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CURRENT COMMENT

BY FREDERIC HEATH

The case of one Woodrow Wilson will probably prove one of the most pathetic in American history.

In the recent street car strike in Buffalo the local Socialist paper was the only paper in the city that stood by the men from the start.

Next week The Herald, as usual, will present its May Day issue. It will be a good paper for propaganda uses and effective when placed in the right hands.

Talk of Socialism being ungodly. Bishop Spalding evidently does not think so. He has joined the Church Socialist league, which has its headquarters at Valparaiso, Indiana.

The clean-up in the working class movement must be complete. Pay no money to fake "free speech" panhandlers or other militant-bum appeals for contributions.

Overheard on the Telephone. "Hello, central! Give me Main 542.—Is this Father McCabe?—Well, this is Mr. Pullman of the Pullman Packing company.

Bouquets from the Money-Changers. "A Mr. P. J. O'Keefe, in our esteemed contemporary, The New World, assures us that the late Mark Hanna very strongly approved the Catholic Church.

"And, by the way, Father, you know we employ two hundred of your congregation in our works. Well, there has recently come in among our workmen several organizers of the Industrial Federation of Labor.

Grand indeed is the cause of the people, and sublime is their upward march toward a true democracy on earth.

Those who have hitched their wagon to the star of democracy have ever been reviled.

When John Ball of Kent, after saying mass, gathered his flock on the streets and preached the equality of man, every blue-blooded and yellow-streaked aristocrat in Eng-

land shrieked for his blood. Today, every beneficiary of plutocracy; every cringing retainer; every fawning intellectual prostitute; every genuflecting servitor pillars the memory of John Ball and crucifies the people's friends.

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Yes, Father, Marshall, who does not stand very high with organized labor, burst forth with great tremors over the growth of Socialism and warns every one with a guilty conscience over the robbery of labor to keep his eyes peeled.

The ignominious flat-out of the attempted hunger strike of the fellows who have been framing-up a fake free speech fight in Denver for the sake of the shekels that it would bring in from about the country, is enough to make the gods laugh.

Elsewhere this issue is a timely bit of comment from John M. Collins, organizer of the International Association of Machinists.

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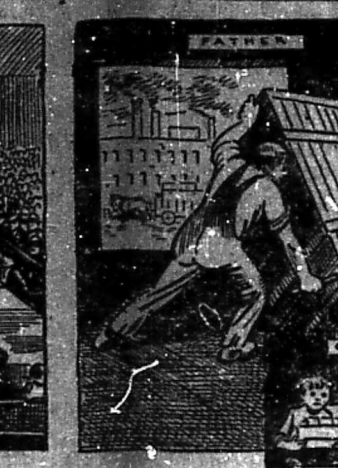
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A Fortune in One Fight.



Survival of the Fittest.



A Fight All the Year to Exist.

but its publication not long ago under big headlines of a list of benefactions to the church by America's rich, seemed to bear out such a suspicion.

hence the \$50,000 donation to the churches that most of these workmen belong to.

I am writing this so that my fellow Catholic workmen friends can see the game. It stands to reason that if a man or set of men give money to maintain a house or they will have something to say as to how this house should be run.

In case these Catholic workmen rebel and go on strike to better their conditions, then you can see what side these churches would have to take.

Again, where did the corporation get this \$50,000 money? Why they got it from the sweat of these workmen who belong to these churches.

He firmly believed that wealth should be shared and that the government's policies should be shaped to enrich the few at the expense of the many.

Even a Republican paper, The New York Tribune, in an eulogistic obituary notice of Hanna cannot overlook "a certain materiality in his ideals—a certain hardness and narrowness in his outlook."

We wonder at the growth of Socialism. Have we any reason to wonder? Is it not growing fastest where the pupils are continually preaching PATIENCE and RESIGNATION to labor, and neglecting to tell capital that defrauding the laborer of his wages is a sin trying to heaven for vengeance?

Do as much for American Socialism as the famous German daily has done for German Socialism. But American Socialists must do as much for The Leader as the German comrades did for their daily.

WHAT IS CAPITALISM? What is capital? It is anything that a person may own, and by means of the ownership of it, collect tribute from others.

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There are few conceptions over which there has been so much contention as over that of revolution.

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It is no wonder that the word, which every one uses, but each one in a different sense, is sometimes used by the same person at different times in very different senses.

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bye-election, in which we elected two members of the board. We have never mastered the past strength in such elections, and never expect to, while the present election machinery is in operation.

Father Peter E. Dietz, the Militia of Christ man, calls the Belgium strike for justice in the voting right bad names and says you can not believe what is being sent out about it any more than the news about Ferrer could be believed.

An Englishman who was very intimate with Pierpont Morgan claims that he had "an exaggerated fear of the Socialists."

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"But there is no reason why the Church or its clergy should bow low to bouquets thrown from this quarter. To display a smug satisfaction in the approval of the plutocratic class does not become a true churchman.

"The danger of Socialism, from the plutocratic standpoint, is wholly its effect on the wage scale. Among Christians, the most obnoxious aspect of Socialism is the menace, from its radical wing, the Christian marriage."

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on the collective organization of industry to a certain point, his long vision has seen the estimate of human nature told him unerringly that the processes he had helped set in motion were beyond his power to afterward stop.

The Salt Lake City Interimountain Worker reports that 150 men are on their way through that part of the country to the so-called free speech fight in Denver. They are travelling in box cars and feeding themselves by holding street meetings along the way, at which they pass the hat and take donations for the free speech fight.

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THAT TERRIBLE WORD: REVOLUTION! Shall It Cheer or Frighten the Common People? Kautsky, the Great German Socialist, Democrat, Makes Its Strict Meaning Clear. Read What He Says:

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80% Profit on Each Copy Do You Want This Chance?

Advertisement for 'One Minute Camera' featuring a camera illustration and text describing its features and availability.

Advertisement for 'Imperial Union Suits' featuring an illustration of a man in a suit and text describing the suits' quality and comfort.

Advertisement for 'Henry Ashton' featuring an illustration of a man and text describing his work and the quality of his products.

Advertisement for 'A Live Set of Books' listing various titles and their prices, including 'Merrie England' and 'Road to Power'.

Advertisement for 'Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Co. Book Dept.' listing various books and their prices.

Advertisement for 'A Live Set of Books' with a list of titles and prices, including 'Merrie England' and 'Road to Power'.

Large advertisement for 'THIRD EDITION! A Book Unique and Instructive' by Victor L. Berger, titled 'BROADSIDES', published by Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Co.

PETTY ABSOLUTE INTERESTS OF INTERESTS

The other day our fellow townsmen, Emil Seidel, addressed a meeting at Auburn, N. Y., where the employees of the trust are striking against the oppressive conditions of employment which the trust imposed upon them.

The action of the sheriff was arbitrary. He had no authority in the law to prohibit Mr. Seidel from discussing the strike or any other subject. But he did have the power to provoke a riot and Mr. Seidel did not purpose to permit him to use his speech as an excuse for arresting and assaulting the strikers.

The Socialists have no illusions concerning equality before the law. They recognize that the powers of government are in the possession of the capitalist class and that these powers are used to hold the workers in subjection as they were used to maintain the institution of chattel slavery.

Where do Americans find all the petty despots that they elect to office? How does it happen that these upstarts are so rarely called to account? When the sheriff of Cayuga county told Emil Seidel, once the Socialist mayor of Milwaukee, that in his speech at Auburn he must make no mention of the strike...

This IS the Limit. The world has worked itself into a furious mental condition, for I am convinced that the source of all our present discontent may be traced to an overcharged intellectual state. The world used to have hope, to have courage in the future, to believe in goodness; now it has only despair, it sees no future, and all is bad, writes the author.

A Question of Policy. "There are wars and wars," Bernstein finally said. "I can not say whether the Socialists would strike or not strike. It probably would depend upon the war. Many things would have to be taken into consideration. It is a big subject. If Germany were invaded, the Socialists would do their duty to the fatherland. But," he added with a smile, "I do not think that we should fear an invasion."

Marshall Emits Class-Conscious Cry. WASHINGTON, D. C.—Vice-president Marshall came to bat again today with a defense of what he said in New York last Saturday night in his address in which he warned the rich people to be good for the Socialists will get you.

The Soul's Expansion. It is for the soul's expansion, and for nothing else, in the last analysis, that Socialism is here, whether it will or no. It comes for the fulfilling of the soul's freedom, for the enlargement of the soul's responsibility, for the pointing of the soul for vaster adventures in the universe.

Slavery Afloat. Slavery still exists in the United States of America! Does that surprise you, reader—you who have thought the civil war abolished forever the practice of holding human lives in bondage? Yet it is true.

Dissatisfaction in Russia. Americans interested in the labor problem in the United States have gathered in some interesting data which Russia in connection with their study of the general European situation. It appears that Russian workmen are falling back into the condition of political and industrial discontent characteristic of the revolution...

The reader of Berger's Broad-sides will find his faculty of judgment on public affairs sharpened, and he will develop a judgment for matters economic and political.

The sheriff of Cayuga has no more authority to muzzle Mr. Seidel than he has to muzzle the press or the pulpit. If he were conscious of being in the service of the people he would not think of such a thing. The many functionaries in this country are only nominally in the service of the people. They enforce laws with parsimony. They are respecters of persons. They get their inspiration from interested parties. THEY SERVE THE RICH.

There will be no petty tyrants, or tyrants of larger magnitude, employing the instruments of government to deny to the workers their constitutional rights when the workers shall unite upon the political field. There was no complaint that the sheriff of Milwaukee county, or the district attorney, or the municipal authorities were "drawing their inspiration" from the capitalist class or "serving the rich" when Mr. Seidel was mayor and his Socialist associates were in possession of the county and municipal governments.

It was for the very reason that the Socialists did not draw their inspiration from the Merchants and Manufacturers' association that the Democratic and Republican parties were forced by their capitalistic masters to abandon their pretense of fighting each other and unite "to beat the Socialists." But even when they have "beaten the Socialists" they dare not use their power as they used it before the Socialist victory indicated to the workers the importance of political action.

There are too many Socialists on the job. The Milwaukee Leader, and almost 15 times as many as in 1910, is being kept up in the current year, which started out with a widespread strike in memory of the victims of "Red Sunday" in St. Petersburg, Jan. 22, 1905. Fifty-five thousand workmen according to the police figures, or some 1,000 according to the strike committee, laid down their tools Jan. 22, in St. Petersburg alone, as a protest against the shooting of the followers of Father Gapon by the troops eight years earlier, an event which the world has rarely heard of except on the annual recurrency of the date.

Here's Lese Majesty. We, as is well known, have no sympathy whatever with suffragettes at all. Any woman who has any right whatever to resort to criminal outrage to advance the cause, to force their opinions upon others, or their theories into legislation, who have the ordinary legitimate means at their disposal to carry on their propaganda, in the present instance, moreover, we believe that these tactics have irretrievably and in some cases feloniously injured the cause they were supposed to advance. We cannot but rejoice, therefore, that the ordinary law having proved powerless—the public have taken the law into their own hands, and are beginning to pay the suffragettes back in their own coin.

Having said that much, however, we must most emphatically protest against the treatment meted out to those suffragettes who attempted to present a petition to the king last Tuesday. We cannot pretend to any great love, veneration, or admiration for monarchy, or any of its representation, and our own little Georgy-Porgy is certainly not a personage to inspire any of these sentiments. While we do not believe that there can be any harm in putting him to some use—that is, if any use can be found for him. Anyway, the monarch is supposed to be the fount of honor and of mercy, and the proper personage to adopt resolutions of public meeting. long-standing wrong should be addressed within their right, therefore, in attempting to present Georgy with a petition. It was ridiculous to speak of the monarch as the fount of honor and mercy, and the proper personage to adopt resolutions of public meeting. long-standing wrong should be addressed within their right, therefore, in attempting to present Georgy with a petition.

The Los Angeles. LOS ANGELES, California.—Battling against a combination of socialism and old guardism, the Socialists are going into the primary election here on May 6 in a desperate effort to gain a majority and end the struggle there. The present campaign was brought on by the adoption of a charter amendment in 1908 which has ever since been a constant thorn in the side of the present administration, in that it ended the terms of all present city officials on July 5.

Job Harriman again heads the Socialist ticket. He is backed by a strong financial organization, as ever went up against capitalism. The aqueduct, into which \$23,000,000 already have been poured, is a big issue in the campaign. It is not finished and more money is needed for power development and electric operation. The old guard is seeking to turn over the potential power to the electric trust of the coast, the same corporation that has its deadly grip on the Roosevelt dam on the Salt river in Arizona.

The Los Angeles municipal ticket is under a cloud from the fact that the candidates for the city council. They are Mrs. Frances Noel and Mrs. Milla Tupper Maynard. Mrs. Noel is a member of the present industrial commission, appointed by the city council in 1908. She is a writer of more than ordinary reputation and a deep student of social and civic questions. Frederick C. Wheeler, who came within 1,360 votes of election in the Harper recall after a four-day campaign, is also on the ticket. She is a candidate for the city council. They are Mrs. Frances Noel and Mrs. Milla Tupper Maynard. Mrs. Noel is a member of the present industrial commission, appointed by the city council in 1908.

A Word from Big Six. New York Typographical Union No. 6, New York, April 14, 1913. Social-Democratic Herald, Brisbane Hall, Milwaukee, Wis. Dear Sir: When the present management of the Metropolitan Magazine assumed control some sixteen months ago, they changed the previous policy to that of opposing the Socialist cause, they found themselves tied up with a contract for the printing of the magazine with a non-union concern in this city. Numerous inquiries and complaints from the writers and the underground officers of Typographical Union No. 6 called on Mr. Whigham, the president, who promised that when the existing contract expired the magazine would thereafter be printed in a Union printing establishment.

THE "CLOSED" SHOP. The trade union should be an admirable thing from the employer's point of view, for it gives him something concrete to have dealings with. The employers' organization is a thing that is not a thing from the employer's point of view for the same reason. Industrial progress would be vastly handicapped, if not altogether stopped, were such organizations to be done away with. There are men who remain honest without being forced to do it by fear of law; there are men who do not. There are employers who instinctively wish to be fair to those who labor for them, and there are those who do not. There are workmen whose natural desire is to do full duty to the men who pay them wages, and there are those who are far differently constituted. Any plan to be successful must admit existence upon both sides of men who will do wrong if they are allowed to, and the only weapon which will control such cases is ORGANIZATION.

MADISON, Wis., April 16.—The Minkley bill, endorsed by the Milwaukee council, authorizing cities of the first class to bid upon public work, was passed after Assemblymen Burke and Paula, "non-partisans" from Milwaukee, and Roessler, Jefferson, opposed it.

Helen Keller Sees Wilson Failure

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Declaring that President Wilson cannot carry on a true fight for Democracy, because the Democratic party is the narrowest, dearest, and most selfish of all parties that are against Democracy and for aristocracy, and because consequently he cannot expect the aid of his party in fighting for it, Helen Keller, the famous deaf, dumb and blind girl today prepared the following statement of why she thought Wilson would fail to carry out the high resolves that he expressed in his inaugural address and his message to congress:

(BY HELEN KELLER.) The tariff will keep President Wilson very busy for a long time, and, I believe, will in a compromise with Big Business, or with its representatives in the legislature. We cannot have justice until the biggest part of their toil for his profits, has succeeded in this money-making trust. That time is coming. I foresee the day when the people will take over all of man's products and transport them to the consumer. Man's affairs will be managed for the benefit of all.

That is Democracy. We have never before seen Democracy. It has never existed in the world. There has never been a free nation. From time immemorial man has bowed to the will of masters. They have never rejoiced in the labor of their hands, because some master has always taken a large part of their toil for his profits. That is the most wonderful thing in the world to me—that men have continued all these centuries to allow other men to take the greater portion of their labor. Nobody robs us on the highways without the hue and cry of law—but the trusts have taken our produce, our waterways, our resources—and have controlled them to their own profit. We will try to get a better manage these things will there be happiness.

President Wilson, though his intentions are good, and his ability great, cannot lead us in our fight for true democracy. Why He Will Fail. "President Wilson will fail because the forces against him are stronger than his own," said Helen Keller. "The president has never been. He will have to fight blindly against a system that has been carefully built up—a system of trusts that have concentrated more and more of the world's wealth and the world's efficiency, and profit. His own party will be against him. In lessening Big Business' profit, he will alienate his closest supporters. The president has said he will help the poor, but this condition higher than Haman. They must have laughed in their sleeves when they heard this—that is the powers-that-be in the financial world."

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IT HAPPENED IN MILWAUKEE

Despite the vigorous protests of the Social-Democratic members, the common council, in its adjourned charter meeting Friday afternoon, awarded three out of four of the contracts for the city's printing to concerns that do not have the union label.

The awards were as follows: Advertising, per folio, The News Printing company, 45 cents for the first issue and 35 cents for subsequent issues; the Germania-Herald, 44 and 34 cents; the Kurier Publishing company, 44 and 24 cents for printing 23.4 per page for from 750 to 1,000 copies.

Social-Democratic Protest.
Ald. William Coleman, Social-Democrat, made a motion to eliminate The News Printing company, the Germania-Herald, and the Kurier Publishing company from the competition for the contracts, on the ground that these concerns do not use the union label. After a spirited discussion, the motion was lost by a vote of 15 to 11. Aldermen Doerflinger and Urbanek, Social-Democrats, were absent, but Aldermen Meyer and Dempsey, "non-partisans," voted with the Social-Democrats.

Ald. George Grede, "non-partisan," advanced the argument that the council was obliged to award the contracts to the lowest bidders under the law.

Grede Shows Colors.
"If my employer knew I carried a union card, he would make it impossible for me to get work in the United States," said Ald. Grede, who is a telegrapher. "A thousand men are out of work in Canada now for just such a reason. (Ald. Grede was evidently referring to the Great Northwestern Telegraph company, which is the Western Union in Canada, as it is discriminating against union men to the extent of discharging them.) That's why I don't carry a union card. The object of the minority in this council is not to show the minority in harmony with union men, but to try to show that the majority is opposed to unions."

"We're union men and we carry union cards and we are trying to show sympathy for union men," declared Ald. Welch, Social-Democrat. "I have been a union man for 25 years and I will never stand for the interests of humanity and a working class. There was a laugh when I introduced a resolution in the council in 1904, asking that the union label be placed on the manual. But it was put on and has been on ever since."

Kaney Is Fearful.
"I'm just as good a union man as you are," sputtered Ald. Wittig, addressing Ald. Welch. "I believe I would be violating my oath of office if I voted for this amendment," said Ald. Kaney. "It is mandatory upon the common council to give the contracts to the lowest bidders."

"I would feel very sorry or the union movement if all union men were like Ald. Grede," declared Ald. Leo Kraybill, Social-Democrat, a strong trade unionist. "He is afraid to vote for this because he would lose his job. The constitution of the United States is supposed to grant freedom of the press, freedom of speech and the right to organize. As Socialists we avail ourselves of these rights." "I am sure that the aldermen who vote against this will have a fine explanation to do," declared Ald. Allridge, Social-Democrat and trade unionist.

"I stand for the interests of the working class," said Ald. Coleman, Social-Democrat, and president of the Consolidated Painters' unions. "I would walk the streets with my feet out of my shoes before I would deny that I am a union man."

The Chaps Who Made the Constitution

Many of the common school text-book traditions of American history were dealt some hard blows by Oscar Ameringer when he spoke on "The Truth About Socialism," before nearly 1,000 people at Plunkington hall, Auditorium in Milwaukee.

"Our American government is not a democracy, nor was it ever intended to be," declared Ameringer. "The men who made our constitution were not the men who drafted the declaration of independence."

"It is a significant fact that only six men who signed the declaration also signed the final draft of the constitution. These six were all 'non-partisans.' Four of them were farmers—all with a degree from Yale. Benjamin Franklin, one of the other two, had not set type for 50 years."

"The class that had been in secret and sometimes open sympathy with the Tories, and who did none of the fighting for independence from England, were the people who wrote and dictated the constitution."

"Our American constitution is the most un-American institution in the country. It is a foreign importation. It was imported from England. The framers of the American government wanted to have a government with a democratic semblance of a democracy, and with the substance of an aristocracy."

"They followed the model of the English monarchy, and they succeeded admirably."

"Our house of representatives is comparable to the English house of commons; our senators to be compared with the English house of lords; our president is not unlike the English king."

"But our democracy is even less democratic than the English monarchy. We have a supreme court, proposed, are the best antidotes for Socialism ever prepared. The laboring man turns to Socialism because he believes it is the thing that will give him an equal chance with capital. He can not get his rights under the law and he becomes a sympathizer with Socialistic ideas."

which has a final say on all legislation. There is nothing in the English government to compare our powerful and tyrannical supreme court to."

"The supreme court is appointed by the president and confirmed by the congress. It is responsible to no one on earth. It can do as it pleases; and it has done as it pleased. It can override the will of the people and nothing less than an aroused public opinion was the case in the Dred Scott decision, can compel them to recede. And in that case it took four years of bloody war to change a supreme court decision."

"The various checks and balances upon the will of the people, the institution of amending the constitution to make it reflect the will of the people, were described by the speaker, who deprecated the lack of interest in their affairs by the people."

"It is characteristic of the American people that they know nothing of their own government, write at the same time being loud in their praise of it," declared the speaker.

DANISH SOCIALISTS ACTIVE

One of the foreign-speaking branches of the Milwaukee Social-Democratic party is comprised of members from a nation whose population is less than one-half that of New York city—Denmark.

It is only more than natural that the local Danes should be strong for Socialism, inasmuch as to their native country, the Socialists number more than 50,000. Quez-playing adherents. And in the last national election in that country in 1912, the Socialists polled 98,718 votes. One-half of the councilmen of Copenhagen, the capital city, are Socialists.

Unshackled Organized Labor.
"Take the shackles from organized labor and give it chance with those who are already protected by the statutes," Assemblyman Rosa also spoke in favor of the bill declaring it high time that something be done to remove the shackles from the members of the lower house who are inclined to balk a Socialistic measure which comes up for consideration, either voted for the bill when their names were called, or were conveniently absent from the chamber. Those who did not vote are Hedding, Hinkel, Litz, Estabrook, all "non-partisans" from Milwaukee and Mahon of Shawano county.

Not only did the house order the bill to engrossment, but immediately suspended the rules of the roll call and passed the measure. Three who voted in favor of the bill are Allison, Anderson, Barrington, Ellingham, Burke, Carpenter, Chiswick, Clancy, August, Dietrich, J. Dietrich, Dorn, Engstrom, Evrett, Frederick, Gannon, Goff, Gorecki, Grande, Hulicson, Don S. Hall, Judson Hall, Hamata, Law, Heden, Holmes, Hood, Huribout, Jennings, Jensen, John, Axel, L. L. Johnson, Kiefer, Larsen, Laurson, Laycock, Lentz, Manning, McComb, Meloyck, Minkley, Mory, Nordman, Nye, Paul, Paul, Peavey, Rhes, Richards, Schindler, Schmidt, Rom, Scholander, Schneider, Schnitzler, Sharp, Smart, Smith, Sommerfeld, Stempier, Stewart, Ta., Urquhart, Viebahn, Vint, Walsh, Whiteside, Zillier, Zinn and the speaker.

PARTY NEWS OF THE WISCONSIN MOVEMENT

Protecting Contractors.

MADISON, Wis., April 14.—Although both houses of the legislature have been working with fair rapidity toward disposing of nearly 1,500 measures before them, none of the big measures have been more than touched upon and the session has been held for 13 weeks.

Sympathetic With Socialists.
Looking over the "non-partisans" from Milwaukee county, it is easy to see that but one idea prevails and that is to carry out the strongest plank in the "non-partisan" platform—to "beat the Socialists." So far they have not been as successful as was expected for there are other members of the assembly who sympathize with many of the Socialist measures and vote for them when possible.

Vote With Labor Men.
Not only did the house order the bill to engrossment, but immediately suspended the rules of the roll call and passed the measure. Three who voted in favor of the bill are Allison, Anderson, Barrington, Ellingham, Burke, Carpenter, Chiswick, Clancy, August, Dietrich, J. Dietrich, Dorn, Engstrom, Evrett, Frederick, Gannon, Goff, Gorecki, Grande, Hulicson, Don S. Hall, Judson Hall, Hamata, Law, Heden, Holmes, Hood, Huribout, Jennings, Jensen, John, Axel, L. L. Johnson, Kiefer, Larsen, Laurson, Laycock, Lentz, Manning, McComb, Meloyck, Minkley, Mory, Nordman, Nye, Paul, Paul, Peavey, Rhes, Richards, Schindler, Schmidt, Rom, Scholander, Schneider, Schnitzler, Sharp, Smart, Smith, Sommerfeld, Stempier, Stewart, Ta., Urquhart, Viebahn, Vint, Walsh, Whiteside, Zillier, Zinn and the speaker.

Those who voted against the bill are Grimud, Hansen, Murphy, O'Day, Ott, Pfenning and F. Jesler.

Better Pay for Rural Teachers.

MADISON, Wis., April 18.—Assemblyman Minkley's bill which would create a minimum salary for rural school teachers, was reported out of the joint finance committee for passage, Thursday night. Under the provisions of the original bill the minimum wage was fixed at \$80 per month, but this was amended so that \$40 will be the lowest salary.

This is a step in advance because statistics show that the average wage of rural school teachers is \$40 and with the minimum fixed by law at that rate, the average will be increased.

In arguing for his bill, Assemblyman Minkley declared that higher education served to save the state money, because it lessened the rate of criminals. He said it would hardly be expected of teachers earning \$25 or \$30 a month to educate the coming generation to the best advantage of the public.

The State Field

MILWAUKEE.
Milwaukee Social-Democratic officials—City attorney, Daniel W. Hoan; Tax commissioner, Louis A. Arnold; Water board, John Doerflinger; Aldermen, William Allridge, William Coleman, John Doerflinger, Leo Ryzack, O. A. Olson, August Strobel, Arthur Urbanek, Albert J. Welch; Supervisor, Frederic Heath; George Mensing; School directors, Mrs. V. J. Berger, Henry C. Reasch; County trustees, Frederic Heath, Eckstein, Edgewood, agricultural school board, Frederic Heath; Board of Health, Fredrick Heath; Board of Supervisors, Fredrick Heath; Board of Public Health, Fredrick Heath.

Declaring that Milwaukee's municipal government is sadly in need of a surgeon, as it is the worst in the United States, Henry Bruere of the New York bureau of municipal research, after an extended (three days' investigation at the city hall in the interests of the proposed citizens' bureau of efficiency and economy, started a group of wealthy Milwaukeeans at a banquet Tuesday evening in honor at the Hotel Pister, Thursday night. He deplored the absence of a paper system in most of the departments, but praised the work of Health Commissioner P. A. Kraft and Deputy Controller Pfeulicher.

"Here you may not have graft, but you are wasting a lot of money," declared Mr. Bruere. "In my experience I never have seen such a bad form of government. It is not city government in Milwaukee. It is a collection of governments."

Daniel W. Hoan left for Washington, D. C., Thursday at 11 a. m. City Attorney Hoan will argue the tuberculosis milk test case of the city of Milwaukee against John Quincy Adams, Waukegan, in the United States supreme court early next week—the first case Wisconsin has had in that high court in 35 years. Mr. Hoan will be the first Socialist city attorney who ever argued a case in the United States supreme court.

It is a case of considerable interest as 15 states have laws similar to the Wisconsin law, under authority of which the city passed the ordinance which brought on the case.

In 1908, the common council passed an ordinance, recommended by the then health commissioner, prohibiting the sale of milk within the city limits that did not come from cows that had been tested for tuberculosis before and found to be free from that disease. The validity of the ordinance and the state law was upheld by the state supreme court, but Mr. Adams appealed the case to the United States supreme court.

SUPERIOR.
News of Socialist victories are still coming in. The latest comes from Superior, where Henry M. Parks was re-elected mayor Tuesday evening. A member of the state executive committee of the Social-Democratic party of Wisconsin. His victory is due to the advance that Socialism has made in Superior.

ASHLAND.
ASHLAND, Wiscon.—I. S. McCrillis, Des Moines, Ia., will deliver a lecture on the Socialist movement course here next Wednesday evening in the city hall. He will speak on "What Socialists Want." Mr. McCrillis is well known throughout Iowa, having at one time been a candidate for governor. He also was a candidate for mayor of Des Moines in the last city election.

SHEBOYGAN.
SHEBOYGAN, Wiscon.—John C. Meyer, Social-Democratic alderman, was elected president of the council Thursday night after a deadlock which lasted through 41 ballots. Meyer received 8 votes and Henry Krueger, former president of the council, received 7 votes.

JACOBS GOES TO IOWA.
W. A. Jacobs, who was the Social-Democratic candidate for governor in 1910, left Milwaukee Wednesday for Iowa, where he will do propaganda and campaign work for about a month.

One of the most remarkable things about graft is the eminently respectable pockets that it finds its way into.—Judge Lindsay.

24 OUR YOUNG FOLKS

he had gone on board of the Minnesota a year previous and as he walked up the steps the words that the young sailor had spoken to him came back and now he understood what the sailor had said to him. "It's true," said Hans, "I ought to have taken his advice and kept out."

Hans went with an old ship's corporal, who promised to show him the sights. They wandered around New York and the corporal told him some funny stories in Brooklyn they took the ferry and went over. Somewhere in Brooklyn, in a side street, the corporal said: "Come on, Hans; I'm dry. Let's splice the main brace."

"They went into a dingy saloon, took a seat and Hans, who drank nothing in the shape of strong drink, ordered a lemonade, while the corporal took a whiskey. He had hardly drunk the whiskey, however, when he threw a half dollar on the table, took Hans by the shoulder and pushed him out of the door, following close behind himself.

Both had scarcely walked more than a few blocks, when the corporal became so "drunk" that he could not walk any farther, so Hans put him on a sheltered doorstep, where he went to sleep, Hans standing guard over him for several hours till he awoke again. "Hans," said the corporal, "that was a close shave. Do you know that that whiskey was doped? If we had staid there, perhaps neither of us would have reached the old Portsmouth again."

That experience was a warning for Hans, and he kept clear of saloons in narrow side streets after that.

CHAPTER XLV.
"Jumping the Boat."
Every man-of-war lying in port at anchor away from the dock, out in the stream, as it is called, has a regular boat service connecting it with the shore. So in the morning at reguile the first boat called the market boat, goes ashore with the stewards of the officers' messes. Usually the men who have had leave over night return with this boat, which should reach the ship at 8 o'clock. Then, after quarters, a boat, usually a cutter, with some officers ashore, with the mail orderly and such went ashore to leave. After dinner, at 1 o'clock, the last boat leaving the shore, usually at sunset, unless there were some officers ashore who had left orders that they would come later.

A large number of boys from the Portsmouth belonged to New York and some of them, not being out of debt, were not allowed on shore. In consequence, when they had duty in the cutters that plied between the ship and the office, they were not allowed to land, and landing, some of them jumped the ship and ran ashore to get their money paid to this, but after a while so many deserted that the first lieutenant determined to put a stop to it and only such boys as were out of debt were allowed in the boats. Then, when the cutters came into the dock, instead of tossing the cutter and running along the pier as usual, the cutter was backed in stern way to the landing stage. When the passengers had disembarked the boat was shoved off and lay on some distance from the landing till the passengers that were going back were assembled on the deck. Then the cutter was backed in again. These taken on board were the stars when the cutter shoved off and pulled

back to the ship. In this way the boys were prevented from jumping ashore.

CHAPTER XLVII.
Hans Is Promoted.
During the forepart of November the Portsmouth completed her stores and was placed under sailing orders. On Nov. 4, the wind being fair, she got under way with a spanking breeze and ran down the North river under topsails. She passed through the Narrows and, when off the quarantine station it blew so hard that the sixteen topsails were split like an old rag. The wind freshened into a first gale, so that she was put under storm canvas, that is, close reefed fore and main topsails and storm staysails.

The weather continued heavy till she anchored in Chesapeake bay on Nov. 16. Next day, with a light fair wind, all sails were set and the old ship sailed up past Fort Monroe and an old salt pointed out where the Mermaid was blown up. Then up James river she went, past the city, up to the navy yard, where she moored to the dock.

The wind died out gradually and all sails remained set till the ship was ordered to be dismantled, the sails unbraced, the running rigging unrove and the light yards and masts set down. She was put in drydock and had her bottom cleaned and overhauled. The boys were kept busy in the rigging, and sail lofts and in keeping the ship clean. There were a number of other ships at the navy yards, the crews often exchanging visits. All of the boys were examined and Hans was promoted to second-class apprentice.

CHAPTER XLVIII.
"Dr. Conundrum."
One day a young darkey came on board who wanted to ship as a wardrobe boy, an officer's servant. He had wandered down the berth deck where he spoke to one of the cooks. The cook gave another cock the wink who went ahead into the sick bay, where he pretended to be the doctor.

The darkey was then taken to the sick bay where he was ordered to strip and then put through a physical examination made to the cook on his head and do other tricks. After the cook had got as much fun out of him as he wanted to he was given a paper signed by Doctor Conundrum and told he was now one of the ship's crew.

The poor fellow then went into the wardrobe and there assisted the other boys. When one of the officers asked him what he was doing there he replied that he was shipped and handed him his paper.

The officer, the darkey, had him placed under the under the sentry's charge. While here the supposed doctor came to him and asked him why he was there, at the same time, telling him that he must have committed some breach of the ship's rules and the best thing he could do would be to strip. Watching his chance the darkey lit out and was gone. One of the boys who had it mped the doctor in New York was brought back by a detective

and placed in irons in the brig to await trial by court martial.

CHAPTER XLIX.
Good-Bye to the Portsmouth!
On December 6, ten apprentices were transferred to the U. S. Vandalla which sailed a few days later for the West Indies. Christmas day came and brought a good dinner for the boys. They had turkey and cranberry sauce sweet potatoes, etc. One of the men's messes had a young pig roasted and one of the marine messes had three opossums that are considered a great delicacy among the darkey.

After divine service a list of the boys to be transferred was posted up on the bulletin board on the gundeck by the ship's writer and Hans found his name on it. He had turned in his station billet and learned that he was going to be sent to the Corvette Galena then lying at the navy yard in Brooklyn.

For the evening an entertainment had been arranged by the chaplain with the following programme which was posted on the bulletin board.

GRAND ENTERTAINMENT!!!
Christmas Eve at the half deck hall, corner of Mississippi Street and Forest Avenue. Carriages can be ordered at 8 P. M., they will be found at the guns. Children without arms not admitted. The performance will be let loose at 7 Q. X. sharp.

Part I.
Overture Bugle.....Sander, the ship's Bugler
Refrain.....E. M. Sellers
Reading Marjory's Ghost.....The Chaplain
Song—You Know What I Know.....Tough

Intermission.
During the intermission refreshments may be had at the sentrybox.

Part II.
Overture Bugle.....Sander, the Ship's Bugler
Etiquette, Women's Rights.....G. L. Sellers
Home Rules.....The Bugler
Coffin Song.....The Bugler
The performance will close by the bugler playing "I am my little boat's captain" with the boys popping down and bawling "Turn into your hammocks everybody! Keep silence fore and aft!"

On December 26, the boys to be transferred sung clean hammocks and made out their clothing list. Turned in their clothing to the master-at-arms who had them packed in a separate bag. At four o'clock in the afternoon they had their supper, soon after a navy yard tug came alongside of the Portsmouth, the boys took leave of their shipmates, and going on board of the tug with their bags and hammocks, they gave three cheers for the old Portsmouth and her crew as the tug drew away.

(End of the second part.)

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AUTHOR OF
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investigation at the city hall in the interests of the proposed citizens' bureau of efficiency and economy, started a group of wealthy Milwaukeeans at a banquet Tuesday evening in honor at the Hotel Pister, Thursday night. He deplored the absence of a paper system in most of the departments, but praised the work of Health Commissioner P. A. Kraft and Deputy Controller Pfeulicher.

"Here you may not have graft, but you are wasting a lot of money," declared Mr. Bruere. "In my experience I never have seen such a bad form of government. It is not city government in Milwaukee. It is a collection of governments."

Daniel W. Hoan left for Washington, D. C., Thursday at 11 a. m. City Attorney Hoan will argue the tuberculosis milk test case of the city of Milwaukee against John Quincy Adams, Waukegan, in the United States supreme court early next week—the first case Wisconsin has had in that high court in 35 years. Mr. Hoan will be the first Socialist city attorney who ever argued a case in the United States supreme court.

It is a case of considerable interest as 15 states have laws similar to the Wisconsin law, under authority of which the city passed the ordinance which brought on the case.

In 1908, the common council passed an ordinance, recommended by the then health commissioner, prohibiting the sale of milk within the city limits that did not come from cows that had been tested for tuberculosis before and found to be free from that disease. The validity of the ordinance and the state law was upheld by the state supreme court, but Mr. Adams appealed the case to the United States supreme court.

SUPERIOR.
News of Socialist victories are still coming in. The latest comes from Superior, where Henry M. Parks was re-elected mayor Tuesday evening. A member of the state executive committee of the Social-Democratic party of Wisconsin. His victory is due to the advance that Socialism has made in Superior.

ASHLAND.
ASHLAND, Wiscon.—I. S. McCrillis, Des Moines, Ia., will deliver a lecture on the Socialist movement course here next Wednesday evening in the city hall. He will speak on "What Socialists Want." Mr. McCrillis is well known throughout Iowa, having at one time been a candidate for governor. He also was a candidate for mayor of Des Moines in the last city election.

SHEBOYGAN.
SHEBOYGAN, Wiscon.—John C. Meyer, Social-Democratic alderman, was elected president of the council Thursday night after a deadlock which lasted through 41 ballots. Meyer received 8 votes and Henry Krueger, former president of the council, received 7 votes.

JACOBS GOES TO IOWA.
W. A. Jacobs, who was the Social-Democratic candidate for governor in 1910, left Milwaukee Wednesday for Iowa, where he will do propaganda and campaign work for about a month.

One of the most remarkable things about graft is the eminently respectable pockets that it finds its way into.—Judge Lindsay.

A NOTRE DAME LADY'S APPEAL
To all knowing sufferers of rheumatism, whether muscular or of the joints, sciatica, lumbago, backache, pains in the kidneys or neuralgia pains, to write to Dr. for a home treatment which has repeatedly cured all of these tortures. She feels it her duty to send it to all sufferers FREE. You cure yourself! at home as thousands will testify. No change of climate being necessary. This simple discovery banishes uric acid from the blood, loosens the stiffened joints, purifies the blood, and brightens the eyes, giving elasticity and tone to the whole system. If the above interests you, for proof address:
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Every Saturday

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Nobility and Clerics Get the Shivers While Belgium Workers Silent Revolution Goes On

BRUSSELS, Belgium.—The greatest strike in the history of the world is now on in Belgium. Monday more than 400,000 workmen laid down their tools, left their factories and mines and workshops. Industry, commerce, trading, almost civilization itself is at a standstill. Hour by hour the number of the strikers increases. In a few days, not a wheel will turn, not a railroad train will move—the country will be paralyzed.

The working people object to the present system of voting. Under their present system every man over 25 years of age has one vote. This allows all the working people to vote. But if a man has a university diploma, he gets two votes instead of one. If a man owns property and pays a certain amount of tax he is given another vote. This means that only the rich people can have more than one vote.

people and clerics cast twice as many votes as the working people. If everybody had just one vote, the Socialist would rule Belgium, because they are the strongest political party in the country. But under the present system the nobility and the clerics rule the country. They rule it not because they have a majority but because they have an unfair advantage.

Capitalist Depravity—There's No Limit to It

THE WAGES OF SIN. BY EDWARD PORTER. (Written for The Herald.) (An employer, testifying before the Illinois Vice Commission, declared he "could see practically no connection between low wages and immorality.") I know you not; but well I know your kind, And most unkindly does it seem to me: Envoys of that False God, Almighty Dollar, You live as it befits your inclination; But to the ones who are your abject slaves, Your minions in the daily grind; you give, As if, forsooth, they were but pensioners, Less than enough to eke out mere existence; Then, as "Philanthropists" (if there be devils) How they must relish this! you do bestow As "Charity" the weary toilers' earnings.

(Perchance their children cry aloud for bread; You give them but a stone—mayhap a mighty one, Stuffed full to overflow with ponderous tomes.) From man to man this is a way most infamous: Then doubly damn'd be he who treats a woman so! Five dollars is enough for she who dwells at home; Eight if she be "drift." (O word significant!) For food, so much; for lodging, so and so; For clothing, less by far than any man Would smoke or drink in a convivial hour. Shame on you, Master Man! Full well you know The needs and the desires of womankind: Food, warmth, adornment, a recess from the grind That's oft a living death to soul and body. In quest of these she goes "the easier way." Does not your conscience hurt—or have you none? She sells her birthright for the Wage of Sin: But 'tis your Sinful Wage that drives her to it.

Dealing in Babies!

CHICAGO, Illinois.—A state maternity hospital and state supervision and inspection of private maternity institutions and founding homes, are among the remedial measures planned by the Curran legislative investigating committee for the protection of the hundreds of mothers yearly deprived of their babies in the institutions in Chicago and vicinity. Appalling conditions have been found to exist in the maternity hospitals and founding homes by the legislative committee. Infants are put up for sale and sometimes even bought before they are born in order to pay for the mother's medical attention during confinement.

No Socialists There.

One of the results of the municipal election held in Chicago last Tuesday is recorded in the daily press as follows: "Alderman Michael Kenes, known as 'Hinky Dink,' the fellow councilman of 'Bathhouse John' Coughlin, for the First ward, was returned as usual by an impressive total, getting 4,438 votes in the Progressive 711 and the Socialist 201. He had no Republican opposition."

Sensually Mad.

CHICAGO, Illinois.—Dean Sumner, noted educator, back from New York, where he "took in" some of the afternoon cafe dances that shocked Mayor Gannor, today took these flings at the metropolis: "New York has gone sensually mad. The afternoon cafe dance was introduced in Chicago following its vogue in New York. Dean Sumner today declared it "one of the greatest

MANY POLISH SOCIALISTS.

Probably the Social-Democratic party finds no stronger support from any nationality, excepting the Germans, than from the Poles. In the United States there are more than 4,000 dues-paying members affiliated with the party organization, and these are scattered in more than 400 locals in various cities of the country. Two daily Socialist newspapers, published in the Polish tongue, are maintained, and in addition to these are numerous weeklies, of lesser importance. One of the curious things observable in Milwaukee is the charged attitude of the Polish tongue, as well as the Polish people, toward the Social-Democratic party. Not so many years ago becoming a Social-Democrat with a Pole meant practical ostracism. The Socialists were denounced from the pulpits of the Polish churches and were ridiculed on all hands. But now the Polish is one of the strongest national groups in the party.

THE CASE OF CROOKED RULES.

The terms of the reinstatement of Richardson, the Normanston goods guard who was dismissed from his

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The Builders' Column. By A. W. Mance. MAKING SOCIALISTS. Socialist sentiment is growing these days with Niagara rapidity. The economic pressure in the shops, factories, mines and on the farms is plowing the mental soil in splendid shape to receive the message of the Socialist propagandist.

Riches are the portion of the idle, poverty the reward of the worker.—Liebknecht.

service by the Midland Railway company for refusing to break one of their own rules, afford as satisfactory a conclusion to the matter as could have been anticipated. As we have several times pointed out already, it is the usual practice in all industries to have printed rules, ostensibly framed for the protection of the work people, but which any work-er is expected to ignore at the orders of a superior on pain of instant dismissal. It often happens that a man has to choose between dismissal for obeying the letter of the printed rules or the risk to life and limb in carrying out some operation in contravention of those rules. In the latter case, if an accident happens the rule is cited to prove that the accident was the man's own fault; in the former case well, there are always plenty of excuses for giving a man the sack; and the matter is not one of public interest, it concerns himself alone. In Richardson's case, however, he was fortunate enough to be able to plead not merely his own risk, but that of the public. It was impossible for the company to stand out against that, and Richardson is to be congratulated on having performed a useful public service.—Justice, London.

Mr. Charles T. Plunket, president of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers, says that the high price of American labor handicaps the cotton industry. In many Southern mills children receive from 10 to 25 cents a day. In some New England mills adult spinners are paid, on an average, 90 cents a day. It is quite evident that patriotic American cotton mill owners, laboring to promote their country's trade in foreign parts, must be upheld. Mountain high tariffs are not enough. Reduce wages, by all means.—N. Y. Call.

OUR YOUNG FOLKS

Young Folks in Action

Contributions solicited. Write briefly.

HOW WILL THEY SERVE?

While it must be conceded that the Young Socialist organizations are as yet groping to find their place in the movement, rest assured they will find it. The young folks are organized for mutual improvement and entertainment, but also they are banding together so as to be of service to Socialism, and they will in time work into just the place that they are fitted to fill. It will not be enough that they have music and sociability; song with it they will crave the chance to help the great movement. Certainly there is work they can do that they can do better than their elders. What is that work? It will be made clear as the leagues develop and gather experience.

On this line a writer in the Buffalo Socialist, Comrade Kendrick P. Shedd, says: "Have you a Y. P. S. L. in your town? No? Don't let the grass grow under your soles. The young people are a vast asset for Socialism, and you should 'get them' if you don't. Some reactionary organization will depend upon that, for young people with their magnificent strength and waiting talents are not going to lie idle and unused forever! They are yearning for an opportunity to express themselves. Can you give it to them? Then some other fellow will—and you have thrown another fine chance to the winds!"

"How keep them? Well, set them to work, if possible. Most people like to do things. They don't like to be mere sticks, so to speak. They want to help build. They want to express themselves, where can we give them a proper opportunity? The membership must be studied, and work of some sort must be found. Our young people are anxious to help in the local work. For example, during the course of Lyceum lectures, just passed, we sang on the platform before each lecture. We took tickets. We handed, distributed cards and circulars. We made ourselves generally useful. That all helped. That gave many something to do, and they felt that they were of some use to the cause."

YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUES THE CHICAGO Y. P. S. L.

The Young Socialists of Chicago were the first to organize themselves into a Young People's Socialist League. Ever since the spring of 1907 the Chicago Y. P. S. L. has taken an active part in the Socialist activities of that city. They maintain a fine headquarters well equipped for the social and educational needs of the young people.

It is estimated that there are now 200 local leagues of young Socialists scattered over the nation and at the present time working practically independent of each other.

The question of organizing a national Young Peoples Socialist League will be brought before the next meeting of the National Committee of the Socialist party which will meet in Chicago about the middle of May.

Milwaukee.—The third annual May ball of the Y. P. S. L. will be held at Ethical Hall, Jefferson street, May 2. Refreshments will be served. A May party will be held on the South side, at Masonic hall, Blomknick avenue, May 21. The North Side Y. P. S. L. will have a theatre party at the Crystal theatre, May 29. The North side league has formed a dramatic section and has also a newly formed orchestra. The west side league is perfecting the organization of a guitar and the madolin club. The leagues in the city are electing delegates for a union organization to get up a constitution.

Los Angeles, Cal.—Some of our members have taken to hiking. A Sunday on a canyon trip is becoming popular. Harold Story, a Y. P. S. L. member is the winner of the Southern California Inter-collegiate oratorical contest. His subject was "The Revolution." The public speaking class is growing in interest and value. The Library committee has adopted new rules for the use of books.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT IN FINLAND

The Young People's Social-Democratic movement in Finland is growing to goodly proportions, according to reports. The Finnish young people's movement in the old country was started in 1904-5. The Young People's unions formed a federation at this congress of 1906. The second congress took place in 1908, where 48 organizations were represented reporting 2,500 members. The third congress in 1910 showed 106 organizations with 10,000 members. The union in Finland is not a formal part of the party but it is recognized and supported by it.

The union has its monthly organ, "The Torch." Its program is the same as that of the party. At the time the latest statistics were taken there were 191 dramatic societies, 60 choral societies and 78 sport societies.

Puzzles

PRIZE CROSS WORD ENIGMA. My first is in PLUMS, but not in BLUNDER. My second in SLIMS, but not in SLANDER. My third in TIME, but not in HOURS. My fourth in MINES, but not in TOWERS. My fifth is FERRY, but not in CROSS. My sixth is CARRY, but not in TOSS. Guess it rightly; a prize may go to thee. A humorous Socialist pamphlet will be given for the first correct answer.

OUR YOUNG FOLKS Every Week.

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Officers of the Chicago Y. P. S. L. Frank Kamlesh, Hall Manager; Vincent Dudick, Reading Clerk; Wm. Dickson, Richard C. Stark, Walter Klineham, Al Hoffman, Ass't Sec'y, Chairman, Rec. Sec'y, Librarian.

The Young Jack Tar

BY MARTIN GALL. (Continued from No. 7.) CHAPTER XLIV. Why Hans Did Not Desert. Going up and coming down the Hudson, Hans was enchanted by the beautiful scenery and one afternoon, when he had a two hour trick at the wheel, the quartermaster put him at the weather side and Hans was as proud as a king to be steering the old Portsmouth down the beautiful historic Hudson, with its picturesque and mountainous shores. After the Portsmouth had returned from Newburg, all of the boys who were out of debt and had a good record for behavior were allowed a sum of money, according to the amount due them, and received 24 hours' liberty. Hans found his name on the list of the boys who were to have liberty, and as he had in all about \$5, he thought now would be a good chance to skip. Before, however, he could carry out his plan, he received a letter from his father, which brought the sad news of his mother's death. Now, as Hans had always looked forward to seeing her again, this upset his calculations. The pain and sorrow also made him think over soberly what he was going to do, and the noble side of his character was awakened. He said to himself: "I have promised to serve till Dec. 7, 1887, and so I am going to keep my word. Later, when I get through life, I want to have a clean record and nothing to be ashamed of." So he gave up the plan to desert entirely, endeavored to save all he could of his pay, so when his time was up he could make a fresh start in life. CHAPTER XLV. A Side Street Adventure. On a rainy and disagreeable afternoon Hans found himself at the same landing from which