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SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD

ONE YEAR FOR FIFTY CENTS.
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A JOURNAL OF THE COMING CIVILIZATION

WHOLE NO.
408

Government by Graft.

By Victor L. Berger.

WE all know the pinnacle of modern American civilization in present public opinion, in press and pulpit is expressed in one word: the word business.

Business is the magic wand through which capitalism asserts itself. Everything is a matter of business, nowadays—pretty much the same as in the middle ages everything was a matter of theology.

When a certain man is a "good, solid business man," that is a man who has been successful in "making money"—no matter how he made it—then that is all that is required to make him a "great man" all around. He is fit to be president of a church board or president of a manufacturing company, president of a bank, or president of the United States, for that matter.

When a certain measure or a certain law is desirable from a "business point of view"—that is, from the point of view of the men who are successful in "making money"—nobody dreams of disputing its desirability.

It is this superstition which has prompted the clamor that the affairs of congress and state and municipal governments must be administered exactly as if they were private business—that is, they must be conducted on "business principles."

But that is just exactly the way they are conducted now.

If we people understand that the big men in business naturally buy special privileges and special legislation by bribing the small business men who are in politics.

To the average capitalist and business man the bribing of a politician is considered absolutely legitimate, if business requires it.

The business man is used to that. He does it and has to do it in his business every day.

All big business houses, wholesale and retail—the department stores, the railroads—the manufacturing plants, the banks—are reeking with the same kind of corruption, if business can be corrupted at all. The buyers, the agents, the officials, etc., are bribed, in order to do business the way the other side wants them to do it.

And District Attorney Jerome of New York was right when he said in an interview that "graft and boodle" are nothing else than the principles of private business applied to our public affairs.

That is evidently the reason why Jerome refused to prosecute the great business men at the head of the insurance companies. That is the reason why Jerome never prosecuted a Belmont, a Vanderbilt or any other multi-millionaire. We are a nation ruled by business men, according to business principles—a people governed by graft.

In this light we have to look at the following dispatch in the daily papers:—

"The scathing words of Supreme Court Justice Gaynor in denouncing the crime of capital, subway financing and corporate greed and the angry reply of August Belmont at the Civic Federation banquet are the talk of New York.

In savage, unmeasured terms, Justice Gaynor denounced the recent street railway merger in New York as "dishonest" enough to shock the moral sense of the people of the entire country. He declared too, that ultimately the people would tear down the railroads peaceably if they could, forcibly if they must.

"We see these great companies in New York now united and leasing themselves for 999 years," said Judge Gaynor. "Think of our standing that thing for 999 years. Nine years is more likely than 999."

"Is the actual capital doubled? No, not the capital, but those great gifts, these franchises that are nothing but licenses from the people, are made a drain on the community by being bonded and the stock doubled up year after year until the sum has become colossal enough—I will be bold enough to say it even in this presence—dishonest enough to shock the moral sense of the people of this country."

August Belmont, president of the Civic Federation and who is also the president of the subway system, and the man who engineered the merger flushed, got up and said angrily:

"I want to repudiate this insinuation that I or my associates manage these corporations in any other spirit than that of honesty or of correct business principles and with any other view than that of complying with the very letter of the law."

In conclusion, glaring at the justice he pounded the table with his clinched fist until the dishes rattled. Mr. Belmont just shook with righteous "business indignation." He will evidently see to it that Judge Gaynor will never become a judge again. And the other labor leaders present—Sam Gompers, John Mitchell, and the vice-presidents of the Civic Federation—will no doubt stand by their worthy president. For those labor leaders were present at that banquet for business and business only.

Surely, not for pleasure.

Senator Benjamin Tillman of South Carolina is not a Socialist and not even a "Muck raker," but some say that he is a poor business man anyway. When referring to the "rascality and thievery" of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company revealed before the interstate commerce commission, he thought that the company is "permeated with rottenness from President Cassatt down."

It is true that overwhelming evidence shows that officials of the "Penns" were tipped like waiters by coal companies wanting favors from the road.

The difference is, however, that waiters get only nickels and dimes—and get them the most half-voluntarily. But the coal companies were compelled to thrust many thousands of dollars worth of stock into the outstretched hands of the officials of the Pennsylvania road, as a matter of business if they wanted cars to transport their...

Tips in nickels and dimes are always beggary—and beggary is rottenness, no doubt.

But tips of many thousands of dollars worth of stock—in some cases thousands of dollars of yearly income in one stroke, that is business. It may be rottenness, but it is business, Mr. Tillman, if there ever was business.

There are all kinds of rebate cases on trial against railroads east and west. Against the New York Central R. R. in New York for favoring the Standard Oil Company—the oil trust. Against the Burlington Road in Kansas City for favoring certain large packers—the beef trust.

And it has also been shown that the Pennsylvania R. R. has not only given rebates to the Steel trust and to the Standard Oil Company—but also its officials had sworn that no rebates had been given to anybody since 1903—but as we mentioned before it has been proven that even its petty clerks and superintendents went into business for themselves. They found out that they had it in their power to determine who of the small coal operators was to get rich by getting cars and who was to close his mines because of not getting cars. Of course, the companies that gave shares to the officials and agents were those that survived and are making money. That is business.

By the way, the testimony before the interstate commission recalls with startling vividness the investigation of the life insurance business. Substitute "Cassatt" for "McCurdy," and the reader would think he was perusing an account of the manner in which the Mutual Life was exploited for the benefit of the reigning dynasty.

And this makes the statement of First Vice President Green so amazing, that the revelations are a "surprise to the management," especially as Mr. Green's chief clerk and President Cassatt's son are two of the chief figures in the scandal.

But it is sheer hypocrisy to be startled about these disclosures. It has for a long time been known that all railroad officials and managers with any business capacity at all—and the railroads cannot employ any men without it—have long been using their positions to make ten times and even a hundred times more than their salary amounts to. These officials and managers have it in their power to de-

The Nashville Labor Advocate says the queer thing about Socialism is that no one is willing to defend capitalism. That's about the size of it!

The various capitalist party congressional aspirants are looking much more chipper since they succeeded in getting the coal strike out of the way!

Vice President Fairbanks told a Southern religious convention to beware of Socialism. And we tell the same people to beware of a man owned by the corporate interests who tells them to beware of Socialism.

How truly we Social-Democrats form the advance guard of humanity is again shown in the fact that now the Charities conference, which has just held a session in Philadelphia, is seriously considering the industrial pension question.

When we get the right perspective on American history some of the bloodiest and more shameful pages will be accorded to the conflict between the blood-thirsty, profit-mad mine owners of the West and their victims, the mine workers.

It is reported that the result of the president's special investigation into the truth of the charges against the Chicago packers in Comrade Upton Sinclair's story "The Jungle," has vindicated the book.

What the next move will be will depend on what will be done, so to speak! We are hardly prepared to see Mr. Armour or the others behind the bars, however. That would look too much as if they were common sinners, which they are not.

Dr. S. Solis Cohen, a noted physician of Philadelphia, struck the nail square and fairly on the head at the Charities convention when he said: "HIGH RENTS AND LOW WAGES IS THE CAUSE OF CONSUMPTION." Bravely spoken! Now perhaps some of the

side where there is to be a station of the road. They can found cities and suburbs. They can buy farm land at cheap prices and sell it a few years later at the price of city lots. And they have done so and are still doing so in innumerable cases. Chicago is surrounded by suburbs that have been founded by railroad officials and have made them multi-millionaires. So in every other large city.

It is pure graft. But it is also business.

That is all natural enough. There is nothing about business that can inspire a genuine man with noble ideas. The business man—the manager, the manufacturer, banker or inspector,—sits in his office and intrigues for gain. Profit is the end sought and money is the concrete expression of that profit. Honesty is all right enough to talk about, but its application is not an advantage in business. It is money that every business man worships. His motto is: Make money, make it honestly if you can, but—make it anyhow. Sharp practices are permitted, are considered necessary, only one is not to get caught at it. But if one is caught, it is "business" that one shall have made enough money out of the deals to be able to hire a shrewd lawyer. The lawyer, by the way, is also considered a "business man"—in fact he is the man of business for the business man.

And it is to the corruptive power of the successful business men, playing upon the venality, the uncertainty of the future, and the business instinct of small men who have made politics a business, that we owe the corruption of our government.

And now let every Social-Democrat get busy to destroy the current superstition about the virtues of the railroad magnate, the manufacturer, the lawyer, the banker and "business man" in general.

Let the Socialist explain that business is graft and therefore every business man is more or less of a grafter. If he is not, he is never going to be a success as a business man. And we shall have to endure the rule of the business man, i. e., the government by graft, until the affairs of the nation, state, and municipality are put where they belong—into the hands of the workingmen, the men who toil with hands or brain, or with both, in the offices and workshops.

These men are the real busy men—the men of busy-ness in the world.

workers for the eradication of the "great white plague" will realize the magnitude of the work they have on their hands. It is not a fight on tuberculosis, but on the capitalist system!

The Rev. Hugh Pentecost in a recent lecture in New York City went for Bryan shovel and tongs for his attack on Socialism. He charged Bryan with ignorance.

The St. Louis public library has rescinded its action in excluding "The Jungle" from its shelves, on the absurd ground that it is immoral. The librarian was absent in New York at the time, but on his return hastened to mend the mistake. Now the library is overrun with demands for the book and additional copies have been ordered.

What are the times coming to! First President Roosevelt makes a sensational attack on the men who are exposing graft of all kinds in this country and then Vice President Fairbanks tries to make another sensation by denouncing Socialism. We imagine that the exposures of capitalist grafting will continue in spite of the president and that the growth toward Socialism will go on in spite of the vice president—and we wish neither of them any harm for helping by in-direction!

American Industries, Parry's paper, is now crowing over "the success of a principle"—in reality the principle of exploitation. Its issue of May 1, it says, was set up and "made-up" by the pupils in the Typhothetae Technical School, after only a few weeks' training at the printing trade. It is a journal of some 24 pages, about the size of Harper's Weekly, so that the "success of a principle" really means that the publishers have not only saved big bills for type-setting and for the putting together of the pages, but have gotten money out of those who did the work besides, for the school charges a tuition fee of several dollars a week.

It is a fine graft! If the school

can get new pupils fast enough to replace those who graduate, the American Industries stands good to do away with type-setting bills entirely. It is a case of getting its work done by apprentices, free, instead of by heads of families who have to be paid wages in order to keep themselves in working condition.

It beats the old apprenticeship system all hollow. It is the triumph of the American genius for getting something for nothing, all right.

A witness before the congressional committee on judiciary the other day testified that to be a state senator at Albany, in the New York legislature, "was worth anywhere from \$50,000 to \$100,000 a year." That the money came largely from insurance companies. And he knew what he was talking about, for he was not only a state legislator himself, but the state agent in New York of the Pennsylvania Mutual Life insurance company. He admitted also that his company had been forced to give \$10,000 to the campaign fund of one of the big parties in 1896. Business is business.

"Socialism seeks to level down and not to level up!" cries out the vice president of the United States before the general conference of the Methodist Church South.

We seek to level down do we? Not much. On the contrary the Social-Democratic movement the world over is a revolt of the people against a system that dooms them to semi-poverty no matter how fierce the pace of their industry. Socialism seeks to level up. It is the demand of industrious mankind for the fruits of its industry! For the right to live in the mansions it builds, to be well clothed, well fed and well educated.

Every workman in the world today, under the capitalistic system, who does not live in a fine house which he himself owns and who does not get a chance to live well and rear his family in comfort and even in reasonable luxury, IS BEING SWINDLED BY THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM—yes, and we will add something to this:

Every Christian who applauds the vice president's denunciation of the people for wanting the justice which Socialism contends for and which will level them up, IS NOT A CHRISTIAN. For when a man calls himself a Christian he enrolls himself a follower of Jesus, who was a poor man's Christ, as his very utterance showed, and who hadn't very much use for the class in his day that corresponds to the present class of which the vice president is a conspicuous member.

U. S. Senator Burton of Kansas has been found guilty by the Supreme court of accepting a \$2,500 fee from a tenth-rate "Get-rich quick" scheme in St. Louis for the purpose of getting the postmaster general to revoke an order not to deliver any mail to the scheme-concern. There is a great outburst of virtue in all the capitalist papers about that—and Burton will have to serve a sentence of six months in jail and lose his seat in the senate. And it serves the man right. Why did he represent a "Get-rich-quick" scheme instead of representing some trust, railroad, express or insurance company. Besides the man was evidently a "scab"—he worked for a ridiculously cheap price from the standpoint of a U. S. senator.

Draft of State Platform TO BE SUBMITTED TO WISCONSIN PARTY CONVENTION, JUNE 2.

THE Social-Democratic party is the American expression of the international movement of modern wage workers for better food, better houses, sufficient sleep, more leisure, more education, and more culture.

Under the present system, society is rapidly dividing into two classes: the rich and the poor, the capitalist class and the proletariat. The one toils without enjoying, the other enjoys without toiling.

In the wage earner of the cities and the farmer, we recognize the types of the producing classes of this country. Under our present economic system, both are exploited for the benefit of the capitalist class, the laborer on the sale of his labor power and the farmer on the sale of his products. Both are again exploited in the purchase of practically all the necessities of life.

The final aim of the Social-Democratic party is the emancipation of the producers and the abolition of the capitalistic system. For that purpose, we organize the producing classes in city and country into a political party to take control of the powers of government.

The most characteristic expression of the present economic system is the trust and the monopoly.

Electricity, steam, and many modern inventions have struck the death blow at production on a small scale. Competition has obliterated competition. Production on a large scale makes monopoly a necessary condition. The trust and the monopoly are here, whether we wish it or not. The only question is whether they shall be public or private monopolies.

Private monopoly is undoubtedly a curse to the nation. Thus we see the coal trust making untold millions out of the sufferings of the poor, the oil trust piling up the greatest fortune the world has ever seen upon the ruin of innumerable small dealers and in defiance of all laws and courts of justice, the meat trust sending thousands of unsuspecting human beings to an early grave by selling diseased meat simply to make dividends and heap up millions. Similar statements could be made against all the other trusts.

Therefore the Social-Democratic party demands that the production of this country shall be taken away from the control of a small number of irresponsible men, whose only aim is to exploit us to the last limit of our endurance, without regard to human life or welfare.

There is no hope to be expected from any of the old parties. Formerly, the Republican party was the favorite party of capitalism, while the Democratic party stood for the middle class. But since the trusts have bought the Democratic party, there is no difference between the two. They both stand for capitalism and the present economic system.

The Social-Democratic party stands for every radical change that will bring more wealth, more culture, and more security to the masses of the people. But we call attention to the fact that the measures we urge are not a cure for all the existing evils, nor are they all Socialistic measures. They are to be viewed rather as mere palliatives, capable of being carried out even under the present conditions. Under no circumstances should the people rest content with palliatives of this kind. The people should move onward to the conquest of all public powers, to an entire change of the present system for one which will secure to the people collectively the blessings of our modern inventions, and a standard of civilization and culture hitherto unknown in history.

OUR PROGRAM.

With this in view, the Social-Democratic party of the state of Wisconsin, in convention assembled, reaffirms its allegiance to the principles of international Socialism and declares its adherence to the platform of the national Socialist party adopted at the convention in Chicago, and pledges itself at the present time to the following measures:

That the state legislature, the governor and our representatives in Congress shall take such action as is calculated,

First, to bring about the nationalization of all the trusts, notably the coal trust, the meat trust, the oil trust, the sugar trust, the farming machinery trust, and others of the same kind, and pay the actual value for the same.

Second, to bring about the national ownership of the railroads, telegraphs, telephones, and express companies and steamship lines, and pay the actual value of the same.

Third, to enact a law, granting every wage worker over 60 years of age, who has earned less than \$1,000 a year and has been a citizen of the United States for sixteen years at least, a pension of not less than \$12 a month for the rest of his life.

Fourth, to bring about the enactment of a national law by which the government of the United States shall lend the cities and townships money on bonds issued by said cities and townships up to 50 per cent. of the assessed valuation. Such loans shall be made in legal tender and without interest, the refund to take place in twenty years in equal shares. The money shall have its intrinsic value secured by the bonds and the assessed valuation of the city or township that receives the loan, and it shall be canceled with the bonds as fast as the loan is refunded.

Fifth, to amend the United States constitution so as to abolish the United States Senate, which is a bulwark of capitalism and trustocracy,—the general referendum of all the people to take its place as a check, under proper provisions. Furthermore to elect the United States judges by the people of their respective districts, for terms not to exceed six years—instead of having them appointed by the president—this in order to make an end of government by injunction.

We also demand,

Sixth, that all elective officers, national, state, and municipal, shall be made subject to the imperative mandate, and to a recall, by the expressed wish of three-fourths of their constituency.

Seventh, that no city in Wisconsin shall have the right to sell, lease or give away public franchises. Provided, however, that in cases where existing laws and public necessity make a franchise unavoidable, the granting of a franchise must be submitted to a referendum of the voters of the respective city or township before it may be granted. That every city in Wisconsin shall have the right to take possession of all its public utilities by paying to the present owners the price of the properties involved as fixed by an impartial jury, the same not to include any franchise values; and every city and township shall have the right to issue bonds up to the amount of 20 per cent of the entire tax valuation for that purpose. All unlimited franchises now in existence to be declared null and void.

Eighth, that cities and townships shall have the right to erect public slaughter houses and to issue bonds for that purpose. Cities and townships shall also have the right to erect storage houses, establish coal and wood yards, ice houses and stock yards, and to buy or manufacture the respective commodities and sell them to the citizens at cost.

Ninth, the state shall provide free school books and school meals to the pupils of the public schools, and also to parochial and private schools which under certain legal conditions as to standard instruction shall make demands for the same books. We also demand legislation enabling school districts in the country to give better school facilities and free transportation for the children to and from school.

Tenth, that no further water rights shall be given away to private individuals or corporations, and those that have been given shall be taxed according to their value. All mineral rights reserved.

Continued on page four.

The Same Old Fight in a New Form!

Certain members of the Catholic church who are anxious to make a political machine out of a religious organization are after the Social-Democrats again in Milwaukee.

During the recent municipal campaign in Milwaukee a circular was distributed in the Nineteenth Ward in which Ald. F. J. Stiglbauer was attacked and his record discussed with the freedom that is supposed to be warranted when the electors are scrutinizing the various candidates. A number of the circulars were handed in at various shops and saloons in the ward, among other places at the saloon of Comrade Jacob J. Eckelmann, one of our party members. Stiglbauer sent two men to Eckelmann's place and asked for copies of the leaflet, which he innocently handed to them. On the testimony of these men Stiglbauer swore out a warrant for criminal libel against Eckelmann and he was arrested, the Socialists immediately going bail. The case came to trial last week. The jury commission furnished a jury list that was the despair of the defense—with religious and political prejudice to be played upon by the prosecution. The astonishing verdict of guilty was promptly returned and a fine of fifty dollars was exacted.

Now began the church machinations against our party.

Stiglbauer as the captain of an armed Catholic body of men willing to make war, to murder and kill or burn at the stake the non-Catholics, as soon as the heads of the church should pass the word. This is the only construction on the fact of their bearing guns and swords that is possible—you cannot shoot the Devil with bullets, nor can you cut him with swords, unless the devil appears to you in the form of people who do not believe as you do. Besides, the history of the past teaches the lesson.

Stiglbauer is also a leading worker and candidate for president in the State Federation of Catholic societies, which wants to use Catholicism as a political machine—instead of as one of the many religions of the Nazarenes.

And St. Francis Jesuiticus Stiglbauer has now started a civil suit for \$25,000 against a group of our party members who are active in the party work, particularly the directors of the company that issues this paper. The intent of the captain of the Jesuit guards is evident. He wants to try to cripple our party by attacking its funds through the courts—if possible, to drive out of business the party papers which are cordially hated

by politicians of the Stiglbauer type.

This same opposition from the political part of the church to the Socialist party is found in every country, and in Milwaukee particularly it has been at work a long time, but has met with one failure after another. It brought the foul slanderer, the Jesuit Father Sherman, degenerate son of Tecumseh; here; it brought here the cowardly and slippery Father Kress and others, and did innumerable other things. And now comes forward the captain of the Jesuit home guard. Last week this man Stiglbauer went personally to members of the Nineteenth Ward Branch of our party and threatened them with arrest, if they did not give him any "evidence" he would like to get against persons at the party headquarters. If any of our comrades should "knock the stuffing" out of the brave Jesuit captain while he is threatening them in their houses or in a public place,—it will serve the Roman warrior right. At any rate we would advise Mr. Stiglbauer to sue Uncle Sam for ignominiously and unceremoniously kicking him out from his place as letter carrier—for the good of the service—although he was protected by both the civil service law and his archbishop.

The Buried Talent and the Tactics of the Social-Democracy.

By EDUARD BERNSTEIN, Berlin, Germany.

(Translated from the "Sozialistische Monatshefte" by E. H. THOMAS.)

A people cannot develop the feeling of power, or even the illusion of power, when the fact of its weakness always stands before its face. And just so it is with the revolutionary feeling. A great deal is written and talked about it among the German people. But whoever believes that it lives in our people is greatly mistaken. Of course the word "revolutionary" is capable of a good many interpretations and in a certain objective-historic sense it has also penetrated the heads of our Germans. But that they are ready at any time to try conclusions with the powers that be, is not the German sense of the word "revolutionary" and never was.

In connection with the celebrations of the uprising of March 18, 1848, we have often read that the German bourgeoisie "betrayed" the revolution of 1848. "Bourgeoisie" is also another word which can mean almost anything: the capitalist class and the middle class in 1848 formed a small minority of the population. They would have been absolutely unable to betray the revolution, if the great working mass of the population, small shop-keepers, peasants and wage-workers had been revolutionary. The March counter-revolution is proof that they were not revolutionary, since it was everywhere lost and wrecked.

In Prussia, the three-class elective system was decreed by the king, in violation of the law, in May 1849. At the very same time, the people were rising in Baden and the Palatinate—those oases of the revolution—although such an insult had not been offered them. Why did the Prussians remain quiet, why as good as do nothing in North Germany and Berlin?

But above all things, let us be true even against ourselves. And let us not continually repeat these inherited phrases and legends and throw away those which always lead our intelligence astray.

Michels indeed is absolutely unjust and superficial when he imputes to the fear of losing a few marks—which moreover could easily be put in a safe place outside of Germany—the

It is so, and from this self-knowledge draw the resulting conclusions.

And thence again arises the question, whether the German Social-Democracy has not itself neutralized a good share of its work of agitation and organization. With tactics which perfectly correspond to German conditions, which have been forced on and pushed through of themselves—as a natural product, so to speak—the German Social-Democracy has combined an official phraseology which is continually growing less and less in harmony with their tactics. What we are, we should strive to be outright. Only thus can we lead events, instead of letting them carry us. Up to this time, the latter course has turned out very well for us, because our enemies have always displayed a wonderful talent for carrying over the grist to our mill. We have gained good results as a negative opposition—and are still gaining them on the question of finance reform for the German Empire. But over against these results stands a

very meager record of results obtained by us as an opposition with positive demands.

Is this necessary? Do we not make it much easier for our enemies than we should by steadily upholding the fundamental character of our opposition? For—to remove all misapprehensions—the recognition of the parliamentary character of our fight does not mean the slightest surrender of the difference which divides the Social-Democracy as a working class party from all other parties.

The Social-Democracy has tasks to fulfill to which it cannot do justice unless it feels that it is the class party of the working people, a member of the international movement of the working class. Even from the standpoint of the simple momentum of party life, the existence and strong support of such a party—a party free from the special interests of bourgeois property—is a necessity of the day. This may not and should not be disputed.

But just the knowledge of our steadfastness on this point must

lead us to greater freedom of action than we enjoy today. The charge of weakness in the Social-Democratic party is only true in a very limited sense. The party is a very important power, although a power which works indirectly rather than directly. But nevertheless it is not the power which it could be and ought to be according to its numerical strength and its discipline. For the sake of phrases which have lost their justification through the development of conditions, it has buried its talent. Not only the German Social-Democracy, but as we have seen, other Socialist parties.

It is almost a dramatic struggle which we see waged now in one country, now in another—as recently in Holland—the struggle of insight into political and economical conditions against rules laid down under entirely different circumstances.

But before they find their true status in this fight, the Socialist parties can never do justice to that higher command which reads, Accomplish that which is within your power.

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This is the first in a series of SOCIALIST POSTERS prepared by Lucien Gual, with the utmost care, from the Census of 1900 and other official documents, supplemented by reports of Manufacturers, Merchants and Bankers' Associations, Chambers of Commerce, Boards of Trade, Commercial and Financial organs, and other recognized capitalistic mouthpieces.

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The Tenets of Social-Democracy

The Principles of International Collectivism as set forth in the National Platform, adopted at Chicago, May 8, 1904.

I.

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

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

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agents of great proprietary interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges and 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 conquer foreign and weaker people, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take away the right of the worker to a vote or voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself or for the common good.

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

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

aries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national but international, both in organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries and of the so-called patriotism which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalists to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggle of contending capitalists for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

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

III.

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

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

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of production, or the tools of production. Whenever and wherever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production or the making of goods, has long since ceased to be individual. The labors 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 and continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two distinct classes; and from it has sprung all the miseries, imbalances and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interest, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction.

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

Social-Democracy comes to so organize industry and society that that private property in the means of life upon which its liberty of being, thought and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the vast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

II.

As an American Social-Democratic party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of the International Social-Democracy as embodied in the united thought and action of the Social-Democrats of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world workers are separated by no national bound-

Such a society is founded on fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

IV.

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

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

Social-Democracy means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall by 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 making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together, and that opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

V.

To that 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 Social-Democratic party pledges itself to watch and work in both the economic and political struggle for each successive immediate interest of the working class, for shortened days of labor and increases of wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of income, inheritance, and of franchise and land values, the proceeds to be applied to the public employment and bettering the conditions of the worker's children and their freedom from the workshop; for the equal suffrage of men and women; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, and the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the workers.

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a

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Socialistic Miscellany.

Two Thieves. A starving stole a loaf of bread, and pleaded guilty on arrest; The judge in righteous anger said, 'Take him away—he has confessed!' There was a million-dollar thief; He wore a diamond on his breast; The court's decree was stern and brief. 'Let him alone—he has confessed!' J. L. McCreery.

'Socialistic' at the St. Louis National Convention, and they saw him poll nearly a quarter of a million votes in the city of New York at the election of last year. Every man who is not owned body and soul by some corporation is denounced as 'Socialistic' and so long as the fiction of business honor ruling in corporations remained intact there was some force to this claim or some acceptance of it. But the revelation of insurance graft in New York and elsewhere, the proved evidences of railroad rebates throughout the country, the testimony given in Chicago as to the existence of the colossal beef trust and in New York, in Kansas and in Washington as to the colossal oil trust, the conviction of a number of bank presidents for speculation and of railroad officials for larceny has caused a general popular awakening.

Who is there outside of railroad lawyers, corporation attorneys, or men in public office, owned by trust magnates, who shout 'Socialistic?' Nobody. The voting public has made up its mind on this point affirmatively and decisively.

Campaign Funds by Corporations.

Free Press: It is possible that the bill prohibiting the payment of money by corporations for political campaign purposes will become law. The bill has been favorably reported from the senate committee, Mr. Foraker, chairman, and this looks as if for some reason the corporation people in the senate are in favor of it.

However that may be, there is one weak point in the bill. The penalty is too light, and too easily adjusted. Violation of the law subjects the corporation guilty of it to a fine of "not to exceed \$5,000."

Suppose it was Joey Babcock, late of the congressional campaign committee, and he was striking the beef trust for a couple of hundred thousand, and Mr. Armour should object that the payment of the money would subject the trust to a fine of \$5,000—what is it supposed that Joey would say to that?

He would tell Mr. Armour to keep back the amount of the fine, and make the check \$105,000. Or suppose it was Mark Hanna back on earth, and he was telling the steel trust, 'I want a quarter of a million; what do you want?' as he told it when he was on earth, what would the steel trust care for the fine of \$5,000?

Mr. Hanna is said to have been not disappointed. There is no evidence that the trust was disappointed, either.

A quarter of a million dollars! If the steel trust had to decide between the tariff and \$25,000,000 it would pay the money. It would even then be making a profit of 400 per cent a year; that is, that year on the year's business.

A Capitalist Bulwark.

We haven't a king to rule us in the United States, but we have the federal supreme court—in office for life, and not responsible to the people—which is a very effective substitute for an absolute monarch.

Precisely as Hamilton and the

other monarchists in the constitutional convention intended, the federal judges are steadily advancing their own prerogatives—unmaking good laws enacted by congress and signed by the president, and making new, bad laws by pretending to read new meaning into the constitution. Always these laws that were demanded by the people—the income tax-law was an example; always these usurpations of the federal courts are in the interest of the too-rich and the too-powerful—witness the countless injunctions forbidding workmen to exercise their "natural and inalienable" right of free speech for self preservation.

Everybody knows now that the federal senate is made up mainly of railroad and other trusts' lawyers; that everybody apparently does not yet know, or realize, is that the System—organized predatory wealth—is now relying more on the federal courts than it does on the senate. The system long since found it cheaper to elect senators than to buy them after election—so it dismissed the lobby and seated its agents in the senate. Now that the senate seems likely to be abolished for its crimes, the System will be found more strongly entrenched in the federal courts than it ever was in the senate. It will make its last stand behind the one bulwark of genuine absolutism possible under our government—the federal judiciary.—Frank Putnam, in National Magazine.

The People in Arms.

Our neighbor republic, Mexico, is enforcing the law that every young man of twenty years of age must serve in the regular army for one year. A good democratic law. The son of the wealthy citizen and being educated, stands shoulder to shoulder with the poor and uncultured comrade. The uniform makes them all equal. The service in the army for so short a time is, I know, an actual relief for the student and the working man. He learns to walk erect, his eye sight will improve, as his muscles; may be a good horseman and accustomed to regular habit of time, and alert. By that law the young tool is taken out of the mines and enjoys the sunshine, as those from the factories and shops and offices, their lungs expand and their health increases, if failing; and are taught the use of arms. If William II. says a short time service in the army is beneficial to Germany he is not wrong, only he forgets that owing to treatment there the soldier goes home a Social-Democrat.

The marching of our unions is certainly of great value, it consolidates; their bands and banners show their strength and sympathy with a change of social conditions, but as long as they march unarmed and without bayonets, the capitalist is not afraid, for it is harmless.

The Mexican may be imitated provided every soldier can take home his gun free of charge, when dismissed, and we can thus have the people in arms. A. B.

Lincoln's Fairness. The following is taken from the Mine Workers Journal: In 1864 the printers struck on the Democrat and Republic of St. Louis. That was in war times. Gen. Rosecrans was in command at St. Louis. He detailed a number of soldiers who were printers to take the strikers' places. The union printers sent in a report of the conditions of affairs to President Lincoln. The answer returned was as follows: "Order those soldiers back to duty in the ranks. The servants of the federal government shall not interfere with the legitimate demands of labor as long as I am president. Abraham Lincoln."

Timely Resolutions. To the Editor: At the special meeting of the Local Essex County, (N. J.) held in Newark, Sunday, May 6, to consider the findings and resolutions of the Unity Conference, the following resolutions were adopted by a vote of thirty to three and ordered sent to the Socialist press.

Resolved: That it is the sense of Local Essex County that the findings and recommendations of the Unity conference are not conducive to the welfare of the Socialist party and that said findings and recommendations be disapproved and that Branches be urged to send delegates to the State Convention instructed to vote on this question in conformity with this resolution.

Resolved: That it is, in the sense of this local, unwise to endorse any set of labor organization, and that the course of the Unity conference should not be endorsed.

Winifred E. McNabb, Chairman, Margaret Moore Goebel, Secretary.

Milwaukee Fair Tickets.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Includes entries for L. Mede (\$1375.70), Oscar Traczewitz (1.00), M. Hoss (.30), Henry Moeller (.30), J. L. Reisse (.50), C. Rothweiler (.50), Frank Steindl (.10), Aug. Losse (.50), Wm. Grothe (.20), Paul Buetow (.30), Geo. Wedel (.20), Gust. P. Richter (1.00), Karl Wulf (1.00), Jno. Kraus (1.00), David Guenzburger (1.00), G. M. Belz (.50), E. Hallisch (.40), Tony Urschuetz (1.00), Herman Bartsch (1.00), Geo. Eisenberg, Sr. (1.00), Peter Zeck (.50), T. J. (1.00), Herman Maass (1.00), P. Lindl (.10), 2nd Ward Branch (1.00), Gstoener's Neighbor (.30), Louis Brase (1.00), Josi Deubler (.20), Chas. Nickolaus (1.00), Herman Bell (.30), Henry Kuhlmann (1.00), H. Kolten (1.00), 7th Ward Branch (1.00). Total \$1306.60.

TAKE NOTICE.

Students contemplating the organization of Study Chapters should send for literature, our list of books and outline of study. The Society has capable and experienced lecturers upon its lists, and can reach any college. Wherever it is possible to hold a public meeting, the students should apply for a speaker. Time ought to be allowed for the necessary correspondence and to properly advertise the meeting. The aim of such an effort should be to organize a Study Chapter and to defend its own existence by a collection. Send the Secretary also names of all students likely to take up such a course of study as outlined in other colleges.

One Hundred Dollar Prize Competition.

The Intercollegiate Socialist Society offers three prizes to the student of any university, college or educational institution above the rank of grammar school, who is a member of the Intercollegiate Socialist Study Chapter of this institution. Of Fifty, Thirty, and Twenty Dollars, for the three best essays on Socialism which during the college year of 1905-06 shall be prepared and used as regular college exercises. The papers submitted will be

judged by a committee appointed by the Society's Executive Board. All manuscript must be typewritten and in the Secretary's hands by June 10, 1906. They will be numbered in the order of their receipt, and the numbers and names of the authors placed in an envelope and sealed. This offer is conditional upon the offering of at least fifty manuscripts and will be posted in every institution of the grade indicated in the country.

Send all manuscripts to M. R. Holbrook, Secretary Intercollegiate Socialist Society, 123 Roseville Ave., Newark, N. J.

Why I am a Socialist.

By A. M. DEWEY, Special Agent, U. S. Dept. of Labor. The writer has often been asked why he himself embraced Socialism. He is an employee of the federal government, has a good salary, and permanence of employment practically guaranteed by the civil service laws. His salary is fixed by law, with no likelihood of its being reduced or cut off. Why, then, should he not join his efforts with others who profit by a continuation of the competitive plan of industry? The answer to the query, however, is an easy one. While, in the ordinary acceptance of the term, the writer lives in the "house of have" today, the operation of the competitive system—that system which arranges every man against his fellow in the scheme of life, is likely to put him, as it does many another man every day, into the "house of want" tomorrow. For while the competitive system lasts no one is safe from its influence and attack. The writer is working now for the people as a whole, and is so well satisfied with his situation that he would have all people receive the same consideration. Not that he doubts his ability to hold his own in the competitive struggle. But he deplores any condition of society which puts a premium on dishonesty in business affairs, encourages one man to injure his fellow for the purpose of securing an advantage to himself, and thus annul all the efforts of the church and fraternal societies to promote that principle sometimes known as the Golden Rule in Life—do unto others as you would that they should do to you. Years of experience in travel and observation have convinced him that there is no other solution for the labor, temperance, prison reform or immigration problems. All other efforts are palliative, and are but dealing with effects instead of causes. It is because he would see the people of the country at once happy, contented and prosperous; their children well educated, their families well housed and comfortably clothed, with the assurance that their children's children, and all the generations to follow after them, shall have the same consideration at the hands of the State, that he is an advocate of Socialism, and a firm believer in the ultimate triumph in our time of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Propaganda Bargains! SOCIALISM: From Utopia to Science. By Frederick Engels. This is one of the classics of Socialism which no one can afford to pass by. Printed on the best paper, with clean, clear type. A good pamphlet to hand to certain classes of people. No Socialist library complete without this imperishable masterpiece. Price, 5 cents per copy, 25 copies \$1.00, 50 copies \$1.75, 100 copies \$2.50.

WHAT SHALL WE DO TO BE SAVED? By Victor L. Berger. This little pamphlet shows that to be saved "the only hope for the people lies either industrial or political freedom from their 'lawful' possession of the machinery, forces and production of the great industrial monopolies and to establish the CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH." One of the finest little books ever written. Sixteen pages. Just the thing to enclose with all your letters. This pamphlet 2 cts. a copy, 50 cts. per 100, \$4.50 per 1000.

CONFESSIONS OF CAPITALISM. By Allen L. Benson. Eugene V. Debs says: "The pamphlet is written in such simple language, the statements are so clear, the arguments so convincing and the facts so overwhelming that he who reads will find it difficult to escape its conclusions." It will be widely read and shall be glad if I can in any way help it fulfill its mission. Single copies, 5 cts.; 30 copies, \$1.00; 100 copies, \$2.75.

SOCIALISM AND THE CITY. By Winfield E. Seyfert. Just the pamphlet needed for an understanding of city problems where the first victories of the Socialists will be won. It is an excellent work for reference. Locals in cities should keep a supply constantly on hand. Single copies, 5 cts.; 25 copies, \$1.00; 50 copies, \$1.75; 100 copies, \$2.50.

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DR. J. H. GREER, the author, is a practicing physician in Chicago, is Professor of Genito-Urinary Diseases in the College of Medicine and Surgery, Physician-in-Chief to the Harvard Medical Institute, and has written many works of value to the profession and public. This book is up-to-date in every particular. It will save you hundreds of dollars in doctor's bills. It tells you how to cure yourself by simple or harmless home remedies. It recommends no poisonous or dangerous drugs. It teaches simple common sense methods in accordance with Nature's Laws. It does not endorse dangerous experiments with the surgeon's knife. It teaches how to save health and life by safe methods. It is entirely free from technical rubbish. It teaches prevention—that it is better to know how to live and avoid disease than to take any medicine as a cure. It teaches how typhoid and other fevers can be both prevented and cured. It gives the best known treatment for La Grippe, Diphtheria, Cerebrum, Consumption, Appendicitis and every other disease. It is the best medical book for the home yet produced. It is not an advertisement and has no medicine to sell. It tells you how to live that you may prolong life. It opposes medical fads of all kinds and makes uncompromising war on vaccination and the use of antitoxins. It has hundreds of excellent recipes for the cure of the various diseases. It has 16 Colored Plates, showing different parts of the human body. The chapter on Painless Midwifery is worth its weight in gold to women. It has a large number of valuable illustrations. The "care of children" is something every mother ought to read. It teaches the value of Air, Sunshine and Water as medicines. It contains valuable information for the married. It advises people with regard to marriage—tells who should and who should not marry. Those contemplating marriage should get this book at once. This book cannot fail to please you. If you are looking for health by the safest and easiest means, do not delay in getting it. This book has eight hundred pages, is neatly bound in cloth and will be sent by mail or express prepaid to any address on receipt of \$0.00.

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Gems for the Socialist Scrap-Book.

XXXIV. WHAT'S THAT?—Charlotte Perkins Gilman.
I met a little person on my land,
Fishing in the waters of my stream;
He seemed a man yet could not understand
Things that to most men very simple seem.

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FOR OUR NEW READERS:

THIS COUNTRY is made up of working people, both industrial and agricultural, but is ruled by the capitalist class, which is numerically small. Being in control of the government, it runs that government in the interests of its class and against the interests of the working class, which is the people.

Half Hours in the Herald Sanctum.

VOLUME of gold, affects prices, and that the net profit mentioned would be shown by the figures to be 90 per cent, to 95 per cent, then logic is rubbish. But Bro A. says such conclusions are not true, and that he never said it. We are thus after considerable expensive type-setting, left where we were at the start--without instructions from Prof. Ashplant.

tion so far as resorting to arms is concerned, seems premature indeed. One comrade in Dayton said he thought there might be about seven who would respond here, and they would not get any farther than Cincinnati. How does the affair look to a close observer? The real perpetrators of the Independence outrage are soon to be exposed, and they are not the miners by any means, but the mine owners.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.
1888 2,000
1892 21,000
1896 36,000
1900 122,000
1902 230,000
1904 441,000

EDITORIAL ETCHINGS.

Taking the government figures for the past ten months as a guide, it appears that the capitalists of the United States are shipping abroad such great quantities of the natural food supply of this country that in the ten months alone there is an increase over the previous year of ONE HUNDRED AND SEVEN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS' WORTH.

GLEANINGS FROM BUSY FIELDS.

of the municipal league, which announced as its platform, purity in city politics, and had for its purpose the defeat of the present city administration, and to place in power another capitalistic one. The members thus offending were promptly expelled by Local Sioux Falls.

These are the demands of the Social-Democratic party in Wisconsin. We call upon every intelligent voter of this state, regardless of race, nationality or religion to join the Social-Democratic party, vote its ticket, build up its organization, and stand shoulder to shoulder for a better order and a higher civilization.

SUFFERERS
From VARIOUS ailments
Restoration to a sound and healthy condition is the result of my method of treating this common and when neglected, dangerous disease.

DRINK Schlitz
The Beer that Made Milwaukee Famous.
The main difference between good beer and bad beer is in the after-effect. You notice that pure beer, Schlitz beer, does not make you bilious.

When purchasing cigars see that this label is on the box
Union-made Cigars.
It is a guarantee that the cigars are not made by the Trust.

WHEN ORDERING SUITS DEMAND THIS LABEL
TRADES AND LABOR COUNCIL MILWAUKEE
INSIST UPON IT! IT COMES NO WHERE!

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DON'T FORGET

WISCONSIN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PICNIC SUNDAY, JULY 15

SCHLITZ PARK MILWAUKEE.

Corporation Rule or Ruin!

DESPERATE TACTICS WHEN THEIR CLUTCH ON THE PEOPLE IS THREATENED.

Any mayor who really tries to serve the people, be he Social-Democrat or otherwise, finds himself opposed by corporation interests. The following message of Mayor Stolze, the Social-Democratic mayor of Manitowoc, Wis., was read by him in the presence of the corporation representatives and

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J. FAERBER

DRY GOODS

Millinery and Notions

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Wm Gerhard

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HATS CAPS

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Now is the time to think about your bicycle. We do shop class repairs, estimate and make repairs. We have a full line of bicycles, tricycles and accessories always on hand at lowest prices. Bicycles made to order.

Koepfen & Co.

Machine and Bicycle Shop, 424 Chestnut St., Milwaukee, Wis.

caused something of a sensation: Before this council is dissolved, I deem it my duty as presiding officer to make a few comments in regard to the work that has been done by us and left undone during the past year. A year ago, when I took the office of Mayor of the city, I was fully aware of the difficulties confronting us in any effort that we might make to bring about a change in municipal affairs. It is a great task to attempt to arouse a community from its trance of conservatism because the conflicting private interests of the individuals composing a community are always a hindrance to any progress for the common good, the municipalization of public utilities.

The mayor alone of the city, or of any city, is powerless to bring about any change whatever, and I knew that we would be obstructed, criticized, ridiculed and threatened by a certain class that might well be called the "Rule or Ruin" element, which element may be found in every community. I knew that this element, being cut off or was to be cut off from future rule and the public crib, would make every effort possible to block all efforts for progress for the common good. They publicly stated right after the election, "We will see to it that Stolze accomplishes nothing during his term; that will make the people tired of him." They knew whereof they spoke; they knew that they needed but four aldermen of this council to execute their intentions. They knew that many aldermen they could control. They were somewhat surprised in the beginning, when they found that they only had three members. Do you remember the obstructions placed in our way right from the start? The majority of the council tried to carry out the will of the people that elected us, but a few preferred to obstruct. Every proposition that was brought before this council and that a majority of you took up for action, was antagonized by the same three aldermen, who seemed to be flattered into the opposition, by commendations through the public press, and especially one of them who received the title "broad-minded leader of the opposition."

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them in the courts. Most of you saw that the position I took and the recommendation I made were proper and right, and for the benefit of a majority of the people, and you assisted me. You know the many kinds of influences that were used to cause some of the weaker members to break away from their convictions. Under which influences it is hardly surprising that even the best will waver and finally succumb.

It is now being stated and circulated, for the purpose of creating a sentiment of mistrust and dissatisfaction, that we in the past year have accomplished nothing but strife. If we have accomplished nothing but strife, who is to blame? Everyone of you know. But we have accomplished and brought about something other than strife. We aroused the citizens of Manitowoc, we corralled the "Rule or Ruin" element, we made them act and show their colors, and they did act just as we might expect.

Let us look back and see how they acted. First: The ex-engineer brought suit to oust the appointed engineer. Second: The injunction in court of the School fund transfer by an ex-mayor. Third: The interference of the most disgraceful kind in the Water Works test by an ex-mayor. Fourth: The Green Street Sewer injunction demanded from the state officers and prayed for by three ex-mayors. Fifth: The injunction secured against the City Clerk and myself to prevent us from notifying the Water Works Co. that the hydrant rental would not be paid until such time as the Water Company fulfilled the requirements of its franchise contract. Sixth: The public attack on the council and administration on the library allowance. Seventh: The suit against the city by ex-mayors, ex-state officers, county judges and leading citizens, democratic and Republican lawyers in the school question.

The first act began after I appointed a city engineer that would attend to his duties promptly. In this suit to oust the appointee, I was indirectly made defendant, charging me with conspiracy. Although in making this appointment, I fulfilled the wish of eleven out of the fourteen aldermen, this charge of conspiracy comes with little grace from those who are continually conspiring against me.

Then began the Water Works matter. After securing the advice of one of the best lawyers in the state and one whom we believe to be untainted by corporate influence and who is now an elect Judge of the Supreme Court of the State of Wisconsin, and being advised by him to ignore the Manitowoc Water Works Co. and proceed to build a new works if the present company would not offer their plant to the city, that condemnation proceedings were very costly and therefore dangerous proceedings for the city to resort to. What was the result? Did not the very same three members of the council obstruct the proceedings? They claimed that we intended to confiscate the property of the Water Works Co. while in fact, we were trying to protect the City Treasury from being confiscated, and in all likelihood future results will demonstrate that the advice of this councillor and our action in accordance was correct.

They said that this was an attempt to acquire property dishonestly and unfairly. We were following the advice of this new elect Supreme Court Judge of the State of Wisconsin. Did he advise us to do something dishonorable? Every charge of this kind made against our proceedings in the water works matter is made against our advisor, and the result of the last election shows that he, in the judgment of the people of the state of Wisconsin, is not a dishonorable man.

In time you will see that this plan of building new works, if we could not secure the old works without condemnation proceedings, was a wise one. I feel that our course and the course of our advisor will be vindicated because I still believe that the city of Manitowoc after the appraisal has been made and brought before the people, will have

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to start in again where we left off when the bond issue for building a water works was defeated.

The difference will be that we have lost valuable time, at an expense to the city of Manitowoc of many thousands of dollars. We are going through the same costly experiment that has been tried by other cities. I say that we will have to start where we left off and that is, if municipalization of the water works is not altogether defeated. In our effort to establish the city system of schools, we were opposed in this council by the same parties. The same aldermen started the opposition, and after we carried it in the council and in every school district in the city, this same "Rule or Ruin" element took in into the courts on the slightest technicalities, and it is still there, and I doubt now if they are in a hurry to have it decided.

Then the action of the Police and Fire Commission; they got different lawyers without asking you to expound the law, claiming that the City Attorney was prejudiced against them, and then they ignored the opinions and advice of their own lawyers and ignored their own rules and regulations. How can they expect others to abide by such rules and regulations, when they themselves are not bound by them?

Then came the water works test with that disgraceful interference of one of our ex-mayors that made Manitowoc notorious, and when our officers reported on the test, who was it that voted not to publish the reports in order to prevent the people from getting knowledge of the water works situation? You probably will remember. You also remember who it was who spoke so loudly against and fought the adoption of the resolution that no hydrant rental should be paid until the water company fulfilled its contract. And now this "Rule or Ruin" element and some of the aldermen whom they have been able to flatter and control make a special charge against me, of having accomplished nothing the past year. We did not accomplish what we set out to do, but we did accomplish this: That the opposition showed their true character; and if we have failed to accomplish what we set out to do, upon whom falls the blame? Must it not be placed upon the shoulders of those who conspire to harass and obstruct me, until I be forced to resign? It has been publicly stated by some of the aldermen that Stolze said that certain aldermen were elected, he would resign. I want to say that I said no such thing and have no disposition to accommodate this class.

On the contrary, I intend to make the utmost effort to wear those that they apparently resent from the public crib.

As Mayor, I am sorry for the attacks, slander and ridicule that has been heaped upon this administration and aldermen, as it defames, slanders and injures the city in the eyes of the younger generation and general public throughout the state. Personally I care nothing for the attacks made upon me by these men. During all these trying times I have had one consolation and that is: The majority of the council have stood by me for the right to the end. I am thankful to those that stood so faithfully with me and assisted me in my intentions. I have a feeling of regret for those who weakened, wavered and fell, and for those who obstructed us, I have only charity.

I have known that when the truth is known, a large majority of the people of Manitowoc will see that justice and right prevails.

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They will not be misled by any "Rule or Ruin" element when they know the truth. Each one of us knows in his heart where he and the others stood and why he stood where he did, and accordingly knows what each of us deserves.

In the name of the City of Manitowoc I thank the members of this council for the services they have rendered the city and bid them God speed.

In the name of the city of Manitowoc, I welcome you as members of the council for the year 1906. A year ago I stood here offering several recommendations to the last council, for what I believed to be, the welfare of the city. None of which are fulfilled. Although working untiringly with the assistance of the majority of the aldermen to enact them during the past year, the obstructionists needed but four aldermen of the fourteen to delay and defeat every one of the recommendations when taken up to be acted upon.

My position now at the beginning of this term would naturally seem more discouraging, more difficult and more trying than at the commencement of the last term, because it has been said that I have to preside over a council of which a number of the new members have been elected for the very purpose of obstructing all efforts that might be made for the municipalization of public utilities at the lowest possible cost and to bring a direct income to the city of Manitowoc and a direct benefit to the people. It has been intimated that some of the new members come here prejudiced against me. A city or community that is governed by prejudice must by necessity be badly governed, because prejudice blinds us to fairness, justice and reason, and if this intimation be true, I am fully aware of the difficult position I occupy and that it would be folly for me to recommend anything whatsoever at this time, which otherwise I would consider proper to do. I will, therefore, only ask you to consider the welfare of the city as a whole first, your ward second, and try to do your duty without prejudice, and I believe that no unreasonable prejudice can long hold and sway a well-intentioned man.

Prejudice can permanently find room only in people of narrow minds, those who know nothing of fairness, listen to no reason and no pleadings, however right and just, and are to be pitied.

I hope there is not, and doubt very much if there is at present any of that class among the new members. In a short time we will know each other better. We will know what motives govern each other's actions, and then it may be time enough to give recommendations for the interests of all the people. Honest men have honest differences of opinion. Where we differ, let us reason, and let reason and justice, not prejudice, govern our actions.

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Social-Democratic Party News.

WATCH THESE DATES. Before making engagements, look at this column. Entertainments are sometimes failures because of conflicting dates.

Fifth Ward Branch, Schafkopf Tournament, at the Socialist Home, 382 Washington st., will be held every 4th Friday of the month. Cinch Parties every first and third Friday of the month.

take place at Gruenewald's Park, August 26th.

Always when in doubt where to spend your Sunday afternoons during the Summer months be sure to look at these columns, where we have listed all the entertainments and picnics for the Summer months.

June 2, (Saturday).—don't forget. Have your local represented if possible.

At Kiel the Gaylord conference was a great success. Thirty-two comrades were present. They plan to do their part of the work of arousing Manitowoc county.

MEETINGS NEXT WEEK. MONDAY, May 28, 8 P. M. County Central Committee meets at 274 West Water st.

FRIDAY, JUNE 1, 8 P. M. 13th Ward Branch meets at Raasche's hall, cor. 3rd and Wright streets.

WISCONSIN.

Comrade Gaylord organized a new local at New Holstein this week. Who says we are growing slowly? Racine City Central Committee voted \$15.00 out of its treasury to the "Hurry Up" campaign fund.

MILWAUKEE.

The Russian Jewish Comrades of Milwaukee have placed tickets on sale for their lecture and afternoon entertainment to be held at the North Side Turner hall, Sunday, June 10.

The Herald for Life!!!

Recently, at the request of the directors of the Social-Democratic Publishing Co., the County Central Committee held a special meeting for the purpose of discussing the satisfactory distribution of the new stock which is to be sold to help the HERALD defray the expenses of the installation of the printing plant.

Do you know "Zim-Zim"?

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