society which vitally affects the whole nation and every individual of it. In prosperous years it may not attract attention, but when 'hard times' come on, and it makes everybody feel restless, what is it that is something wrong?" Socialists say it is nothing less than the method, the policy which governs all activities of the principal nations of our time. It is spreading itself in Catholic societies, and throughout the world, but it is especially in Protestant countries. It is, in fact, the exaggerated form of one of the principles of Protestantism: the individualism of the individual; which exalts individual independence over the principle of individualism. I can also call the policy, the "let-alone" policy; its admirers give it more euphonious name—private enterprise.

Let alone whom?—what? In the Middle Ages the feudal barons erected castles, from which they issued forth with their retainers, when they espied merchants and adventurers approaching on the contiguous highways laden with wealth, stopped them—and levied tolls. All that these barons desired was to be "let alone." In our age it is the successors of these merchants and adventurers who have grown powerful, fattened on the "let-alone" policy. They demand that society shall be an unrestricted hunting ground for their "enterprise." They are let alone; we shall now note with what results to the different classes of society.

Before our present industrial system got into full swing—that is, before the power of steam was adopted in his trade, and the tools and the raw materials he used. This is all changed now. The workman is now divorced from his implements and raw materials, which have got under the complete control of the capitalist class; he now has nothing left but his naked labor. This is, in fact, the market for a price much below the productivity of that labor; that is, at a value much below its worth.

The laboring men are dealt with by our managers as mere tools. They are spoken of as tools, as things. This humanitarian age counts steers and sheep by "heads" and the workers by "hands." A city God did not make them only "hands."

It is a paltry evasion to say that the workers are free to consent or to refuse the terms of the employer. It is, as Dickens says in "Hard Times," "An evasion worthy of the man who asked permission of the Virgin to rob her of her necklace—and then did it, taking credit for consent for the Virgin's consent."

"Hard times" are really only hard on those whose subsistence depends on having work to do. The wives and daughters of capitalists do not as a rule leave off during "hard times" attending to their diamonds, and their jewelry, and their luxuries, nor do they dismiss their hired servants.

The irregularity of his employment, the frequency with which he is out of work, is the most alarming feature of the workman's condition. And that irregularity is offered to him as a duty brought about by the employing capitalist class. For instance, in order to put on the price of a month's coal, the working days of a month nine to twelve are frequently made idle days by the coal companies of Pennsylvania. The miners are left to the best of their luck to work for two days out of every three.

This condition has been rendered yet more precarious by the remarkable industrial inventions of the age. These victories of man, of society, of nature's physical forces ought certainly to have had unqualified blessings to all.

Yet how often have they proven instruments of torture to the working class! How many has the introduction of new machinery thrown out of employment! How many existences have thereby been destroyed!

We are familiar with the commonplace that the outcry of laborers against "new-fangled machinery" is a complaint born of ignorance; that in the end the working classes are as much benefited as other classes. This outcry by no means an ignorant childish complaint. Machinery would be an unqualified blessing, if the temporary injury which it so often has caused to individuals and whole bodies of men were considered in a spirit of social justice and brotherliness. That has never been done wherever the working classes are considered, neither in this country nor in any other. In their case our legislators persistently repudiate the duty to take care of the interests of those who are sacrificed for the benefit of their fellow-citizens and of posterity.

But whenever other classes have been thus affected there has never been the slightest hesitation to liberally compensate those prejudicially affected. It is the action of society that has made machinery an evil. This is the real meaning of the outcry against "new-fangled machinery."

I deny that working people hitherto have been essentially benefited by machinery and inventions at all. The saving machine is a pointed illustration. That was thought to be a blessing to a blessing to the overworked needle-woman. Yet what has followed? That she is now still more overworked, more poorly paid, and her health still more endangered.

But, to be sure, these inventions were not adopted by capitalists for the benefit of workpeople, or for the general benefit; no, indeed! For, of course, this machinery and these inventions have also come into the hands of capitalists and are controlled by them for their exclusive benefit, and with admirable results. It has been calculated that two-thirds of all benefit arising from the use of machinery have gone to these "pushing"

quently than plagues and causing with each occurrence as much misery. Economists say that these crises are caused by overproduction. "Overproduction"—a remarkable word in truth, as long as one unfed and unclad human being would not work roams the earth. Would not our and other preceding ages have talked to them of overproduction a lunatic? Could they, think you, have conceived such an abnormality as that any nation could ever suffer from too much industry, too much commerce, too many tools, too much food? But we ought, in order to be fair, to take the word in the sense of these economists. They mean by "overproduction" a too large production, compared with the effective demand. But, then, what is the cause of the too large production?

Private enterprise, Socialists say. Private enterprise compels every producer to produce for himself, to sell for him-

self, to keep all his transactions secret, without any regard whatever for anybody else in the wide world. But the producer and merchant—the small ones, especially—daily find out that their success or failure depends, in the first place, and sell, and in the second place, on a multitude of causes—often on things that may happen thousands of miles away, which determine the power of purchase of their customers. They have got no measure at hand at all by which they can even approximately estimate the actual effective demand of consumers or ascertain their producing capacity of their rivals. In other words, private "enterprise" is a defiance of nature's law which decrees that the interests of society are interdependent; and nature punishes that defiance in her own cruel way, by playing ball with these individualities and what is worse, by rendering all production, in consequence, chaotic. Risk is nature's revenge.

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CHILD LABOR IN THE SOUTH.

A revolt against the inhuman traffic in baby flesh.

The child labor atrocities in the "new" South growing out of capitalist greed is bringing so much unpleasant notoriety on the chivalric Southern that some of the more humane among their number, who have not yet gotten reconciled to the ways of the New England factory system, are in rebellion against it. The following feeling address was recently delivered by a member of the Georgia Legislature, speaking to a bill to curb the exploitation of some of the child operatives, i. e., those under a certain age. He said:

"The spirit animating the opposition to this bill is the spirit of commercialism. It knows no pity. It chills every generous thought and deadens every holy feeling. It measures all things, manhood, womanhood and childhood, by the dollar. The head and brains, eye, the puny weight of children, are valuable only as they can be coined into money. You lay our little children at the feet of Eastern capital and say all this will we give in exchange for your dollars.

"I lift the standard of revolt today and with the name of the South denounce the unholy traffic.

"Mr. Speaker, I stood in the door of an humble cottage shadowed by the factory's massive walls. The mistress of this home was the wife of a gallant Confederate soldier. They had seen her death and kindly come to him and he slept. The remorseless hand of necessity had driven the widow and children out from the old homestead to the humble cottage. As I stood the gates of the factory stood open and amid a hundred children, the kindly walls of the nursery should have been around them. There was no spring in their steps, no

light in their eyes; their cheeks were white, and I thought, standing in the presence of the children of this Confederate soldier, I would give every spindle of loom in the South to bring back the light to their eyes and see the roses bloom again upon their little cheeks.

"I would like to see every bale of cotton whose white blossom opens to the warm kiss of Southern suns spun and woven in the South, but there are prices I would not pay for it.

"We are standing today, Mr. Speaker, at the gate of the grandest manufacturing empire the world has ever seen. The men of the North and East with spindle and loom and treasure, are coming to our cotton fields. The laws of nature, stronger than all the laws of man, compel them to come. But mark this truth, they are coming as our masters; our children and our children's children to be their servants. I would put no restraining hand upon their coming. I would fling wide the gates and bid them enter; but, so help me God, I would never give them our children until their little bodies had grown beyond the nursery walls, and the light of knowledge had dawned in their souls.

"Last night I sat with my wife by the fireside of our comfortable home. I watched my 8-year-old boy lay his head upon his mother's lap and close his tired eyes in sleep, and I thought except for the goodness of God he might be numbered among the thousand little toilers in the mills of the South through the long hours of the night. And then with justice in my mind and pity in my heart, I said: 'I will do for the children of my people what I would have them do for mine.'

From Illinois it is reported that child labor has increased in the state 39 per cent. since a year ago. Miss Ida M. Jackson, assistant factory inspector of Wisconsin, the other day had this to say of conditions here:

"My work has taken me into all the factories where women and girls are employed. I have found them in the most unlikely places—places where you would scarcely expect to see even girls of the most ignorant type. I have begun to think that there is little in the industrial world at which girls are not being employed. I have even come across them in the leather works making heel leather and flynets; in the tin shops soldering cans; in the cigar factories stripping tobacco and making cigars, and in the northern part of the state I have found them in door, sash and box factories working with saws.

"Invariably I put the question to the manufacturer, 'Why girls?' and almost invariably he explains that at some time within the last ten years or so he has tried substituting them for boys and found the change so much to his taste that he has kept them ever since. They are more conscientious about their work and in anything that requires delicacy they become more skilled. The manufacturer rarely adds that they will work for less, which he well might, for that is one of the principal reasons for his selection.

"There is something almost appalling about this army of girls. There are between 10,000 and 15,000 in the factories of this city alone and most of them

are in their teens. They have been working ever since the law allowed them, which is at the age of 14, and the most pathetic thing of all to my way of thinking is the lack of ambition or the impossibility to get ahead that characterizes them after they have been in the factories a certain length of time. I can never decide which is the sorriest figure—the child of 14, perhaps less, starting in at \$2 a week, or the girl who, ten years later, is making only \$4. The absolute ignorance of one is as touching as the utter hopelessness of the other.

"A vacation with pay is practically unknown in Milwaukee factory life. I have not yet discovered a single instance of it except in the case of a few favored forewomen. Vacation as the factory worker translates the term means the time when the girl is laid off and it usually runs from a week to three months, during which her income stops.

"The usual working day is ten hours, but in many lines of industry there is a great deal of overtime, for which the workers sometimes receive extra pay, but no small amount that when added to her usual pay the difference is hardly perceptible and is out of all proportion to the fatigue of the worker. In the candy factories, for two months before Christmas, the little girls—they are all young in those places—work from 7 in the morning to 8 and 9 at night, never getting a warm meal but on Sunday. In the breweries the girls sometimes work twelve and thirteen hours a day in the summer.

The Class Struggle.

News of the Labor Movement Throughout the World.

Boston brewers want eight hours on April 1 or will walk out. Supreme court of Missouri has declared that boycotting is legal. Injunction has been hurled at the striking molders at Columbus, O.

President Gompers is trying to obtain a truce in Cincinnati brewers' strike. Working women in Cleveland have formed a Woman's Federal Labor union. Quarrymen of Vermont and Massachusetts want an eight-hour day April 1 or there will be a strike.

Bridge and structural iron workers threaten a general tie-up on May 1 unless they receive higher wages. Secretary Wilson of the United Mine Workers states that the membership of that organization is now 232,289.

Musicians' union at Scranton, Pa., has been expelled from the C. L. U. because some of its members rode on scab cars. Several miners' organizers in Wise county, Va., were sent to jail for six months for disobeying an injunction.

The actors' union has issued a circular letter stating that an attempt will be made to unionize theatrical companies and houses and request moral support. J. Ross Clark, a prominent California capitalist, remarked at a banquet recently that "the curse of the workingmen today is these infernal trade unions."

A big strike is threatened in the textile industries of the South. Combined bosses threaten to lock out 10,000 workers in Augusta, Ga., to show their sympathy for an unfair bill. The retail grocers' combine of Cincinnati will be capitalized at \$3,000,000. The retail grocers of Pittston, Pa., have issued a statement to the effect that no credit be extended to strikers.

The U. S. Steel Corporation is reaching out for the Monongahela coal trust, the National Steel trust, the tin can trust and several other important combines. The octopus is getting fat. A Houston (Tex.) judge has decided that a man with a paid up union card on his person is not a vagrant, even though he is out of work and owns nothing but the clothes on his back. The union card is bound to become a passport.

Because State Organizer Buckley tore the union badge from a scab during the teamsters' big strike in Boston he was sentenced to serve six months in prison. The judge was elected by labor votes cast in the interests of capitalism.

The court of appeals at Albany, N. Y., last week decided that members of a labor union have the right to decline to work with non-union men and to order a strike to extend to strikers. Three of the judges dissented.

Uneasiness is reported at the West Milwaukee shops, in spite of the "voluntary" raise of 5 per cent. The men claim the shop system there "is rotten." The men demand a Saturday half-holiday.

A compromise has been effected by committees representing the Milwaukee Foundrymen's Association and the Molders' Union. On May 1 an advance of 10 cents a day for floor molders and 15 cents a day for bench molders will be granted by the employers.

Unionists of Los Angeles, Cal., are disturbed. The retail grocers have started a blacklist. The union people assert that in case of strike the grocers will refuse to extend credit because the workers will not be in

SOCIALISTIC GLEANINGS.

What the collectivists are doing throughout the world.

From Foreign Climates.

The figures of the election at Breslau, where the Social Democrats succeeded in sending Edward Bernstein to the German Reichstag, are now at hand. The Social Democrats polled 14,700, the Liberals 6428, the Conservatives-Clerical 4474, and the Anti-Semites 325.

same chance in this world in starting out in life as their fathers had, that they will recognize that the time has come for a change."

Competition and Co-Operation.

In the sixth of his course of lectures at Plymouth Church, Milwaukee, Prof. Howarth of the University of Chicago, said last Saturday night:

"The man of today is both biologically and socially a product of evolution. His social nature as well as his physical form has been developed from his experience with men and things. In the process of development, the struggle for existence has played a leading part. Prior to the development of sympathy, the weakest were destroyed and the fittest to the conditions of the environment survived. The peculiar fitness of man is the result of his social nature."

"Now the struggle for existence is usually identified with competition. The struggle against nature, however, should not be included in competition, for competition has reference to the struggle that is carried on between man and man. On the lower planes of competition, as for instance among primitive man and in the struggle of modern industry, this struggle is accompanied by great waste and destruction. This is due, however, to the manner in which competition is carried on rather than to competition itself. Competition may be divided into a rivalry in social service. The elimination of competition is the objectionable form of competition, therefore, upon transforming the individual type of man into the co-operative type."

"Co-operation implies working together for a common end. It is not inconsistent with competition. It demands only a change in the purpose and the nature of the competition. The social nature of man has been developed through the necessities of group life. The strictly competitive type is not adapted to compliance with the social restraints necessary to the existence of society. Every step in the advancement of society means the modification of the competitive type of man in the direction of the co-operative type. The society whose members are best adapted to co-operation in promoting its welfare is the society which in conflict with others is most likely to survive."

"There is a natural law then working towards the development of the co-operative spirit. Society, however, may consciously hasten the rapidity of the development of this spirit through modifications of the conditions under which the present competitive struggle in industry is carried on, and especially through the conscious effort of the schools to eliminate anti-social tendencies."

How the Battles Went.

About the result of the election in Sheboygan, Wis., says the Volksblatt: "We have gained votes—we have only 700 votes less than the two parties have together!! The poll at the election shows:

Social Democrats 1403 Votes. Democrats 1111 Votes. Republicans 1002 Votes. "The Republicans and Democrats have carried some wards by uniting against the common foe of capitalist exploitation—the only true workingmen's party. There are now 9 Republican aldermen, 3 Democratic, 4 Socialistic."

"The Socialists have gained considerably in the Eighth ward, in the First, Second, Third and Seventh; besides having succeeded in driving the two parties together; verily they have cause to rejoice."

West Superior, Wis.—The Social Democrats had a ticket up in the Ninth ward, and John F. Kerwin won with 96 votes for alderman. A year ago this ward gave Comrade Penny 42.

Local elections in Rockford, Ill., give Socialists an average of 500 votes for city officials. The vote of Rockford in the presidential elections was 75.

At Galesburg, Ill., the Socialist vote was as follows: For assessor, Lawrence, 212. For supervisor, Sjojin, 236. Aldermanic candidates polled a total of 232. Total Socialist vote of Knox county in 1900 was 142 for Debs and Harriman.

School election in Mystic, Ia., resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Socialist party, the candidates of which were Fred, Comrade John F. Kerwin, and one-half more votes than the Republicans and Democrats, who combined as a "Citizens' party."

Kiel, Wis.—The capitalist party fared to beat us, but we gave them a awful close run. The total vote was 252. For village president, J. B. Laun, fusion, 129; H. J. Amman, Social Democrat, 123. For clerk, Joseph Amman received 81; for treasurer, Edmund Hanks, 94; for assessor, Henry Goepfer, 88; for assessor, John Voss, 83; for constable, Fred Duerwachter, 86. Our trustee candidates ran correspondingly well. The vote was increased.

Crookston, Minn.—This spring we had no legal standing as a party in the city, not having put up a ticket in the last city election, so we had to secure signers. We came very near electing our man, however. The capitalist parties got well scoured toward the last. John Kiewell, for mayor, got 341, as against 483 for Hitchcock, Rep. O. C. Mortenson, for alderman, polled 213, to 234 for his capitalist opponent. We polled 112 for Debs in 1900.

CHAS. LUCIEN. A Victory in Florida. Victory was won by the Socialist party at St. Petersburg, Fla. In its first campaign it has made a clean sweep, electing mayor and all other candidates.

To the Herald—Congratulations to Milwaukee comrades upon their fine increase. WM. MAILLY. To the Social Democratic Herald—The Kiel comrades congratulate the Milwaukee comrades for their splendid efforts. E. G. LINDNER. Chicago, April 2.—Papers here give you 7000 votes. Good enough. Hurrah for Milwaukee! Three cheers and a ti-fury. No report this morning on our vote. Will surely not reach yours. Two-thirds majority cast for municipal ownership. Shows that Socialism is in the air. JACOB WINNEN.

Des Moines, Ia.—At our city election March 31 there were two other tickets the Citizens and the Republican. The Citizens was blank except as to mayor and auditor. For mayor I received 200 votes, George F. Tarry for auditor received 353 votes. The remainder of the candidates ranged up as high as 878. The fight on the head of the ticket accounts for the smallness of the vote for mayor. The 200 are the dyed-in-the-wool Socialists. The rest are "coming." The gain on the vote for mayor, is about 75 per cent.; on the other offices, several hundred per cent. JOHN M. WORK.

Township Pacific, Wis.—We made a gain of three votes and only lacked six of electing Comrade Flov, the head of the ticket. Comrade Dunham for assessor was beaten by but seven votes. H. J. DUNHAM.

Elected an Alderman.

Mystic, Ia.—For mayor, Luse, Rep., 170; W. Gallagher, Social Dem., 163; Stephens, Dem., 26. For treasurer, Richardson, Rep., 167; W. Porter, Social Dem., 159; Knox, Dem., 31. For assessor, Carter, Rep., 169; G. H. Fryhoff, Social Dem., 147; Silk, Dem., 40. Comrade George Porter, Social Democrat, was elected one of the three aldermen. Our vote showed a gain of 63.

THOS. W. BOWERS.

The aldermanic vote in Chicago was remarkably light. According to Daily News statistics, only 205,112 tall. Of these, 95,984 were Republicans, 87,754 Democratic, 9379 independent, 6066 Socialist (perhaps includes both the Socialist party and Social Labor party, both of which had tickets in the field), 3961 Prohibition, and 3768 Single Tax.

Oregon Convention.

The Oregon Social Democrats held their mass state convention at Portland March 19. A chalkline was drawn across the rear of the hall and those of the spectators who were willing to take a pledge claiming sympathy with the class struggle were permitted to occupy seats within the line. The platform adopted contained a Chinese and Japanese exclusion plank. Comrade R. Ryan of Salem was nominated for governor; Comrade C. W. Barzee of Dalles for secretary of state; Comrade W. W. Myers of Clackamas county for treasurer; and Comrade C. P. Rutherford of Harney county for supreme judge. Comrade D. T. Gerdes of Astoria was nominated for Congress.

A state charter has been issued to Minnesota.

The following donations to the propaganda fund are reported from the national headquarters: Amount reported March 29th, \$266.93. Eighteenth and Twentieth Assembly District, N. York, 5.00. Newport, Ky. branch, 1.00. Newwood, Cal. branch, 1.15. Twentieth Assembly District, N. York, 1.00. Twenty-third Assembly District, N. York, 2.00.

Total received to April 5th, \$278.00.

Branch Meetings.

FIRST WARD BRANCH MEETS EVERY second and fourth Monday in each month at 826 North Water street. Chris. Westphal, Secretary.

SECOND WARD BRANCH MEETS every third Friday of the month, corner Fourth and Chestnut streets. Jacob Hunger, secretary.

THIRD WARD BRANCH MEETS ON the second Thursday evening of the month at 614 State street.

FIFTH WARD BRANCH MEETS every first and third Thursday of the month at southeast corner Reed street and National avenue.

EIGHTH WARD BRANCH (formerly 45) holds free lectures at the hall, corner Fourth avenue and Mineral street, every second and fourth Thursdays at 8 p. m.

NINTH WARD BRANCH meets every first and third Tuesday of the month at John Heyman's, 453 Eleventh street. Henry Bruhn, 2021 Galena street, secretary.

TENTH WARD BRANCH meets on the first and third Friday of the month at Bahn Frei Turner hall, Twelfth and North avenue. Ed. Grundmann, Sec., 1720 Lloyd street.

ELEVENTH WARD BRANCH (formerly No. 9) meets at Charles Miller's hall, corner Orchard street and Ninth avenue, every fourth Friday in the month.

TWELFTH WARD BRANCH—Meets first and third Thursday at 807 Kinlockin avenue. Geo. Lennon, secretary, 204 Austin street.

THIRTEENTH WARD BRANCH MEETS every second and fourth Wednesday of the month at 524 Clarke street. Mantz Olson, 1019 Fourth street, secretary.

FIFTEENTH WARD BRANCH MEETS every first and third Tuesday in August. Broderick, 4th corner Twentieth and Chestnut streets. Dr. C. Harckmann, secretary, 948 Winnebago street.

NINETEENTH WARD BRANCH MEETS every second and fourth Wednesday in the month in Melzner's Hall, corner Twenty-seventh and Villet streets. Louis Balzer, secretary, 558 Twenty-ninth street.

TWENTYETH WARD BRANCH MEETS every first and third Thursday of the month in Folkmann's hall, corner Twenty-first and Center streets.

TWENTY-FIRST WARD BRANCH (formerly No. 22) meets at Gaethke's hall, Green Bay avenue, near Concordia, every second and fourth Tuesday in the month.

TWENTY-SECOND WARD BRANCH (No. 4) meets every first and third Friday of each month at Mueller's hall, corner Twenty-third and Brown streets. George Moerschel, secretary, 891 Twenty-fifth street.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Leon Greenbaum, Room 427, Emilie Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.

STATE EXECUTIVE BOARD—State Secretary, E. H. Thomas, 614 State street Milwaukee, Wis.

THE CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE meets every first and third Monday evening of the month at Kaiser's hall, 256 Fourth street. Eugene H. Rooney, secretary; John Doerder, treasurer, 701 Winnebago street.

AGENTS FOR THE HERALD.

I. Goldstein, 227 Clinton street, New York. Fruit stand.

H. Vignerson, 73 Graham avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

E. Vandervoort, 148 South Peoria street, Chicago.

James Lambert, Socialist Temple, 126 S. Western avenue, Chicago, Ill.

L. Juster, 42 Gouverneur street, New York, takes subscriptions for this paper.

The National Platform.

The Socialist party of America, in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class, and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. Today the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever-increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the workers, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit and the schools, and enables them to reduce the working man to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial domination abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

Who Gets Subscriptions ... for ...

Those Who are Interested in Advancing the Socialist Propaganda.

Does that mean YOU Are YOU a Booster Why not Give the Paper a Boost

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