

SOCIALISM AND THE CITY. By WINFIELD R. GAYLORD.

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST MUNICIPAL SOCIALIZATION.

In view of the ground still to be gained in the forwarding of the principle of collective ownership and control, even in the case of municipal enterprises, and especially in view of the fact that there has existed both in Europe and America an organized effort to discredit the principle of municipal ownership, it is well that the case should be reviewed in such form as will put the material conveniently at hand for those interested in the matter.

It is worth while to observe that the arguments and alleged statistics used against the idea of municipal socialization have been furnished and published in the main by paid attorneys and representatives of corporations which had a stake in the matter; while on the other hand, those who are presenting the case for municipal socialization are almost without exception either investigators who simply report their findings, or else men who have nothing to gain personally by the adoption of the principle, except as they would profit along with the whole people.

Parsons (The City for the People) lists the following objections to municipalization: 1. It will increase political corruption; 2. Paternalism; 3. Socialism; 4. Liberty will be less; 5. It is not properly the government's business; 6. Vested interests; 7. It will lead to extravagance and debt; 8. Private initiative will be lost; 9. Public ownership is non-progressive; 10. Public ownership is inefficient; 11. It is less economical than private ownership. Some of these may be passed without discussion here, as the mere phrases of "Paternalism" and "Socialism." Others may be condensed into three main points as follows: 1. Corruption; 2. Expense; 3. Non-progressive.

1. Municipalization leads to further political corruption.

In view of the fact that the water department has never been known to bribe the fire department, nor vice versa, this discussion will seem useless to some. But it is worth while to state the known facts with regard to these statements, and also to draw inferences.

The possibilities of corruption in any organization are two-fold, viz.: (a) within the organization itself, and (b) between the organization, or some part of it, and outside forces. Under the first, in the case of a municipal enterprise, would come favoritism on the part of officials towards friends and relatives, leading to inefficiency on the part of the working force. A properly organized Civil Service completely answers this objection; and civil service is facilitated, not interfered with, by municipalization.

Under the second head come all the bribes, having for their purpose the sale of materials, or special favors in the way of service by the municipality. But this second does not depend upon the fact that the municipality controls the enterprise. It is quite as common in private business.

But there are other and convincing arguments to be brought, which completely establish the case.

Private companies, under the necessity of producing for profit, and under the limitations of private capital, are constantly found guilty of violations of laws. They evade taxes; they refuse to furnish the service required by franchises and charter provisions; they destroy property of their own and other companies to carry out their purposes; they systematically bribe public officials of all grades.

Municipal enterprises WOULD NOT FIND ANY INCENTIVE FOR DOING ONE OF THESE THINGS.

The proof that private companies have carried on transactions in violation of law and of the public good is found in the fact that they have falsified their reports, made under the law; and is further demonstrated by the fact that they have frequently preferred to completely destroy their records, rather than allow them to be brought into court as evidence.

No municipal enterprise would or could do either.

There is no fact better attested than the fact that the corporations are "in politics." It would be impossible to bring them more completely and corruptly into municipal campaigns than they now are. They have corrupted every party that has been in power; they have been the focal point around which campaign after campaign has been organized; they have furnished funds to both the old parties for their campaigns; they have had their secret and open rings in council chambers and in executive offices; their stock-holders become city officials, and in their positions represent the corporation interests more than those of their constituents.

None of these things would be possible to a municipal department.

The methods and interests of the private corporations are such as to attract the worst men into public office. There is a premium placed upon this class of men in public office by the well known practices of corrupt and corrupting corporations. Men prominent in social and business circles seem to find it necessary to use the most degrading, dishonest and disreputable methods, in order to "safe-guard the interests" of their companies.

None of these things would be "necessary" from any point of view to secure the successful carrying on of any municipal enterprise.

On the contrary, with the incentive of corruption removed, with the removal of the big corporations having favors to seek from the city, disreputable men would no longer be willing to serve in public office, and the way would be open to men who are now unwilling to run for office owing to the fact that "it is a disgrace to be known as an 'alderman'."

It is dangerous at present for any man in public life, or any newspaper, to criticize the corrupt practices of the politicians and the corporations. Man after man has suffered defeat at the hands of mysterious influences, because he has endeavored to investigate only the practices connected with the granting of special privileges, the remittance of taxes, the failure to enforce existing laws, or the introduction of laws calculated to strengthen the hold of the corporation upon the public life. The same men who are the principal and controlling proprietors of these great corporations are also the proprietors of the great dailies, or are able to control enough of the newspapers so as to neutralize any attacks that may be made upon them by honest men and editors who wish to expose corrupt practices.

No municipal enterprise could thus stifle public opinion, prevent criticism of its practices, drive men out of public office, purchase the public press, frighten the pulpit and platform speakers, compel all political parties to come to it for campaign funds and all ambitious men to approach it for political favors.

Thus an analysis of the forces and facts at work in connection with the great public utilities shows that nearly every force that now makes

for corruption under the private ownership of these enterprises, would under a collective ownership make for clean government.

2. The second objection is that municipalization is more expensive than private ownership and control. Let us see: This will fall into two heads, viz.: expense of acquisition, and expense of operation.

In view of the fact that it is usually an expensive matter for a corporation to secure a franchise, while this would cost the municipality nothing, it does not seem that the acquiring of the machinery should be any more expensive to a municipality than to a private corporation. It is notorious that there are "rake-offs" to officers of these corporations, for favors shown in the way of contracts. And at any rate, the economy in the matter of franchise ought to more than offset any little difference in the cost of the machinery.

When we come to the matter of operation, we are on familiar ground, owing to the fact that there is a sufficiently large number of plants, both public and private, in this country, to furnish basis for comparison. Since the experience of American cities has been confined so far to the municipalization of water works, gas and electric light plants, we will have the data for these only. But these are sufficiently convincing to warrant conclusions of no uncertain nature.

First, let us take the water works. The Fourteenth Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, date 1899, furnishes us the following data. A table giving returns from a total of 1,014 plants, 374 of which are privately owned, and 640 publicly owned, shows the following facts:

AVERAGE COST PER 1000 GALLONS WATER.					
Water furnished (gals.):		Private Number of Plants:	Cost:	Municipal Number of Plants:	Cost:
1 million and under	5 millions	5*	\$,6928	35	\$,8789
5 "	"	12	4,966	35*	4,486
10 "	"	12	4,092	45*	3,050
15 "	"	10	3,066	41*	2,636
20 "	"	25	2,471	26	2,911
25 "	"	50	1,874	105*	1,754
50 "	"	75	1,375	52*	1,180
75 "	"	100	1,520	24*	1,371
100 "	"	125	1,084	23*	1,015
125 "	"	150	9	22*	1,265
150 "	"	175	14	19*	1,079
175 "	"	200	8	12*	1,045
200 "	"	250	23	15*	1,046
250 "	"	500	51*	58	1,058
500 "	"	750	30*	38	1,092
750 "	"	1 billion	14*	20	1,074
1 billion	"	5	3	78*	1,039
5 "	"	10	4	6*	1,044
10 "	or over			13	1,076
Total plants reported		374		640	
* Total showing less cost than similar plants of opposite group		112		464	
Percentage of total showing less cost than similar plants of opposite group		29.94		72.5	

(Continued on page 4.)

The Quigley Organ Fighting at Random.

It is quite evident that the youth of the New World is very badly "over-ruled," in the popular expression, over the manner in which the Socialist papers are quoting him as a friend of Socialism. That "the organ" of the Quigley should be cited as saying that "Socialism is a political party that the Church has no war," is indubitably to the Socialists, and also to Catholics it has made the New World simply ridiculous. If the New World is a true Christian, he would blame himself and make a humble effort to do better in future. But in his excited condition, he loudly asserts that it is not he who is getting him quoted. He also intimates that we are running the Methodist press. Herein he gives credit for a versatility that he does not possess; not being the editor of an official organ, we are accustomed to advocate only one set of opinions, and those are our own.

So far as The New World dundershead is concerned, if he will refrain from making insulting statements, these cruel adversaries will cease to quote him. There is Biblical warrant for answering a fool according to his folly, and for striking a quibbler on his own quibble. It is certainly amusing in the manner in which The New World starts out to teach its Catholic contemporaries how to grapple with the great problem of Socialism, has been hoist on its own petard. Verily, upon the completion of its twelfth year we congratulate our vengeful contemporary upon how widely it is quoted—in the Socialist papers! It is to laugh.

We have received a communication indicating that some of the board of directors want to make a change in the editorship of The New World. We have, of course, no interest in this family jar, but we trust that no change will be made. The present editor is very good, and if his paper has been a good fellow, and if his paper has been led during the past few months to attempt some unneighborly dirty work, we are quite sure he must now realize the folly and the uselessness of it. If a change is made, however, the continuity of The New World's attitude on the grave problem of Socialism should be maintained, and we suggest that Father McGrady or Father Hagerty (both of whom are without permanent engagements) might be secured. Both subscribe cordially to the statement that "against Socialism as a political party the Church has no war."—Catholic Citizen.

The Herald ten weeks, ten cents.

The National Socialist Platform for 1904.

(As Adopted at Chicago, May 5, 1904.)

I. We, the Socialist party, in convention assembled, make our appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole of society.

To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are equally false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of robbing the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great privileged interests. These interests control the appointments and dismissals of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forms of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker people, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take away unawares the right of the worker to a vote or voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak of them for himself, or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public school, the pulpit and the press, and the arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths upon which our institutions were founded. But under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings ever to become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces, above its subsistence-wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

Socialism comes so to organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of being, thought and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

II. As an American Socialist party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international Socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the Socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national but international, in both organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries, and of the so-called patriotism which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggle of contending capitalist interests for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

The Socialist movement therefore is a world movement. It knows of no conflicts of interest between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

III. The Socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does nothing has the world's real work having increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery, for its portion.

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, and the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Whenever and wherever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long ceased to be individual. The labor of scores, or even thousands, enters into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and this is due to the present division of society into two classes; and from it have sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interests, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice, and there can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

IV. The Socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer content to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to produce it. The capitalists of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of the developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

Into the midst of the strain and crisis of civilization, the Socialist movement comes as the only saving or conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the Socialist movement. The Socialist party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall be by the people in common owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together; and that all opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

To the end that the workers may seize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government, and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Socialist party pledges itself to watch and work in both the economic and the political struggle for each successive immediate interest of the working class; for shortened days of labor and increases of wages; for the immediate insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of income, inheritances, franchises and land values, the proceeds to be applied to the public employment and improvement of the conditions of the workers; for the complete education of children, and their preparation for the work of the world; for the equal suffrage of men and women; for the prevention of the use of the military force in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, equal suffrage and municipal home rule, and the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalists, and increase the like powers of the workers.

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as far as it is entrusted to us by our fellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and complete liberation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America, and to all who will lend their aid to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will not be misled by the false promises of the capitalist class. We appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow-workers in all our appeals for their own good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and in representing to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe that we are but preparing the way for the economic freedom from which will arise the freedom of the whole man.

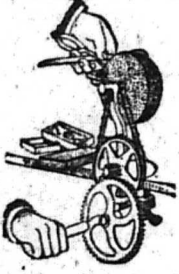
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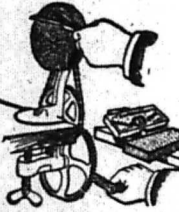
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AMSTERDAM AFTERMATH.

Brown gives some Side Lights.--Bebel Sings and Dances

Amsterdam, Aug. 21, 1904.

I have attended the Inter-Congress and it has finished and last night we met to say good-bye. It has been a great little party. The fact that there were delegates from England who were better linguists than I, so that I could understand the English translation of the speeches. When, as happened in the English delegation was in their own meeting room something the English translation was omitted. So you see the chance of having delegates who understand either French or German of course the one important thing was to condemn Jaure'sism. It was done in what is called the "Inter-Congress Revolution," the one in which I sent on "Inter-Congress Policy." The various committees were appointed on Monday. One of us was assigned to a committee. Hillquit going on the committee. These various committees met in different rooms, but the great interest in the policy of the "tactics" committee that it was hard to gather together to hold a meeting. This committee met Monday afternoon. Tuesday and Thursday and Friday Vandervelde of Belgium was for the committee. Adler of Germany and Vandervelde in the committee had drawn up a resolution embodying the policy outlined in Dresden, but not condemning the policy, in fact so weakly that Jaure himself accepted it. Making the report Vandervelde spoke for France and Adler also spoke in favor of it. The resolution of Germany spoke against it. The Russian resolution on paper. They tried to introduce it in the committee in the same spirit as in Dresden. De Leon also presented a resolution on the same side, but it was not received. All day long it was argued and on Saturday the vote was taken. The vote was 21 in favor of the resolution. The chairman, Trödsr, deposed. The vote then came to a resolution. 25 in favor, 12 not voting. The vote was not there Saturday. The little German who came to support him on Thursday was of course voted with us. The alternative, so our 2 votes were divided. Each nation had two England's was divided.

Katayama voted in favor. And there was some talk of objecting to his vote on the ground that he could not understand what it meant. But after talking with him they found he knew his position pretty well and also knew how to analyze the others. After the vote was taken it was announced that the two parties in France had taken steps towards uniting. It was also announced that those members who held political office had held a meeting and had agreed to form an International Parliamentary Committee, the secretaryship of which should be given to Holland for the present. This committee of course takes in Bebel, Singer of Germany, Vandervelde, Jaures, Gursde, Keir Hardie of Scotland, etc. It was decided to hold the next congress in three years at Stuttgart. Bebel gave the invitation and it was accepted.

Then the Dutch comrades gave us a lunch and took us on a couple of large boats around Amsterdam and out into the country to the harbor through the canals. On the boats the leaders themselves threw off all care, and it was good to see Bebel and Kautsky of Germany with others sing and dance.

This letter would not be a good one unless I mention the fine work in translation done by Clara Zetkin, now of Stuttgart. She is certainly fine. She edits a Socialist paper for women. She translated English into French or German and the last two into each with equal ease. Rose Luxemburg, who is in the bureau, also translated very well in the committee.

I tried to serve on the Committee on Emigration, but they were all French and German. After much trouble we adopted a resolution on Emigration. I brought it before our delegates as we sat at table and we endorsed it all but Lee and Schlüter, who would not consent to it because it could be interpreted as objecting to the Chinese exclusion law in California. Saturday morning when I reached the hall there sat Lee and Hillquit drafting a resolution which especially mentioned the Asiatic and African coolies, which was to be presented signed by Hillquit, Van Kol and Schlüter. When it came up Hillquit argued against the resolution we had adopted. The upshot was that both resolutions were withdrawn in some unaccountable manner. In fact most things were done in a way we Americans can not understand. Every thing seems to be settled by the Bureau, nothing by the convention. We were informed that one resolution was

passed without discussion. Klein and I looked at each other and said when "this morning" was the answer, I had no recollection of it, neither had he.

The Bureau passed upon the credentials. The German and French speakers simply talked, talked, talked. Such flood of eloquence you never heard. When advised by the chair to limit his speech, the speaker would bow profoundly turn around and begin again. If a French speech took 40 minutes the German translation would take 35 and the English 18. There was not a 10 minute speech in English all during the congress. Several times Hillquit spoke in German and not in English and when he did so there was no translation. I really think that the English speaking Socialists should have a convention before the next International. We really are in a different position from the others. The next move of capital will be to disfranchise our working class and we need a conference as to how best to meet that possibility. The fact that the Continentals have not full-suffrage has much to do with holding them together (the Socialists I mean). And I believe that if they ever get suffrage before Socialism they will at once be divided as our workmen are.

Our Socialist growth is more strictly following the industrial development without the inherited class-feeling. And because of that we, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, England, Scotland and Wales with the United States would find it profitable to have a conference.

Corinne S. Brown.

On Colonial Policy.

The Social-Democrats of Holland submitted the following statement for passage on the subject of the relation of Socialists to the Colonial policy of the big capitalist governments:

1. History has given to several countries the colonial possessions, closely related to the mother country and altogether unaccustomed to self-government, which cannot be abandoned to themselves, since it only leads to the viewpoint of international relations.

2. Modern capitalism drives the civilized countries to continual expansion, as well as to open new markets for their products as to find fields for the profitable investment of their capital.

This policy of conquest, often accompanied by crime and pillage, having no aim but to gratify the capitalists' insatiable thirst for gold, and necessitating ever increasing military expenses, ought to be unflinchingly resisted. It leads the nations into the ways of protectionism and chauvinism, it is a perpetual menace of war in all quarters of the globe, and it increases the power of the dominant classes while adding to the burdens of the proletariat, whose emancipation it retards.

3. The new needs which will arise after the victory of the working class and its economic emancipation will necessitate, even under the Socialist regime of the future, the holding of colonies.

Modern countries cannot do without the countries furnishing certain raw materials and tropical products indispensable to industry and to human needs, so long as these cannot be produced by the exchange of products of industry and of native trade.

The Social-Democratic party, which has the development and conflict of classes as the basis of its political action, and which, in accord with its principles, its aims, and its tendencies, rigorously condemns all exploitation and oppression of individuals, classes, races, or people accepts as the principles of its

THE REAL JUDGE PARKER STANDS REVEALED.

Alfred Henry Lewis shows that by his Own Record he has Low Political Ideals!

Beyond a doubt the American people are easy. Else it would not have been so for Wall street to name an absolutely unknown man like Judge Parker for the presidency on the Democratic ticket and have the followers of the party whooping it up for him as if he were some long-time notable in American politics, whom they delighted to honor. And yet, with but a few weeks more left of the campaign some real glimpses of the man are afforded us and it is possible that Wall street's gold brick may not keep its luster till election day. An article on Parker by Alfred Henry Lewis in the Saturday Evening Post of September 3, is well worth perusing. Lewis writes with an air of candor and non-partisanship. He sums up the part of Parker's career for the time that he was in the general public view, in this fashion:

As a boy, Judge Parker attended the schools of Cortland, N. Y. Beginning at the age of sixteen he devoted his winters to teaching country schools. At the age of twenty-one Judge Parker studied law, and in due season was called to the bar. The theater of his practice-to-be was his home county of Ulster.

From the beginning Judge Parker attracted attention as a politician rather than a lawyer. Politically, he began as a manager and not as a candidate. He conducted a campaign, while yet the new down of a first beard was on his face, for Judge Shoemaker, in whose office he had studied law. He succeeded; and then, on its occurrence to him that if he could win for Judge Shoemaker he could win for himself, he personally sought the post of surrogate. He was elected, and held the office for years.

Politics in New York is hard and iron-bound; it is without sentiment, and has no principle save the principle of success. This is as true of country as of town, as true of the cornfields as of

Tammany Hall. Victory is the only virtue, defeat the only crime—in New York. Judge Parker knew these things; he saw no visions, courted no dreams, lapsed into no trances. Patiently, practically, he added one man to another, and the two to a third, until the result of his additions was the control of the county of Ulster.

Judge Parker's steady successes, and the unsentimental consistency of the means by which they were achieved, attracted in 1885 the notice of Mr. Hill, about to make his first canvass for the governorship. Mr. Hill asked Judge Parker to assume the practical management of his campaign. Mr. Hill desired to be governor; it was Judge Parker's duty to go forth as a reaper of politics and garner those majorities which should make for the end in view. Judge Parker, then in his thirty-third year, became the political manager of Mr. Hill. When the polls closed he had elected his man.

I must leave it to the older and better posted minds to say just how much credit is due to Parker, and to patriotism, and high principle Mr. Hill at that time desired or demanded in the management of his political interests. Whatever the measurements of those demands, both for quantity and quality, they would seem to have been fulfilled by Judge Parker, whom Mr. Hill, when governor, rewarded with an early appointment to the Supreme Bench. This was eighteen years ago. Speaking generally, and skipping details, Judge Parker has occupied the Supreme or the Court of Appeals Bench ever since.

There you have an outline sketch of Judge Parker's record, and you are to make your own deductions therefrom as to his kind and character of man. Briefly, to have succeeded where he did, and when he did, and how he did must have called tremendously for traits of industry and perseverance and a thorough knowledge of the New York man. To win those fights for Judge Shoemaker, for himself and for Mr. Hill meant sleeplessness and incessant toil, and Judge Parker must have furnished them. Also, to win those fights would preclude the impression of any extreme refinement of patriotism. One would as

well look for refinement in soap-boiling or delicacy in a slaughter-house as in the practical management of party in New York. More, Mr. Hill has never been a transcendentalist in politics; he never talked or written of the over-soul when seeking office.

No native greatness is to be inferred in favor of Judge Parker merely because of his nomination. He was nominated at the desire of the South and West. They required a New York man; and it was left to the democracy of New York to select him. Under these narrowed conditions Judge Parker was pitched upon; not because he was big, but because he was bigger than those about him. There are no giants, but only pygmies, in the democracy of New York. You are not at liberty, therefore, to infer a cloud-rapped eminence for Judge Parker because of that nomination. The poor, on demand, can but give you their best. In this instance they have done so, and it is for you to say how good it is when laid down and compared with how good it should be.

Somewhere above I submitted some possible callousness of patriotism, some dimness of a public ideal, on the side of one who could catch and match the political approval of Mr. Hill. It might likewise be surprised that he who sat tongueless throughout the Judge Maynard scandal, and whose voice was not raised in condemnation when the snip convention stole the state from Mr. Cleveland, must have been gifted of a political honesty that was capable of strong self-restraint! On those occasions of burning shame a brave man and a statesman would have been heard. By the same token, a prudent man, and a politician who bore himself and his own personal fortunes excessively upon his love of thought, might have abode as moveless and as mute as any image. Senator Bailey admires Judge Parker; but I discovered by question-putting that what he admired was Judge Parker's genius for practical politics. Senator Dubois admires Judge Parker; but I discovered by question-putting that what he admired was Judge Parker's genius for practical politics. Both were concerned for a party rather than a public welfare, and since my in-

terest was swinging on the latter limb of inquiry I did not think myself much aided by their conclusions.

Aside from a man's record, one may best discover his kind and his attributes—and this I said before—by discovering the company he keeps. To me, at least, those Shebians and McDonalds and O'Briens who belt Judge Parker round, and upon whom he throws himself in confidence, prove marvelously discouraging. And that they are there demonstrates that while Judge Parker may be a politician in the straitened definition of more New York, he is dull to desperation in that broader, deeper insight of politics required when one traffics with the nation. He may know the New York man, as his triumph for himself and Mr. Hill in 1885 would go far to prove. On the other hand, the present earnings and goings of the Shebians and the McDonalds and the O'Briens display beyond distrust that he does not know the man beyond New York.

He is not a great man; he is a slow man; and his dominant attribute is caution. He is not timid nor treacherous, nor bold nor crafty; he is cautious. Not but what he has courage; not but what he is equal to intrigue; not but what he is equal to prudence; not but what he is equal to foresight. In the narrow New York sense of the machine, he equals the highest estimates of Senator Bailey and Senator Dubois. Their admirations were properly addressed. He is a politician, machinelike speaking. You see it in the eye, you feel it in the bluff grasp.

This rather dims the halo of goodness that attached to Judge Parker because he was not known nationally. People who did not know him have allowed their imaginations to make a character for him, one of dignity, circumspection, deep learning in the law and the utmost fidelity to public interest. But the facts above disclose the gold brick very plainly. The honest rank and file of Democracy has been unhooded again. It is another case of Grover Cleveland!

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Chas. Pergler, National Bohemian Organizer, began his eastern tour at Cleveland, O., speaking

NOTES FROM YANKEE LAND.

A Lithuanian branch of the party has been organized in Cleveland.

The Los Angeles Socialist, we learn, has changed its name to Common Sense.

The International Union of Brewery Workers are in session at Indianapolis.

Debs and Hanford will speak from the same platform in Chicago, at the Auditorium, Oct. 17.

The old party leaders are complaining of great lack of interest in the campaign on the part of the public. The Socialists have no such complaint to make!

Secretary Tom Fitton reports that C. C. Whittemore has been expelled from Local Buffalo, New York, for "dishonesty in handling the funds of the local."

Vandervelde of Belgium and Grenlich of Switzerland, who are on their way to the Interparliamentary Congress at the St. Louis fair, were present at the Debs meeting at Carnegie Hall, New York city, last week and in response to tremendous applause made brief replies in French and German.

Mrs. Ida Crouch Hazlett of Colorado will work under the direction of National Headquarters beginning October 1st. Her tour will extend through Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania. Mrs. Hazlett's experience in the Colorado strike centers makes her especially fitted for campaign work in these states.

ACROSS THE HERRING POND.

The Liberal press of Germany in criticizing the work of the International Socialist congress at Amsterdam consider that the adoption of the Dresden resolutions by the congress shuts off the right of free criticism within the party. The Dresden resolutions were so called because practically identical with resolutions passed at the Dresden congress at the behest of the party Socialiste de France and was regarded as a check to the Revisionists. It holds that class antagonisms are increasing, that the party should be revolutionary in the best sense of the word instead of seeking to reform the bourgeois society, and that it should accept no share in the government within the capitalist society—referring to appointive positions. The resolutions hold against militarism, colonial and imperialistic policies of the ruling class, and favor efforts at improving social legislation. So far as the Liberal criticism is concerned, the idea that the right of free criticism will be shut off is pure fiction.

Gleanings from Busy Socialistic Fields!

NOTE: In some states the organization is known as the Socialist Party, in others as the Social Democratic Party. Where the term "local" is used it does not refer to trade union locals, but to the local body

NOTES FROM YANKEE LAND.

there Sept. 15-16, 17 and 18. Dates for the remainder of the week are as follows: 19 and 20, Bellaire, O.; 21, Dillonvale, O.; 22, Allegheny County, Pa.; 23, Wilmerding, Pa.; 24, Irwin, Pa. The tour of Comrade Louis Goaziou, French speaker, is now being made up and will soon be announced.

The Chicago Federation of Labor has gotten after Walter Wellman for his falsehoods about Labor in Colorado, and he has flunked. He printed a challenge to the effect that he was able to convict Pres. Moyer of the Western Federation of Miners of causing all sorts of things in the Centennial state before a jury of "decent" labor union leaders of the country. The Federation offered to pay the expenses if Wellman would name the men he wanted on the jury, but Wellman wrote a letter of declination.

Franklin H. Wentworth is speaking in New York state; James F. Carey in Massachusetts; John Spargo in the Middle West; John Brown in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania; John Work, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska; M. W. Wilkins, Pennsylvania; Chas. G. Towner, Indiana; John M. Ray, Tennessee; Harry McKee, Alabama; Geo. Goebel, Idaho; Geo. Bigelow, South Dakota; Dan White, Wisconsin; Chas. Pergler, Middle West; Louis Goaziou, Middle West. Many other speakers are being toured by state committees and local meetings are also being held everywhere.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

The International Socialist Review for September opens with Comrade Debs' great Indianapolis speech. In an article "The Rise of the American Laborer," A. M. Simons gives a summary of the main facts in the evolution of the American labor movement. In the form of a review of Charles Kendall Franklin's book, "The Socialization of Humanity," Ernest Untermann gives what is probably the best exposition of monistic materialism, from the Socialist point of view.

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It contains 48 chapters, 640 pages, handsomely bound in English linen. Price, single copies, \$2.50 each, postpaid. Ten copies shipped to one address \$18.00, and the purchaser pays the freight. Address all orders to

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CONDITIONS: Henry Taves, 709 First Street; A. Kurth, J. W. Tonsor, Cor. A. Blatz.
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Federated Trades Council.

Regular Meeting, Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Sept. 7.—Delegate Feely in the chair. Delegate Neuman vice chairman. New delegates seated from Bakers, Trunk Workers, Upholsterers, Machinists No. 234, Glove Workers, Glove Cutters, Iron Molders No. 166, and Metal Workers.

Aty. W. F. Thiel gave his second fifteen minute talk on the law as it relates to labor, taking up the subject of the Eight Hour Day. Next meeting he will speak on Injunctions.

The Executive Board reported that complaint was made that the Social-Democratic Herald was not publishing the minutes of the council until the second issue after the meeting, and the board requested that hereafter the minutes be printed in the next issue after the meeting. Various communications were referred to the proper committees. Notice was received that Liedertafel hall would be for rent for meetings. Report adopted.

Bus. Agent Weber reported having looked up the matter of Levy & Kahn's sidewalk and found that the contract was let for the cement work before the union was formed. The Marble workers had been ordered to leave their union by the Marble Manufacturers' association. It was reported that on and after Jan. 1 the building workers would have a fight on their hands with the Citizens' Alliances. It would be started in other states earlier, but in Wisconsin would be held off so as not to hurt Senator Quarles.

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who is up for reelection, his firm being the Parry representatives in Milwaukee. The Business agent reported a cut of 15 percent in wages at Bay View by the Illinois Steel Co., in connection with a general cut at all other Steel Co. plants round the country.

Secretary Reichert made a preliminary report on Labor Day. The total receipts were about six or seven hundred dollars behind those of the previous year, but the expenses were somewhat lower. The gate receipts were about the same as last year.

Letter from Bro. J. A. Christian, financial secretary of the Cigarmakers of Denver replied to the inquiries of the council and said that he was informed officially that the money sent in to the Western Federation of Miners was used in part to help the "Liberty Leagues," one of the purposes of which was to dethrone the Republican party.

At the request of the national executive board of the Iron Molders, the firms of P. and F. Corbin and Russell & Erwin Co., which were associated under the trust known as the American Hardware Company, were placed on the unfair list.

The Barbers reported withdrawing their cards from a large number of shops. Attention was called to the fact that the barbers' card was allowed to remain in a down town shop where a non-union man was working. Barber delegate said the matter was under consideration, the secretary of the union being employed at the shop in question. A communication from the Elevator Constructors showing what work was claimed by them in their jurisdiction controversy, was filed.

The report of the Labor Day parade judges, consisting of Messrs. Shorey of the Sentinel, Pinkerton of the Free Press and Schaller of the German Herald, showed that the Colorado Bull Pen float had captured first prize, the Cigarmakers' float second and the Bakers' third. Cigarmakers No. 25 were given first prize for marching, and the Bakers second prize.

On complaint of the Feeders and Pressmen that Bro. J. S. Bletcher was an employer of labor in conflict with the policy of the State Federation which had driven other union men from the council, a motion prevailed to notify Typographical No. 23. On complaint of Bro. Brockhausen, Jr., that the dust at the dance hall at Pabst Park was so bad that the musicians had difficulty in playing, and that the men's clothes were in a bad condition, the Sanitary committee was instructed to investigate. The Butchers reported taking out their card from Charles Bettinger, Fifth ave. and Lapham.

By request Atty. Thiel reported on the status of the injunction suit in court against the 8-hour work clause in the city pumping contract, and on motion of Bro. Acker of the Machinists the council endorsed the action taken by the two secretaries of the council in attempting to intervene in the suit to prevent the city attorney from throwing labor down in defending the suit. A letter from the Bricklayers' union was on request returned to the president by Secy. Reichert.

Delegate Rooney moved to appropriate \$150 for literature in order that an educational campaign might be made among voters in behalf of the rights of labor. No second. Bro. Sheehan moved to appropriate ten dollars for literature. Carried by rising vote 53 to 11. Bro. Rooney renewed his motion and it took regular course.

Receipts for evening \$10.98. Disbursements \$88.79.

Frederic Heath, Rec. Secy.

The fall campaign will be opened at North Greenfield Wednesday evening, September 21st, when Alderman Edmund T. Melms will speak in English and Alderman Emil Seidel in German. The meeting will take place at Hintz's Hall, cor. of 38th and Lapham streets, and everybody is cordially invited.

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The Janesville Clothing Co.
The Cargill Coal Co., of Green Bay.
Casey & Stresen-Reuter Co., Merchant Tailors, Wells Building, Milwaukee.

Joint meeting with the E. B. of the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council.

State Treasurer's Report for August.

Aug. 1, Cash on hand.....\$131.30
Receipts from State Secy.....300.94
Total.....\$432.24

EXPENDITURES:
W. R. Gaylord for salary to Jul. 30.....\$10.00
E. H. Thomas for postage to Feb. 7, 1904.....20.92
E. H. Thomas for salary advanced.....9.00
N. Ahrens.....9.00
Social-Democratic Herald for rent, light, Herald and cartage.....16.15
Wm. Aldridge, organizer expenses.....5.00
H. G. Wilschire for services in campaign of 1902.....25.00
Germania Publ. Co.....44.25
N. Ahrens for stenographer services.....3.00
Whitehead & Hoag Co. for buttons.....30.50
N. Ahrens for stenographer services.....3.00
Carl D. Thompson for organizer salary and expenses.....57.51
Wis. Telephone Co. for long distance calls.....6.20
N. Ahrens for stenographer services.....3.00
R.J. Schleming for express charges.....7.00
N. Ahrens for stenographer services.....3.00
E. H. Thomas for order book......25

Total.....\$237.48
Total Receipts.....432.24
Expenditures.....237.48
Sept. 1, Cash on hand.....\$194.76
J. Reichert, Treas., S. D. P. of Wis.

Wisconsin Executive Board.
The State Executive Board met Sept. 4, all resident members except E. Seidel and H. Tuttle being present, and of the non-resident mem-

bers, W. H. Phelps of Janesville. Applications for charter were granted to Hartford, Town of Gordou (Ashland Co.), Town of Greenfield and North Milwaukee. A bill of \$48.30 for postage of state secretary was granted, also a bill of \$1.25 for telegrams and express, W. H. Phelps reported the condition of the movement in Rock County as much improved of late and very satisfactory. It was moved to sell the Debs and Hanford posters in lots of less than 25 at 5¢ a poster; in larger lots at 3¢. This does not include postage and price of mailing tubes, which will be 3¢ additional in small lots. These magnificent portraits of our standard bearers should be in every Social-Democratic home, office and workshop.

E. H. Thomas, State Secy.

WISCONSIN STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR DEPARTMENT.

It was reported that a new paper titled the "Wisconsin Labor World" was to be issued during the present political campaign. All reports indicated that the main object of this publication would be to fleece advertisers and political candidates.

On motion a committee of three was appointed to investigate with full power to act.

Weber and Hanley were appointed for the Trades Council and Brockhausen for the State Federation.

Fred. Brockhausen.

Milwaukee, Sept. 11, 1904.
Fifth E. B. Meeting.—H. W. Bistorius, chairman.

The secretary was instructed to request the Toiler Publishing Co. of Eau Claire to explain why certain campaign matter was published in the Labor Day issue of the Toiler.

A letter from the Attorney General of Wisconsin was read. It deals with the so-called "Anti-Monopoly League" and its incorporators, Pomeroy, Pratt, Harvey, Peter Dawney and M. P. Magin, and their obligations under the law.

The secretary was instructed to add two publications to the Federation's library.

The meeting adjourned subject to the call of the secretary.

Fred. Brockhausen, Secy.

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STATE TREASURER—HENRY LUTHER OF SHEBOYGAN.
ATTORNEY GENERAL—NO NOMINATION.
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Candidate Dopp, "Democrat," running for congress in the Fifth Wisconsin district, says he will make his campaign chiefly against the Social-Democrats and will expose the errors in their economics. Good! He'll spell his name d-o-p-p before he gets very far in such a campaign.

Sooner or later your fine "reformer" gets weighed in the balance and is found wanting. Milwaukee has a "reformer" by the name of Herman Reel. He is an enthusiastic Henry George disciple and an upholder of the civic virtue, having been made one of the committee of ten appointed by the big anti-graft mass meeting in Milwaukee that preceded the sensational disclosures of the two grand juries. Two years ago Mr. Reel was active

STATE OF WISCONSIN. - Milwaukee County. - County Court. - In Probate.

Not is hereby given that at a regular term of this Court, to be held in the County Court Room at the Court House in the City of Milwaukee, on the first Tuesday of November A. D. 1904 at 9 o'clock A. M. the following matter will be heard: The application of Otille Zellmer nee Christian, praying for a judgment of this Court, first and determining who are all the heirs of August Friedrich Christian, late of the City and County of Milwaukee, deceased, and what are the respective rights and interests of the parties in the real estate, of which said decedent died seized, in the County of Milwaukee, State of Wisconsin.
 Dated this 13th day of September, 1904.
 By the Court:
JOHN C. KAREL,
 Register of Probate.
DR. THEODOR BURMEISTER,
 Attorney for Petitioners.

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advertising for our Labor Day edition, with credentials for the work from the Federated Trades Council. He is showing those credentials to help on the fake which he has now gone into. Thus far the credentials have not been gotten away from him, but the Federated Trades Council will, if necessary, prosecute him for getting money under false pretenses. The leaders of organized labor are on his track and will expose him as fully as they possibly can.

The Milwaukee campaign was formally opened last Tuesday night by a big meeting in the Bahn Frei Turner hall on North avenue. In spite of a drizzling rain every chair in the big hall was filled and there was an overflow into the galleries. The effort of the daily capitalist press to misrepresent the meeting was significant. The Sentinel said the crowd was "fair sized" and that Debs' name was not cheered! The Journal said it wasn't an enthusiastic meeting! But falsehoods can not impede our progress.

THE THEATER.

DAVIDSON THEATER.
 Miss Ethel Barrymore will pay her first visit to Milwaukee, Monday night in "Cousin Kate," in which this brilliant daughter of Maurice Barrymore had overwhelming success in London. The play is devoted to comedy scenes between Kate and an unknown flame, who appears at opportune moments and turns out to be a witty young Irish artist, with the complication that he proves to be the jilted lover of her Cousin Amy. The second act proved the sensation of the season in New York. The cast and production will be the same as in New York. In the cast are Bruce McRae, Grant Stewart, Beatrice Agnew, Fanny Addison Pitt, Anita Rothe and others. The engagement is for 3 nights and the production is presented by Charles Frohman.

Blanche Ring, who will make her first appearance here as a star at the Davidson Theater on Thursday evening, Sept. 22, in Leo Dittichstein's "Vivian's Papas," has just closed a run of a hundred performances in that brisk farce comedy of American life at Powers' Theater, Chicago. Miss Ring will be supported by Harry Conner, for so many years the main prop of the farce comedies of Charles H. Hoyt, and

STAR THEATER.
 The Five Sisters Bellatzer, Europe's most sensational gymnasts, will be one of the leading features of The New Majestics, which will be the attraction at the Star next week. The entire show is decidedly attractive this season. There is a chorus of thirty dashing young girls.

CRYSTAL THEATER.
 The Crystal Theater announces as an attraction extraordinary for next week, the appearance of Geo. W. Bandy, the champion dancer of the world. Seven other star acts.

GRAND THEATER.
 The Grand Theater, 186 Third street, presents an unusually strong list of attractions for the coming week, including Russell & Locke, Brummel & Kemberly, Spissell Bros., Dill & Ward and the renowned William Deboe, the show closing with the moving pictures. The attractions playing at the Grand cannot be seen elsewhere in this city, and come direct from the Chicago Opera House. The management of the Grand caters the ladies and children.

Fall Festival and Hanford Day
 ARRANGED BY THE
SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY,
 AT
Schlitz Park, Saturday, October 15th,
 Afternoon and Evening.
Benjamin Hanford, CONCERT all Afternoon,
 Candidate for Vice-President of GRAND BALL, REFRESHMENTS.
 the Social-Democratic Party will ADMISSON FREE!
 speak at 3 and 8 P. M.

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 We offer a most complete selection of UNION MADE CLOTHING at popular prices. When we say that our goods are the best to be had at the price, we speak without fear of contradiction.
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Mr. Jack Frost Will be in and out of Milwaukee from now on, until about the middle of next month, when he comes to stay all winter.
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