

Milwaukee, Wis., U. S. A., February 20, 1904.

Purposely Published for Propaganda.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD

A JOURNAL OF THE COMING CIVILIZATION

ONE YEAR, 50 CENTS. IN CLUBS OF THREE, FOR \$1.25.

SIXTH YEAR. NUMBER 43. Whole Number, 290

TEN WEEKS, TEN CENTS. NO PAPER SENT ON CREDIT.

Handful of 5 for... Spread the Light!

Watch for the opening chapters of "SOCIALISM MADE PLAIN" written by Allan L. Benson, one of the brightest daily paper editors in the United States, and who is a thorough student of Socialism and has one of the largest Socialist libraries in the country. It will begin shortly in this paper. A special announcement will be made next week. Tell your friends about it. Here is their chance to get a clear understanding of this vital subject and they will marvel that a thing so simple, ever seemed hard to them.

HOT SHOTS FOR MILWAUKEE. BY VICTOR L. BERGER.

THE SMALL GRAFTERS in Milwaukee, who are now pursued with such a hue and cry, can comfort themselves with the thought that an indictment by the grand jury is by no means a sentence and that "something may turn up yet to save them," and that to suit the crooked politicians, we have crooked lawyers and crooked laws.

The voter who after the disclosures of the grand jury will still remain to vote either the Republican or Democratic ticket, is either a fool at heart himself, or the accomplice of this.

Republican members of the Milwaukee Merchants and Manufacturers Association have requested Mr. David S. Rose to run again and secured him of their support. Albert Lindemann and ilk of that type care how much is stolen and extorted in our city, so long as their "profits" remains untouched. With this sort it is useless to argue about honesty, or philosophize concerning economic development. Against the pack of exploiters nothing will help except—some day—a bloody revolution.

We are expecting that the idea will occur to some "reformer" to abolish the City Council and County Board and to govern Milwaukee by grand juries. Only it should be recommended that every acting grand jury be investigated by the next "grand jury," and so ad infinitum.

A couple of Democratic grafters and hoodlers in the 22d ward had the almost incredible effrontery to get up a meeting and have adopted the following remarkably stupid simpatons resolutions:

"We view with pride the record of our present city government for honesty, economy and progressiveness." "And this in view of the indictments of the grand jury—in view of the fact that if David S. Rose should be re-elected it would be uncertain where he would end his term, that is, if the grand jury does its duty! Do not such shameless accomplices and assistants of thieves deserve to be tarred and feathered by the decent element?"

Our "honest" lawyers and "honorable" business men are now forming political clubs, which renounce all party affiliation, and wish to have only non-partisan representatives of the citizens in city and county. As if the hoodlers and grafters in county and city had never any partisanship in stealing and extortion. Non-partisanship can go no farther than Rose, Rudolph, Himmelstein, Havenor, and cetera have carried it! They take money from Christian, Jew and heathen—from Republicans, Democrats and Prohibitionists—churchmen, free thinkers and the indifferent—from manufacturers, proprietors of department stores, saloon-keepers, trust magnates and every of the lowest dives—in short, from everybody out of whom any money can be squeezed. And do these "reformers" want still greater partisanship? What next?

The word about honesty in political affairs. A man may be as honest as it is possible to be, yet he will generally look at the world through the spectacles of his own interests, and this is quite certain to be the case with any given class of the population. For while an individual may rise above the interests of his class, the class itself can not do so. It will always regard its own interests as those of all the people, and this quite in good faith until it is morally shaken by the attack of another class with differing or opposing interests. Then it begins to doubt itself and relies upon force rather than arguments, and that is the beginning of the end.

The investigation of the grand jury has again proved that the Socialists are right when they say the main source of corruption in city affairs lies in the power of aldermen or officials to give away or sell privileges to capitalists, who thus often acquire millions. It may indeed be true that the capitalists, manufacturers and business men need this or that privilege in their business, but the aldermen as "business men" may think that they now and then need \$500 just as much in their business, and therefore as good "business men" they avail themselves of the opportunity to make a little pile. The desire to "do business" is only intensified by the biddle of the interested capitalists, and we cannot see how any change for the better can be effected by punishing the politicians, while the capitalists go free.

That ex-Supervisor and Stationer Razall sits on his high horse, and desires the grand jury to "immediately" take up the charges raised against him, is very funny. Some years ago, when Razall was supervisor, he had trouble about similar affairs and scarcely escaped with a black eye.

Our high hoodlers have demanded no less than \$50,000 cash from a telephone company, which wished to introduce its system in Milwaukee. The Southern R. R. would have set no price to the thieves—the railway company would simply have forked over, until the clique of hoodlers had enough. All the Milwaukee "grafters" are not such cheap fellows as Alderman Himmelstein.

The weakness of our opponents should not make us indulgent to our own weakness, yet the fact that we are not perfect is no reason for justifying a system which sets a prize on moral inferiority. The triumph of capitalism over the feudal system depended as little on the moral purity of individual capitalists as the triumph of Socialism over capitalism depends on the moral perfection of individual Socialists. What is the old trick of the ruling classes to entrench themselves behind the "sacred" and even "moral" wherever their interests are at stake, and they have never had much luck at this. For when the power of a class is going down, it usually has not enough morals to form any barrier for itself, as the condition of our business affairs and public affairs from Washington down to Milwaukee prove.

Immense sums of money are said to have been paid by a down town firm for the alley behind their business house. Of course the firm did not receive one cent of this, but the present aldermen so much more. Mr. Havenor, the alderman of the Fourth ward, has purchased himself in the real estate business in order to make a little more "through trade." Mr. David S. Rose could give quite a little more information to the grand jury if he cared to. Rose in his spare hours, among other things, acts as an attorney for large firms and has arranged secret meetings in a hotel of this city and posted as the honorable "Skinner" Murphy, the City Father from the ward, has already been proved. In case one of the aldermen has a remnant of conscience left to him, the gentlemen may hold their "closed session" in the state prison at Waupun.

The head of our city, David S. Rose, suffers, it seems, from indigestion. And this is no wonder. The malt barons Asmuth and Fink have arranged before the grand jury that they had applied to the mayor, and the aldermen demanded hoolde for a side-track. From the mayor they received this advice: "To pay up, because the council is corrupt and everybody must be bribed." Victor L. Berger.

Where Traveling is Hardly a Pleasure!

She had found it dull in her city; So had they, in a different mob, She travelled to look for amusement. They travelled to look for a job.

She was loaded with fruit and candy, And her section piled with flowers, With magazines, novels and papers, To shorten the weary hours.

Her friends came down in a body With farewells merry and sweet, And left her with laughter and kisses On the broad plush-cushioned seat.

She was bored before she started, And the journey was dull and far; "Traveling's hardly a pleasure," Said the girl in the palace car.

Then they skulked out in the darkness And crawled in under the cars, To ride on the trucks as best they might, To hang by the chains and bars.

None came to see their starting And their friendliest look that day, Was that of a green, young brakeman Who looked the other way.

It is claimed that the manufacturing power of the world doubles every seven years. Say, Mr. Work-drudge, does your income from your industry double every seven years?

Before Hanna's body was cold, the Republican job hunters of Ohio were laying wires to step into his political shoes. Nothing is sacred when these "business" men get after a political snap.

Under Socialism the workers will collectively own the tools with which they work, consequently every improvement in those tools, every invention that will make work lighter, will benefit them, and not a capitalist class, as at present.

In a letter just received Comrade Kundert of Monroe, Wis., informs us that Father Sherman said at his lecture in that city that it was his last lecture in Wisconsin and that he intended to take no further notice of Socialist Gaylord's challenge until "he had answered the charges against the Socialists which he (Sherman) had preferred." Of all sneaking cowards who have ever bluffed at the Socialists, this Sherman is the worst. We are also informed that at Monroe, Sherman said that he was asked to apologize to his audience in Milwaukee for saying that Socialists were Atheists and Beasts, and that he did so on the spot, he apologized to the beasts for associating them with the Socialists. Such coarse vituperation from a man claiming to tread in the footsteps of the Lowly Nazarene is the best possible index to the man's character, which is that of a poltroon whose dishonesty disgraces his holy office.

Under capitalism the many machines to assist labor with its work become labor-displacing machines, that only serve to assist labor in getting out of work the quicker. Under Socialism all the work possible will be thrown on to machinery, for then, and not till then, will machinery be truly a blessing to the workers.

The working class has the votes, the capitalist class has the money. When the workers fight capitalism on the economic field they fight it where it is strongest. But when they fight it on the political field they fight it where it is weakest. The best way to conquer an enemy is not to choose the hardest way.

It is a stout-hearted man who, when his hard toil brings him only poverty, does not lose courage and end it by the suicide route. But the present fight for economic justice for the workers calls for stout hearts, and the call is meeting with a wonderful response! Don't commit suicide; work for Socialism!

Every day we hear men say: "Why I have been a Socialist for quite a while, but never knew it. I never had a right idea of what it really was. Now that I know, I am for it, body and breeches!" The workers for Socialism discover more men who are already Socialists "unbeknownst" than they actually get into the movement through conversion.

Don't be shocked now! But the fact is that hoodled looks come from wrong social conditions. Taken all in all, the rich, leisure class averages up with the greatest number of bright and beautiful faces. It is simply because the people's privations, their anxious and mean living, the resultant ill-health and their enforced lack of all-around education and culture creeps into their faces. When Socialism has flooded the world with sunshine long enough to cause the people to look up without fear and apprehension, the human race will be a race of beautiful beings.

They were hungry before they started, With the hunger that turns to pain—"Traveling's hardly a pleasure," Said the three men under the train.

She complained of the smoke and cinders, She complained of the noise and heat, She complained of the table service, She complained of the things to eat.

She said it was so expensive, In spite of one's utmost care; That feeding the porters and waiters Cost as much as a third-class fare.

That the seats were dirty and stuffy, That the births were worse by far, "Traveling's hardly a pleasure," Said the girl in the palace car.

They hung on in desperate silence For a word was a tale-tale shout; Their foul hats low on their blood-shot eyes, To keep the cinders out.

The dirt beat hard on their faces, The dirt beat hard on their ears, And a moment's rest to a straining limb Meant the worst of human fears.

Capitalism mean war and cannibalism; Socialism means peace and brotherhood. Which seems best for the human race?

So long as the capitalist system rules the lives of men, the few will riot in superabundance and the many will go in rags.

If you don't think it right for private individuals to get rich by conducting our municipal utilities, why do you not also object to their getting rich out of the ownership of our industries?

Here is a good resolve for the religious "leading" business men during Lent: "I will mortify my business flesh by abstaining from meat during Lent and by voting for honest government at the next election."

Just because you are a citizen doesn't indicate that you can know how to vote without studying the subject. It is the thinking man who is able to keep from throwing his vote away.

Are you stupid enough to suppose that the rapid accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few families is going to stop! Why should it stop while the profit system lasts? If that system has been piling up wealth in the hands of a few, why shouldn't it do so in the future? And if it does, where do you expect to come in in the matter of a decent living! The concentration of wealth, instead of ceasing, will increase with compounding speed. Look your eyes, you sleepy citizen, and rub that fact full in the face.

Who built the railroads of this country? Not the capitalists, but the workers. And the public has paid for them over and over and over again in "profits." Yet we are a patient people, and there are many Socialists who say that the government ought to pay for them again when the time comes for the people to take possession. They do, however, draw the line at paying for watered stock—that is for more than the actual value of the concerns!

We Socialists do not want to socialize non-productive wealth, but simply that part of wealth that is used to make wage labor create more wealth. We don't want to have a general dividing up of wealth, but to divide up the ownership of the wealth that is capital, that is, we want the producing wealth to be socially owned so that each worker will get his rightful share of the product, without any individual or band of individuals skimming a profit off of his labor. Under Socialism the rich will be the industrious and the useful, the poor will be the idle.

One of the meanest teachings of our modern civilization is that one nation is the natural enemy of another. How the Frenchman used to hate the German, and so on! The rulers helped their subjects to feel that way so they would be ready to go to war to fight out the quarrels of the rulers—but the rulers were careful to keep out of the way of the bullets. On a battlefield in the Franco-Prussian war lay two dying workmen, one a German soldier and the other a French soldier. In the approach of death the real humanity of the men, their class brotherhood, asserted itself, and the quarrel of the rulers was forgotten, and one of them, stronger than the other, held his canteen to the parched lips of the other, to allay the thirst that was rendering his dying hours intolerable. Only when kings and rulers disappear before the onward coming of Socialism will true brotherhood be a moment amongst men.

They clutched and clung in the darkness While the stiffness turned to pain, "Traveling's hardly a pleasure," Said the three men under the train.

She stepped airily out in the morning, When the porter had brushed her while; She gave him a silver dollar; He gave her an ivory smile.

She complained to her friends that morning Of a most distressing dream: "I thought I heard in the darkness A sort of a jolting scream."

"I thought I felt in the darkness The great wheels joggle and swing; Traveling's hardly a pleasure When you dream such a horrible thing."

They crept shuddering out in the morning Red spots with the coal's black stain, "Traveling's hardly a pleasure," Said the TWO men under the train.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

The "wise" ones say we Socialists deal in dreams. They forget that capitalism deals in nightmares!

Socialism is not a figment of the fancy, a beautiful dream lacking reality. It is a scientifically determined probability. Those are the dreamers who believe that the race can continue to exist one-third free and two-thirds slave.

Victor Hugo said that modern society produced wonderfully and distributed abominably. Truer words were never spoken. What do you think of the modern system of rewarding effort that gives colossal fortunes to the indolent few and goads the industrious many with must inhuman poverty.

The late Marcus Hanna liked to go to the theater, so he bought an opera house in Cleveland and kept a private box in it for his own exclusive use. Say, you hard working wage slave, perched way up in the "nigger-heaven," with the roof of the house wearing a bald spot on the top of your unthinking pate, why don't you buy a theater and get a little more elbow room? Isn't your life as valuable to you as Mark Hanna's was to him, and don't you work harder for the right to live decently than he ever did?

We Socialists charge that there is no essential difference between the two old parties, they are both capitalistic, both stand for the robbery of labor by the capitalist class. Whichever wins, labor loses. Do you doubt this? Then mark this prediction: You will find that everywhere the Social-Democrats become formidable the two old parties will combine! The two wings of capitalism on the political field come together just as soon as the interests of the capitalistic class appear to be in danger. Just mark that, and watch and see if it is not true.

What a humane people we are, we boastful Yankees! We organize societies to befriend stray dogs and studiously keep hands off the system that drives sweater victims to slave under the most cruel necessity for worse than dog's wages. A recent bulletin issued by the U. S. Department of Labor, gives the average yearly income per working family supported by two wage earners, as \$827.19, and the average expenditure for the necessities of life for a wage working family having five mouths to fill, as \$768.55. This leaves a balance of less than \$59 a year for extras, that is, about twenty-three cents a week per person! Oh, we sovereign American citizens ought to feel proud of our economic "share."

The people of this country were so well fed during the past year of capitalism that TWENTY MILLION BARRELS OF FLOUR WERE SENT OUT OF THE COUNTRY TO FOREIGN MARKETS! That is, we had enough flour for our own use and twenty million barrels besides. Do you believe that? Have you read in the capitalist dailies of people starving to death in our industrial centers? Don't you think they could have used some of that flour? Recently a fleet of barges left New York harbor and went out into the sea to dump into the briny deep tons and tons of food, as there was an overplus in the market. This was done so as to prevent the overplus from injuring the market prices that would give the merchants their usual profits. And anyone who knows anything about New York knows that it is a city full of slums and half-starved workers. Do you think that such crimes as these will not avenge themselves! Can you read these facts and still think that the capitalist system really serves the people and will endure forever!

A BISHOP'S BEWILDERMENT. BY EUGENE V. DEBS.

THE ADDRESS of Bishop John I. Spalding at Chicago last evening on "Democracy, Socialism and Labor" is reported rather fully in the press dispatches this morning. The good bishop began by laying a strong foundation for a Socialist superstructure, then threw up his job as a builder and adopted the role of a pettifogger, charging the whole account of capitalist misrule and wage-slavery up to "capitalistic greed" and "working-men's improvidence and wastefulness" and ending the performance by going "bodily up in the air."

In the bishop's premises he admitted practically the whole Socialist contention and his only escape from the inevitable conclusion was to jump the track and go in the ditch and this the bishop did to the delight and disgust of his class-divided audience.

Bishop Spalding was true to his theological training and his clerical instincts. He began with the roar of the lion and wound up with the bleating of the lamb. He dared not walk straight to the conclusion of his premises, fix the responsibility of his arraignment, side with the working class against their exploiters and accept the consequences of his obedience to conscience and courage. It is hard, next to impossible, for a man educated in a theological seminary to do that. The clerical mind conciliates, compromises, lulls and soothes into passivity and insensibility.

To take a decided stand would be to jar the flock and wake up the faithful and stamped the fold.

To the man with clerical mind, peace and harmony must prevail at whatever price. The "rich brother" and the "poor brother" must dwell in peace together as the church needs them both, and to keep them both it must praise the rich brother's "charity" and reconcile the poor brother to his lot. The Lord knows what is best for them both and his chosen minister must not interfere with the divine plan of his master.

This works for a time, for a painfully long time, but it will not work forever. Peace at the price of principle is sooner or later fatal to both. They who advise peace to perpetuate injustice, fraud and oppression are guilty of a moral crime.

The honest man issues a clean indictment, points out the criminal, calls him by name and asks him what he has to say in his defense.

In the action brought by Bishop Spalding, the capitalist class is the criminal. Bishop Spalding knows it. His indictment charges it. But as he proceeds, the defendant's bristles begin to stand up, there is fire in his eye and a low growl is heard. That settles it. The good bishop drops his indictment, fidgets with his watch-fob, clears his throat and gravely announces that the defendant is not so guilty after all, that in fact his victim is as much to blame as he is and that the best thing for them both to do is to be good—and then they will be happy.

That is the clerical mode of premise and conclusion that props up the capitalist mode of production and distribution.

Bishop Spalding accuses capitalists, scolds workingmen, then excuses both, sings the doxology and bows in benediction from the stage. That was not the way Jesus Christ performed. He did not excuse the rich robbers, nor did he add to the burdens of their suffering victims and the horrors of their existence the cruel insult that their own "improvidence" and "wastefulness" was the cause of their poverty and wretchedness.

It takes a well-groomed twentieth century follower of the radical and revolutionary Jesus to serve his master by placating the scribes and pharisees he lashed in public with whips of flame.

Compare the following extracts from Bishop Spalding's opening and close:

"More than 70 per cent of the wealth of the United States is owned by 9 per cent of the families, while 29 per cent is all that is left for 91 per cent of the families; and THE TENDENCY OF INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS UNDER THE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM IS TO INCREASE INEQUALITY OF POSSESSION. If the present methods continue a few individuals and trusts will soon control the means of production and distribution, and this is an era in which money is the mightiest form of social influence and dominion. To these few individuals and corporations will belong an authority and power greater than any history makes known, an authority and power which are incompatible with political liberty and popular institutions. Capital dictates even war, in a large measure, the policies of our national, state and municipal legislative bodies. It enables the multi-millionaires and the trusts to make or to evade the laws. It controls the most potent organs of public opinion and is able to give to the interests of industrialism priority over the rights of man."

After this what? Does the bishop point out the incontrovertible fact that this exploitation of the capitalist class is possible only because they are the masters of the means of production and distribution and that these must be wrested from them through conquest of the public powers by the working class? Does he so much as suggest the class struggle, the clashing of which drowns his impotent plea? Has he a single word for the workers, a hint that their interests are identical and that they must unite and conquer at the ballot-box and drive the robbers from power that they may put an end to wage-slavery and exploitation and corruption and crime and poverty and misery and suicide?

Not a word, not one!

Here is the way he ends his wail: "If capital and labor will but learn to act in harmony, no harm will happen to any class."

In other words, if only workingmen will learn to love the class that robs and enslaves them, they will be contented with their lot and proud of their chains forever and forever.

Exit, Bishop Spalding! You are not with us and therefore you are against us.

You are not so vulgar and ignorant as Father Sherman, and the less excuse there is for you.

You know the secret of wage-slavery and its attendant misery and shame, but, unlike your professed master, you dare not tell it. You may join Bishop Potter and Bishop Quigley and Archbishop Ireland and other ecclesiastical special pleaders for Mammon's rule, and if your theology will stand the test of your economics you may reach the gates ajar, but you will never hear the "Well done" of your Master.

It is said that one of Roosevelt's cards for a renomination will be his settling of the coal strike. We know very well how he settled it. He settled it in the interests of the coal barons, and the people this very winter are paying over two dollars more a ton for their coal because of the "way" Roosevelt settled that strike. The vastness of the great coal strike had roused the people wonderfully and set them a-thinking, and they were ready for a move by the government to get possession of the mines in the name of the people, their rightful owners, and to forever end the blood-sucking private ownership grip on the throats of the consumers of coal. But Roosevelt is one of those great men, who are great only as they serve the interests of the robbers of the people, and his offices were used to settle the strike that there should come from it no danger to the property right of the coal barons. There is more coal in the docks and yards in our centers of

population to-day than there was two winters ago, yet the people must pay such high prices as will swell the profits of the mine owners and make up for their losses during the strike. Divine Right Baer said at that time that the public would have to pay for that strike, and he knew what he was talking about. In a labor paper we read these headlines: "Great Victory for the New York Bakers. Court of Appeals declares the Ten Hour Law to be Constitutional." What a victory! This has become the richest country on earth, and we boast of being the most civilized, and yet with all our wealth, with all our civilization ten hours is now hailed by the toilers as a shortened work day! Why eighteen years ago the organized workers of this country were agitating for an eight hour work day. Let our loving capitalist stump speakers explain why the workers get so little of this country's great prosperity that ten hours is now a legal day's work!

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## LOOK OUT FOR THE LABOR SKATE!

A Labor Paper Shows Why Labor Should Go Into Politics IN THE RIGHT WAY!

The question has been raised by a Chicago newspaper which makes great professions of friendliness for the working class, and especially the organized element of that class, as to whether workmen should get into politics.

The idea of trade unionists getting into politics is not new; it is not now brought forward for the first time by Mr. Hearst's newspaper. For many years there have been progressive, able trade unionists who advocated it. But it has always been strenuously opposed by influential labor leaders, who, strange to say, were themselves in politics as far as they could get, and in, too, for individual gain. Such representatives of labor have always been willing to use, so far as they could, the "labor vote" to serve their own personal ends, while at the same time opposing the idea of really progressive and intelligent leaders, that the working class should get into politics, as a working class, and in the political arena, as they do in the economic field, stand together for their class interests.

Now, when the proprietor of a great newspaper, himself an avowed aspirant for a presidential nomination, gives the weight of his influential position to a proposition which has been insisted upon in every local union where progressive men who think have been heard, it is at once taken up with avidity and discussed throughout the length and breadth of the land. So much in recognition of the power of the Hearst newspapers. But the idea does not meet with unanimous acceptance. For the purpose of minimizing the effect of the Hearst mandate, that "unions of workmen should be a political force, as well as an economic force," some labor leaders (probably without instructions from those who clothe them with temporary powers) have undertaken to "instruct" the rest of us in our duty and declare that "trade unionists" and "the trade union press" must not enter politics.

The question The Metal Worker desires to raise, and raise it so high that none shall fail to understand completely, is simply this: It is the right and the duty of every American citizen to get into politics; it is as much the right of the workman to be in politics as of the lawyer, the banker, the railroad manager or the newspaper proprietor. We are opposed to Mr. Hearst's proposition that trade unions should "become a political force." We are equally opposed to the mandate of the Coast Seaman's Journal, that a "trade unionist" who is in favor of political action and getting into politics must be "counted for the destruction of trade unionism." The latter is an able-bodied assumption and reflects no credit whatever upon the labor movement. It is more—it is untrue. As a matter of fact, we all know it is true that most workmen, organized or unorganized, are in politics already to the extent of exercising their right of franchise; and if they were united on a basis of what constitutes their class interests, just as other classes are, instead of being dissimulated, and dividing their strength in utterly useless squabbles over the interests of the other classes, there can be, there is no question but what they would accomplish much easier the things they are trying to do as an economic force. History proves it as to other classes; the future insures it to the working class whenever that class with intelligent understanding and direction, is ready to put it to the test.

The future of the working class depends upon united action (not of the trade organizations, but of the citizens and workers who constitute the organization), for the express purpose of taking possession of government and compelling its administration in the interest of all the people, doing away with the entire brood of special privileges that government has created and that trade unionism, in and of itself, is powerless to destroy. The labor question has been solved. The solution will come eventually through the ballot box or through bullets—and the latter may be no solution at all. It is to the ballot box that all really sane and honest men look. When capitalists want a thing done, the doing of which requires the public sanction, they go into politics, and there get what they want. Capital is in politics; who denies it? Why shouldn't labor be there too? Very much that labor wants requires the public sanction; let labor make itself master in the political field, and it shall obtain, with none to question its right of way, all that is reasonable and necessary for its mastery in the economic field. Labor prays and petitions continually to a political party in office,

and every state and at the national capital, to have things done—and they are left undone. Let labor quit being in the kind of politics where it must forever be on its narrow-bones, begging for the "crumbs that fall from the rich man's table;" let it abandon its absurd dependence upon capitalist politicians for "relief," and, conscious of its own strength, relying upon its own resources and endowed with all the constitutional rights of American citizenship get into politics and do the thing itself that it has vainly implored to have done by men who are in politics for themselves and not for the working class.

All this the working class can accomplish by "getting into politics" and being true to its class interests. It can not be done by supporting the political ambitions of any individual however friendly or capable he may be. It can not be done by supporting capitalist parties. It can be done by a party of the working class—not by any party whose economic interests inevitably array it against the working class. Any man who declares there is no room and no necessity for the organization of the working class as a political force, is either serving capitalist politicians for pay or is densely ignorant of the true mission of the workers—the absolutely certain means by which they must eventually work out their deliverance from the rulership of a non-productive and predatory class.—International Metal Worker.

Mr. Hanna seems to have a far keener insight into the structure of modern society and its workings, than any other capitalist politician in the public eye. Recognizing the power of the working class when politically aroused, he again reaffirms his faith in the "Golden Rule," and its motto, "with admirable nerve he asserts to be the 'Golden Rule.'" It is not unlikely that a collision between the union smashers of the Party policy and the more intelligent advocates of Hanna's confidence game will be one of the events of the near future. It will hardly be carried to a point, however, where the working class will be able to reap any benefit from the squabble.—Eric People.

**DON'T BE A SUCKER—BE A MAN.**  
The Union Label is the only official guarantee of a tobacco being Union Made.

Keep this in mind when you read the advertisements of Trust Factories whose managers want to fool you by asking you to save the wrappers to get gold coin prizes. To say that any tobacco manufacturer can give away gold coin to get your trade honestly is rot. The workman who buys a package of trust tobacco gets a chance to win gold coin by making a fine fool of himself. Let him remember the trust will count the coupons, how, when and where, he don't know. Of course somebody he never heard of gets the prizes, but little things like that don't worry the trust. It has been able to sell an inferior tobacco made by cheap labor at regular prices, which has helped pay trust officers fat salaries and dividends on watered stock. So why should not the trust continue to fish with coupons and gold prizes for bait as long as the suckers bite.

Don't be a sucker. He's the cheapest and the biggest fool fish going. The boys, such as you with a pin on a string. Be a man. Wake Up. Buy no tobacco without the Blue Union Label. When you put that in your pipe and smoke it, you are getting the best in quality, the best in workmanship, the best in price, because that is the guarantee the Union Blue Label carries with it. You are helping yourself; you are helping the union labor cause; you are helping to win the great fight of labor against the trust. Only one company in Milwaukee has the Union Blue Label on all its tobaccos, and that is, The Ledersdorf-Schmitt Co., of No. 308 Broadway. Its leading brands, Old Burley, Eight Brothers, Power and Union Miner, stand for the best there is in smoking tobaccos; made of the highest quality and finest flavored tobacco in a clean factory, by high class and high paid strictly union hands. An independent company with no watered stock, no high salaried officers; a company that is honest with its labor and honest with the public.

Remember the brands: Old Burley, Eight Brothers, Power and Union Miner. They have the Union Blue Label. All brands of other factories that are without it are on the Unfair List of ought to be.

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## What We Social-Democrats Are After.

(Adopted by the Socialist Party in National Convention at Indianapolis, Ind., July 31, 1901.)

The Socialist party, 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 working class, 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 workingmen 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 dominion 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 actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, and 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.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism by constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition to Socialism also depends upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We, therefore, consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such means we advocate:  
1. The collective ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employees, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.

3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be furnished by the government and to be administered under the control of the working class.

4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.

5. The education of all children up to the age of 18 years, and state and municipal aid for books, clothing and food.

6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.

7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public ownership movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

PAUL F. MUELLER, Pres. R. RAASCH, Sec. BERN. MCKANN, Treas.

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When you are buying a FUR HAT, either soft or stiff, to fit, that the Greater Union Label is sewed in it. If a retailer has loose labels in his possession and offers to put one in a hat for you, do not patronize him. He has not any right to have loose labels. Loose labels in retail stores are counterfeits. Do not listen to any explanation as to why the hat has no label. The Greater Union Label is perforated on four sides exactly the same as the postage stamp. Counterfeits are sometimes perforated on three sides and sometimes only two. Keep a sharp lookout for the counterfeit. Unprincipled manufacturers are using them in order to get rid of their scab-made hats. The John A. Hoffman Co., Philadelphia, Pa., is a non-union concern.

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FOR WORNOUTS!!

Chancellor Andrews, the former "Free" Silver Apostle, advocates the killing off of the "Unfit."

WHAT CAPITALISM IS BRINGING US TO.

The Social-Democratic Herald: head with a club, but would employ skilled physicians to "mercifully" kill him in some easy way and then bury his carcass in the Potters field. Chancellor Andrews poses as a Christian and thinks the heathen Chinese will go to hell if not converted, and he wants that \$66,660 of Brother Rockefeller's money, to be used in educating missionaries to be set to China to save the souls of the heathen. But in his alleged suggestion for the killing of the American working people who are worn out and crushed by Rockefeller methods, he has forgotten that the heathen Confucius made it obligatory on all his followers to tenderly provide for the aged and worn out parents and even to maintain hospitals for worn out animals. To some people, heathen Confucius would appear to be a truer Christian than Chancellor Andrews. I have known dogs that manifested more kindness and sympathy for their brother dogs than do some "Captains of Industry" manifest toward their brother man. This latest proposition, that it is an eternal principle that "the strong shall crush the weak and helpless, and that old wrecks of humanity should be mercifully put to death," is something of a surprise to me, and yet I must admit it is not so savage and brutal as is the working of 1,750,000 tender children now enslaved in the shops and factories of the capitalists—tender boys and girls whose health is thoroughly shattered by an average service of four years. Andrews and Rockefeller, and the capitalists who are organizing now in every city in America to stamp out Labor Unionism and Socialism, might consistently amend their proposed law, so as to provide for the chloroforming of these worn out children of the poor as well as the old wrecks.

HAD TO RETIRE.

A. R. Gordon, Socialist Apostate, favored by the Convention of the Craft Organization.

An incident, of which the press dispatches gave no record, occurred at the national convention of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, which was held at Cincinnati in January, and at which shoe workers from all parts of the country were in attendance. E. G. R. Gordon, who has become notorious for his apostasy to Socialism and his virulent advocacy of capitalist class interests, was at the convention as a representative of the "Herald," both noted opponents of Socialism and Trades Unions. One of the first acts of the convention was the passage of a resolution which deprived Gordon of the privileges enjoyed by other press representatives, so that he had to leave the press table, although he is a member of the Shoe Workers' Union. Gordon remained in the city throughout the session, however, and made such false and misleading reports of the convention in his papers that a resolution of censure was passed against him during the closing hours of the convention. At one time, Gordon was one of the most popular members of the shoe workers' organization. In this convention, there was not one member present who attempted to save him from the merited chastisement from the shoe workers. In striking contrast to this treatment of Gordon, was the act of the convention in voting Comrade James F. Overy, who is also a member of the shoe workers' organization, and who was filling a lecture engagement in Cincinnati at the time, the full powers of the convention. Gordon had received in one of his press reports at the number of "red buttocks" in the convention, with the result that there was an unprecedented demand for the Socialist emblem afterwards, and the delegate who did not wear one was the exception. All of this teaches that one need not wear the Socialist emblem to die for it, but that they get their just deserts.

GOLDEN MORNINGS.

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RICHARD ELSNER, LAWYER.

Quotations from Socialistic Literature.

State and law are the creatures of economic conditions. Engels. Science, like material production, is an affair of society. Dietzgen. Ideation is labor and, like all other labor, requires an object for its realization. Dietzgen. The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class. Marx. All that sets men in motion must act upon their minds, but the force which acts upon the brain depends very largely upon circumstances. Engels. The emancipation of mind consists in developing the general out of the particular. Dietzgen. The first gods arose through the personification of the forces of nature. Engels. The social emancipation of the Jew is the emancipation of society from the Jew. Marx. (This citation also applies to the Negro, viz.: The social emancipation of the Negro is the emancipation of society from the Negro.) The will is determined by passion or reflection, but the levers which passion or reflection immediately apply are of very different kinds. Engels. The faculty of thought is a material faculty, a phenomenon of sensation. Dietzgen. Mind is a somatic, sensorial activity with manifold manifestations. It is the sense-product thought, arising at different periods, in the different heads and from different objects. Dietzgen. The standpoint of the old materialists is bourgeois society, the standpoint of the new, human society, or associated humanity. Marx. The more independent and unrestricted the path of science, just so much the more does it find itself in accord with the interests and endeavors of the working class. Engels.

THE VAMPIRISM OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

At the convention of the Wisconsin Consumers' League in Milwaukee last week, the Rev. H. H. Jacobs, of the University Settlement, commenting on the claims made by the woman factory inspector that she had inspected 800 garment making establishments in the space of two months (!) and that sweating conditions in the city were altogether better than in other places, gave one or two cases from his own personal experience. He told of a woman and her little boy who went each day to one of the

SOME QUOTATIONS FROM SOCIALIST CLASSICS.

That which conceals truth is the habit of viewing the material and the mental as heterogeneous, absolutely different, things. Dietzgen. Absolute truth is the cause of intolerance. Conversely, tolerance springs from the consciousness of the limitations of absolute truth. Dietzgen. The attribute of reality belongs only to that which is at the same time necessary. Reality proves itself in the course of its development as necessity. Engels. The bourgeoisie and the proletariat both arose as results of a change in economic conditions, or, strictly speaking, in methods of production. Engels. The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family to a mere money relation. Marx. The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation heretofore honored and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage laborers. Marx. History is the product of all forces active in Man and Nature and of human thought, of human passions, of human wants. Politics is, theoretically, the recognition of these millions and billions of factors busy at the loom of Time, and, practically, action based on this recognition. Liebknecht. The weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself. But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons—the modern working class—the proletarians. Marx. The state is merely a summarized reflected form of the economic desires of the class which controls production. Engels. Religion arose at a very remote period of human development, in the savage state, from certain erroneous and barbaric conceptions of men with regard to themselves and the outside world of nature around them. Engels. Religion once arisen contains material of tradition, hence in all ideological matters religion is a great conservative force. But the changes which take place in this material, spring from class-conditions, that is from the economic circumstances of the men who take these changes in hand. Engels. Political science is the essence of all science, for it embraces the whole field of action of Man and Nature, which action is the goal of all sciences. Nevertheless every ass thinks himself a great politician or even a great statesman—as every ass thinks himself a good newspaper editor. For both purposes, according to common belief, it is unnecessary to have learned anything; one is born for them. Liebknecht. Idealists boast of it that all peoples, civilized and uncivilized, have religion, believe in God. They therefore maintain that religion is innate in man and find therein evidence of its truth. However, the fact is that the inexperienced are credulous and the more credulous the more inexperienced and uncultivated the yare. Dietzgen. You Socialists would introduce community of women, screams the whole bourgeoisie in chorus. The bourgeoisie sees in his wife a mere instrument of production. He hears that the instruments of production are to be exploited in common, and, naturally, can come to no other conclusion than that the lot of being common to all will likewise fall to the women. Nothing is more ridiculous than the virtuous indignation of our bourgeois at the community of women, which, they pretend, is to be openly and officially

WISCONSIN HEADQUARTERS.

Omaha, Feb. 15.—The following contributions have been made to the National Organizing Fund since last report: Coin card 613, collected by Willis Brandon, Clyde, Kans. \$1.50 Coin card 479, collected by N. Baillet, Tullahoma, Tenn. 1.50 Coin card 1251, collected by T. H. Kennedy, Wilmeding, Pa. 1.50 G. M. Finley, Henrietta, Tex. 2.50 Coin card 324, collected by W. B. Lockwood, Chicago Heights, Ills. 1.50 Coin card 1246, collected by Louis Cohen, Homestead, Pa. 1.50 Local Green Bay, Wis. John M. Work 2.17 Coin card 1181, collected by Local Calumet, Okla. 1.50 Coin card 523, collected by Grant Co., Ind. 1.50 Coin card 421, collected by Dr. J. L. Grant, Rock Rapids, Ia. 1.00 Coin card 547, collected by J. B. Chapman, Arkansas City, Kan. 1.50 Coin card 931, collected by Local Kalamazoo, Mich. 1.50 Coin card 1267, collected by Local Mendville, Pa. 1.50 Coin card 398, collected by Louis Paulding, Hamilton, Ia. 1.50 Coin card 1068, collected by Dr. Leonard DeVore, Laurel, Neb. 1.50 Coin card 68, collected by J. S. Finkle, Mammoth Springs, Ark. 1.20 Coin card 1117, collected by Jos. A. Siemer, Corning, Ohio. 1.00 Local Erie, Pa. 1.00 Coin card 1360, collected by Timothy Ivers, Graniteville, Vt. 1.50 Coin card 1052, collected by W. E. Adams, Brock, Neb. 1.30 Coin card 358, collected by Al. Pierson, Jacksonville, Ill. 1.50 J. C. Spence, Green Bay, Wis. 5.00 A. L. New York City. 25 Coin card 938, collected by John W. Wright, Muskegon, Mich. 1.55 Coin card 1395, collected by Local Houston, Texas. 1.50 Coin card 592, collected by Lincoln Neuson, Scott, Kansas. .50 Coin card 133, collected by Local Watsonville, Cal. 1.50 J. D. Pickering, Lake City, Colo. 1.50 Coin card 1401, collected by Local Tyler, Texas. 1.80 Coin card 708, collected by T. B. Spielman, Boston, Mass. 5.00 Local Toledo, Ohio. 5.00 Local San Bernardino, Cal. 1.50 Coin card 189, collected by Local Savtelle, Cal. 1.50 Coin card 1284, collected by Arthur J. Dennis, Allentown, Pa. 1.50 Coin card 652, collected by T. W. Adams, Scammon, Kansas. 1.50 Coin card 1058, collected by C. F. Spray, Crawford, Neb. 1.50 Coin card 428, collected by Local Sioux City, Ia. 1.50 Total to noon, Feb. 13. \$61.11 Previously reported 2,438.99 \$2,700.10

NOTES FROM YANKEE LAND.

The Michigan state convention will be held at Lansing, Feb. 26. The Wentworths carried everything before them in Cincinnati and had packed houses. Our party in Detroit now has permanent headquarters at 32 Farar street upstairs. Comrade Debs has just been making a speaking tour of Texas, and with the usual ovations at every point. Comrade David C. Coates, formerly editor of the Colorado Chronicle, is now editor of the Idaho State Tribune. Carey's Cincinnati meeting was a record breaker. Dodgers announcing it were distributed even at a meeting that was addressed by Parry. The Labor Leader, of Baltimore, was burned out in the big fire and appears in altered form until it can be reestablished. The Charleroi (Pa.) Socialist is a new one that is well edited and sure to do the local movement at that point a good deal of good. John Spargo, editor of The Comrade, New York, speaks at Faneuil Hall, Boston, Feb. 19, on "The Meaning and Message of Socialism." The Ohio Socialist has changed its name to The New Nation. In the current issue Comrade Carl D. Thompson has an article on Economic Determinism. The Socialists of St. Louis will celebrate the anniversary of the Paris Commune, on Saturday, March 12, with James F. Carey of Massachusetts as the principal speaker. The state committee of the Social-Democratic party of New York state has sent a challenge to David M. Parry, president of the National Manufacturers' association, to debate the subject of Socialism. The Leader of Stoughton, Mass., prints companion half-tone pictures showing the Socialist mayor of Brockton, Chas. H. Coulter, sitting at his desk as mayor, and standing at the bench in his work clothes as a plumber. Max Hayes has been nominated by "Big Six" typographical union in New York as one of the delegates to be sent by the International Typographical Union to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor. Speaking of the acquittal of Millionaire Butler, the head boodler of the St. Louis boodle gang, the St. Louis Labor claims that he was let off because he was really the tool of

THE RICH RASCALS OF THE WEST END.

whom he might squeal if sent to prison. The magazine, The World's Work, has turned down the Economic League, which asked for a donation to its anti-Socialist campaign fund. The magazine replied that the literature the league issued was flat as dish-water, while the literature the Socialists put out was full of live interest. The New York Worker speaks of F. G. R. Gordon as the "world renowned figure juggler," and proceeds to analyze some of his mis-statements. A table made up from the recent U. S. census is given showing that there are over 52 per cent of wage workers in the country at the present time and that the contrary is increasing, Gordon to the contrary notwithstanding. A reader signing himself "Catholic Socialist" writes to the Ohio Socialist that when Father Heiter spoke against Socialism in Detroit, he and another Socialist provided themselves with as much Socialist literature as they could afford and passed it out to the people as they came out. Much to their joy there was the greatest readiness to accept it, and they got many encouraging words, even one of the priests saying, "Certainly, the people ought to know both sides of the question."

Capitalistic Honesty.

Pursuant to a late North Dakota law, Prof. E. F. Ladd, chemist of the experiment station of the state, has been analyzing a large number of commercial foodstuffs of various kinds found on sale in the state, and the number found to be illegal because unwholesome fully justifies the enacting of the law. Of 98 brands of preserves, jellies, jams, etc., analyzed, 25 were found to be impure, tintured with poisonous dyes or acids, and often containing no fruit whatever. Of 30 brands of canned corn and sweetshah 12 came under the ban, as they contained deleterious preservatives or sweetening substances. Eight brands of peas and beans out of 26 were found to contain boracic acid or formaldehyde in large amount and sweetened with saccharine, all of which are barred by law because of their deleterious effect upon the human system. Canned tomatoes were found to have been put up to make them appear as ripe. Every sample of tomato catsup analyzed was found to be illegal, being artificially colored with coal tar dye. The illegal vinegars outnumbered the legal. Many lemon extracts were found to be pure and of standard strength, but but little or no lemon, were artificially colored and otherwise illegal. Sixty-six samples of this kind had coloring and other foreign matter prohibited by law. —Ex.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE RECENTLY FOUNDED INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF DIAMOND WORKERS.

has elected as president a prominent Socialist of Amsterdam, Comrade Henri Polak; the treasurer is Jef. Groesser of Antwerp, and the secretary is E. LeCuery, whose address is Passage de l'Union 7, Paris, France. The diamond workers voted to try to obtain the introduction of a working day of 9 hours in all countries. The first report of such efforts comes from Antwerp, where the diamond workers' request that the working day of nine hours be introduced on Jan. 3rd has been unanimously refused by the employed. According to middle class papers there will probably be a strike.

Notice to Camden, N. J., readers.

L. Juster, 17 Hudson st., Camden, N. J., is authorized to take subscriptions for this paper.

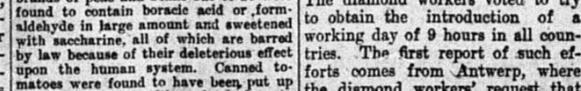
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF BUTTE, MONT.

has nominated its alderman's ticket and candidates for school teachers in municipal convention of Feb. 4. State Secretary Cooney writes: "We hope to land four or five aldermen and we are reasonably sure to carry the school board. Our present alderman, Comrade Ambrose, made a good record." The annual state convention of the Socialists of New Jersey will be held in Newark, at 48 William st., Feb. 21 and 22. The first session will be open at ten A. M., Sunday, Feb. 21. Wm. Malley, Nat'l. Secy.

WISCONSIN.

Carl D. Thompson speaks in Marinette Feb. 21, 22 and 23, in Rhineland Feb. 25, 26 and 27, and in Tomahawk Feb. 28. The Rhineland comrades have engaged the opera house for him. Comrade F. E. Seeds of Covington, Ky., during his flying visit to Wisconsin, organized two new branches, one in Portage and one in Poyntette. This, with the new branch recently organized in Wyocena, makes a pretty good organization for Columbia county. The Women's Branch of Sheboygan arranged a very enjoyable entertainment on Feb. 14, in the form of a coach party, interspersed with addresses by E. H. Thomas and E. W. Dues, the new editor of the Volksblatt. The Women's Branch is much to be congratulated for the excellent work it is doing in Sheboygan. Let the Socialist women of other places go and do likewise. Charters have been granted to branch (Second precinct) of town of Milwaukee and to the reorganized Branches Five and Seven of Sheboygan. James H. Brower, of Egin, Ill., will speak Feb. 19 in Brookfield. Max S. Hayes speaks in National hall Sunday, Feb. 21, in Kenosha Wednesday, Feb. 24, in Thomas hall (Thomas street, near Murray) Thursday, Feb. 25, South Side Armory hall Friday, Feb. 26.

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THIS PAPER FOR TEN WEEKS, TEN CENTS.

stred flights, there remains nothing for them save to be broken to pieces upon this fatal legacy. Engels.

The life of society is essentially practical. All the mysteries which seduce speculative thought into mysticism find their solution in human practice and in concepts of this practice. Marx. We cannot wish anything better than that existing relations be allowed to develop further in their present direction. Then our victory is certain within reasonable time. The worst to happen would be a leap into uncertainty, which, while having the appearance of an advance, would in reality set us still further back; or that some event should put the Social Democracy to an extreme test before its strength were sufficiently developed. Engels. It has been objected, that upon the abolition of private property all work will cease, and universal laziness will overtake us. According to this, bourgeois society ought long ago to have ceased to exist through sheer idleness; for those of its members who work, acquire nothing, and those who acquire anything, do not work. The whole objection results in the tautology that there can be no wage-labor without capital. Marx. Progress of industry, culture and politics is the natural consequence of the endeavor founded in human nature continually to improve our conditions of existence. And more favorable conditions of life mean improved tools, increased productivity of labor. Thus human civilization is the work and product of the tools of labor. Liebknecht. According to the materialistic view of history, the factor which is, in last instance, decisive in history is the production and reproduction of actual life. But when anyone distorts this so as to read that the economic factor is the sole element he converts the statement into a meaningless abstract, absurd phrase. The economic condition is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure—the political forms of the class contest and their results, the constitutions—the legal forms and also all the reflexes of these actual contests in the brains of the participants, the political, legal, philosophical theories, the religious views—all these exert an influence on the development of the historical struggles, and in many instances determine their form. Engels.

NAT'L HEADQUARTERS.—Omaha, Feb. 15.—The following contributions have been made to the National Organizing Fund since last report:

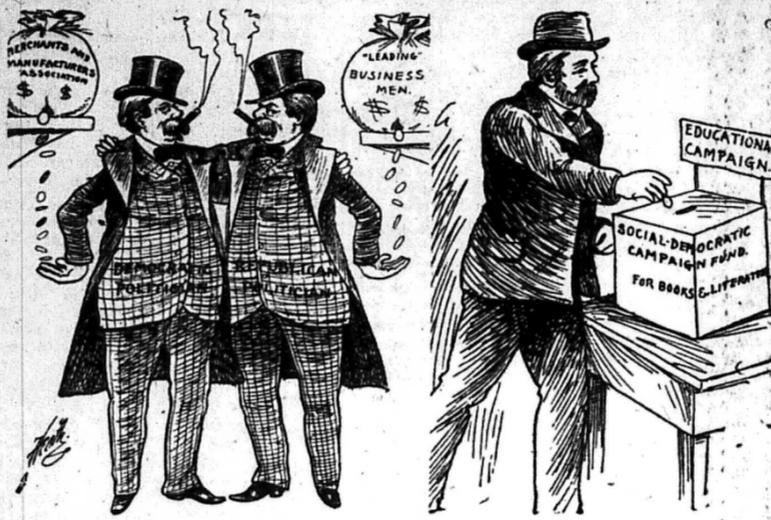
Coin card 613, collected by Willis Brandon, Clyde, Kans. \$1.50 Coin card 479, collected by N. Baillet, Tullahoma, Tenn. 1.50 Coin card 1251, collected by T. H. Kennedy, Wilmeding, Pa. 1.50 G. M. Finley, Henrietta, Tex. 2.50 Coin card 324, collected by W. B. Lockwood, Chicago Heights, Ills. 1.50 Coin card 1246, collected by Louis Cohen, Homestead, Pa. 1.50 Local Green Bay, Wis. John M. Work 2.17 Coin card 1181, collected by Local Calumet, Okla. 1.50 Coin card 523, collected by Grant Co., Ind. 1.50 Coin card 421, collected by Dr. J. L. Grant, Rock Rapids, Ia. 1.00 Coin card 547, collected by J. B. Chapman, Arkansas City, Kan. 1.50 Coin card 931, collected by Local Kalamazoo, Mich. 1.50 Coin card 1267, collected by Local Mendville, Pa. 1.50 Coin card 398, collected by Louis Paulding, Hamilton, Ia. 1.50 Coin card 1068, collected by Dr. Leonard DeVore, Laurel, Neb. 1.50 Coin card 68, collected by J. S. Finkle, Mammoth Springs, Ark. 1.20 Coin card 1117, collected by Jos. A. Siemer, Corning, Ohio. 1.00 Local Erie, Pa. 1.00 Coin card 1360, collected by Timothy Ivers, Graniteville, Vt. 1.50 Coin card 1052, collected by W. E. Adams, Brock, Neb. 1.30 Coin card 358, collected by Al. Pierson, Jacksonville, Ill. 1.50 J. C. Spence, Green Bay, Wis. 5.00 A. L. New York City. 25 Coin card 938, collected by John W. Wright, Muskegon, Mich. 1.55 Coin card 1395, collected by Local Houston, Texas. 1.50 Coin card 592, collected by Lincoln Neuson, Scott, Kansas. .50 Coin card 133, collected by Local Watsonville, Cal. 1.50 J. D. Pickering, Lake City, Colo. 1.50 Coin card 1401, collected by Local Tyler, Texas. 1.80 Coin card 708, collected by T. B. Spielman, Boston, Mass. 5.00 Local Toledo, Ohio. 5.00 Local San Bernardino, Cal. 1.50 Coin card 189, collected by Local Savtelle, Cal. 1.50 Coin card 1284, collected by Arthur J. Dennis, Allentown, Pa. 1.50 Coin card 652, collected by T. W. Adams, Scammon, Kansas. 1.50 Coin card 1058, collected by C. F. Spray, Crawford, Neb. 1.50 Coin card 428, collected by Local Sioux City, Ia. 1.50 Total to noon, Feb. 13. \$61.11 Previously reported 2,438.99 \$2,700.10

Social-Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Co. Board of Directors:—E. H. Thomas, Pres.; Victor L. Berger, Vice-Pres.; Edmund T. Melms, Secretary-Treasurer; Emil Seidel, John Doerfler, Sr., C. P. Dietz, A. J. Welch, Fred. Brockhausen, Sr., Wm. Arnold.

TWO KINDS OF CAMPAIGNS.

How the Capitalist Parties get their Funds: | How the Socialists must get theirs:



A Pair of "Business" Men!

A Real Man!

The Campaign Funds of the Twin Capitalist Parties are secured by Crooks from Crooks. A good part of it gets into the Private Pockets of Grafters. Socialist Campaigns Cost Less, having no Grafters to feed, but the money must come from the wage-workers. Nobody else will pay Socialist Campaign Bills!

A CHANCE TO ASSIST IN A BIG BATTLE!

The Wisconsin campaign committee has sent out the following letter to the Socialist strongholds in the country: "Milwaukee is to be a battleground for Socialism this year. Present appearances indicate that we have driven the two old parties to combine against us. The Merchants and Manufacturers' Association (mostly Republicans) have petitioned David S. Rose, the Democratic grafter mayor, to run as a non-partisan, and he has accepted. Father Sherman has honored us with his presence, as also Father Heiter. Capitalism has announced its intention to "stamp out Socialism in Wisconsin after the set-back given it in Massachusetts."

Wisconsin has never before asked for outside help, and has always assisted others liberally. But this is your fight as well as ours. Capitalism has concentrated its forces here for this campaign, and this is the battle-field of American Socialism just now. This is our time of need, and we appeal with confidence to the comrades of the Socialist party throughout the country. If every local will send us a little contribution, we shall be able to flood Milwaukee with literature that will change the history of Milwaukee and Wisconsin politics. The local situation is one which Socialism has not had an opportunity to face before in this country.

Quick action is needed. Let us know AT ONCE what you will do. Victor L. Berger, National Committeeman and Member of National Quorum. W. R. Gavlord, State Organizer of Wisconsin. E. T. Melms, Member of City Central Committee. F. Brockhausen, Secretary of State Federation of Labor and Member of State Executive Board S. D. P. of Wisconsin. R. Buech, Member of City Central Committee. B. H. Helming, Member of City Central Committee. C. P. Dietz, Member of City Central Committee. E. Seidel, Member of State Executive Board. J. Sheehan, Member of City Central Committee. Jacob Hunger, Treasurer of Campaign Committee and Treasurer of City Central Committee. Send all contributions to W. R. Gavlord, Secretary, 344 Sixth street, Milwaukee, Wis.

HALF HOURS IN THE HERALD SANCTUM.

Editor Social-Democratic Herald: Some weeks have past since my review of the principles and tactics of Illinois Socialists, and they have not seen fit to make a defense. Corporations are always ready to pay any advocate who will prolong their power to get dividends, whether such advocates be press, school, pulpit or leader of men. Illinois Socialists are doing this work, I believe, without pay. It is a case of mistaken zeal without judgment. Yet if press or pulpit should distort well known economic laws while pleading that corporations be let alone; should argue that low rates make low wages and decrease the demand for labor, when the contrary is obvious, we should expect silence as the only answer to our objections. From honest Socialists we expect a reply based on sound principles. That the national party supports the position I took, is proved by the plank which demands that for the industries taken by the state or municipality, the people shall have lower rates and the workers shall have more wages and that none of the revenue shall be used so as to reduce taxation of the rich. That common ownership of capital, the fundamental principle of Socialism, should be urged and encouraged, at all times and occasions, has been the general policy of Socialists from the first. Illinois Socialists stand nearly alone in opposing it. To them political economy is a mass of vague speculations. According to one, capital is a "relation" between classes; another says no one but himself has given a good definition of Socialism, not even Karl Marx; and the definition given bears not the slightest resemblance to Socialism. Such is the element that is keeping the Social-Democrats out of the party in Illinois. Why should they remain in a party which opposes the tactics they deem important? The proposition that municipal ownership is "only a phase of capitalism" is probably derived from the writings of Frederick Engels, but even there it has poor support. Engels says: "The official representative of capitalist society—the state—will undoubtedly have to undertake the direction of production. This necessity for conversion into state property is felt first in the great institutions for intercourse and communication—the post office, the telegraph, the railways." He advocated this change as a part of the Socialist program even while he thought that in this way: "The capitalist relation is, not done away with. It is rather brought to a head; but, brought to a head, it topples over. State ownership of the productive forces is not the solution, but concealed within it are the technical conditions that form the elements of that solution." "The proletariat seizes political power and turns the means of production into state property. But in doing this it abolishes itself as proletariat, abolishes all class distinctions, abolishes also the state, as state." He sees the full scope of ownership. Ownership gives the power to reap all the benefits of possession and use. There are but two kinds, public and private

ownership. There are no possible gradations or degrees, or blendings of these two kinds. Property is wholly private or wholly public as regards ownership. Public property remains such after changes of party or of policy, therefore Socialists should advocate all acquisitions of public capital, for when they come into power much of that work will already be done. They have then only to administer the capital, without profit, to realize their object. But under a monarchy state ownership is a much shorter step toward Socialism than in a republic. The king becomes the capitalist, can claim the profits which he can use in wars or give to favorites, and this indeed is but a "phase of capitalism." In a republic there is no official corresponding to the monarch. There is dishonest appropriation of public money, but it is theft, known as such. Such theft is at most profits; and when the people demand honesty they will get it; else society should be declared a failure. The question at issue is: Shall present society take over capital as common property wherever possible? Rockefeller replaces his entire capital, water and all with his profits, every two years or less; shall the state take the oil business, and give us oil at cost, or shall this change wait until the village of Bird Center is ready to confiscate the sawmill which furnishes its supply of lumber? The Illinois party indorses the second proposition, the Social-Democrats the first. The latter think that democracy is good even while the people are too stupid to reap the full benefit; that the people have the same right, under freedom, to choose a part of the benefits of democracy that they have to choose the whole. The Illinois party think no one but themselves can be trusted to administer common property, therefore the people should wait until they are put in power before any application of their principle is made. Choose which you will serve. Vote the party ticket in order to show strength, but when there is a non-partisan proposition for municipal ownership, vote for that too. The men working in the street car business can be doubled in number, with better pay, under municipal ownership, thus reducing the number of unemployed. Is it sensible to oppose this? Shall thirty thousand families in Chicago have better means of living, or wait in misery for a Socialist majority? Will a little prosperity make them conservative? They will at least not vote for a return to private ownership. Their vote will be for common ownership of other utilities. Socialists may take part in the movement towards collectivism, if they choose instead of trying to keep in advance of the people and the less imaginative portion of their party. "Revolutionary" agitation is dramatic, spectacular and unnecessary. A railroad may be bought by a new set of capitalists, but those operating the road are undisturbed. When the state is the buyer those doing the work of railroad might be likewise oblivious to the change, until the improved conditions and pay enjoyed by other state

employees were extended to them, for it would be impossible for any set of corrupt officials to absorb the billions of dollars now applied to pay dividends, interest, etc. Those now in the postal service receive wages that seem munificent to the majority of railroad workers who receive but \$30 to \$40 per month. Gradually the benefits of freedom from profit-robbers will be realized, and this will, in my opinion, be better than waiting for a revolution. Nemo. Dear Herald: I have taken the pleasure of trying to get you twenty-five annual subscriptions at 50 cents per year. You will please send the dishes. I am well pleased with your paper, and know you are doing a lot of good for the working people. These men that I send you are all union men. Will say that they would like to know if you will transfer this coming election. They are getting educated. I think that they have all they want of the full dinner pail and the more men you can get to take your paper, the more votes we will get. I have only half tried and have got twenty-eight members, and all molders out of one shop. There are some of the members that would like to know if you will transfer your paper to some other town if they should leave here. Now I hope that you will be prompt in sending that paper to the men. I will send you a money order for \$14 and a list of the names of members. I have sent one of your papers to Cripple Creek, Col., to a friend of mine. He is a miner. I will close for this time. William Kostermann. Racine, Wis., Feb. 16. Answers to Correspondents. C. Idaho—It looks as if the approach of the national campaign was too much for the Detroit Times and its Socialist editorials. At all events the Socialist editorials have ceased to appear and the paper will undoubtedly be found whooping it up for the plutocratic candidates in the national election next fall. G. W. Casper, Neneah, Wis.—The information you sent us recently as to a certain leading capitalist politician has been put in a safe place for use when the time comes. Much obliged for the information. J. V. Kolachny, Hennessey, O.—The title of the book you refer to is "Socialism, Its Economic Aspects," by William Polkand, S. J., published by B. Herder, 17 South Broadway, St. Louis, in 1902. It costs, we believe, 10 cents.

What International Socialism Demands:

- 1. Collective ownership of public utilities and all industries in the hands of Trusts and Combes. 2. Democratic management of such collective industry. 3. Reduction of the hours of labor and progressively increased Remuneration. 4. State and National Insurance for the workers and honorable rest for old age. 5. The inauguration of public industries to safeguard the workers against lack of employment. 6. Education of ALL children up to the age of 18 years. No child labor. 7. Equal political and civil rights for men and women.

The Passing of one of the "Fittest."

and chess, know that different people have different abilities as players of those games. Some are more apt. Others, play they ever so studiously, never excel. It is much the same with the game of life under the capitalist system. Some are able to play the game well—a diminishing number, it is true—while many, many others cannot succeed at it at all, and are lucky to keep their nose above the surface of the stream. On the other hand, there are some who play the better the fiercer the game becomes. In the Civil War, for instance, there were men who were failures in trade who in war-craft rapidly won promotion.

A man peculiarly belonging to the successful business class was the late Senator Marcus A. Hanna. He held a conspicuous place in the predatory class in our modern society by virtue of his peculiar business talents. He believed in the present system because he found it easy to succeed under it, and probably felt convinced that if he could play the game well, others could also, and that if they did not it was entirely their own fault. He believed that those who were unsuccessful were shiftless and improvident, lacked ambition, and were inattentive to the game; refusing to see that modern crime itself was largely due to just the fact that people were making desperate efforts to be successful. He felt a class partisanship for the successful, and truly believed that the rich were the only worthy ones under the present conditions, and that therefore they should rule the nation. He had his share of the pretense, trickery and hypocrisy of modern capitalist politics, no doubt, but back of it was a conviction that this country by rights belonged to the "successful."

Being thus on guard for plutocracy, it was he of all the capitalist politicians who truly sensed the danger to the interests of his class from the spread of Socialism. Whatever his pretensions might have been, he was not a social scientist. What facts of social science he grasped at all were those that squared with his capitalistic beliefs. While he sensed the danger of Socialism, he did not understand it fully, that is if his own words on the subject are any guide. In all probability, if he did attempt to read a work on Socialism, by a Socialist, through, from cover to cover, he was not able to read it as a man of humbler fortune and interests would. He was too interested a capitalist, too much steeped in the ideals of capitalism to be able to come to the book with an open mind.

But one thing he clearly saw, and that was that Socialism was coming, unless vigorously opposed. Other leaders knew that there was such a thing as Socialism in the land and did not propose to "dignify" it by noticing it. Hanna did not believe in postponing the fight until the enemy got too formidable. He believed it was a wild heresy like free silver, that could be lanced to death. And even the result of his warfare upon it in Massachusetts, with the result that its vote increased, did not open his eyes to its inevitableness as a child of the capitalist system. Social evolution was not a part of his philosophy.

He was a capitalistic optimist. "I have no fear for the future," he said, in a recent interview, "Our normal condition is one of good times, and the present depression will soon pass away. We always move slowly during the year of the presidential elections. As to the country, we have the same muscle and brains that have succeeded in the past, and we are as good as ever."

That is, he felt that as long as there were the same abundance of muscles of men and women and children to provide profits for the "brains," the sheering of workers could go on forever, and average up a normal condition of "good times." Apparently, the idea of the wider and wider growing gulf between the classes as a result of this fleecing process and the idea that the system must sooner or later eat up the workers and bring destruction on all, did not enter his head, or at least did not trouble his conscience.

So having sensed the danger of Socialism, Hanna, as a practical politician, set about heading it off. His alliance with Mr. Gompers in the Civic Federation, was such as would occur to a master politician of his rank. He had good judgment with regard to a certain type of men, and knew that his own brutal record as an exploiter of labor would be no bar in such negotiations. Nor was it. In a recent magazine article he said that the Civic Federation had been so successful (serviceable) that he desired to "consecrate the remaining years of his life to it."

He had only the average capitalistic honesty; the ends justified the means in the matter of deception. Else how could he make such a statement as this, for instance: "It must be considered that heretofore big capitalists, or the employing interests, have had the advantage, because there were more workmen than there was work. But conditions have changed, and for every workman, on an average, there are two jobs now in the hey-day of our prosperity; and it is expecting too much of human nature to suppose that workmen shall not desire a larger share of the profits." This sentence contains about as much falsehood on the subject it refers to, as it will contain. It is hard to believe that Mr. Hanna could make such a statement innocently. If there is anything that the employing interests benefit from, in these days of displacement of labor by capitalistic consolidations and economies and by labor-saving machinery, it is the resulting "reserve army of labor," that is, the vast number of displaced men whose existence is used as a club to keep the rate of wages down, in spite of the larger expense demands on the worker, by reason of the rising standard of living. Mr. Hanna must certainly have known that the government statistics proved that there are more men than jobs right along.

But the passing of Mr. Hanna will be of rather doubtful benefit to the cause of Labor and Socialism. His methods of attack only spurred our comrades on to greater efforts in spreading the truths of Socialism, and as for trade unionism, he was certainly a gentler foe than a "rough-rider" of the Parry type.

The Painters' union, No. 159, Milwaukee, has ordered The Herald sent to one hundred members for ten weeks at the union's expense. All over the country this same attitude by trade unionism toward the political emancipation of the working class is being manifested, but we take pride in the fact that is trade unionism in Milwaukee that started the ball a-rolling. Organized labor is opening its eyes to the fact that it must not only fight for present advantages in wages and hours of labor, but that it must also work toward the time when wage slavery

itself can be abolished and the worker get the full value of his industry. Then, and not till then, will the worker be the rich man in the community, and the non-worker the poor man! The rich man will vastly benefit from Socialism. He thinks he is secure under the present form of society, but he is terribly mistaken. From the slums may issue a terrible scourge that will carry his own dear ones down to early graves. And in many different ways the wrong in our social system revenges itself upon him.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD—BUSINESS DEPARTMENT

Address all communications, money orders, etc., to the MILWAUKEE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PUBLISHING CO. 344 Sixth Street, Milwaukee, Wis. Telephone Main 2394. H. W. BISTORIUS, Business Manager. TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. In clubs of three, six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If without being subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and will follow. Foreign subscriptions, \$1.00. BUNDLE RATES. 100 copies, more or less, per copy. 200 copies or more, per 100 (divided outside Milwaukee). 200 copies or more, per 100 (in Milwaukee—only if called for). Weekly Bundles. Five copies, 3 months, to one address. Ten copies, 3 months, to one address. Five copies, one year, to one address. Ten copies, one year, to one address. Twenty-five copies, one year, to one address. Fifty copies, one year, to one address. Advertising rates furnished on application. We reserve the right to terminate any advertising contract without notice.

Hanna's Death and the Wisconsin Fight

Through the death of Mark Hanna, chairman of the Republican National Committee, a peculiar turn has been given to the contemporary fight on Socialism in Wisconsin. Hanna initiated the idea of annihilating Socialism in its stronghold—of throttling it where it was the strongest before it could become strong all over the country, now it is to Hanna's shoes steps the vice president of the national committee, Postmaster General Henry C. Payne, one of the most conspicuous political scamps and corruptionists this country ever produced. PAYNE HAILS FROM MILWAUKEE. This means that Hanna's plan will be carried out with even more malignity than even Hanna proposed, and that Payne's former experience as a political monkey-wrangler in Wisconsin will give him a call on resources in the fight that would not otherwise have been used against us. It therefore behooves us to take extra precautions. We must be found READY when the enemy grapples with us.

In order to strengthen our lines we have inaugurated the Wisconsin Fund, by which it is proposed to send converting literature to a select list of 5,000 names and addresses of people who only need a little more light to be on our side in the coming fight. As fast as the fund grows this paper will be sent to the names, each one being a ten weeks subscriber.

As you will notice, the fund has already passed the \$50.00 mark. Now hurry on, comrades, to the \$500 mark, which will complete the fund. Already we have picked out 500 names and addresses from the list of people in Racine, Kenosha, Janesville, Sheboygan (the city in which the Socialists carried the last election, but are now affronted by a fake Socialist bunch of office-hungry heebers, trying to make personal capital out of our strength), Green Bay, Neenah, Madison, Manitowish and Appleton (the great paper mill city). These names have been given to the local secretaries also, so that the local organization can build with as many as are converted. Comrade, wear a name!

Table listing names and amounts contributed to the fund, including T. S. Plunkett, A. J. Schmitt, C. V. Welch, etc.

The Machinists' lodge at Yenkens, N. Y., has sent us a circular to lodge all over the country, asking their sanction for a referendum as to whether James O'Connell, the president of the organization, J. J. Creamer, George H. Warner, A. E. Ireland and John Hammerstrom should be deposed as delegates to the A. F. of L. by the executive board and the retirement of O'Connell as president of the order, as a penalty for their action in voting directly contrary to the expressed will of the organization on various matters coming up before the Boston convention, said will having been expressed in a referendum vote taken for the purpose.

OUR UNION LABEL THE ONLY ONE TO BE RECOGNIZED ON SHIRTS, WAISTS, COLLARS & CUFFS. LEARN TO ASK FOR IT, and also See that your laundryman has it!

Is Worth Your While To Try. Seeking for a long time for something with which to reward our faithful workers we have decided to offer Hillquit's "History of Socialism in the United States" to all those who send us ten yearly subscriptions at 50 cents each, all to be turned in at one time, the book to be forwarded by return mail. Here's a book, just from the press, selling at \$1.50 per copy and worth every cent of it, that is simply indispensable for every Socialist who cares to know how the Socialist Movement took root in America and grew to its present proportions.

Teeth Extracted ABSOLUTELY Without Pain or Danger, 25c. New Teeth, best and fastest made. \$1.00. Fit guaranteed or money refunded. Standard Crowns and Bridges \$5.00. Teeth. Fine Fillings a leading specialty. We guarantee complete satisfaction, give honest, intelligent advice and deceive nobody. DR. YOUNG, 418-115 E. Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Hours—8:30 to 6; Sunday, 9 to 12. PHONE 8313 BLACK. COMRADES, YOUR PATRONAGE IS RESPECTFULLY SOLICITED.

GOOD COAL Perfectly Screened. Burns to a White Ash. You get satisfactory results by trying the FETTE & MEYER COAL CO. J. H. STOUTMAN, Prop. 35 ONEIDA STREET, MILWAUKEE, WIS. Phone Main 98.

St. Charles Hotel, CITY HALL SQUARE, MILWAUKEE. A Modern First-Class Hotel. With Rates in each of our Rooms 75c and up per day. Rooms and Board \$2.00 and up per day. Out of town Comrades patronage respectfully solicited. WANTED That You Help Us by Patronizing the First Union Hotel ALVIN FLEISCHER 322 FIFTH STREET, MILWAUKEE, WIS.

### Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee

HEADQUARTERS: 318 State Street, SECOND FLOOR.

The Regular Meetings of the Council are held first and third Wednesdays, at 8 o'clock, at 298 Fourth Street, Second Floor.

**OFFICERS:**  
 JOHN REICHERT, 318 State St., Cor. Secretary  
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 GUSTAV ESCHER, 515 New St., Treasurer  
 WILHELM KRIEGER, 517 Seventh St., Sergeant at Arms  
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 Business Agent, FRANK J. WESER, 318 State Street.

**MEMBERSHIP:** Ed. J. Berner, Secy., 1315 Kneeland Ave., James Sheehan, Wm. Broderick, Emil Broderick, Jos. Hendrickson, J. E. Kagi, Meets first and third Wednesdays, at 8 o'clock, at 298 Fourth St.

**SECTION MEETINGS:** First and third Mondays, at headquarters, Label Section, at 318 State St., Building Trade Section, at 298 Fourth St., at headquarters, Miscellaneous Trade Section, at 298 Fourth St., at headquarters.

**COMMITTEES:** F. E. Neuman, Chairman, 318 State St., A. J. Welch, Phil. Edert, Aug. Dittmer, LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE: WILHELM KRIEGER, Chairman, 517 Seventh St., GRIEVANCE COMMITTEE: Jas. Sheehan, Chairman, 318 State St., J. E. Kagi, A. Hammer Wm. Dietrich, P. A. Nelson.

### ALWAYS DEMAND THE UNION LABEL!

**Federated Trades Council.**

Regular Meeting, Wednesday evening, Feb. 17.—Delegate Arnold in the chair. Bro. Fred. Brockhausen, Sr., vice chairman. Bro. William Haywood of Gloversville, N. Y., granted floor to tell of strike of glove makers. New delegates seated from Waiters, Clothing Cutters, Coopers No. 84, Tanners, Painters No. 159, Janitors (new), Feeders and Job Pressmen, Machinists No. 234, and Railway Clerks (new). The Committee on Organization reported that an extended investigation was necessary before it could report intelligently on the tobacco worker trouble. The national president's presence in city was still awaited. For the committee to attend convention of Consumers' League, Bro. Brockhausen reported as to matters that came up at the meeting and explained the purposes of the league. He also reported for the special committee to call on Saloonkeeper Jacobs, saying that progress appeared to have been made.

### Barber Shops

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Imported Cigars  
**F. DRESSEN,**  
 678 Seventh Ave.,  
 Between 1st and 2nd Sts.

**E. GAUER,**  
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 Between 1st and 2nd Sts.

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 Between 1st and 2nd Sts.

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 Between 1st and 2nd Sts.

**W. PETER,**  
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 1832 Vliet Street.

**W. Schuetz,**  
 1832 Vliet Street.

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Wisconsin State Federation of Labor Unfair List.

The Bangor Brewing Co., Bangor, Wis.  
 The F. P. Adams Tobacco Co., Milwaukee, Wis.  
 The West Bend Brewing and Malting Co., West Bend, Wis.  
 The Kreger Saddlery Co., Green Bay.  
 The Kohler & Sons, Sheboygan, Wis., manufacturers of bath tubs and plumber supplies.  
 Kunz & Blosser Brewing Co. of Manitowish, Wis.  
 Pamperin & Wigenhorn, better known as the P. & W. Clear Co. of La Crosse, Wis., Manufacturers of Cigars and The Atlas Brand Co. of Milwaukee.  
 The Black & Germer Co., Manufacturers of the Radiant Home Stoves.  
 The Janesville Clothing Co., Janesville, Wis.  
 Chas. Polachek Bros. Co., 52-154 3rd St., Milwaukee, Wis., Manufacturers of chandeliers, gas and electrical fixtures.  
 The Cargill Coal Co., of Green Bay.

To Organized Labor and the General Public:

The Executive Boards of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor and the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee, in joint session, having under consideration the request to call upon some one to accept the nomination as candidate for justice of the Supreme Court, desire to make the following statement:

### WISCONSIN STATE BOARD S. D. P.

The State Executive Board met Feb. 7 with all resident members present except H. Tuttle, excused on account of illness. Charters were granted to the second precinct of the town of Milwaukee on condition of the approval of the City Central Committee, and to the reorganized Fifth and Seventh Wards of Sheboygan. Bills were allowed as follows: \$20.92 to secretary for postage, \$1.95 for telegrams, letter file etc., \$1.90 for mailing tubes, \$7.60 to F. Brockhausen for expenses and time to Sheboygan trip. Heavy Luther of Sheboygan was appointed by the board as non-resident member to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of R. Sattiel. The secretary's financial report for January was as follows:

Dues Received:	\$1.80
18 of Milwaukee.....	10.00
1 of Neenah.....	1.50
1 of West Allis.....	4.80
1 of Racine.....	7.20
8 of Milwaukee.....	5.70
7 of Milwaukee.....	3.30
15 of Milwaukee.....	3.90
1 of Pacific.....	2.00
1 of Marshfield.....	3.00
3 of Milwaukee.....	2.70
1 of Marinette.....	1.25
11 of Milwaukee.....	7.25
9 of Milwaukee.....	13.85
14 of Milwaukee (Polish).....	1.50
1 of Madison.....	3.00
2 of Racine.....	3.00
1 of De Pere.....	1.50
4 of Two Rivers.....	1.80
1 of Town of Milwaukee.....	1.50
1 of Brodhead.....	4.50
1, 4, 5 of Manitowish.....	6.60
10 of Milwaukee.....	6.00
1 of New London.....	1.50
2 of Milwaukee.....	7.50
3 of Sheboygan.....	1.80
1 of Waukesha.....	1.80
Janesville.....	3.30
6 of Sheboygan.....	3.00
20 of Milwaukee.....	8.40
22 of Milwaukee.....	14.40
4 of Milwaukee.....	4.50
18 of Milwaukee.....	6.20
12 of Milwaukee.....	7.20
19 of Milwaukee.....	8.10
1 of Marinette.....	2.20
4 of Manitowish.....	2.00
1 of Jefferson.....	2.40
17 of Milwaukee.....	13.80
1 of Kiel.....	3.30
H. Souneemann, member at large.....	8201.75

Agitation Fund:  
 H. Escher.....\$1.00  
 E. Seidel.....3.80  
 Boston, N. S., N. Y.....2.50  
 P. Kuenze, N. Y.....1.00  
 W. Kunz, Colby, Wis......50  
 N. Peterson.....10.00  
 C. Rieher.....1.00  
 H. J. Green.....3.00  
 22.80

Campaign Fund:  
 G. S., Saukville......20  
 J. Delaney.....1.00  
 1.20

For services of J. W. Ray at Freie Gemeinde meeting.....3.00  
 Monthly pledges:  
 Mechelke Bros.....4.00  
 Pledges collected by J. C. Kramer less commission 4.97  
 8.97

Leaflets.....4.05  
 Total receipts.....241.77  
 P. J. Reicher, Treasurer.....241.05  
 Balance on hand Feb. 1.....72  
 E. H. Thomas, State Secy.

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Tel. Blue 8892. **SCHLITZ BEER.**

**GUSTAV FRIEDRICH,**  
 ...SALOON...  
 440 National Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis.  
 Comrades give me a call.

**Geo. Schlegler,**  
 The Popular West Side Men's Furnisher,  
 JOANER 13th & Vliet Streets,  
 Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

### GOODRICH LINE STEAMERS

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### WISCONSIN STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR DEPARTMENT.

While we are unalterably opposed to the election of any more such judges as now compose the Supreme Court, who are the servants of the employing class (whether large or small), we can not usurp the functions of a political party by calling upon any individual to take the nomination who alleges to represent the working class.

It is a notorious fact that the employing class has fortified itself behind a subservient Supreme Court, which has in cases of damage suits by employees for personal injuries sustained at work, in nearly every instance protected the employers under the flimsy pretext of "contributory negligence." In 1902 only one case for the plaintiff was allowed to stand. The Supreme Court has assumed more power than is possessed by the legislature or the state executive. In fact, this court is in a position to undo all legislation, reverse all decisions of lower courts, just or otherwise, and apply any rule handed down from ancient times.

It must be borne in mind that labor organizations exist not to endorse politicians, nor to conduct campaigns for or assist ostensible "friends" of labor, but to better the conditions of our class through our own people and by our own efforts. This can not be accomplished at the present time by the method proposed. Just now our efforts must be confined to education and agitation, to the end that, by proper exposures of unjust court decisions, a strong sentiment and public opinion may be built up favorable to a more liberal construction of existing laws.

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Business agent given power to take a committee with him to settle trouble at Milwaukee Suspender Co. The board decided to recommend that the Legislative committee appear before the County Board committee on house of correction matter. Board recommended that council rent North Side Turn Hall for a meeting to be addressed by Max Hayes of Cleveland, Monday evening, Feb. 22. Report concurred in. Business Agent Weber reported on trade conditions and gave specific instances of the growing determination of the capitalists to use the courts to strip unionism of its natural weapons. He announced the formation in the city of a Janitors' union. Report approved.

The Grievance committee announced a permanent organization of that and the organization committee. The trouble between the Plumbers and Steamfitters had been gone into, but was not yet cleared up.

The plan for a meeting for Max Hayes at North Side Turn hall was approved and the chair appointed Bros. L. Hunger, J. E. Kagi and James Sheehan as a committee to make preparations. The Label Section reported calling attention to the new scheme of Fakir R. A. Pratt, which is known as the Woman's Label League. On the trouble in the tobacco union, the committee reported that while the matter was being settled union men should stick to blue label tobacco. On motion delegates were requested to attend the Hayes meeting. The sum of \$5 was appropriated for literature.

Receipts for evening \$69.98; disbursements \$80.75.

Frederic Heath, Rec. Secy.

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**Suggestions for Workers.**

By Carl D. Thompson.

I wrote a few matters last week that I thought would be at least suggestive. This week I am going to urge a matter that all will agree is of considerable importance. It is this,—that every Socialist shall make it a settled purpose to attend every meeting of Socialists that it is possible for him to attend. Sometimes I hear comrades saying that there is no particular need of their going to this or that lecture or meeting because they are all right anyway. It may or may not be true that a certain Socialist knows so much about Socialism that he needs no further instructions, or that the particular speaker may not be able to impart any further information; but even if it be true, there is another reason of great importance why they should go. The meeting needs the strength of numbers, and every one counts. Numbers speak with eloquence,—and the eloquence of your presence,—fill one more empty chair. And besides, the meetings need the influence of the presence of all sympathizers, it needs the strength of your approval, your enthusiasm. In short in a hundred ways your presence at the meetings is a real service to the cause. Fill up the empty chairs, until there is "standing room only," and then give the ladies the seats.

There are a few notes of my work in Wisconsin:

At Sheboygan:—The weather was bitter cold, but we had three very good meetings. The last one was held in the large Concordia Hall and was well attended. The comrades seem to be doing all they can to organize and build up the work.

At Manitowish:—The comrades seem to have been especially active. It was just about a year ago that I spoke there and I notice a very decided growth both in numbers and interest. The hall was well filled, the papers gave good notices of the meetings before and very fair reports of the lecture afterwards. Some sixteen comrades came down from Two Rivers.

Appleton:—I think I shall never forget Comrade Smart of this place. Last year when I was here, this noble fellow who cannot walk and cannot even sit up straight worked persistently for the cause in ways that would put to shame many an able bodied man. He is still at it. Others gather around and arrangements are being made for a renewed campaign there.

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SOCIALISM OR CAPITALISM. WHICH?

Milwaukee is to witness the first great battle between Capitalism and Socialism this Spring. Not only have the "leading citizens" requested their fellow-grafter David S. Rose to run for mayor...

WE ARE DRIVING THEM TO COVER! We would rather be beaten by a combination of the grafters than win in a three-cornered fight. But the beauty of the situation is that in these same wards we shall have a fighting chance of winning a majority of class-conscious votes...

But this means a heavy campaign, condensed into a few weeks, with special literature. To meet the expense we are endeavoring to secure aid from the comrades throughout the country...

A circular will be sent in a few days to our comrades and friends in the city, with Coin Mailers enclosed. We must have an immediate response from these, because we are beginning now on the heavy expense of the campaign.

The Punch Cards enclosed with the Coin Mailers are for the comrades to use during the days following, and report the amounts gathered later to the Campaign Committee.

Send in your own contribution AT ONCE, comrade, use the Punch Card on your neighbors and shopmates.

If every comrade will DO SOMETHING, at once, the Campaign Committee will be free to hammer the capitalistic grafters to your complete satisfaction.

Do a little, and do it quick.

Yours for Socialism, W. R. Gaylord, Secy. City Campaign Committee.

Carnival Tickets list with names and prices.

Continuation of Carnival Tickets list.

Large list of names and prices, likely for a fund-raising event.

\$1,224.25

It is a Speaking Campaign.

Comrade Hayes is our principal speaker this week. He is well known, especially in union circles, and we are counting upon his getting a good hearing in Milwaukee.

On Sunday afternoon he is to speak at National Hall, furnishing one of the regular courses of lectures there.

On Monday evening he is to speak, with Comrades Frank Weber and Victor L. Berger, under the auspices of the Federated Trades Council, at North Side Turn Hall.

On Tuesday evening he is to address a mass meeting of the Machinists at National Hall, corner Grove street and National avenue.

Wednesday evening will find him at Kenosha, helping the comrades there in their campaign against the enemy.

On Thursday evening Comrade Hayes is to speak in the 18th ward, at Thomas Hall, on Thomas street near Murray street.

The big meeting of the week is to be on Friday evening, at the South Side Armory, when Comrade Hayes will speak in English and Comrade J. A. Barkowski in Polish.

Saturday evening will be the date of the Convention, and we shall have Comrade Hayes there also.

On Sunday, Feb. 28th, he is to be the guest of the Typographical union of Milwaukee, and will address them in a meeting to be held at Lipp's Hall, corner Prairie and Third streets.

The above is a fair list for the last week in February, but it is not all. Comrades Gaylord and Kleist are to speak in the 11th ward on Tuesday evening, in the hall at the corner of 14th ave. and Pearl street.

On Wednesday evening Comrade Gaylord is to speak again at Eckelmann's Hall in the 19th ward, at 3109 Lisbon ave.

On Saturday evening Comrade Frederick G. Strickland is to be the guest of the 18th Ward Young Men's Club, and will undoubtedly help the "brethren" to understand why the Social-Democrats cannot unite on a ticket put up for the purpose of having "good men" in the field.

Altogether it looks like a pretty busy week from this end of it. But it is nothing to what we shall be having later on!

Later: The printers of Typographical Union No. 23 arranged to postpone their regular meeting on Sunday to a week later in order to give a reception to Max Hayes. Unfortunately, however, Comrade Hayes will not be able to remain in the city over the next Sunday, so that the plan will have to fall through.

Big Max Hayes meeting next Friday night at Kosciuszko (South Side) Armory.

The Eighteenth ward branch, Milwaukee, mourns the loss of one of its best members in Walter Bonn, who died last week. He was a canter member of the branch and an enthusiastic worker.

The Twentieth ward branch will give a mask ball at Wisconsin hall, Twelfth and Lee streets, Saturday eve., Feb. 27.

You cannot afford to miss the big Max Hayes mass meeting at the North Side Turn Hall, Monday night!

The Socialist Maennerchor, Milwaukee, will give an entertainment at Bohemian Turn hall, Twelfth and Wine streets, Sunday, March 27. Admission ten cents.

NEVER WAS THERE SUCH A TIME!

Milwaukee Capitalist Politicians at their Wits' Ends.—The Rose Petition and the Abuse of the Employing Power.—The Gray Wolves.

Never was there such a situation politically as in Milwaukee just now! With a grand jury at work the capitalist parties are actually at their wits' ends to know what to do. If they renominate any of the present aldermen or supervisors there is no knowing but that they may be indicted between now and election day, and an indicted candidate spoils the looks of the old party pretensions to honesty.

More and more we are getting clear on the petitions that were circulated in Milwaukee, ostensibly among business men, asking Dave Rose to again run for mayor. The first the public heard of it, it was claimed that a list was being passed round among down town business men and that a surprising number of them signed it. But the facts are, that, as is always the way with the capitalist politicians, the great effort was to get workmen to sign. Rose is certain of a certain class of business men, but the votes of business men never win elections.

It is the great preponderating mass of wage workers who have the say of who shall triumph at the ballot box, and so the Rose managers sent their lists into every factory and industrial plant in the city. At the Milwaukee car shops, for instance, one of the

Max S. Hayes

Editor Cleveland Citizen and Prominent Trades Unionist.

WILL SPEAK ON

SOCIALISM

At National Hall, Grove St. & National Ave.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1904.

2-30 in the Afternoon.

Everybody welcome. A special invitation extended to members of unions. Bring your friends!

ADMISSION FREE!

These are just the days when copies of The Herald should be put in every workman's home.

Put the Vorwaerts in the German homes. That is the kind of work that brings results.

Owing to the big Hayes meeting on Monday at the North Side Turn Hall, the city central committee meeting has been postponed to Thursday evening. It will be held at 318 State St., as usual.

Word comes from one of the outer wards that a Rose heeler, one C. P. Merriam, intends to put on war paint against the Socialists in the coming campaign.

Merriam never did have any use for a movement that would not permit him to graft on it.

Happy Hooligan, who is now about as well known as George Washington, will be at the Alhambra theater all of next week, opening at tomorrow (Sunday's) matinee.

Last year he appeared in favor, but this year the show will be musical, full of pretty chorus girls, special ballets, fine scenery, and the like.

A diamond ballet is a special feature, in which a bevy of pretty girls appear literally encrusted in brilliants. The effect may be imagined.

At the Star this coming week we will have another laugh with Rice and Barton, one of whom, by the way, was a Milwaukee boy before he became a comedian.

Their company this year is a very full one, one of the best on the road this season.

At the Crystal theater next week there will be a treat for the children in the "Alice in Wonderland" motion pictures.

Also, Helen Russell, McDonald and Hillman, Eddie Sawyer and Milly Showers are among the performers on the program.

Last Saturday some of the indicted aldermen and supervisors came into court to make their pleas. Some plead not guilty and others attacked the validity of the indictments on the ground that the grand jury was not legally constituted, that its make-up had been dictated by factional politics and that one man on the jury had a criminal record, he having been "convicted of an infamous crime" in Germany, that he had passed forged checks, etc.

But this particular juror is not the only one. The jury commission doesn't seem to have been at much pains to avoid listing business and political crooks.

Attention might be called to Juror H. Pestalozzi, who hails from the Twentieth Ward. It is not necessary to go into his past, his recent record is bad enough.

Pestalozzi was at the head of a Young Men's Debating Club, LaFollette Republican) in the Twentieth Ward that stood for such high citizenship at the last county election that they flooded the ward with little checks reading "Good for one drink. Aug. Puls."

And it is believed in the ward that these bits of pasteboard bore some relation to the re-election of Aug. Puls, the cooerage man, as supervisor—August Puls, who is one of the first men in the county board to be indicted.

And it was Pestalozzi who made overtures to the Social-Democrats to bring his debating club into our party as a body, and under his leadership—a proposition which we promptly turned down—and who a few weeks after was seated in the first row of the reserved seats at the La Follette Exposition meeting, applauding conspicuously and noisily.

Political convictions are easily re-adjusted by such a man.

Ald. Weissenborn of the Tenth ward was haled back to jail for a day last week, because his prospective father-in-law concluded that it was safer to withdraw from his bond. It is bad enough to have public sentiment interfere with the right of a capitalistic alderman to be thrifty and get ahead on the side, but to lose a prospective father-in-law is certainly carrying the punishment pretty far.

Fred. Lorenz, who is after the Republican nomination for mayor, says he has always been a Republican. Shades of the Milwaukee Coal Company and the late lamented People's Party!

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MASS MEETING! Nineteenth Ward S. D. P., Milwaukee. On Wednesday evening next Winfield R. Gaylord will speak at Eckelmann's hall, 3109 Lisbon avenue. Come and bear the truth straight from the shoulder.

The Social Democrats of this Ward, Milwaukee, will hold a meeting on Tuesday evening at Eckelmann's hall, 3109 Lisbon avenue and Pearl street. All invited.

ALHAMBRA THEATER. "HERE'S A LAUGH." COMMENCING TOMORROW AFTERNOON. HAPPY HOOLIGAN. 40 -- JOLLY FUNMAKERS -- 40. RESERVED SEATS DOWN STAIRS 25c. Next Attraction: MISS LOUISE BEATON in "RACHEL GOLDSTEIN".

Barrett's. A GOOD PLACE TO TRADE. Advertisement for Barrett's store.

IF WE SHOULD SAY. In bold, black type that every woman who entered our store this week would be given a Shining Silver Half Dollar, you would be suspicious. You'd say "there's a string here." Yet this is precisely what we are going to do.

When we marked those Empress Women's Shoes at \$2.00 we marked them close. We allowed ourselves a bare margin of profit. They are going at \$1.50 while they last. We could give a good many reasons for doing this—good reasons too, but we can't afford space enough to tell them.

The Shoes speak for themselves. Do you want the Half Dollar? Red, Blue or Green Trading Stamps with every purchase.

LOUIS RIPPLE. 554 MITCHELL STREET, betw. 5th & 6th Ave.

MR. UNION MAN! DEAR SIR:-- We are after you, (not like Parry). We are after your money that you spend for CLOTHES, and as soon as you know the facts we are going to get it. WHY? BECAUSE we are selling strictly All Wool, First-Class Union-Made Suits, guaranteed to keep their shape. Suits that sell elsewhere for \$12. and \$15. We have them in 20 different patterns; your choice of any suit in the store \$10.00.

Remember, these Suits are all Union-Made. Come and see them, wether you are ready to buy or not. Yours truly,

JOHN HIRSIG, Clothier and Gents Furnisher. 189 Third Street, Between Wells Street & Grand Ave.

THE THEATER. ALHAMBRA THEATER. Happy Hooligan, who is now about as well known as George Washington, will be at the Alhambra theater all of next week, opening at tomorrow (Sunday's) matinee.

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1,200 Pair of Lace Shoes for Ladies' Men or Boys'. No uncertainty about what you'll find if you poke into this shoe sale.

Every pair is either \$2.25 or \$2.50 quality, so you are sure to find a Bargain in Box Calf, Velour Calf or Kid, all sizes and widths.

ALL ARE UNION MADE. John B. Lake, 332 GROVE STREET, TWO DOOR SOUTH NATIONAL AVENUE. WE GIVE TRADING STAMPS.

STAR THEATER. Commencing To-morrow Matinee. PRICES: Rice & Barton's 10, 20, 30c. Ladies Matinee Friday. Next Attraction: DINKIN'S UTOPIANS.

CRYSTAL THEATER. 178 SECOND ST., Near Grand Ave. CONTINUOUS VAUDEVILLE. Matinee Every Day 2 to 5. Nights 8 to 11. A RESORT FOR LADIES, CHILDREN AND GENTLEMEN. MOTION PICTURES. Admission 10 cts. including Seat.

Please Take Notice. The office of the Social-Democratic Herald will be open hereafter Sunday mornings from 9 to 12 o'clock noon. ...

J. Bruett & Son. Clothing, Furnishings, Hats, Caps, Gloves, Mittens, Underwear, Hosiery, Shirts, Neckwear, Etc. Fond du Lac Avenue, Corner Eloyd and 16th Street.

Faerber's Bargain Store. We are now selling all the Winter Goods, consisting of Coats, Notions, Dry Goods and Millinery at a Great Sacrifice to make room for our Spring Goods. ... 946 WINNEBAGO ST. MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN.

ROBERT LAMBERT, SAMPLE ROOM, 428 FOWLER ST., MILWAUKEE, WIS. Phone White 9825.