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A Glance at the Facts.

By VICTOR L. BERGER.

SOCIALISM is the political economy of the wage-working class.

But the wage-working class, the proletariat, is not a fixed class in any country, and least of all in America.

There is a constant flux to and from the proletariat in every civilized country.

On the other hand, many wage workers sink beyond the proletariat and become tramps or criminals.

But in this country there has been, and to some degree there still exists, another reason for the instability of the proletariat.

Because of the comparatively thin population of this country, its great natural resources and its vast "elbow-room," the American proletariat until very recently had a chance to become independent and leave his class.

The fanatics of the doctrine of "class consciousness" will do well to take this fact into consideration.

Besides, the feeling of class distinction in America, at least among native workmen, has not the same historic foundation that it has in Germany or England.

This fact finds its explanation in the ethical side of the Socialist propaganda in Germany.

Even in Germany, the present limited conception of class interest and class consciousness will have to broaden, if the Socialist party is to make any further headway.

The present conception has reached the limit of its usefulness, when all, or virtually all, the industrial workers are under the banner of the German Social-Democracy.

In order to gain the independent peasantry and the middle class which still exists in large numbers even in Germany, the terms "class interest" and "class-consciousness" will have to change their meaning.

In America, as in every other country, the laboring class—or strictly speaking, the proletariat—forms the most favorable recruiting ground for an advance guard of progress.

The wage workers with "nothing to lose but their chains" naturally will furnish most of the soldiers in the struggle for Socialism.

The circumstances surrounding a wage worker are such that only in exceptional cases can he obtain the knowledge, education and training indispensable to a leader.

Marx and Engels, the scientific founders of international Socialism, were not proletarians, nor was Ferdinand Lassalle, the founder of the German Social-Democracy.

In England, Keir Hardie and John Burns are proletarians; but not the "spiritual leaders"—Hyndman, Bax, Bernard Shaw, the Webbs, etc., nor was William Morris.

The proletariat of no civilized country can well dispense with the intelligence and the power of resistance which still remains in the middle class, notwithstanding the fact that it is gradually decaying.

In America it would be folly to base a Socialist movement upon the supposition that a middle class does not exist, or that it will not exist after a little time.

We expect that every ignorant fanatic and narrow-minded bigot in our party will break out in shrieks and lamentations against this view as being rank "heresy" and "middle-class" Socialism.

Victor L. Berger.

Owing to new developments at Madison we will have to again wait one week before presenting our indictment of the Wisconsin "reform" legislature with regard to Labor legislation.

Workingmen's blood runs thick in Poland in a splendid martyrdom. This is holy Russia's manner of interpreting the biblical injunction "Peace on earth, good will toward men."

The sunlight of Socialism is already reddening the hill tops. The era of economic justice is dawning. The bats of capitalistic greed and wrong are in commotion at the bright light that is confronting them.

The row in the headquarters of the Equitable Life Insurance Company is decidedly interesting.

It gives men who are paying in their hard earned dollars as premiums so that they can die in the comfortable feeling that their families will not be left destitute, it gives such men a chance to see what is being done with their money.

Their money goes, in part, to support such immoral drones as James H. Hyde in idleness and luxury and worse.

The row was started over a fabulously expensive banquet given by Hyde to a foreign notable, at which a well known actress is reported to have danced a drunken can-can on the top of one of the banquet tables.

The main charges against Hyde is that he has used Equitable funds to pay for the swell dinners he has given to various celebrities, that he has charged up his coaching trips to the company, put his personal servants on the company pay roll, loaned out its funds to trust companies in which he has an interest, manipulated the surplus to his own benefit, and so on.

And the Equitable does not stand alone! At the present time no less than four of the leading magazines are publishing articles exposing

NEXT WEEK.—Comrade Lucian Sanial's answer to Comrade Ashplant and others on the question in Marx as to "Who Paid the 3/-?" Also the first installment of Comrade Ida Crauch-Hazlett's "brief" of Ferris' "Socialism and Modern Science." These are articles well worth preserving.

AN EASY TRICK!

I remember reading somewhere that New York's infamous Boss Tweed, at the height of his extraordinarily corrupt career, actually began negotiations with a syndicate composed of his friends to sell to them the New York City Hall on a long-time note.

Absurd, you say. Not so far-fetched as you may think, if you will remember the conditions under which the National City—the "Standard Oil" Bank—acquired New York's old Custom House on Wall street. They bought it from the United States government, credited the purchase price to Uncle Sam on their books, then rented it for a good round price to the government, whose new Custom House was not ready for occupancy, and because it remained in Uncle Sam's possession, evaded municipal taxation on the investment. They got the property absolutely without paying a cent, and have ever since collected a splendid interest on the million they did not invest.—Thomas W. Lawson, in "Frenzied Finance."

A Triumph of Capitalist Genius!

crooked methods of leading insurance companies.

One thing is certain: The many articles now publishing exposing the methods of high finance, insurance, etc., are permanently shaking the confidence that the people have had in the leading "business" men of the nation.

All this will help on the tendency to look into Socialism. With the faith in the business integrity of the country shaken, there falls away a good part of the stone wall of prejudice that has helped to impede the growth of the Socialist spirit with the more educated classes.

So mote it be!

"A beautiful world full of gracious deeds," is the way an English Socialist refers to society under the sway of Social-Democracy. It is felicitously put.

London is somewhat perturbed by the facts as to its underfed children. It ought to be ashamed—being a Christian nation—to have the under-feeding of children a chronic condition under its advanced civilization. We are mighty proud that we live in a nation so Christian that every single child gets enough to eat! Ahem!!

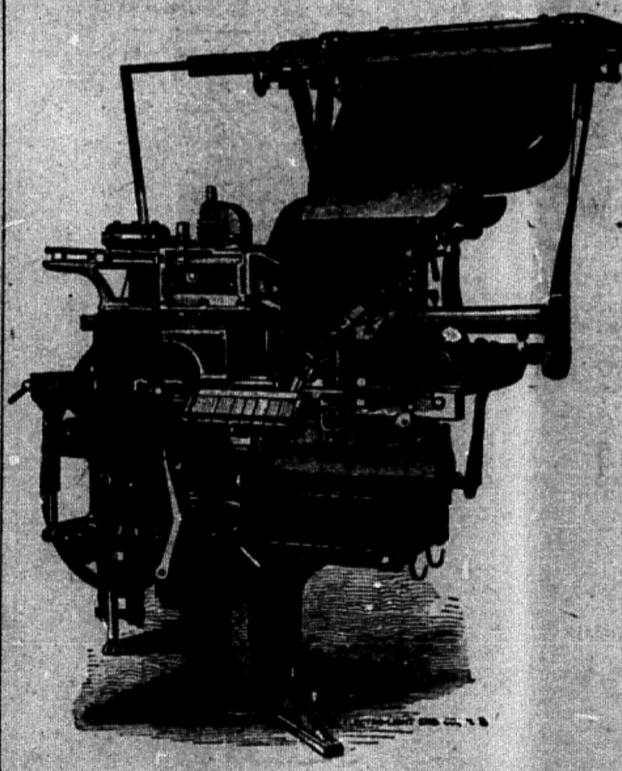
The Presbyterian ministers in Milwaukee recently resolved to help the bakery workers who were agitating to get a free day on Sunday, by promising not to buy lay bakers' bread on Sunday. Whatever their motives, it was a merciful thing to do, and it made the workers feel as if at last the church was listening to their righteous complaints. But will these ministers' flocks follow their merciful lead?

Now comes the official journal of the Railroad Conductors' Brotherhood, and prints a long article by foxy Mr. Ralph Ensley, chief monkey worker of the Civic Federation, telling union men how to be good. It is chiefly made up of rant against Socialists. It won't do you any good, old man! Workingmen have heads of their own, although you show that you do not suspect it, and they are more capable of judging as to what is to the interests of the union movement than a capitalistic trickster on the outside.

Far be it from our wish to express surprise at what has been done to the Labor bills by the present Legislature of Wisconsin. On the contrary, we are thankful that Labor has been given so good an object lesson. It splendidly verifies our warning, that Labor had nothing to gain from reform politics. So far as Labor is concerned, the Legislature might just as well be filled with "Stalwarts"—with representatives of ultra-capitalism—as to be made up of the representatives of another anti-labor class bent on "reform." Valuable, too, has been the lesson set for our brethren outside the cities.

That Linotype Fund. -- See it Grow!!

INTWO WEEKS' time \$127.15 has been pledged towards the \$2300 necessary to begin with to secure the printing plant. Certainly a splendid start, and if kept up at the same rate, it will be but a few months before the plant is put into operation. But let us not be too sanguine. Two thousand three hundred dollars is a big sum, and only by the co-operation of all of our friends can raising it be accomplished.



For the benefit of those who missed our previous issues and for our new subscribers, let us say that it is our intention to get an outfit by which the hand and machine composition, make-up and job printing can be done. Such an outfit will cost \$6500. Of this \$2300 is needed to start with, and when running will save the movement \$1000 a year. The savings can be applied to pay the balance due.

While we would very much like to plan for a plant to turn out the HERALD completely, it is out of the question at present. To provide for such a plant would mean that stereotyping machinery and a perfecting press would have to be included. A first-class perfecting printing press to get out large editions such as we sometimes have would cost, with stereotyping plant, at least \$10,000. This would mean a vast amount of capital lying idle all week except for a few hours unless we could secure other work to keep it a-going. It might be hard to get the work and anyway, it is much harder to get the amount required. So we are obliged for the present to content ourselves with attempting to get machinery and type to do our hand and machine composition, make-up and job printing. Although it will not be a complete plant, it is the best we can hope for just now.

A double magazine linotype such as we require, with motor, extra matrices, metal, and all incidentals, such as freight, hauling, etc., will cost \$1100.00.

erecting, gas and electric attaching, etc., will cost \$4000.00. Of this about \$1100.00 is required at once, \$25.00 one year after the machine is received, the balance in two years or more, in monthly or quarterly installments with interest. Type for setting our advertisements, and outfit for making-up will cost about \$700.00 on which \$400.00 must be paid at once. For our job work we have in mind a plant now doing \$6000.00 of work per year, which can be had for about \$1800.00. On this one third must be paid down, and with several hundred dollars for stock and cash on hand makes up the total of \$2300.00 necessary now. The balance of \$4200.00 can be paid out of the savings made.

Now then, C. trades, here is an opportunity to help. Make your donation—make it as large as you can, but make it anyway. It will make you feel like having put another nail into the coffin of capitalism. But if you can't make a donation outright, why not spread the light of Socialism by getting subscribers for the Herald? Use the blank inserted elsewhere.

If you are one of the thousands receiving this issue as a sample copy, you have the advantage of being enabled not only to assist by subscribing for the Herald and thus helping, but also of contributing outright to the cause we all love so well. Let us hear from you. All contributions will be acknowledged in the HERALD.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Includes entries like 'Previously reported \$99.50', 'Isaac Peterson 10.00', 'Ed. Knapp 5.00', 'W. R. Roselius 4.50', 'W. Wigner 55', 'Chas. Cmejla 25', 'L. Jungman 50', 'H. B. Kampling 10', 'Wm. Mackay 1.00', 'Chas. Kohlar 1.00', 'Total \$127.15'

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 3.)

Growth of the Injunction

By EUGENE V. DEBS.

IN the month of December, 1893, something over eleven years ago, a federal injunction was issued that broke all the records up to that time and stirred up the whole country. This injunction was issued by James G. Jenkins, judge of the United States Circuit Court, and restrained the employees of the Northern Pacific railway from quitting the service of that company under penalty of being found guilty of contempt and sent to jail.

The facts in the case, which are recalled by a recently published interview with Judge Jenkins, who has retired from the bench, and the concurring, editorial comment of the capitalist press, were as follows:

The Northern Pacific, robbed and wrecked by the knaves who had control of its affairs, applied to the federal court in the person of Judge Jenkins for a receivership, which was promptly granted. Following this order of the court and the appointment of the receivers, the latter petitioned the court for an order making sweeping reductions in the wages of employees, and fearing that a strike might follow, the receivers asked the court at the same time to issue an order restraining the employees from leaving the service of the company, and this was also promptly granted. It was this latter order that aroused the storm and it raged fiercely for some months. Indignation meetings were held by labor unions, notably in Chicago, where a mass meeting was called for the special purpose of denouncing Judge Jenkins and demanding his impeachment. Obedient to the indignation and clamor of organized labor, Congressman McGann of Illinois introduced a resolution in Congress looking to the investigation of the affair by the judiciary committee, but, of course, nothing came from it and it was not long before the judicial crime, for such it was, was forgotten.

The strange thing about it was that the employees did not strike under such extreme provocation and this was due to the fact that their leaders, the national officers of their unions, urged them not to do so, and united in a letter to the general manager accepting the order of the court and acquiescing in the situation. The writer, who was then organizing the American Railway Union, tried to have the employees resent the despot's decree of the court and quit in a body from end to end of the line, but other counsels prevailed and they remained at work. It would have been interesting to see the ten or twelve thousand employees quit as one and defy the outrageous order of the court, and then see Jenkins make good his order and send them to jail. The judicial bluff would have been called and not only would they not have gone to jail, but the court would have stood exposed and rebuked and the reduction in the wages would have been restored. I am still waiting for organized workmen to take advantage of just such an opening when ten thousand or more workers shall all be simultaneously in contempt for the defiance of some outrageous federal injunction. It will have a most wholesome effect—indefinitely better than the servile pleas of labor leaders and legislative committees in the humiliating role of mendicants crawling in the dust at the feet of their supposed servants.

Had the army of Northern Pacific employees resented the outrage of Judge Jenkins in 1893 by quitting in defiance of his injunction—and they would have done it but for the national officers of their unions—an object lesson of inestimable value would have been taught the courts and their capitalist masters and the rapid evolution of the labor injunction which had then fairly set in would have been checked for a time at least, and it is doubtful if it had ever developed its present unrestrained restraining power.

Judge Henry Clay Caldwell, who was also on the federal bench at the time the Jenkins injunction was issued, declared strongly in opposition to it, saying:

"If receivers should apply for leave to reduce the existing scale of wages, before acting on their petition I would require them to give notice of the application to the officers or representatives of the several labor organizations to be affected by the proposed change, of the time and place of hearing, and would also require them to grant such officers or representatives leave of absence and furnish them transportation to the place of hearing and subsistence while in attendance, and I would hear both sides in person, or by attorneys, if they wanted attorneys to appear for them. ... If, after a full hearing and consideration, I found that it was necessary, equitable and just to reduce the scale of wages, I would give the employees ample time to determine whether they would accept the new scale. If they rejected it they would not be enjoined from quitting the service of the court either singly or in a body."

Judge Jenkins gave the employees no hearing, no notice, no consideration. He simply ordered their wages reduced and told them that if they quit work he would send them to jail. This is the order—and a beautiful order it is in a land of boasted freedom—that Judge Jenkins now says has been vindicated and that the precedent then established by him is now followed by all courts. He is right. The evolution of the injunction has indeed been swift and what was regarded as exceedingly novel and venturesome a decade ago is now securely incorporated in our established system of capitalistic jurisprudence.

The late Judge Dundy of Omaha, notoriously the creature of the Union Pacific, issued the order reducing wages on that system when it was in the hands of receivers appointed by him, but Judge Caldwell, who was on the Circuit bench and had prior jurisdiction, took the case away from Dundy, had the employees come into court and be heard, and, after hearing all the evidence, revoked the order of Dundy, restored the wage reductions and administered a scathing rebuke to the receiver.

Judge Caldwell was appointed to the federal bench by President Lincoln. They don't appoint that kind of judges any more.

Such eminent lights as Dundy, Jenkins, Ricks, Taft, Ross, Woods, Grosscup and Kohlssat now illumine the federal bar and all their names are immortally associated with the evolution of the injunction and the subjugation of labor by judicial process.

One of the first and most illustrious in this line is Judge Taft, who won his spurs in the Toledo, Ann Arbor and North Michigan case. He has been a prime favorite with the corporations ever since, is now in the cabinet, and is being groomed for the presidency. As a candidate for the white house he has the two essential qualifications—unswerving loyalty to capital and unmitigated contempt for labor—and this should and doubtless will secure his nomination and election by an overwhelming majority.

In his published interview, Judge Jenkins, discussing his Northern Pacific injunction, says:

"Within the last twelve years, by reason of popular discontent at legal restraint, the issuance of this writ has been designated approbri-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 4.)

In spite of themselves the capitalist press has to occasionally admit that Socialism is a moral and a humanitarian force. In commenting upon the possibility of a future war between Japan and the United States, Collier's Weekly says: "It may be well doubted, especially with the growth of trade, Socialism, and other unwarlike influences in Japan, whether she would enter a future war with us, about some conflicting purpose, with anything like the patriotic fury of the present state."

Even the capitalist stands to gain by the inauguration of the Social-Democratic system. His wealth gives him a certain protection against poverty in his old age, for himself and those dependent on him—provided some other predatory capitalist or capitalist does not succeed in stripping him—but where is his protection against all the dangers that grow out of abnormal social conditions? A disease may start from the unhealthy conditions that the victims of capitalism are forced to live under, and may take the form of an epidemic that respects neither rich nor poor. Manifestly, the rich man stands to gain by such a cleansing of society as Socialism would provide.

This paper may be had ten weeks for ten cents. Try it.

A Juror in Chicago Anarchist Trial Confesses at Last!

NO EVIDENCE, BUT A CLASS CRIME. THE STATE MURDERED INNOCENT MEN. HOW THE AWFUL FARCE WAS PLAYED!—THE CRIME AFTERWARD UPSET THE REASON OF SOME OF THE JURORS. ROBERT HERRICK'S STARTLING ADMISSIONS!

(Abridged from Saturday Evening Post.) The morning after the fourth of May the city was sizzling with excitement. From what the papers said you might think that there was an anarchist or two skulking in every alley in Chicago with a basketful of bombs under his arm.

making a bit of a disturbance? And nobody said anything about it! What are they kicking for, anyway?" "PROMINENT MEN CONSPIRE. Mr. Droum's view, however, was the one generally held. That very evening there was a meeting of the prominent men of the city to take counsel together how anarchy might be rooted out.

I showed it to a fellow-lerk at the office the next morning he remarked: "I thought I saw the bailiff in here yesterday, looking around for likely men. They are after a safe jury this time, sure!" I asked Carmichael to use his influence to get me excused, as I knew he usually did for the boys when they were summoned on jury duty.

Something Wrong Here!

Robert Herrick says he served on the Anarchist jury in Chicago in 1886. There was no man on the jury by that name. In his story he claims that he was known at that time as Van Harrington. There was no Van Harrington on the jury in question.

asked me to take a chair and handed me a cigar. Then he began to talk about the privileges and duties of a citizen. "This is a young man's duty," he said among other things.

IT WAS CLEAR ENOUGH FROM THE START THAT THE STATE WANTED ONLY ONE KIND OF MAN ON THAT JURY—an intelligent, well-to-do clerk or small manufacturer. No laboring man need apply; his class was suspect.

THE JURY WAS FIXED. "That bailiff came into our place and walked down past our department with the manager. I heard him say to Mr. Bent: 'I'm running this case. Let me tell you right here there won't be no hung jury.'"

JUSTICE NOT THOUGHT OF. The hatred and the rage of all kinds of men during those months while the anarchists were on our hands, before they were finally hanged or sent to prison, is hard to understand now at this distance from the event.

That's all right for young America, but I am no fool, either! My father saw the riots back home in Dublin. It's no good sitting too close on the top of a chimney—maybe you'll set the house on fire. The police? The police are half thieves and all blackguards!

some sense of fairness, and could be square and honest if he tried hard. And then he was counted in. In every case it went pretty much as it did in the case of the man from Steele's.

"Well, if that strong evidence of their innocence was not introduced, then you want to convict them?" "Certainly!" Then the judge took the man in hand, and after a time his Honor got him to say: "I could try the case on the evidence alone, fairly."

A JURY ROOM CONVERSION. This is scarcely the place to tell the story of that famous trial. The trial of the anarchists was an odd accident in my life, however, which coming as it did, when I had my foot placed on the ladder of fortune, had something to do with making me what I am today.

Today, after the lapse of eighteen years, I can see it all as I saw it then: the small, dirty courtroom; the cold, precise face of the judge; the faces of the eight men whom the police had ferreted out of their holes for us to try.

BLOODTHIRSTY JUDGE GARY. From the start it seemed plain that the State could not show who threw that fatal bomb, nor who made it, nor anything about it: the best the State could do would be to prove conspiracy.

What is the matter with the Vandegards? It's all right. If you don't believe it, send for a copy and be convinced.

Propaganda Bargains! SOCIALISM: From Utopia to Science. By Frederick Engels. This is one of the classics of Socialism which no one can afford to pass by.

CONFESIONS OF CAPITALISM. By Allan L. Benson. Eugene V. Debs says: "The pamphlet is written in such simple language, the statements are so clear, the arguments so convincing and the facts so overwhelming that he who reads will find it difficult to escape its conclusions."

WOLFISHNESS OF THE SYSTEM. The judge was still making remarks. I kept saying to myself: "Society! In behalf of society! I have done my duty in behalf of society." But what is this almighty society, anyhow, except a lot of fools and scamps with a sprinkling of strong souls, who are fighting for life—all of them fighting for what only a few can get?

SOCIALISM AND THE CITY. By Winfield E. Gaylord. This pamphlet is required for an understanding of city problems where the first victories of the Socialists will be won.

WHAT SHALL WE DO TO BE SAVED? By Victor L. Sargent. This little pamphlet shows that to be saved "the only hope for the people for either industrial or political freedom lies in their taking 'lawful' possession of the machinery, forces and production of the great industrial monopolies and to establish the CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH."

Should you rather use postal subscription cards, you can have all you wish on credit at twenty and forty cents apiece, respectively, for six and twelve months cards. Not less than five will be sent as it does not pay to keep accounts for less.

be the right thing. Enjoy yourself, my boy, after your arduous duty!" "Shoot!" said "What would I do with a month's vacation, John?" So I sat down to my desk, quite the sock of the walk, and felt so pleased with myself that you would think I had saved the whole town from being blown up.

FROM THE PRESS.

But Socialism not Communism will be the Outcome. Anthropologist, in Liverpool (Eng.) Post and Mercury: I am glad to see from your issue of the 4th inst. that the Rev. John Wakeford, B. D., is standing up for the rights of labor and the poor in America.

To a less degree, from the same causes, but acting over a longer period, similar results have been produced in this kingdom—viz., 80 per cent of the people have been "disinherited," while 1/2 per cent of the population own 70 per cent of the wealth of the nation.

The above figures supply food for reflection. They indicate that giving a loose rein to private greed and selfishness in the way of individualism, and competition is producing disastrous results to the mass of the people, which results are entirely out of harmony with the laws of God for the rest of the living things on this globe.

Before that time there is good reason to believe that at certain stated periods, say once a year, and as a matter of tribal or national equity, all property was shared in common.

All this points to the strong probability that the modern world has gone wrong in adopting individualism, private ownership and competition, and that for the great mass of the people what we term civilization is infinitely worse for them than the liberty, equality and fraternity of the ancient communal system of prehistoric times.

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RESOLUTIONS ON RUSSIA. The following are the resolutions on the Russian revolution adopted by the Executive Committee: "The National Executive Committee of Socialist party, in session assembled, herewith donates \$50 to express its sympathy with the Social Democratic party of Russia and sends greetings to it in the name of International Socialism, and in behalf of the growing solidarity of the world wide working class."

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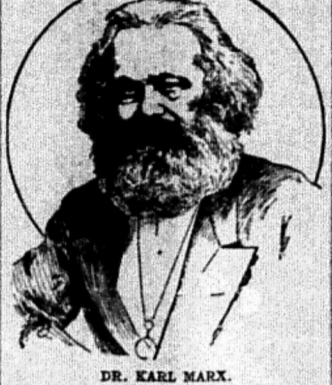
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Social-Democratic Herald. PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Co. Board of Directors: E. H. Thomas, Victor L. Berger, Edmund T. Meins, Emil Seidel, Edward Ziegler, C. P. Dietz, A. J. Welch, Fred. Brockhausen, Sr., Wm. Arnold.

The Exploitation of the Working Class.

We find the essence of the Socialist criticism of property most clearly brought out by Karl Marx, the most authoritative leader and thinker of the proletariat. He begins by showing that the mass of private capital inherited from early times rests originally on conquest, the dispossession of former owners, confiscation of peasant farms, plundering of colonies, abuse of political power, protective duties, division of secularized ecclesiastical property, and so on; but he does not charge Peter or Paul the actual inheritors of the property today, with robbery.



DR. KARL MARX.

FOR OUR NEW READERS:

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

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

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD—BUSINESS DEPARTMENT.

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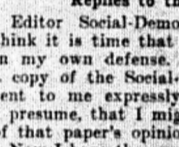
GROWTH OF THE INJUNCTION.—(Continued from Page 1.) ously as 'government by injunction.' Well, it is in a true and proper sense 'government by injunction,' for it is a government by law.

The Socialist Legislators.

MADISON, Wis., May 2.—The Legislature is rapidly finishing the business which has been brought before it during this session, and will adjourn in a few weeks. The Assembly could hurry up all matters which are now before it and 'shut up house' in four days, but they are prevented from doing so by the fact that the Senate is exceedingly slow and conservative in taking action upon all measures.

Half Hours in the Herald Sanctum.

Correspondents are urged to write as briefly as possible and on one side of the paper only. Columbia, and if I have ever done anything that would cast reflection on the Socialist party it is time it was brought to light, but stop insinuating and grow something. The comrades in this state have known me for four years and they ought to be the best judges.



Replies to the Herald.

Editor Social-Democratic Herald: I think it is time that I take up my pen in my own defense. I received today a copy of the Social-Democratic Herald sent to me expressly for the purpose, I presume, that I might read the editor of that paper's opinion of me.

EDITORIAL ETCHINGS.

The following is one of the planks in the Wisconsin Social-Democratic platform of last Fall: That the state legislature, the governor and our representatives in congress shall take such action as is calculated to bring about the nationalization of all the trusts, notably the coal trust, the meat trust, the oil trust, the sugar trust, the farming machinery trust and others of the same kind, and pay the actual value for the same.

It is a practical, sane and Socialistic demand, but certain half-baked Socialist editors in various parts of the country, who boast that they are 'revolutionary' without knowing what that term means when used by Socialists, and who are also unfamiliar with the classic literature of the international movement, have seen fit to condemn the plank as 'opportunistic' (which is a word they also use in a loose way).

And he might have further prophesied: "Your paper, which is published for propaganda, will have to defend your movement for the sake of members who do not know the true mendacity of your enemies, and thus you will have to put out as propaganda matter stuff that has simply relation to your family feuds, and the time it takes to protect your movement will be made good use of by the capitalist parties. And when it comes to be necessary for our interests that you have another row, if the pure-cussedness or dishonesty of some of your own members does not produce it, we will send spies into your midst and get the row started ourselves."

Comrade J. A. Askew one of the regular contributors to the London Justice, the official organ of the Social-Democratic Federation, says that the attempt of some American Social-Democrats to start an anti-A. F. of L. is a mistake in tactics. "It is always a great pity to split the movement and it would undoubtedly be in my opinion much better to await the course of the economic development and to await also the effect of the persistent propaganda on our part to bring the trade unions round to our way of thinking, in other words, to fight the battle of Socialism inside the ranks rather than by going out."

"You will grow for a time, but then you will begin to have your internal troubles and this will keep you from becoming dangerous," said a well known capitalist politician some time ago, in speaking of the Socialist movement in Wisconsin. He might have added, if his prophetic vision had reached a little farther: "Your success in Wisconsin will excite the envy of little minds in your party in other parts of the country, and they will grab you about the legs and try to pull you down. They will wait for a pretext and then you'll have the whole envious peck snarling at your heels."

DEFINITIONS OF SOCIALISM.

The collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. A theory of society that advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed. (Webster's Dictionary.)

A theory that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor and capital (as distinguished from property), and the public collective management of all industries. Its motto is: "Everyone according to his deeds." (Standard Dictionary.)

"Do you see that large department store?" said a rescue worker recently to a visitor in one of our cities. "In it 3,000 girls are employed at an average of \$3.50 per week. Upon that wage they are expected to live and appear neatly dressed in their places of work. They must pay room rent, board, car fare, and clothe themselves. Those who do not pay board help to support families at home. A best their life is one of hopeless, rayless poverty. The evil we seek to remedy comes almost as a matter of course. This store is but one instance of a whole system of things that drags down thousands where individual effort can lift up one." Year after year, day after day, the capitalist mill is thus grinding out misery and crime. And this is what is called 'unexampled prosperity,' which the country is 'enjoying.' Verily, it is 'unexampled prosperity' or such 'enjoyment' as 'prosperity' or such 'enjoyment' as 'prosperity'—The Inquirer.

Answers to Correspondents.

J. Wilson, Okla.—History does not show that. There are modern instances, but take the well known case of the Wat Tyler Rebellion and the preaching of revolt by Father John Ball. After the plague of 1348 the peasant class was uplifted by years of prosperous times. It gave them new ambitions and a new sense of human rights. The centuries of privation that they had suffered under did not all them with a sense of oppressive conditions, but the bettering of their condition did. Resistance to be formidable must have substance behind it, not weak arms, slavish minds and empty stomachs.

C. E. J.—What! You level Liebknecht's "No Compromise" at Wisconsin and want a lynching? We turn it back upon you and your whole lynch-law rabble. Read it—read it understandingly—it may do you good. Read especially the record in its first few pages of tactics in Germany, which were looked upon as good tactics from the standpoint of the class struggle—that is, if you can read anything with understanding!

South Lorain, Ohio. Social-Democratic Herald: Enclosed find green card and a clipping which I am sending the Herald to show you that we are trying our best to help the Socialist party movement in the vicinity of the great National Tube Co. We have instituted the Labor Lyceum ourselves and have debated the questions or rather subjects to a standstill and would not think of closing meetings before we have convinced the audience that these "flowery" speakers (whose names are upon the card intermingled with Mr. Lake's and my own) are not sincere to the workmen.

Would You Give \$5 for A \$10.00 Bill? This is the way to do it: We still have a few of those Wilshire subscription cards left. Send us five dollars for ten yearly Herald cards and we will throw in, for good measure, ten Wilshire's Magazine subscription cards, each good for one year. Dispose of them as you see fit. This offer is for a limited time only. It's Easy Money!

Teeth Extracted ABSOLUTELY Without Pain or Danger. New Teeth, best and most manufactured. \$8.00. Fit guaranteed or money refunded. Standard Crown and Bridge \$5.00. We guarantee complete satisfaction, give honest, intelligent advice and deceive nobody. DR. YOUNG, 417-415 Gen. Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Hours: 8:30 to 8; Sunday, 9 to 12. PHONE 9513 BLACK. COMRADES, YOUR PATRONAGE IS RESPECTFULLY SOLICITED.

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Notes of City Organization.

WHAT IS GOING ON AMONGST THE BUSY BEES OF THE MILWAUKEE HIVE.

The way to move things is to move them. The way to do things is to do them. Things don't just happen. Something or somebody must make them happen.

If we want the Social-Democratic Herald to have 25,000 subscribers, the Socialists of Milwaukee must get them. Always bear in mind that now is the time to do some work for the organization.

A Social-Democratic minstrel company is going to be organized this summer to give several entertainments next fall for the benefit of the Social-Democratic party. Ye gods and little fish-hooks!

One dollar from Comrade Doeber for the Organization Fund. An effort worth while to go after, is the effort to get every man who believes in the principles of Socialism, and also those who object to our principles, to subscribe for our party papers.

The one fault with Comrade Zoll is, that he hits capitalism a rap whenever he gets time. The other day he broke loose, and the result was four new members for our organization. Awful, these pesky Socialists!

If you know a Socialist, who is not pushing the work, ask him what he is a Socialist for anyhow? Basket Picnics this Summer. 11th Ward Branch, June 25th, Daxler's Grove.

12th Ward Branch, July 2nd, Hulsbeck's Grove. 14th Ward Branch, July 2nd, Heim's Grove. 23rd Ward Branch, June 18th, Daxler's Grove.

May Ball Celebrations. 14th Ward, Saturday, May 6th, Uhlmann's Hall, 777 7th ave. Town of Greenfield, Saturday, May 12th, Neumann's Hall, 14th and Mitchell st.

South Side Women's Club, Saturday, May 20th, Graf's Hall, 719 Clinton st. 8th Ward Branch, Saturday, May 13th, Burmeister's Hall, 9th ave. and Greenfield ave.

Here is a suggestion to the branch secretaries. Be sure always to notify all the members of your branch, so that they have no excuse to offer for not attending their branch meetings.

Some of the shop workers who put their names down on the workers' list have not reported as yet, and unless they report in the near future, the city organizer will have to remind them of the work.

A new branch has been organized at Wauwatosa which will be known as Branch No. 2 of Wauwatosa. They will hold their meetings at Scheidt's Hall, 39th and National aves., every first and third Wednesday of the month.

The United Singing Societies held a very successful concert at the West Side Turner Hall last Sunday afternoon.

Comrade Zastrow has a fine grove which can be rented from him for picnics, parties, etc. The park is located at the cor. of Hawley and Blue Mound Roads. It includes dance hall, bowling alleys, kitchen, etc., etc.

Polish May Day Celebration.

Our Polish comrades of Milwaukee will hold a grand open air May Day festival on Sunday, May 7, at 2:30 p. m., at the Fifth avenue and Grand street corner of Kosciuszko Park. Ringing addresses will be made by the Polish orator, Comrade J. A. Barkowski, and by Comrade S. Sokolowski of Chicago.

The West Side Women's Club will hold their regular meeting on Thursday afternoon, May 11th, in their hall, 2714 North avenue. In the last meeting, three new members were accepted. The club has made arrangements for lectures to be held on May 21st.

THE FOLLOWING IS A LIST OF Union Barber Shops up-to-date.

SEE THAT YOUR SHOP IS ON THE LIST. WEST SIDE. Austermann, A. 559 rd St., cor. Walnut St. Bartlein, Henry 48th and State Streets.

South Side. Curtis, R. A. 193 Wisconsin St. Grosse, F. 573 East Water St. Hellman, Chas. F. 86 Mason St.

Central Side. Curtis, R. A. 193 Wisconsin St. Grosse, F. 573 East Water St. Hellman, Chas. F. 86 Mason St.

South Side. Curtis, R. A. 193 Wisconsin St. Grosse, F. 573 East Water St. Hellman, Chas. F. 86 Mason St.

Central Side. Curtis, R. A. 193 Wisconsin St. Grosse, F. 573 East Water St. Hellman, Chas. F. 86 Mason St.

PARTY SUCCESS

Will depend largely upon the degree of common sense shown by those of our comrades who are elected to office. Wisconsin Social-Democratic officials are at present coming in for a good deal of criticism from those who feel it their duty to pass judgment upon all their official actions.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS.

(As Proposed for Milwaukee County Social-Democratic Party.)

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF MILWAUKEE COUNTY. ARTICLE I. Name. Section 1. This organization shall be known as the Social-Democratic Party of Milwaukee County and it shall be the Social-Democratic Party of Wisconsin.

ARTICLE II. Membership. Section 1. The affairs of the Social-Democratic Party of Milwaukee shall be managed by a County Central Committee, its officers and executive committee, the party convention, and the general referendum vote of the party.

ARTICLE III. Branches. Section 1. BRANCHES: WARD ORGANIZATION. All the active party members residing in a ward shall constitute the ward branch. Provisionally, such organization shall first be approved by the County Central Committee and shall then apply for and receive the endorsement of the County Board in the regular manner provided for by the State Constitution.

ARTICLE IV. Campaigns. Section 1. CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE: Previous to each campaign there shall be a campaign committee elected as provided by Article V, Section 4, par. 4. Section 2. CANDIDATES: (1) Any candidate on the Social-Democratic ticket must have been a paying member of the party organization for at least one year, and also be recommended by the Campaign Committee, in order to have the endorsement of the County Central Committee.

ARTICLE V. Special Committees. Section 1. SPECIAL COMMITTEES: The County Central Committee may appoint such special committees from time to time as the needs of the party work may require.

ARTICLE VI. Funds and Financial Accounts. Section 1. FUNDS AND FINANCIAL ACCOUNTS: The method of bookkeeping, filing, etc., shall be determined by the auditing committee as hereinbefore provided in Article V, Section 6, Paragraph 3.

ARTICLE VII. Initiative and Referendum. Section 1. Initiative and Referendum. Whenever three (3) branches shall make a demand upon the County Central Committee to have any measure or proposition submitted to a referendum including amendments to this constitution, it shall be the duty of said committee to comply with such request within three (3) days.

ARTICLE VIII. Amendments. Section 1. Amendments to this Constitution shall be presented in writing as a regular meeting of the County Central Committee, and must be read at two previous meetings before adoption, and shall require a two-thirds vote of those present to adopt.

ARTICLE IX. Meetings. Section 1. MEETINGS: WHEN HELD: The regular meetings of the County Central Committee shall be held at least once a month. Special meetings may be called by the Executive Board.

at the same evening, except in cases where personal investigation is deemed advisable. Upon their endorsement by the branch, applications shall be referred to the County Central Committee through the delegates, and the Secretary of the County Central Committee shall keep file of the applications received, together with the action taken upon them.

III. MEMBERS - HOW TRANSFERRED: 1. Any comrade in good standing wishing a transfer from one branch to another, may do so upon presentation of a transfer card signed by the Secretary of his branch. The Secretary of a branch which accepts a transfer card shall notify the branch of which the Comrade was a member of such acceptance.

IV. MEMBERS - HOW DISCIPLINED: Any member violating the laws and principles of the organization, or violating the laws of the State, or failing to obey the instructions of the party organization in the respect of organization or public speaking or otherwise, or failing to pay his dues, or failing to attend a fair trial, appeal may be taken from the decision of the branch to the County Central Committee of the Local and thence to the State Executive Board, or from the County Central Committee of the Local to the State Executive Board.

V. MEMBERS MUST RESIDE IN WARD: All members of the party must be members of the ward in which they wish to reside, except by special permission of the County Central Committee.

VII. ORDER OF BUSINESS: The following order of business shall be observed at every regular meeting: 1. Call to order by Secretary. 2. Election of Chairman. 3. Appointment of Warden.

VIII. QUORUM: Fifteen accredited delegates shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at regular and special meetings, and in case of the absence of regular members, members in good standing of the same branch shall be permitted to substitute for them.

XI. DISCUSSION: Unless by special permission of the County Central Committee, shall be limited to five minutes; delegates to be given first privilege to speak on any subject under discussion, and party members to have the same privilege.

XIII. AMENDMENTS: 1. These by-laws may be amended in the same manner as the constitution. (See Article X, Section 1.) 2. These by-laws shall not be in force until they have been read at two previous meetings of the County Central Committee.

ARTICLE X. Officers. Section 1. Every branch having delegates in the County Central Committee shall pay to the County Central Committee a financial Secretary a per capita tax equal to one cent per month for every member of the branch. Delegates of branches failing to pay this per capita tax at three consecutive meetings shall lose the right to vote in the County Central Committee.

ARTICLE XI. Initiative and Referendum. Section 1. Initiative and Referendum. Whenever three (3) branches shall make a demand upon the County Central Committee to have any measure or proposition submitted to a referendum including amendments to this constitution, it shall be the duty of said committee to comply with such request within three (3) days.

ARTICLE XII. Amendments. Section 1. Amendments to this Constitution shall be presented in writing as a regular meeting of the County Central Committee, and must be read at two previous meetings before adoption, and shall require a two-thirds vote of those present to adopt.



A Proverb as old as it's true, and what's more, it will do you good in dollars and cents if you will heed what we say. The down-town drug departments as well as drug stores have combined to uphold a certain high price on all Advertised Patent Medicines. Since this combination exists, it makes Bitker's the only Cut-Price Drug Store in town.

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ON CREDIT AT THE "PEOPLES" and pay us in convenient payments while wearing the clothes. Special for next week: A lot of about 50 Men's Suits in sizes 34 and 35 in which we are overstocked - will go at bargain-counter prices.

The Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee
HE/QUARTERS: 318 STATE STREET,
Tel. 1742.
Officers: JOHN REICHERT, Sec. Secretary; FREDERICK HEATH, Pres. Secretary; HENRY BOFFA, Treas. Secretary; J. W. TONNOR, Sec. Treasurer; M. WEISENBUCH, Sec. Sergeant at Arms.

Federated Trades Council.

Regular Meeting, May 3, 1905.—Bro. Schwab in the chair; Bro. Feeley vice chairman. New delegates seated from Coopers No. 30, Leather Workers on Horse Goods, Electrical Workers.

Executive Board report. The board reported receiving a letter from the Carpenters' District Council saying that not one of their seven locals was composed of seceding woodworkers.

Consul Dr. I. OENDEBERG
OPTICAL DEPT.
Goodsman's Dept. Store.
TEWS' FISH MARKET
373 FIRST AVENUE, between WALKER and MINERAL STS.

Ky., who were locked out by the Ox Breaches manufacturing company, same to be sent through Secy. Reichert, and that business agent visit dealers.

INCENTIVE UNDER SOCIALISM.

The following from "Education and the Larger Life," by Linford Henderson, furnishes such an excellent reply to the charge that Socialism will destroy the incentive to our readers.

WISCONSIN STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR OFFICIAL DEPARTMENT.
EXECUTIVE BOARD: CHAS. A. DOLAN, 2205 Tower Ave.
GENERAL OFFICERS: FRANK J. WHEE, General Organizer.

What is Social-Democracy?
"Whereas industry is at present carried on by private capitalists served by wage labor, it must be in the future conducted by associated or cooperative workmen jointly owning the means of production.—Prof. Kirkup.

DIRECTORY OF MILWAUKEE UNIONS.
Secretaries of unions are urged to help us in the making of this directory.
Architectural Union No. 5.—Meets 2nd and 4th Thursday at 218 State street.

WATCHES! WATCHES! OUR SPECIALTY. THE LARGEST ASSORTMENT. THE FINEST QUALITY. THE LOWEST PRICES. August J. Stecher JEWELER... Corner Third & State Streets.

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