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RUSSIAN REVOLUTION IMPOSSIBLE!

Victor L. Berger shows that the Economic Basis is Lacking.

NEWS from Russia has once more aroused the interest of the whole civilized world, and that to the highest pitch, for it actually seemed for a moment as though the ice had been broken in the czar's domination and a revolution was imminent.

On this occasion a new element appeared on the stage, an element hitherto attracting little notice in the empire of the czar—the Russian workingman.

Two weeks ago a strike broke out in St. Petersburg. It was not a question of political liberty or of granting a constitution, or of any similar political demand, but simply a question of more bread, of slightly improved conditions.

Being good and loyal subjects, these St. Petersburg workmen drew up a petition setting forth their grievances, and on that memorable Sunday, two weeks ago, prepared to march before the czar and present it to him in person. They marched forth led by a priest named Gapon, with a cross borne before them. They wished to see their czar, the "Little Father," in whom they trusted, through whom they hoped to obtain redress, and who failed to help them, as they supposed, because a horde of wicked men and blood-suckers surrounded him and gave him false information concerning the people's wrongs.

At the Neva-gate, beside the triumphal arch erected to commemorate the Russian victory over the Turks, the Ismalowski regiment of the guards, of which the czar himself is honorary colonel, was drawn up in line. The commander of the troops ordered the strikers to disperse. As they did not immediately obey this command, the soldiers were ordered to fire. Men, women and children fell in heaps at the first volley. A second and a third volley was fired upon the defenseless people, and those who could escape, fled in a deadly panic.

This terrible scene was enacted in several different places, often before the strikers had attempted to form a procession. Nowhere was there any resistance offered—the barricades which were reported to have been thrown up by the strikers existed only in the imagination of the newspaper correspondents who tried to find a parallel to the last three French revolutions or the German uprising of 1848.

This, however, was no revolution, but simply an undisguised Russian massacre, the slaughtering of thousands of loyal Russian subjects, who did not dream of offering resistance. Such massacres occurred frequently under Ivan the Terrible, and Russian history records many since his time.

In Ivan's time they were called "Zapala," as Johann Scherr tells us. A prominent Russian official called this massacre "a little blood-letting done for the purpose of ridding ourselves of certain troublesome elements or at least of intimidating them."

A real revolution, unfortunately, is hardly a possibility with the Russian people at present. A few brave Socialists, a few heroic nihilists—mostly Jews and poor noblemen—are working towards that end, imbued with the hope of a better future. But the great majority of the Russian people do not understand these men. The bulk of the Russian people are a century and a half behind the times. All so-called revolutions which have heretofore occurred in Russia were "palace-revolutions," that is, the reigning czar was deposed either by means of the dagger or suffocated by pillows as the result of a plot emanating from those in high rank or, as more recently, emanating from below when a bomb was used.

A spirit of unrest is certainly prevalent in Russia. Revolutionary propaganda is rife throughout the empire. But as yet there is no decided aim, no definite knowledge of what the revolution should accomplish. First of all the people must feel the necessity of a new economic basis of society; secondly, they must have some kind of program to carry out, and, lastly, they need some shibboleth.

In France feudalism was rapidly dying out during the eighteenth century, was, in fact, out of vogue at the close of the century and ready to be replaced by the bourgeoisie as a new economic basis of society. Rousseau furnished the program for the revolutionists; as their shibboleth they proclaimed: liberty, equality, fraternity.

The liberal party of Germany in 1848 likewise had a well-defined program, which, however, they forsook to a great extent later on. But in Russia no one seems to have any clearly prescribed program at present, excepting the Social-Democratic party. The Zemstvos are too vague in their ideas and lack courage. And, while Socialism is possible of realization today in the United States and, perhaps, in Germany, England and France as well—it is certainly not feasible in Russia at the present time. The bourgeois state is a necessary phase of economic evolution, which cannot be skipped. Russia has, therefore, as yet not reached the necessary stage in its development.

If Czar Nicholas II. had deigned to receive the deputation of the strikers and treated them to a few kind words, this whole affair would have ended peacefully and amicably. The city proletariat of Russia is as yet of little importance—no less than 84 per cent of the Russian population being peasants. And it is by no means an exaggeration to say that the Russian peasant is the most ignorant, the most religious, and perhaps the most stupid among the tillers of the soil in all Europe. The middle-class of Russia is very small and unimportant.

But what will take place now? That is difficult to predict. For the present the "uprising" in St. Petersburg—if such it can be called—has been suppressed without the least resistance. The bloodthirsty Trepoff, formerly chief of police of Moscow, against whom the first attempts at assassination were directed, has been appointed Governor-general of St. Petersburg with unlimited powers. All city authorities are subordinated to him, he has been invested with the powers of the minister of the interior and entrusted with the command over all the troops. As a result St. Petersburg is quiet!

To be sure, the strike has become general throughout almost the whole of Russia and has spread to other large cities, including Warsaw, Moscow, Ljuba, Sargow, etc., but since the strikers lack proper organization and leadership, this wave of discontent will soon lose its force, despite the general sympathy manifested for the strikers.

The whole movement seems to have been quite unexpected to the Social-Democrats, or, no doubt, they would have put themselves at its head and not contented themselves with issuing a few belated proclamations. But whichever way this episode may end, one thing is sure: "Between the czar and his people there towers a mountain of corpses," as the poet Maxim Gorky expressed it.

There is, of course, nothing novel in this for Russia, where for centuries men of the noblest stamp have died under the knout or perished in Siberian mines. The terrorists, however, will make all possible capital out of the present situation. The "red terror" will follow in the wake of the "white terror," and no honest, sensible man will condemn them, for at the present time this kind of revolutionary activity is the only way open to free-minded Russians.

How this progressive element will finally reach the dull masses in Russia and get them to accept their doctrines is a question which the future must decide.

Victor L. Berger

Gov. Douglas, the shoe man, was the arbitrator in the Fall River strike in the cotton mills. Douglas was elected as "labor's friend," and it was supposed by many a dope who voted for him, that labor's interests would be looked after in his decision. Well, he has rendered his decision, and the big struggle is over—and the operatives returned to work at precisely the reduction the capitalists had insisted on all along. This is arbitration for you, with a labor friend, a capitalist in disguise, heading the list!

F. G. B. Gordon has an hysterical wail against Socialism in the current issue of the American Federationist, the admission of which will do that official journal's columns by its editor, Samuel Gompers, constitutes a deliberate affront to the many members of the A. F. of L. who are believers in Social-Democracy. Gordon, in a mawked way, seeks to repeat the slander that Comrade Victor L. Berger circulated, or even knew anything about certain anti-Gompers circulars at the San Francisco convention.

The Rev. Herbert Bigelow of Cincinnati, spurred on by Pres. Elliot's claim that the worker ought to feel pleasure in their work (his solution of the labor problem!) has been making some investigations and has found that in Indiana the wages of 48,225 employes averages \$8.77 a week! He found that 8,494 carriage makers in that state averaged \$6.98 a week—Indiana is Parry's state, please remember, and Parry is an extensive manufacturer of carriages and a paver of inhuman wages! In Illinois he found the average weekly wages of 80,881 wage workers was \$9.70! The average pay in the woolen mills of New Jersey he found to be \$6.43 a week! The anthracite coal miners made \$9.53 a week! Their helpers got an average of \$5.89 a week—a fine wage on which to rear families of future American citizens! Shades of John Mitchell and Millionaire Frank Robbins, whom Mitchell wanted to boost into the U. S. Congress! Yet Mitchell's other friend, Pres. Elliot of Harvard—the man who sticks to it that "the scab is a hero"—says the American wage worker ought to go through his work with a smile!

"Have the clerical critics who are blackguarding Socialism such a clear record for morality, themselves?" asks a correspondent. We answer, Not as a class. We have tried to be patient under the contemptible form in which certain priests have made their attacks on the Social-Democrats. The temptation to retort "You, of all people, should be the last to call us black," was strong, yet was resisted. But these certain critics have been so shameless, so dishonest and so studiously and persistently unfair in their recent utterances, that it may not be out of place to say a few words along the line which our correspondent's query suggests. The clerical critic generally seizes upon some moral delinquency of some person belonging to the Socialist movement, or upon some conduct alleged to be a moral delinquency, and then, holding it up to public view, says "but how can we expect anything else, when the fathers of Socialism taught immorality and the breaking up of the home." If the persons thus talked to are ignorant of what the fathers of Socialism stood for, what they taught, etc., or are ignorant of the teachings of Socialism generally, this sort of defamation has its effect and the cleric feels that "the ends justify the means" and that he has scored. How his hands would go up in sense of outrage if we applied the same sort of reasoning to his own church! And yet that is not hard to do. We have only to turn to Catholic authorities to know that many of the early popes were disreputable and scandalous characters. In the New World (Catholic) of Nov. 7, 1903, appears this item from Rome: "Dr. Pastor, author of the 'Lives of the Popes,' had a long audience with the Holy Father on Saturday, and presented to His Holiness a copy of the fourth edition of the first volume of the work. The Pope expressed his hearty appreciation of the action of Leo XIII. in throwing open the secret Vatican archives, and said 'The truth is not to be feared.' He gave Dr. Pastor permission to dedicate to him the fourth edition of the second volume." Another high church authority is Dr. Alzog's "Mannuel of Universal Church History," the English edition of which bears the imprimatur of Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati. From these two authorities it appears that Pope John XI. was installed by his mother, who was the daughter of a notorious courtesan; that Pope John XII. was a profligate and was indicted for incest; that Pope Urban V. was guilty of "indescribable immorality"; that Pope Pius II. was the father of several children and a writer of immoral literature; that Pope Innocent VIII. bought his election, was the father of two children (illegitimate), one of whom was afterward married in the Vatican, to the scandal of the church; that Pope Alexander VI. bought the papacy, was "grossly immoral," kept mistresses and had four illegitimate children; that Pope Paul III. trafficked in his sister's shame; that Pope Julius II. was accused of sodomy—but this is enough to show that what may be found in these two authenticated works. Suppose we were to say, following out the mode of attack pursued by the clerical opponents of Socialism, that the Catholic church stood for immorality and that its early fathers taught immorality and that it was in consequence immoral today, and showed this latter fact by quoting from the letter of protest and complaint which the Catholic Laymen's Association of Chicago sent to Cardinal Martinielli in 1902 (in which the immoral conduct of various Catholic priests of Chicago was specified and complained of)—what a cry would go up from these conscientious clerical critics that we were insulting their religion and their citizenship! Yet this is just the method they are pursuing with the Socialists, and with less reason, in fact with none at all, for the city Socialists were moral, high-purposed

Class Prejudice vs. Business Interests.

Beloit, Wis., last year the scene of one of the strongest fights put up by the Citizens' Alliance, is undergoing another swing of the pendulum this year. The merchants of the city, in an attempt to regain the business lost to the Chicago department stores on account of their alleged discrimination against union members, are doing everything in their power to cater to these people. Under their auspices several large trades union meetings have been arranged and money has been promised the movement from the same source. Manufacturers engaged last year in fighting the unions, this year are either passive or friendly inclined to organizations. Several have not only not renewed their membership in the alliance, but have publicly come out against it as an expensive system of reprisal that benefits but a few paid attorneys.

When last year a number of Beloit merchants refused to sell to union members out of fear that conditions did not warrant their running any risk should strikers find it impossible to pay their accounts when due, Chicago department stores were not slow in taking advantage of the openings that presented themselves. Catalogues were sent to almost every address in the directory and free delivery of merchandise held out as an inducement in addition to better prices. A large trade was worked up by these means and unionists assert that they will not leave the Chicago merchants for those of their home town. The situation for some local merchants is said to have become serious, but with a better feeling between merchants and workmen it is probable that some understanding will be reached in the near future.

—Milwaukee Sentinel.

men, with the high moral ideals that dominate the Socialists of today and which, we firmly believe, are too highly moral for certain clerical critics to appreciate or comprehend. As we have referred to that Chicago scandal—"the most terrible that has ever occurred in America," to use the words of the late Archbishop Katerer as quoted in a recently published book, we may make it a little clearer to the reader by saying that the protest sent Cardinal Martinielli stated that the diocese of Chicago had fallen into bad hands and that the conduct of some of its priests had brought great scandal on the members of the church in that city. It told of "a pastor of one of our city parishes" being "seen in a state of intoxication near Washburn avenue and Madison street.... engaged in soliciting women passers-by." It told of another priest in a state of intoxication on the streets, also in the center of the city; of another found by the police, at about the same time, in a drunken stupor and taken to the police station to sober up; of an assistant pastor of a prominent city parish, a few days later, entering a saloon, sending the saloonkeeper on a supposed errand and then attempting to criminally assault his wife, with the result of a badly beaten skin when the saloonkeeper returned and could join his wife in punishing the wretch; of a drunken melee in the presbytery of one of the largest parishes of the city in which drunken priests fired revolvers through the windows and brought in the police; of other priests having illicit intercourse with female parishioners and others and of carrying on intrigues with women begun through the confessional, and so on. Archbishop Katerer is quoted as calling this a "reign of rotteness," and he would seem to have fittingly characterized it. With such things happening so flagrantly that the members of the Catholic church in Chicago felt called on to protest to the apostolic delegate, it would seem as if the Father Kresses and men of their ilk might profitably employ their talents in doing some house-cleaning right at home, instead of essaying to cleave up a Socialist movement which is too clean for ever, their own foul slanders to stick to.

The dishonesty of that clerical character assassin, Father Kress, is well shown by the fact that in one of his recent lectures against Socialism he quoted from John Humphrey Noyes' book on "The History of American Socialisms," with the clear intention of palming it upon his hearers as a Socialist book, written by an accredited Socialist. As a matter of fact, Noyes was never a Socialist, but was the leader of a band of Bible enthusiasts known as Perfectionists, who eventually constituted the famous Oneida Community, known today to our housewives by the preserved fruits and vegetables it places on the market, and by other products. Noyes' book was published somewhere back in the 40's and was devoted to describing the various Fourierite and other communities that flourished at that time, all such experiments in those days being referred to under the name of Socialism—the word being considered synonymous with the word "association." Father Kress well knows all this, but it doesn't seem to be in his nature to deal honestly with his hearers.

That August Belmont is a fit man to head Mr. Gompers' Civic Federation of Labor, in place of the late Marcus Hanna, is well shown by a speech delivered by Belmont in Chicago recently. He was down to speak on the subject of the new New York subway, a seeming municipal enterprise out of which Belmont expects to line his pockets, but according to The Public, a democratic journal of Chicago, he "mentioned subways only to advise Chicago to avoid building any for the present" and instead "proceeded to outline an excellent plan for turning the streets of Chicago over to a set of New York traction jobbers for a half a century to come." Belmont is simply a preying parasite upon the people. Naturally he is in the Civic Federation for a purpose, same as the other plutes.

The Erie railroad has issued an order to its employes forbidding their giving out any information regarding serious accidents along its lines to persons who are not representatives of the company. The Milwaukee Sentinel "ingeniously" remarks: "What a road can hope to gain by so secretive a course it is difficult to imagine." O, is it! Well, let us see about that. According to the last issue of the World almanac the number of railroad accidents in the United States in 1902, based on the statistics of the Interstate Commission, was 73,250. Of this number 8,587 were killed outright. Railroad accidents mean damage suits in the courts and every year the railroads of this country have to pay out very large sums as damages for injuries or for deaths, not to mention the expense it takes to fight such cases through the courts. Naturally the railroads do not want their employes to give out evidence that will help the other side in making out a case against them and so they are doing just what all big manufacturing do, suppressing as much of the facts regarding accidents in which they are concerned as possible. They, in effect, say to their victims, or their victims' relatives, "Prove the facts if you can, you'll get no help from us." But of course the Sentinel could not see this, such papers are innocent and childlike, and have to be shown. It even does a little moralizing about this order of the Erie's. "Above all others, railroad companies should be desirous of having accidents along their lines reported without exaggeration or distortion," it says. Well, it is to be presumed that the railroads, after years of experience, know their business pretty well. And certain it is that every man who has ever worked on a city newspaper knows that the railroad companies constantly suppress news of accidents, and have always done so, so that the Sentinel's surprise over the order of the Erie, may be set down as a nice little case of humbug.

Socialism is the topic up for discussion all over this land today, anybody who helps on this discussion be he common mortal, priest or capitalist editor, is a friend, and we gladly acknowledge the fact.

Milwaukee Social-Democrats had the record crowd at their carnival in the big Exposition building—over 12,000 people, by actual count of the tickets taken in at the door—and the politicians' jaws are agape with dismay. They are beginning to "see their finish," all right!

Reports state that the German government is now in favor of state ownership of canals, coal fields and so on. The working class is organized in Germany, that's why. The more the working class gets power through organization and a concerted use of the ballot, the more the rulers discover that public ownership is a good thing. The thing is working, all right, only the workers must keep at it.

Socialists are not out for revenge for the crimes of capitalism, but for justice. The enormity of the wrongs done the race under the capitalist system renders an adequate revenge impossible, even if it were desired. What revenge could compensate for the waste in real living which people all about us suffer? To large numbers of people the earth is little better than a dungeon—they are simply serving time on earth at hard labor, in order that an imperious few may lead butterfly lives!

Father Kress waxes righteously indignant because, he says, the Socialists of France proposed that illegitimate children should be recognized as the children of their parents. But such a provision is certainly merciful, especially to the children who have no voice as to the status of the parenthood that begot them. And may we call the reverend traducer's attention to the little fact of accredited Catholic church history: That Pope Alexander VI., according to Dr. Pastor's "History of the Popes," had four illegitimate children and that he legitimized one of them, a son. Now, shouldn't he have rendered justice to all of them?

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THE RUSSIAN REVOLT NO SURPRISE!

Eugene V. Debs Depicts Conditions in the Realm of the Czar

[Telegraphed, by request, to the New York World.]

THE uprising in Russia is not unexpected to those who have been watching the trend of events in that Czar-ruled country. The wretched condition of the working class in the industrial centers and among the peasantry has been exploited in the newspapers and magazines of all civilized countries during these many years, and all observant men have long since realized that the limits must finally be reached and that the inevitable crisis must come.

At last the oppressed and half-starved workers have risen in revolt and this revolt now presages revolution, which may or may not be temporarily suppressed, but which, before it runs its course, will sweep the Russian monarchy out of existence. Emperor Nicholas might have given his reign a new and indefinite lease of power had he but received the petition from his meek and miserable subjects. But true to his instincts of royalty and of the ruling class in every age, the common people were not only spurned from the presence of the monarch, but were shot dead in their tracks like wild beasts by his army of heartless mercenaries. It was these murderous volleys that transformed the lowly subjects into resolute and defiant men and lit the fires of the Russian revolution that now loom lurid and portentous on the horizon of the whole civilized world.

From the standpoint of organized labor the revolution has special significance. It means that the working class of Russia, so long in the rear ranks of the international labor movement, are arousing from their lethargy and are at last resolved to break the political chains that fetter them and take their place where they properly belong in the bonds of international unionism. The uprising of the Russian toilers under such extraordinary conditions is watched with intense eagerness by the organized workers of all countries, who are profoundly in sympathy with their enslaved Russian comrades and devoutly wish that they may triumph over the heartless despots that have so long tyrannized over them.

The Russian uprising will have a marked tendency toward the solidarity of all the workers of the world.

There is no doubt that the Russian toilers have received some of their inspiration from the co-workers in the United States. The literature of labor is now international and the Russians are well advised of the progress that is being made by the working class of this country in organizing not only to resist injustice, but to emancipate the working class from wage slavery and make it the ruling class of the world.

It is not probable that Count Tolstoy's doctrine of non-resistance will meet with much favor among the outraged workmen who have become full-fledged revolutionists. The doctrine of Father Gopon will more likely become the shibboleth of the revolution. The Russian monarchy will rule with blood and iron until it is shot or blown out of existence.

Gorky, the Socialist leader, has the true spirit and his is the voice of the revolution. He is the idol of the down-trodden millions of Russia and should he be put to death the fate of the Russian Empire will be all the sooner sealed.

The noteworthy feature of this revolt is the universal interest with which every move is followed. It is recognized to be a proletarian upheaval and the rulers of other foreign countries comprehend its significance and are gravely concerned about its results. Not only this but the unanimity with which the Russian workers have struck and the spontaneity with which the strike has spread from place to place suggests to the capitalist class of all countries, the United States included, that the time may be near when the workers of all lands, conscious of the wrongs they are suffering and the power they have to right them, will inaugurate a universal strike at the ballot box as well as in factory, mill and mine and not cease striking until the struggle is victorious and labor is free throughout the world.

Eugene V. Debs

The bats that blink at the light of Socialism and call loudly for darkness, consider themselves fine birds, of course, but their point of view is wrong. Don't be a bat!

Roosevelt's impetuous cry about "race suicide" so far as it concerned the working class, was not based on a scientific grasp of the situation, for the cry that should have come first would be against the system that makes people too poor to support big families. That settled, there would be no race suicide. Wrong also are the New York women who have now come out in favor of "race suicide," as shown by the following despatch:

New York, Jan. 25.—The Women's Society for Political Study discussed the injustice done to children in large families where parents are unable to support them properly, and after due consideration of those present came out strongly in support of "race suicide."

"We are wasting sympathy," declared one speaker, "on people who surround themselves with large numbers of little ones when they cannot possibly feed them. Let the parents starve if they bring paupers into the world."

How infinitely brutal! Nature's command to go forth and multiply has now become a crime. An abnormal social system begets abnormal view points.

Samuel Gompers tries to draw an analogy between the appearance of Eugene V. Debs as a speaker before the Twentieth Century Club at Sherry's in New York some years ago, and his own case as a conqueror with Belmont, Carnegie, Phipps and other big capitalists of the Civic Federation of Labor at the recent New York meeting of that hybrid organization. "Did the Socialists charge him with mingling with the enemies of labor," or of eating "scab bread" or of smoking "scab cigars?" he asks. But Mr. Debs was not a member of the Twentieth Century Club, nor was he in charge of the affair as toastmaster and the ostensible president of the club. Moreover he was not the head of a trade union movement upon whom the support of label products was enjoined.

LET US HELP THE STRUGGLE IN RUSSIA.

Jan. 20th, 1905, 124 West 124th St., New York. Editor Social-Democratic Herald: The recent revolutionary events turned the eyes of all the civilized world toward Russia. The brutal regime of the Czar turned unendurable even to the meekest of all nations. A peaceful petition carried by unarmed workmen was answered by wholesale murder of innocent men, women and children on the streets of St. Petersburg. The precious blood of the martyrs of freedom sealed the doom of medieval absolutism in Russia. The Russian working class entered into the family of the class-conscious proletariat. The Russian proletariat is engaged in a heroic struggle against the double yoke of political and industrial oppression. Their struggle is our struggle, their victory will be our victory. In order to win, the Russian revolutionists need means, need it at once. I therefore take the liberty to ask you in the name of the Russian Social-Democratic party, represented by the New York Herald, to open a subscription in your valued paper for the benefit of the Social-Democratic party of Russia, the sums to be applied towards aiding those engaged in the struggle for civic and social-economic freedom.

Classics of Social-Democracy.

SOCIALISM FROM UTOPIA TO SCIENCE.

By FREDERICK ENGELS.

[Frederick Engels, who jointly with Karl Marx put the philosophy of Socialism on a scientific basis, was born in Barmen, Germany, Nov. 28, 1820, and was the son of a manufacturer. He received a scientific education and afterward entered mercantile life in Berlin and in England in establishments partly owned by his father. He joined with Marx in writing the celebrated "Communist Manifesto," and was the author of other Socialist and economic works. His "Socialism from Utopia to Science" was written in 1875.]

(PREFACE CONTINUED.)

At all events, one thing seems clear: even if I was an agnostic, it is evident that I could not describe the conception of history sketched out in this little book, as "historical agnosticism." Religious people would laugh at me, agnostics would indignantly ask, was I going to make fun of them? And thus I hope even British respectability will not be shocked if I use, in English as well as in so many other languages, the term, "historical agnosticism," to designate that view of the course of history, which seeks the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all important historic events in the economic development of society, in the changes in the modes of production and exchange, in the consequent division of society into distinct classes, and in the struggles of these classes against one another.

This indulgence will perhaps be accorded to me all the sooner if I show that historical materialism may be of advantage even to British respectability. I have mentioned the fact that about forty or fifty years ago, any cultivated foreigner settling in England was struck by what he was then bound to consider the religious bigotry and stupidity of the English respectable middle-class. I am now going to prove that the respectable English middle-class of that time was not quite as stupid as it looked to the intelligent foreigner. Its religious leanings can be explained.

When Europe emerged from the Middle Ages, the rising middle-class of the towns constituted its revolutionary element. It had conquered a recognized position within medieval feudal organization, but this position, also, had become too narrow for its expansive power. The development of the middle-class, the bourgeoisie, became incompatible with the maintenance of the feudal system; the feudal system, therefore, had to fall.

But the great international centre of feudalism was the Roman Catholic Church. It united the whole of feudalized Western Europe, in spite of all internal wars, into one grand political system, opposed as much to the schismatic Greeks as to the Mohammedan countries. It surrounded feudal institutions with the halo of divine consecration. It had organized its own hierarchy on the feudal model, and, lastly, it was itself by far the most powerful feudal lord, holding, as it did, fully one-third of the soil of the Catholic world. Before profane feudalism could be successfully attacked in each country and in detail, this, its sacred central organization, had to be destroyed.

Moreover, parallel with the rise of the middle-class went on the great revival of science, astronomy, mechanics, physics, anatomy, physiology, were again cultivated. And the bourgeoisie, for the development of its industrial production, required a science which ascertained the physical properties of natural objects and the modes of action of the forces of Nature. Now up to then science had but been the humble handmaid of the Church, had not been allowed to overstep the limits set by faith, and for that reason had been no science at all. Science rebelled against the Church; the bourgeoisie could not do without science, and, therefore, had to join in the rebellion.

The above, though touching but two points where the rising middle-class was bound to come into collision with the established religion, will be sufficient to show, first, that the class most directly interested in the struggle against the pretensions of the Roman Church was the bourgeoisie; and second, that every struggle against feudalism, at that time, had to take on a religious disguise, had to be directed against the Church.

STUDENT'S CORNER

A QUESTION IN MARX. — With Answer by Lucian Sanial.

THE QUESTION.

For a considerable time past I have been endeavoring to satisfactorily solve a problem which presents itself in the form of a question.

WHO PAID THE 3/1?

springing from a study of the illustration of the Genesis of capital to be found in the Humboldt. Edition of Karl Marx's "Capital," page 109 (Part III, chap. VII, sect. 2).

WHO PAID THE 3/2?

I, of course, assume that you accept the interpretation that under this illustration (109) capital appears, according to the Marxian analysis, in the form of a sum of money absorbed from circulation as a result of the sale of a product of labor, in excess of the sum of money circulated or expended in the consumption of materials, incidental expense and labor power, embodied in the commodity by the sale of which the additional 3/1 is gained. It is very evident that in the Marxian illustration of the Genesis of Capital, that the product is sold before capital appears and thus it is not in accordance with this famous illustration of the Genesis of capital to answer my question by saying that the volume of unsold product is the reward of the capitalist. According to Marx "27/1" has been transformed (or sold for) "into 30/1" the trick has, at last, succeeded. Money has been converted into capital. My question is:

WHO PAID THE 3/2?

received by the yarn manufacturer in excess of the 27/1 expended for labor, materials and machinery expense?

THE ANSWER.

1. In Marx's illustration of the "Labor Process" the three shillings (of surplus value) referred to by the correspondent are plainly shown to be "unpaid labor," and would therefore rightly belong to the spinner under an economic system founded on principles of arithmetic justice.

Such principles, however, do not belong to a system which is founded on capitalist ownership of the means of production and distribution. Therefore, in Marx's illustration, the spinner had to sell to his capitalist employer, for three shillings, a labor power which produced a value of six shillings. In half a day he produced a value equal to the full amount of his wage for the whole day, and in the other half day he produced an additional, or "surplus," value of equal amount, which his employer appropriated.

2. Now, if I understand the correspondent correctly, he is asking a question which is not new to me, for it has repeatedly come to me in one form or another, and usually from people who, well, trained in "business"—that is, thoroughly versed in the "practical" operations of buying and selling—know no more of the "Law of Value" than many a professional acrobat, skilled in the feats of his trade, knows of the laws of gravitation.

These people generally reason as follows: "In the Marxian illustration the cost of producing 20 pounds of yarn is 27 shillings. If I sell that product for 30 shillings, my profit is three shillings and it comes, not from the spinner, but from the purchaser."

But they never think of asking themselves why it is that this product of labor sells (on an average) for 30 shillings; how it happens that its "price" (its value computed in gold and subject, of course, to such comparatively small oscillations from day to day around the 30 shillings point as may be caused by "supply and demand," "competition," and other so-called "economic laws," which are not laws at all, but mere factors of perturbation inherent in the capitalist system) is 30 shillings rather than 10 or 60. And should you ask them such a question, I imagine that they would simply smile at the "childishness" of it, just as any of our ancestors of three centuries ago would have done if seriously asked why an apple fell to the ground instead of flying to the moon.

Yet, just as Newton asked himself the question in physics suggested by the fall of the apple and discovered the Law of Gravitation, Marx took up the question in economics not less plainly suggested by the price of commodities and worked out the Law of Exchange Value, which may be briefly formulated thus: "The exchange value of commodities is determined by the comparative quantity of necessary average social labor embodied in them, respectively." (What is meant by this expression, "average social labor," is thoroughly explained by Marx.)

In accordance with this law, twenty pounds of the commodity "yarn" exchanges for thirty shillings of the commodity "gold," because the same quantity of necessary social labor—namely, five days' labor—is materialized in twenty pounds of yarn and in thirty shillings of gold. (In the yarn, as Marx observes, "four days are due to the cotton and the lost steel of the spindle, the remaining day having been absorbed by the cotton during the spinning process.") On the other hand, "five days are materialized in 30 shillings," that is to say, five days' labor are required—on the average—to dig out thirty shillings of gold.

Therefore, it matters not that the "cost" of five days' "labor power" is only 15 shillings; the actual value of the product of that labor power is 30 shillings. It would not even matter if on the one hand the particular workers who raised the cotton,

Church in the first instance. But if the universities and the traders of the cities started the cry, it was sure to find, and did find, a strong echo in the masses of the country people, the peasants, who everywhere had to struggle for their very existence with their feudal lords, spiritual and temporal.

The long fight of the bourgeoisie against feudalism culminated in three, great decisive battles.

The first was what is called the Protestant Reformation in Germany. The war-cry raised against the church by Luther was responded to by two insurrections of a political nature: first, that of the lower nobility under Franz von Sickingen (1523), then the great Peasants' War, 1525. Both were defeated, chiefly in consequence of the indolence of the parties most interested, the burghers of the towns—an indolence into the causes of which we cannot here enter. From that moment the struggle degenerated into a fight between the local princes and the central power, and ended by blotting out Germany, for two hundred years, from the politically active nations of Europe. The Lutheran reformation produced a new creed indeed, a religion adapted to absolute monarchy. No sooner were the peasants of North-east Germany converted to Lutheranism than they were from freemen reduced to serfs.

But where Luther failed, Calvin won the day. Calvin's creed was one fit for the boldest of the bourgeoisie of his time. His predestination doctrine was the religious expression of the fact that in the commercial world of competition success or failure does not depend upon a man's activity or cleverness, but upon circumstances uncontrolled by him. It is not of him that willeth or of him that runneth, but of the mercy of unknown superior economic powers; and this was especially true at a period of economic revolution, when all old commercial routes and centers were replaced by new ones, when India and America were opened to the world, and when even the most sacred economic articles of faith—the value of gold and silver—began to totter and to break down. Calvin's church constitution was thoroughly democratic and republican; and where the kingdom of God was republicanized, could the kingdoms of this world remain subject to monarchs, bishops, and lords? While German Lutheranism became a willing tool in the hands of princes, Calvinism founded a republic in Holland, and active republican parties in England, and, above all, Scotland.

In Calvinism, the second great bourgeois upheaval found its doctrine ready cut and dried. This upheaval took place in England. The middle-class of the towns brought it on, and the yeomanry of the country districts fought it out. Curiously enough, in all the three great bourgeois risings, the peasantry furnishes the army that has to do the fighting; and the peasantry is just the class that, the victory once gained, is most surely ruined by the economic consequences of that victory. A hundred years after Cromwell, the yeomanry of England had almost disappeared. Anyhow, had it not been for that yeomanry and for the plebeian element in the towns, the bourgeoisie alone would never have fought the matter out to the bitter end, and would never have brought Charles I. to the scaffold. In order to secure even those conquests of the bourgeoisie that were ripe for gathering at the time, the revolution had to be carried considerably further—exactly as in 1793 in France and 1848 in Germany. This seems, in fact, to be one of the laws of evolution of bourgeois society.

Well, upon this excess of revolutionary activity there necessarily followed the inevitable reaction which in its turn went beyond the point where it might have maintained itself. After a series of oscillations, the new center of gravity was at last attained and became a new starting-point. The grand period of English history, known to respectability under the name of "the Great Rebellion," and the struggles succeeding it, were brought to a close by the comparatively puny event entitled by Liberal historians, "the Glorious Revolution."

(CONTINUED NEXT WEEK.)

together with those who worked it into yarn and those who repaired the machinery used in the successive processes of yarn production from the plantation to the mill, had received 5, or 10, or 20 shillings instead of 15, while on the other hand the particular miners who dug out the 30 shillings of gold had received a similar or different remuneration; the true value of the 26 pounds of yarn would still be 30 shillings and would remain the same so long as the natural and mechanical conditions of the various industries (gold mining, agricultural, manufacturing, etc.) engaged in the production of gold, cotton or yarn remained such that it would still require the same amount of necessary social labor—namely, five days—to produce either twenty pounds of yarn or 30 shillings of gold.

4. Given a certain rate of production, it falls under the sense that the smaller is the rate of wages and the greater is the rate of profit. It also falls under the sense that a reduction in the rate of wages is wholly at the expense of the wage earner. In Marx's illustration, let us suppose that the spinner's wage is reduced from 3 shillings to 2 shillings while the price of the yarn remains 30 shillings (thus continuing to express the true value of that commodity). Will the correspondent conceive that 3 shillings are now taken from the purchaser's pocket, or has he conceived before, and that nothing has been taken from the spinner?

Perhaps he will argue that in the case of such a reduction of wages the price of yarn will fall to 29 shillings; in which case the difference between the cost of production and the market price would still be 3 shillings. Very well. Without, for the present, considering this subject of a fall of price below actual value, as it would require special treatment, I would simply ask the correspondent whether he would still consider it possible to imagine that the 3 shillings' difference between cost and price came from the pocket of the purchaser and that nothing had been taken from the spinner?

Now, if the correspondent admits—as obviously he must—that in each of the above cases the 3 shillings' difference is borne by the spinner, he must not less obviously admit also that in Marx's illustration the 3 shillings' difference between the 6 shillings' value produced by the spinner and the 3 shillings paid him as wages, is taken from him. This difference is exactly of the same nature as would be a reduction of wages from 6 shillings to 3.

5. From the fundamental Law of Exchange Value many deductions logically flow, that cast a glaring light upon certain economic phenomena which previous to its discovery baffled the understanding. Confining myself here to the particular one more immediately connected with the correspondent's question, I may lay some emphasis on the recognition of the all-important fact, that the whole profit of the capitalist class—including the fraction of that class which directly employs little or no labor—comes from paying less for labor power than the value produced by that power.

As Marx states it in the form of a truism, there is evidently no profit in exchanging 30 shillings' worth of yarn for 30 shillings' worth of gold. The profit made at the expense of the worker is simply "realized"—that is, converted into money—by the exchange process; and the share of it which any particular capitalist gets, whether he is or is not an employer of labor, is upon the whole determined by the amount of capital which he contributes to the exploitation of the workers.

Of course it happens that one capitalist defrauds another. But the gain of one is in this case the loss of the other, and the source of all profit—namely, the "surplus value" extorted from the workers—is neither increased nor decreased by the operation.

Again, it happens that the retailer cheats the workman (not in this as a producer but as a consumer), by selling him necessities above their actual value, thus appropriating to himself a

portion of the hard-earned wages of his unwary victim. True, this is, in its effect, tantamount to a robbery of the worker for the special benefit of the retailer. But it is an extra process of spoliation, akin to the pickpocket's. It is, in fact, not a reduction of, but a subtraction from wages; and although the extent and consequences of that practice entitle it to a consideration which space and time do not permit me to give it here today, I may observe that it does not result in altering the value of commodities.

6. The correspondent says that "the yarn has been sold before capital appears." I may not grasp the exact meaning of these few words, and until I know more of the argument in question I can simply say this: The chapter in which Marx's illustration here referred to appears is entitled "The Labor Process." It is an analysis of the process through which the capitalist exploits the worker. This process presupposes the existence of a capitalist on one side and of a wage worker on the other side; and so we see in the said illustration that there is already some capital represented by material, machinery and money, owned by an employer, while there is a spinner who owns nothing but the labor power that can be made to flow from his body. When the spinner shall have worked this cotton into yarn and received his wage, the employer will be a richer capitalist than before, to the amount of 3 shillings. The origin of capital, then, is another question. It is a question which must be treated historically. When it is so treated, the origin of capital is directly traced to privilege.

Lucian Sanial.
Northport, N. Y.

WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT.

How Capitalism Beats the Law.

As a result of the efforts to enforce the new child-labor law in Chicago it is now discovered that many of the children formerly employed in factories have quit their work and are continuing their work about the city in small sweatshops. According to an estimate made by Miss Elsie Lindstrom of the United Garment Workers, nearly 1,000 of the young toilers are carrying on their task at home. The families where children are thus employed are in need and the proprietors of the factories are only too willing to take advantage of this need. The injury which the law is doing to the children is in warring and stunting their physical and mental growth, rendering them unfit for their duties to society on reaching maturity, evidently does not count as against a chance of making increased profits.

Just think it over: 1,000 little toilers who ought to be in school, who ought to enjoy nature's fresh air, who ought to be learning to sing and to play, who enjoy the song of the birds, and study out the thousands of Nature's wonders in creation, are withering away and fading like the roses of the summer, because the bread-masters must have more profits, rent and interest. More money, dog and horse shows, more wealth as it were, so that they may smother in it in the future. Great is this capitalist system of ours and yet the question is asked: Will not Socialism destroy the home?

When appealed to in the name of humanity, what is the answer of capitalism concerning its murder of the children? It is simply that it cannot run its factories at a profit without child labor. And when outraged society would invoke the "strong arm of the law" in behalf of the innocents, capitalism is ready to write, in its "best leg," a remedial measure, while it "silences" the voice of both Republican and Democratic parties concerning the foulest blot on the civilization of today. Socialism alone stands forth as the protector of childhood and the defender of the home.

—The Vanguard.

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National Platform of the Social-Democrats.

ADOPTED MAY 3, 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 democratic political organization that is to democratize the whole society.

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

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been used by the capitalist class as the means of ruling over the masses of freedom among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agents of great property interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and oppress foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the capitalist class produces. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take away the right of the worker to a voice in the public affairs of his country. They are gradually so interpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual, that they are taking for himself or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the capitalist 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, the arts and literatures, and the means of communication. It depends 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 principle of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths in which our institutions were founded. Private capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the majority of human beings to ever become possessors of private property in the means of life.

It 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. It is the enemy of the private ownership of the means of employment, which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

Socialism means to reorganize industry and society that every individual shall secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of action and his freedom 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 support to the principles of international Socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the Socialists of all nations. We believe that the program already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by the no artificial barriers which divide the workers of the world to the same end. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make the lowest condition the measure of the standard of living. Industry and finance are no longer national but international, both in organization and in interests. The so-called national boundaries, and of the so-called patriotics which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalists to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to keep them from 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 to unite in order to make for the full freedom of all humanity.

III. The Socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development which has separated the workers from a possessing or capitalist class. The class struggle between the workers and the capitalist class is the basis of all social and intellectual activity, as its portion. The fact that these two classes have no common interest, and that the distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not be drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of production, or the tools of production. Wherever and whenever man owned his own land and means of production, he was not dependent on the capitalist class. The things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long since ceased to be individual. The labor of scores, or even thousands, enter 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 cooperation in production is not for the direct use of the things made, but for the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two distinct classes; and from it has sprung all the miseries, hardships, contradictions and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no peaceful compromise, or a merely class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice and misery can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious division of society into 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 already existing. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize and direct the mind of man, or to preserve itself. The capitalists of industry are appalled at their own inability to control the rapidly increasing class struggle. The capitalist class is a sign and form of this developing socialization of the world's work, and the complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

Into the midst of this strain and crisis of civilization, it means that the working class as the only saving or conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder, and from the ruin of the human race, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the Socialist movement. The Socialist party comes with the only program for the protection of the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the program 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 the people in common be 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 final end of all production shall be to an end; that we shall all be workers together, and that opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

V. 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 make in the economic and political struggle for each successive immediate interest of the working class, for shorter days of labor and increasing wages, for the protection of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment, for pensions for aged and disabled workers, for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the no artificial barriers which divide the workers of the world to the same end. The proceeds to be applied to the public employment of the workers, and their freedom from the workshop; for the equal suffrage of men and women; for a referendum system; for the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular control of all government; for the proportional representation, and the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every other measure that the workers may be wrested from the capitalist system; and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist and increase the interests and freedom of the workers.

VI. In so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one end of so standing in co-operation with the workers, such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are the means of preparing the workers to seize the whole power of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the means of production, and thus secure their rightful inheritance.

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the workers of the world, to the complete emancipation of the workers of all nations, and to all who will lead their lives to gain their own, and to all who will noble and disinterestedly give their days and energies to the cause of the workers, we pledge our lot and faith with the Socialist party. Our appeal for the trust and confidence of the workers is to make an appeal for their common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of the human mind. We are not asking ourselves, and those which we represent to be faithful to the appeal which we make, the making of our own party, but the whole of the economic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.

THE MODERN GAS LIGHT CO. AND THE PEOPLE

The writer for the local gas monopoly is indulging in a very amusing series of journalistic gyrations in an effort to bolster up his rather lame contention that private monopoly is superior to municipal ownership.

Under the caption "A Deadly Parallel," attention is called to the fact that the gas company bears the initial expense of putting in service pipe and meters, while the water department requires that the owner of the premises bear this expense.

It would be a misnomer to call this "pulling the wool over the eyes" of the consumer, for the argument is so gauzy that even a blind man may see through it.

As an example the cost of gas for a six-room flat is about \$35.00 per annum, while the cost for water averages about \$3.00 per annum. These figures were obtained from consumers.

The local gas monopoly will find it hard to convince its patrons that they are getting something for nothing.

In one of the monopoly's advertisements it was pointed out that the reason why the municipal ownership of gas plants thrives so much more rapidly in England and Germany than in the United States is because these countries are monarchies and therefore naturally paternalistic in their tendencies. Comparisons are therefore odious. The writer evidently overlooked the fact that there are a couple of progressive republics in Europe where government and municipal ownership have made considerable progress in the past few years. A good "forgettery" is a convenient weakness for a monopoly press agent to be afflicted with.

In a later article the writer calls attention to the "fact" that municipal ownership of gas plants in Great Britain is not making such wonderful strides after all.

Unfortunately, for the monopoly's ad writer, the municipal ownership movement is not confined to the taking over of gas plants in Great Britain. The writer is

farther and tried to prove, by quoting statistics on the consumption of candles, that the people of Great Britain and Germany no longer use artificial light to such an extent as formerly.

Since the monopoly's representative has seen fit to take a flying trip to Great Britain, the reader will no doubt pardon the writer of the present article if he indulges briefly in a little extravagance of the same nature.

Gas lighting is not, in the true sense of the term, a "natural monopoly" such as water, for instance. Electrical lighting for municipal purposes has largely supplanted gas lighting; more so in the United States than in Great Britain, where municipal ownership of gas plants had made considerable progress before the introduction of electricity for street lighting.

Owing to the fact, however, that gas is considerably cheaper than electricity, and to the further fact that great improvements have been made in gas appliances in the past few years, it may be possible that gas will largely replace electricity as a street lighting medium within the next few years.

However this may be, public ownership will continue to grow in favor from year to year, even though the public ownership of gas plants should be entirely abandoned.

Public ownership in Great Britain has been forging ahead in the past few years with leaps and bounds.

The city of Glasgow, the second city of Great Britain, owns practically all of its public-service utilities. Its tramway system alone yielded profits aggregating \$5,452,000 in the past nine years. The hours of employment have been reduced from 14 to 9; fares have been reduced to such an extent that the citizens save nearly \$1,000,000 annually in car fares; the company now contributes \$185,000 annually to the "common-good" fund, which is used for investments in the interest of the people. None of the profits are

For years Glasgow fought for the privilege of establishing its own telephone system. The telephone trust had such a firm grip on the officials of the postoffice department that it was not until several of the principal cities of Great Britain took sides with Glasgow in its fight that it was finally granted a license to install its own plant. And now the British government is to take over the business of the National Telephone Co., of London.

Mr. Frederick U. Adams, who made a personal investigation, writing for the Brooklyn Eagle, had this to say: "We pay five times as much a thousand feet for gas in Hastings-on-Hudson as they do in Glasgow, and it does not cost half as much to put it in the mains. We pay four times as much for electric light."

On the north shore of Lake Superior there is a little city known as Port Arthur. It has a population of about 6,000. Its citizens delight to call it the "Glasgow of America." It owns its own electric light, telephone, street railway and telegraph plants. Car fares and telephone rates have been reduced (the latter more than half), and the city netted over \$25,000 in profits in 1901.

Albert J. Welch.

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FRENZIED POLITICS.--V.

Some Montana Labor History that Points a Moral.

Montana has been famed for its mining wars for the past twenty years. Marcus Daly and W. A. Clark fought strenuously for years, and when Daly sold out and the Amalgamated Copper company was organized the war went merrily on. W. A. Clark and F. H. Heinze standing together against the new company. In course of time Clark made his peace with the Amalgamated, the price being admission to the United States senate. The Standard Oil senators had fired him out of the senate in 1898 because he secured his seat through wholesale bribery, but two years later, on condition that he be a good boy and leave the Amalgamated alone they agreed to close their eyes to his crookedness and admit him to their august body—the Millionaires' club.

Now Daly was dead and Clark was quiet, but still the war went on. Young Heinze was battling single handed against the Amalgamated, and a beautiful article of scrap he put up. Heinze was fighting the big company in the courts and had no fewer than thirty-seven lawyers on his staff at one time. Not only this, but he was electing the judges and winning victory after victory on the political field. The Amalgamated Copper company decided to put a stop to Heinze's victorious career. The first move of Amalgamated chiefs was to give their employees in Butte a barbecue in Columbia gardens, the big pleasure resort of Butte. October 13, 1903, was the date set for the feast. Seven thousand men from the mines and smelters of Butte marched to the trolleys led by three brass bands and started in for a big day's fun. Oxen and sheep were roasted wholesale, a brewery, a distillery and a few cigar factories were to be had for the asking. Platforms were erected near the scene of feasting and to the assembled Amalgamated employees this feast was given: "It will be a bad day for Butte when the Amalgamated Copper company is forced to extreme measures to save itself from the vicious attacks that are being made upon it." Not much attention was paid to this by the merry crowd who were enjoying \$60,000 worth of merriment, but one week later significance of the threat and its full import was felt when a telegram from H. H. Rogers was received in Butte ordering the closing

down of all the Amalgamated properties in Montana. Immediately after the receipt of the telegram all the mines owned by the Amalgamated in Butte were closed down, likewise the mills and smelters. Anaconda was shut down as tight as a drum. Sixty per cent of Great Falls, a city of 16,000 inhabitants, was closed down by the closing of the great smelters. Then Hamilton, a lumber town; next Bonner, also lumber; Belt, a coal town, followed, then Storrs, a coke town; then Cokedale, another coal town. As all these towns were practically one company towns the result was, of course, disastrous. Altogether 18,000 were fired on the order of Rogers.

The people then commenced to retrench. The farmers could not find a market for their stuff. The ore trains were laid off, causing hundreds of railroad men to be thrown out of work at the beginning of a northern winter. Those who had money fled from the state as from a plague, while the small business men pulled down their blinds and went into bankruptcy by the hundreds.

How to get the state opened up again was the next question. Promptly came the answer from Rogers: "Let Governor Toole call together the legislature in special session and let them pass the bills that our lawyer will present, then when the governor signs these bills I will open up our properties."

The governor swore that he would not be held up in this way and refused to call the special session. Week followed week and the people were getting hungrier every hour. Finally the governor came off his high horse, called the special session of the legislature, and the bill the Amalgamated Copper company ordered was passed by a practically unanimous vote and then was signed by the governor.

The shut down of Montana lasted from October 21 to December 7. Thus we see how the frenzied financiers play frenzied politics. We see what a tremendous power they possess when their leader, Mr. Rogers, at the stroke of a pen can throw 18,000 men directly out of work and then many thousands more indirectly, so much so that a state is practically closed down, its people starved, its legislature and governor held up by the throat and legislation

favorable to the Amalgamated Copper company forced from the lawmakers of the state.

Can we escape the conclusion in the light of the above story that nothing short of the ownership by all the people of all the industries of the nation is the remedy for frenzied politics and frenzied finance?

Thomas Aloysius Hickey.

Must be a Change of System.

Dr. Minot J. Savage, of the Church of the Messiah, New York, is quoted as follows: "There are no solutions of the labor or industrial problem except through individuals themselves. If the people are all right these conditions would not confront us. Strikes are not intellectual matters. If the participants were right they could settle these things in an instant, as could the combatants of the Russo-Japanese war.

"What matters whether we have a Socialist, Republican or Democratic party in corruptive control of the nation's affairs? Reorganization can not change the result. We can not have perfect society till we have perfect men and women. Changing the labels does not make any difference in conditions. The problem of individual character solves all others, in these matters as well as those of the church. The word poverty resolves into immorality. If men were right there would be no poverty."

If the view of Dr. Savage, so popular among the Christian defenders of the crime of capitalism, is correct and all depends upon individual character, then all government is wrong and the anarchist—the only simon pure individual—is right.

The words of Dr. Savage are quoted approvingly by anti-socialist labor papers. But if his idea is correct, what justifies the labor union? the lodge? the church? or any form of government?

A mere statement of the position shows how absurdly impossible it is. Why should government seek to prevent sneak thieving and burglary if not also the frauds of business men and politicians?

"Changing the labels" will not change conditions, of course, but CHANGING THE SYSTEM WILL.

If (so-called) Socialists were elected to power and continued the capitalist system, their government would be no better than the present and the real Socialists would be the first to denounce and renounce them. Put real Socialists into power and they will change the capitalist system for the co-operative commonwealth wherein the people direct and control every thing in their own interests. Then see the incomparable result.

A good man may run a bad system a little better than a bad man, but if the system is hopelessly wrong the only sensible and righteous thing to do is to change the system.

—REV. E. E. CARR.

AN ALARMING INCREASE

Statistics show that poverty, murder, suicide, insanity and other evils arising from the capitalistic system of exploitation are increasing at such an alarming rate that it will not be long before the entire population will be victims of one or the other of these evils.

There is, however, a silver lining to this very dark cloud, and that is the remarkable growth of Socialism, for which some credit is due to the capitalist system.

The Rev. Father Kress, who has been giving the people of this city an opportunity to learn what he doesn't know about Socialism, would add to the already long list of crimes of capitalism by calling the Social-Democrats thieves.

Judging from the very large number of subscriptions we received during the reverend gentleman's sojourn in our midst, he could add materially to his income by carrying a supply of these Herald subscription cards.

By keeping the presses buzzing, however, we were able to meet the demand, and still have a few left.

We have not raised the price on account of the increased demand, and your credit is still good at the old rate of five for two dollars.

The Milwaukee Carnival.

The Social-Democratic Carnival at the big Exposition building in Milwaukee last Saturday evening was a most wonderful affair. In the first place it brought together the record crowd of the Exposition building—a building that covers an entire city square. It was an artistic success even beyond expectations. And last, and very important, it was a financial success, and the proceeds will wipe out the big party debt in Milwaukee and leave something over to start a new campaign of agitation and education.

By 9:30 o'clock the people had poured into the building until the suffocating point seemed not far off. The galleries were packed with eager faces, the floor was a packed mass of maskers and the police in a panic rushed to the front doors and forbade the entrance of any more people. After the carnival four comrades undertook the task of counting the tickets taken in at the door and found that the ticket admissions alone tallied up to a few tickets over twelve thousand! This was practically three times as many people as had attended the party carnival last winter at the same place. Who says we are not growing!

Columns would be required to adequately describe the beautiful spectacle the interior of the building presented. It was a prismatic, kaleidoscopic bewilderment that almost defied description. A large list of substantial prizes, totalling up half a thousand dollars had inspired many people with the desire to show what they could do in the masquerading line. There were funny groups, living cartoons with local and national hits, grotesque quartets and single efforts, there were fully as many serious and beautiful masks as there were comic ones and besides this the space was so well occupied that the judges had a hard time of it to pick the groups out from the single maskers and to get good, square looks at the different entries. They finally accomplished the task, however, the prizes were awarded, and then the Social-Democratic orchestra piped up for the grand ball. This could hardly be called a success, the floor was too crowded.

The first group prize went to ten Social-Democrats who enacted a living cartoon entitled "Milwaukee's Boogie Aldermen." This consisted of the fourteen aldermen who helped the local monopoly knock out the municipal electric light bonds in Milwaukee recently, each mask painted up so to actually depict the alderman it was labelled for, and these fourteen were drawing a coffin marked "lighting bonds," behind a sign post reading "to the boogie cemetery."

The second prize was awarded to a menagerie group, with the sign, "Barium & Bailey—year 2000." In the first cage was a "Capitalist—A Grasping Animal Exterminated by Socialism. Only Remaining Specimen." The second cage was labelled "Rockefeller, genu Kerovenus. A Species that existed 100 years ago. Extinct now." The third cage was "Boodler, genu Capitalismus. An animal that thrived before the reign of Socialism."

Another group to get a prize was made up of six boys of different heights, the smallest in the lead and bearing a placard showing the growth of the Social-Democratic vote in Milwaukee by years from 1898 to 1904. Another prize group represented the members of the Milwaukee common council, each member wearing the head of some animal. The foxes, the sheep and the pigs were considerably in evidence.

Among the individual maskers two were especially good. One represented Mayor David S. Rose. On his head was a copy of the city hall tower. On the sides of the tower were the inscriptions, "Grand Jury—Tucson, Ariz.—Graft—Aphalt—35-year franchise—Robbers' Roost—Tammany Hall."

The other masker represented John Rockefeller, with a diamond on his bosom represented by a tiny electric light that flashed continually. On his back he carried the world.

The Herald ten weeks, ten cents.

"Socialism Made Plain," by Allan Benson. A big book for ten cents.

Our advertisers appreciate the fact that our readers watch the advertising columns of the paper and give preference to merchants advertising therein. The continued growth of the party depends largely upon the success of the party press, and this is what spurs our readers on to give our advertisers a boost whenever the opportunity presents itself.

WHAT THE PRESS SAYS:

The Homeless.

The Clarion: "Much as we dislike General Booth's blood-and-hell religion, we cannot but admit the practicality of some of his suggestions for dealing with the problem of the homeless poor of London. He asks for £80,000, in order to provide for shelter for the 2,000 who are at present compelled to loam the streets at night. He asks for £280,000, not from the State, but from the millionaires. He does not want State aid, because if he got it "the other big cities would want it." This is an admission that the other big cities ought to have it, because there is not the slightest likelihood that millionaires are going to come forward and put down the money that would be required to meet the evil all over the country.

No method which depends on millionaires can possibly be successful. The £200 provided for what is to prevent the manufacture of another 2,000? Since General Booth started his campaign against "Darkest England" the position has got steadily worse. Millionaires have become more numerous; so have paupers. The system which makes the millionaire possible inevitably produces the pauper. The Salvation Army methods will never solve the problem.

General Booth has, however, clear and sensible ideas on the question of making men of the streets and the unfortunate victims of our industrial and social system. "You look at a criminal," he says, "and your idea is to punish him. You look at a pauper, and the most generous idea you possess of helping him is to ameliorate his condition—to save him from starvation. The thought of changing him into a man capable of supporting himself is not entertained. The idea of making him honest is looked upon as an impossibility."

General Booth, on the contrary, does believe in the possibility of making these diseased members of the community into healthy and honest citizens, and there we go all the way with him. But we say it is also the duty of the State to prevent their manufacture. And it is the duty of the State to take in hand the reclamation of those who have suffered from its errors in the past. To rely on spasmodic bursts of charity on the part of millionaires attacked with fears of Hell is useless. The work should and must be undertaken by the State.

Tax Dodging in New York.

Chi. Record-Herald: Generally speaking, there is little humor in tax lists—least of all from the standpoint of owners of tangible property. But the attempts of the taxing authorities of the great and rich city of New York to reach the personal property of the wealthy citizens irretrievably suggest the labor of the mountain with the proverbial mouse as the result. A German oratorical allegory—though without pride—that the eastern metropolis holds the unnumbered pre-eminence among American cities for evasion, perjury and artful dodging in connection with assessments of personality, and the latest figures would seem to support that assertion.

When the tax books for 1903 were thrown open the officials found that the normal rate of increase had not been maintained. The shrinkage was, in fact, so enormous that a considerably higher tax rate was inevitable. A little study of the returns revealed an alarming disappearance of millionaires from the personal tax rolls. The future historian will record the extraordinary fact that in the prosperous year 1904 the financial center of the United States had exactly twenty persons who had managed to accumulate \$300,000 or more in personality, including, of course, stocks and bonds and other securities of all kinds. Another remarkable fact for the future sociological student is that nearly half of these fortunate persons belong to the gentler sex. He will be apt to conclude that not only the schools of America, but the Wall street offices had been thoroughly "offensitized" by that time.

Of the twenty persons in question only eight have \$100,000 or more in personal property. Poor Mr. Carnegie is credited with \$5,000,000 and Mr. J. D. Rockefeller with half that amount. There are two Vanderbilts on the Milwaukee roll and Uncle Russell Sage, one is apt to see, has by dint of rigid self-denial and thrift mounted to the same lofty level. A few years ago New York boasted of the whole legion of millionaires; where are they now? A "lost, strayed or stolen" ad may yet have to be inserted by the tax board.

Union Labels and Shop Cards.

Familiarize yourself with the various Union Labels and Shop Cards and ask for them when buying goods or having work done.

Demand this Label on all Packages of Beer, Ale or Porter.

Demand this Label on all Packages of Beer, Ale or Porter.

When purchasing cigars see that this label is on the box.

It is a guarantee that the cigars are not made by the trust.

DEMAND THIS LABEL ON YOUR PRINTING.

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WORKINGMEN, DO YOUR DUTY!

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BEN. KORNBERGER & BRO., MANUFACTURERS OF THIS UNION LABEL

SEE THAT THIS LABEL IS ON ALL TOBACCOS

YOU BUY

Whether Smoking, Chewing or Snuff NONE GENUINELY UNION MADE WITHOUT IT.

DEMAND THIS LABEL.

Buy Shoes Bearing this Stamp.

Richard Elsner, Lawyer.

The Emblem of Justice to the Worker the Manufacturer and the Retailer.

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.

The Socialist Voice, of Oakland, Cal., is to be enlarged.

Chicago comrades will hold a carnival and bazaar at Brand's hall, Feb. 12 to 19.

The ex-Mayor of Haverhill, John C. Chase, lectured last Sunday in Philadelphia on Socialism.

The Socialist press appears to be very well pleased with the selection of Comrade Mahlon Barnes as the new national secretary.

Comrade Hermon F. Titus has had to postpone the reappearance of his paper, the Seattle Socialist, because of a gastric illness. He is reported to be recovering.

After she finishes her agitations in Chicago, Comrade Katherine Breshkovsky the Siberian exile, will go to St. Louis, where a monster meeting is being arranged for her.

Some well known names appear in the list of nominees for the new national committees from New York state, among them: Hillquit, Slobodin, Spargo, Chase, Herron, Sieverman and Hanford among the rest.

Jack London spoke before the university students at Berkeley, California, the other day, and instead of speaking of his travels or his books, as the faculty had expected, he gave his hearers a good hot Social-Democratic talk and the building shook with the applause.

The Western Clarion of Vancouver, B. C., has at least been placed on a sound basis and equipped with a complete plant, press and typesetting machine. In the issue of Jan. 28 the Clarion gives in detail the proceedings of the fourth annual convention of the Socialist party of British Columbia, held at Vancouver.

COLORADO.—The following was adopted by the Local Quorum of the state board of Colorado:

Whereas, Englewood Local not having complied with the demands of the Local Quorum, its writ: that E. A. W. Thorsell be expelled from the Social party upon charges preferred by the German local of Denver (membership 96), of advocating in "The Alliance" of Jan. 7th, 1905, a dual organization in the state of Colorado against the regularly constituted Socialist party of Colorado and calling upon the members to cease paying dues in order to "leave out" the party from their midst.

Resolved by the Local Quorum of the Socialist party of Colorado that Englewood local be suspended from the Socialist party and that the charter of Englewood local be revoked and the state secretary be instructed to organize a local at Englewood, and be it further Resolved, That the state secretary be instructed to notify the national secretary of this action.

Pursuant to demands from locals Amity, Englewood, Delta, Peace, Hotchkiss and Crawford "that a referendum of the party be taken to remove Geo. T. Cramton from the office of state secretary."

Wm. M. Ash of Delta has been nominated for National Committeeman by Englewood local.

Geo. T. Cramton, State Secy.

MINNESOTA.—The campaign of 1906 is already started in Minnesota. Comrade Thomas Van Lear, a machinist who was discharged and blacklisted by the Citizens' Alliance, because he was a Socialist agitator, has been employed as state organizer by the Socialist party. He was the nominee on the S. L. P. two years ago, but is now an enthusiastic member of the Public Ownership party, the legal name of the party in Minnesota.

Dates for Comrade Van Lear have been arranged as follows: Wilton, Jan. 31; Langley, Feb. 1; Angus, Feb. 2; Crookston, Feb. 3; St. Hiljar, Feb. 4; Crookston, Feb. 6; Ada, Feb. 7.

EAU CLAIRE, WIS.—Comrade George R. Kirkpatrick will speak in Putnam's hall on Feb. 12, afternoon and night, and will start the 1906 campaign for the Eau Claire, Wis., comrades.

An effort is being made to perfect an organization in Iron and Duane counties. Socialists who would like to have a speech delivered by Comrade Kirkpatrick should write Frank Hicks, 229 11th street, South Minneapolis. The Hudson and St. Croix comrades should also write regarding a lecture while Comrade Kirkpatrick is in the western part of Wisconsin.

Frank Hicks, former editor The Wisconsin Toller.

Los Angeles, Cal.

Comrade E. L. Osgood, 839 E. 25th street, will take subscriptions for the Social-Democratic Herald.

ATTENTION, MINNEAPOLIS.

W. H. Brown, 45 S. Fourth str., will take subscriptions for the Social-Democratic Herald.

Camden, N. J., and Vicinity.

Subscriptions for the Social-Democratic Herald taken by J. Jaster, 17 Hudson st., Camden, N. J.

NOTICE, Superior, Wis.—Subscriptions for the Herald will be taken by J. T. Kennedy, 1013 Wisconsin street.

ACROSS THE HERRING POND.

Herr Albrecht, a Social-Democrat, has been elected to the reichstag of Germany from the Kaibe-Achersleben district by 21,719 votes over Herr Placke, a Nationalist, who received 19,433 votes.

The unemployed situation in London increases in intensity and alarm for the possessing and appropriating class. It may be that so many people will starve to death that the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie will be forced to make concessions.

Dr. Parvus, in a remarkably interesting number of his "Welt Politik" (Russia), dwells on the assassination question in Russia. While defending very ably the right of the desperately oppressed at all times to employ any weapon at their disposal and showing how the very bourgeoisie in Germany who are loudest in their condemnation of the Russian "Nihilists" have always asserted the same right for themselves, yet he shows why the Russian Social-Democratic party opposes the revival of the "Terror" method. Principally because the "Terror" gives an exaggerated importance to individuals and demoralizes the work of organizing the masses, which is our principal duty and is especially necessary in view of the fight on the one hand against Tsarism, on the other against Liberalism. Even the Revolutionary Socialist party—the propagators of the "Terror" idea—are abandoning it. The fact is, only those are likely to accept the gospel of "Terror," i. e., quite apart from the question of what an individual may do under stress of desperation—we may defend the latter without wishing to see his action become a general rule—who forgot the fact that we are fighting against a system, not individuals; the organization of the class war and the abolition of class exploitation, not the mere substitution of Governor Tweedledum for Governor Tweedledee. It is surely not without interest that the propagators of the gospel of "Terror" in Russia are the Revisionists, and naturally that is the solution of the "ideologue." — Social-Democrat.

London.

NOTICE, Watertown, N. Y.—W. J. Huff, 40 Lynde st., will take subscriptions for the Herald.

Walter Thomas Mills, A. M.

Teaches Socialism By Correspondence

Over Four Thousand Comrades, now active in the Socialist movement have studied Socialism by regular, systematic personal correspondence with Walter Thomas Mills. His great book

The Struggle for Existence

was the result of this correspondence work and was completed and perfected for use as a text book for this purpose. It contains 648 large pages and covers every possible phase of the labor question.

Over Seven Thousand of these books are now in the hands of their purchasers. Individuals, families and local classes are systematically studying this book with the direct assistance of its author.

All who begin to study it at once begin to push the propaganda. It is impossible to become a real student of real socialism and not become a real worker for socialism.

Comrade Mills has conducted all other correspondence and will send you a letter in answer to his regular, prompt and generous attention to this correspondence work.

If you want to understand Socialism write to him. If you want to work for Socialism, and do so effectively, write to him. If you want to carry your city, town or county by the Socialist party, write to him. As soon as the walls can carry the letter you will get his personal reply. Send a stamp for particulars of cost. Address:

International School of Social Economy, 1429 Masonic Temple, Chicago.

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Social-Democratic Herald

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The Herald is not responsible for the opinions of its contributors.

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Editor: FREDERIC HEATH, Associate: VICTOR L. BERGER.

What International Socialism Demands:

- 1. Collective ownership of all industries in the hands of Trusts and Combinations, and of all public utilities.
2. Democratic management of such collective industries and utilities.
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.

If you believe in the above vote with the Social-Democrats.

All communications intended for the national party and headquarters should be addressed, hereafter, to J. MAHLON BARNES, NATIONAL SECRETARY, 269 DEARBORN ST., CHICAGO, ILL.

EDITORIAL ETCHINGS.

"The poor will be always with us"—as long as the robber capitalist system endures!

"Socialism will be a failure," declare the anti-Socialist priests. There is no such thing as equality in nature. Certainly, and no one points out that fact more than the Social-Democrats. But let us not be misled by verbal and jesuitical tricks of speech.

Pres. Gompers devotes an entire editorial in the American Federationist (an official publication, paid for in part by trade unionists who believe in Socialism, and therefore not rightfully a personal organ, although so used) to say some bitter things about the Socialists, whom he recklessly brands as enemies of the trade union movement because they regard strikes as only temporary weapons in the class war, and in which editorial he takes occasion, in a plainly nettled way, to prove that, whether the menu at the Civic Federation banquet was scab or non-scab, he partook of none of it, and calls as witness a Mr. John C. Freund, publisher of a musical weekly, who sat beside him and says he ate no bread at all.

The following from a cable dispatch gives a picture of the present situation in Russia. To it may be added the latter item that Mirsky had been retired. This may mean a renewal of oppression and also a rehabilitation of the Terrorists, to the prejudice of the Social-Democratic movement.

St. Petersburg, Jan. 28.—While Trofimov, with his iron heel, has stamped the revolutionary movement into apparent quiescence in this capital neither he nor anybody else in Russia believes that he has accomplished anything beyond smoothing the surface.

The revolt is likely to flame up fiercer than ever tomorrow. In fact, preparations are being made on an enormous scale to meet a condition vastly more threatening to the autocracy than the procession of strikers that was interrupted by massacre last Sunday.

The revolutionists have learned that nothing is to be gained by going against the troops of the czar banded, so there will be a cessation of the sort of demonstrations that mark the opening of the movement. What the movement is preparing for is the armed rising that is expected to mark the next stage of the disturbance.

It is known that several arsenals were raided by the strikers in various parts of the empire, and a vast quantity of arms and ammunition secured. Not a gun or a cartridge of these munitions of war has been recovered, though that has been the object of the recent commissary police visits and raids that have been made in the vicinity of the loaded arsenals.

Even St. Petersburg is not so quiet as it appears. In the past three days twenty large industrial establishments, which the government has sought to re-open, by throwing the workmen with penalties if they did not resume work, have been set on fire, and an army of 100,000 soldiers is required to keep them from the flames of peace.

It has become known that the disaffection among the troops was much greater than anticipated at the time of the massacre. Many of the soldiers fired over the heads of the strikers, instead of into them, as was ordered. Numbers refused to fire at all.

This is the explanation of the sudden dispatch of three of the regiments that were on duty in St. Petersburg last Sunday to Manchuria. The government dared not to trust them further in the domestic fighting, and sent them to Kourpatkin for use against the foreign foe.

There have been many desertions of Reservists from the army, and the deserters in nearly every case carried with them their arms.

Meanwhile the general strike has spread throughout the empire. From Finland to Odessa the workmen are out. Poland is in a turmoil of revolution. The railroad men are ready to strike at the word with the telegraphers, which would utterly tie up the Russian means of travel and communication, and make it impossible to long continue the war in the east.

Already there are rumors of concessions offered by the czar. It has been proposed to the strikers that they return to work and permit their demands to be considered afterward. Their answer implies that they will not consider the proposition unless the political as well as the industrial reforms announced in Father Gapon's petition to the czar are granted.

The frightened czar might even grant this, but he is hedged about by the grand dukes and their reactionary officials, and these will not permit him to do anything that would put a constitutional check on their power.

AT LAST WE HAVE THE YANKEE "MERRIE ENGLAND,"

IT'S TITLE IS "Socialism Made Plain,"

By ALLAN L. BENSON.

Author of "CONFESSIONS OF CAPITALISM."

Mr. Benson was formerly editorial writer on the New York Journal, being a master of plain, direct and thought-compelling English. "Socialism Made Plain" fairly sparkles with these qualities, and is of all books, the one to put in the hands of the man you are trying to convert.

100 pages. It is a big book and other publishers would charge 25 cents, but to give it a large circulation and to give everyone, no matter how limited his means, a chance to purchase a copy we have set the price at 10 cents.

50 copies 10 cents; 50 copies 24.50; 100 copies 33.00. For prices on larger quantities write us.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

THE TERRIBLE THINGS THAT SOCIALISM STANDS FOR!

Specimens of the Logic and the Truthfulness of the Rev. Father Kress

[The Rev. Father Kress, of Cleveland, has been trying to rescue Milwaukee from the Social-Democrats, by giving a series of very "remarkable" lectures.]

"Socialists want to divide. They not only want the property of the rich, but they want your small city lot and house, your grocery store, your cigar stand—everything that belongs to you working people."

"They want the capitalist to divide, but we are all capitalists. Ninety-five per cent of us are capitalists. Every man who has a dollar in the bank and draws interest, who owns a house and lot or has a room to let, is a capitalist."

"I am not speaking for the rich. I do not belong to that class, although, I must say, I have twelve dollars in the bank and draw about six per cent interest." (If the Reverend Father had not told us that he was not speaking for the rich, we should certainly not have known it.)

"Socialism will make people lazy, sluggish, indolent. Something is required to whip you people into activity."

"If you had to choose your own foreman or boss, you would select the most lenient one, and you would not do one-half the work you are obliged to do under a strict capitalist overseer. Somebody must be there to spur you on."

"I will tell you why young men fear to become married; not because they do not earn sufficient, but because the women ask too much. They want too many nice dresses, too many hats, too many fur coats. Just bring the women here and I'll talk to them."

"Socialists want to destroy the family, they want to introduce free love, they want to abolish religion, they want to do away with all private schools, not only parochial schools, but all business schools and colleges."

"Under Socialism there will be an endless number of committees, and nothing will be permitted unless sanctioned by these committees. You will not be allowed to make an invention or publish a book without the consent of the committee. We will all have to wear the same clothing, blue, for example, whether it suits our complexion or not." (Who ordained that all priests and sisters shall wear black whether it suits their complexion or not?)

"Socialism is international. American Socialists affiliate with the Socialists of Germany, France, England, Russia, Spain." (Did Socialists ever deny that their movement was international, and, by the way, is not the Roman church international?)

"If, under a Socialist regime, you desired to build a house, you would

have to build it according to the specifications of the committee, or, if the committee thought it best, you would not be allowed to build at all." (Is not this the case today? One must live up to the rules of the board of public works. The only difference is that under Socialism the rules will be more stringent. More stress will be placed on ventilation, safety, fire protection, architectural beauty, and they will not be so closely packed and probably not more than four or six stories high.)

"Socialists will not give you a detailed account of the future state. They cannot, because they do not know what it will be like. They always evade this question." (When Rev. Kress was asked whether he could give a detailed account of the appearance of the automobile of fifty years hence, he replied that he thought it would look like a balloon. Neither was he able to give an account of the capitalistic state of fifty years hence.)

"I will tell you how scientists explain the origin of man or how the ape became a man. He (the monkey) began to play with sticks; he rubbed them together until they began to burn and the monkey suddenly became a man. If you will go to the zoo or to Lincoln park in Chicago and teach the apes there how to kindle fire by means of two sticks you will see them (the apes) turn into men."

"Genesis is the best book on science we have." (It may be the best book on science the Roman church possesses, but for the rest of civilized mankind it is entirely inadequate.)

"Monogamy is a divine institution introduced by God when he created man and will be the ideal family relation for all times." (Yes, and Engels, co-founder with Marx of the International Socialist movement, says in his book "Origin of the Family" that the families of the future will be monogamic.)

"Wealth is produced by labor and diminished consumption; yes, by labor and capital." (If by diminished consumption we are to understand that the unconsumed portion of the labor-product remains as wealth or capital, then it, diminished consumption, would be identical with the surplus value of Karl Marx. However, this is not what the good reverend means. With him wealth is the result of labor and penny, which latter would eliminate in its business, less work, less wages—a vicious circle which would engulf us. Again, if labor and diminished consumption are the causes of wealth or capital, where does capital come in as a wealth producer?)

"When the Reverend was asked who had told him that Socialists want to divide, he, with brazen-faced audacity, replied with the query, 'Who told you that I said so?' And this after he had spent almost a whole evening in letting his audience of the horrors of division."

To show how division would work he even went so far as to cite the time-worn story about Rothschild and the

two tramps. The same stale arguments that were hurled against Socialism twenty-five years ago, propose everything by majority vote; they stand for pure democracy. (We are proud of this; but, good Father, how about the numberless committees that are to decide everything for the people?)

"Scientific Socialism is based on economic determinism. The state, under a Socialist regime, will be omnipotent." (Notice the contradiction. If Socialism be founded on economic determinism, then the state, although it stands above the individual, cannot be omnipotent; for it is also the product of economic evolution and its form must change with the changing economic conditions; should there be no longer a necessity for the state, it will and must disappear. When an organ becomes useless or superfluous it is destined to degenerate and must ultimately vanish. This is in accord with the laws of evolution. Nature, not the state, is omnipotent.)

"It is right to kill a man for not believing in God." (Here we have it straight from a Jesuit; they would not only exterminate atheists, but all who do not believe in the tenets of the Roman church if they possessed the power.)

"There is inequality everywhere, in all things beyond our control, in bodily health, in will-power, etc. One man is strong while the other is weak, one man is learned while the other is stupid, one man is attractive while the other man is repulsive. There are no two animals alike; there are no two things alike. Inequality is universal and there are also differences in wealth." (But the Reverend forgot to mention that scientists and Socialists were the first to point out these inequalities and have never advocated absolute equality, but to believe in a relative equality, which means Nature. On the other hand, the Roman church preaches equality wherever and whenever it serves her materialistic purposes. She advocates that all people shall be good, in her sense of the word, that all shall believe in the same God and church, that all shall contribute financially to her welfare, etc., etc.)

"The poor will always be with us, and this gives the rich an opportunity to act as standard-bearers." (The Reverend is here on probation. Poverty is a help to reach eternal happiness; wealth is a hindrance. (This is quite correct. Poverty certainly assists many over the boarder line, while wealth enables one to hold on to mendicant life.)

"Socialists want to know nothing of the obedience of only to parent."

"Love is the only recognized form of marriage. (Socialists are immensely proud to stand for this. Love can and is the only bond of marriage. Love can and should not be bought or sold, neither can law or a ceremony act as substitutes. Today nine out of ten women marry because they need somebody to help them and house them; this is forced love and cannot eventuate in happiness, but in domestic strife and in divorce. Amongst the upper classes it is still worse, marriage being a money racket and can also not result in happiness. Remove the economic bond and free love will result, for then no man or woman will be obliged to sell his or her love. Love is too sacred a thing to be put on the market for sale. To say that Socialists want to establish free love, particularly the kind of free love these people with impure minds refer to, is a base insinuation. Socialists simply point out the historic development of the family relation. The charge comes on spontaneously, as it were.)

G. J. J.

WISCONSIN SOCIALIST LAW-MAKERS

What they are About and How they are Succeeding.

IN THE LEGISLATURE: Senate—Jacob Rummel, Assembly—Edmund Berner, Frederick Brockhausen, W. J. Aldrich, A. Strehlow. IN THE CITY COUNCIL, MILWAUKEE: Albert J. Welch, Frederic Heath, Edmund T. Melms, Gustave Wild, Emil Seidel, Carl Malowski, Henry W. Grants, Edward Schranz, Nicolas Peterson.

IN THE COUNTY BOARD, MILWAUKEE—Frank Boness, James Sheehan, Charles Jenks, Gustav Geerdts.

Jan. 30.

I said in my communication of last week that the readers of the Herald should keep their eyes on Madison for the next couple of weeks and watch our Socialist legislators begin to stir up things in this Republican stronghold. Those who have read the capitalist newspapers will have noted, and I expect with some pleasure, the ripple of excitement which was created by the introduction of Comrade Rummel's bill in the Senate calling for the annulment of all existing franchises of semi-public corporations. "Why, it's revolutionary," said a senator to me the other day. "It's the most radical measure that I ever heard of!" exclaimed another, and I expect that many others labelled it as "red-handed Anarchy." But in spite of all these little ejaculations and exclamations of opposition, Comrade Rummel still remains good natured and says that he is going to hit them still harder in the future. He has already drafted several bills with this end in view, and among those which he will introduce in the Senate this week are to be found the following:—An Act to Forbid the Further Sale of Public Lands; A Bill to Establish a Forestry Commission; and an Act to Forbid the Reserving of Mineral, Oil, and Natural Gas Rights on All Lands Sold to Actual Settlers. I shall have more to say of these measures when they come up for discussion before the Legislature.

In the Assembly, our four comrade legislators are hard at work in the interests of the workers of Wisconsin. Several bills of importance have been introduced and still more are being prepared. But the funniest thing about all of these bills is that they pertain almost exclusively to the welfare of the laboring classes. Queer, isn't it, that there should be men in the Legislature of Wisconsin who feel as if they were sent there to represent the proletariat of the state? Such a thing has never happened before in the annals of Wisconsin! "Why, do you know," said one of the old party legislators to me the other day, "it seems as if these Socialist fellows over there

don't know nothin' else but labor unions and working men's interests." Of course I smiled and thought that if he were as well posted on grammar as our Socialist legislators were on "workingmen's interests" he might perchance make a better speech upon the floor of the Assembly.

Some of the most important bills which our comrades have presented since my last communication are: A Bill to Establish the 8-Hour Day in Certain Unhealthy Conditions; An Act to Provide Suction Fans in Grind Shops and Polishing Shops; and an Act which Gives the Worker Three Days Notice Before the Garnishment of His Wages by a Debtor. In addition to this Comrade Aldridge has introduced a bill that raises the amount which can be gotten as damage from accidental death upon railways, in factories, etc., from \$5,000 to \$10,000, while another bill by Comrade Berner demands that in case the employer is sued by the laborer for his wages, the former must pay the cost of the suit.

The readers of the Herald must not think that these bills which I have mentioned are all of the measures which our comrades have introduced. There are many others, and they are all of them very important measures too, but I shall speak of them in the future as they are brought before the Legislature. I can't mention all of the good things which our boys are doing here at Madison, for if I did you would think that I had accepted a bribe of some sort from them, with the understanding that I was to paint the picture as rosy as possible.

The Socialists have not received any satisfaction as regards the matter of the child labor in the Assembly, of which I spoke last time. There has been no action taken by the Republican officials who have been such ardent champions of "God's patient poor" (to use their own campaign phrase), looking towards the abolishment of illegally employed child labor in the state capitol. In fact several more youths have been added to the force of

years of age. The comrades have remonstrated again and again with the "powers that be" and with the state factory inspector, but in vain. Tomorrow they will introduce a resolution calling for the "discharge of all illegally employed children in the Senate and Assembly Chambers," and I expect that we shall then be forced to listen to long oratorical speeches dealing with the old story of "widows with an only child for support" and various other worn out capitalist platitudes. But we may rest assured that the law will be enforced if it is possible for our Socialist friends to have it so.

However our five men are not here at the state capitol solely for the purpose of introducing measures. They are here to fight all unfavorable legislation, and judging from what I have been told, I feel safe in saying that I may have something of great interest to the readers of the Herald in days to come. I feel sure that there will be some interesting and perhaps surprising disclosures to be made through these columns before the present legislative adjourns. There may be one or two legislators whose records in the future will appear in a different light to their constituents when these measures of the workingmen's representatives come up for discussion and passage.

The Social-Democrats feel as if it is their duty to force this fight in the Legislative halls, and it is safe to say that they will do so.

Would that they had half a dozen, yes, a dozen dozen Socialist representatives to help them in this fight for the proletariat! May the future, and the good Socialist comrades of Wisconsin, give them to the future generations.

Ira Cross.

Madison, Wis.

Ald. Mallory, one of the most ambitious of the capitalist party aldermen in the Milwaukee council, was chairman of a committee meeting at the city hall last Tuesday, at which a resolution presented by Ald. Seidel providing for legislative authority to take a referendum on the granting of railroads and other franchises, was being considered, when Ald. Seidel abused his position to order Ald. Seidel from the committee room. Mallory had opposed the resolution, saying it was asking the legislature to protect the city against itself and that if the aldermen didn't do right the people would retaliate them, when Seidel remarked that there were "a lot of aldermen who would be willing to retire after letting a fat contract." He was then ordered to leave.

"And keep away from here if you can't behave yourself," chimed in Ald. Laedike, a street railway alderman. It was a significant incident.

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WISCONSIN.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC NOTES.

Capitalism sacrifices manhood to merchandise.

Capitalists and capitalism are the product of injustice.

Capitalism destroys the home, the family and popular government.

A square deal for every man will be possible only under Socialism.

The City Organizer paid a visit to the North Greenfield comrades last Thursday evening.

The City Organizer will speak at Town of Milwaukee Saturday evening, February 4th.

The 5th ward branch has made arrangements for an open meeting every second Thursday.

The East Side Woman's Club is making preparations for a Social Hop for its members and friends in the near future.

Dear comrade, supposing you sent in one new subscriber to the Herald or Vorwärts each week for one year and then watch the effects.

The South Side Woman's Club anticipates to make arrangements for a May ball to be held on the South Side during the month of May.

The South Side Women's Club will hold a prize cinder party at Al. Jaek's Hall, cor. 6th and Greenfield aves. Tuesday afternoon, Feb. 7.

There may be something in this reincarnation theory, but I really can't see what the average workingman wants with two or three lives—he doesn't seem to know what to do with one.

Do not forget to demand the Union Label wherever possible. And also bear in mind to patronize those who patronize us. Purchase your necessities from the merchants who advertise with us.

Keep your eyes on that monster entertainment and ball to be held at the Humboldt Turner Hall, Sunday afternoon and evening, April 2nd, under the auspices of the 21st ward branch.

North Side Women Attention! The North Side Woman's Club will be organized Tuesday afternoon, February 14th, at two o'clock, at Wegner's Hall, corner Baffum and Chambers at.

The 9th ward branch will hold an open meeting every third Thursday evening of the month at 1216 Cherry st., where economic and political questions and subjects on Socialism will be discussed. Everybody is welcome to attend.

The branches are awakening and are sending their delegates to the Central Committee at regular intervals. This is certainly encouraging. At the last Cen-

tral Committee meeting there were representatives of twenty-six branches present.

Father Kress may see fit to slur at the women by stating that the women of today are used to squandering money and do not live within its limits, but Father Kress will sing a different song when the women get organized for better conditions in the city of Milwaukee.

Under Socialism, when any department of public industry needs a machine for a given purpose, the whole genius of the nation will be invited to the matter. Someone of them will be able to discover the method. For which the nation will honor him as it honors a Lincoln or a Dewey. That will be greater pay than money can give.

Do you wonder that men had rather be in jail than out? How many do you think failed to eat trucky dinner on Christmas who were not in jail? Down in Missouri the authorities of the state penitentiary arranged a swell dinner for the convicts on Christmas, including everything customary to the occasion, from turkey to the celery, cranberry sauce and other trimmings.

Hundreds of Social-Democrats in the city and state join the party organization because they understand perfectly well that their place is in organization to help fight the battle against our present unbearable capitalist and competitive system. Are you one of them? If not, join the party of your class, Mr. Worker, in your respective ward, county or village.

Don't forget those five Herald subscription cards. Pay us \$2 for them when sold.

PHONE SOUTH 711. AGG. KOCH H. J. FOMBERG. Smoke NIGHT HAWK "GOLD MINE" 10c—CIGAR—10c.

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The Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee

HEADQUARTERS: 318 STATE STREET, Telephone Main 1742.



The Regular Meetings of the Council are held first and third Wednesdays at 8 o'clock at Froie Gemeinde Hall, Fourth Street, betw. State and Cedar.

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T. Black & Gorman Co., Manufacturers of the Radiant Home Line Stoves.
The Green Valley Coal Co., Milwaukee.
The Carzell Coal Co. of Green Bay.
Casey & Stevens Reuter Co., Merchants Tailors, Wells Building, Milwaukee.

STATE ORGANIZATION NOTES—By Carl D. Thompson

We want to make all Wisconsin an enlarged edition of Milwaukee.

The City Central Committee of Eau Claire at its meeting of January 20th passed a resolution calling upon the state secretary to submit the following to referendum vote:—Resolved, that the Social-Democratic party of Wisconsin adopt the due stamp system now in vogue in all other states except Wisconsin, in conformity with our National Constitution.

The State Organizer is planning to hold a series of meetings at Racine. This is our second best field in the state and next to Milwaukee is the next city, we are most likely to capture.

State Organizer Comrade Thompson has been having some fun with Father Kress, the Catholic priest, who has been brought to Milwaukee to stop the Socialist movement. Since Father Kress began his lectures in Milwaukee the subscriptions to the Social-Democratic Herald have been increasing more rapidly than ever, applications for membership have been pouring in, and the Monster Carnival of January 28th broke all records, over 12,000 people being present by actual count. We hope Father Kress will come again and often.

Comrade Kirkpatrick's meetings.—Comrade Kirkpatrick is holding a series of successful meetings at the head of the lake. His dates are as follows: Ashland, Monday, January 30th; Glidden, Tuesday, January 31st; Washburn, Wednesday, February 1st; Superior, East end, Friday, Feb. 3rd; Superior, Sunday, Feb. 5th; Rice Lake, Monday, Feb. 6th; Eau Claire, Sunday, Feb. 12th.

RACINE.—Comrade Secy. Larsen writes in post haste for more application blanks. The local took in five new members last Tuesday, and has twenty now, and more still coming. How the movement does grow!

NEW GLARUS.—The application for charter from New Glarus comes in this week with sixteen signatures, and the secretary of the local asks for more membership cards and more applications. Evidently, we shall have a splendid movement in New Glarus.

MISHICOT.—Comrade Zahorik sends in a small contribution which he says "is the last piece of money we have in the house," with the Spring's work three months away. He says that he and one or two others are the only active workers, but that the increase in the vote at the last election paid them for all their effort.

WHITEWATER.—The fourth lecture given by the Social-Democratic Club was well attended, over ninety people being present. Professor Kinnaman of the Whitewater Normal gave the address on "The Rise of Capitalism." The professor gave a very interesting and victorious. The time being somewhat limited some of the questions were put over until the next meeting. The White-water lecture course is proving a very successful thing. Other locals should consider the possibility of doing likewise.

SUPERIOR.—This city being the second in size in the state of Wisconsin, and an important industrial center, com-

State Campaign Fund and Punch Cards.

Wm. S.	1.10
South Side Woman's Socialist Club 10.00	
N. Jensen .....	.50
James J. Zahorik	1.00
Fred. Schlatke .....	.25
E. A. Bipelow	1.00
Gus. C. Voigt	1.00
A. E. Peterson .....	.50
Earl Kohl .....	.50
Geo. M. Otto	2.85

Campaign Fund.

Previously reported	\$364.00
North Greenfield Branch No. 2 ..	7.30
E. Seidel	1.00
Theo. C. Knutson	1.00
E. A. Elerst	1.00
W. L. Reichel	1.00
Friend	3.00
F. E. Lorenz	5.00
C. Wuertemann (Punch card) ..	1.00
J. Wood (Punch card) .....	.50
F. Rott (Punch card) .....	.50
F. Boness (Punch card)	1.00
J. Merzett (Punch card)	1.00
H. Baier (Punch card)	1.00
Musicians Union No. 2	1.00
4th Ward Branch on Literature ..	3.00
Frank Bauer (Punch card)	1.00
Punch card	1.00
F. K. (Shop Collection)	1.25
F. Heath (Punch card)	2.00
R. Beyer .....	.25
M. Kringel .....	.10
L. Gerlach .....	.50
H. Hader (Punch card)	1.85
F. Karin (Punch card) .....	.25
G. Ehrke (Punch card) .....	.25
H. Groskiags (Punch card) .....	.25
A. Granke (Punch card)	2.30
12th Ward Branch for Literature ..	9.00
T. Hoelt (Punch card)	1.30
A. Beck (Punch card)	1.40
C. Kuchenecker .....	.30
Wm. Herlich (Punch card) .....	.75
9th Ward on Horards	5.00
Schwab & Sons	1.00
Neenah Federated Trades Council ..	2.25
Otto Krause (Punch card) .....	.25
G. Pfeiffer .....	.50

GRAND THEATER.

At the Grand Theater (Third, near the avenue) next week the hit of the season, John A. West, has been given a re-energizing in response to the public demand. Gardner & Lerzer, Nettle Fields, Bockway and Conway, Harry DeMarzio and the moving pictures, are other attractions.

CRYSTAL THEATER.

Rossley and Rostelle, heading a big show of musical merit, is the offering at the Crystal Theater next week. Four shows daily are given at the little playhouse on Second street, just north of Grand avenue.

H. E. Briggs will speak at the Social Home, 332 Washington St., Thursday, Feb. 9th, at 8:00 P. M. Subject: The Primary Election Law.

STATE ORGANIZATION NOTES—By Carl D. Thompson

stitutes one of our most important fields. The comrades are taking advantage of the results of the Kirkpatrick meetings to build up the organization. They contemplate forming ward organizations at an early date.

STATE ORGANIZATION FUND.—In order to provide necessary funds to keep at least one state organizer constantly at work in the Wisconsin field outside of Milwaukee, the state organizer has suggested the following plan for raising funds. It has been submitted to the State Executive Board and is endorsed by them. A state organization army is to be organized. Every member of the party in the state who is willing to assist in this matter is asked to enlist. These members are to raise money each month for the organization fund. To every member will be issued each month a punch card and the member may contribute the amount himself, or may solicit it from others. Our locals may take the cards and raise the money by solicitation by giving suppers, picnics, dances or in other ways. The money is to be sent in at least once each month, and a new punch card will be sent out. A careful record will be kept at the headquarters of the contributions of each member and acknowledgment made in proper form.

Those who are willing to undertake to raise at least 25 cents per month will be enrolled as members of the Wisconsin Organization Army, and at the end of the year a neat booklet will be printed as a souvenir and presented to each one who has sent in some amount each month.

Most of our comrades are workmen and are comparatively poor, and yet there are so many of us, that if every member of our organization would contribute even one cent a week, it could pay the entire expenses of a state organizer. So all we have to do is to get every member to do his little part, and if we can do that, we will have the funds for the greatest campaign of state organization we have ever had in Wisconsin. Will you who read these lines join us in this effort? Will you enlist in the army that is to secure the sineas of war for the thorough organization of our state, or can you get your local to agree to join in the effort? If so, send us your name. Address, Carl D. Thompson, State Organizer.

WHITEWATER.—The fourth lecture given by the Social-Democratic Club was well attended, over ninety people being present. Professor Kinnaman of the Whitewater Normal gave the address on "The Rise of Capitalism." The professor gave a very interesting and victorious. The time being somewhat limited some of the questions were put over until the next meeting. The White-water lecture course is proving a very successful thing. Other locals should consider the possibility of doing likewise.

STATE CAMPAIGN FUND AND PUNCH CARDS.

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South Side Woman's Socialist Club 10.00	
N. Jensen50
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Fred. Schlatke25
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Gus. C. Voigt	1.00
A. E. Peterson50
Earl Kohl50
Geo. M. Otto	2.85

CAMPAIGN FUND.

Previously reported	\$364.00
North Greenfield Branch No. 2 ..	7.30
E. Seidel	1.00
Theo. C. Knutson	1.00
E. A. Elerst	1.00
W. L. Reichel	1.00
Friend	3.00
F. E. Lorenz	5.00
C. Wuertemann (Punch card) ..	1.00
J. Wood (Punch card) .....	.50
F. Rott (Punch card) .....	.50
F. Boness (Punch card)	1.00
J. Merzett (Punch card)	1.00
H. Baier (Punch card)	1.00
Musicians Union No. 2	1.00
4th Ward Branch on Literature ..	3.00
Frank Bauer (Punch card)	1.00
Punch card	1.00
F. K. (Shop Collection)	1.25
F. Heath (Punch card)	2.00
R. Beyer .....	.25
M. Kringel .....	.10
L. Gerlach .....	.50
H. Hader (Punch card)	1.85
F. Karin (Punch card) .....	.25
G. Ehrke (Punch card) .....	.25
H. Groskiags (Punch card) .....	.25
A. Granke (Punch card)	2.30
12th Ward Branch for Literature ..	9.00
T. Hoelt (Punch card)	1.30
A. Beck (Punch card)	1.40
C. Kuchenecker .....	.30
Wm. Herlich (Punch card) .....	.75
9th Ward on Horards	5.00
Schwab & Sons	1.00
Neenah Federated Trades Council ..	2.25
Otto Krause (Punch card) .....	.25
G. Pfeiffer .....	.50

GRAND THEATER.

At the Grand Theater (Third, near the avenue) next week the hit of the season, John A. West, has been given a re-energizing in response to the public demand. Gardner & Lerzer, Nettle Fields, Bockway and Conway, Harry DeMarzio and the moving pictures, are other attractions.

CRYSTAL THEATER.

Rossley and Rostelle, heading a big show of musical merit, is the offering at the Crystal Theater next week. Four shows daily are given at the little playhouse on Second street, just north of Grand avenue.

H. E. Briggs will speak at the Social Home, 332 Washington St., Thursday, Feb. 9th, at 8:00 P. M. Subject: The Primary Election Law.

STATE CAMPAIGN FUND AND PUNCH CARDS.

Wm. S.	1.10
South Side Woman's Socialist Club 10.00	
N. Jensen .....	.50
James J. Zahorik	1.00
Fred. Schlatke .....	.25
E. A. Bipelow	1.00
Gus. C. Voigt	1.00
A. E. Peterson50
Earl Kohl50
Geo. M. Otto	2.85

CAMPAIGN FUND.

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E. Seidel	1.00
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F. E. Lorenz	5.00
C. Wuertemann (Punch card) ..	1.00
J. Wood (Punch card)50
F. Rott (Punch card)50
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9th Ward on Horards	5.00
Schwab & Sons	1.00
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Otto Krause (Punch card)25
G. Pfeiffer50

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OTTO C. LAABS, Pharmacist, 1900 VLIET STREET, Corner 30th. Telephone West 128.

MILWAUKEE MEETINGS. Following meetings will be held next week: Sixth Ward-Locke's Hall, 327 Sherman st., Friday night, February 9th. Seventh Ward-Rooms 414-416 Germania Bldg., Thursday night, February 9th. Eighth Ward-554 Madison st., Friday night, February 10th. Tenth Ward-Wisconsin Hall, corner 12th and Lee sts., Friday night, February 10th. Tenth Ward, Bohemian Branch-1326 Fond du Lac ave., Sunday afternoon, February 12th. Eleventh Ward-Buigrin's Hall, 9th ave. and Orchard, Friday night, Feb. 10. Twelfth Ward (English branch)-Hoff's Hall, 901 Kinickinnick ave., Thursday night, February 9th. Twelfth Ward (Polish branch)-R. Buech's Hall, 905 Lincoln ave., Saturday evening, February 11th. Fifteenth Ward-1629 Vliet st., Tuesday evening, February 7th. Sixteenth Ward-38 29th st., Thursday night, February 9th. Seventeenth Ward-Meets Thursday night at 641 Fellows Hall, Kinickinnick and Potter aves. Eighteenth Ward-487 Cramer st., Friday night, February 10th. Nineteenth Ward-Ekeemans Hall, 3109 Lisbon ave., Wednesday night, February 8th. Twenty-third Ward-Brosemeister's Hall, corner 15th ave. and Washington st., Friday night, February 11th. Wauwatosa branch meets at H. Ziekuhr's Hall, 49th and state st., Tuesday night, February 7th. East Side Woman's Club meets Tuesday afternoon at two o'clock at E. Locke's Hall, 327 Sherman st. The West Side Woman's Club meets Thursday afternoon at two o'clock at N. Peterson's Hall, 2114 North ave.

BIJOU. Jacob Litt's Family Theatre. Commenting Matinee Sunday 2:30 Matinees Wednesday and Saturday.

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SOME DROLL STORIES OF GRAFT IN MILWAUKEE!

Introductory. Milwaukee has been through the moral throes of two grand jury investigations into graft, preceeded by a first grand jury that was studiously unable to discover any crooked men although itself largely made up of crooks, and the last of the two actual investigations in bringing the list of indictments up to over 100, assured the people of the town that the surface of official-rascality in Milwaukee only had been scratched. How little our people really know or dream of the abnormality of the situation as it actually existed, and to a certain extent, exists at the present time! It is ready to resume business on the same big scale, at the old stand, just as soon as the storm has blown over. The graft trials are now dragging through the courts and the time it not now pro-

I. No "Doormats or Hammock Ropes." How the Voting Machines Got Into Milwaukee.

In 1901 there began to be talk of installing voting machines in Milwaukee. A sample machine was set up in the city hall and it was curiously inspected by several grafters of the common council, and also by two or three newspaper reporters who had gotten into the ranks of the graft crooks. Was there any money going to be cut-up on the proposition? was the question that was troubling them. It might be explained that when boodle money is divided it is "cut-up" in the vernacular of the graft fraternity. There are several places in Milwaukee that have become notorious as places where "cutting-up" is carried on. At probably no place has so much boodle money been parcelled out and paid over as in the saloon-restaurant of Park Commissioner Henry Weber, on East Water street near Wisconsin. But be this as it may, the fact is that the appearance of the voting machine agitation in 1900 whetted the appetite of the grafters at the city hall and efforts were made to sound a Mr. Hamilton, who was on here as representative of the United States Voting Machine company. He was not a promising individual and it began to be set down that he "didn't know his business," meaning that he was not a purchaser of aldermanic votes. Three newspaper men about this time put their heads together and decided that as the newspapers could either make or break the voting machine agitation that there ought to be a good rake-off in the thing. They figured out the number of machines that would be needed and the aggregate price of that number and concluded that the company to get their machines into so large a city as Milwaukee ought to be willing to set aside about \$20,000 of corruption money—manifestly, if the papers were worked right according to the power that reporters have in deciding what is news and what is not news, there might be about \$2,500 for them personally if they worked it right. A little later, in some round about way word came that the com-

- THE FOLLOWING IS A LIST OF Union Barber Shops up-to-date. SEE THAT YOUR SHOP IS ON THE LIST. WEST SIDE: Austermann, A., 536 1/2 Cor. Walnut St. Hartwig, Henry, 48th and State Streets. Beloner, J. C., 682 Seventh St. Benz, George, 1175 11th St. Berner, Mack, 1021 11th St. Betzhold, Chas., 488 11th St. Bower, G., 1 Park Hill Avenue. Brade, E. H., 845 Grand Ave. Bruezel, J., 1417 Fond du Lac Ave. Breutzmann, Ben., 2421 Walnut St. Brummel, Albert, 445 Chestnut St. Eckert, J., 2321 Galena St. Eisecker, J. P., 1422 Walnut St. Franz, Chas., 128 Chestnut St. Frey, John, 1530 Cherry St. Frye, M., 218 Sycamore St. Hammer, E. C., 141 North Ave. Hanshaw, A. H., 242 North Ave. Heider, Fred., 501 12th St. Heig, Henry, 1510 North Ave. Hoffmann, C., 119 1/2 2nd St. Holmes, Wm., Cor. 13th and Cyclopedia Sts. Holzner, C., 291 2nd St. Hoffmann, Fred., 1021 Wingo St. Holzhauser & Son, J., Union Depot. Huber, Hans, 450 11th St. Kandel, W. H., 907 Grand Ave. Kastner, Louis, 2827 Walnut St. Kaufmann, Adam, 609 Chestnut St. Klein, E., 1222 Chestnut St. Krupp, F., 281 Third St. Leidger, R., 628 Chestnut St. Lewis, Ben., 606 Grand Ave. Locher, S. H., 140 Grand Ave. Lutzenberger, Peter, 919 Center St. Mundt, H. C., 108 Lloyd St. Peril, Richard, 273 Sycamore St. Polaski, J., 914 35th St. Repple, W., 1531 Cherry St. Serr, J., 28 1/2 Clinton St. Schiller, Herman, 1205 Chestnut St. Schmidt, John, 1308 Cherry St. Schmutz, A. W., 907 Grand Ave. Schoenecker, Frank, 1726 Walnut St. Sentz, Wm., 1194 Wells St. Sprick, John, 412 Fond du Lac Ave. Trieb, Emil, 325 Grand Ave. Urban, George, 2906 Lisbon Ave. Weillmann, J. C., 443 2nd St. Zeldner, M. W., 89 16th St. EAST SIDE: Bornheimer, J. E., 610 East Water St. Curtis, R. A., 103 Wisconsin St. Daniels, Tony, Academy of Music Bldg. Helm, J. H., 907 Grand Ave. John Tross, St. Charles Hotel. Klett, Edward, 706 Broadway. Lass, August, 273 Wisconsin St. Lewis, J. D., 47 Onondaga St. Nuerenberg, Otto, 253 Wisconsin St. Rogofski, M. H., 163 Michigan St. Schmidt, R., 685 Market St. Schull, H., 685 Market St. Sell, Homer, 273 Wisconsin St. SOUTH SIDE: Ahrendt, A., 419 Clinton St. Baird, Chas., 307 Florida St. Bark, Wm., 471 Greenfield Ave. Barkuski & Winters, 330 National Ave. Bauer, E., 416 National Ave. Boos, Geo., 291 Grove St. Brockmann, H., 204 11th Ave. Brotherton, I., 732 National Ave. Burkhardt, Julius, 475 National Ave. Conway & Cole, 315 Grand Ave. Davey, G. W., 534 National Ave. Dressbach, Albert, 141 Lincoln Ave. Frank, M., 882 West St. Friedrichs, A. J., 584 National Ave. Gatz, J. A., 534 Kinickinnick Ave. Gatz, J. M., 534 Kinickinnick Ave. Henning, A. C., 54 National Ave. Hulse, Ch., 287 Mitchell St. Hoffman, J. E., 577 Greenfield Ave. Jorg, R. A., 353 11th Ave. Kammeyer, Phillip, C., 152 Bond St. Kasper, J., 152 Bond St. Klein, John, 811 Clinton St. Meisner, C., 284 Grand St.

Nominations for National Committee-man. The following are the nominations for second National Committeeman nominated by Branch 11 of Racine: Emil Fischer, Ira Cross and Jacob Rummel, nominated by Branch 1 of Madison. Theo. Ramshal of 709 Booth st., Branch 6 of Milwaukee, nominated by the 6th Ward Branch of Milwaukee. Fred. Brockhausen, Sr., of the 11th Ward Branch, nominated by the 11th Ward Branch of Milwaukee. Frederic Heath of 10th Ward, Milwaukee, nominated by 10th, 10th and 4th Ward Branches, Milwaukee. Joseph Faust of the 8th Ward Branch, Eau Claire, nominated by 8th Ward Branch, Eau Claire. Emil Seidel of 20th Ward Branch and Frederic Heath of the 10th Ward, Milwaukee, nominated by 10th Ward Branch of Milwaukee. Carl D. Thompson, nominated by local, Whitewater and Rhinelander. A. B. Crawford of Grand Rapids, nominated by Ashland. Samuel Ritchie of Racine, nominated by Branches 5 and 7 of Racine. H. J. Ammann of Kiel, nominated by Branch 22 of Milwaukee. Howard Tuttle of Milwaukee, nominated by Branch 1 of Watertown. R. O. Stoll of Eau Claire, and J. M. A. Spence of Green Bay, nominated by Branch 21 of Milwaukee. E. T. Melms, W. C. Young, F. Brockhausen, R. T. Sims, J. Hunger, J. Doerfler, Sr., E. Ziegler and Frederic Heath, nominated by the 4th ward. Fred. C. Koepke of Manitowoc, nominated by Manitowoc branch. Eugene Rooney, E. H. Thomas, Emil Fisher and Emil Seidel, nominated by 13th ard. W. R. Gaylor, C. D. Thompson and

ALHAMBRA Week Commencing Sunday Matinee VANCE & SULLIVAN'S BIG SCENIC MELODRAMA Lighthouse by the Sea Filled with intensity of action, startling mechanical effects. See the wonderful Storm at Sea. The heroic rescue of an ocean liner. RESERVED SEATS 25c DOWN STAIRS 25c Next Attraction: HAPPY HOOLIGAN

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