

Baseless Criticisms of Social-Democracy

[Allan L. Benson, in Pearson's.]
Most men are not interested in private profits, because they don't get any. Profits are only for capitalists, and the number of capitalists bears but an insignificant proportion to the whole human race. Most men are wage-workers, of one sort or another, or small farmers.

Yet we are living under a system that makes private profits the basis of business. If profits are good, business is good. And when business is good, the whole country suffers, though the country has the men, the machinery and the land with which business might be made good.

Socialists like the present business edifice to be inverted pyramid resting upon its point—the point of private profit. Socialists do not object to the steady pyramids do not rest upon their points. They do not believe the pyramids of Egypt would have stood as long as they have if they had not been right side up. Socialists therefore propose that the pyramid of business shall be turned right side up. They believe it would stand more nearly steady if placed upon the broad base of the people's needs than it now does upon the pivot point of private profit.

That is all that Socialists mean when they talk about the "revolutionary" character of their philosophy. They want to make a revolutionary change in the basis of business. They want goods produced solely to satisfy the public need for goods, rather than to satisfy any man's greed for profits. They do not see how business can be thus revolutionized, so long as a few men own the great machinery with which goods are produced. Socialists, therefore, propose that the ownership of all the great machinery shall be acquired by the people, by purchase, and thus transferred from a few to all.

Those who are not in favor of this program may be divided into two classes. One class, desiring to cling to the private profit system, is opposed upon principle to the Socialist program. The other class, while eager enough, perhaps, to be rid of present conditions, does not believe the Socialist plan is practicable. The reason why so many men believe the Socialist plan is not practicable is because so many men do not know what the Socialist plan is. The newspapers, owned as they are by capitalists, do not take the pains to tell the people what the plan of Socialism is. Even so great a trust lawyer as Sam-

uel Untermyer of New York, apparently did not know much about the plan of Socialism until he debated Socialism in Carnegie hall with Morris Hillquit. Mr. Untermyer, in his opening statement, made the colossal mistake of declaring that the Socialists had no definite plan for transferring the industries of the country from private to public ownership; that no one knew whether they meant to take over all industries, or whether they meant to take over only the trusts, while leaving the small concerns that are now fighting the trusts to compete with the government. In short, Mr. Untermyer left the impression that in the matter of putting their program in practice the Socialists were whirling around in a fog.

Whirling in Fog.
Let us see who was whirling around in a fog. Victor L. Berger, the Socialist congressman from Milwaukee, last winter introduced in the house of representatives a bill embodying the following features:
The government shall immediately proceed to take over the ownership of all the trusts that control more than 40 per cent of the business in their respective lines.
The price to be paid for these industries shall be fixed by a commission of five men, three of whom shall be to determine the actual cash value of the physical properties.
Payment for the properties shall be proffered in the form of United States bonds, bearing 2 per cent interest, payable in 50 years, and a sinking fund shall be established to retire the bonds at maturity.
In the event of the refusal of any trust owner or owners to sell to the government, the property of the trust shall be sold by the commission of experts, the president of the United States is authorized to use such measures as may be necessary to gain and hold possession of the properties.
A bureau of industrial relations shall be created within the department of

commerce and labor to operate all industries owned by the government.
Mind you, this is but the barest skeleton of the Berger bill. Samuel Untermyer, great trust lawyer, and presumably well read man, said that the Socialists had no definite plan for taking over the industries of the country. He made this statement in Carnegie hall before thousands of people. And there was not one word of truth in it.
Mr. Hillquit made him look ridiculous. He was ridiculous. He was more than ridiculous. He was an object for pity. A great lawyer, having a great reputation to sustain, discussing a great subject of which he had only the most meager knowledge!

Capitalist News Lying.
Millions of New Yorkers who read the capitalist newspapers the next morning, got the impression from the headlines that Untermyer had ridiculed not only Hillquit, but Socialism. The capitalist newspapers would not let the public know that the newspapers had good reasons for saying that the Socialists had no definite plan. The newspapers are owned or backed by millionaires who are interested in maintaining present conditions. Yet it is from such sources that the public receives most of its information regarding the Socialists. It is because of this fact that the public knows so much about Socialism that is not so. Socialists propose that the means of life shall be owned by all of the people, through the government. If this program be put into effect, the start must be made somewhere. Socialists propose that the start be made with the trusts because the trusts have advanced furthest along the road of exploitation. The trusts have already sloughed off the multitude of primitive, competitive managers. They are concentrated. Only the slightest shift will be necessary to concentrate the trusts into a few more and invest them in the government. Besides, the trusts control the bulk of the production of the great necessities of life. Get the trusts and we shall have life. We shall have food, we shall have clothing, we shall have shelter. We shall have all of these things, because we shall have the machinery with which we may make all of these things.
Long before Congressman Berger's bill was introduced, the Socialists were saying, "Let the nation own the

trusts." Among Socialists this cry was as insistent and as common as the cry of "Let us stand pat" was insistent and common among the Hand-Undermyers of 1896 and 1900. That Socialists should have said that Socialists planned to begin, Congressman Berger's bill made it more definite. The Socialist cry was "Let the nation own the trusts." Congressmen Hillquit told that trusts were within the meaning of Socialists' demands, and how to get them. Berger's bill declared that a trust should be construed to mean an industry or combination of industries that controlled 40 per cent or more of the national output of its product. And Berger's bill also laid down the principle that the easiest way to acquire the trusts is to buy them. Moreover, his bill also sought to provide for the governmental machinery and the money with which to do it.

Socialists Have a Program.
We are now considering the charge that the Socialists have no definite program. That is what Mr. Untermyer said. That is what thousands of others say. Is it not plain that they are all wrong? Who can doubt that if the Berger bill were enacted into law, the trusts could and would be taken over? The Berger bill is plainer than any tariff bill that was ever written. Any man of common sense can understand it. No man can understand a tariff law. Yet tariff laws are administered. They are definite and they are compulsory. What the proposed manufacturers really want accomplished.
The simple fact is that the Socialists want to take the trusts first, because they are the most important and the best adapted to immediate ownership by the people. For the time being, small, competitive manufacturers would be compelled to compete with the government.
If the national ownership of trusts were a success, the day of the competitive manufacturer would be short. He could not afford to do business with a competitor who sought no profits.
This does not mean, however, that the trusts would be owned by the government. It does not necessarily mean that farms would be owned by the government. The Socialists are not fanatics over the mere principle of government ownership. They apply the same principle to the accomplishment of an end. The end is the destruction of the power of some to rob others. If there is no robbery, there is no occasion for the application of the principle. The ownership of a peasant farmer, the owner no power to rob anybody, but the owner of a farm lands, they would take over the tenant farms for the same reason that they now want to take over the trusts—because the landlords were using the power of ownership to keep a part of the products of the tenants.
There is another set of critics who say that if Socialists should ever take over the industries, they could not run them. They say that the change from private to public ownership would bring chaos, that the government, as a manager of industry, would break down, that red revolution would sweep the world and that civilization would probably go down with a crash.

That Antiquated Constitution.
Let us get down to brass tacks. If the Socialists were to gain control of this government tomorrow, probably the next day they would be carrying out their program would be to call a national convention to draft a twentieth century constitution to replace our present eighteenth century one. The convention would abolish the senate, the entire legislative power in the house of representatives, destroy the United States supreme court's usurped power to declare acts of congress unconstitutional, make all judges elective by the people and establish the initiative, the

referendum and recall. Socialists would not attempt to establish Socialism without first clearing the ground so that the people could control their government absolutely.

The work of the convention having been approved by the people, perhaps the first trust that would be taken over would be the railroad trust. It would be a big job. It would be so big a job that no other similar job would be undertaken until the completion of the railroad job was well under way, and the railroad job might require a year or two. This fact alone would show that it would not be the purpose of a Socialist administration to rip this country up from Maine to Southern California within twenty-four hours from the fourth of March. In fact, there would be no ripping or larring, as I shall soon show. Everything would proceed in an orderly, lawful manner.

I say there would be no ripping or larring because there would be no cessation of industry. Let us suppose, for instance, that the ownership and control of the railroads had been transferred from the present owners to the government. What would happen? Absolutely nothing. The nature of the job. What happens now when one group of capitalists sell a railroad to another group of capitalists? The trainmen, if they did not read the newspapers, would not know that the railroads had changed hands. The transition from private to public ownership would be accomplished precisely as smoothly. The only change would be in the orders that a Socialist administration would give to the chief executive officer of the railroads. That order, in substance, would be: "Don't try to make any profits out of the railroads. Run them at cost. Give the men more wages and shorter hours and give the best possible service at the lowest possible risk to human life."

If you can manufacture a riot out of such ingredients, go to it.

"Oh, the capitalist gentlemen say, 'but you Socialists are not business men and business men are required to manage industries. A Socialist government would therefore fail.'"

Mayor Gaynor expressed much the same thought in a statement about Socialism that he prepared for the Newark Board of Mayor Gaynor's attitude toward Socialism is tolerant—almost sympathetic—yet he asked: "Who would run your Socialist government? Where would you get honest and competent men? Would they be better than the men who are now in charge? Or would they be larger than they are now?"

Wherever Socialism is discussed such questions are asked. They are evidently regarded as insuperable obstacles to Socialism. As a matter of fact, they are asked only to show how little the questioners know of Socialism.

Socialists will depend upon the regular run of the human race for material with which to work out their program. They will approach the subjects of government and industry from a different point of view.

The capitalist's conception of honest and efficient business management is that sort of business management that will yield him the most profits upon the least capital. The Socialist's conception of the best government is that which gives no man an advantage over another, while giving every man the greatest opportunity to use his faculties, together with the greatest amount of personal liberty that is consistent with the safety of everybody else. And the Socialist's conception of honest and efficient business management is that sort of management that produces the best working conditions under the best working conditions at the least cost and distributes it among the people without profit.

In answer to Mayor Gaynor and others, Socialists therefore make the following reply:

Capitalists are now able to get honest men who are competent to administer the government in the interest of the capitalist class. Why, then, should you doubt that Socialists will be able to administer the government in the interests of the working class? In either case it is simply a matter of executing the orders of the employer.

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No matter how many doubts the title may raise, Comrade Gaylord must have convinced his hearers in St. Louis, when he made his speech, and it is well that we have it now in pamphlet form. Socialist pamphlets with arguments largely drawn from the present day, are always desirable. The labor and Socialist hustler should not wait, but they ought to get busy now and make use of Gaylord's pamphlet.

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A Surprise in November

By REV. GEORGE D. COLEMAN.
When Fremont was the first candidate of the Republican party he polled 1,341,264 votes, nearly 100,000 of these were given by Illinois, electing General Bissel their candidate for governor of that state. The most conservative present estimate of the Socialist vote for 1912 is about that figure, and 2,000,000 may be said to be about the average estimate (at present) of our vote, but five months of vigorous canvass, distribution of literature and activities such as no political movement has ever had in the country, may make a very great change.

Another thing should be forgotten that is suggestive: Fifteen states of the union gave Lincoln no electoral vote, and in ten states he received NOT A SINGLE POPULAR VOTE, yet out of 303 electoral votes, Lincoln received 180. Remember, also, that there were three tickets in the field against Lincoln, two Democratic, and the "Kangaroo ticket" of Bell and Everett. If the political field was mixed then, it is now ten times more mixed. It would be difficult to prophesy what is to happen in the apparent fight now on between the Republican political machine and the rank and file of the party, but those who know the perfection of order and discipline in the "Republican machine," who realize the cohesive power of plunder, graft and office as exemplified in the whitewashing of Lorimer, Stevenson, Ballinger, et al., do not look for anything else than Taft's nomination, which would mean a split in the Republican party. This would also mean that "the interests" would rally at Baltimore to nominate Harmon, and in the event of an impossibility to agree, to put White forward as their "dark horse."

In either case the result would mean a serious compromise and the Democratic situation and scatter many Democratic votes either to the Roosevelt split or to the La Follette faction, or should the Roosevelt split shrewdly put La Follette on their ticket as Roosevelt's running mate, it would draw many Democratic votes. Should White be placed on the Democratic ticket, it would mean 2,000,000 Catholic votes, now Republican, to be shifted to the Democratic fold as they were for Roosevelt in 1908, and which Taft, in following "Roosevelt's policies," has strained himself to hold. White's nomination (through a Southern man) would mean a compromise of men like Watson of the Jeffersonian) complicate the situation in the South far more than the strength of the 2,000,000 Catholic votes, and would produce results impossible to foresee.

Now comes the part interesting to us as Socialists. We are like the case of Iago when he

set on foot the quarrel between Cassio and Rodrigo. Iago's words are, "Now, whether he kill Cassio, or Cassio kill him, in either case, I am benefitted." The political mixup, even though it does not come out on any of the lines indicated, is sure to result in many really stopping to hear other arguments than the regular political spellbinders and press. It means that millions who have never given really serious thought to the subject, or doubted their leaders, or examined their party history and its leaders, will do so. Now we know what that will result in. With all their control of the press and news sources, the interests have been able to suppress facts like Lorimer, Stevenson, Ballinger, the Tennessee Coal and Iron stock, Bailey, White's connection with the Jesuit political machine and the interests, and so on down the list. Then Russell's articles in the magazines, and the whole "muck-raking" campaign has not failed to have its effect upon very many voters who have hated and listened to the voice of the press of the Gen. Otis stamp, which has branded Socialism as anarchy. Now that the national Socialist convention has made a distinct pronouncement on the subject of anarchy, violence, sabotage, and the like, it may never come. Do not mistake that the ballot is stronger than the bullet. Therefore, let the legions of slavery vote bullets, but let us wait patiently till November, and fire ballots at them in return; and by that peaceful policy, I believe we can ultimately win."

It was this utterance that especially appealed to the Quakers, and bound all the free soil element into a compact political body; and just so will this Indianapolis convention of 1912 rally a large number of hitherto undecided voters. November election will be the greatest political struggle in the history of the United States. The Box will bear the label of the international Socialist party.

It's a hard riddle to guess, but whatever the guess, the Socialists are not the ones who are to be surprised, except pleasantly.

Successful Operations.
They removed the patient's lizard, chopped the lizard in half.
They took out his pink appendix and his largest vertebra.
Set him breathing through a goose-quill they inserted in his throat.
Took his liver from his moorings and pressed it in the lining of his stomach they discerned a little law.
They dispersed the oil, replaced it with a throbbing ostrich claw.
Many of his ribs he trinkets they hacked out of him besides.
All "successful operations"—but the patient, strangely, died.

A "successful operation," in the line of the one to the one that lets him excavate your person. Lets them make a cross-wise section of the gland that holds your brain.
Lets them make the sutures they declare were made in vain.
"What a dreadful ignorance the Creator waded!"
"All these things had been omitted, were he wise as you and I."
Then "a little scalpel, lay your 'epidemic' bare."
And "successful operations" send you up the golden stair.

Oh, my brother, when you find me ausing up a railroad track.
With miles and lights and sweetbreads piled up and ready to be used.
Do not pity a surgeon—let me die in peace or peace.
I am wearied out with reading of the numerous deceases.
That when they "successfully" have operated on.
Some poor devil who has swallowed all their "successful" operations.
Gently—ah, but surely—kill me while I breathe, with feeling breaths.
"Gains" "successful operations" that result in certain death.
—Health Culture.

Church and State.—With Cardinal Gibbons as celebrant, the second memorial military field mass will be held on the white lot at the White House, June 9. Admiral George Dewey camp, United Spanish-American War veterans, has made arrangements for the participation of the mass on that date, inasmuch as it will allow the thousands of visitors who will be in Washington to attend the unveiling of the Columbus monument to be present.

President Taft and other leaders of the Catholic and Church, will be central figures at the ceremony. Monsignor Bonzano, the new papal legate, will have a prominent part in the celebration.—Catholic Citizen.

Against stupidity, the very gods fight unvictoriously.—Carlyle.

The Issues of the Day

CHICAGO—Praising the women of Denmark as the most beautiful in Europe, Congressman Berger, of Milwaukee Sunday afternoon addressed 10,000 men and women at the National Danish Festival under leafy trees in the beautiful grove at Riverview park.

The festival was in honor of the signing of the first Danish constitution on June 5, 1849.

Mr. Berger arrived in the city late from Washington, D. C., and was in his happiest frame of mind at the park. Mr. Berger said, in part:

Socialism in the Air.
"Socialism is in the air that we breathe. I do not mean the air of Washington I find that we have progressed a little bit farther. I've got a lonely job at the capitol now, but there's going to be more after next week. We're going to send you from Milwaukee and I want Chicago to send at least one.

"The working class of this country have but one representative in congress. I'm the man. I'm a republican and I'm democratic. I'm a republican, well educated, am polite, courteous, and many of them are honest, but they don't represent you. But whether it's Judge Hanford or the Russian czar we are going after, your own representative is always the job with both feet to protect the interest of the workers.

"One time I went up to one of the republican leaders in congress and asked him 'Now, Congressman, have you any more months in a new member, won't you tell me the difference between the republican and the democratic parties?'"

Tweedledee and Tweedledum.
"There isn't any," he answered, amid a roar of laughter. Then I went to the other side of the house and asked the democratic leader what the difference between the two old parties. 'Well, didn't you just pass a cotton schedule more oppressive than the cotton schedule passed by the republicans?' and he said, 'I don't see any difference after all, Victor,' he said, sinking back into his seat.

"When you go to the polls next November, remember, when the conservative republican goes to the polls, the tariff and all other so-called issues between the old parties are only sham issues put up to distract your attention from the real issue. Remember that you will get the same treasury, get the same wages, and the same blows on the head, and the same bayonets and bullets in times of strikes and lockouts, whether Teddy Roosevelt is the republican or the democrat are in power."

Turning to the hundred or more little girls on the platform behind him, Berger said: "You men go to the polls next November and vote for your own wives and these children, instead of for men like 'Billy' Lorimer and Boss Penrose."

"It is true that the interesting his-

torical document, the Declaration of Independence, says that all men are born free and equal. But that wasn't even at that time when the sentence was written, and it is still less true now.

Not Born Equal.
"Men are not born equal. They do not live as equals, and they do not even die as equals."
"The child of the rich is surrounded by comforts and luxury. It is raised in the lap of ease. How about the child of the poor? It is born in a ragged and hungry, is dragged away to crime and prostitution. One age is something to be dreaded because it means beggary or the poor house. Where is the equality of birth? Or during life? Or even at the death-bed?"

"Let's watch a common police court any day. Two men are arrested for a similar offense. Each is fined \$10 and costs. One of them—he looks prosperous and well-to-do—will pay his fine and costs and go home. The other, ragged and hungry, is dragged away to prison. Now it is plain to everyone that the poor man is deprived of his liberty not because his crime was more heinous than that of the rich man, but simply because he can't pay the money. Hence, it is a crime to be poor."

"Do we have classes in this country? The wealthy say 'No.' They tell us we are all Americans. The money class are the most influential and, therefore, we have a government by the plutocrats, the rich, while Europeans have governments by aristocrats. No country in the old world is more oppressed by the kings and emperors than the people of this country are downtrodden by the plutocrats."

Municipal Capitalism.—The Municipal Year Book for 1912 shows that the profit derived from the municipal trading amounted to more than \$750,000 both in Liverpool and Manchester, and to \$500,000 in Leeds, while they were sufficient to materially decrease the rates, as in the three places mentioned in Washington, Salford, Burnley, Dewsbury, Wallasey, Blackpool, Halifax and Wigan. The branches of the B. S. P. in each of these towns must bestir themselves to stop this gross misappropriation of public funds, and to make a vigorous Socialist minority on the council of each of these towns, with the understanding they will get from the B. S. P. the money to make a start by raising the wages of municipal employes, which, in most of the above-named municipalities, are scandalously low.—London Justice.

"It is money that rivets the chains of labor."—Wendell Phillips.

A GREAT DISCOVERY.
By E. C. BUFFINGTON.
"When I think of this power of the railroads, with its patronage, its influence, being concentrated in the hands of the government, I simply sit back and gasp as I think what it would be if all that power concentrated at the disposal of our government, under the control of political chiefs."—Andrew D. White, aged 80, and first president of Cornell University, in New York World of Sunday, February 18, 1912.

Another great discovery has just been brought to light.
A fossil of gold and mouldy, and in a mildewed plight.
The time of its discovery, and its color must be ascertained.
For it's given out as follows "1912—A. D.—White."

There are different kinds of fossils, some are heads are like a sieve.
But they have no understanding, for their Try to take the workers' hands in brotherhood will clap
And they cannot understand it—they just sit back.

To educate these fossils, 'tis plainly of no use.
So let them dicker on their way, they have a good excuse.
For the fossil of gold here now when we'll all sit back and laugh
When we smilingly remember how these fossils Oh, the fossil leads a happy life, his mind has been set free.
He is satisfied with everything, he has nothing to complain of.
And when the resurrection morn when Gabriel blows his blast
He'll raise up these fossils to say: "This change sure makes me gasp!"

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Roosevelt and the Profit-Takers

BY JOSEPH E. COHEN.

This is written for children who are not more than 10 years old. If anyone older than that should care to glance over it, it should be only with the idea of afterward repeating it to some child.

We should not like to think that the argument here used is necessary for anyone more than 10 years old.

To be sure, the child knows what we are going to tell; these words are taken from a speech made by Mr. Roosevelt at Gettysburg the other day; to men who work on the railroads:

"Railroad men seem peculiarly to understand that there must be good returns on investments, good service to the public and good remuneration to the men who actually run the road—the engineers, firemen and others. In all lines of work three elements have to be considered."

What Mr. Roosevelt means is this: The men who do the work of running the trains should do their work so well that the public is given good service, there is plenty of money for the rich men who own the railroads, and enough over to pay good wages to the workmen themselves.

To put it so you will see just what is meant: Suppose there are three apples to be divided among these three parties; suppose the public gets one, which we will call good service, the owners of the railroad get another, which we will call dividends, and the last goes to the workmen, which we will call wages.

Now you have it. Each party has one apple. According to Mr. Roosevelt, the three parties should munch their fruit in perfect happiness.

But you know what is actually going on? The public wants better service right along. The railroad owners want more dividends. The workmen want higher pay.

Do you suppose that one of the three parties could get more apple without one or the other party getting less? Suppose the railroad owners want an apple and a half? Would there be two apples

left for the other two parties? Suppose the workmen and the public want more than an apple apiece, would there be a whole apple left for the railroad owners?

You see, Mr. Roosevelt has made a big mistake. Just as soon as any of the three parties wants more than an apple, one or both of the other parties must be satisfied with less than an apple apiece.

Now you know Mr. Roosevelt has made a big mistake, because workmen are always going out on strike, when they want more than the little apple, the very little apple they get for running the railroads. You know, Mr. Roosevelt has made a big mistake, because the public has to fight hard to get better service from the railroad owners. You know Mr. Roosevelt has made a big mistake, because the railroads send their men to congress and other places, to try to stop the public's wish for better service; and the railroads spend lots of money breaking strikes, because they do not want their workmen to have better wages.

Mr. Roosevelt is wrong all around. Now Mr. Roosevelt has never helped workmen get better wages. Mr. Roosevelt does not care whether the workmen have enough apple and bread and butter or not.

Mr. Roosevelt has not helped the public get better service; he has not helped the public get more for its money than it used to. You know that your mother gets less for her money when she goes to market than she used to before Mr. Roosevelt was president.

But the railroad owners and the owners of the mills and stores did get richer while Mr. Roosevelt was president. They got more apple right along.

Now you know about Mr. Roosevelt and the three apples. And no matter how many grown-up men shout for Roosevelt, do not let anyone tell you that the railroad owners and the workmen and the public can each have more than they now have without taking it from the others.

For you can tell them about Mr. Roosevelt and the three apples.

Social-Democracy and the Newspapers

By HORACE B. WALMSLEY.

(Written for The Herald.)

Thomas Jefferson said: "The basis of our government being the opinion of the masses of the people, the very first object should be to keep THAT right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should prefer the latter; but I should mean that every man should receive these papers and be capable of reading them."

Bismarck on the other hand, the great apostle of the doctrine that the people must have a master to rule them—a god-given one, King by right divine—saw things by the grace of God.

"I cannot help confessing that I have a certain longing to destroy all books except the Christian KORAN, and also to destroy the means of reproducing them. The art of printing is the chief weapon of anti-Christ—more so than gun powder."

These are the views—so far apart as the zenith from the nadir—of our world. Of the greatest Democrat; of the greatest Monarchist.

I need not point out the lesson for the Social-Democrats. Our movement must have a great chain of strong newspapers extending over the whole country. Not only in order to give the voter the further and juster power, but for the further and juster important use of rightly advising and instructing those voters, so that we may rule wisely when we do get control of the government.

For the power of the press—the power to inform the voter and to set the history and the current happenings of the world—is a power so potent for evil in a republic that no body of voters constituting a political party can afford to allow that power to be exercised by their adversaries—uncontradicted and unrefuted. Every man who thinks that he is voting right—has only partly done his duty as a citizen until he aids in seeing that his fellow voters have within their reach strong, ably-edited newspapers proclaiming daily to all—the truth upon which he bases his vote and his political convictions.

Luther said: "What? Keep the light of life from the people, keep them in ignorance of what is most precious and most exalting, deny the most palpable truths because your dignities?"

Amann, Kiel; surveyor, William Scherer, Manitowoc.

SHEBOYGAN. Wisconsin.—In Central Labor union, the Social-Democratic ticket was chosen. The list is as follows:

Member of congress—Edward D. Deuss, candidate for mayor at the last election.

Assemblyman, First district—Fred Knoeven, Manitowoc.

State senator—J. Bauernfeld, Sheboygan Falls.

Sheriff—John Severin, town of Sheboygan Falls.

County clerk—J. A. Kuster, Plymouth.

Treasurer—R. C. Dassow, Sheboygan Falls.

Clerk of court—Henry Gehms, Sheboygan.

Register of deeds—F. Guthel, Sheboygan Falls.

Coroner—Adam Mueller, Sheboygan. This year's campaign is as vigorous as any previous one waged here and better results than ever before obtained are predicted by the leaders.

AMUNDSEN. We attended Amundsen's lecture in Wellington, and heard the intrepid Norwegian tell the story of his trip south to the Pole. As a lecturer he is considerably handicapped by his foreign accent, certain words proving a greater source of trouble than the snow and ice of the Antarctic. He is a modest man, this tall, spare Pole discoverer; never once throughout the whole of his interesting address was the pronoun "I" used. It was always "we," "us," and "ours." For which fact Amundsen's audience liked him. It is a story of daring and grim determination that this conqueror of the "frozen South" has to tell, and we could not help wondering, as we listened to this palpably nervous lecturer, of the powers of organization, plan and system which were evinced in this well-fitting evening dress. We, too, are preparing our industrial Amundsen for the greater organization called for in our social life.

Worker, Australia.

The People Are Thinking!—We talk of the "danger to our institutions" that results when the people take the constitution in their own hands. Let me tell you, these wealthy blinded men a fact more dangerous than all political unrest in the world—that the majority of the wage-earners in the United States get less than \$500 a year. Less than \$500! How does it appear to you whose incomes are \$5,000 a year, or \$10,000? When there are many whose incomes are \$50,000 a year, \$100,000, half a million, \$20,000,000? And a certain type

was killed in battle. James was captured by the federals and served several months in a northern prison, then exchanged, and after about three years of service, came out broken in health, his slaves free, his plantation ruined, and he a poor, discouraged man and an inebriate. What of the three Ohio boys, you ask? One became a major, was sorely wounded but recovered. On his return home he was elected judge of a court, and is now an old man highly respected by all who know him. The second boy rose to the rank of first lieutenant, was transferred to the U. S. navy, and the latter part of the war was commander of a gunboat. The third fellow, after soldiering in camp 67 days, was honorably discharged, because the army doctors thought he had consumption. He never fired off a gun during the war, is mighty glad he never killed anybody, was probably too much of a coward to fight anyway, holds no unkindly feelings against ex-rebels or any man, woman or child on earth, or as the spirit moved, feels no angel's wings sprouting, and is happy even if poor. He is a cranky, enthusiastic Socialist, who wants to see enough "dividing up" to enable working people to take their two millions of enslaved children out of the mills and shops and send them to school, and to stop a few big, strong, smart swinish "captains of industry" from gobbling up all the property on earth.

Environments very largely affect both the beliefs and conduct of people. Slavery influenced the Wilson brothers vastly more than we know. Early education and customs very largely determine our beliefs on religious, political, social and economic subjects. Mohammedans, Buddhists and Jews are just as honest and sincere as Christians. The gallant soldiers of the South who fought in defense of slavery were as conscientious as the "boys in blue."

Let all my boy and girl readers strive to improve the environments of the children of working people and of their parents, too. Let us all try to make everybody better and happier.

R. A. DAGUE.

Kit Carson, the Great Scout

About the close of the war between the States and for several years thereafter, Kit Carson was a noted scout and Indian fighter west of the Rocky mountains. He served as guide for Gen. Fremont in the fifties. He was a man of great courage—was not afraid of wild beasts

Wisconsin

COMRADE SEIDEL'S LECTURES IN WISCONSIN.

June 20—La Crosse, Y. M. C. A. hall.

June 21—Stevens Point, at Empire Amusement hall.

June 22—West Bend, at Strube's hall.

June 23—Sheboygan, at Pentic Waldschoeschen park.

June 24—Fond du Lac, at armory E.

June 25—Oshkosh, at Badger club hall, corner Tenth and S. Main.

June 26—Shawano, at Musik hall.

June 27—Oconto, at Turner Opera house.

June 28—Appleton, at new armory.

June 29—Kiel, at F. A. Steinhart's hall.

June 30—Kenosha, picnic.

Comrade Martin Bunge will speak at Hilda, Shawano county, June 24.

Comrade Martin Bunge will also speak at Hilda, Shawano county, June 24, in connection with the pre-primary campaign.

Martin L. Bunge, at one time a German minister in Green Lake county, became a Socialist after studying the literature of the movement. He came to Milwaukee about four years ago, and became a teacher in the public schools, for the purpose of studying the movement at closer range. Two years ago he became more active in the movement as a speaker locally and throughout the state and did some organization work. He was for a while employed in the office of the city clerk, and this spring has been lecturing and organizing for the party in the state. He has come to be favorably known, both as an English and a German speaker of force and clearness.

Mr. Bunge was chairman of the Social-Democratic convention reception committee and worked unflinchingly for the comfort of the delegates.

MANITOWOC.—The following candidates were nominated at the convention of the Social-Democratic party held at Triunfo hall in this city Sunday:

For member of congress, Sixth district, Martin Georgenson, Manitowoc; state senate, Fifteenth district, Arnold Zanders, Two Rivers; Manitowoc county First assembly district, William Bull, Manitowoc; Second district, Herman Wentorf, Two Rivers; county clerk, August Fritzymer, Kiel; county treasurer, David Grover, Two Rivers; sheriff, Gust Amundsen, Manitowoc; coroner, E. J. E. Westgate, Manitowoc; clerk of courts, Herman Lorinson, Manitowoc; register of deeds, H. J.

IT HAPPENED IN MILWAUKEE

The Milwaukee Times, which wants to find the hole into which the "non-partisan" alderman from the South Side have fallen, remarks:

Well, cheer up South side citizens, if we don't hear from our aldermen just now when we need their services most, we shall at least hear from them again a month or two before election, when they will again tell you all that they are going to do for South side citizens in the way of securing necessary improvements, etc. One thing is certain, when we had Michelson, Rehfeld and Grass as aldermen we knew that we had somebody to look after our interests, for they were on the job all the time. They at least tried to fulfil their campaign pledges, and to a very great extent they were successful in doing so.

"You never miss the water till the well runs dry." A Socialist alderman looks pretty good after eight weeks of small-bore politics and Big Business administration.—Milwaukee Leader.

Milwaukee's Sane Fourth

In an effort to give each school child a better understanding of the significance of Independence day, the sane Fourth committee has prepared the following from the declaration of independence. It was originally the intention of the committee to have this printed on cards and placed in the hands of each school child, but this plan has since been abandoned.

"When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation."

"THE HISTORY OF THE PRESENT KING OF GREAT BRITAIN IS A HISTORY OF REPEATED INJURIES AND USURPATIONS."

He has refused his assent to laws—necessary for the public good.

He has obstructed the administration of justice.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone.

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies.

He has obstructed our trade with all parts of the world.

He has imposed taxes on us without our consent.

He has deprived us of trial by jury.

He has transported us beyond the seas for trial.

He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the mercile Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

"In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people."

"We, therefore, the representative of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor."

Killed and injured at battle of Bunker Hill, 1776: 1,422 killed and 1,100 wounded. In July, 1909, 1,422 Fourth of July, 1910—215 boys and girls killed, 171 boys and girls lost one or more fingers, 47 boys and girls lost leg or arm, 36 boys and girls lost one eye, 16 boys and girls lost both eyes.

The city of Milwaukee asks every father and mother, every boy and every girl, to help the sane Fourth of July. Take this home. Read it to two other people to read it. Talk about it at supper, and have a picnic on the Fourth of July at one of your parks—Kilbourn park, Lake park, Kosciuszko park, Lapham park, Washington park, Humboldt park, Mitchell park, Franklin Square park, Juneau park.

An information bureau in every park. Tell your little brother to go there if he gets lost; papa will come without being told.

The street railway company has come down from its "high horse" in the matter of paving between the rails.

This is made evident by its operations on Walnut street east of Twenty-fourth street, where it is laying new rails in the place of the old ones long ago unsafe, and is putting in brand new cedar blocks between the rails.

The assessment rolls have been saved.

The fire which gutted the McGraw building near Third street and Grand avenue Thursday afternoon, and destroyed the property of the Boehm bindery in the building, failed to more than scorch the rolls which Tax Commissioner Arnold had sent there to be bound, and a little trimming around the edges will make them as good as new.

Mr. Boehm got 10 of them out.

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Have You a Leader Bond?

The street car company (The Milwaukee Electric Railway and Light company) doesn't own a single share in The Milwaukee Leader.

The Gas company doesn't own a single share. Neither does the Telephone company, nor the Merchants and Manufacturers' association.

Strange, isn't it, that these gentle-spirited corporations, noted for their insatiable desire to own everything in sight should not own even a single share in The Leader?

Strange, isn't it, that with all the good things these benevolent gentlemen do for the DEAR PEOPLE, it should never have occurred to them to give the people a daily newspaper for their own—to do with as they might please and require.

Not at all. These people are no fools. They know which side their bread is buttered on.

They realize that a daily newspaper in the hands of the common people is as bad as a gatling gun in the hands of a group of men whom they are about to rob.

That will never do.

A newspaper in the hands of the common people is the beginning of the end of capitalism.

Therefore, they not only do not help The Leader, they fight against it with all their might.

These men are truly and deeply class-conscious. They don't propose to help the people free themselves.

Why should they?

It is up to the people to love their freedom, their liberties, their families, their homes, their opportunities as deeply and as truly as the rich and the mighty love theirs.

It is up to the people to fight for their cause as faithfully and as furiously as the rich fight for theirs.

They have their newspapers—nine of them—and they support them.

The people have their paper—The Leader. They must fight for that. They must fight for it as hard as the others fight for their papers. FIGHT FOR IT. Get subscribers for it. Invest in its bonds.

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