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Tolstoi's Desertion (?)

The capitalist newspapers have just published an attack on Socialism by Count Tolstoi, under the heading: "Tolstoi's Adieu to Socialism." This latter is simply an added illustration of the ignorance of the average newspaper editor, and upon whom, alas! many people rely for their knowledge of matters and things. By his coming out flat against Socialism Tolstoi will clear up matters in the public mind. There has been too long a tendency to rate him as a Socialist, and to therefore make the Socialist movement appear to stand sponsor for his teachings. Moreover, especially in this country, a Tolstoi cult has been developed, made up of men too timid to openly acknowledge their belief in anarchism, yet who can use the more respectable name of Tolstoians, and who are more or less active in the Socialist movement. This sort of masquerading has done the Socialist movement no good, and we are pleased if it has now received its quietus.

There is no doubt that Socialists will continue to revere Tolstoi for some of his masterly criticisms of capitalist society and capitalist aggressions, but we will feel a sense of relief if he is hereafter catalogued by the world under his true name.

Summed up, Tolstoi's letter to the workers of the world, now made public, proclaims that the workers go back to the land and depend mainly on agriculture for their livelihood. He holds that there is land enough for all, and that the workers should demand that it be parcelled out to them. His inference is that the withholding of the land from the workers is the cause of their poverty—which few will be willing to believe. This government has given land to all who asked, but poverty has not been checked thereby!

Tolstoi stands for reaction, for a going back to past forms of civilization or of barbarism. His idea of society is that of large proprietorship, with no thought for the necessity of labor saving mass-production, no realization that the world moves, and that each epoch builds upon the work of the one preceding it.

Tolstoi would have humanity go back to primitive hand production (thereby limited and inadequate production) with each individual or family group in possession of an allotment of land, with the necessity of following out the early Christian injunction: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." A proper, eminently proper injunction for primitive individualism, yet with only this bearing today, when machinery is assuming the drudgery of labor: That it is wrong for one man to eat his bread in the sweat of another's face. Which means that the exploitation of man's labor by non-producers is a moral and a physical wrong.

The great factor in the social problem of today is that of association and division of labor and machine production, the products of labor going through various hands and processes before reaching consumption. It is the principle of cooperation in labor, but the problem now is to so adjust all the relations as to disengage the small, parasitic capitalist class from its mischievous ownership control of all the gigantic and vast works that make up modern civilization, and to restore to the real actors in the play of production their full and rightful share in the value of the resultant product.

Tolstoi lives in a country not yet awakened to manufacturing upon a large scale. To him the world is comprised within the narrow limits of his agrarian horizon. He is outside the theater of capitalist production.

Nor is the trend of events likely sooner or later to move in the direction of his views. In fact, it is sure to move more and more away from them. Humanity is bound to go back to the land as soon as it can do so and conditions will permit, but it will not be under the primitive Tolstoian impulse.

Primitive man had few wants. The life Tolstoi advocates would doubtless satisfy him. The looking out for one's creature comforts did not take up all the hours of the day. But as man has advanced in civilization and culture and intelligence his needs have multiplied vastly. Hence the necessity for our modern industrial activity. This fact the Tolstoians take no heed of.

The modern multiplication of needs and wants calls for an amount of productive work that the mind can scarcely take in. If hand labor were to attempt the task it would find itself utterly incompetent. But invention has come to the rescue, it has constructed iron and steel works, and has directed the work to lift the burden of work—we might almost call it the curse of work—from the shoulders of the sons of toil, thus releasing them so as to enable them to actually live adequate lives. Were it not for capitalism, which insists that the ownership of these steel works shall remain under the mastery of the numerically small capitalist class, thus establishing their ownership to the product, while plunging the flesh and blood workers into a terrible competition for the mere chance to earn living wages; machinery would be labor's friend.

This Tolstoi episode again points to a rather amusing fact: That the criticism of Socialism must sooner or later narrow itself down to the objections and phrases of the anarchists. The capitalist critics of Socialism, and—ye Gods!—the clerical critics as well, have to draw their weapons against Socialism from the arsenal of the anarchists. "Ths well!

Capitalism is international and so is the strike. One is the natural ally of the other. Now the carpenters in Hong Kong are striking for living wages—living wages, just think of it, in China!

State Organizer Gaylord of Wisconsin has not been idle while in the South. At Mobile, last Tuesday evening, he addressed a large meeting at the German Club hall. The Mobile Iron works is a branch of the party now being organized at Mobile as a result of Comrade Gaylord's work.

As a result of the infamous Taff Vale decision of the British courts it is probable that the British trade unions will make a direct effort to put as many trade unionists in Parliament as possible. They are said to already have a fund of \$250,000 for the purpose. Socialist Ben Platt, who is about to make a speaking tour of this country, is said to have met the men who are likely to succeed in the elections.

Max Hayes, editor of the Cleveland Citizen administered a sharp reprimand in last week's issue to the editor of a paper called the Advance, printed in Milwaukee as a relic of Old Greenbacker days. The Milwaukee sheet hinted gleefully that the labor unions of Cleveland were run both by Hanna and the Socialists. Hayes says Hanna hasn't "dirty deals enough" to buy the Cleveland Trades Council and closes by saying: "Cleveland has the cleanest labor movement in the United States (with the possible exception of Milwaukee) and we need no assistance from Milwaukee to keep it clean. If there are any crooks they will be smoked out and driven into obscurity in due time."

The present Wisconsin Legislature differs very little from the others that have preceded it, so far as its capitalistic complexion goes. It is filled with men who are in by means of the ballots of the voters, yet labor does not stand deuced so far as legislation goes. The state Legislature is a place where the representatives of capital go to make the laws with which it governs. If any legislation is proposed in the interests of the people, it is introduced "by request" to make the school board of a city like Milwaukee an elective board instead of a political preserve in the hands of the politicians and as far away from the people's control as possible is put in with an apology by the legislator who introduced it "by request," and while a measure for the purest democracy, will be defeated just as readily by so-called Democrats as by their other capitalist brethren.

The Republicans, among the laws introduced for the capitalists is one (480A), which while pretending to extend the system of state factory inspection, is really a crafty scheme to cut the state into inspection districts so as to get the factory inspectors' headquarters away from Milwaukee to the chief manufacturing city of the state. Another bill (480A) proposing to regulate trusts is thought to have been carefully drawn up to be a menace to organized labor should it become a law and the capitalist courts be called on to interpret it. The working class is being waked up, it is true. But until it has taken on representatives of its own class and its own class interests and has presented the Legislature with labor representatives, the most that can be done is to watch how the representatives of the people make a pretense of "loving" the work and vote on the various laws. Their reckoning will come

The more and more the people's wealth is confiscated by capitalism, the more contemptibly impudent grows the American aristocracy.

"It is better that all the people work part of the time than that part of the people work all the time," is the way the Labor Union of Toledo puts it. "Them's our sentiments, tew!"

"When anyone tells you that the Socialists are trying to force Socialism on the labor unions, you have our permission to laugh in their face. The real fact of the matter is this: The workers are becoming Socialists and naturally their unions thus become more and more filled with Socialists."

George Keenan could write articles after article on the Siberian affront to humanity on the part of Russia, and have a vogue in America. But lately he has applied his truth-telling to capitalist political corruption in Delaware and there are evidences of a cooling off in the capitalist newspaper admiration of the intrepid Siberian correspondent.

And capitalism forms a new department as a part of the national government and calls it the department of commerce and labor, and instead of seeking a man who has been a specialist in that direction, a trained, scholarly man, the President elevates his private secretary, Cortelyou, to the job. Perhaps Cortelyou's best recommendation for the labor portfolio is the fact that he was also private secretary under Cleveland, the big strike-buster!

Emperor William has put his foot into a man's nest in trying to run the faith of his people from the throne. He, a mere man, but through the accident of birth in a position to rule, imagines himself divinely appointed to interfere in and regulate the private affairs of his subjects. But this isn't the age when such impudence will see lightly on the people, and the result he is having about as distressing a time of it as can be imagined. Some day the people will set him aside, same as he showed Bismarck his usefulness was past, and he may have to lay by his toggeries and gold braid and earn a living the same as other folks.

The demoralization of the sugar market by the appearance of a great quantity of sugar from Louisiana and the West has led to the closing of every refinery in the New York district except those owned by the Arburcks. The complaint is that continued refining of sugar at this time would wipe out the profits on the product now in stock. The Arburcks are following a long-established policy, for by buying up the market with any more favor than do the trust people.—Daily Paper.

The above shows how business is conducted under capitalism. And the main excuse for there being business at all is that, the ruler, for being a ruler, is profited. No profits, no business! The people be damned!

The get-rich-quick horse racing syndicates tend to smash last week all over the country and thousands of people said a parting farewell to their earnings that had been trustedly turned over to the gamblers. The capitalist system with its sink or swim oppression forces many people to give in to the gambling impulse, who would otherwise scorn to do so. The preachers who say that Socialism is unnecessary and that all that is needed is to "prevail on the people to be good" would probably not feel flattered if the list of church members who did a little gambling with the get-rich-quick could be shown. These preachers mean well, but conditions are more persuasive than they can possibly be. Hence, prevailing on people to be good is not solving the social problem.

William Morris, the great English poet, manufacturer and Socialist, in one of his talks to the working class told them that they could form no conception of the contempt felt for them by the rich. He said he knew because of his association with rich people in the various aristocratic circles. He said the working people ought to know it, and ought to be stung by the fact into hastening the day of the downfall of capitalism and its abominable class distinctions. We are reminded of this remark of Morris' by the following, which got into print in a paper published at Wilkesbarre, Pa.: "Mr. Rowell, of the firm of E. N. Rowell & Co., paper box makers of Batavia, N. York, says 'laboring people are not human beings, but are no more than monkeys, why should I recognize them?'"

Verily, it is about time for the workers to stop "monkeying."

"It is announced that while the net loss of the Erie railroad during the coal strike was \$344,000, the net gain in November and December for the corresponding months of the preceding year was \$300,000. Details account for this remarkable showing by saying that the Erie nearly doubled its soft-coal trade during the strike."—Buffalo Express.

The capitalists believe in making hay while the sun shines—and it always shines for the wealthy manipulators. While the sympathizers with the strikers were straining every muscle to help them to bring the barons to terms—the trade unions of the country alone poured \$4,000,000 into the strike fund we are informed by one of the officials of the barons were still growing fatter! And now it is "settled" and the old conditions, company stores and all, are practically the same under Mitchell's "great victory." That capitalism made money by the strike is beyond denial and the miners and the people didn't get the government ownership that they might have had but for Mitchell's flirtation with Roosevelt and the capitalists back of him.

A SAMPLE OF AMERICAN LIBERTY.

"Congress, Arizona, 1902.—Mr. John Marchello, No. 1, Congress, Arizona: You are hereby notified to remove your house from the property of this company at once, otherwise the house will become the property of the company. The Congress Consolidated Mining Co., Ltd. By Geo. F. Staunton, Supt."

The above is a copy of a notice served upon all men employed by this company who organized a Miners' Union at Congress. This company owns the ground upon which the houses are erected, and no man is permitted upon the company's ground who will not comply with its edicts: Trade in the company's store and vote for the company's candidates on election day. When men working for a corporation are known by a number and compelled to comply with every edict issued, in order that they can support themselves and families, we are forced to pause and ask whether workmen in the United States are sane or devoid of all manhood for tolerating such a system of injustice.

It is within the power of workmen to change such conditions in one year if they will unite and take political action and cast aside those so-called leaders and politicians who improve them to keep out of politics. If workmen will not remedy this evil, which is within their power, they have no reason to complain nor expect sympathy from any other source.—Miners' Magazine.

The Hearst-Darrow political boom seems to have slipped a cog in Chicago. Millionaire Hearst may still try to repeat his San Francisco game.

A posse of men with rifles is hot-foot after a band of bank bandits in Illinois. The coal bandits are still living in luxury in New York and picking their teeth with gold toothpicks. The only difference is in the way the bandit business is done.

"Less Wealth, More Sunshine," says the Union Boot and Shoe Worker. Well said! Next week we shall publish a very notable paper on factory life and its effect on health, taken from the latest bulletin of the United States department of labor.

Poulney Bilew says of the mountain negroes of the West Indies that they are fine, strapping fellows who find that freebooting is well worth while. "They are just clever enough to know that all the misery that has occurred in South Africa has been caused by the discovery of gold. Their homes in the mountains are the pictures of sublime tranquillity, and they are not anxious to have prospectors about." But the white freebooter, the modern capitalist, will disturb that tranquillity all right, once there is a prospect of successfully getting at that gold!

The people in the West are demanding that the government shall go into irrigation work and that no more land be offered to settlers until it has been made fit for settlement by being supplied with the necessary moisture. This is to head off the rapacious private irrigation companies that bleed the settlers after the government has enticed them to settle. This means that the government shall interfere with "log cabin business opportunities" and capitalist schemes, like the Milwaukee Sentinel, for instance, will wail about it, yet every open-minded man will see its reasonableness. The arid lands of the West are being reclaimed to cultivation by the means of irrigation; let this "government of the people" step in and protect the people in their right to homes in that portion of the land.

The new Socialist mayor of Haverhill, Mass., Parkman B. Flanders, had this to say in his inaugural address:

"I shall assist in so far as my power permits, the forces that are making toward a more equitable and humane industrial order than that which now obtains."

"I shall resist every aggression of the corporations upon the rights of the people, and shall assist every effort made toward the public ownership and operation of public utilities."

"I shall aid the workers in every attempt to lessen the hours of labor, to improve the conditions of their employment, to increase the returns for their labor power and all else that makes for the betterment of their condition."

"I recommend that the contract system be abolished in all the departments wherever possible."

"The employer should purchase its own materials, employ its own workmen and choose competent superintendents."

"Labor produces all values, and labor should be dealt with direct."

When you think of the vast acres in this country available for fruit raising and which would be developed and so used if it were not for the private profit sharks banded together in various ways, as transportation and other companies, for instance, you may agree with us that the present system tends to starve the people. Under Socialism, with its planned and extensive horticultural operations, the land would yield an abundance of the best of food, with the complete possible arrangements for getting that food to the people. Capitalism discourages horticulture by keeping the people so poor they cannot go into it extensively and also by throwing over it a terrible uncertainty as to its profitable character under capitalism the earth is going to waste. It is stripped of its timber by profit hunters, of its ore and coal and oil—anything and everything that can be ground into dollars is robbed from it with criminal recklessness. Well may the people sigh for relief from this "devil-take-the-hindmost" struggle. It is bringing them to a sorry pass.

There are laws galore—law for most everything, yet most everything goes on happening just the same. It is one thing to have a law, quite another to have it work! For instance, there is a law against contract labor, yet the impunity with which it is ignored is well shown in the following gruesome letter, which has happily gotten into print:

Maestillon, O., Feb. 3, 1903.—Mr. Stank, Steamship Agent, Canton, O.—Dear Sir: Your name has been given us by the Masillon Iron & Steel Co., as an importer of Hungarians. We started our factory about a month ago and we are very short of labor. We would like to have in the neighborhood of 500 boys, ranging in age from twelve to eighteen years. In case you can furnish the families we will give the fathers work at \$1.50 per day and the boys from 60 cents to \$1.00 a day, according to age. Kindly let us hear from you as we already have houses ready for their occupancy. Yours very truly,

THE WOOSTER GLASS CO.
H. F. Pocock, Sec'y.

In order to get the boys this firm is magnanimous enough to give work to the fathers, too! Some Eastern labor molochs do not do as well as that, for he factories use the women and children and leave the men to do the housework, so that it is a common sight to see the men carry their children to the factory gates and then turn and hurry back to do up the dishes! Ain't you glad you don't live in a barbarous age, though!

IS IT FUNNY?

Everybody has seen at some time or other a colored brother gotten up "regardless of cost" and quite overcome with his own excessive stylishness. Before the coal commission in Philadelphia pictures of the miners were exhibited showing them in "high hats and dress suits."

A recent article in a widely-read woman's paper alluded to the disgust felt by stylish women when they behold on the street a coat worn by some impoverished creature made in accordance with the prevailing mode, but so crudely as to make itself and the original utterly absurd.

True enough. But what shall we say of the caricatures the working people are compelled to make of themselves all their lives? Capitalist civilization makes us all caricatures, whether we care to be so or not. The curious part of it is that most of the victims never understand what caricatures they are. Nor would a thorough understanding of the matter help the situation at all. Any effort to escape would be in vain for a poor man who appreciates the position in which economic despotism has placed him. He would be considered eccentric, and probably wind up in the madhouse.

And yet it is all a mockery. The furniture in the homes of the poor people is awful. The bureau, the washstand, the tables and chairs are all caricatures of patterns in the homes of the rich. The very clothes worn by the poor are cheap imitations of costly monstrosities. There are "electric" sealskin, the "mercerized" silk and other funny inventions of shrewd manufacturers. Shop girls don enormous headgear made up in Chicago or Milwaukee in imitation of models supposed to be the vogue in Paris and London. The food we eat is also a caricature. Chemistry is taxed to the utmost to provide illegitimate edible combinations which are supposed to be similar to the victuals of the rich man's table.

Yes, apart from its degradation and poison—poverty is so funny.

And we also understand that the rich are in a better position to comprehend the situation than are the poor. In their hearts they sneer at the poverty-stricken mass whose simple destiny seems to be to provide for the capitalist class. It is no reply to say that some good men and good women of the capitalist class "pity the poor" and try to help them some. No doubt they do, but what of it? As long as they work to keep up the present system of legalized robbery their commiseration is of less value to the masses of the people than the sneers that "rile" the poverty stricken. This economic system makes civilization a mockery for the working people and he who brings this right home to us—even if he does make us ridiculous—is doing humanity a service.

Victor L. Berger.

A New York legislator named Clark has sent his Pullman pass back to the company. "But how about the other fellows?" They kept theirs, you may be sure!

Keep your eyes on Sheboygan this spring. The Social Democrats are due to elect a mayor and to increase their representation in the board of sixteen aldermen to eight.

Our Wisconsin readers are informed that the state platform, which is one of the best expositions of constructive Socialism ever written, is now ready in leaflet form, for propaganda purposes. They cost \$1 a thousand, 60 cents for 500 or 15 cents for 100. Order of the state secretary.

William Rockefeller, the millionaire, called at the New York tax office the other day and had his assessment reduced from \$1,000,000 to \$300,000. He swore that his personal estate was not worth more than \$100,000, but finally agreed on three times that amount, the press dispatches say. This shows how the rich are able to do this. If you are rich you can lie about your belongings and it goes!

"This is a world of compensations," said good old Abraham Lincoln, and who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. We have a suspicion that if Lincoln were alive today and true to his record he would be set down by the capitalists as a fomenter of lack of confidence and a disturber. Instead of celebrating his birthday every capitalist sheet in the land would be hissing at him. Another thing Lincoln said was that "no man is good enough to govern another without that other's consent." If he were alive and said such a shocking thing today the imperialists would have all over him and insist that he was trying to make the Filipino restless!

When Charles Schwab was before the industrial commission he was asked, "Is it a fact generally true of all exporters in this country that they sell at lower prices in foreign markets than they do in the home market?" And Schwab replied promptly, "That is true, perfectly true." He made no secret of it. What punts the American people are, to be sure. P. T. Barnum used to say that they liked to be humbugged. It looks as if he was pretty wise, after all.

The Canadian Socialist resurrects the famous, or infamous, Hazard circular, which was used to scare populist farmers into line before the Democracy swallowed up the People's party. Most everybody knows it was a pure invention, but its appearance in our Canadian con-temporary may start it on its rounds of the press again, if the thing is not headed off. Let it be called in; there is nothing gained by misrepresenting the enemy—in fact it is always a loss, if arguments are used that can be proven false.

For the benefit of Prof. Moughlan, the reckless traducer of Socialists employed by the University of Wisconsin to teach F.A.T.S., we reprint this little gem from Comrade Carl Thompson's propaganda pamphlet, "Principles and Programme of Socialism," and dare him to deny the facts it contains:

"It is the present social system that is hostile to the family. There are thousands of people in America today who have no homes, and never can have under the present system. The cruel greed of monopolistic greed has driven a million women into the ranks of wage-earners, where they compete with their husbands, brothers, and even their own offspring for a chance to live. In factory and sweat-shop, on farms, and even on the railroads, women are at hard labor today. And not infrequently when a complaint is made that wages are too low to enable a girl or young woman to live well, the accused capitalistic system replies, 'there are other ways she can get money if she wants it.' Miss Nellie Auten, a graduate student of the Chicago University, found thousands of girls and women at work in sweat-shops in Chicago, whose average wage was less than \$75 per year, and some receiving as low as \$50. Not infrequently mothers of families and young women who are supporting aged parents, are driven to prostitution as the only possible means of earning enough to keep souls and bodies together. And then those whose system blights and curses our homes are charging us with being hostile to the home!"

A recent almanac gives a list of the American trusts, eighty-five of them, and their capitalization totals up a cool \$4,318,065,144! Did you ever stop to think of the agony this trust business—which is only the front row of capitalism—puts upon the workers? First the workers must work to produce the wealth they get back in wages, and which measures the cost of living to the mass of the people. This does not call for hard work or long hours, not after they have produced that much they have to keep on in order to produce capital's share—and a fearful share it is! The capitalist class is an awful burden to the workers!

These are the days for downright hard work for Socialism. You are not doing your full duty unless you are getting a bundle each week and passing them round among your acquaintances.

Comrade Frederick Brockhausen, secretary of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, reports that the following bills introduced at Madison at the instance of his organization:

- 61A, relating to child labor.
- 76A, relating to the permit system of minor children.
- 84A, relating to additional factory inspectors without compensation.
- 86A, relating to contributory negligence.
- 95A, relating to sanitation in certain buildings.
- 109A, forbidding the sale of convict labor.
- 121A, relating to four additional factory inspectors.
- 132A, relating to recovery of damages for injuries.
- 156A, relating to damages for personal injury.
- 306A, relating to compulsory education for children.
- 337A, relating to an eight-hour day for employes.

He has had blanks prepared and sent to the labor organizations for them to fill out and send to their representatives. It is to be hoped that they will do so. The state federation has never done more conscientious work for organized labor than it is doing this year, and it should be sustained in its efforts.

The statute books in this and other states are loaded down with laws against adulteration of food and yet the markets teem with injurious foods, adulterated mostly by our "respectable" and "leading" citizens because business is business and it pays to deceive. A chemist of our acquaintance informs us that he has made chemical analysis of various kinds of canned goods on sale in the various groceries and found ALMOST WITHOUT EXCEPTION that the cans contained chemical preservatives injurious to health. He says he was at a party in his family as he would a pestilence. How shocked we were when we read of the embalmed beef served to the troops in the Spanish war; yet who ever hears a word of protest because of the embalmed beef that is sold and consumed in almost every butcher shop in the United States that is dependent on the big meat barons, like Armour and Swift? We got some of this stuff not long ago in buying meat for a dog. On the outside it looked like an old mouldy boot. When we tried to soak off the embalming mixture it became a sickish tenacious slime. When we gave the big meat barons, like Armour and Swift, a little of this stuff, they refused to eat it and gave us a look of disgust, as if to say: "I'm no soldier!" And if you avoid canned goods, also avoid the stuff put up in glass jars—they have all been "doped" to make them "keep." The dried California fruit that look so tempting in the market are not like Caesar's wife, "above reproach." In being prepared they are subjected to sulphur fumes to bleach them. They go into the sulphur box more or less "rotted and discolored and come out a slimy white. After they dry, however, they look clean and attractive, but are just had stuff for the human stomach. Jellies made of gelatine from dead horses, honey made of glucose, butter made of animal grease, milk filled with preservatives, sausage drugged with anti-septics, etc., etc.—how does the individual ever though he may dodge the capitalist requirement of working amid unhealthy surroundings, expect to safeguard his health? The most stupid person ought to be able to see this: That all this rascality comes from the necessity of doing business in a "business-like" way under the competitive system. Abolish the system and the incentive falls away instantly. If you want to eat pure food help to vote in the Socialist era.

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If you are receiving this paper without having subscribed for it, we ask you to remember that it has been paid for by a friend.

ROLL OF HONOR.

Table with 2 columns: Name, Amount. Includes Union Secretaries Fund, Previously reported, W. R. E., J. List, S. E. H., Milwaukee, Horace Jones, N. Y., Porscha list.

SIGNIFICANT LABOR EDITORIAL.

John Mitchell seems to get more enthusiastic praise from capitalist sources than from labor. In its account of last week's Mitchell-Darrow meeting in Chicago, the Union Leader says:

"Last Monday night at the Auditorium John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers, said:

"I do not believe that in our country there should be an irreconcilable conflict between labor and capital. Notwithstanding the fact that I have gone through a number of strikes, I have not yet abandoned my opinion that if the representatives of capital and the representatives of labor can be brought together, if they can sit down in honest conference, if they will look one another straight in the eye and tell one another the absolute truth, I believe when that is done that the day of conflict between labor and capital shall end."

"Contrast with this pleasant platitude the solid truths of soberness as enunciated by Darrow from the same platform: "This great strike was brought about because of the eternal conflict between the man who works and those who are the masters of the world. But not all the injustice of the world is in the anthracite coal regions. There are little boys and little girls, besides women and men, toiling in Chicago under circumstances just as bad. There is poverty and want in every great city in the world, and right here in our midst almost as dire as there. We are living in a state of war, the capitalists upon the one side, the workmen upon the other. The capitalists seek to get low wages, the workmen seeking high. There are two hostile armies arrayed upon the field of battle, the long lines of capital organized and entrenched, struggling for what they may conceive to be rights, and then a great army of labor must be organized as well."

"Organized for what, Mr. Darrow? For war! John Mitchell claims that there ought to be no 'irreconcilable' between labor and capital." Well there is not. The conflict arises between the laborer and the capitalist. He speaks about a time coming when the representatives of capital and the representatives of labor will get together, speak the truth and end the conflict. Well, there is a time coming all right. All right, when the conflict will end, but it will only be when the capitalist class has been destroyed by the working class, and the means of life transferred into the common ownership of one grand human brotherhood."

"Mr. John Mitchell was a disappointment. He can't begin to compare with Debs. He is not an orator. He is not even a fluent speaker. But the conflict will end, and months have been severe no doubt, and perhaps he might have been tired. There are two things to his credit, however, which more than make up his shortcomings in other directions. The first is his unquestioned honesty, and the second is his abstinence from strong drink. With these two accomplishments linked with unflinching courage, John Mitchell is destined to acquire more prominently in the industrial circles of our country as the years roll by."

The fact is, labor and its journals are getting their eyes open. They dare now to criticize those who essay to speak in their name and to analyze what they say, and to point out their sophistries. The "good old days" when a labor leader could serve capitalism and labor at the same time is passing rapidly. None but the grafters will mourn its departure!

LET STATE BOARDS TRULY SERVE.

Comrade J. W. Martin, secretary of the state committee of Colorado, replies to Comrade Debs' defense of the Social Crusaders in the Colorado Chronicle, saying, among other things, that he did not vote for the Stark resolution because he thought it would only make martyrs of the Crusaders. This was a way, it would appear, of pleasing neither side, although, nevertheless, shying his brick at the members of the crusade—it might be well here to repeat that the crusade was never more than an informal banding together, by means of which, if one of the "members" got financially stalled in the pion-

ering work, the others would secure him the means of fighting his way. But what we wish to refer to, specially, in Comrade Martin's defense of the state board, is the following, which appears to show that there was also a material reason for the board's action: "During the last year and a half large sums of money have been contributed in Denver and other large towns in the state for Socialist propaganda work. This money has not passed through the hands of the state committee, but was expended by local committees, or individuals, largely in paying rent for high-priced halls and churches, advertising, traveling expenses, and hiring high-priced speakers, mainly Social Crusaders, while the state committee has been left practically without funds, and local workers have been standing on soap boxes, and dodging policemen's clubs while teaching Socialism on street corners, in most cases without compensation."

Now, The Herald is rather closely associated with the state organization in Wisconsin, the state from which came the first suggestion for a national organization based on state autonomy, (which has won out as a wise provision, by reason of the splendid advance of the movement under it) and Wisconsin also has been charged by certain comrades, although being under a boss or bosses, although such an unwarranted charge has found few believers. So possibly a word or two from us with regard to Secretary Martin's complaint as quoted above may have some weight.

Therefore we say this: That the condition he complains of practically exists also in Wisconsin, and the members of the state board, far from being displeased actually feel proud of the fact. The Wisconsin state committee is not paternalistic. It has no desire to rule, on the S. L. P. principle. It feels that it serves its purpose perfectly if it inspires the localities in the state to conduct their own affairs as much as possible, to be self-reliant and equal to the local opportunities. Help is extended where possible, but the board has sufficient confidence in the local branches to trust them to do the best under given conditions. The most the state board has done has been to advise the local branches to take advantage of speaking tours arranged from headquarters, as a measure of economy, it being found that speakers can be furnished cheaper under this arrangement to the localities and time and travel economized. But at no time have the state branches been told that they must do this, or must do that. Such matters have always been brought to their notice in an advisory way, and they have felt confidence in the good intentions of the state board, in consequence.

NON-PROGRESSIVE UNIONISM AGAIN.

John B. Lennon, treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, recently addressed the Milwaukee Federated Trades' Council and was intently listened to. One statement that he made caused considerable comment afterward. It was that his home city, Bloomington, Ill., had become so thoroughly unionized that there were no non-union men to speak of in town any more. This was certainly interesting news and the Milwaukee trade unionists felt somewhat envious of Bloomington, but they hastened to add this qualification: That if every working man in Milwaukee was a union man, the workers would rule the city and make use of their solidarity to bring great benefits upon the producers, a thing which the misguided workers of Bloomington have not done. The reason why they have not done it is that they are still at the mercy of the advice of the old stagnating, non-progressive form of unionism, of which Mr. Lennon is an advocate, a policy that keeps the workers from making use of their most powerful weapon, the ballot.

This non-progressive policy is the thing that is making helpless slaves of the workers even where they are organized, for the workers of Bloomington, for instance, have to content themselves with an average weekly wage of about \$9.25, according to the most recent statistics, and what is such a pitiful wage good for in these days of high prices for living expenses? Why, it isn't even a living wage.

Non-progressive unionism, which John Mitchell is being praised by the capitalists for bolstering up, is in its essence un-American. Mitchell has vaingloriously boasted of being an American before he is a union man. He is very much mistaken. To be good citizens it is the duty of the people to stand for the best interests of their class politically. This the Mitchells, Lennons and their like do not do. The ballot is given to the people to show at the polls what they need. This the old fogey unionists do not do. They vote with the capitalist parties for a continuance of the conditions that make starvation wages inevitable. In Bloomington, there are over 2000 wage workers in the manufacturing employments alone, enough to control the local legislation for the benefit of the working class. The vote last fall shows that the workers of Bloomington marched to the polls almost to a man and voted to have the old parties keep them in chains! Such men as Lennon, Gompers, Mitchell et al. are bad leaders, no matter how lustily the capitalists may praise them. The case of Bloomington, where labor is fully organized and yet unable to vary materially better the condition of the working class, shows it. But the newer ideas of unionism are gaining ground rapidly. Progressive unionism is getting more and more the upper hand. The days will soon be here when men like Gompers will not dare to smile in the faces of capitalist lobbyists at Washington and assure them that he is doing all he can to keep the political power into the hands of the master class.

We urge the comrades everywhere to see that the demand for a change of national headquarters to Chicago be put to referendum—not that we love Omaha less but that we love Chicago more. With a national campaign coming on the headquarters should be at a point as accessible as possible to the centers of activity, and the Eastern states thus far contain the great bulk of the Socialists of the country.

THE NEW ERA IN RUSSIA.

A revolution is about to take place in Russia, and will be watched with interest by all civilized peoples. The pressure of popular discontent has grown too strong for the Tsar, and it is semi-officially announced that he is about to yield his autocratic power and give Russia a constitution. It is reported that the Tsar proposes to make the present imperial council an upper house of parliament, and that the lower house shall be elected by the so-called "zemstvos" (provincial assemblies, somewhat like our legislatures).

Any one at all familiar with Russian history will see at a glance how exceedingly conservative is this constitution proposed by the Tsar, and how little it will represent the working people. The aristocratic imperial council, turned into a legislative body, will correspond to a house of lords. The lower house, elected by the zemstvos, will bear some analogy to our United States Senate. The zemstvos are composed of the country nobility, and will of course elect representatives from their own class. They have certainly done good work in the past, in establishing schools for the peasants and sometimes raising a very faint protest against some of the evils under which Russia is groaning. They will undoubtedly do some good work in the future in behalf of free speech, free press and the personal liberty of the Tsar's oppressed subjects. But further than this they will not go. They must stand for their own interests and cannot be expected to consider the interests of labor. As large landed proprietors, it is to their advantage that agricultural labor shall remain as dirt-cheap as it now is in all parts of Russia. Many of them are also interested in the new factories which are now springing up so fast in the land of the Tsar. These industrial interests will certainly control the new parliament, while the peasants who form the bulk of the Russian population, and the wage-workers of the towns and cities, who are now increasing so rapidly, will not have the echo of a voice. Evidently, the Tsar and the propertied classes are determined to fall on their feet, and if Russia must have political liberty, they will see to it that economic independence shall not follow.

Thirty years ago even this feeble reform would have been hailed with delight by the Russians. But times have changed since then. Manufactures of all kinds have sprung up, a town and city proletariat has been developed, strikes and labor troubles have arisen and been put down by troops, and the principles of Social Democracy have spread rapidly among the workmen, at least in the western and southwestern towns. If universal suffrage prevailed in Russia, probably the Social Democratic vote in these towns would be surprisingly large. But universal suffrage is exactly what the Tsar will never grant except on compulsion.

However, Social Democrats the world over are in the habit of demanding a great deal, and it is not likely that our Russian comrades will rest content with mere political rights, such as were the barren fruits of the French revolution. It is certain that the next few years will see a very lively Socialist agitation in Western and Southern Russia. The Russians are not inclined to carry on their propaganda in any half-hearted fashion. The Tsar and the ruling and exploiting classes will find their hands full for some time to come.

The Socialists of Europe, especially of Germany, have always feared the power of Russia. They have always anticipated, in case of a Socialist revolution in Germany, that the Tsar would willingly send his troops to suppress it. Let us trust that this danger has now passed over. It is to be hoped that his own Social Democratic subjects will keep the Tsar so busy at home that he will have no time for mischief abroad. In this way the Social Democracy of Russia, though for years to come it cannot expect any triumphs of its own, may still have a most beneficial effect on the history of Europe.

EDITORIAL SHEARINGS.

Ask your storekeeper which he would rather have for a customer, one who gets \$1.50 a day or one who gets \$2.50.—International Metal Worker.

J. Ogden Armour cleared \$600,000 in his recent wheat deal; and still there are people who refuse to admit that wealth is the result of "industry, temperance and economy."—Labor World.

That Washington story to the effect that John D. Rockefeller telegraphed nine senators to fight the anti-trust bill looks very gauzy. Rockefeller don't do business in that way. He knows how many senators he owns and they know what he wants, and when he desires to influence others his small army of henchmen get busy without telegrams, fireworks and brass bands.—Cleveland Citizen.

When a person learns the first principles of Socialism they are so reasonable and plain that he accepts them and thinks he understands Socialism. He does; but after he has read or studied a year or two he finds that he is just beginning to get hold of the subject. He may keep this up for a great many years and still see more to learn. That is because Socialism is a science and related to every other part of life and its problems.—Colo. Chronicle.

Timber speculators secured over 500,000 acres of timber on the east and west slopes of the Rocky mountains last year under the timber and stone act. The secretary of the interior has asked Congress for two years to repeal this law, and substitute therefor an act which would give the government, for a general conservation, a scientific system of forestry to all the timber on the public lands. There seems to be little inclination, however, on the part of Congress to prevent the spoliation now in progress.

The people of Europe have learned their lesson, and the farmers of France, Germany and other intensely cultivated lands would rise in revolution if their government should permit any such wholesale destruction of the timber on the watersheds as is now in progress in the United States.—Maxwell's Talisman.

From the Book Table.

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION. By Karl Kautsky. Translated by A. M. and M. Wood Simons. 190 pp., cloth, price \$5.00. Chicago: Chas. H. Kerr & Co., 56 Fifth ave.

The Socialist movement in America is distinctly indebted to Kautsky for a large share of the available propaganda matter that it made use of in the days when the work was uphill and small results and proselytes discouragingly few. Chapters of a former revolution in their government, and the mischievous liberties, it is true, and were used as leaflets and pamphlets. The teachings of these leaflets furnished a good ground work, for those who did not read the government, for a general conviction of the principles of Social Democracy. The present work is a ripe book by the great German thinker and deserves the highest possible sale. No American Socialist library can be complete without it, and the thanks of our American Socialists are due Messrs. Kerr & Co. for issuing it in such attractive and readable form, and yet at so modest a price. For the first time it has already published chapters and extracts from it, through the kindness of the publishers in supplying advance proofs, and also portions of the translation by Justice of London have also been presented, so that our readers are more or less familiar with it, and no extended review is necessary at this time. The book is divided into two parts. The first concerns itself with "The Form and Revolution." The second is headed: "The Day After the Revolution." The first part is most instructive, yet the greatest interest attaches to the second portion, which will not be found to be as Utopian as its title suggests. It is speculative, of course, but very reasonably so, and the author at the start disarms possible critics by explaining that he does not wish to imply by the word "day after" that Socialism is to come full-fledged overnight or that capitalism will cease its control through one fell swoop of an awakened political proletariat. In fact this part is an attempt to show how it will be necessary for the people, once they have gained the control, to proceed in a progressive, orderly way to reconstruct society. He aims to show that the old order of the Socialists, that "the moment they win they are lost," is not warranted by the probabilities. As we have said, no one should be without this work.

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THE HERALD FORUM.

Is No Serious Setback. Chicago, Ill., Feb. 20.—Editor Herald: Rapid as the growth of the trades unions has been during the last few years, the growth of Socialism within their ranks has progressed at a far quicker rate. This was shown by the result of the annual test vote taken at the convention of the A. F. of L. in New Orleans. Our side mustered a voting strength of 90 delegates representing 471 votes, against a dissenting majority of 140 delegates with a total vote of 4807. It does not matter much on which side the remaining 78 delegates to the convention would have arrayed themselves, who either were absent while the vote was taken or refrained from voting. As they represented but 209 votes in all, they could not have changed the result to any remarkable extent, even had their vote been cast solidly either way. But it is not to be supposed that it would ALL have gone either way. Most probably it would have split in about the same proportions as the other 9008 votes did, i. e., about 54 per cent. would have been cast for Socialism and 46 per cent. in favor of it, giving a total strength of 4313 votes to the one side and 4904 votes to the other.

This proportion—even our most outspoken adversaries admit it readily—was not at all a bad showing for our cause. There resounded considerable gnashing of teeth in the ranks of the enemy, and in some quarters there was much fear and trembling. A well-aimed length and duration was provoked at the time by the conspicuous and signifying fact that the vote of the miners' delegation was cast solidly for progress and liberty. Our wise and cautious friend Gompers, it is said, was thrown into a doleful and meditative mood by the result of the vote in general and more particularly by the stand taken by the miners. Being much in the habit of figuring, he soon had it down to a disagreeably fine point that it would but take the switching of ONE more organization of some numerical strength—say, the street railway men—to change the majority in our favor and to remove him from his profitable and well-beloved position at the helm of the federation.

He may, in consequence, have seriously considered whether the changing conditions did not require a trimming of sails, the casting of an anchor to the windward, as another shining light of American statecraft has put it. As other crowned heads, his must have rested rather uneasily during the first two months after the convention. He may have told himself that the Socialists, if victorious—though generally speaking a gentle and forgiving disposition—would hardly feel inclined to accept a newly-made convert for a leader, deeming it more advisable to assign to such an one, for a probationary period of some duration at least, a less conspicuous post more to the rear. Thus the aspect of things would have looked gloomy and forbidding enough to the sanguine Sammie. At present, it is to be presumed, he breathes more comfortably again. The reports from the miners' national convention held at Indianapolis, have most probably reassured him and given him as much pleasure as they did to the capitalistic press and to the captains of industry all over our great and free and glorious country.

The miners, under the leadership of John Mitchell, have in kind repudiated the action of their delegates to the New Orleans convention. All motions and resolutions of a more or less Socialistic character entered at the gathering were lost, voted down with clear, if not overwhelming majorities.

It matters not how much, or how little it has contributed to the result that our Socialist delegates—with little tact and less strategy—took special pains to attack the resolute Mitchell on the floor of the convention, to attack him, by the way, under wrong premises and without sufficient justification. This attack may have changed some votes that otherwise would have been cast in our favor; it may have caused Mitchell himself to become vindictive and spiteful in the dialric which he omitted against some scrawny he mistakes for Socialism. The result of the vote has probably been not affected to any great extent either by the attack on Mitchell, or by his rejoinder. But it can't be denied that it was a sorry spectacle when Mitchell so far smothered himself as to warn the convention not to sanction the establishment of co-operative stores. He admitted that such stores would prove very beneficial to the miners, be an effective weapon against the capitalist trust-system, but, he continued, they must not be started, or fostered by the unions themselves, as they might prove stepping stones "for further Socialistic encroachments."

And Socialism, the leader of the miners is said to have closed his unique argument, is a most dangerous thing, which in its consequences surely would lead to anarchy!

Now, there are those who honestly, intelligently, almost religiously believe in Socialism in the end WILL bring anarchy, that is to say, a state of human affairs wherein the GOVERNMENT of today will have been replaced by an ADMINISTRATION with purely clerical functions. There are those who believe that Socialism and Socialism alone is the road which finally will and can lead the human race to this most desirable goal, that there is no other way to secure this ideal kind of anarchy. But of this form of anarchy Mr. Mitchell evidently has never had an inkling. He probably, has only heard the definition of anarchy given, on the one hand, by the servants of the police, on the other by crack-brained fanatics who would try to start an anarchistic community with a population the overwhelming majority of which are too blind to discern on which side their bread is buttered, who—like Heine's most foolish calves of all—vote themselves their butchers into executive power.

Messrs. Henry D. Lloyd and Clarence S. Darrow, the company of whom Mr. Mitchell has of late enjoyed for months, must indeed have had their time completely taken up "with the case in hand" that they have not made use of this opportunity to brush at least the worst and thickest cobwebs out of their com-

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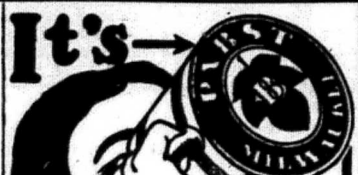
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NOTES FROM YANKEE-LAND.

Comrade J. Stitt Wilson will lecture in Denver in May.

The Colorado comrades are planning for a state convention during the month of May.

The Socialists of Butte, Mont., have nominated the principal of the high school for mayor.

Branch 8, Milwaukee, will hold a May ball at Hotack's hall on Saturday evening, May 9.

Evanston, Ill., Socialists have put up a city ticket headed by Comrade Peter Miller for mayor.

Cincinnati has forged ahead of Cleveland in the matter of being the foremost Socialist center of Ohio.

Comrade Adolph Grethen, the "Socialist fiddler," is at Eau Claire, Wis., and will shortly visit Milwaukee.

Comrade J. W. Slayton, the Socialist councilman of Newcastle, Pa., is also the business agent of the Trades' Council.

The official returns from last fall's elections are now in and show a total Socialist vote throughout the country of 227,024.

The Socialists of Dayton, O., put a full ticket in the field for the city election, last Saturday. The city elections in Ohio take place April 6, and over twenty cities will put up tickets.

The New York Worker very sensibly demands that the national party now pay

up the liabilities of the two old national headquarters, assumed after the rival parties came together at the Indianapolis convention of 1901.

Reading, Pa., had an election last Tuesday. For the head of the ticket the Republicans cast 5129, the Democrats 5545 and the Socialists 1149, which marks a good increase.

Comrade Kearns, state secretary of New Jersey, writes us that the state committee at its meeting February 3, unanimously passed a resolution denouncing the arbitrary usurpation of the rights of the general membership by the national committee in moving the headquarters to Omaha without a referendum.

A dispatch from Landsford, Pa., to the Philadelphia North American says that "Owing to the great strength evidenced by the Socialists, the Democrats, instead of nominating a ticket of their own, have endorsed the Republican nominees, in the hope that the new party will be defeated by the combine."

In the election of November 4 the Socialist candidate for supreme judge carried every ward in Landsford, having 405 votes against 401 as the combined vote of the old party candidates.

George A. Eastman, who turned his Socialist paper, the Wage Worker of

Detroit, over to the S. L. P. and then went on a farm, is now bombarding the Socialist press with arguments against political action, on the theory that all government is of necessity sinister and an attempt of the strong to control the weak.

Comrade Barkowski of Chicago, editor of Robotnik, had a lively experience in Milwaukee the other night. A hall was secured in the Polish section of the city, but after the proprietor, himself a Pole, discovered that the speaker was talking Socialism he turned the hall over to the proprietors who were in vain and the meeting adjourned to another hall owned by a Pole who was tolerant enough to let the meeting proceed.

A Socialist who was present writes the Herald: "As things turned out it is probable we were allowed the hall by the owner for the sole purpose of causing a row. Comrade Barkowski was proceeding with his address when this ward heeler interrupted, and then got one of his set to hang up an old portrait of W. J. Bryan. Comrade Barkowski did not mind such small ignorance as that, and the heeler then proceeded to turn out the lights. We then quietly left the hall, so they did not have the chance of a row and to have the Socialists called down in the capitalist press."

Wisconsin Field Notes.

New London, Feb. 15.—At Manitowish water three good meetings. Not so large as we had hoped for, but still very good and powerful. It cost the comrades \$10.00 per night for halls for the three nights, which made a heavy expense, which was cheerfully met, together with all other expenses. Comrades are having a hard pull here, but are showing steady staying qualities.

At Two Rivers the movement is splendid. A new ward branch was organized and a Woman's Club, during the meetings. A local editor printed a column and a half of questions about how the Socialists would manage municipal utilities, to which I gave the usual Socialist replies. My last lecture had to be cut short to get to the next appointment.

At Neenah there is a quiet but determined set of men and women. The comrades went to get that they expected the largest audience would be at the Sunday night meeting, but Monday night the audience had increased and Tuesday night the house was packed. We really doubled the membership of the local and slated arrangements for the Edwards' lectures. The local papers gave fine reports of the lectures. The usual high school debating team came to get pointers for their debate on the public ownership question. At the city library after my second lecture I found three different persons inquiring for books on Socialism. Mr. Carnegie will have to add a new department on Socialism to the libraries he is giving the cities. At Appleton Comrade Thorne tried to get the privilege of using the Congregational Church, of which he is a member, but was refused on the ground that the church should not be used for political speeches. At the invitation of the pro-

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Professor of political economy and history I spoke to his class in the Lawrence University there. I was given a very respectful hearing and after the lecture the students bought quite a number of our pamphlets and some stayed in the lecture room for over an hour to ask questions and raise the usual objections to Socialism. I answered all questions and was invited to meet the university debating team at 1:30 p. m., which I did. I loaded them up with a trainload of facts with which to argue for the government ownership of railroads, warning them meantime that what the Socialists wanted first was not government ownership, but the government. The lectures here were fairly attended and quite a number of new members received.

At New London we have a small but determined group of Socialists; the leading spirit being a woman. She went responsible herself for the expense of the meetings, although a comparatively poor woman. The others stood by her, however, and no stone was left unturned to make the meetings a success. Men came from twelve miles distance to attend the lectures and we had good audiences. Both the Congregational minister, who was a schoolmate of mine, and the Methodist minister and a Catholic priest were present at the lectures. The latter declared he came to get material with which to fight Socialism. I think he will use one of my funny stories—I can't think of anything else he could use. The ministers, however, I generally find to be rather more friendly to Socialism than the church members. But I try everywhere to make it perfectly clear that Socialism is not a religious but a social, economic and political programme. A Socialist, therefore, has no right to attack Christianity or the church in the name of Socialism and a minister is entirely out of order in attacking Socialism in the name of Christianity.

I rest today—or rather, catch up on back work—and go to Chilton tomorrow. Remember our subscription postals. Five for two dollars. AGENTS FOR THE HERALD. L. Jester, 2177 Henry street, New York, takes subscriptions for this paper. S. L. Bundy, 197 Clinton street, New York. N. N. Rosenzweig, news dealer, corner Tenth and Market streets, Philadelphia. E. Vandervoort, 148 South Peoria street, Chicago. E. Pat. O'Neil, Burma, Ark. Milwaukee agents: Paul Mielke, 1151 Twenty-third street. Nick Petrasen, 2714 North avenue. Carl Klotz, 740 Thirty-second street. Fred. Leht, 450 Greenfield avenue.

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TO-NIGHT! TO-NIGHT! If you are a delegate from your Branch or Union to attend the Herald meeting, remember that it takes place this Saturday, February 28th, at 8 P. M., at Kaiser's Hall, 298 Fourth Street. DON'T FAIL TO ATTEND!

HALF-HOURS IN THE HERALD SANCTUM.

With the Workers. In many of the grateful letters we have received from union secretaries there has appeared the line: "Please do not print this. I am working on the quiet," or words of like import. Very few realize the work that is being done for Socialism in union circles. Socialist literature is being quietly passed round, and we are convinced that even those whose subscriptions have made our union secretaries fund possible have not quite realized the full effect of the work they have so bravely helped along. We select a letter this week to show the stuff that some of the secretaries are made of:

Dear Sir and Comrade: Enclosed please find money order for \$3.65, which you will please appropriate as follows: One year's subscription to Wahrheit, one year's subscription to Social Democratic Herald and Webster's Dictionary, and 50 cents donation to union secretaries fund. We are trying to organize here, and hope will succeed in a week or two, and will try to secure subscriptions to the Herald and Wahrheit. Have several promised, but could wait for them no longer. I always pass my Herald and Wahrheit among the delegates of the Central Labor Union. Hoping this will receive your kind attention. I remain, yours in Socialism. John Kraehenbuehl, Sec. Local Union, No. 94, United Brewery Workmen, Knoxville, Tenn., Feb. 17.

A Michigan comrade writes to know if the contributions to the union secretaries fund are held to the credit of those who send contributions to the fund. No—and yes. We do not want the fund to be up any money that ought to be doing work for the cause and so when a contribution is received, unless the sender also sends in a special list of union secretaries he wishes to be sent the paper, we select the number of names that are covered by the amount from the lists which we have gotten together for the purpose. But we want all the names and addresses we can get, so that a subscriber to the fund, or anyone else, is most welcome to send as many as

they may wish, and they will be given the preference as the fund grows and is applied.

Dear Comrade: I received a copy of your valuable paper, the Social Democratic Herald. I read and enjoyed it very much and will do all I can to the good of the cause of Socialism and wish you success. Enclosed find a list of Socialists and some of those who are in sympathy with us. You might send them each a sample copy and perhaps get some subscribers thereby; if not, the papers might do some good propaganda work sooner or later. We have two locals here, but both are very weak financially. Yours for Socialism in '04. Virginia, Eugene J. Brady.

Right you are, man; Socialism cannot come any too soon! Comrade Levi Flagg of Waupaca is not afraid to show his colors. On his business envelope he has this card printed: "Return in five days to Levi E. Flagg, painter, paper hanger and socialist. Nothing is too good for a Socialist." Good for Flagg!

New Glarus, Wis., Feb. 17.—Editor Herald: I notice in the Herald of February 14 Comrade Gordon speaks of the "great and growing middle class," which leads me to exclaim: "What! the great and growing middle class?" Can it be possible that the whole Socialist world, Bernstein perhaps excepted, has been wrong in claiming a rapidly DIMINISHING and finally to DISAPPEAR middle class?

Won't this be a good subject for you to take up in an early issue of the Herald? I for one will be pleased to see you do it. J. E. Collins.

The old middle class is disappearing of necessity, but what Comrade Gordon meant doubtless was the new middle class of high-salaried officials and others that is in a sense taking its place.

Comrade Jasin writes from Cincinnati that the Jewish-speaking Socialists have organized a branch of the party and established a permanent headquarters and a free reading room where the Herald and other papers will be kept on file. "There is a large field of usefulness for us in this vicinity," he writes, "and we have already made active workers of many who could not be reached by the ordinary party propaganda. Hear, Hear! Results are the test. The club is located at 1415 Central ave.

Comrade: Enclosed find ten cents in stamps for the Social Democratic Herald for ten weeks. I need it in my business. I am a Socialist and one of the fighting kind. I am constantly fighting—the Capitalist. My Weapon is Socialism, and someone I knock out in one round, and some it takes a few rounds more, but I'll land them every time. I am a subscriber of Wislitzke's Magazine and other Socialist papers. A. B. Ellett.

Kansas City, Jan. 20. Social Democratic Herald: Enclosed please find postage order for which kindly send me to get that for which I will free to 235 Social Democratic Herald for free distribution at our local meeting. Denver, February 6. R. Goge, Lit. Agt.

Comrades: Enclosed please find money order for 50 cents for which please send me the Herald a year. Comrade Mitchell has neglected to renew and I miss the news from Wisconsin, which appears the most advanced state except Massachusetts. I am quite prepared to learn of your state.

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