

Can We Make Common Cause With "Reformers?"

By Victor L. Berger.

AS I have often said, whether with or without social reform, we cannot escape Social-Democracy.

A Social-Democracy is the goal of the evolution. And not by any means a far distant goal.

The Social-Democracy is the next station. We are speeding toward it with the accelerating velocity of a locomotive on the road.

We all know from history that an old order of society was always doomed, when its appointed guardians and supporters felt called upon to make the demands of the adherents of the new order their own.

We are revolutionists. We are revolutionary, not in the vulgar meaning of the word, which is entirely wrong, but in the sense illustrated by history.

We want to convince the majority of the people. As long as we are in the minority we, of course, have no right to force our opinion upon an unwilling majority.

Besides, as modern men and true Democrats, we have a somewhat less romantic and boyish idea of the development of human things and social systems.

No true Social-Democrat ever dreams of a sudden change of society. Such fanatic dreamers nowhere find more determined opponents than in the ranks of the true Social-Democrats.

We know perfectly well that brutal force serves only those who have it, that a sudden overthrow will breed dictators, that it can promote only subjection, never liberty.

We even propose a general and systematic arming of the citizens as the safest means of preventing sudden upheavals and of preserving democracy and freedom.

In short, the Social-Democrats do not expect success from a so-called revolution—that is, a smaller or bigger riot—but from a real revolution, from the revolutionizing of minds, the only true revolution there is.

The Social-Democrats absolutely refuse to break off the thread of history at any one place.

No Social-Democrat ever dreams of introducing a year 1, and beginning a new era with it, as did the fathers of the great French revolution—which was indeed entirely in harmony with their "a priori" and doctrinaire methods.

The Social-Democrats do not in the least expect to "make history," as certain ignorant and fanatical impossibilists dream of doing. What we aspire to is much more modest, more matter-of-fact, and therefore more reliable and more substantial.

We want to observe closely the course of things, the development of economic and political conditions. We want to find out, if possible, where this development leads.

Then, supported by this knowledge, we want to put ourselves in line with the march of civilization, so that civilization will carry us, instead of crushing us, which it would do, if—knowingly or not—we should stand opposed to it.

Thinking workmen and thinking men of any class become Social-Democrats, not because we like to be "different" from other people.

Not because a man by the name of Karl Marx has "invented the co-operative commonwealth" and painted it as gorgeously as possible—which, by the way, he did not do.

We are Social-Democrats because we have recognized that the economic development of the present capitalist system leads toward Socialistic production.

Not that we wish to urge upon humanity "our" Socialist republic, but that the Socialist republic has urged itself upon us as the next stage of civilization and will urge itself some day upon all civilized humanity.

Yet we do not deny that after we have convinced the majority of the people, we are going to use force if the minority should resist. But in every democracy the majority rules, and must rule.

It is clear that this revolution of the minds cannot be brought about in a day or two, nor can it be arranged according to the pleasure of a few. It can only be attained by patient work and intelligent organization.

Therefore the Social-Democrats concentrate their whole force on agitation and organization. The Social-Democratic leaders in every country, as a general rule, are matter-of-fact, cool-headed persons. The Social-Democratic following is known to be the best disciplined in existence.

Up to a certain point, therefore, the tactics of the Social-Democrats and the social reformers, are exactly the same. Both build upon the past historical development and take into consideration the present conditions.

But the tactics and the aims of the Social-Democrats do indeed differ from those of the social reformers in one essential point. The Social-Democrats never fail to declare that with all the social reforms, good and worthy of support as they may be, conditions cannot be permanently improved.

We Social-Democrats say we are willing to accept and help on every social reform.

But we also say that social reforms are but installments by which we must not allow ourselves to be bribed; that full economic freedom will only be achieved by Social-Democracy.

Yet as a stepping stone, as a transition—and even as a necessary stepping stone and as an indispensable transition—social reforms of all kinds are fully and wholly recognized by the Social-Democracy.

We recognize their usefulness and necessity even when we do not agree with the motives of the promoters and leaders of social reform. We are willing to accept these reforms, even when we disagree about their speed and the methods to be employed.

On the other hand, while the social reformers and the Social-Democrats therefore have many points of contact, they always will form and must form two entirely different organizations. And it is not arbitrary or willful that the Social-Democrats all

Charity injures both the giver and the taker. There is no way to give charity without its leaving a stain, or a reproach. Our poor-house system is an abomination, and doubly so because it is provided for those who have served society nobly through life by being producing members of society.

It is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being.—John Stuart Mill.

The government's mortality statistics for the United States just issued some interesting data. Thus we find that, estimated on the 100,000 of population, tuberculosis causes 153 per cent of the deaths, while the much-dreaded smallpox causes less than two-tenths of one per cent!

over the world constitute a distinct, separate party. It is absolutely necessary.

And it does not in any way exclude the possibility of making common cause with social reform parties in legislatures and city councils for this or the other good measure.

But to keep our party organically separate and intact is a demand of clearness and truth, which, after all, have great importance in political life as everywhere else.

More Victories

The Social-Democrats won a fine victory at the local election in the town of Lambrecht, Germany, the other day. The Liberals, who were supported in power by the capitalists of the textile industry, thought the time had arrived to strike a crushing blow against the rising "menace" of the Socialists, and they resigned in a body.

Another victory has been won by the Socialists in Italy. As a special election just held in the district of Peskarola the Socialist candidate won. This makes a total of 43 Socialists who will have seats in the new parliament.

Word comes of a Socialist victory at the Gibraltar of capitalism. Cape Town, So. Africa. James Trenbath has been elected to the town council, a beginning that the comrades are determined shall be followed up by many more such victories.

While some doctors are boosting vaccination and others denouncing it as a crime against the race, modern and better rules of cleanliness have stepped in and almost annihilated smallpox as a human scourge.

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Commercialists Against Farmers and Labor

Madison, Wis.—In the assembly public ownership of a binder twine plant has been defeated.

The commercial elements of the state, with the Merchants and Manufacturers' association of Milwaukee taking a prominent part, had a strong lobby at Madison during the entire session. To scare and prejudice the farmers against the plant the words "Socialism" and "Socialistic tendencies" were used in committee hearings, and in private, and were strongly emphasized by Speaker Bancroft, who was selected to stab the farmers on the floor of the assembly.

He set up a howl about class legislation and deliberately charged the members with criminal violation of their oath to serve the constitution of the state if they dared to vote with the farmers, and brazenly declared from the chair that he was ready to assume the responsibility and honor of defeating the farmers.

On the first ballot of the three bills on the question the farmers won the day at 6:30 p.m. The assembly then adjourned, and upon resumption of business the next morning the other two bills were killed without debate, the house acting under the previous question, which had been called on the first bill the day before and included the other bills pertaining to the same subject.

The fourth bill on the subject was a bill to repeal the binder twine law enacted two years ago. This

bill was, of course, advanced, and here is where a lot of more trouble is coming, because the senate has carried the binder twine bills in its house and will, of course, defeat the assembly bill to repeal the law enacted two years ago.

These senate binder twine bills

Social-Democrats in the Wisconsin Legislature In the Senate: Winfield R. Gaylord, Sixth Milwaukee district. In the Assembly: Ninth Milwaukee District, Edmund J. Berner; Eleventh, Fred Brockhausen; Sixteenth, Frank J. Weber.

will be in the assembly in a few days, and another test of strength between the producers and business men will be waged. It will be a pulling for advantage, for the business interests have not as yet carried all of their schemes.

A State Sweatshop The fact is that a binder twine plant was started two years ago. The plant is built at Waupun and will employ some eighty prisoners in making twine to be sold to the farmers at nearly the cost price of production.

The fact is that a binder twine plant was started two years ago. The plant is built at Waupun and will employ some eighty prisoners in making twine to be sold to the farmers at nearly the cost price of production. This number of prisoners will escape the sweating system of contract prison labor now in vogue at the prison plant, under which several hundred prisoners are employed making stockings for the Paramount Knitting Co., located at Chicago, Ill.

A Vicious Competitor This prison labor is in competi-

The same causes are working to reduce the mortality from consumption. Pure air, bodily cleanliness and blood-purifying exercise is on the track of the white plague in the same way, only that modern industrial conditions is the stumbling block in its way. The fact that measles and whooping cough cause more deaths than scarlet fever is another return which will surprise a good many, although diphtheria is a worse danger than the first two combined.

The world is God's bequest to mankind. All men are joint heirs to it; you among the number.—Herbert Spencer.

Prof. J. Laurence Laughlin, in Scribner's Magazine, says that the Social-Democrats of the country are made up of people who have failed under the present capitalistic competitive system, and want to bring society down to their inferior standards of ability. This may be called intentional slander from a respectable source.

The absurdity of the claim is made manifest when one turns to the statistics of wealth possession in this country—as well as in other countries. A society in which less than one per cent of the people has gobbled up over seventy per cent of the wealth, must be clearly peopled with ninety-nine per cent of failures. Prof. Laughlin and other mouthpieces of big capitalism better not lull up the question of failure too loudly, for if all the "failures" really wake up between now and next national election, the next president of these United States would assuredly be an out-and-out Social-Democrat!

Comment on Passing Events.

By Frederic Heath

They hanged Capt. Kidd. H. H. Rogers managed better. He died in peace, and had many tributes paid to his memory.

The Wisconsin Supreme court has just held that the state inheritance tax is constitutional. Let us hope none of the justices shirazize.

Report has it that Pres. Taft is of Norman origin, and that his family name was originally Taffe. Probably the report is true, so far as the taffy is concerned.

The national committee is now voting upon the election of an additional secretary to the International Socialist Bureau. The candidates are Comrades Berger, Floaten and Spargo. The vote will close June 14.

Demonstrations are again being held for the right of suffrage in Hungary under the auspices of the Social-Democratic and trade union organizations. The people demand that the promise of Emperor Joseph that the right of suffrage would be granted be made good.

Holland Socialists just held their convention at Amsterdam. The Socialists have six members in parliament, 20 in the provincial government and 103 in the municipalities. The party press comprises one daily, eighteen weeklies, and one monthly.

The Supreme court of Manitoba recently fined the plumbers, machinists, boiler-makers and blacksmiths a total of \$75,000 for picketing. The place for labor to appeal from such a decision is at the ballot box. There is no question but that the supreme courts have to follow the election returns, even in a laggardly way.

The Socialist advance fears neither heat nor cold! Local Nome, Alaska, reporting for the first quarter, shows steady progress and a total membership of sixty-two. On the first of April individual members of that local launched a weekly publication, entitled, The Arctic Appeal. A permanent headquarters is maintained by the local at the office of publication.

We notice that down in Georgia a railroad strike is delaying the mails. Automobiles have been used for the mail delivery. Of course, the government will not compel the railroad to concede enough of the strike demands to at least run mail cars over its lines, in order that it may keep to its contract with Uncle Sam. Of course not. The government's sympathies are always with the railway magnates. This was seen in the great Chicago strike, when the men agreed to move the mail trains, provided no Pullmans were attached and the government would not require the roads to live up to their obligations under this reasonable offer of the strikers. The government is only on the side of the men when it is vote-gathering time. At all other times it is not even neutral.

You can read the results of the capitalist system on the faces of the people. Hollow cheeks, pale complexion, gaunt eyes, premature wrinkles. You can read its effect on heredity in the differences in stature, the lack of physical beauty—for beauty is only symmetry. It is different with the animals. One is almost the counterpart of the rest, and they are always symmetrical and therefore beautiful. The birds of the air are all equally plump. They work constantly in getting their food, yet in a healthy way. Druggery and over-weariness are unknown to them. The

wild horse is the perfection of health. The grocer's horse is a certificate that the capitalistic doctrine of work—for others—is an offense against nature. Our cemeteries are full of the graves of overworked men and women, and of their unhealthy descendants.

I hold that the earth was meant for the human race, and not for a few privileged ones.—Max O'Rell.

The famous lecturer, the late Rev. Dr. Thomas of Chicago, declared himself a Social-Democrat. Now another Rev. Dr. Thomas, resident of South Dakota, has stepped over the line. He says:

"The trend of the whole world is towards Socialism. The eagle has grown and no power on earth can stay its flight. The Socialistic voters in all countries are estimated at ten millions. Sociology is the latest and noblest of the sciences. If the beneficent principles of sociology will be realized in our industrial and political schemes, poverty, which is a disease of society, will be abolished like slavery before it. If poverty will not be abolished in the future, Christianity will be a failure, because its leaders decline to direct its energies to man as a denizen of this world. Christ is said to have come to destroy the works of the devil, and as poverty is one feature of the devil's work, it will be destroyed by a more vital piety and a wiser and more beneficent statesmanship than the present."

Man realizes himself only when he identifies his life with the common life.—Edwin Markham.

Downright insulting to the working people of this country are the pictorial advertisements of the International Correspondence School, of Scranton, Pa.

This concern is fond of making it appear that ignorance is back of the workingman who has not risen to a sub-boss' position, or to a place in the professions. That the man who works in mill or in other employment in the rank and file is a failure. If that is true, then this country owes its greatness to "failures," for without such manufacturing would stop and industry be at a standstill.

And what are the facts as to employment? The professions are crowded. The positions of authority are limited, and capable men are becoming too numerous for the supply. Bookkeeping, which this correspondence school puts great stress on, offers no especial chance of advancement, and more often than not forms a rut into which it is easier to fall than to again crawl out.

The pictures in the advertisements seek especially to bring contempt upon mechanical labor, to make men engaged therein appear to the public as the unsuccessful among men, who deserve to stay at the bottom.

The school is simply voicing and picturing in an offensive way the contempt capitalism feels for the workers.

There are no millionaires—no professional, legalized, life-long kleptomaniacs among the birds and quadrupeds.—J. Howard Moore.

"By working people we do not understand merely the hand workers, but every one who does not live on the labor of another. Besides the city and country laborers must be included also the small farmers and traders who groan under the burden of capital."—Wm. Liebknecht.

"Socialism Made Plain" is a fine book to place in your neighbor's hands. It is convincing and it is spicy at the same time.

That Ridiculous Petition

Leader-Clarion, Superior, Wis.—Some members of a secret society in Pennsylvania, known as the "Order of Independent Americans," have worked themselves into a fine frenzy over the menace of Socialism, and have petitioned the government to take measures toward the suppression of the movement in this country. The petitioners also demand that, if the allegations against certain Socialists are true, they be declared guilty of "treason, insurrection or unlawful interference with good government."

Ye gods and little fishes. It is a striking commentary on the decadence of the old time American spirit of freedom and the gradual drift of government toward centralization and imperialism that such a petition should be offered in good faith by any considerable body of citizens. This country has far more to fear from centralization than it has from Socialism. One

Rockefeller, one Carnegie, or one Pierpont Morgan is doing more for Socialism than all the Socialist agitators and orators in the country. The average Socialist, though his theories of government may be visionary, is generally a decent, peaceful fellow, far less blood-thirsty than the "Independent Americans" who would have him hanged or shot as a traitor.

The growth of Socialism in this country will not be checked by appeals to the government to wipe it out by force of arms. Socialism is growing in this country because the government has ceased to be "of the people, by the people, and for the people." For forty years it has been more and more becoming the government of, for and by the ultra rich. And for a dozen years it has barely pretended to be anything except a government for the special interests which furnish campaign money for the Republican party.

Can Already Sell at an Advance

The building to be done preliminary to the actual building of the new home for the labor cause in Milwaukee, the new HERALD block, progresses in a most satisfactory way. There's another gain this week. The total subscriptions for stock up to the present writing is \$9,400. This is a gain, over last week's report, of \$325. Beside the

proposition. So you will see that matters are moving in a gratifying way. But this is not all. The price at which we secured the lot (50x150 ft.) upon which we expect to build, was \$12,500. Chestnut street, upon which it fronts, is a busy business street, one of the main car line thoroughfares in the city, and one of the arteries along which labor, manual and clerical, goes to and returns from work each day. Sixth street, which also passes the lot, is a semi-business street, has also a car line, and is coming to be lined with combined stores and light factory buildings. The location of our lot is within a business district that is rising steadily in value, owing to the growth of downtown business. We have already told you of this, but here is added proof that this increase in value still goes on: We have been offered more for our property than we got it for only a few weeks ago. We this week received an offer of \$13,000 for the site!

All the probabilities to a continued increase of the value of the property. And we mean that this valuable location shall be held for the uses of the great movement of which we are a part. Social-Democracy in Milwaukee has never disappointed yet. Its every move

Stockholders' Meeting To the subscribers of stock of the People's Realty Company: You are hereby notified that the first meeting of the subscribers to the stock of the People's Realty Company of the city and county of Milwaukee, state of Wisconsin, has been called to be held at the office, 344 Sixth street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on Monday, May 31, 1909, at 8:00 p. m., to adopt by-laws, to elect a board of directors, and to transact such other business as may properly come before said meeting. Dated, Milwaukee May 15, 1909. E. H. THOMAS, VICTOR L. BERGER, H. W. BISTORIUS, Incorporators.

Promotion Committee Meeting

To the Delegates of the Promotion Committee, People's Realty Co.: You are hereby notified that the first meeting of the promotion committee of the People's Realty Company will be held at the office, 344 Sixth street, Monday, June 7, 1909, at 8 p. m. Don't fail to be present, as many important matters are to come up. H. W. Bistorius.

amount already put to paper there is \$1,900 in subscriptions to stock promised.

We are pleased to inform our friends throughout the country that the labor bodies in Milwaukee are taking great interest in the project, and that an increasing number are appointing committees to look into

The Contract System is Evil

Means Gouge, Cheat, Skimp and Roodle

An Iniquitous System that Socialists, Altruists, Philanthropists and Humanitarians Wish to See Abolished

By William Henry Ferber
[Written for the HERALD.]

WHEN we Social-Democrats advocate the abolition of the private contract system, and especially of doing public work, a great many well-meaning but thoughtless persons take issue with us, and ally themselves with the public bone crushers and labor skinners who run the capitalistic labor-killing machine.

When a public service corporation contemplates building any construction work, the engineers ascertain to a nicety just exactly what it will cost to do the work. Suppose the labor cost of construction is estimated at \$100,000. The service corporation then advertises for bids, and contractors try to secure this work, and figure that by a skin game known to big contractors, they can make big money by taking the work for \$95,000.

But this contractor does not do the work. He simply takes the contract for constructing the job, and gives a bond for the performance. Then the big contractor again advertises and sublets parts, parcels, or portions of this job, and secures perhaps seventeen bids at \$5,000 each, and aggregating \$85,000.

He has made \$10,000, and has done nothing except figure and advertise, and the work is not even started. The seventeen sub-contractors, who have secured a portion of this work for which they are to receive \$5,000 when completed, must now secure a gang of men to do the work, and by all hazards it must be constructed and finished at \$4,000. Each individual contractor wants to make at least \$1,000. Should the job cost him \$5,000 he makes nothing, and even loses his time. Should it cost him \$6,000, why then he is a thousand dollars "to the bad"; and this often occurs, with even the sharpest labor skinners, on account of unforeseen events.

But remember, dear reader, that there are seventeen sub-contractors, and though one goes broke, the other sixteen may win.

The sixteen labor skinners now hire a straw-boss or nigger driver

to boss the job, and see to it that no man shifts at his post; and if he can damn the "poor devils" as he calls them, or call God to his help to assist in damning the souls of these poor devils, he may get a big day's work for the meager pay out of them.

Today I went out to see a piece of work, near Oroville, Cal., where the Western Pacific is doing some track elevation. This work is being done by Hindoos—rag heads, as these turbaned fellows are called here.

The straw-boss was constantly calling upon his God to damn the souls of the workingmen at work. The day was hot, there was but little breeze, and the drinking water was warm and muddy. The poor devils, as he called these men, were fagged out. They looked starved, tired and miserable. Hindoos eat but very little meat. Bread and rice and vegetables and fruit is their principal diet. Many are so poor and thin that they have but little strength; and the food furnished at the camp is not of the sort to build up a starved wretch very rapidly in a hot climate.

The straw-boss damned all of them, discharged three of them, and hired two others to begin work in the morning. And so the work goes on.

The workers are cursed and damned, fired and rehired, and so the scramble goes on until the job is finished, the poor devils paid off, the profits and losses accounted for, and the bondsmen released.

No one cares for the poor devils, as they are called by our more fortunate capitalist friends. Nobody cares whether these wretches live or die, sink or swim, eat or starve, survive or perish. Why should Mr. George Gould care what becomes of the rag-heads, or the Japs, or the "Chinks" who do the work on the road-bed of the Western Pacific railroad which he hopes to hold—yes, and keep out of big Eddie Harriman's clutches?

Gould will pay the Ferber Construction company when all the requirements of the contract are fulfilled, providing he can't get around them. And what need the Ferber Construction company care how many men are killed, or starved, or kicked, or cursed, and damned by the straw-boss? All that the Ferber Construction company cares for is the \$10,000 which it hopes to make out of the several sub-contractors. The construction company wants each of the several sub-contractors to "get there" and perform his part of the contract faithfully and within the specified time.

The Ferber Construction company does not bond its sub-contractors to be humane to labor. Say, Mr. Workingman, did you notice that the government in the Canal zone is taking precautionary sanitary measures, pays attention to diet, requires the laborers to pay for good board and decent food, and a lot of other details which redound to the benefit of the men who do the actual work?

I do not wish to be understood to

say that the laborer in the Panama Canal zone is placed in a hammock, scented with perfume and lined with roses; but it is really the first attempt of the government to try its hand at construction work and to do its own work, without first resorting to the contract system of construction.

Away with the contract system! It is iniquitous, and should be abolished.

The time is approaching when cities and states must devise ways and means to employ the unemployed.

It used to be fashionable for states to engage in war to kill off a portion of the surplus population. In a short time other means of employment will be devised, and we will wonder why we had not thought of it before.

Nansen a Socialist

Nansen, the famous Arctic explorer, is a Socialist and carried his Socialism toward the North Pole. On May Day Nansen planted the red flag of brotherhood on the ice and delivered an address on industrial freedom, the first to expound the gospel of the New Time in the Far North. A writer in the *Labor World*, of Oakland, Cal., thus describes the impressive scene:

"A ship in the frozen sea of the Arctic region! Thousands of miles away from their homes, the explorers were caught in the ice and delivered to the mercy of the ocean current, which drove them towards the North Pole, the great unknown."

"One day they planted a big pole on the ice and hoisted an immense red flag. In the super-zero weather they formed a circle around one tall, intelligent-looking man, their leader, and he spoke to them about the great future that is promised to all mankind; about the comrades in Norway, and their struggle for national and industrial freedom. They did not work that day, not more than feeding their dogs an extra holiday bite and sweeping the deck."

"All day long the red flag floated on the feeble wind, blowing through the icy regions, pointing south to all the comrades in all the world. This is the way Comrade Fridtjof Nansen, the great Arctic explorer, celebrated May Day and kept the international holiday even in the Farthest North.—Ex.

Mexicans are Sentenced.

The members of the Mexican Liberal party, Ricardo Flores Magon, Antonio I. Villarreal, Librado Rivera et al., who were first arrested in Los Angeles, August 23, 1907, at the instance of the Mexican government, having been tried a number of times on varying charges in California, were finally convicted on May 15 in Tombstone, Ariz., upon the charge of violating the United States neutrality laws and sentenced to a prison term of eighteen months. The jury recommended clemency. The attorneys for the defense have moved for a new trial.

The Farmer

It is high time for all lovers of country and its free institutions to awake to the fact that there are an increasing number, who, if not crying out, are whispering, "Give us a king to judge us." Sam. 8-6. Nor is it alone the "malefactors of great wealth," and their parasites who are whispering this treason, but the timid and cowardly of all classes echo the cry. The captains of industry still profess to be "their brothers' keepers." I am somewhat of a doubting Thomas and propose to look under the surface to see if their practices tally with their professions. If they do, then the social conditions of the producing classes must be far in advance of their predecessors, for they pro-

"HENRY ASHTON"

By Robert Addison Dague
Attorney-at-Law and ex-Senator

The Denver Alliance says: "The author of 'Henry Ashton' is a prominent attorney and ex-Senator, and is widely acquainted with life in its different phases. He has succeeded in writing a thrilling story, with the usual love affair to hold the attention of the reader, but he has left out the usual gush, and in its stead has interwoven Socialism in a very attractive manner. A stronger argument for it is seldom read."

Ex-Judge Thos. B. Stuart of Denver says: "Henry Ashton" places before the reader all that may be said pro and con on the great question of Socialism. The perfect fairness with which the subject is treated must be appreciated by all sincere readers. Every argument that can be offered against Socialism is treated fairly and in its full strength, and they met and more than answered. I sincerely hope that every reader in this country may read 'Henry Ashton'."

Mary Elizabeth Lease writes: "Henry Ashton" is the clearest and most fascinating presentation of a difficult and complicated subject that I have ever read. I have read many flattering comments upon the book, and trust you will pardon me for joining in the unstinted praise you so assiduously deserve."

The *Terre Haute Toller* says: "The greatest need of the hour is a Socialist novel, artistic, realistic, profoundly absorbing and accurate in presenting the science of the order of society. No attempt to write such a book has been more successful than the story of 'Henry Ashton.' All Socialists will be benefited by reading this book."

Cloth binding, good paper, clear print, 235 pages, nice 50 cents. Paper cover, price 25 cents.
SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD
344 Sixth St., Milwaukee, Wis.

Unemployment—The Problem and Remedy

Written for the HERALD by Senator Winfield R. Gaylord

Modern life has no more tragical figure than the gaunt, hungry laborer wandering about the crowded centers of industry and wealth, begging in vain for permission to share in that industry, and to contribute to that wealth; asking in return, not the comforts and luxuries of civilized life, but the rough food and shelter for himself and family which would be practically secured in the rudest forms of savage society.—J. A. HOBSON.

I. UNEMPLOYMENT DEFINED.

Negative? The problem of unemployment does not arise from the fact that there are people who have leisure, though Prof. Veblen deals with it.

It does not have to do with the fact that there are the merely idle, or lazy people. Nor is it concerned with the fact that people take vacations from work. It does not have to do with those who WILL NOT work, nor with so-called "hoboes," though "hoboes" are probably the product of the unemployed status.

Positive: The problem is this: Given the wealthiest country on earth, with an abundance of natural resources unexploited; given the most perfect mechanical equipment known to the world's history; and given the most efficient industrial army that the civilized world has ever known: What is to be done with the fact that millions of able-bodied men and women who are willing to work, and who need to work in order to get their living, are refused the opportunity to use their abilities in order to get the necessities of life?

Or, more briefly: How to guarantee work to able and willing workers?

That there is such a problem, is sufficiently proven by the fact that civilized nations have appointed commissions to investigate it and to make recommendations; that international conferences of economists declare it to be an inherent necessity of the present economic system; and that laws are being passed in various countries to solve the problem.

It has even been a subject for discussion in the Cabinet of the United States government, and the Secretary of Commerce and Labor seriously proposed to attack it as a problem.

It is a complicated, many-sided, growing and stubborn problem. On its solution hangs the destiny of this present civilization.

II. UNEMPLOYMENT ANALYZED.

There are two principal kinds of unemployment. These are (1) Acute and Temporary Unemployment, and (2) Chronic and Permanent Unemployment.

These can be best shown, as to Kinds, Causes, and Estimated Percentage of the Total, in tabular form, as follows:

Kind	Due to	Per Cent of Total (Estimated)
SEASONAL	Changes in climate Changes in fashion	2.25
INDUSTRIAL DISPLACEMENT	Changes in tools and processes Removed shops Combined plants Repairs to plants Business failures Strikes Shortage of material Legislation, tariff, etc.	19.59
TEMPORARY DISABILITY	Sickness Accidents	22.54 1.66
PANIC	Exploitation	5.01
CHRONIC AND PERMANENT UNEMPLOYMENT	Economic anarchy and exploitation	33.29
PERSONAL INEFFICIENCY	Laziness Drunkenness Lack of training (Due also to exploitation)	.22 .26
CHRONIC DISABILITY	Sickness Accidents	(Per cent of total included in temporary.)
OLD AGE	40 to 75 years	.08

As to the SEASONAL UNEMPLOYMENT, it is easily understood that all-out-door employment, such as that in brickyards, can be had only during the warm weather season. All building work is affected by climatic conditions. The following table of Unemployment in Wisconsin for the year 1906, will give some idea of the extent of this seasonal unemployment:

UNEMPLOYMENT IN WISCONSIN FOR THE YEAR 1906.

Showing highest rates of unemployment in winter months, by industries. Taken from the report of the Wisconsin Bureau of Labor.

Industry	Total No. employed	Highest rate	Month
Artisans' tools	233	18.03	Jan. Feb.
Awnings and tents	261	17.20	45
Bakeries	837	12.16	102
Blank books and stationery	664	20.28	194
Boxes—packing	1,664	32.20	586
Boxes—paper and cigar	777	17.95	132
Brass and copper	2,095	12.84	268
Brick and tile	957	89.49	
Chairs	3,459	5.27	
Cheese	189	53.12	
Clothing—men's	2,555	7.17	
Clothing—women's	468	21.60	
Concrete	108	86.48	
Confectionery	1,712	27.80	
Cooperage	711	26.16	
Cotton and linen	954	9.80	
Creameries	109	13.06	
Dyeing and cleaning	244	31.14	
Electric and gas supplies	1,325	17.08	
Food preparations	4,235	81.74	
Furs, gloves, mittens	973	22.58	
Lime and cement	617	47.70	
Lumber	13,012	21.67	
Malt liquors	5,886	24.60	
Office and store fixtures	1,616	12.41	
Sash, doors, etc.	5,161	14.27	
Stoves and heating	333	52.50	
Stone—quarried	790	66.98	
Stone—cut and monumental	472	14.99	
Trunks and valises	3,461	11.54	
Wagons	2,337	6.55	
Woolen mills	874	5.72	
Above 32 industries—total employed, 56,180.			
Total employed in manufacture in state, 128,487.			

The above table does not happen to include such seasonal trades as millinery, which has two principal seasons.

The average rate of Unemployment for ALL Manufacturing Industries in Wisconsin for 1906 is shown to be as follows:

Month	Average Unemployment Per cent of total employed.
January	7.66
February	5.52
March	3.86
April	3.63
May	3.33
June	2.12
July	1.44
August	1.28
September	1.60
October	1.68
November	1.28
December	2.34

Thus the average per cent of wage earners unemployed in January, 1906, was 7.66. This means 9,842 earners.

duce more now under modern methods of production, and, if they are getting "a square deal," their share of the fruits of their labor will be greater. That this is not the case a comparison of past with present conditions will prove.

Let us compare the conditions of the New England farmers before the Civil war with the general condition of American farmers of the present day. The soil and climate of New England is as adverse to successful farming as almost any other part of the United States, and certainly more unfavorable than in any of the north-western states. Another thing against it is, the land is so rough and stony that it is difficult or impossible, on most of the farms, to work them with machinery. Besides, at the time mentioned most of the labor-saving machines of the present day had not been invented. If, then, it is

proved that the New England farmers of that time, handicapped as they were by severe climate, poor soil and crude implements could obtain from their labor more of the good things of this life than the farmers of the present day can, with all their advantages for rapid production, we have a clear case that they are not getting a "square deal," that they are handicapped more by unrighteous decrees, and the Cains who benefit by them, than the New England farmers were byiggardly natural conditions.—Seth Bottomley, in *Form, Stock and Home*.

In the great day of God that is coming we shall not use men to make money, but shall use money to make men.—Edwin Markham.

The average of unemployment for the year 1906 was 2.65 per cent, or 3,404 persons.

The average of unemployment for the year of 1907 was 5.41 per cent, or a total of 6,758 persons—almost double that of 1906.

These figures are the figures given by the manufacturers of the state, and show by months the number actually employed. The largest number shows those required for the "rush season." The irreducible minimum of the average number of unemployed in Wisconsin, who are such by reason of the nature of the industries, is therefore—in the "prosperity year" of 1906—2.65 per cent of the total number, or 3,404 persons. IF ALL EMPLOYEES WERE EQUALLY EFFICIENT, THESE COULD NOT BE EMPLOYED.

The blank (***) in the month of August does not mean that all industries are fully employed. It means that the largest total number are employed in all industries in that month. And it must be remembered that all figures in the above table are averages, and if they held for exact value, would mean that of those laid off in all industries, every one found another job except the number represented by the average unemployed for that month. Any working man knows this is not so. And here comes in the Industrial Reserve Army, of which we shall say more directly.

Industrial Displacement is a matter which explains itself by a glance at the first table. Boys serve their time as apprentices, only to find their trade destroyed by a new machine, or else so altered that the trade is revolutionized. This is the Industrial Revolution, taking the control of industrial processes and tools out of the hands of the hand workers, and putting it into the hands of the factory owner.

The poorest workman is as little to blame as the best one for the removal of shops, combination of plants, shutting down for repairs, business failures, shortage of raw material, hurtful legislation, and the like. These are a part of the present anarchic organization of industry. They tend to disappear in ordinary times, in those industries where machinery is used on a big scale, and where the trust and monopoly are getting in their work.

As for strikes, the percentage of men unemployed at any one time on account of strikes is very small indeed. To begin with, only two million of the wage workers are organized at all. Of those discovered to be idle during an investigation made by the United States Labor Bureau, in 1886, only 2.07 per cent were found to be idle on account of strikes.

Industrial Displacement has nothing to do with the degree of efficiency, the laziness or the habits of the workers. It results purely and simply from the changes in the conditions of employment over which the workman has no control, and which he cannot, as a rule, possibly foresee.

Temporary Disability is caused mainly by sickness and accident. To some extent these may be due to careless habits of life or labor on the part of the worker. But increasingly they are being recognized as mainly due to social and industrial conditions. More and more it is acknowledged that sickness and accident can be largely reduced by proper foresight concerning housing, food supply, and factory legislation. And they are known to be a certain definite statistical value or quantity under given conditions, definite enough to form the basis for insurance calculations and insurance business.

Panics certainly cannot be laid to the working class, although the greatest hardships fall upon the working class on account of panics. We shall have more to say about the panic farther on, and for the present will simply say that panics are due to exploitation of the workers by the capitalist class.

Under Chronic and Permanent Unemployment we come most naturally to Chronic Disability. This has two main causes, sickness and accident. Figures are difficult to get. But the Federal Labor Bureau found a total of idleness due to sickness (temporary and chronic) amounting to 22.54 per cent of the total number idle, and 1.66 per cent of the total number were idle on account of accidents (temporary or permanent in effect).

Personal Inefficiency is complained of more than anything else by employers. Correspondence schools play hard upon this string in their advertisements. But curiously enough, we find that of 420 women who graduated from a trade school, 25 per cent gave up the trade they had learned, and the use of their extra and acquired skill, because they could get a steadier job at a less skilled employment—even if the wages per week did not equal that earned at the skilled trade.

If laziness and drunkenness are charged with the bulk of unemployment by employers, it must be by those who do not know what they are talking about. The investigators found only .22 per cent of the total number to be by any interpretation merely idle, and only .26 per cent to be known as idle on account of drunkenness! Nobody denies that the workers drink and that there are drunkards among them. But to charge their unemployment to drunkenness is not only to insult them, but to speak contrary to the known facts.

Old Age, of course, will finally disqualify men and women from work under any conditions. But the shame and the outrage of it now is, that men are called "old" as soon as they begin to turn grey, or to wear glasses. Skill and judgment are not wanted: the machine takes care of these automatically. What is wanted is SPEED and STEAM. And only the young can keep up the gait required by modern machinery.

(Continued next week.)

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Feeding School Pupils Abroad

The Government Gets Statistics from Europe

A Growing Sense of Public Responsibility is Seen Everywhere. Is a Necessary Function of the State

Washington, D. C.—A somewhat interesting bulletin has just been issued by the United States Bureau of Education. The author is Caroline L. Hunt. While entirely too much space is given to a sentimental and psychological treatment of the feeding of school children, there are some things of value in the work. Robert Hunter and John Spargo are freely quoted in their books, "Poverty" and "The Bitter Cry of the Children," as authority on the question of poverty and ill-nourished school children. An interesting review of the extent to which public feeding of school children in the foreign countries has progressed is given, and we quote from it as follows:

Germany.
Meals are served to school children in most of the large cities of Germany. The money is raised chiefly by private charitable enterprise, but this is supplemented by municipal funds. The work in Germany may be considered as relief, except in the schools for the feeble-minded children in Leipzig, where a mid-day meal is provided for all children in attendance. Milk and rolls are given in other schools in Leipzig to children who are especially fragile and delicate. These are selected by medical officers.

Austria.
In Austrian cities (Vienna, Trieste, Prague) poor children are

fed partly by private charitable associations and partly by the use of municipal funds. The municipality furnishes rooms usually in the school buildings.

Belgium.
In Liege the municipality has furnished soup free for many years to all children in the kindergartens. The benefits of this practice have recently been extended to the children of the first year's course, and to needy children in the second and third year's courses.

In Antwerp food is served to all who wish to buy. There is a charge of 5 centimes a day in the kindergarten and 10 centimes in the elementary.

Denmark.
In Copenhagen meals are provided free for all children who wish them. No questions are raised as to the economic conditions of the parents. One-third of the children in the free schools were reported, in 1905, as taking advantage of this opportunity. The work is administered by an association directly connected with the municipality, and recovering from it a yearly grant to supplement the private contributions.

Holland.
Utrecht has since 1904 provided free dinners during the winter months for children designated by the head of the school and approved by the proper officials. In other cities of Holland the relief is entirely in the hands of charitable organizations, in most cases without aid from municipal funds.

Norway and Sweden.
Free meals are provided necessary children by the local authorities. In Stockholm, kitchens are constructed in connection with the school buildings in all parishes. In Christiania provision is made for the purchase of tickets by parents who are able to pay about 2½ cents per

meal, and in some parishes of Stockholm those who are able to pay are charged about 1 cent for a meal, consisting of a rule of two dishes. In some parishes the poorest are served a breakfast of milk and bread. In the elementary schools of Stockholm the food is prepared by the pupils in the cooking sections of the schools.

Spain.
In Madrid an association has recently been organized for maintaining "school canteens." This is under supervision of the public authorities and receives assistance from the ministry of education, the provincial administration, and the municipality. It supplies food to those qualified for relief, while children who can afford it pay 2½ to 3½ cents per week toward the canteen expenses.

Barcelona supplies, through religious charitable associations, breakfast and lunch to children who furnish certificates of poverty.

Switzerland.
In Zurich the provision of meals is in the hands of the school authority of each district, assisted in some districts by charitable organizations. Meals are given to all underfed children. Well-to-do parents pay 3 cents a meal.

Italy.
In Italy the care of unfed children is, as a rule, in the hands of private institutions receiving assistance from state, provincial, and municipal funds. An exception is Milan, where a central organization connected directly with and administered by the municipality, provides a breakfast for school children, and at a small cost to those who can afford to pay. These breakfasts are served to the five elementary classes only.

Another exception is Vercelli, where all school children are fed at the municipal expense. Here the rations are carefully planned, one of the first two classes, for example, receiving 120 grams of bread with 20 grams of cheese or meat.

"The civilized stage turns every vice, which barbarism practices in a simple way, into a complex, ambiguous, equivocal and hypocritical form. It moves in a vicious circle, in the contradictions which it eternally reproduces without being able to remove them, so that it ever accomplishes the very reverse of that which it really does or pretends to aim at; for instance, that in civilization poverty is born of plenty.—Fourier.

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Human life depends upon food, clothing and shelter. Only when these are assured are freedom, culture and higher human development possible. To produce food, clothing and shelter, land and machinery are needed. Land by itself does not satisfy human needs. Human labor gets raw materials and food out of the soil by creating machinery and using it upon the land. Whoever has control of land and machinery has control of human labor, and with it of human life and liberty.

Today the machinery and the land used for industrial purposes are owned by a rapidly decreasing minority. So long as machinery is simple and easily handled by one man, it does not make its owners so powerful that they can dominate the sources of life of others. But when machinery becomes more and more complex and expensive, and requires for its effective operation the organized effort of many workers, its influence reaches over wider and wider circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

The masses in subjection. In proportion as the number of such machine owners compared to all other classes decreases, their power in the nation and in the world increases. They bring ever larger masses of working people under their control, reducing them to the point where muscle and brain are their only productive property. Millions of formerly self-employed workers thus become the helpless wage slaves of the industrial masters.

The ruling economic power of the ruling class grows, the less useful does it become in the life of the nation. The overwhelming bulk of the useful work of the nation falls upon the shoulders of the classes that either have no other productive property but their manual and mental labor power—the wage workers—or that have but little land and little effective machinery outside of their labor power—the small traders and small farmers. The ruling minority is steadily becoming useless and parasitic.

A bitter struggle over the division of the products of labor is waged between the exploiting property classes on the one hand and the exploited, propertyless class on the other. In this struggle the wage working class cannot expect adequate relief from any reform of the present order or from the dominant class of society.

The wage workers are therefore the most determined and irreconcilable antagonists of the ruling class. They are also the class which

The Common Good

An "Americanized" Adaptation of Robert Blatchford's Famous "Merrie England"

A great book was "Merrie England." Half a million were sold in Great Britain, many thousands in this country. Its usefulness as a Socialist primer in this country was impaired by its references to English matters and its English phrases, tending to distract the attention of American readers. In order that its wonderful agitation value may be restored for this country, we have prepared the following "Americanized" version.—H.

And now we come to the last item in your life, your recreation. Here, Mr. Smith, you are very badly served. You have hardly anything to amuse you. Music, art, athletics, science, the drama, and nature are almost denied you. A theater or two where you have choice between vulgar burlesque and morbid melodrama, a sprinkling of wretched music halls, baseball, and sometimes—for the better paid workers—a palm garden, make up the sum of your pleasures. Well—yes, there are plenty of public-houses, and you can gamble. The betting lists and racing news have a corner in all the respectable papers.

One of the most palpable and painful deficiencies, John, in all your towns, is the deficiency of common land, of open spaces. This is because land is so dear. Why is land dear? I will tell you by-and-by.

The chief causes of the evils I have pointed out to you, John, are competition, monopoly, and bad management. This means expensive waste.

Go into any street and you will see two or three wagons delivering milk. A wagon, a pony, and a man to carry milk to a few houses; while one postman serves a whole district; as one milkman and one horse could, were it not for competition.

Again, in each house there is a woman cooking a dinner for one family, or washing clothes for one family. And the woman is overworked, and the cooking is badly done, and the house is made horrible by steam and the odors of burnt flesh and fat. We have two grocers' shops next door to each other, each with a staff of servants, each with its own costly fixtures, each jealous of and hating the other. Yet one big store would do as well, and would save half the cost and labor. Fancy a privately owned postoffice in every street. How much would it cost to send a letter?

So now let me tell you roughly what I suggest as an improvement on things as they now are.

I would set more men to work to grow food and fruit. I would construct great fish-breeding lakes and harbors.

I would restrict our mines, furnaces, chemical works, and factories to the number actually needed for the supply of our own people. I would stop the smoke nuisance by developing water power and electricity.

In order to achieve these ends I would make all the works, mills, mines, factories, land, shops, ships, and railways the property of the people. I would have this done as fast as the concentration of industry makes it practicable.

I would have the towns rebuilt with wide streets, with detached houses, with gardens and fountains and avenues of trees. I would make the railways, the telephone and the telegraph, and the transit of the people's goods as free as the roads and bridges.

I would make the houses loftier and larger, and clear them of all useless furniture, I would institute public kitchens for those who wished to use them, public baths, public wash-houses on the best plans, and so set free the hands of those slaves—our women.

I would have public parks, public theaters, gymnasiums, foot-ball and baseball fields, public halls and public gardens for recreation and music and refreshment. I would have all our children fed and clothed and educated at the cost of the state. I would have them all taught to play and to sing. I would have them all trained to athletics and to arms. I would have public halls of science. I would have the people become their own artists, actors, musicians, soldiers, and police. Then, by degrees, I would make all these things free.

Now, Mr. John Smith, practical and hard-headed man, look upon the two pictures. You may think that mine represents a state of

The Principles We Advocate

Human life depends upon food, clothing and shelter. Only when these are assured are freedom, culture and higher human development possible. To produce food, clothing and shelter, land and machinery are needed. Land by itself does not satisfy human needs. Human labor gets raw materials and food out of the soil by creating machinery and using it upon the land. Whoever has control of land and machinery has control of human labor, and with it of human life and liberty.

Today the machinery and the land used for industrial purposes are owned by a rapidly decreasing minority. So long as machinery is simple and easily handled by one man, it does not make its owners so powerful that they can dominate the sources of life of others. But when machinery becomes more and more complex and expensive, and requires for its effective operation the organized effort of many workers, its influence reaches over wider and wider circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

The masses in subjection. In proportion as the number of such machine owners compared to all other classes decreases, their power in the nation and in the world increases. They bring ever larger masses of working people under their control, reducing them to the point where muscle and brain are their only productive property. Millions of formerly self-employed workers thus become the helpless wage slaves of the industrial masters.

The ruling economic power of the ruling class grows, the less useful does it become in the life of the nation. The overwhelming bulk of the useful work of the nation falls upon the shoulders of the classes that either have no other productive property but their manual and mental labor power—the wage workers—or that have but little land and little effective machinery outside of their labor power—the small traders and small farmers. The ruling minority is steadily becoming useless and parasitic.

A bitter struggle over the division of the products of labor is waged between the exploiting property classes on the one hand and the exploited, propertyless class on the other. In this struggle the wage working class cannot expect adequate relief from any reform of the present order or from the dominant class of society.

The wage workers are therefore the most determined and irreconcilable antagonists of the ruling class. They are also the class which

suffers most from the curse of class rule. The fact that a small number of capitalists is permitted to use all the country's resources and social tools for their individual profit, and to make the production of the necessities of our lives the object of their competitive private enterprises and speculations, is at the bottom of all the social evils of our time.

Modern Industry Planless.
In spite of the organization of trusts, pools and combinations, the capitalists are powerless to regulate production for social ends. Industries are largely conducted in a planless manner. Through periods of feverish activity the strength and health of the workers are mercilessly undermined, and during periods of enforced idleness the workers are frequently reduced to starvation.

The climax of this chaotic system of production are the regularly recurring industrial depressions and crises which paralyze the nation every fifteen or twenty years.

In its mad and reckless race for profits the capitalist class is bound to exploit the workers to the very limit of their endurance and to sacrifice their physical, moral and mental welfare to its own insatiable greed. Capitalism keeps the masses of workmen in poverty, destitution, physical exhaustion and ignorance. It drags their wives from their homes to the mill and factory. It snatches their children from the playgrounds and schools and grinds their slender bodies and unformed minds into cold dollars. It wantonly disfigures, maims and kills hundreds of thousands of workmen annually in mines, on railroads and in factories. It drives millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed and forces large numbers of them into beggary, vagrancy and all forms of crime and vice.

Public Intelligence Corrupted.
To maintain their rule over their fellow men, the capitalists must keep in their pay all organs of the public powers, public mind and public conscience. They control the dominating parties and, through them, the elected public officials. They select our executives, bribe our legislatures and corrupt our courts of justice. They own and censor the press. They sway our educational institutions. They own the nation politically and intellectually just as they own it industrially.

The struggle between wage workers and capitalists grows ever fiercer, and has become the only vital issue before the American people. The wage-working class, therefore, has the most vital and

direct interest in abolishing the capitalist system. But in abolishing the present system, the workingmen will free not only their own class, but also all other classes of modern society: The small farmer, who is today exploited by large capital more indirectly but not less effectively than is the wage laborer; the small manufacturer and trader, who is engaged in a desperate and losing struggle for economic independence in the face of the all-conquering power of concentrated capital; and even the capitalist himself, who is the slave of his wealth rather than its master. The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, while it is a class struggle, is thus at the same time a struggle for the abolition of all classes and class privileges.

Must Conquer the Political Power.
The private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation, is the rock upon which class rule is built; political government is its indispensable instrument. The wage-workers cannot be freed from exploitation without conquering the political power and substituting collective and democratic administration for private ownership of the land and the means of production used for exploitation.

The basis for such transformation is rapidly developing within the very bosom of present capitalist society. The factory system, with its immense machinery and minute division of labor, is rapidly destroying all vestiges of individual production in manufacture. Modern production is already very largely a collective and social process, while the great trusts and monopolies which have sprung up in recent years have had the effect of organizing the work and management of some of our main industries on a national scale, and fitting them for national use and operation.

An End to Class Rule.
In the struggle for freedom the interests of the workers of all nations are identical. The struggle is not only national, but international. It embraces the world and will be carried to ultimate victory by the united workers of the world.

To unite the workers of the nation and their allies and sympathizers of all other classes to this end, is the mission of the Socialist. In this battle for freedom the Socialist movement does not strive to substitute working class rule for capitalist class rule, but by working class victory to free all humanity from class rule and to realize the international brotherhood of man.

Leaders and Followers

An organization that is all leaders and no followers is a funny spectacle. The Hearst Independence League was a rather funny spectacle in the last national campaign. In fact, such a body can not be called an organization at all.

An organization that is all followers and no leaders is just as badly off. A body whose brain is active and willing, but which has no hands and no feet to execute the will of the brain, is hopeless. It may think it is going somewhere, but it will never get there.

Are there leaders in the Social-Democratic party? Yes. Are there followers in the party? Yes. Well, which is the more important? Neither is more important than the other. Each is necessary to each.

But there is this difference between the leaders and the followers in the party, and the leaders and followers of all other political parties. By some magic, or more likely by some pressure of events and natural law, when our old leaders die off, out of the followers new ones are raised up. The Socialist movement is a movement of education and training. No man can be a steady, loyal party member without getting considerable knowledge of economics, government and politics, and, if you

please, practical politics. Neither capitalism nor Socialism can be comprehended without a knowledge of "practical politics."

Either wing of the labor movement, the Social-Democratic party or the labor unions, will give a liberal education in economics and politics to the man who joins it and works with it faithfully. John Graham Brooks says that the ignorance of the average business man makes a sad comparison with the knowledge of the average trade-unionist when it comes to political affairs and social science. The average man is a blind follower of the big business men "higher up."

The live Socialist, the militant, partisan Socialist, the determined, restless, fighting Socialist, attends the meetings of his local and knows how to partake in deliberative proceedings, how to transact business, how to plead for one thing and how to object to another. He reads the party literature, he distributes it; he learns to think; he comes to know the power and might of ideas; he becomes a thinker.

The Socialist movement not only breeds thought. It breeds thinkers. That is why the followers in the Socialist movement are different from the followers in all other movements.

And when we look more closely, we see that there are no leaders except the followers in our movement. The mass of the party, the rank and file of the party, do its thinking. By using the initiative and referendum, the rank and file, the mass, outlines the final policies and makes the final decisions.

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things that is unattainable; but you must own that it is much fairer than the picture of things as they are.

As to the possibility of doing what I suggest, we will consider all that in a future chapter.

CHAPTER V.
THE BITTER COST OF A BAD SYSTEM.

THE chief struggle of your life, Mr. Smith, is the struggle to get a living. The chief object of these letters is to convince you of three facts:

1. That with all your labor and anxiety you do not get a good living.
2. That you might and should get a good living with a third of the trouble you now take to keep out of a pauper's suit.
3. That though you worked twenty hours a day and piled the earth with wealth, you could have no more than a good living out of all the wealth you produced.

Nature declares, Mr. Smith, that a man shall live temperately, or suffer for it; nature also declares that a man shall not live very long. So that in the richest state a citizen can enjoy no more than a natural amount, and that a small one, of material things, nor can he enjoy those for many years.

In short, the material needs of life are few and easily supplied. But the range of the spiritual and intellectual pleasures and capacities is very wide. That is to say, that the pleasures and powers of the mind are practically boundless.

The great nation is not the nation with the most wealth, but the nation with the best men and women.

Now the best part of man is his mind, therefore the best men and women are those with the best minds.

But in this country, and at this time, the bulk of the people do not cultivate their minds, and our young people go to the factory long before completing school.

We have here, in the untrained, unused minds of a noble race of people an immense power for greatness lying fallow, like an untilled field. This is a more serious national loss, as I hope to show you, than if all our mines and farms had never been "opened up to commerce."

Well, my ideal, as I said before, is Frugality of Body and Opulence of Mind.

I propose to make our material lives simple; to spend as little time and labor as possible upon the production of food, clothing, houses, and fuel, in order that we may have more leisure.

And I propose to employ that leisure in the enjoyment of life and the acquirement of knowledge.

It is as though I said, "You have in each day 24 hours. You give 8 hours to sleep, 10 or 12 to work ('earning a living'), and the rest, or most of it, to folly; go, then, and of your sixteen waking hours spend but four in 'getting a living,' and the other twelve in pleasure and in learning."

(Continued next week)

Fellowship is life and lack of fellowship, is death. Fellowship is heaven and lack of fellowship is hell; and the deeds that ye do on the earth are for fellowship's sake that ye do them.—William Morris.

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Uncolored News From Washington

The Government's Food Standard. Pres. Taft's Aristocratic Tendencies and His Wife's Snobbishness. Where Do the Common People Come In?

(National Socialist Press Bureau.)
 Washington, D. C., May 27.—The past week witnessed the dedication of a bronze effigy to John Witherspoon on aristocratic Connecticut avenue. No better index could be had to the reactionary tendency of the political and social representatives of capitalism who make Washington their winter headquarters than this event.

Witherspoon was the only clergyman to sign the Declaration of Independence, and was one of the most insignificant members of the Continental Congress. Yet he is the first of the signers of the Declaration of Independence to be memorialized in Washington by a statue to be paid for at popular and public expense. There is a very humble statue of Franklin which was paid for by private individuals.

How insincere the object of the Witherspoon Memorial association is, may be gathered from the fact that such well-known agnostics as Andrew Carnegie and Stephen B. Elkins are trustees.

Cost of Food

A rather interesting parallel may be drawn between the amount of money required to feed the average soldier in the United States army and what the working man has at his disposal for his family. The subject is suggested by a letter from the secretary of the treasury, directed to the House of Representatives, asking them to appropriate the deficiency sum of \$380,142.00 to make the commissary ledger of the army balance at the end of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909. It seems that it was originally estimated that \$7,382,051.45 would be sufficient to feed the army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909. Due to the fact that 13,630 new men have enlisted, bringing the total enlistment of the army at the present time to 77,808 men, and that the estimate was made upon a basis of 64,178 men and also that the increased cost of rations has required the additional expenditure of about one cent more a day for food per man, this difference of \$380,142.00 is required.

This letter is that it sets forth that a soldier's ration per day in the United States army is figured today on a basis of 30.07 cents. That would amount to \$76.54 a year for each soldier. Remember that this does not include any clothes or anything else, but just the common, monotonous grub which the government thirteen dollars a month wage slave is fed on. According to the last census the average family in the United States contained 4.7 persons, which would bring the cost of feeding the average family in a year to \$359.74, if they confined themselves to the limited diet of the American soldier and were able to buy food for the prices which the government gets because of the immense quantities which it purchases—which they are not. When many wage-slaves read these figures they will recall with some pain that their family, probably consisting of more than father, mother and three children, spent considerably less than \$359.74 for food last year.

Does the United States government owe any less guarantee to its citizens who produce its wealth than it does to its soldiers who destroy wealth?

A Snub for the Masses

Washington is not an industrial city, and there are not so many wage earners with the plutocrats, and the plutocratic politicians who frequent the beautiful parks, magnificent avenues and municipal buildings of the capital city do not feel irritated because they have to come in close contact with the rabble with unusual frequency. In fact, it is said that many socially inclined New York multi-millionaires prefer Washington because of this fact. No one has ever complained, so far as we know, that during the last decade court manners have not obtained around the White House, or that things were too democratic there. Hence it is that the conduct of the present executive and Mrs. Taft in certain social relations show distinctly how undemocratic they are in all matters—political, judicial, religious and social—in fact, anything that pertains to the interest of the masses.

The latest demonstration of Taft's arrogance is regarding the regulations and specifications, governing the laying of Portland Cement Concrete sidewalks and construction of curbs and gutters, under contract with the city of Milwaukee, as may be necessary to comply with the ideas and method laid down in the following:

First—No inspectors shall be employed by the city to inspect the work of contractors that are laying concrete sidewalks or combination curbs and gutters, under contract with the city of Milwaukee.

Second—No contract shall be awarded to any contractor before said applicant shall have filed with the board of public works a bond in a sum equivalent to the price stated and paid for such work.

Third—The bond shall be executed by the applicant as principal and by a surety corporation as surety, conditioned that for a term of three years from the date of completion and acceptance of such work, said contractor will replace and restore any imperfect work which may be discovered within a period of three (3) years from the date the last portion of such work, covered by such contract, been completed by him.

noted Saturday afternoon concerts of the Marine band on the White House lawn.

There is a peninsula, beautifully situated at the southwestern corner of the city, along which the Potomac moves in majestic evenness. The peninsula has been terraced down on the western side of the sea-wall. There is a delightful charm about the place on a summer's evening as the sun drops into the lap of Arlington cemetery and the waters of the river play gently against the sea-wall. It would be an inspiration to many a poor Washington toiler to spend an occasional evening amid such surroundings. It is so located, however, that no street car line reaches to the peninsula and none can. No doubt, the exclusiveness of this place is its chief attraction to the snobbish Tafts.

Beautiful Rock Creek park, where many of the rich have been accustomed to take their evening spin, was probably too democratic for them, as the neighboring street car line brought hundreds of pedestrians to share the beauties of nature with their president.

Shortly after his inauguration President Taft announced that a grand stand would be erected at the southern end of this peninsula and concerts would be given twice a week, while tennis, croquet, baseball and other athletic grounds would be laid out for the benefit of the youth of the city. Elaborate descriptions of this place, accompanied by pictures, were syndicated out to the press of the country with the announcement what an impetus the Tafts were to give to popular education and athletics in Washington. What really took place may be gathered from a description of what is actually done there now.

The first concert was held there in the early part of April. There were two vehicles for every pedestrian and could reach the place. Mr. and Mrs. Taft sat in social review while Washington's elite passed by in jealous competition to receive the approving social smile of the "chief executive" and "the first lady of the land." While the band played wealthy scions amused themselves by coveting over the green sward on valuable ponies at the game of polo. All of the park that was supposed to be devoted to athletic sports for the masses is reserved for "the rich man's game," polo. There are to be no popular concourses at these gatherings and Mrs. Taft does not want them. After the first concert strict orders were issued to the police to keep off of Potomac drive all vehicles, including automobiles, which had a shabby appearance. In other words, this great park created at an immense public expense, is to be turned into a gigantic nature parlor for the political and commercial parasites of America.

Somebody had the audacity to write to Mrs. Taft and suggest that chairs be set aside at five cents apiece, in which those who wished might sit during the concert. She replied through the press that she was too busy to bother with such small matters. That was the last that was heard of it.

Mrs. Taft expressed a desire, before her husband was inaugurated, that she hoped to move the social center of the United States from Fifth avenue, New York, to Washington, D. C. Undoubtedly her manipulation of the Potomac drive concerts was one of the steps in the attainment of this delectable wish. Now that a congressman proposes to introduce a bill appropriating money for the erection of a pavilion on the Potomac drive where, as he says, "the ladies may display their gowns," no doubt her ambition may be shortly realized.

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Recent HERALD callers: T. H. Bueing, Cincinnati; Herman Koss, international organizer, Bakers' Union, Chicago; Walter Thomas Mills; J. W. Long, Madison, Wis.; William and Mrs. Herrick, Helena, Mont.; Channing Sweet, Denver, Colo.

The state convention of West Virginia will be held in Parkersburg July 3 and 4.

Battle Creek, Mich., May 26.—Charley W. Post, arch-enemy of trade unionism, is still "seeing things." His latest spectre is that of a wild-eyed school ma'am, with a bright red liberty cap on her head, teaching Socialism and sedition to the youth of the land. This latest case of hysterics takes the shape of the leading article in the current number of *The Square Deal*, the magazine which Post heralds to the world as the "national organ of the Open Shop movement." Under the title of "Shall Our School Children Be Taught Socialism?" this magazine takes eight pages to point out to the capitalist class the new peril brought about by the *Progressive Journal of Education*, which was started in Chicago last fall in order to carry Socialism into the schools of the United States. The article itself is described by *The Square Deal* as a "startling revelation of the manner in which Socialism is being taught to the youth of the land, and should arouse the American people to the danger it threatens and inspire them to action to check its mischievous operation."

For three years the city of Chicago has had one of the largest weekly public meetings held anywhere in this country, the Garrick being crowded to its capacity every Sunday to listen to lectures by Arthur M. Lewis on the philosophy of Socialism and its relation to modern learning. It has now been decided to publish a magazine called *The Evolutionist*, which will publish the lectures and debates held at the theater in order to enable people outside of Chicago to read the lectures. The magazine will be of pocket size, thirty-

Party News

The state committees of Indiana and Maryland have appropriated sums to assist in the legal contest relating to the Minnesota primary law.

By recent referendum, J. B. Osborne, Stockton, Calif., was elected a member of the national committee, and N. A. Richardson, San Bernardino, and Wm. McDevitt, San Francisco, were re-elected to the same position. H. C. Tuck, Oakland, was re-elected as state secretary. Frank N. Prevey, Akron, O., has been re-elected a member of the national committee.

After hearing a statement and request by representatives of *Neues Leben* of Chicago, a weekly German organ, which statement and request have the undivided support of the German party members of Cook county, the National Executive committee adopted the following motion and recommendation: "That we recommend to the National committee that \$300.00 be appropriated for the *Neues Leben*."

Dates for National Organizers

John W. Brown: May 31, Mechanics Falls, Me.; June 1, Norway; 2. So. Paris; 3. Mechanics Falls; 4. Rumford Falls; 5. 6. Livermore Falls.
 James Connolly: May 31, Beloit, O.; June 1, 2, available; 3. Lorain; 4. Cleveland; 5. Cuyahoga Falls.
 John Collins: June 1 to 5, Illinois.
 A. Litman (Jewish): May 20, E. Boston, Mass.; 31, Cambridge; June 1, Malden; 2, 3, Salem; 4, Peabody; 5, Newburyport.
 Lena Morrow Lewis: May 30 to June 5, Black Hills, S. D.
 James O'Neal: May 30 to June 5, Texas.
 Clyde J. Wright: May 30 to June 5, Nebraska.
 Dan A. White: June 1 to 5, Massachusetts and Connecticut—special trades union propaganda.
 J. Mahlon Barnes, Nat. Sec., 180 Washington St., Chicago.

Aldermen Exact Their Terms

MILWAUKEE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC ALDERMEN—Henry Ries, Ninth ward; William Koch, Tenth ward; Edmund T. Melius, Eleventh ward; Max Grass, Twelfth ward; Louis A. Arnold, Seventeenth ward; Jacob Rummel, Nineteenth ward; August Strobel, Twentieth ward; Charles L. Vetter, Twenty-first ward; John Hassmann, Twenty-second ward.

Milwaukee: It was a unique spectacle that was presented in the city council Monday. The Socialist aldermen served notice that they would use their power to block bond issues (having more than the necessary one-fourth votes) until there was no question about the passage of the school bonds. Ald. Melms pointed out the probability that Mayor Rose would again refuse to sign the school bonds, and that thus the schools would be in the ditch, while the mayor's coveted street bonds would have been passed and have been signed. They did not propose to be caught napping. They would not vote for the street bonds until sure that the school bonds were safe beyond peradventure.

At this point Pres. Corcoran took a hand. He announced that the mayor was out of the city, leaving him acting mayor. He said he could sign the bond issues immediately after the meeting.

Ald. Carney (D.) said if the Socialists caused delay he was in favor of letting them hear the consequences, but this flimsy talk, after the months of delay caused by the mayor and his crowd in their fight against the schools, made no impression.

"If the president will say that he will sign the bond ordinance without delay, I am satisfied," said Ald. Melms. Corcoran said that he would.

Ald. Seidel said he was ready to vote for the bonds if the president promised that there would be fair play.

Corcoran—I have already promised that I will sign them after the meeting, if they are passed.

The bond ordinances were then successfully put upon their passage, and at the conclusion of the meeting Pres. Corcoran affixed his signature as acting mayor. Thus ended the long fight made by the Social Democrats against the mayor's attempt to cripple the public schools. It remains to be seen, however, whether the bonds will be accepted as regular by bond buyers, as leading local lawyers are quite agreed that the city must pass the full amount voted for the schools in the referendum, if all cloud shall be lifted from the bonds issued.

The Socialists took decided

ground on indiscriminate salary raises and voted against a number that were introduced. Ald. Weiley said he was against such raises, also because money was most needed for lighting the outer streets. Ald. Seidel said: "We know why these come in at this time. But it is a secret. It is this: Political debts must be paid." Pierson objected. "I'll say more," said Seidel. "There will be more of them." The raises prevailed.

The Mayor Loses Out

Following this came another notable episode. Mayor Rose had sent in his veto on a large number of resolutions to establish additional street lights in the wards where the growth of the city has added new streets, and where an insufficient number of lights has heretofore existed. The mayor gave as a reason for his veto that the schools were getting so much money out of the city that the funds were crippled. The joke of this is that the school funds come from special tax levies and have nothing to do with the general finances, therefore cannot cripple them. Most of the lights vetoed were in Socialist wards, but some were in others. Anyway, there was fun.

Ald. Biersach (D.): These vetoes ought to be voted down. I look at the matter as simply spite work against the Socialists. As chairman of the Street Lights committee I say we want fair play. When politics becomes spite work it is time to quit. Every one of these ordinances was countersigned by the comptroller, and that shows there's money enough for them. I will not stand for any spite work.

Rose's Low Promise

Ald. Pierson (insurgent D.) asked for the floor, and Ald. Altpeter (D.), who had been called to the chair began to get nervous. Ald. Pierson wanted to tell something out of school, and Altpeter tried to crowd him out. But Pierson said it anyway.

"What did Dave Rose say?" Pierson began, but the chair called him to order for not "hizzoner"ing the mayor.

"What did Rose say when he spoke during the campaign up in the Thirteenth ward to a meeting of Poles?" said Pierson. "He stooped so low as to promise that he would veto street light resolutions in Socialist territory. That is the secret of these vetoes, and there you have it."

Ald. Wittig (D.) reminded the council of hold-ups in dark outer

districts. The street lights committee stood for the street light resolutions and claimed the vetoes attacked its efficiency. The matter was put to vote and the vetoes overriden.

The Social Democrats voted against the confirmation of Emanuel Phillip (the man who recently sued *McClure's Magazine* for libel), as a fire and police commissioner to succeed Sherman Brown, Phillip is a Stalwart Republican, a corporation man. Ald. Koch explained the attitude of the Socialists. "Mr. Brown has made a good commissioner and should be continued," he said. "He is put out simply because he took the side of the men in the departments on the pension question. The appointment was confirmed. So also was that of Henry Weber as park commissioner, the Socialists opposing. The appointment of Wm. H. Umpeyer as public debt commissioner, being a fit one, was not opposed.

Ald. Seidel offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the board of public works be and hereby is directed to make such changes in the rules.

Can Already Sell at an Advance

(Continued from page 1.)
 row of brick must be solid and substantial before another is placed upon it. This is one of the guaranties of reliability that you have in the building project now before you. It is not a fly-by-night or visionary undertaking. We need hardly assure you on that point, we think. And at that we are probably building better than we know. For the future will demand a good deal of our movement.

What is the one great, overpowering question of public thought today? Social Democracy. It is in all the magazines, it is in the thought of every legislature in the country. There is simply no getting away from it. It is part of the very air that circles the globe. And this would not be if there were not a certain inevitability about it, if the world were not in need of it. And it is more so every day—it even disturbs Roosevelt's dreams way off in the jungles of the Dark Continent. It is in the wind.

Now it has fallen to the lot of the Socialists in Milwaukee to make the most substantial advances for Socialism in America. With every third voter on our side, even in a half-hearted school election, as well as in regular ones, our party is certainly ready for a substantial home as a center for the labor cause, and by use of which to still go on increasing our agitations and to meet our responsibilities.

We appeal to you, reader of these lines, to be with us in this. If you have not done so, read these blanks over thoughtfully and choose one and fill it out. Do it before it is too late.

1909.
 To E. T. Melms, Secretary Milwaukee County Campaign Committee, 344 Sixth Street, Milwaukee, Wis.

Find enclosed \$..... which please apply to Spring Campaign Fund, it being understood that the balance of said fund, if any, after all expenses of the campaign have been paid, is to be applied to the fall campaign deficit.

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The Builders' Column

By Teddy

Comrades, have any hard questions ever been put to you when you tried to persuade your man to take the HERALD, or any other Socialist paper? Do they ask you whether the Socialists want all things owned in common, or whether they want the wealth equally divided, or a whole batch of other feeble-minded questions like these?

Do you then in turn ask them why they do not read the HERALD and digest its contents to find out all the whys and wherefores of Socialism? Comrades, their answer to this we want to know. We want you to let us know just why the parties you approach do not want to subscribe for the HERALD. They must have some reason. You are the only one who can tell us that reason.

We are determined to double our circulation, and to do so we must not let any one who is approached refuse to subscribe to the HERALD for any nonsensical reason. There is no solid or substantial motive why any man with common sense should not take the HERALD. There are, however, a great many good solid reasons why every man should have the HERALD.

Now, you, as a helpmate to us and co-worker for Socialism, should jot down for us the different reasons given you by prospective subscribers. Just what is wrong with the HERALD; why they do not care to subscribe just now, etc., etc. If there are any grounds to their reasons, we may be able to rectify them. The HERALD is published, and has been the cause of the rapid growth of Socialism in Wisconsin, where we have Socialist officials elected to a great many offices, ranging down from state senator to constable.

This meant hard and strenuous work on our local comrades, who used the HERALD as their best and most telling weapon in the advancement of our cause. We want you to make use of the HERALD in the self-same way. This will help bring better results to your local's standing, and will also increase the HERALD's circulation in your respective community.

We are anxiously awaiting your answer to the foregoing question, and hope you will show us whether the fault lies with the HERALD or whether our comrades are at fault in not going after subscribers.

"Making Good"

As space permits, we will occasionally quote letters of praise to the HERALD. Following is the starter to head the column:

"Dear Comrades: The comrades of Local Auburn, S. P., have read a few copies of the HERALD, and were so pleased with it that they have decided to have it in their rooms. The HERALD is certainly a valuable paper for locals, as it contains matter valuable for municipal campaigns, especially for cities of the second, third and fourth class.

"Advertises should be pleased with the HERALD. Each advertisement stands out clear and clean, and hits the eye of the reader at once. One is compelled to read the ads—there is no escape.

"Some master hand is at work in the advertisement department of the HERALD. The typographical appearance of the ads and of the whole paper is remarkable.

"The balance of attraction for the reader between the reading matter and the advertisements is even and well sustained.

"What more could be demanded from the publishers of the HERALD?"

Fraternally yours,
 "E. H. Gohl."

Having started this column with a boost for the HERALD, we are going to prove it at the end of this column through the efforts of our Comrade Lawson of Washington. Here is what he says in part: "Enclosed please find money order for \$65.00 for which send weekly bundle of twenty-six HERALDS for one year. These twenty-six are all navy yard employees, and Miss Harding's answer to Teddy's Outlook article got their subs." Great work, comrade.

WELL! WELL! WELL! I knew it would have to come this week. It surely was a case of early spring fever with our band of hustlers. This spasmodic feeling passed over, however, with such comrades as Gatten of California, Juhnke of Kentucky, Wilcox of Missouri, Myers of Mississippi, Goebel of New Jersey, Nagle of Oklahoma, Cohen and Sassaman of Pennsylvania, Gidwood of Texas, Harmsworth of West Virginia, and Scribner and Pfeiffer of Wisconsin. Their sub cards are fast falling from their

fore her husband was inaugurated, that she hoped to move the social center of the United States from Fifth avenue, New York, to Washington, D. C. Undoubtedly her manipulation of the Potomac drive concerts was one of the steps in the attainment of this delectable wish. Now that a congressman proposes to introduce a bill appropriating money for the erection of a pavilion on the Potomac drive where, as he says, "the ladies may display their gowns," no doubt her ambition may be shortly realized.

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 Senator Gaylord's Speech
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 as Delivered in the Wisconsin Legislature.
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 THE EVOLUTION OF SOCIALISM—By Paul Lafargue. Lafargue is a son-in-law of Karl Marx and has written quite a number of books, of which this is the most serviceable. Cloth, 174 pages, price \$1.
 FERDINAND JASSALLE—By Edward Bernstein. Bernstein's "Jassalle" is the most reliable of the accounts of the wonderful achievements of Social Democracy's first great agitator. Cloth, 192 pages, price \$1.00.
 SCIENCE AND THE WORKING MAN—By Ferdinand Lassalle. This is an address made in court, in which Lassalle rebuked those who charged him with stirring up class hatred. It is of some that were historic interest. Cloth, 82 pages, 25c.

Social-Democratic Herald, 344 6th St., Milwaukee

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The Scab—By Robert Hunter

Every social order develops its own ethics. Even in the same social order there are at least two codes of ethics. The exploiter has his code; the exploited has his. History shows with unmistakable clearness that the ethics of the oppressed have in due course become the dominant ethics.

Those who have fought against wrong, injustice and oppression have naturally been the wronged and oppressed.

Again and again in the history of the world, the lower orders, so-called, have impressed upon the world their code of ethics.

In the present order a new word has been coined to express the contempt one class feels for those who betray its cause.

The oppressing class has tried to glorify the term. Homilies have been delivered upon it. The president of a great university has tried to sanctify it, but in the minds of millions and millions today, there can be no greater reproach than to be called a "scab."

When a man robs another he injures one man. When a man is drunken, is addicted to vice, is idle and shiftless, he injures himself more than another.

But the "scab" sins against mankind.

A group of men come together mutually pledged to support one another. They are struggling against great obstacles for better conditions of life for themselves

and their families. By sacrifice, by the payment of dues, by the slow and arduous work of organization they raise to decency and self-respect the mass of workers.

Their struggle is as vital to the progress of humanity as any battle that was ever fought. No war ever decided an issue more important.

What they seek for themselves they seek for all mankind, and no creature is so poor and helpless as to be outside the horizon of their effort.

In the midst of their conflict, men suffering the same evils and oppressions they suffer, go over to aid and comfort the oppressors.

Playing the part of Judas, they betray to the executioner those who are fighting for their salvation as for their own.

The scab is not only condemned by his fellow workers, he is also pushed aside and scorned, as soon as the conflict is over by those to whom he sells himself.

He is used when it serves his master to use him. Even though he succeeds in breaking the union of his fellows, in humiliating his comrades, and in helping to fasten upon them, again, and himself as well, the yoke of slavery, the oppressor has no thought to give him thanks.

The scab is like a piece of waste, useful to wipe away a nuisance and then to wash one's hands of.

As a workman the scab benefits with other workmen by the conquests of unionism. When

wages are raised, hours shortened, machines guarded, factories made sanitary, mines made safe, he also benefits. But the benefit comes to him as pennies to a sneak-thief.

Fortunately, few workmen today are content to be scabs. For that reason detectives, ex-convicts, and other desperate characters must be employed to recruit strike-breakers. Out of the slum, dive and lodging-house, they select penniless desperadoes to ship about the country to serve as scabs.

To the thoughtful this is, perhaps, the most hopeful sign in the struggle of the workers. It shows that self-respecting workmen are unwilling to desert their comrades in battle to serve the enemy.

This paper is read by scores of thousands. Many of the readers probably are members of a union. We ask you, then, to do your duty in this great conflict. Don't be a scab!

If you are a working man, let nothing keep you out of your organization.

If there is no organization in your trade, call the men in your shop together and form one.

Pay your dues promptly as a privilege and an honor.

Bear your taxes in this emancipatory movement with joy and thanksgiving.

Ethical principles are being fought out in these battles of today; and none is more important than solidarity of the workers.

The Example of Paris

In a vicious denunciation of the bill to provide for the "two-platoon system" in the Chicago fire department, the *Chicago Tribune* flings out this covert threat:

"Responsibility for the success of this bill will be brought home. Paris has recently given the world an example of the evils of politics in the public service. Chicago will see to it that that example is not followed."


The two-platoon system is simply a plan to treat firemen like human beings, to give them a chance to get acquainted with their families. But this plan would require that some of the tax-dodgers like those who own the *Tribune* and who profit from the fire protection given by the firemen should pay a trifle more for taxes.

There is an explanatory sentence to this threat that is suggestive. The reference to Paris is one that carries a double lesson, and the best one is to the firemen. When the Paris postal workers were threatened with discipline if they dared to organize or complain, they retorted with a strike that paralyzed the business of France. THE RESULT OF THAT STRIKE WAS A COMPLETE VICTORY FOR THE WORKERS.

We thank the *Tribune* for the suggestion. It may be a good one to follow.

The example of Paris is not a good one for the capitalists of America to invoke.—*Chicago Daily Socialist*.

Organized Labor



the line in a little Associated Press squib, as though it was a bit of freak news, and the American people really never understood that "Battling" Nelson aided materially in preventing profit-mongering managers from forcing hundreds of actors and actresses who work hard to amuse the public and bring money into the box offices into a condition of want and misery. Since the London victory the actors' organization has become a power.

UNION BREAD.

The following down-town restaurants use union-label bread:

U. S. Restaurant, Third street, near Second Ward Bank.
 Miller Cafe, East Water and Mason streets.
 Moll & Thane, East Water and Michigan streets.
 Kiesel Restaurant, Mason street between East Water street and Broadway.
 Albion Hotel, Michigan street, between Jefferson and Jackson streets.
 Windsor Hotel, Milwaukee street, opposite Schubert theater.
 Walter's Restaurant, 260 Third st.

UNION HACK DRIVERS.

The following trolley-men in Milwaukee can furnish union drivers on request. Their barns are not unionized, but they employ some union men. When ordering a rig insist on a union driver:

Brett, Arthur J., 281 Reed st.
 Cerwinski, M., 659 Fourth ave.
 Crocker, C. J., 1228 Grand Ave., rear
 Feldmann, Chas., 1230 Garfield ave.
 Fenuig, K., 405 Lincoln Avenue.
 Hartmann, George W., 709 Tenth st.
 Juneau Park Livery, 417 Marshall st.
 Kasik, Emil J., 1038 Fifth St.
 Kemper, Herman, 247 Reed st.
 Kohn, M. A., 300 Thirty-sixth st.
 Miller, Sam R., 530 Market st.
 E. Schmitt, 2425 Vliet Street.
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Let Me Have Your Next Order for Wood and Coal

By giving me your order for fuel you not only get good coal and good weight, delivered by union teamsters, at the prevailing price—not a cent more—but will also help, without extra cost to you, the Social-Democratic press and party, who, in turn, are surely working for your best interest.

The Mueller Fuel and Supply Co., which furnishes the fuel, absolutely guarantees full weight and the best of quality. "Anything which is not right will be made right is their motto. So, no matter where you have been getting fuel, send us your next order.

All orders will be delivered by union teamsters. Certainly, as this is the only way that union men can employ union men to make deliveries of this kind that we know of, every union man will naturally act true to the pledge he has taken, and place his orders here. Every union man ought to see that this is an-

Both Are Socialists

"Battling" Nelson and "Kid" Herman, the two famous pugilists, are Socialists, according to the *Chicago Daily Socialist*, which paper interviewed both of the fighters. Herman is not a dues-paying member, but four of his brothers are, and his father was before his death recently. However, the "Kid" chips into the campaign funds.

"Battling" Nelson declared that the hard struggle of the working class led him to think his way into the Socialist movement. "I have not got much time to philosophize," said Nelson to a reporter, "but the labor platform of the Socialist party is just what the doctor ordered, and that I practice what I preach is evidenced by the stand I took in the London theatrical strike." This strike that Nelson refers to occurred last year. The theatrical managers combined to destroy the vaudeville actors' union. Nelson was billed as the star attraction at the Holburn theater, it being his first starring exhibition when he arrived in England. He was not a member of the union, but when he learned of the strike he went on the stage, announced that he was not in the scab class and gave the audience a few minutes of Socialistic philosophy. His little talk created a big sensation and virtually won the strike, and he became a bigger card than ever with the London people. The incident was reported at

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UNFAIR—WAS IT?
 The United States Supreme Court has ordered the Sherman Anti-Trust Law as including LABOR UNIONS. Complying with the terms of the decision, the "Union Label" here before appearing here has been removed. IT'S UP TO YOU!

Wage Earners
 Woke Up!
 Join the Union of your craft and the party of your class
 Always demand the UNION LABEL and Shop-CARD—cast your ballots for emancipation from wage slavery

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NEW TEETH—the best and most modern in the world. \$8.00 UP
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F. TEWS FISH
 Phone No. 2757
 123 FIRST WISCONSIN ST.

Wisconsin State Organization

Carl D. Thompson, 344 Sixth St., Milwaukee, Wis., state organizer; to whom news and other matters for this department should be sent.

THE WORKERS CONFERENCE AT MANITOWOC. No more fitting point could be selected in northwestern Wisconsin for a conference of the workers in the Socialist movement than Manitowoc.

The comrades of Manitowoc have fought a good fight. Their paper has been persecuted. Its editorial writers threatened with jail and victimized with fines.

Every local and every member of the Socialist party in the northwestern section of Wisconsin ought to consider it a special privilege and a rare opportunity to meet these comrades.

Two Rivers, where we have for some time had a weekly Socialist paper, and where the movement has weathered the fiercest storms of attack from the capitalist opponents, will be at the conference with a big delegation.

Comrade Victor L. Berger, State Secretary E. H. Thomas, and State Organizer Carl D. Thompson, will come there to make the conference a success, and will be present to assist in its work.

It is not to be an occasion for speech-making. It will be for the study of methods, the exchanging of suggestions, and the general helpfulness that the comrades can get from each other.

Every comrade in the northeastern section of Wisconsin should drop everything else and seize upon the opportunity which this occasion affords.

Write to Arthur Trippier, c. o. Daily Tribune, Manitowoc, Wis., for information concerning matters in Manitowoc. A program will be drawn up and sent out very soon.

WASHBURN: Comrade Johnson writes that the local at its last regular meeting, decided unanimously to hold two meetings for Comrade Latimer. The local has already begun correspondence with the comrades at Bayfield and elsewhere.

THE DISTRICT CONFERENCE is now an assured event. It is to be held in Manitowoc, on Saturday and Sunday, June 12 and 13. Comrades from practically all the locals are arranging to be present.

WAUPACA: The local has made application for two dates for Comrade Latimer. Two of the comrades are contemplating attending the conference at Manitowoc.

do their work, and how you can make your local a real live rip-roaring one. Comrade Thomas is going to the workers' conference, June 12 and 13.

More Killings. Two more may be added to the list of Social-Democratic bills killed in the senate. These are: 403, S. and 488, S. the tenement and lodging house bills.

STURGEON BAY: Comrade Harris says that five of the comrades at the conference at Manitowoc, the conference at Manitowoc, the conference at Manitowoc.

Workers' conference at Manitowoc, Saturday evening and Sunday, June 12 and 13.

Why get tired and guaranteed shoes of Eastern Make. They're right up to style and a snap goes with them.

BUTTER BROS. Exclusive Gent's Furnishers. They're right up to style and a snap goes with them.

MATH. MUENING House Painting. Decorating, Paper Hanging, Sign Writing and Graining.

How Laws Are Made at Madison

Madison, Wis.—With the old-age pension still in the realm of capitalistic jokes, and industrial accident compensation referred to a problematical special committee, the legislature has passed a bill providing for a pension for families of members of the state militia.

It was charged by the Socialist senator, and not refuted by anyone, that the only purpose the militia serves in the state is to suppress labor troubles. But the reply was given that since that was the case, the working class is the only class that deserves to be put down by the military power of the state.

In view of the court records of the lawlessness of corporations, this is a poor statement for representatives of the capitalist class to make. But it is of a piece with the legislation and the court practice which lets the Standard Oil Company off scot free and sends a worker out of a job to jail for stealing food for his family.

The lawyers' union gives itself a cinch on the judgeships, while the union of useful workers is given the injunction treatment by these same lawyers.

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None but Union Drivers are Employed. \$3.00.

Be sure, comrades, to set aside Saturday, Aug. 28, for the first annual

they served their purpose, in forcing up to a better standard the assembly bills on the subject. These latter have now about passed the legislative gauntlet, and if signed by the governor will furnish a very fair basis on which to build more complete and adequate legislation in following years.

The killing of the telephone "anti-duplication" bill was the occasion for a very illuminating discussion. Senators Lockney and Hudnall tried to show that it was right and proper for the state to summarily complete the process of "eliminating competition" for the public utilities.

Senator Gayler charged that this was nothing more nor less than class legislation of the crassest sort, in that it virtually guaranteed to these companies, simply because they were engaged in the public utility business, a certain rate of interest on their capital invested, a "fair" profit on the business and a sinking fund to cover depreciation.

And when it was suggested that this was akin to the "freedom of contract" for workmen, his mind did not seem to grasp the idea.

Comrade Thomas is having the usual strenuous time that a lecturer enjoys. At Medford she had to get up at 3 o'clock in the morning in order to make connections at Prentice for Clifford. And in her anxiety not to miss the morning train, she lay awake most of the night so as to be ready.

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SAM R. MILLER'S LIVERY. 539 Market St.

None but Union Drivers are Employed. \$3.00.

Be sure, comrades, to set aside Saturday, Aug. 28, for the first annual

Commission Raised Rates! But, as a matter of fact, in the LaCrosse case, the commission did order an increase of rates for a telephone company. And in the Manitowoc case they ordered the company to charge more than they had asked permission to charge—to protect the "widows and orphans."

Senator Gayler stated that for ten years the statistics on the subject have shown that water and light for municipal purposes, can be produced at less cost, furnished to the public at a lower price, while paying better wages to the employees, by publicly owned plants than by privately owned plants.

Senator Hudnall said that he had two years ago read over, thing that he could get on the subject, and that no economist was clear on account of the book-keeping methods of the public plants.

Nevertheless he did not deny that one of the first things the commission had to do to bring order out of chaos, was to compel better systems of bookkeeping in the PRIVATE UTILITY COMPANIES.

And when he was asked if he had read Prof. Parsons, as one of the authorities on the subject, he had an attack of "amnesia," and "could not remember."

Senator Lockney knew that a telephone was a public utility, and somehow different from a crowbar in that regard. But he was thankful when the Socialist in rmed him that it was because one man could not possibly use a telephone alone, while a crowbar was not a social utility because one man could use it to very good advantage.

The Manchester school of political economists would turn over in their graves, if they should hear the capitalist members of the senate admit the failure of competition; but they would go calmly to sleep again, after they had listened long enough to realize that the Republican, regressive, protectionary senators had charged front in theory for the same purpose for which that ancient school originated its doctrines, i. e., to defend the profit-taking of private capital.

Jan'sen's Offensive Lobbying. One of the most shameful things of this session is the persistent lobbying of Chief of Police Janssen on the fire and police bills. His open defense of Chief Clancy of the fire department, and the absence of any sufficient outward motive for his activity with regard to the pension funds and the control of the departments, is going far to dis-

STATE OF WISCONSIN. CIRCUIT COURT—MILWAUKEE COUNTY. Andrew F. Kowalski, Plaintiff, vs. Mary Kowalski, Defendant.

ADOLPH HUEBSCHMANN, Plaintiff's Attorney. P. O. address, 46 Sentinel Bldg., Milwaukee, Wis.

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The Hoosiers Are Here



It will be a slight work in itself, and you must not lose the opportunity of seeing them at work weaving the seats and backs of the Famous "Old Hickory" PORCH AND SUMMER HOME FURNITURE.

They will be in our show window all this week. Come and see how it is made. On warm summer days nothing suits as well as comfortable "Old Hickory" Furniture.

C. W. FISCHER FURNITURE CO. Furniture—Rugs—Curtains—Drapery Materials. 217-223 SECOND STREET—CORNER WEST WATER STREET

credit the good reputation he had as an efficient head of the police service of Milwaukee. Chief Janssen is doing much to convince honest men that nothing short of a Social-Democratic administration can clean up Milwaukee. The hold-up men need him more in Milwaukee than the legislature does at Madison.

When patronizing advertisers mention the HERALD. Buy union label goods. Patronize union clerks. Ask for clerks' union store card.

Our Motto for 1909 EVERY MEMBER GET A MEMBER EVERY LOCAL GET A LOCAL

Comrades, do your shopping at the places of our advertisers, and let them know why you buy there.

Mechanical Engineer and Assistant Mechanical Engineer House Drain Inspector

Office of the Board of City Service Commissioners—City Hall, 2nd Floor. Competitive examinations for the positions of Mechanical Engineer and Assistant Mechanical Engineer and for House Drain Inspector will be held on Thursday, June 3, 1909, at 9 o'clock a. m., at the above office.

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Unless we are much mistaken there is a fellow living almost next door to you that is wondering why you, a Socialist, do not put some of your literature in his way. Eh, how about it?

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Advertisement for Burroughs Adding and Listing Machines. Includes text: "A Better Day's Work", "Sent With Our Compliments", "A Valuable Book", "Burroughs Adding and Listing Machines", "Free Trial".

SPECIALS FOR ONE WEEK

9-4 Wide Bleached Sheeting, worth 25c yd., at **20c**

9-4 Unbleached Sheeting, worth 23c yd., at **18c**

The Newest 19c Linen Suitings **12½c**

25c Corset Cover Embroideries at **15c**

Light Calicoes, value 6c per yard, at **4½c**

B. STRNAD

Dry Goods—Furnishings for Men and Women

963 KINNICKINNIC AVENUE 963

At the Theaters Next Week

ALHAMBRA.
For the week starting Sunday evening, the Alhambra promises the last and the best musical show of the season. At that time Mort H. Singer will present for a return engagement, "The Prince of Tonight," the big Adams-Hough-Howard musical show which scored such a hit here when it was given its premiere at the Alhambra last winter. The entire original cast, headed by Henry Woodruff, and including Countess Olga von Hatzfeld, Bert Baker, Adele Rowland, Harry Filmer, Arthur Aylesworth and the famous beauty chorus, will appear, coming direct from the Princess theater, Chicago, where the piece

has been running for five months to capacity audiences. The \$50,000 production, devised by George Marion, the great producer, will be seen, and the show in every respect will be identically the same as presented in Chicago, although the usual Alhambra prices will prevail. This is the last chance that any city will enjoy to see the original company in this production, as its season closes with the Milwaukee engagement.

DAVIDSON.
Daintiest of love stories, delightfully told, with a wholesome tone to it all, is "Merely Mary Ann," Israel Zangwill's famous comedy. Next week the Sherman Brown Stock Company will offer the play for the first time in Milwaukee; and, in addition, will present Miss

Spring Suits

Hats in the Latest Shapes

New Designs in Shirts

Bright and Snappy Neckwear

Bruett CLOTHING CO.

Cor. 10th St. and Fond du Lac Av.



ALLIN MURNANE

Adelaide Keim in a role in which she has registered one of the largest triumphs of her career. The story of Mary Ann, slavey and heiress, offers wide possibilities to the actress portraying the role, and

ECONOMY, CONVENIENCE and SAFETY

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Have Many More Good Features Ready for Your Inspection

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and rest easily, being assured that your work is being executed in a strictly union shop employing craftsmen of taste, skill and all-around competency.

Our shop is a complete department of the printing industry, prepared to handle all classes of work. Prices commensurate with quality.

342-344 Sixth Street

Telephone Grand 2394

Milwaukee Wisconsin

A Rank Case of Bad Faith

The Merchants and Manufacturers' association of Milwaukee sent a stiff lobby to Madison to buy against the home rule bill for this city. In this connection the Journal has brought forth the following amusing facts:

"In February, 1908, the Merchants and Manufacturers' association issued a manifesto calling public attention to the importance of electing the right kind of men to the charter convention, and to the obsolete character of the present charter, which it compared to 'an old residence, convenient once, but outgrown with our growth, and rebuilt, added to, and altered, until it is out of all proper symmetry and proportion.' It outlined provisions that the new charter should con-

tain and it made this very striking declaration: 'Among the desirable changes to be obtained, it may be said that absolute home rule in all matters of a purely local character would come FIRST.'

"The home rule bill prepared by the charter convention gives Milwaukee power to adopt, and from time to time alter, regulations relating to its own government, or to the conduct of its municipal affairs." The bill was formulated by a committee that included Frank M. Hoyt, Henry Smith, Gen. F. C. Winkler, Robert N. McMynn and Judson Titsworth. These gentlemen, who made up five-sevenths of the committee, and absolutely controlled it, were the nominees of the Merchants and Manufacturers' association for seats in the charter convention. They unanimously re-

ported in favor of the bill and the charter convention adopted it almost unanimously and without amending it materially.

"In view of the public declaration of the merchants and manufacturers in favor of 'absolute home rule in all matters of purely local character'; in view of the fact that the home rule bill exempts from the operations of its provisions all questions affecting tax and bond limits, as well as all matters that pertain to the sovereignty of the state, and in view of the fact that the Merchants and Manufacturers' association sought the co-operation of the civic societies in nominating delegates to the charter convention, it is little wonder that many members of the civic societies criticize the action of the association's legislative committee."

Social-Democrats and the Unions

Text of Statement Passed by the National Socialist Convention
The following is the address to organized labor drafted by the committee and adopted at the Socialist national convention:

"The movement of organized labor is a natural result of the antagonism between the interests of employers and wage-earners under the capitalist system. Its activity in the daily struggle over wages, hours and other conditions of labor is absolutely necessary to counteract the evil effects of competition among the working people, and to save them from being reduced to material and moral degradation. It is equally valuable as a force for the social, economic and political education of the workers.

It Does Not Dictate.

"The Socialist party does not seek to dictate to organized labor in matters of internal organization and union policy. It recognizes the necessary autonomy of the union movement on the economic field, as it insists on maintaining its own autonomy on the political field. It is confident that in the school of experience organized labor will as rapidly as possible develop the most effective forms of organization and methods of action.

"In the history of the recent Moyer-Haywood protest, participated in by unions of all sorts and

Miss Keim is especially well fitted for the characterization. In the role of Lancelot, the musician, Mr. Warwick, too, will be given ample opportunity.

MAJESTIC.

Sam Chip and Mary Marble, two of the most popular musical comedy stars now before the public, will be the big headline features next week at the Majestic. They are presenting a "deft dialogue with droll ditties," designated "In Old Adam." The second featured number will be Gus Edwards' "Kountry Kids," in a truly rural musical comedy, "Miss Rose's Birthday." Other offerings are Sig. Travato, the Filipino virtuoso, heralded as one of the most remarkable violinists in vaudeville; the Four Ponchierys, European aerial artists, Borani and Nevaro, in a combination of twists and laughs; the Hammins, known as "The Melody Man and the Maid in Brown;" John McCloskey, the bright entertainer; Piquo, in a new and pleasing comedy bar act, and the kinodrome.

by the Socialist party, it finds reason to hope for closer solidarity in the economic field and for more effective co-operation between organized labor and the Socialist party, the two wings of the movement for working-class emancipation.

"The Socialist party stands with organized labor in all its struggles to resist capitalist aggression or to wrest from the capitalists any improvement in the conditions of labor. It declares that it is the duty of every wage-worker to be an active and loyal member of the organized labor movement, striving to win its battles and to strengthen and perfect it for the greater struggles to come.

Confronted by Great Crisis.

Organized labor is today confronted by a great crisis. The capitalists, intoxicated with wealth and power and alarmed by the increasing political and economic activity of the working class, have as a class undertaken a crusade for the destruction of the labor organizations.

"In Colorado, Nevada, Alaska and elsewhere law and constitution have been trampled under foot, military despotism set up, and judicial murder attempted with this aim in view. Where such violent methods have not seemed advisable, other means have been used to the same end.

"The movement for the so-called open shop, but thinly veils an attempt to close the shops against organized workmen; it is backed by powerful capitalist organizations, with millions of dollars in their war funds.

Courts Always Hostile.

"The courts, always hostile to labor, have of late outdone all previous records in perverting the law to the service of the capitalist class. They have issued injunctions forbidding the calling of strikes, the announcement of boycotts, payment of union benefits, or even any attempt to organize unorganized workmen in certain trades and places. They have issued arbitrary decrees dissolving unions under the pretense of their being labor trusts.

"They have sustained the capitalists in bringing damage suits against unions for the purpose of tying up or sequestering their funds. They have wiped off the statute books many labor laws—laws protecting little children from exploitation in the factory, laws making employers liable for damages in cases of employees killed or injured at their work, laws guaranteeing the right of workmen to belong to unions.

"While affirming the right of

Near-Socialist Books

By Writers Who Are Either Socialists or Tender Socialists. Just the Things to Get into the Hands of Non-Socialists, as Well as Being Valuable for the Socialist's Library.

THE SPIRIT OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT—By J. Allen Smith, LL.B., Ph.D., Professor of Political Science in the University of Washington. This is one of "The Citizen's Library" edited by Prof. Hoyt. It is a study of the American Constitution, its origin and its relation to democracy. A book you should read, by all means. Price, in cloth, \$1.25.

OPENING OF THE MANY—By Charles Russell, the magazine writer. This is a book just issued and deals in a striking way with the unrest of the victim classes throughout international capitalism. Price, cloth, 15c.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL CRISIS—By Prof. Walter Rauschenbusch. Almost everyone interested in the social question has heard of this book. It is a worth-while book and may be had in cloth for \$1.50; postage 15 cents extra.

THE BITTER CRY OF THE CHILDREN—By John Spargo. This book sounded the alarm of warning that a long-felt want had been filed. You should possess it. \$1.50 in cloth, 15 cents extra for postage.

THE JUNGLE—By Upton Sinclair. A powerful book, exposing wage slavery and capitalist abominations in connection with the meat packing business in Chicago. Postage 15 cents extra.

THE SOCIAL UNREST: Studies in Labor Movements—By John Graham Brown. A book you should read. Price, in cloth, \$1.50. Sent postpaid. A fine book.

AMERICAN COMMUNITIES—By Wm. A. Rensselaer. A study of the economic conditions of the United States. Price, in cloth, \$1.50.

POVERTY—By Robert Hunter. A book that has shaken the land. We can supply it in cloth at \$1.50, postpaid; in paper, 95c, postage 5c extra.

PEOPLE OF THE ABYSS—By Jack London. A book you should read. Price, in cloth, \$1.50, in paper, 95c. Order it at once.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD
342-344 Sixth Street
Milwaukee, Wis.

The Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Branch 185, Milwaukee, has made arrangements for a basket picnic Sunday, June 20, in Taska's grove, Greenfield and 51st avenues. All cordially invited.

L. C. W. B.—Your communication relative to the Weinbrenner Co., either did not reach us, or was overlooked in the office in some way. Cannot you send it in again?

The South Side Young People's branch held a very successful meeting Thursday evening, at the Socialist home, and from present indications it seems as if the Young People's League of the South Side will be able to double its membership in a very short time. All young people living on the south side from the ages of 16 upwards, are urgently requested to join. Address all applications to Miss Cora Brockhausen, 553 Orchard street.

The difference between the highwayman and the captain of industry is just this: In exploiting the former generally draws the line at children.—M. Winchevsky.

Comrades, do your shopping at the places of our advertisers, and let them know why you buy there.

If you are looking for printing of the better sort—the kind that attracts attention and brings business, you will ask us to give you figures. We strive to please. The Co-operative Printery, 344 Sixth Street, Milwaukee.

"What Shall We Do to be Saved?" In this little booklet Victor L. Berger hands out Socialist doctrine as plain as the man who runs may read. 5 cents a copy, \$1.50 a hundred. This office.

"Socialism Made Plain," by Allan L. Benson, is still the standard Socialist primer. You can use it to do big things in agitation. It has already run through four editions. This office, 15 cents a copy.

Let our advertisers know where you saw their ad.

employers to bar organized workmen from employment, they have declared it unlawful for workmen to agree not to patronize non-union establishments. The only consistent rule observed by the courts in dealing with the labor question is the rule that capitalists have a sacred right to profits and that the working class has no rights in opposition to business interests.

Danbury Hatters' Case.

"In the Danbury hatters' case the United States Supreme Court has rendered a decision worthy to stand with its infamous 'Dred Scott decision' of fifty years ago. It has stretched and distorted the anti-trust law to make it cover labor organizations, and has held that the peaceful method of the boycott is unlawful, that boycotted employers may recover damages to the amount of three times their loss, and that the property of individual members, as well as the union treasuries, may be levied upon to collect such damages.

"By this decision the Supreme Court has clearly shown itself to be an organ of class injustice, not of social justice. If this and other decisions are not speedily reversed, organized labor will find itself completely paralyzed in its effort toward a peaceful solution of the labor question. The success of the capitalists and their courts in this assault upon the labor movement would be a disaster to civilization and humanity. It can and must be defeated.

Ballot Is a Weapon.

"At this critical moment the Socialist party calls upon all organized workmen to remember that they still have the ballot in their hands, and to realize that the intelligent use of political power is absolutely necessary to save their organizations from destruction. The unjust decisions of the Supreme Court can be reversed, the arbitrary use of the militia can be stopped, the wiping out of labor laws can be prevented by the united action of the workmen on election day.

"Workmen of the United States, use your political arm in harmony with your economic arm for defense and attack. Rally to the support of the party of your class. Vote as you strike, against the capitalists. Down with military and judicial usurpation! Forward, in one solid phalanx, under the banners of organized labor and the Socialist party, to defeat capitalist aggressions, to win immediate relief for yourselves and your wives and children, and to hasten the day of complete emancipation from capitalist exploitation and misuse."



An Invitation

to our showing of things suitable for

Wedding Gifts

is extended to you. We can conservatively assert that it is the most representative we have ever had.

—Tegtmeyer's

Hand-Painted China

Plates **\$2.00 to \$5.00**
Salts and Peppers **2.50 to 3.00**
Vases **5.00 to 10.00**
Sugars and Creamers **5.00 to 10.00**
Bowls **3.50 to 15.00**

Silver-Plated Ware

Bread Trays **\$2.00 to \$8.00**
Tea Sets **5.00 to \$0.00**
Fruit Bowls **2.50 to 25.00**
Baking Dishes **5.00 to 15.00**
Water Sets **10.00 to 20.00**

Rich Cut Glass

Celery Trays **\$3.50 to \$5.00**
Vases **3.00 to 15.00**
Bowls **3.50 to 25.00**
Sugars and Creamers **3.50 to 10.00**
Nappies **.75 to 5.00**

Solid Silver Pieces

Meat Forks **\$1.00 to \$8.00**
Salad Spoons **3.50 to 10.00**
Cake Servers **3.50 to 6.00**
Sugar Spoons **1.00 to 3.00**
Fruit Knives **3.00 to 10.00**

Archie Tegtmeyer

Cut Glass—Silverware

392 NATIONAL AVENUE

Open Evenings

Cor. Grand St.

Closed Sundays

The Anti-Public Schools Lobby

At the convention of Federated Catholic Societies, held at St. Patrick's church last Sunday, the subject of securing the public school instruction in manual training and cooking was discussed. Most delegates favored it, but some feared it might augment the uneasiness on the part of the public, which was brought about by the demand that the public schools funds be divided.

In this connection some facts about lobbying work against the public schools on the part of the Catholic society members came out. Said one Nicholas Heintskill:

"As a representative of the Catholics at Madison, I urged that the bill permitting cheap text books in the public schools be killed. My argument was that the state had no right to use taxes that came from all people for the benefit of a part of them."

This was the argument advanced against public schools in the early days of this republic, on behalf of bachelors. "Why should I pay taxes to help educate other people's brats?" said the unmarried adult. But the schools were established

just the same, and no judge was black enough to dare pass upon the constitutionality of the act.

The Fifth Ward branch will hold an open meeting Thursday evening, June 3, to build up their organization. Comrade E. T. Melms will deliver a lecture on "Human Progress" and the committee will also provide for a musical program. Everybody cordially invited.

When patronizing advertisers mention the HERALD.

A FEW REAL BARGAINS

THE BIG GROCERY

Regular 10c size Glacé Ice Cream 5c
12 rolls Toilet Paper 25c
3 rolls Toilet Paper, largest size for 25c
50 sheets Paper, all colors, 10 yds. each 3c
Fancy Yellow Peaches (free stones) per can 15c
2 cans of good Peas or Tomatoes for 15c
Choice Red Kidney Beans, 10c quality, per 6c 4 cans for 25c
2 pounds of Choice Dried Peaches or Peas for 15c
4 pounds of Fancy Java Rice 25c
Headquarters for the Finest Line of FRUITS AND VEGETABLES on the South Side.
FRITZLAFF & WINK
584 MITCHELL ST.

Confirmation and Graduation

These are uppermost in your mind at present. To us, it means that you have also in your mind the purchase of a pair of Shoes or Oxfords befitting the occasions. A pair from Lamers will please. All colors. Prices right.



354 GROVE ST. MILWAUKEE, WIS.

H. W. BLAESING Union Shoes

967 KINNICKINNIC AVE.

JOIN THE ORGANIZATION

This is an age of organization. Everything that amounts to anything is organized. And everybody who wants to accomplish something co-operates with others—joins the organized effort in that line.
We want Socialists. We have organized to get it. There are nine millions of us. We have over five hundred representatives in the national parliaments of the world. We have a majority of them all. We have hundreds of papers, tracts, pamphlets and bulletins, hundreds of speakers, thousands of workers, tons of literature. We want to convert the world. It is a big job. It will require systematic, organized, sustained effort.
Hence we must organize. And hence, if you want your work to count directly and constantly, you should join the Socialist-Democratic Party.
Send the application for membership below, cut it out and send it, together with 10c to pay the first month's dues, to the secretary of your local organization. Or, mail your application and the fee to the address below. All necessary information, literature and instruction will be promptly sent to you.
Social-Democratic Party
344 Sixth St., Milwaukee, Wis.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF WISCONSIN
State Headquarters, 344 Sixth St., Milwaukee, Wis.

I, the undersigned, subscribe to the principles and endorse the platform and constitution of the Social-Democratic Party; and, recognizing allegiance to and severing all connection with all other parties, do hereby apply for membership in the Social-Democratic Party, and agree to pay the regular dues.

Name _____
Recommended by _____
Address _____
Occupation _____

Were you ever a member in this party before? _____
If so, why did you leave the party organization? _____

Special Sale Sewing Machines!

New and Second-Hand Machines—Singer, White, New Home, Domestic and others—

FROM \$5.00 UP TO \$50.00

Repairing, Needles and Shuttles for all machines.

Telephone South 4082y **E. H. HEISMANN** 440 National Avenue 440

Would Drive Union Men Off the Lakes
Public Sympathy Is With the Seamen in Their Fight With the Steel Trust. A Tell-Tale Letter by One of the Vessel Owners

The sympathy of the public is with the marine men in their strike against the Lake Carriers' association (principally the steel trust). The reason is that the men are absolutely in the right. And the strikers are showing splendid pluck in maintaining their side and are playing fair—which the vessel owners are not doing.

Cleveland, O., Capt. ... Milwaukee, Wis. Dear Sir: I enclose you herewith copy of a letter from the Lake Carriers' Association, giving a list of the shipping masters' offices at the different ports.

sea coast shipping in order to substitute foreigners at much lower wages," he said. He says every seaman is compelled to buy a "discharge book" at the beginning of the shipping season, and that this is turned over to the captain of a vessel, who keeps the record of the sailor in it.

Town Topics by the Town Crier

The Homecoming graft for the hotels and street railway has called out some miserly donations from those institutions which have been back of the project from the start.

Assemblyman Ingalls of Racine, the foxy lawyer who got some misguided union men of Racine to send out endorsements of him on the pretense that he was on labor's side, voted in favor of convict prison labor when the binder twine bill came up.

"Rose Leaves for Seattle, Washington," reads a newspaper headline. Isn't it fine for the city to pay a mayor a fat salary for time he does not put in?

Ald. Seidel is on the trail of those fearful sidewalk inspectors. Instead of paying out a lot of the city's good money to a lot of Rose heels for "services," he would have all sidewalk contractors give a three-year bond for the quality of the work laid.

If the circuit judges are to permit discrimination as to jurors because of political belief, we shall be willing to take up the challenge. They have had crookedly selected jurors before them for so long that when there is a new deal and workingmen besides business men and politicians are found on the jury lists, it may look to some of them as if the old game of capitalistic "justice" was in peril.

The Free Press editor is much enthused over the nonsectarian board for Marquette college. He calls it "shrewd and admirable." It certainly is shrewd, all right.

PABST PARK NOW OPEN
MAYR'S MILITARY BAND
The Great CARRY SHOWS in the Grand MIRSCHNER'S TYROLEAN SINGERS
DANCING Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday Evenings.
ADMISSION 10 CENTS
CHILDREN Under 10 Years Accompanied by Parents, FREE.

A PICNIC of significance—something more than a mere coming together for merry-making—the planting of a milestone in progress—the marking of an epoch in history—a meeting having a definite purpose. All this, and more, may be said of the eighth annual gathering of the Wisconsin Social-Democratic Party
If you know Socialism these terms need no explaining. If you do not know it, it is time that you did. This picnic has for one of its purposes the making of opportunity to get acquainted with Socialism. Meet us at
Pabst Park Sunday, July 18
With its manifold attractions of beauty and amusement, Pabst Park affords an ideal day's outing. The Party will later announce many special attractions. Fix in your mind "Pabst Park, July 18" and be in Milwaukee.
Admission 10c Children Under 12, 5c Ball 25c

troit, said that the men were in the right. "We gathered in the Detroit meeting that the purpose of the

carriers is to drive American employes from the great lakes, just as they have driven them from the

it is true, but only enough was taken off one end to make a show of meeting the obligation.

A favorable board of public works, ready to wink at the thing because Altpeter was a Democrat and had since been elected an alderman, illegally paid over the money for the property without requiring the full grading of the lot.

Smarty Doe's Latest

Joey Doe has made another exhibition of himself. Evidently he sees "red dragons" as he ordinarily sees snakes in his delirium.

This week in Judge Tarrant's court "General" Joe Doe was the attorney in a damage suit in which the Falk Mfg. Co., was the defendant. The prospective jurors were being questioned, and, seeing that a number of intelligent looking young workmen were among them, Joe decided that they must be Social-Democrats.

"I do not believe that a man professing to believe in the principles of Socialism is qualified to sit on a jury where he may be called on to decide financial questions. If he is

a true Socialist he believes that wealth should be evenly distributed."

A Queer Union Man

Milwaukee union men are respectfully asked to note where Assemblyman Harras stood in the vote on a state binder twine plant. Harras is a member of the bricklayers' union, and although he ran on a capitalist party ticket, made it appear in his saloon campaigning that he would go to Madison as a representative of the working men.

His vote on the binder twine bill shows how much labor can count on one of its number who is willing to stand for office as a representative of a capitalist party.

There is more involved in the binder twine bill than mere public ownership of a monopolized industry.

The farmers want a state binder plant so the trust cannot fleece them. And labor wants it also because it will take the place of contract

Strike Ended

The brewery strike is practically settled. The first collective agreement between the Building Trades section of the Federated Trades council and an employers' association ever signed in the United States was agreed to by the Milwaukee Brewers' association Thursday afternoon. By this the strike of the section at local breweries is ended and all possibility of a general strike of the 3,000 employes of the breweries is removed.

Under the collective contract the brewers agree to employ only union men, either directly or indirectly, on any and all buildings they may erect.

The members of the conference committee were: For the strikers—Victor L. Berger, chairman; Edward Basenber, James Sheehan, Charles Jeske and J. J. Handley. For the brewers—Joseph Uihlein, Gustav Becherer, Carl Miller and Gustav Gehr.

There was no special meeting of the Trades council Wednesday, as a favorable settlement was already in progress.

Comrades, do your shopping at the places of our advertisers, and let them know why you buy there.

"The Co-operative Commonwealth," by Laurence Gronlund was long ago referred to as Karl Marx interpreted to the Yankee mind. You should have a copy to work with. This office, Paer, 10 cents.

opportunity they could claim he prepared a resolution to introduce in the council ordering the board of public works to do its duty, or, if too late, to confess its culpability to the council.

A member of the bar who would display such gross ignorance ought to be kicked out of even that none too respectable profession. And he ought to know that the Constitution does not permit him or any shyster to question a man's religious or political belief as establishing his fitness to serve in a citizen's capacity as a juror.

Will Furnish Free Text Books

Tuesday evening, the Polish people assembled at Pulaski's hall, Grant and American avenues to consider Polish in the public schools. In one school on the South Side they already teach the Polish language, but one teacher has to teach four grades, which is too much for one teacher.

Remove the Load!

"A heavy dray broke down in the street and a man was crushed and held captive beneath it. On top of the dray was a load of merchandise and on top of the merchandise were sitting a lot of Monopolists by expert sailers, some are direct copies of Paris and New York patterns, extra special \$4.98

"Then they called in a lot more men called Political Economists, who decided that the man had always been so crushed; it was his natural condition, and it was useless to think of releasing him."

"Next, chairs were endowed in universities to teach that the man was there because he was not fit to survive, or that he had to much overproduction on top of him; that even if he got out he could not walk, because of lack of experience in walking."

"Then came the Theologians, who said the man's heart was bad and that he must be saved before the stuff could be taken off."

"And the Theologians secured a life job for centuries, just for preaching that the man could not possibly be anywhere than where he was."

"Finally a man came along and said: 'Why, take the stuff off and let the man go free.'"

"That man was a Socialist."

Let us take care of your printing troubles; that's our particular business. Give us an idea of what you want and we'll do the rest. You'll be pleased. Address The Co-operative Printery, 344 Sixth Street, Milwaukee.

The noblest motive is the public good.—Virgil.

Comrades, do your shopping at the places of our advertisers, and let them know why you buy there.

"Socialism is the ideal and hope of a new society founded on industrial peace and free thought, aiming at a new and higher life for men.—William Morris.

"Socialism and Modern Science," by Prof. Ferris, a wonderful book. You cheat yourself by not reading it. This office, Cloth, 25c.

When patronizing advertisers mention the HERALD.

Jack London aptly asks: why should there be one empty belly in all the world when the work of ten men can feed a hundred?

DOUBLE S. & H. GREEN STAMPS All Day Mond'y Cloak and Millinery Dep't
Monday—Memorial Day—Store Closes at 6 P.M.
LEVY & KAHN ©
409-411 NATIONAL AVENUE
BETWEEN GROVE ST. & FIRST AVENUE
DOUBLE S. & H. GREEN STAMPS All Day Mond'y Cloak and Millinery Dep't

Great Sacrifice of Tailored Suits

Monday, Tuesday Wednesday
About 500 Ladies' and Misses' Tailored Suits to close out at the bare cost of materials—positively the greatest values ever offered in Milwaukee—new, stylish, up-to-date garments, all in absolutely perfect condition—at most astonishingly low prices.



- Tailored Suits, values to \$12.50 \$5.00
Tailored Suits, values to \$16.50 \$7.75
Tailored Suits, values to \$20.00 \$9.98
Tailored Suits, values to \$28.50 \$12.50

SPECIAL FOR MONDAY ONLY
29c Kimonos for 12c
FINE LAWN KIMONOS—handsome assortment of patterns, white grounds with floral designs and pin dots, entire garment edged with buttonhole stitching—regular 29c value—special Monday only—12c
SPECIAL FOR MONDAY ONLY
Imitation Horsehair Flats
Extra fine quality (like illustration)—black only—regular 98c values—on sale Monday—special at 19c
Not more than two to a customer.

Flowers and Foliage 6c per Bunch
SPECIAL FOR MONDAY ONLY
Single American Beauty Rose—with foliage, 19c value, a, per bunch 6c
Carnation and June Rose Foliage—large bunch, 19c values, per bunch 6c
Silk Poppies—pink only, 15 blossoms to a bunch, 25c values, sale Monday per bunch 6c
Forget-Me-Nots—large bunch, pink and white only, 19c values, special Monday, bunch 6c
Clovers—10 blossoms to a bunch, with foliage, white and lavender, 19c values, special Monday 6c
MONDAY, TUESDAY, WEDNESDAY
Stylishly Trimmed Hats
AT RADICALLY REDUCED PRICES
\$1.98 New Trimmed Hats—all colors, regular values up to \$3.50, on sale, extra special \$1.98
\$5.00 and \$6.50 Trimmed Hats—special for three days \$3.75
Over 200 Stylishly Trimmed Hats—almost no two alike, all the latest spring blocks trimmed with flowers in summery effects, extra special \$3.75
\$4.98 for Trimmed Hats worth up to \$8.50—all the lending shapes and colors, small, medium and large effects, carefully made and trimmed by expert milliners, some are direct copies of Paris and New York patterns, extra special \$4.98

DAVIDSON
Next Week—Beginning Monday Matinee
Merely Mary Ann
Greatest of All Stock Productions
Sherman Brown Stock Co.
Prices—Matinees, 15c, 25c, 35c
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ALHAMBRA
ALL NEXT WEEK
Commencing Sun. Ev'ng—Mat. Thurs. and Sat.—Special Mat. Mond'y—MOET H. SINGER Presents the Big Musical Show
The PRINCE OF TONIGHT
With HENRY WOODRUFF
and Entire Original Cast. Direct from the Princess Theatre, Chicago.
Prices—Ev'ngs 15c to \$1.00, Mats. 10c-75c

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