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# SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD

A JOURNAL OF THE COMING CIVILIZATION

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## CURRENT COMMENT

By FREDERIC HEATZ.

Another Socialist has been added to the number in the Swiss parliament.

The Labor party in New South Wales was victorious in the parliamentary election by 333 votes.

The Social-Democrats have gained the seats in the Gotha state legislature in Germany. The Socialists are now the leading party in that body.

It should be: "Everybody's Being Done," even if the language isn't quite the choicest. And anyway, language doesn't count in a popular song.

In some cities the I. W. W.'s in order to defy political action as a joke and also to put a little more in their pockets do their work in the primaries for old party politicians. It is particularly true, I am told, in Chicago. We hear mighty little good of that crowd, first and last.

The editor of the Cleveland Citizen, the well known Socialist, Max Hayes, refers to Eads How as the "historic St. Louis crane" which is certainly deserved. Milwaukee's experience with him shows that he will stab in the back any Socialists that even attempt to tolerate his fake hobo organization.

Says Senator LaFollette: "In twenty-five years of political struggle, I have found on great issues the ennobling of the powerful few on the rights of the many." That is good as far as it goes, only it leaves the vast wage working class out of consideration. Therefore the still greater issue is: The encroachment of the capitalists—the few—upon the right of the workers—the many—to the product of their industry.

A writer in Scribner's Magazine quotes Bismarck with having once said, regarding his insurance schemes that his idea was "to give the state as a social institution existing for their sake and interested in their welfare." Those Socialists who entertain a strange fear about the capitalists stealing their thunder are referred to Bismarck's Allure in that regard. In spite of Bismarck's policy German Social-Democracy has never ceased its forward march!

In the heading of the United Mine Workers Journal is shown a young man, a miner, sitting on a boulder, his back leaning against his side and in his hand an open book. He is reading with bright eyes and absorbed interest. That picture tells a story, typifies an epoch. Mankind is freeing itself through knowledge. Oppression's doom was sounded when first the lowly were able to read the words in the mind. Negro slavery was not the only oppression of man by man that perished. It is the printed page that is the "open sesame" to labor emancipation.

In 1900 the vote on a resolution endorsing Socialism in the convention of the Northern Arizona Territory was 189 to 89. This year the vote on a similar resolution stood 205 to 181, so you see the vote in our favor is only fifteen shy of victory. The turner societies in this country were originally Socialist. The Fellowship was created so until the War of the Rebellion when many of the Socialists went to war and had their ranks decimated by Confederate bullets. Succeeding the war the spirit of commercialism began to creep upon the hands in the societies, so that the latest vote is significant of quite a change back toward first principles.

The Christian Socialist Fellowship owes it to the movement to reorganize with the fellow, Carr, on the outside. From the start he has tried to make a political factional machine out of the Fellowship and to divert it and pervert it from its legitimate course. There are good, and earnest and true men in the Fellowship. They should abandon the Fellowship and do powerful work for the movement in the campaign this year. It ought to be doing it. When I first pointed out that it was being manipulated for machine purposes there were protests that the Fellowship was not in the business. Events have abundantly verified the charge.

The most orthodox Socialist journal of England, Justice, of London, the organ of the Hyndman-Quehel party (and a well edited journal, too) has printed the following statement reviewing a book on the subject: "Regarding 'Syndicalism,' as we do, as a mere passing recrudescence of anarchist ideas, which has, so far, no influence with the working class of this country, and which, for a variety of reasons, is not likely to have any influence or produce any permanent effect here, we are rather puzzled to know what can have induced the author to produce so important a work on so unimportant a subject."

After all, why should we complain when the head politicians of both capitalist parties make use of the priests and cardinals in their national conventions? Why should we expect anything else when the clerical gentlemen have in the political arena over their communicants and are willing and anxious to supply it to the great vote getting aggregations? Politicians are politicians. If there is any blame it belongs on the side of the political priests, who expect to get a quid pro quo in the great American political game. But, however, nevertheless, how came it that the wires got crossed and that Taft's special friend, Cardinal Gibbons, administered a blessing on the assembled crooks at the Democratic convention? Or is it a repetition of the case of the late Jay Gould, who was a Republican in Republican states and a Democrat in Democratic states? The old party political game has become altogether too commercial to smell good to honest and really loyal Americans.

All told, thus far, the congressional speeches of Victor Berger have reached a circulation of over a million copies of all which have gone into the hands of thinking people to do missionary labors. National Campaign Manager Barnes has ordered 100,000 copies of his recent address to congress on Social-Democracy and the Socialist party, and the other day our congressman had the national platform of our party inserted in the Congressional Record and it will thus be available in special pamphlet form for wide distribution also, under the congressional frank. It may be well here to repeat the explanation about the distribution of the speeches of congressmen. Under the law if a congressman wishes copies of his speeches to be distributed to his constituents, he is required to pay the cost

of the printing, but his personal frank will carry the copies through the mails free of postage to whoever he sends them. Every copy that is sent out, therefore, has been paid for.

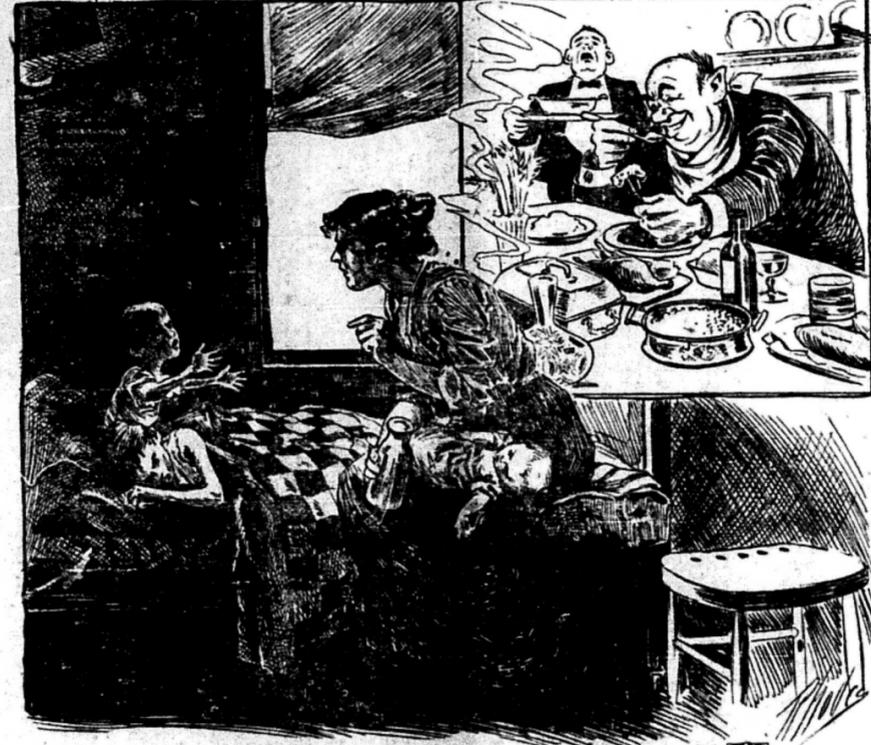
Magazine Writer Connolly in his series of exposures of the judiciary of the United States in Everybody's gives us some astounding revelations of the obliquity of the bench under capitalism. He seems to have been pretty sure of his facts for portraits of suspected judges are given and described without gloves. Under one portrait we read: "Judge Wm. Potter, who is alleged to have informed the ring in advance how the supreme court of Pennsylvania would decide the Ripper case." Under another: "Judge John Elkin, of the Pennsylvania supreme court, who has the reputation of being one of the chief supports of Big Business." Another: "Joseph Furber, whose control of the supreme court of Ohio in the interests of Big Business has been a theme of discussion among lawyers for years." And: "John H. Waldron, at whose beck the supreme court of Colorado returned principles and precedents and brought about a reign of anarchy." And so on, with an installment month after month of the same sort of thing. It will be a big job for the people to get the courts back, but it has got to be done if we are to make any headway in clipping capitalism's claws.

Says the editor of the Clear Makers' Official Journal: "The opponents of organized labor, masquerading as friends, are attempting to stigmatize the hard work of lobbying and pleading for labor legislation as 'begging for favors.' Any act not in harmony with their patent medicine and cure-all plan is belittled and ridiculed." Isn't the editor doing a little "stigmatizing" on his own hook? The working class are not enemies of organized labor, our friend to the contrary notwithstanding, and if the policy of helping to elect the bosses' politicians to office and then having to beg for legislation from them is the subject of criticism who will deny the working class the right of passing a sentence of disapproval on such folly? Labor votes settle every election. Why should labor keep evading the other side into office? Why does labor not get a kind in kind office so that laws for the working people may be made at first hand with all the degradation cut out? That is what labor in Milwaukee did, and it did its own law-making while the bosses' lawyers were licking any capitalist office holder's bootheel either. Does the Journal dare to tell its readers that the other kind of tactics is better?

The official stenographer of the Indianapolis convention, W. E. McDermott, has issued a statement saying that the official stenographer's report was delivered to the national office with certain passages bearing a check mark for verification, as the noise in the convention hall made it difficult to catch every word. He had also sent a transcript to editors to help them with their uncertainty and incongruity in some of the remarks as caught by the short-hand men. But the national office rushed out the report without verification. Continuing he says:

"I have since taken up the matter further and find that my supposition was correct, and that in writing up the proceedings I misapprehended Delegate Merrick's question and conveyed the reverse of the meaning intended. Delegate Hillquit, in reply to a question by Delegate Merrick, stated that the nomination of the Campaign Manager of Delegate Hillquit. In reply to another question by Delegate Merrick, specifically not as the nominee of the Executive Committee, but as to the recommendation submitted by Delegate Hillquit on behalf of the Committee on Constitution, Delegate Hillquit stated that the general recommendation of the Committee on Constitution with the endorsement of the National Executive Committee. I have verified the above facts, and the official and correct report of the proceedings should show accordingly."

I have had a good laugh over letters written by the politicians in England on the subject of the Socialist administration in Milwaukee. It was called forth by a letter from a former resident of Lancashire but now in this country protesting against an article in the columns and Register on Milwaukee. The Tory in question is George T. Shyers, and what he doesn't know about Socialism in Milwaukee isn't worth telling. We who have been a part of it know nothing about it, except as the Shyers article. "With the red flag floating over the city hall Milwaukee became a very paradise for crooks," we are told—funny we never saw the flag!—and about the only crooks I know of were the old party fellows who were outraged by losing the city administration. Then he says there "were more gambling halls than before, and illegal hotels were to be found in scores," and Mayor Seidel had to appeal to the Merchants and Trades Association to offer suggestions for ameliorating the conditions that Socialist administration had brought about. Well, of all things! Tory lying appears to be as unlovely an attribute as hypocrisy and lying. Where could he get hold of such false witness regarding the best local administration Milwaukee ever had? And he states it so positively! The fact is that not a single word of the charges is true, and as to gambling, that used to be rife in Milwaukee, but it did not exist during the Socialist administration, and it was the Socialist mayor himself who began warfare on the illegal hotels that had been developed during the administration of his old party predecessors. And the raids had to be carried on by the Social-Democratic sheriff because the police department, by a recently enacted law by old party lawmakers had been taken out of the control of the mayor, and was run by an old party chief, a bitter enemy of the administration. Such accusations are as rich as they are blushing. It is the Merchants and Trades Association, no one in Milwaukee ever heard of such a thing, and it is too ridiculous to treat seriously. But richer than all this is the gentleman's explanation of how the Socialists were defeated in Milwaukee. It is too good to keep! He says: "It is significant of the defeat of the Socialists in Milwaukee, that it was brought about by a combination of Democrats and Republicans." True exponents of democratic feeling in the ranks of American workingmen united to overthrow the revolutionary incubus that had settled upon them. Thus speaketh our Tory friend, who it appears is misled by the name of the Democratic party into supposing that it stands for democratic principles! However, the only democratic party in this country is the Socialist party, the party of the Social-Democrats, the party of the coming civilization. But perhaps Shyers isn't as ignorant as he pretends.



## THE MURDEROUS HIGH COST OF LIVING

CHICAGO, Ill.—The warning issued to consumers after the "dissolution of the beef trust" that meat prices would be higher, has been fulfilled, and today beef, at the local stock yards was sold at the highest prices ever attained here, the figures showing a new world's record for altitude in beef prices.

A scarcity of cattle was given as the cause for beefs selling at \$9.85 per 100 pounds and a prediction of \$10 a cwt for next week was made by dealers today.

Charles S. Jones, president of the Live Stock Exchange, today issued a plea for the raising of more cattle to supply the increasing demand.

"The situation is serious," he said. "Congress or the state legislatures must soon take some action to encourage cattle raising."

The following table compiled from figures obtained from several dealers show the tendency of retail meat prices which the consumer pays:

	Five months ago.	Today.
Porterhouse steak.....	26@28c	28@40c
British (best cuts).....	25@26c	28@30c
Round steak.....	15c	20@22c
Lamb chops (best cuts).....	15c	20@25c
Pot roast.....	12@12½c	15c
Veal cutlets.....	20c	22@25c
Pork chops.....	14@16c	19@21c

## Their Purpose is All Too Plain in the Barnes Case

I very much dislike to take a hand in this fight at this time and so contemptible a pretext, but the pretext and the time being forced upon us by the other side. We cannot shirk our duty, however.

On the face of it—the basis of the fight is that J. Mahlon Barnes had an affair with a woman some 14 years ago. He has atoned bitterly for his sin and has atoned twice—once in the year 1900 when the affair was dragged into publicity through the S. L. P.—then again last year when the fear of scandal and the protest of the preacher element in our party caused him to resign as national secretary, a position which he had ably filled. Barnes was elected campaign manager, however, by the last convention. And this was done by a practically unanimous vote—as only two or three delegates voted against him.

Clearness and sincerity should guide the action of every Socialist. Let us be sincere and clear in this matter.

This fight is not a fight against J. Mahlon Barnes or his ability or his character. The International Socialist Review—the advocate of anarchism, free love, direct action and sabotage—says so. Eugene V. Debs says so.

If the Barnes' affair of 1898 is only a pretext, then why this great fuss?

Because it is the fight of the anarchists and syndicalists against the Socialists—as Socialism is understood in the international movement. Having been defeated in their purpose to have the convention of the party indirectly sanction assassination and sabotage as a means of propaganda—they want to practice sabotage on the party and to assassinate political action.

The Barnes affair is simply used as a peg to hang their hat on, to use a colloquial expression.

It is a very convenient pretext, however, because it makes it possible for the men in control of the International Socialist Review who preach what our enemies call "free love," who practice what our enemies call "free love" and who publish books in defense of what our enemies call "free love"—to fight the Socialists in the party under the pretext of what the bourgeois calls "morality."

I shall leave out the so-called Christian Socialists entirely. Many of them are honest in this fight. But these Christian Socialists—who are only

a handful—are being used by cowardly assassins and practical "free-lovers" as a cat's paw.

And the Appeal to Reason, I much regret, acted very unfairly by printing one side only—the side favored by the Anarcho-Syndicalists.

There can be no question, however, that sooner or later we shall have to get rid of the Anarchists and Syndicalists, because a Syndicalist is simply an Anarchist too cowardly to admit it. And the sooner we shall get rid of them the better.

This is, of course, the worst possible time for a fight within the party. It is the time selected by the enemies of political action. But even this time is a good time, if it will make it possible to get rid of would-be assassins and real vampires, who have fastened themselves upon our organization.

As for Eugene V. Debs and the position he takes on this, as on other occasions—many intelligent Socialists have long known that Gene suffers from an unduly exaggerated ego. He wants to put his opinion above the judgment of the convention of the party which almost unanimously selected Barnes as campaign manager. Debs even went so far as to intimate that the position of campaign manager should have been left to his selection—as if the Socialist presidential nomination had become his personal property. But Gene is mistaken. It has not. And it should not.

Moreover, I humbly submit, that if the almost unanimous judgment of the Socialist convention in selecting Barnes was wrong, how about the selection of the presidential candidate who got the nomination by only a small majority of that convention? I do not want to follow up this idea at this time.

Again I say, let all those who stand for International Socialism as it is understood in the Socialist parties the world over, unite. We must build a stone wall against cant and hypocrisy, allied with anarchism, sabotage and murder.

We must organize the battalions of the working class in this struggle for a higher civilization and a better humanity, but resist the insane effort to abolish all that has been gained in the past and necessarily must form the basis of all gains for the future.

I shall vote "No" on referendum C.

Victor L. Berger.

## "Going Red" is the Order of the Day!

By J. L. ENDAHL.

(National Labor Syndicate.)

CHICAGO, Ill.—If some state should be carried for Socialism in November it might startle the old party politicians and cause a flurry in the minds of yet unawakened workers of the nation. But it would not be an unheralded event on the part of the Socialists themselves.

The novelty of electing a Socialist Justice of the peace passed some time ago. Milwaukee has been won and "lost." The voters have seen nearly one hundred cities go "red." They have seen big counties carried for Socialism.

But there are 48 states and several territorial possessions ripe for Socialism, none of which have as yet seen the color of enough red ballots to lose them to both the Democratic and Republican parties.

The Socialist party has shown enough strength to carry city wards and county townships, then the cities and counties themselves. Legislative and congressional districts have also been swept into the scarlet column, leaving the state as the next political division of the nation to fall before the onslaught of conscious working class action at the polls.

First Dream in 1900.

So far as is known the first dream of carrying any state for Socialism

took form in the minds of many American Socialists 12 years ago. In 1900, when Nevada was to be the victim. Before the election of that year it was predicted by many Socialists that Debs would easily sweep Nevada.

The latest dream, so far as is known, and we call it a dream just to be able to give it a name, takes the form of a two-county fighting appeal in the Butte, Mont., Socialist, entitled "Socialists May Carry Montana."

From this "dream" to this "latest" dream, Socialists in perhaps every commonwealth of the land have at some time or another speculated on the time when their state would be won for the cause of working class reform. In the forefront have Cali-

for every six votes cast at the 1911 election.

First Won for Socialism.

When the revolutionary miners of Butte, Mont., got behind the Socialist ticket and captured the city hall, the Socialist movement of the land across the mountains. Covering the state as a whole this is what the Butte Socialist says:

"Karl Legien, president of the greatest labor federation of the world, the German organized labor movement, including nearly 3,000,000 organized workers, after a tour of the United States in April and May this year, expressed the belief that the United States would be the first country to be won for Socialism.

"Whether or not the United States is to be the first country to be won for Socialism, it is almost certain that Montana will be the first state to be carried by the Socialists.

"This is merely introductory to reasons showing that the plutes have ruled Montana long enough and that now the workers ought to rule. The declaration winds up as follows: 'Make this campaign a hummer! Let us other dream that needs some attention is the dream that the Socialists will carry Alaska. This territory with its nose up in the Arctic Circle, has one delegate in congress and he might just as well be a Socialist as an anti-Socialist.'

George H. Goebel, the first Socialist organizer to invade Alaska, went up into the Great North in the early summer of 1911. He, to be exact, and remained until September. Some of the meaning Socialists thought it was a waste of good money and the efforts of Goebel to keep him in a land so far away from civilization. So he was recalled.

When Goebel got back in the fall of 1911 he did not carry a story of a land glittering and gleaming with gold, but he carried with him the deep-seated belief that the Socialist party could carry Alaska. It is pointed out the fact that the Alaska trip had more than paid for itself. One instance of this was the receipt at the national headquarters in Chicago of two little bags of nugget gold, they don't even stop to count the yellow riches in the land of Nome and the Yukon.

New "Pay Struck."

So the opposition to Socialist organization in Alaska was headed aside and John C. Chase, first Socialist mayor in the United States, the same being of Haverhill, Mass., started from Seattle, Wash., in April of this year, for the shores made more famous by the London news than any other Socialist victories as yet. Chase's reports from the last frontier confirmed everything that Goebel had claimed. He urged the sending of another organizer, and in June, after the Indianapolis convention, saw Morris Brown was on the trail that led to the latest spot on the face of the world where Socialism had found a new "pay struck" in the minds of workmen battling for their own emancipation.

The Alaska has been struck in Alaska, the protests of labor for bread. The cable tolls from Alaska are heavy and the capitalist newspapers say but little of the struggle of the oppressed. In any case, in the local papers, the few who returned put up notices "Keep Away From Alaska!" but the army of the unemployed is big and the promise of a job is alluring.

Capitalism went to Alaska in earnest when the great gold strike of that promising land became known. Socialism follows capitalism and they say it is going to Alaska very soon. In fact, they say the advance guard is strongly on the job already. Part of the story will be told at the next election.

The stories of the fight for the workers in Los Angeles, led to the cry of "California for Socialism!" and of how Kansas is going red largely because of the government persecution of the Appeal to Reason are more familiar. They all go to show that the rising tide of Socialism is beginning to push preceding capitalism exceedingly close.

Their candidates are eminently qualified to fulfill the duties of the offices to which they have been nominated," says the Montana Socialist, in speaking of the Montana Socialist state candidates.

This means that the Socialist party has shown itself capable of ruling cities and counties, that its representatives have done well in state legislatures and congress, and that it is now time to move on to the capture of the states.

## WILSON AND THE WORKERS

While Woodrow Wilson was a college student, and before he had even needed working men's votes with which to be elected, he was an avowed enemy of organized labor. In an address three years ago he spoke as follows:

"You know what the usual stand of the employe is in our day. It is to give as little as he may for his wage. Labor is standardized by the trade unions, and this is the standard by which it is made to conform. No one is suffered to do more than the average workman can do. In some trades and handicrafts one is suffered to do more than the least skilful of his fellows. He can do within the hours allotted to his day's labor, and no one may work off hours at all or volunteer anything beyond the minimum. The labor of America is rapidly becoming unprofitable under its present regulation by those who have determined to reduce it to a minimum."

Rev. George R. Lunn, the new mayor of Schenectady, says: "I don't preach, 'Give to the poor,' but 'Stop taking from the poor.'"

Mr. Lunn, discussing this dictum the other day, said: "I don't see it."

"The millionaire social reformer, unless he is a very sincere man, always reminds me of the husband who brought home one evening a bottle of champagne and his fellows said: 'It is your birthday, dear,' he said to his wife, and I purchased these delicacies as a little treat for you this evening with your birthday dinner."

"You are very kind," the woman answered, "but I thought you knew I never touch champagne, love, while lobster invariably disagrees with me."

"Never mind, my dear, never mind," the husband answered, "that being the case, I'll just eat the lobster myself and drink the champagne to your health."—Albany Journal.

## THE RIGHT OF THE LIVING.

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it, and whenever the people shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it.—Abraham Lincoln.

## WASHINGTON News Notes

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The house judiciary committee today voted formally to represent to President Taft that it has no objection to his acceptance of Federal Judge Hanford's resignation. So far as the house is concerned, today's action practically closes the matter, unless President Taft forces a continuance of the impeachment proceedings by refusing to accept Hanford's resignation.

At a meeting of the judiciary committee today the sub-committee which conducted the hearing in Seattle on the impeachment charges submitted its report. Chairman Graham urged that inasmuch as the only thing to be gained by pushing impeachment proceedings against Hanford would be to deprive him of a privilege of being appointed to public office, the wisest course would be to allow him to resign. It was pointed out that Hanford is 66 years old, the possibility of his ever being appointed to public office again is remote. Members of the committee expressed the opinion that they did not care to "kick a man when he was down," and would therefore favor dropping the impeachment case.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—President Taft's refusal to accept the resignation of Federal Judge Hanford of Seattle who resigned in the face of impeachment investigations, gave rise to the belief here today that Taft plans to make Hanford's objection to impeachment his belief that impeachment is an expeditious method of removing a justice from the bench as the result.

According to the figures to be found in the "statistical abstract of the United States, 1911," more than 15,000,000 votes will be polled in November. With a population of 90,000,000, in round numbers, the total voting strength of the country is about 9,000,000, but something must be allowed both for the stay-at-homes, and for the large numbers of unnaturalized foreigners. There was no federal official record of votes cast in presidential elections in the United States from that year down to 1908 shows the following results:

Year	Republican	Democratic
1888.....	5,444,337	5,440,000
1892.....	5,225,822	4,387,500
1896.....	7,219,150	6,258,071
1900.....	7,779,000	5,149,106

The marked difference between 1892 and 1896 is accounted for by the comparative lack of interest in the former year and the unusual degree of interest in the latter. This interest was continued throughout the campaign of 1900. Both in 1896 and in 1900 there was a very full vote polled. The decline of interest in 1904 is shown by the falling off of the vote in that year. The gain in 1908 shows that to have equalled the 1892 total, however, had the other years when Bryan was a candidate—a full vote.

From 1888 down to 1908 the vote of the country has been divided between two great political parties as follows:

Year	Republican	Democratic
1888.....	5,444,337	5,440,000
1892.....	5,225,822	4,387,500
1896.....	7,219,150	6,258,071
1900.....	7,779,000	5,149,106

The details of the presidential vote in 1908 are as follows: Republican, 7,479,006; Democratic, 6,409,106; Socialist, 420,820; Independent, 95,562; Populist, 25,131; Socialist-Labor, 13,322.

The increase of the straight Socialist vote in 1908 over 1904 was 15,860, while the Socialist-Labor vote decreased by 19,887, a net Socialist loss of 537. The Socialist vote in 1908 was a very wonderful stride since 1903. In 1910 they came into control of several of the larger municipalities of the country, elected their candidates for the legislature, for county offices and in the state legislatures, and for congress. That candidate, Representative Victor L. Berger, speaking of the political outlook this week, says that in his opinion the Socialists will poll 2,000,000 votes in the next election. He says that is large, but in all probability it will show a decided gain over 1908.

The Populist vote fell from 1,097,239 in 1892 to only 24,131 in 1908, a loss of 1,073,108. The Socialist vote in 1908 was a very wonderful stride since 1903. In 1910 they came into control of several of the larger municipalities of the country, elected their candidates for the legislature, for county offices and in the state legislatures, and for congress. That candidate, Representative Victor L. Berger, speaking of the political outlook this week, says that in his opinion the Socialists will poll 2,000,000 votes in the next election. He says that is large, but in all probability it will show a decided gain over 1908.

"Once more the medical men of the southwest and west are protesting against 'passing on' indigent consumptives, who, together with their families, are tortured by the spell of climate and altitude in the cure of tuberculosis. The Journal of the Outdoor Life for July puts the responsibility for the pitiful situation of these consumptives on the hands of incapacitated strangers in a strange land, straight up to the medical profession of the western and eastern states."

The foregoing is taken from the Wisconsin Medical Journal, and shows how in more advanced cases of tuberculosis of the lungs is affected by economic conditions. It would be well for poor people to know that as a general proposition the climate one is born and reared in is the climate best suited to promote their health. The workingman threatened with tuberculosis should make a study of the subject from books on the fresh air treatment and amend his living habits as rapidly as possible, and stay at home rather than the hospital. "A 'healthful' locality. Tuberculosis is a cause and effect disease, like all the rest. The cause is not the air but the impurities in the air that comes from sleeping in close rooms and midst unclean surroundings."

THE NATURAL OUTCOME.

- Modern Socialism is the natural outcome of modern industry.
- trial conditions, and its origin is contemporary with the birth of those conditions.
- We must seek its beginnings in the beginnings of modern industry. We can express this thought differently by saying that modern Socialism is the product of industrial revolution. It has grown with this revolution, becoming international as the industrial revolution has spread over the nations of the world. The peculiarities of the industrial revolution itself.—Ely.

# THE DEMOCRATIC (?) PARTY

By RALPH KORNGOLD

The Democratic party has announced that it is the party of the Common People.

Let us examine this party of the Common People.

A tree, we are told, is known by its fruits. We shall examine the fruit that we may know the tree.

The Democratic Party, for more than one hundred years, with the exception of the few years of the Reconstruction Period, has been in complete control of what is known as the Southern States.

Some time ago the governor of one of the southern states boasted that his state was "Democratic from stem to stern, from governor to constable." The same might be said of nearly all of the southern states.

It is doubtful whether there has ever been a political party anywhere which has had such an opportunity to show what it could do and was willing to do for the Common People.

What are the fruits of the Democratic regime in the Solid South?

### CHILD LABOR.

Nowhere else in the United States are children of such tender years ground into profits for the capitalist class as in the Solid South. It is not uncommon to see children six and seven years old trudging to the cotton mill at half past four in the morning, to remain at work twelve hours and even longer, for the pitiful wage of from ten to twenty cents a day.

There are nearly one hundred thousand child slaves, both black and white, in the Solid South, and the Democratic Party has done nothing or practically nothing, to protect them. Child labor legislation is almost unknown in the Southern States, and unscrupulous Northern manufacturers have not hesitated to exploit the children because under the Democratic regime they are able to employ children without any interference from the child labor inspector.

### PEONAGE.

Peonage, the enforced detention of workmen, flourishes in the Southern States. The records of the Department of Justice show that peonage is not only committed, but is actually aided by the Democratic administrations in the interests of the turpentine and lumber companies.

### VAGRANCY LAWS.

If a workman is out of a job in the Solid South, the Democratic administration will send him to the workhouse. They will arrest him under the vagrancy law, put a ball and chain on his feet and set him to work on the public roads. If he does not work hard enough he will get thirty-nine lashes across his bare back.

Sometimes the workman is fined and delivered into the hands of the contractor to work out his fine, the contractor paying the county for the man's services. During the entire period of his enforced labor the prisoner is under strict surveillance and may be shot by the contractor if he attempts to escape.

It is well known that in many instances the Democratic county administrators are in league with the contractors who supply with cheap labor in this manner.

### UNJUST ELECTION LAWS.

By means of the poll tax, "the grandfather clause," and other schemes, the Democratic party of the South has disfranchised nearly all of the negro workmen and many of the white workmen.

### LANDLORDISM.

Under the perpetual rule of the Democratic party in the South and Southwest the public domain has been wasted and a landlordism has grown up such as can be found nowhere else in the United States. In some sections of the South and Southwest it is very difficult to find a farmer who owns his own land. The condition of these renters is inferior to that of the most poorly paid workman in the North.

### USURY.

The banking laws in many of the southern states are so constructed as to make possible for the banker to charge from 25 to 150 per cent on short time loans. This is especially true of the state of Oklahoma, which boasts of being one of the most "progressive" of the block of southern states.

### ANTAGONISM TO LABOR UNIONS.

When some time ago the miners went out on a strike in the state of Alabama and were evicted from the company houses, the United Mine Workers sent tents to these unfortunate people so that they, their wives and their children might be sheltered from the rainy weather. The governor of the state of Alabama ordered the soldiers to burn down the tents if the miners attempted to put them up.

By skillfully balancing the white man against the negro and fostering race hatred, the Democratic politicians have succeeded in dividing the ranks of the strong labor unions in the south. As a result of this the wages for all kinds of labor are lower in the South than they are in the northern states.

### THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN THE NORTH.

In the North the Democratic party has been the party of the public service corporations. It has maintained itself in power in cities like Chicago, New York, St. Louis, and other large centers of population, by an open alliance with the trusts and the big business interests.

The names of Roger Sullivan, who holds the Democratic party of Illinois in the hollow of his hand, Tom Taggart, who controls the Democracy of Indiana, and Charles Murphy, who performs the same function in New York, have become by-words for all that is crooked and corrupt in American politics.

Some of these gentlemen now prefer to work by proxy, so while Tom Taggart is still in full control in Indiana, he parades John Kern, for many years his attorney, friend and confidant, as a "progressive." Charles Murphy of New York uses Governor Dix and Mayor Gaynor in the same capacity.

Be it remembered that with a Democratic president in the White House, the solid South, together with the Taggart-Sullivan-Murphy combination, will practically control all national legislation. What the Democratic party has before it is not only a political but a moral opportunity to do nationally.

Are you willing to give it the opportunity?

## Pointers

BY D. R. PIPER.

It isn't the man behind the gun we worry about. It's the gun. It isn't the corrupt candidate, but the corrupt system that is dangerous. Take the gun away and the man can't shoot. Teddy's case and the proceedings being run against the Harvester Trust during his administration. The H. T. sells the American farmer a binder for \$120 and charges the South American farmer \$150 for the same machine. But how Teddy loves the deep peepul. You know he is running only because the peepul demand him as their leader.

"The least useful of human beings is a rich man," said President Van Buren. But now they tell us that but for the rich men we would be nothing for us poor causes to do to make money. How times have changed! Reform! Reform! Anything for the people! The rich just don't get off their backs. "Feed them better and they will carry us better."

### WHY A SENATE.

Now that the states are to be allowed to pass on the direct election of senators, it is almost certain that the amount of the direct election of the senate, will be sure to be suggested. The object of having the senate elected by the states was to remove senators further from the people, to make the senate a check on hasty action by the mob as Hamilton and his followers, then and today, were pleased to term the people.

With direct election of senators this check becomes inoperative, therefore in order to get the same check and expensive luxury. Another reason for the senate, when the government was formed, was to provide a means for an equal state representation. The great aristocrats, jealous and suspicious of each other.

That condition has passed away. State lines began to fade from the first year of the constitution and are still fading whether for good or ill.

It is a question whether the character of the senate under direct election will be essentially different than that of the senate as it now exists.

It is a question whether the character of the senate under direct election will be essentially different than that of the senate as it now exists. The senate is a chamber—Farm, Stocks and Home.

### SOCIALISM "HEADED OFF."

A German laborer may begin life attended by a physician or nurse paid by the state; he is christened by a state clergyman; is taught the rudiments of learning and his education by the state. He is drafted by the state into the army devoting two of his best years to the drill sergeant. If he falls ill his suffering is assuaged by the knowledge that his wife and children are being cared for by the state. His expenses will be paid during illness, and he spends his convalescence in a sumptuous state hospital. If he falls victim to an accident, the simple insurance even if he is permanently injured, is paid by the state. He gets out of work, city and state unite to find or make work for him. If he wanders from town to town in search of work the cities through which he passes offer him free hospital care. The greatest privilege of part of his town, the municipal bureau will be glad to help him find a house, or even lend him money to get one of his own.

If he is in dispute with his employer, the government furnishes a court of arbitration. If he is sued by his master or wishes to sue him, the state has provided a special industrial court. If he is in trouble the city places a lawyer at his disposal.

And it is in the hands of cautious caretaking for the humble folk, that "Social-Democracy casts half the Socialist votes for the world."—Samuel P. Orth in the World's Work for June.

Virile Books—The Socialist literature of today is, to a large extent, being written by American citizens. We no longer imagine a long-haired, be-whiskered zealot from the word comes up in polite society.

FOND DU LAC.—The Social-Democratic party has placed a full ticket in the field for the coming fall election, nomination papers in connection with each county office being filed today with County Clerk A. S. Wilkinson. The ticket is as follows: For sheriff, Ed. M. Pule; county treasurer, John G. Justen; sheriff, Charles Holz; coroner, H. H. Fetter; clerk of courts, Samuel Peterson; register of deeds, Edward C. Damrow; assemblyman, First district, Emil G. Glickman; assemblyman, Second district, Leonard L. Gudex.

In addition to the nomination papers filed so far are those of E. C. Kraemer for register of deeds on the Republican ticket. A number of primary candidates are heading off with their nomination papers until today, which is the last day for filing.

Value.—The crude idea that a thing is valuable in proportion to the amount of labor that is put into it—what Boehm-Bawerk delighted to call the "naïve theory"—is being put to rest by anyone but Simple Simon to hold. "A table that you clumsily botch together for yourself in 50 hours' work is certainly not ten times as useful as a table that has been properly made in five hours, nor will it sell for ten times as much, however you may dilate upon it." Plainly, the quantity of labor does not govern either the use value or the exchange value.

But Marx was not so crude. He spoke of the quantity of labor that was socially necessary. He was thinking, quite rightly, of a community as a whole, and not of isolated individuals. Now, in the phrase, "social necessity," is stretched a little, so as to bring into it the notion of the demand for goods on the one hand—a demand based on their utility and on the other—a supply of the goods on the other—a supply limited by their scarcity, then a satisfactory answer can be made to the question "What is the cause of Value?"—Robt. Jones B. Se.

Will run its course.—The present I. W. W. did will run its natural course and disappear with the wind through the ordinary methods of evolution the present labor unions will broaden into industrial organizations, and the alleged industrialists make loud protestations of their opposition, but they adopt peculiar methods to prove their claims.—Citizen, Cleveland.

The dominion of one class is an attempt to degrade humanity. Socialism, which will abolish all primacy of class, and indeed all class, elevates humanity to its highest level.—Jean Jaures.

Must Have Political Power.—Labor's losses can always be traced to the fact that the workers are handicapped by the lack of political power, and it is a waste of time and money to engage in half-splitting and factional controversy on the industrial field. If the I. W. W. agitators expended one-half the energy in building up the present trade unions that they do in attempting to organize an industrial revolution, if they were in the organized labor army and preached industrial and political solidarity instead of flocking in a little bunch by themselves and howling about this or that mistake of the F. O. L. U.—better methods would be made to capture the powers of government and use them to emancipate the laboring people.—Ex.

They Did Not Cheer.—Curious that "Purple Row" the box at the Republican National convention where sat the "twenty or thirty wives of millionaires, with Mrs. John Hays Hammond in the center—did not break some of the best of the best of the approval when that part of the Republican platform was read which sets forth that "The Republican Party is opposed to 'special privilege and monopoly.'—The People.

The open season!—The open season for politicians is on. What do they stand for? Ask 'em.—Ex.

Nothing can stay the rising tide of Socialism! all over the world.—Col. Henri Watterson.

## Why Are Working People Leaving the Churches?

(Written for the Herald by Ex-Senator R. A. Dague, of Iowa.)

It has recently been stated on the authority of an officer of the Kansas State Agricultural Society that within the past year or two 700 village church houses have been bought by the farmers of that state, who moved them out to their farms to be used after used as barns. The church societies found it impossible to continue meetings and disbanded and sold the meeting houses. This falling away from the churches in the cities is not so noticeable, and yet the complaint is often heard that the church pews are empty, the clergy are poorly paid, theological schools are attended by a steadily diminishing number of students, and the masses, especially the working people, are indifferent to the appeals of the church. "Why is this?" the zealous churchman anxiously inquires.

Now, I think that the chief reasons can easily be stated.

Working people, and the poor, see that the church has grown rich, and proud, and selfish, and they have lost faith in it. They know the life-history of Jesus, and how he sympathized with the poor, the sick, the lame, the blind, the feeble-minded, and the outcasts, and they see how rapidly the millionaire church leaders are piling up mountains of wealth through stock-watering, speculation, child-labor, and the cruel crushing of working people under the weight of heartless competitive business system which they uphold and defend, even if to do so, it is necessary to call on the military to shoot the workers to death. Yes, the "rich Christians" build magnificent church houses, while in every city in the country there are hundreds, even thousands of children who go to bed supperless and scores of thousands of men, women, half-starved, pale-faced workers, toiling like slaves and dying from the lack of the necessities of life. They contribute liberally to the "magnificent" church, while under their very noses thousands of worthy people in destitution.

Only a short time ago King George, head of the church of England, was in India, where twenty millions of people were starving, and he presided in an ostentatious ceremony of crowning him Emperor of that country. At the same time, millions of people of that unhappy land have starved, or are now starving, to death. Yes, the "rich Christians" have been outrageously taxed by Christian England.

The Czar of Russia is a professed Christian and head of the Christian church of that empire, where Christian butchers have murdered hundreds of Jews—men, women and children. Japan is heathen, and challenges the admiration of the world because of her many humanitarian institutions.

Within the past twenty years the churches of America, both Catholic and Protestant, have in a large measure lost influence with the working people, who are staying away from church services. They do not feel they belong there, for in all the aristocratic churches they see the rich, plutocratic, monopolistic exploiter of the masses sitting in the front pews. Thomas Lawton told how, at stock-watering and trickery, a few captains of industry "made" thirty millions of dollars in one night, and how Wall Street capitalists "made" six millions in ten days.

Morgan, Rockefeller and Baer, and the enormously rich men generally, are members of churches.

The great evangelists and the clergy generally denounce vehemently the "awful sin" of gambling, dancing, going to the theater and visiting the parks on the Sabbath day, but they talk softly and diplomatically—hardly above a whisper—about the wickedness of present conditions, Socialism, of industrialism, and the colossal crimes of the few greedy, heartless, exploiters of the working people and the homeless and friendless.

I am glad that these remarks do not apply to the churches of Europe and America. Many clergymen of the Jewish, Catholic and Protestant churches are thundering against the great sins of the rich, and are standing up and being counted with the Socialists and other progressive people in trying to put into active practice in our everyday business life and into the laws and customs of the country some practical Christianity.

Billy Sunday and Gypsy Smith may, by preaching an endless hell after death, scare a few bad fellows into repentance, and Father Vaughn of the Catholic church may for a time hold working people to a capitalistic creed, but I present to you, Socialism, I do not know how that may be, but I am persuaded they could accomplish much more good by trying to abolish the economic hell in which millions are submerged here and now. I am free to say I think the working people are doing just right in refusing to attend church under present conditions. There is, today, a world-wide struggle going on between plutocracy and democracy, between the privileged few and the toiling masses, between greedy capital and honest, stupid labor; and it is a stubborn fact that the churches all over the world, with rare exceptions, stand behind the plutocracy and the reactionaries, perdition, war, slavery, plutocracy, capitalism and the infamous iniquities that are the outgrowth and legitimate fruits of our selfish, unchristian business system of today.

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## Unionism and Socialism in Germany

By CARL LUGIEN.

I have not come to this country to teach tactics to the organized movement here, but an eagerly looking forward to becoming acquainted with tactics, wages and general working conditions.

France and Great Britain, rather than Germany, is the classic land of trades. We in Germany have developed a historical solidarity in accordance with our industrial life. For 150 years our workmen's societies and journeymen guilds were persecuted by the government. Labor organization was

MR. LABOR VOTER: DON'T BE FOOLED!

Just at present we are again hearing a lot about the wonderful statements which are running this section of the universe, and why they should be kept on the job forevermore.

Pictures, interviews, anecdotes, "human interest" stuff and the like have been printed in the dailies until many people have declared they actually believe so thoroughly in what they read that they could only find relief by turning to the sporting columns and the other real sluggers and wrestlers.

The whole gang of politicians are, to hear them tell it, "workingman's friends"—although they all belong to the new-work class people whose only thought is to work the workingman—and they simply do not care enough for labor or do labor for enough.

Of all the swindling politicians who are now beating their breasts and rolling their eyes heavenward, Taft, the "father of injunctions," is the least offensive. He is an aggressive individual who fires a lot of hotshot across the country at the plutocrats of Wall Street, but the dirty little plutocrats of San Diego are allowed to free their practice anarchy and suppress free speech and public assemblage guaranteed by the constitution of the United States and the state of California.

Governor Glasscock, of West Virginia, is a leading Roosevelt boomer, is also a rare bird. At this very moment the miners of the Paint Creek district, among the few who have been able to organize, are being starved into submission because they refuse to work longer hours than they were working last spring by the international union and the operators of the whole county.

Roosevelt, the man who has been making Lincoln speeches and has even been elected as the great emancipator by some of the crazy oyster-seekers who follow the Oyster Bay pirate, has never missed an opportunity to deliver labor an underhanded blow when it would hurt most.

While Roosevelt received the vote of New York, he invented a club to be used in strike riots that was so brutal that the U. S. government refused to patent it. Afterward he declared that those who demand the abolition of injunctions belong to the stone age, and he wrote in a book that the cattle rustlers who shoot up a town out West are a better class of citizens than the mechanics and laborers in the cities.

Roosevelt's greatest crime was in furnishing the Government Printing Office into an open shop in the Miller case and forcing the open shop system upon the hard coal miners through the Anthracite Strike Commission, which earned for him the title of "father of the open shop." Everybody remembers his cowardly attack upon Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone at a critical period while those three victims of the Mine Owners' Association were fighting for their lives, one of the most shameful acts that could be committed at the time by the worst bum in the slums, let alone a president of the United States.

Governor Johnson, of California, is spoken of as Roosevelt's running mate, is an aggressive individual who fires a lot of hotshot across the country at the plutocrats of Wall Street, but the dirty little plutocrats of San Diego are allowed to free their practice anarchy and suppress free speech and public assemblage guaranteed by the constitution of the United States and the state of California.

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THE MOST DASTARDLY DISRUPTIVE ATTEMPT EVER AIMED AT THE PARTY!

More on the "Barnes Case" Reference was made last week to a statement by National Commit-tee member Hoebel, received by the party in New York, which was given, but we desire this week to give the closing portion of the statement, which reads:

Chairman that day, and taking an active part in the entire Convention, and knowing that the Convention was practically as one for the election of Comrade Barnes, and being the only delegate to vote against Barnes, but in reality to cripple the party in its legitimate work as the political expression of the working class, and to give control to the element that the convention showed to be in the decided minority, and not in accord with the party policy as decided over and over again, I must in common honesty oppose the recall of Comrade Barnes, and feel that Com-

rade Debs has been unfair in taking advantage of his position to give but the partial facts to the membership, and then ask them to vote on the record as he gives it. The minutes of the Secretary, and the recollection of the vast majority of the delegates will sustain me in the facts as given in this statement.

The fight is not really on Barnes, but to paralyze the political activities of the campaign and give comfort and control to the Direct Action party. The Christian Socialist, The Rebel, The International Review and The Appeal to Reason had gone to the membership with false and misleading statements—the



Dominated by John T. Janssen, "the czar on the hill," who displayed his omnipotence as a king of the policemen by divine right, Charles Friedrich, John Koerner and Louis Weiss, "non-partisan" members of the police committee of the council, did the "Me, too, chief" act at their meeting Tuesday afternoon and reported for indefinite postponement the resolution of Ald. William Coleman calling for the enforcement of the resolution passed by the Social Democratic council on April 8 to give policemen one day off in eight.

as a political game," he said, gazing profoundly at Ald. Coleman, who was present to speak for his resolution. "It was done to get the support of the police department. But I hope we have men with enough courage now not to give the additional two days a month.

Democratic building inspector, Mr. Ringer was discharged from his office Wednesday morning by Mayor Harding for alleged gross neglect of duty.

F. C. Tewes, harbor master, was discharged Tuesday by Commissioner Fred G. Simmons of the department of public works for alleged neglect of duty.

OUR ORGANIZATIONS Every Week.

VOLUME 1 MILWAUKEE, AUGUST 10, 1912 NUMBER 25

HANS: THE STORY OF A GERMAN BOY BY MARTIN GALE

The Mecca of Socialist and Union Labor Activity Brisbane Hall, Milwaukee, the Home of The Herald and the New Socialist Daily, The Milwaukee Leader, a Veritable Beehive. The Stock Is Nearly Gone. \$37,850 Has Been Sold. Get Some While Chance Remains. No Better Investment Can Be Found.

The Fall and Winter came early that year and so Hans was glad to go to school, as it was warmer in the schoolroom than at home or on the street and he made good progress in his studies.

Next morning when he awoke he found his bandage stuck fast to his chin and he had to get some water and soak it off, not without his mother noticing it however and he had to explain how he got hurt, but he did not give the facts, merely saying that he had fallen off his sled and hit his chin on a piece of ice. The cut healed in a few weeks but the scar remained as a reminder to be more careful in future.

fun if they should be afraid; he had failed to see a long bob that some big boys were pulling up the hill, and as Hans steered out further his sled struck the hind end of the bob. Hans flew over it and landed on the other side with the left side of his chin against a sharp piece of ice that cut quite a gash and caused the blood to flow freely. But although stunned and in pain he jumped up, grabbed the string of his sled and trotted home, holding his hand on his chin. It was by good luck that he got into the house and into the sleeping room unnoticed, where he found a white piece of rag and tied it around his head from his chin upward.

GOOD AND SAFE INVESTMENT. The present income from the rents assure good dividends on the investment. If you have a little money to invest, look into the desirability of this stock. Full information will be sent to any one who will drop a card inquiring for it.

game apparently being to have the vote over in many localities while only a portion of the facts were before them, and while still under the influence of the hysterical appeals. The Appeal to Reason had Barnes' statement at the same time as that of Debs, but refused to print Barnes' reply in that or subsequent issue. Whatever our views on some matters I think we will agree that tactics such as this are not in harmony with fair play nor Socialist ethics. The recall of Barnes at this time will be a calamity—not because of what it means to Barnes, but because of the setback to our work as a party and the encouragement given to those who by their actions show little sympathy with the real work of the party."

A Personal Explanation By JOHN SPARGO. Recently I said that certain comrades, unknown to me, were not "good Socialists" and that the sooner the party was rid of them the better for the party."

Ever since then I have been in hot water. Some comrades abuse me. Others merely express surprise that I should want to drive members out of the party.

Now, I do not like to drive members out of the party. I hate heresy-hunting and I do not feel competent to sit in judgment upon the private character of my comrades.

In a membership of the party extending over twenty years only once have I voted for the expulsion of a comrade. And that was for a clear betrayal of our movement by one who played the role of Judas.

By the way, he was always setting himself up as a moral censor. So I do not like to drive members out of the party.

These comrades had been reported as "not good Socialists," and that they might leave the party for the party's good, or words to that effect.

I am perfectly willing to assume responsibility to the entire Socialist movement for saying that such men are not fit to be called "good Socialists," and that they cannot leave the party too soon for the party's good.

Suppose that I did not like the candidates chosen by the party to be its standard bearers in any campaign. I hold that it would be my duty to work just as hard for the party as I should for them as loyalty as though they were my bosom friends.

That is my idea of being a "good Socialist." That Comrade Debs should assail me for taking that position is a revelation to me. I confess I do not understand it. Age my views of party loyalty so old-fashioned?

Perhaps so. But I am too old to change them) even to satisfy our national standard-bearer. On the contrary, I am free to say that if Comrade Debs contends that those who refuse to vote for him because they do not like J. Mahlon Barnes are "good Socialists," then Comrade Debs ought to be recalled.

So I am unregenerate and unrepenting. If my declaration was a sin, I sin here once more. And I shall keep on sinning.

By the way, it is a very curious thing to vote for the "good" and mild emotional Socialists and the blood and blazes "Reds" in the same key because of my declaration. "Reds"—Revolutionists? Pshaw!

Fair Play Denied TELEGRAM. Chicago, Ill., July 27, 1912. Comrade Editor:—I submit herewith copies of two telegrams:

Chicago, Ill., July 12, 1912. Fred D. Warren, Reason, or Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas. Am informed Debs' statement will

appear in issue July 20. Please hold space for statement of about equal length from me. Will be mailed tonight or tomorrow special delivery. J. Mahlon Barnes. TELEGRAM. Chicago, Ill., July 21, 1912. Fred D. Warren, Reason, or Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas.

Wire on 12th for space for my statement. Have been thinking of your five hundred thousand readers, and especially your fifty thousand in my home state of Pennsylvania who read Debs' statement. I renew request for space in issue July 27th. J. Mahlon Barnes.

One million copies, two issues, of the Appeal to Reason have since been circulated and no reply to my request has been received.

I have no private paper, hence I cannot answer the question: Shall the pending referendum be carried through with one side in the dark?

All I ask is some measure of fair play. Your comrade, J. MAHLON BARNES.

Our Campaign Manager Ant the present movement to recall our campaign manager, I have two questions to ask:

First: Could the national convention have chosen a man better qualified for the work?

Second: If we remove comrade Barnes can we replace him by anyone equally well fitted for the position?

Therefore, I voted for Comrade Barnes and shall vote against his removal. I place personal considerations aside and consider only the well-being of the party.

There are other men as able as Comrade Barnes. There may be some more able than he is. I do not know them, but I can believe such comrades exist. But Comrade Barnes in addition to his ability, has the special knowledge which he acquired as national secretary for five years. No other living man has that experience.

The surest way to damage the campaign is to recall the present campaign manager. Among those who would recall him, are many who do not know him, and many thousands who do not desire this campaign to be in any way impaired, shouting, nevertheless, for the recall of Barnes.

It is wrought by want of thought as well as want of heart."

But, I am morally certain that many DO want to injure the campaign. They are carrying on "sabotage" within the party.

That is, they want to obstruct the party's progress. It is their way of opposing the political Socialist movement, in which they do not believe.

Men who best know Comrade Barnes are most in favor of keeping him in the party's service. For example, his comrades in Philadelphia elected him to the state convention. His comrades in Pennsylvania elected him to the national convention. They are not moral perverts of "free lovers."

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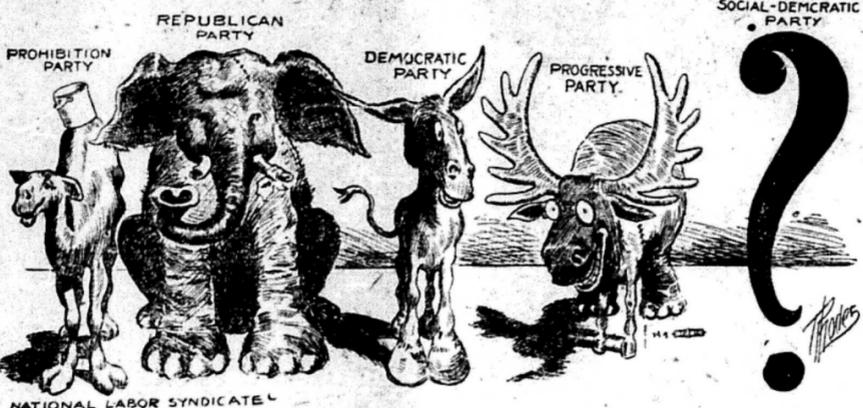
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What Animal Shall the Socialists Have?

FOR PRESIDENT Eugene V. Debs OF INDIANA FOR VICE-PRESIDENT Emil Seidel OF WISCONSIN

CHICAGO, Ill.—The cases of 14 persons arrested when the police broke up four Socialist street meetings...

BERLIN, Germany.—A directory of the plutocrats of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubbeck, just published, shows that the fortune of Bertha Krupp...

DURANT, Okla.—Social-Democratic Vice Presidential Candidate Emil Seidel invaded Oklahoma this afternoon when he spoke at one of the biggest of the Socialist encampments...

The comrades of the Sharnokin, Pa., branch request us to announce the death of Harry L. Derrick...

Charles Edward Russel is taking in the California chautauquas during the month of August on Socialism...

The Most Dastardly Disruptive Attack Ever Aimed at the Party!

(Continued from 3d page.) about this affair. Let us go to the roots of the veil. And if papers like the Appeal to Reason see fit to line up with the "Reds," we must simply recall the fact that the time when the Appeal to Reason was very much in trouble to figure out whether it should inscribe on its title the name Social-Democratic (Socialist) party...

Queer Doings in Ohio

The action of the State Executive Committee, S. P., in firing half a dozen speakers "because they favor political action" and refuse to accept the "direct action" stuff that is a lot of hot water...

Has There Been Crooked Work?

Comrade Warburton of Texas has written the National office declaring that the national referendum was instituted by sharp practice. He writes: "I see in the Christian Socialist of session held June 9, 1912, moves that J. Mahlon Barnes be at once removed as Chairman of the National Campaign Committee giving the number of the local 1913 when the number of the charter was 1912. I also deny the statement that this occurred at a meeting on June 9, 1912. Now there is a mistake in this affair or else there is foul play on the part of someone."

LATER—Fraud and Forgery—Hickey and Meitzen Under Suspicion—Expulsions May Follow!

LATER—The national office has sent gross fraud to Brannon and found evidence that Brannon has evidently been tampered with and has written a letter making claims that are fraudulent, according to the records at Chicago. Hickey and Meitzen, expulsions are made too good for such dastardly work, and will probably follow.

those people who are after a pardon for Abe Ruef. Here is the grilling he gave the reporter in his instance was the real offender in his instance was the whole community. It provided and maintained the conditions under which it was absolutely certain that these things would be done by somebody; if not by Ruef, then by somebody else. Then with conspicuous "justice" and "decency" the community turns upon the person that does the inevitable thing and insists upon crushing him. If it wants to punish why doesn't it punish the real offender, who is its own fault?

So it goes in all these matters. Society provides the conditions that make the thing called crime ordained and certain. Then it picks out some of the men that do this inevitable thing and punishes them. They shall be ruined for their own fault.

What for? What good results from all this misery? Is it not a strange and momentous fact that this same society that so implacably and insatiably pursues selected specimens of its wrong-doers is yet utterly indifferent to others who are of much greater importance to it?

For instance, at the suggestion that Abe Ruef should have that right to parole that the law gives to him, you can hear a thousand San Francisco Pecksniffs exclaim in horror. But not one of these will take the slightest interest in the fact that every year in this country more than 30,000 men, women and children are murdered in our productive industry for the sake of dividends and interest.

Here are close upon 2,000,000 little children that are being ground up for profits in our mills, mines and factories and not one of the gentlemen that are yelling for the blood of Abe Ruef has ever shown the least concern about the monstrous and illimitable crime of child labor.

Here in this country of ours every year about 150,000 women are driven by poverty into the hideous depths of prostitution and not one of the pillars of society ever seems to stir a pulse over that ineffable horror.

But at any plea that any one of our present victims may have, sufficient enough, that his heart may have been wrung enough and his nerves tortured enough, that we may have branded him deep enough and made him shed tears enough and caused him to bleed enough and revealed our wretched vengeance enough and trampled him into the mire enough, at any such plea up spring a thousand protests and a thousand voices cry for more punishment and more pain and more torture.

For all this an explanation is badly needed and I hope earnestly to get it from some of those that want to deny Abe Ruef his legal parole. Let them make the explanation wide and minute, for believe me it needs much defending. If one of them is not willing to defend for more torturing will show that he has been equally insistent against the needless industrial slaughter, that he has made war as earnestly upon child labor, prostitution and human degradation, that he has protested as vehemently against the system of society that sows darkness and reaps crime, I will admit that he has some right to argue against the release of this man. But otherwise he has too many greater things to combat to give him either time or authority to insist upon further barrow clamors for more torturing will

OUR YOUNG FOLKS

CHAPTER XIV. A Sall on the Bay. Now Hans' big brother who had taken Hans to the tinshop brought home Hans' pay for the few days that he had worked, on the Saturday following the accident and gave it to Hans' mother. It was only a dollar and ten cents (big price for a finger nearly ruined and a scar that Hans had to carry on his finger all through life), but Hans felt as though he had earned it and it belonged to him, so he begged and begged till after some weeks his mother gave him ten cents of it. With the ten cents Hans went to Abe Muehlyndyke and asked him if he would not let him have the sailboat Peck's Sun for Sunday afternoon. Muehlyndyke told Hans that Sunday afternoon was his best time and that he had to earn most of the money for the whole week then, and sailboats were worth then 50 cents an hour and that he could not let him have the sailboat unless he could pay for it. But Hans begged and begged till finally Muehlyndyke consented to let him have the Peck's Sun on Sunday afternoon for a dollar.

Hans had only the ten cents, so he went to all of the boys belonging to the Cedar street crowd who had often talked about taking a sail with Hans and got seven or eight of them to promise to go and also each was to bring ten cents as his contribution. So about one o'clock that Sunday afternoon they all came together on the corner of Fourth and Cedar streets and went to the lake shore.

(Continued to No. 27.)

Puzzles

ANAGRAMIC QUOTATION. NIK-ACMOON betrie of the few of the nyma is binvetiela. You umts oeeho newbet them. Every trust tilluray smida the hurtt of Hiscossia grescha that plomecotton is slawftu and that by nomenclatbin the cost of duntociper is trygeal eured.

What Private Monopoly Will Never Do

By ALLAN L. BENSON. Private monopoly has largely done away with the cost of selling trust goods, by doing away with the individual competitors who were once struggling to put their goods upon the market. Private monopoly has also reduced the cost of production by introducing the innumerable economies that accompany large production.

What private monopoly has not done and will never do is to pass along these savings to the consumers. The monopolists have passed along some of the savings, but not many of them. What they have passed along bears but a small proportion to what they have kept. That is what most of the trouble is about now. The people find it increasingly difficult to live. For a dozen years, it has been increasingly difficult to live. Persistent and more persistent has been the demand that something be done about the trusts. The first demand was that the trusts be destroyed. Now, Mr. Bryan is about the only man in the country to whom the conviction has not been borne home that the trusts cannot be destroyed. The rest of the people want the trusts regulated, and the worst of the trust magnates sent to jail. Up to date, no single trust has been regulated, nor a single trust magnate sent to jail.

So much for what Socialists believe Socialism, by reducing the prices of commodities to cost, would do for the people as consumers. Socialists believe Socialism would do even more for the people as workers. Behold the present plight of the working man. He has a right to live, but he has not a right to the means by which he can live. He cannot live without work, yet, ever he must seek work as a privilege—not as a right. The coming of the age of machinery has made it impossible to work without machinery. Yet the worker owns no machinery and

can get access to no machinery except upon such terms as he may be able to make with its owners. Socialists urge the people to consider the results of this unprecedented situation. First, there is great insecurity of employment. No one knows how long his job is destined to last. It may not last another day. A great variety of causes exist, any one of which may deprive the worker of his opportunity to work. Wall street gentlemen may put such a "crimp" in the financial situation that industry cannot go on. Business may slow down because more is being produced than the markets can absorb. A greedy employer may precipitate a strike by trying to reduce the wages of his employees. Any one of many causes may without notice step in between the worker and the machinery without which he cannot work.

But worse than the uncertainty of employment is the absolute certainty that millions of men must always be out of work. Times are never so good that there is work for everybody. Most persons do not know it, but in the best of times there are always a million men out of work. In the worst of times, the number of men out of work sometimes exceeds 5,000,000. The present estimate is that there are now 3,500,000 men out of work. The country is crying for the things they might produce. There is great need for shoes, flour, cloth, houses, furniture, and fuel. These millions of men, if they could get in touch with machinery, could produce enough of such staples to satisfy the public demand. If they could; work, their earnings would vastly increase the amount of money in circulation and thus increase the buying power of everybody. But they cannot work, because they do not own the machinery without which they cannot work, and the men who own it will not let it be used, because they cannot see any profits for themselves in having it used.

Socialists say this is an appalling situation. They are amazed that the nation tolerates it. They believe the nation would not tolerate it if it understood it. Some things are more easily understood than others. If 5,500,000 men were on a sinking ship within swimming distance of the Atlantic shore and the employing class were to prevent them from swimming ashore for no other reason than that the employing class had no use for their services—the people would understand that. Socialists believe the people will soon understand the present situation.

Bishop Carroll's Charges Not Well Taken

By JOHN C. KENNEDY. When Bishop Carroll was making his attack on Socialism the other day, he laid particular emphasis upon the point that Socialists are UNPATRIOTIC. The following is his statement on this subject: "Socialism is unpatriotic. It aims to destroy all constituted civil authority. The liberty of opportunity and personal initiative guaranteed by human government it would crush out by its deadening doctrine of absolute equality. Its treasonous outbursts of indignation against the powers lodged in the constitution and in the judiciary, its attacks against leaders in civil life, are evidences of its anarchistic aims and purposes. With its love of country would cease to rouse the patriotism of the patriot."

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the part of that "ornament of the bench" that he has resigned under fire. Bishop Carroll will probably call Representative Berger's resolution to impeach Judge Hanford "a treacherous outburst of indignation against the powers lodged in the constitution and in the judiciary." We Socialists have little use for the kind of "patriotism" which allows judges to override the constitution and ignore the rights of the people. We have little use for the sort of "patriotism" which enables the capitalist control of the government and keep wages down to a starvation level. The only sort of "patriotism" that

ACROSS THE POND

Portugal—The first Socialist daily in Portugal has just been started at Lisbon. It is called "El Socialista," and is edited by comrade Pedro Muralha. The introductory article points out the absence of enlightenment among the people, which causes the weakness of the trade unions and the failure of strikes. There is too little revolutionary consciousness. To awaken this must be the principal function of the "Avanti" paper. The Portuguese comrades may be assured that the whole International welcomes their undertaking with the heartiest good wishes.

Italy—The 13th Conference of the Social-Democratic party held at Reggio Emilia, on July 7 and the two following days. 760 branches were represented, with a total membership of 24,536. Many telegrams and letters with good wishes were received by the Conference, among them one from H. W. Lee for the B. S. P. A telegram from the International Socialist Bureau was read expressing the desire that the Conference might bear fruit and urging that the unity of the proletariat should not be destroyed.

The last day was principally devoted to a discussion on the party program. A resolution was adopted heartily congratulating the paper on its courageous stand against the war was carried unanimously. The removal of "Avanti" to Milan has been a very good thing for the paper and its usefulness has been much increased.

A resolution was proposed by Leda, declaring the class-struggle to be the basis of Socialist tactics, emphasizing the Republican character of the party, repudiating taking part in bourgeois Governments, of supporting a Cabinet, rejecting all electoral alliances for the first ballots, limiting the autonomy of the Parliamentary group, and demanding a more energetic emphasis of the principles of the party. It was carried by 15,500 votes to 9,000.

Germany—The Social Democrats in the Baden Landtag have, to a man, voted against the budget. Comrade Kolb has published a declaration to the effect that this action was due to the attitude of the Baden Government, which did not treat the Social-Democrats as citizens with the same rights as the others, an attitude which provoked the sharpest protest on the part of the Socialist deputies. The Liberal Press in Baden regrets that the Government provoked such an action. It would have been better—that in their opinion—if the Government had shown itself as conciliatory as possible towards the Social-

THE BUILDERS' COLUMN

By A. W. Mance. I will not kill nor hurt any living creature needlessly, nor destroy any beautiful thing, but will strive to save and comfort all gentle life, and guard and perfect all natural beauty upon the earth.—John Ruskin.

THE HERALD LABOR DAY EDITION

Get your order in for a bundle of the special Labor Day edition of the Social-Democratic Herald. The 1912 Labor Day edition of the Social-Democratic Herald will be the regular edition of August 28th.

The editor is already at work gathering material to make this year's Labor Day edition of The Herald the best propaganda and educational literature you can possibly use to open your campaign with. The combined contents of The Herald Labor Day edition will give you a mountain top view of the progress made by the militant working class on the political and economic field during the past twelve months. One feature will be a special review of the year by Victor L. Berger.

Bring the matter up at your next branch meeting and see that a fund is raised to buy enough Labor Day Herald to cover your community.

A recent newspaper dispatch states that the old parties are preparing to turn one hundred thousand orators loose in the United States to conduct the national campaign about the middle of September. If you get in ahead of them with a copy of the Labor Day Herald these Capitalist Wind Jammers will see the air in vain to get the workers to engage in another sham-battle this year.

Get your order in for a bundle large enough to place a copy in the hands of every toiler in your community. Price, 50 cents per hundred, \$5.00 per thousand. Regular subscription price is 50 cents per year. In clubs of four for one year \$1.25. Go after the clubs.

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Pennsylvania

The Socialists of Armstrong and Clarion counties will hold a picnic at East Brady on Labor Day. Harwood of New York City, who toured this state last year, has again returned to Pennsylvania and will take an active part in the congressional campaign in the Twenty-eighth district.

Germany—The Social Democrats in the Baden Landtag have, to a man, voted against the budget. Comrade Kolb has published a declaration to the effect that this action was due to the attitude of the Baden Government, which did not treat the Social-Democrats as citizens with the same rights as the others.

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