

Appeal to Reason.

J. A. WAYLAND

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FRED D. WARREN
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A Tale of Three Cities

By ALLAN W. RICKER

SOCIALIST VOTE: Milwaukee, 27,622; Minneapolis, 12,018; Columbus, 10,204

Rise of Socialism in Minneapolis

IN a little dingy back office, bare of all comforts and luxuries, strewn with papers and documents, in the city of Minneapolis we found the hardest worked man in the state of Minnesota. Union hours are not observed there and often long into the night is heard the busy hum of the office typewriter. This man's name is J. E. Nash, who may, by a point of years and experience, be called the Father of the Socialist movement in the state. His connection with the movement reads like a romance. It is the story of a once prosperous hardware merchant, an enthusiastic Sunday school superintendent and a choir leader, who finally was constrained to leave all, to preach the gospel of Socialism and plead the cause of the poor, just as in like manner, two thousand years ago, a little band of followers left everything to follow Jesus, the prophet of the poor.



J. E. Nash

It is a story of lost trade from contractors who boycotted Nash's business because he talked Socialism and unionism to the working men; of persecution by his preacher and social ostracism by his church, because he wove Socialism into the Sunday school lessons. It is the story of the boundless enthusiasm of a gifted and patriotic man—an old soldier—a poet, an orator, who for nearly ten years has been state secretary of the party and under whose careful, painstaking management the movement has grown from nothing until it has reached all sexes and classes. When we entered the office we found him sending out to the local secretaries of unions in the state, an announcement of the election of Comrade Hillman, a union engineer, to the legislature, and setting forth the fact that now the unions have a representative to plead their cause and invite them to forward all bills they wish introduced. This, with the mailing out of the last monthly financial report, showing an income of nearly \$400.00 per month from dues, was keeping not only himself but a force of volunteer Socialists busy into the night. This is a sample of everyday. Nash is the only man I ever saw who can make poetry, write letters and work, without losing a word in a conversation or mislaying a sheet of paper. Since Van Lear came within a few votes of carrying Minneapolis in his whirlwind campaign for mayor, Socialist organizations have been formed in every ward in the city. Nearly 1,000 new members of the party have been added and they are laying the basis not only for electing Van Lear next time, but a city council as well. And the general opinion is that they will do it. The newspaper reporters who came to see me when they found I was from the APPEAL, office all agreed that if Van Lear had had another week's campaign, he would have been elected mayor of the city. The wonder of it all is that a man, comparatively unknown to the people of the city and who had back of him no organization of any consequence, could in a few weeks give the politicians the scare of their lives.



Thos. H. Van Lear

The Socialist movement in Minneapolis for ten years has been torn and shattered by dissension and strife. Much of it is known to the Socialists of the nation, and to others it will be of no consequence further than to say that, like the troubles of other cities, it was due to the effort to free the party from the blight of the un-American Socialist Labor party tactics and spirit with which the American Socialist movement had to begin. Having gotten in the habit of discussing tactics to the exclusion of everything else, all energy locally was diverted to this channel, but patience and perseverance on the part of Nash and others finally won, and in 1910 the party emerged from it all harmonious and united with Van Lear, the business agent of the machinists' union, candidate for mayor. The change in the form of organization from one or two large locals to the ward branches and the city central

committee will prevent a repetition of the old troubles since the trouble makers will be removed to ward branches and silenced by the entry into the party, in overwhelming numbers, of new and enthusiastic members who have no disposition to split hairs over tactics to be pursued fifty years hence, but who are determined to make propaganda immediately effective.

Van Lear, Socialist candidate for mayor of Minneapolis, on November 8th, polled 12,008 votes, a little more than five hundred short of plurality. Who voted for Van Lear? The working people almost exclusively. Hundreds of small business and professional men disgusted with the administration of Minneapolis did not vote at all, while others voted for one or the other of the old party candidates as a choice between two evils. The next morning after election, on all sides, was heard the expression from these people, "If we had known that Van Lear had a chance of election we would have voted for him." They would have voted for him because the people of Minneapolis were sick of misrule, mismanagement—the so-called business men's administration, which means, graft, loot, public debts, poor public work and bad use of public money. Minneapolis is under an old, worn-out charter just as is Milwaukee. Every aldermanic district does its own public work. With no uniform street grade system, street cleaning, sprinkling and repair, and with all municipal improvement left to the ward alderman who is out for all he can make, you can easily imagine the result.

invited Carl D. Thompson to come over and explain what the Socialists were doing in Milwaukee. Thompson and Van Lear addressed an immense audience, with a paid admission at the door. From the proceeds of this meeting they had some campaign documents printed and, with a hastily gotten together distribution organizations of union men, they put them in the homes. Van Lear went on with his speaking campaign at the factories and shops, and, when the election came, it brought with it the surprising result.

While everybody is proud of Van Lear's victory, all agree that it was

How Socialism Won in Milwaukee



ICAME to Milwaukee to find out how the Socialists carried the city, what they have done with it and what they are going to do. It is to be assumed that Milwaukee people are just like those of other cities. Socialists have carried no other American cities, therefore there must have been something about the movement here superior in its methods of reaching the people to that of other places. If so, then the Socialists of the nation ought to know what these methods are and apply them or so much of them as are good, so that other cities may be carried by the party and the working people get the more quickly their social and economic freedom. I wanted to see if there was a real Socialist movement here, having its origin in the working people and being guided truly in their behalf. I also wanted to find out how Socialists begin to transform a city from capitalist to Socialist conditions; and then I wanted to tell this story so simply, so interestingly, and so completely, that literally millions of people would be interested in every line of it. I decided to write an article from day to day on the ground as things impressed me and in order that I might not be treated as a Socialist and hence have my viewpoint spoiled, I came to Milwaukee as Allan C. Jones, a press correspondent from Des Moines, Iowa.

I know that I worked my imagination pretty hard as I fairly flew over the rails to Milwaukee. What was I to see? How would it feel to step into a city at whose helm, guiding its destiny was a Socialist mayor? Would things be different from the capitalist ruled city?

Well, in the main, things look here about as they do elsewhere. There are still a great many people in Milwaukee who are not Socialists. I am stopping at a popular hotel and in five minutes I can walk into the heart of Milwaukee's culture and wealth. This, as you may imagine, is out along the lake front, whose terraced banks are covered with the palatial residences of the rich. Here you will find some Socialists but you must look for them. I felt a stranger in a strange place so far as Socialism was concerned till I walked over into the factory districts and among the smaller business men. With the latter you begin to find Socialists, for the more discerning of this class foresee their doom by way of the department store route under capitalism. Then when you get into the working class wards, into the factories and shops, you find Socialists and just about nothing else. This is true except in the two slum wards, where live the social outcasts. Both of these wards are represented in the city council by Democrats. The Socialist movement is one that grows by education and the slums are not susceptible to education. The slums are always purchasable and the Socialists do not buy votes. The honest working men of Milwaukee have furnished both the votes to carry the city and the money with which to pay campaign expenses. The Milwaukee movement did not grow in a night. It had a small beginning but it has been carefully planned, well conducted, and splendidly organized.

Milwaukee has three well edited Socialist weekly papers. The Herald in English, edited by Frederick

better to have lost this time for not a single member of the council was elected, and, to redeem Minneapolis from graft and mismanagement, the city wards must change their political representation in the council. All recognize that without a Socialist city council, Van Lear's victory would have been barren of any good to the city.

When the American working class, that sleeping giant of industry, finally shakes itself into life and action and awakens from its long sleep of indifference, it will open its eyes to see that always has it had within its possible grasp the

They have not wasted time in idle discussion and foolish contention, but have kept steadily working for practical results. Their well thought out and systematic methods finally brought the answer—a Socialist administration—and I believe it has come to stay for the boys are making good. Although they won by a plurality rather than a majority, yet they are winning new recruits daily and new laurels in the honest administration of the city's property.

I hope as you read these pages that you will find many interesting



How Miss Socialism Will Work.

Six weeks before the fall campaign which ended in the election of Berger to congress, fourteen members of the legislature and all the county officials, the Socialist organization began the issuance of a four-page paper, printed in English, German and Polish, splendidly written and illustrated, and which was put in every home in the city each Sunday morning. Now we come to that which has been the chief means of Socialist success—their careful and painstaking method of distributing literature. Of this paper more than 100,000 copies were printed each issue. The edition was completed on Saturday. The papers were then made into bundles, hauled out into the wards and precincts where they were divided among a force of 1,200 volunteer carriers, who very early Sunday morning put them in the homes of the people. The Socialists in Milwaukee say that to this silent, effective distribution of literature, more than anything else, they owe their success. Of course, they had meetings and had them everywhere, and they have plenty of able speakers from the unions and professional people but the thing that "did the trick" was the literature profusely distributed and constantly followed up.

Imagine Victor Berger, now congressman, with his ponderous size, carrying papers to the houses, yet he has done it frequently. Heath says that more than once Mrs. Heath has assisted him in his distributing assignment. In Milwaukee there are no Socialist drones or shirks; there is no aristocracy. It is a case of "every Socialist works in our town". Their one objective has been to educate the workers to Socialism, and then the capture of the city government by the party.

key to its own freedom. When it at last realizes the power of united action—the meaning of comradeship—of mutual class interest, it will step into the control of the cities its hands have built, the railroad whose ties it has laid, and whose rails it has forged. When this day comes, peace and plenty will be within the reach of all.

Everybody says Van Lear can be elected next time, and what everybody says must be true.

"Van Lear and a Socialist city council in 1912" is the rallying war cry of Minneapolis Socialists.

Nearing Victory in Columbus

IAM writing this morning from the scene of one of the greatest strikes of the many historical battles of labor. As I look out from my window over the beautiful city of Columbus, Ohio, and watch its busy citizens peacefully pursuing the even tenor of their way with the happy thought of Christmas and its good cheer in their minds, it is not possible even to imagine what things must have been like, when, a few weeks ago, the sullen explosion of dynamite awoke the midnight echoes, the sharp crack of rifles played intermittent accompaniment, and long lines of soldiers paraded the streets menaced by angry mobs of indignant people; that business was paralyzed and the worst and most brutal passions of men and women exhibited. The Great Columbus street car strike is ended, leaving as a memorial of the struggle a discredited mayor, who, like Pontius Pilate of old, at first showed sympathy for the strikers, but, menaced by the threats of the high priests of commerce, finally delivered the workers to be crucified. This mayor's name is Geo. S. Marshall. Then it involved, too, a democratic governor, one Harmon by name, with presidential aspirations. He, too, played the Pontius Pilate act trying to evade responsibility, but at last espousing the cause of the capitalists. Last, but not least, was a small group of Socialists who were the only people that kept their heads. These Socialists constantly counseled patience and discouraged violence. They went among the working people and preached the gospel of Socialism so effectively that when the votes were counted in November, 10,000 ballots had been cast for Tom Clifford, Socialist candidate for governor, and almost 12,000 for Bachman, Socialist candidate for congress.



J. S. Bachman

A brief resume of the strike is all the APPEAL readers will care for. The street car system of Columbus, like that of many other cities, is owned by the notorious Clarke syndicate of Philadelphia. E. K. Stewart, banker, capitalist, and plutocrat of Columbus, is local manager. These local managers occupy the same relationship to the working men as did the Yankee slave driver whom the southern planters employed to manage their "niggers" before the war. The old southern planter was too humane and kind hearted to mistreat his slaves. He humored them and they played off on him in their work. Finally he hired a long, lean, lank, flinty hearted Yankee, as cold as the New England mountains, to manage his slaves. The planter then sat on his shady veranda smoking his fine Havana cigar and drinking his whiskey and mint, his sons and daughters—meanwhile riding their Kentucky thoroughbreds along the shady drives or dancing in the parlor, while out in the hot sun, with an umbrella shading his head, the flinty hearted Yankee slave overseer with pistol and whip was driving the slaves to work the cotton fields, to create the profit to buy the planter's whiskey, to educate his sons and daughters, to buy the fine gowns from Paris and thoroughbred horses from Kentucky. The modern manager of a railroad or street car system and even of factories is of the same genus as the Yankee slave overseer. His capitalist employers are miles away coasting in million-dollar yachts, smoking in the cool shade of the Adirondacks in summer or basking in the warm sun of Florida in winter. Their daughters dine in palaces, and their sons revel in luxury and ease. They never come into contact with you, hence feel no sympathy for your sufferings. The general manager through his overseers handles you and the overseer like the slave driver with the "niggers" gets all out of you he can. For the whip and pistol, substitute the policeman's club the militia and the court's injunction and you have a working machinery

as effective as that used in slavery with this one difference, you can vote, and you will when your dull brains realize your power.

Some 900 men—just working men—men unknown to fame—handled the switch levers, punched the tickets and safeguarded the lives of Columbus passengers. These men received in pay an average of \$1.93 per day of nine hours each, were allowed six minutes to eat dinner, aside from which they were not allowed to even care for those necessities which are common to human existence. Not a single owner of stock in the railroad, but who might have his porterhouse steak three times a day to be eaten at his leisure. Not a man on the line doing the work—useful—necessary work—could on \$1.93 per day in a city even dream of such luxuries. The men organized a union, the only possible protection of a working man from capitalist oppression, until Socialism is established. They struck for better conditions, easier hours, and more pay. The union and strike was a surprise. The company was not ready for it and a hasty truce was made and the men went back to work. The Clarke syndicate did not propose to have a union among its men, and they were ready to spend any amount of money to break it up. They openly boasted that they could run the cars for years without profit and even at expense, as the income from other cities would carry the Columbus system. They contracted with the Coach detective agency of Cleveland, Ohio, for strike breakers. This Coach is, himself, an ex-convict and his force of strike breakers is recruited from the slums of the earth. When all was arranged the street railway company began to discharge union men and so harass the union as to force a strike. The strike came and with the strike the strike breakers with revolvers strapped around their waists and equipped for battle. No sooner did these strike breaking thugs man the cars than they began to flourish their weapons, shoot into houses, and it is even believed that they dynamited the cars. The strikers picketed the line to request people to boycott the cars. The union men of the city, some 12,000 in number, and the great majority of the people walked or rode to and from their homes to work, in busses and wagons. The actions of the strike breakers soon



Coach the Convict. (From prison photograph) so angered the people that they began to shoot in return. Then came the police, later deputy sheriffs and finally the soldiers.

The employees asked for an increase in pay, amounting to 41 cents per day and in a year this would have cost the car company about \$85,000. It would have meant that much more money to have been spent in Columbus—that much less to be sent east to enrich capitalists already rolling in wealth. Moody's Manual for 1910 gives the following facts regarding the Columbus end of this corporation for 1909, the year before the strike: "Capitalization, \$5,000,000, only 20 per cent of which represents cash outlay; gross earnings, \$2,577,202; dividend \$125,000; surplus \$135,000, or total net earnings, above estimate, depreciation of rolling stock, \$260,000." This represents only part of the syndicate's holdings and does not include smaller lines operated by the same company. Notwithstanding these facts, the Columbus chamber of commerce, composed of Columbus business men, lined up for the eastern syndicate

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A Socialist City Administration

Every city election we hear the same old story, oft repeated by the capitalist newspapers. "What we need is a business man's administration." The people have been getting "business administrations" for years and in every city of America there is the same wail of distress. City overwhelmingly in debt, public service bad, graft in the police department, poor construction on the streets, open-handed vice, poor housing in tenements, improper sanitation, high light and water rates, and often an appalling indebtedness, requiring an ever-increasing burden of taxation. Is it not time to enquire what is wrong with "business administrations"? The trouble is traceable directly to our excessive individualism. The American business man is a trained product of commercialism. To him nothing is worth while which does not make money. The right to get rich is to him a sacred American privilege. The man who can make money is his hero. Somebody has said that a successful business man in America must have three qualifications. 1st, money. 2nd, an elastic conscience. 3d, belong to the church. The first gives him a start, the second, working leeway, and the third respectability. When a business man becomes mayor of a city and the city council fills up with ward politicians, the city proceeds on the theory that all city privileges must be farmed out to contractors. Private brick companies must make the brick, and private paving companies lay the paving. Private sewer companies lay the sewers, private street car companies run the street cars, private water companies furnish the water, private gas and electric companies furnish the light, private halls for public gatherings, private parks for summer amusements, in short all public functions given over to private companies for private profit. To protect these private grafting institutions in their exploitation of the people all the civil and police powers of the city is used. As a result we have a train of abuses so great that the people groan under the burden. To get away from the gross corruption and notorious civic mismanagement of public affairs, the people have organized civic federations, good government leagues, and now the latest fad is the commission form of government. While coming from Minneapolis to Girard recently we had the pleasure of meeting enroute one of the largest contractors of city work in the nation. This gentleman was one of those remarkable products of our system that you now and then meet; a workman who had come up through sheer force and genius, from a newsboy to a successful business man. He was a genius no doubt, a rare product in these days—hard as flint on the surface, just because a successful business man must be. He explained to me that he preferred to do business with city administrations on an honest basis, but that he was forced often to do it otherwise, simply because the ordinary alderman expected to be paid for every concession granted. The contractor had no sentiment about the matter. If it was necessary to buy he bought, and then took it out of the city. I asked him what he thought of the commission form of government. He shrugged his shoulders and said, "It greatly simplifies my work." If I have to buy I have but one man with whom to deal, and he is cheaper than a bunch of ward aldermen." There you have it. The commission form of government makes czars of five men. If they are good czars there may be an improvement; but if not, all conditions are aggravated. The commission form of government is undemocratic, and hence theoretically un-American.

A Socialist Administration
A socialist administration, to begin with, is scientific. Socialism is a science. Its fundamental concept is democracy. If it went work, then democracy will not work. The Socialist aims to educate the people in government and the administration of industry in such a way that the people will share in all public administration. When the people direct their affairs they will naturally so direct them that all the people will share in the benefits. The people must all use the streets, light, water, ice, heat, street railways, parks, schools, houses, banks and other things that will suggest themselves in time. A Socialist administration will at once begin to change these public utilities from private to public control. The removal of these public service corporations from private hands

will convert this private source of profit into a public benefit, and thereby ease the burdens of the poor people by so much. The people will not steal from themselves, and the whole secret of making a Socialist administration a success is to have these public functions democratically administered. This the Socialists will accomplish by the initiative and referendum—direct legislation. If this will not work then you might as well give up your boasted democracy and go back to the king and the titled lord for your government. The story of Milwaukee tells you how these theories are working when for the first time they are being tried in an American city.

The Socialists have promised an administration by the people, of the people and for the people, with all things, so far as possible, administered without private profit to anyone and public benefit to all. I came to Milwaukee to find out how they persuaded the workers to vote the Socialist ticket; second what they have done to benefit the working people, and incidentally all people; third, what do they intend to do, and fourth, have they furnished the working people in the other cities of the nation an example which they may follow on to success. Throughout the pages of this paper you will find the answer to these questions.

Who They Are

Let us put all doubt at rest from Maine to California. The Socialists of Milwaukee, who are doing things, came from the working class. No one can mingle with them for an hour and not know this. When you enter the splendid city hall you are at once struck with the fact that you have come to a place where you are welcome; where there is no arrogance; none of that air of "what do you want here" that makes you feel like getting out. You meet comrades, men of intellect, capable men, kind in their demeanor, not snobs, but men. You miss the old red noses that you see around the capitalist city halls,—the gang of hangers-on, they are not there. Never have I been more cordially welcomed, though a complete stranger, than by Socialist Milwaukee, the one city in America that is under working class control and where a working man can get justice and feel that he is protected by his own class and kind.

At the election last spring in Milwaukee many people voted the Socialist ticket who wanted a change from the old corrupt, and mismanaged city administrations. It must not be understood, however, that the politicians let Milwaukee go by default, for they made the usual campaign of vilification and abuse. The opposition made the same plea for a "business administration", that we always hear in city campaigns. The Socialists were represented as visionaries and wild anarchistic agitators, incompetent to conduct the affairs of a large city. All the methods usually used, such as police power, graft, the purchase of slum votes, etc., etc., were used. The Socialists put into use their literature distributing brigade and over 400,000 pieces of literature were placed in the homes of the people in English, German, and Polish. When the returns were in it was found they had swept the city, electing a majority of the council, as well as all the city hall officials.

Commenting on the election, the capitalist papers explained that the people wanted a change, and that the Socialists had won because of this sentiment. Milwaukee was not to be considered as converted to Socialism. Then came the fall campaign, where national politics entered into the struggle for supremacy. Here was to be a battle royal. Not only the county officials, which with the sheriff's office carried with it tremendous power, but a delegation to the legislature, and two congressmen were to be elected. If Berger, who became a congressional candidate was not elected he must reckon not only with a part of the country districts of Milwaukee county, but the outlying rural county of Waukesha. The fight centered largely on Berger, who was vilified, abused, caricatured and slandered. He, according to capitalist papers, was a dangerous anarchist, leading a deceived class to their own destruction. The streets were carpeted with abusive literature, and the bill boards with vituperative cartoons. Many trades were made between the republicans and democrats. There is no doubt that these two parties would have fused had it not been for the fact that together they would have been weaker than separated. When the smoke of

battle cleared away, Berger had carried the working class wards of Milwaukee by such overwhelming majorities and polled so many more farmer votes than was expected, that he was elected. Gaylord was defeated in the other congressional district by a small plurality, 13 of the legislative delegation, together with the county ticket, were elected, carrying the city by larger majorities than in the spring. The people were finding Socialism a good thing, and they wanted more of it.

In the Mayor's Office

MILWAUKEE has a mayor that about everybody likes. Ask any preacher almost in the city, and he will say a kind word for Mayor Seidel. Among the many interesting documents handed me was that of a page and a half write-up in *Zion's Herald*, a Boston publication of the M. E. church, by Rev. Enoch Parry, D. D., pastor of the richest local Methodist church. I cannot quote the article, which is full of kind and complimentary words for the mayor, but a few sentences here and there will give you an idea.



Mayor Seidel

"The eight hour law for city employees has been inaugurated. Officers and clerks are now found in their offices at 8:00 in the morning and do not leave until after 4:00 in the afternoon. The mayor himself is the best example of this. His office has his undivided attention. He has even sold out his business and pattern shop at a sacrifice in order to be a man of one work. He has eliminated altogether the saloons from the red light district and liquor is not permitted to be sold in disorderly houses. Men, regardless of party affiliation, admit that all these things are in the interest of the highest good of the city and they believe that the administration of Emil Seidel will carry a boon and prosperity to the city of Milwaukee. Party name is nothing; results are everything."

But of most importance is Comrade Seidel's standing among the working class. They come to his office as a child would go to his father and he is never too busy to hear what they have to say. His heart is large and his motives absolutely pure.

Departments at Work

City Attorney

The average person can have but faint conception of what the legal department of a great city is like. The city attorney and his staff are not only the public prosecutors of crime, but they are the legal guardians of the city's property. A city is constantly being sued by individuals who think they have claims and encouraged by lawyers, whose only means of existence is through encouraging litigation. A visit to the office of the city attorney of Milwaukee was an eye opener to me and I hope to make it to you. The office is presided over by one Daniel Hoan, not many years since a cook, for he is but thirty years old. He is a graduate of Wisconsin university of old populist stock, and by birth and ancestry a reformer. His nomination by the Socialists and later election was received as a joke by the Milwaukee bar, but this lawyer working man is turning the laugh, for he has brains. Gathering around him a staff of hard working, young attorneys as his assistants, he has built up what is conceded to be the strongest legal department the city has ever had. He has succeeded in making the corporations sit up and take notice and has recovered considerable money due the city and right now, has a case pending, which he expects to win, against the railroad companies for \$100,000. In addition to this he is resisting suits against the city in sums aggregating \$1,000,000. So far but

\$4,000 in damage suits have been lost.

In the legal department all the ordinances which go to the council are finally put in form to comply with the law. This is a great work, requiring the most painstaking details. These Socialist ordinances are not only resisted by the capitalist members of the council, but they must also be so drawn as to meet the searching unfriendliness of the courts. It must be always borne in mind that the Socialists are undertaking to make a Socialist city in a capitalist environment and are constantly confronted by obstacles that are a part of the capitalist system. Our laws have been made to conform to the idea of private property, while Socialists are endeavoring to promote the public welfare.

"What would you like to do that you can't do?" I asked the city attorney. "Well, said he, "I would like to begin on a municipal bank with a municipal loan agency branch. The local loan agencies are charging as high as sixty percent on personal property. A municipal agency as a part of the municipal bank, would do away with this injustice to the poor, who are often forced to borrow for a little while. A municipal bank would become a depository for the funds of the working man and could, in time, handle our improvement bonds. We thus, as a city, would borrow our own money to make our own improvements. Then we want a municipal ice plant, through which we can make and sell pure ice at cost. We also want a municipal printing plant and there are many other things which we hope to reach in time."

"What about the street car lines," I asked. "Well," said Mr. Hoan, "the charter of Beggs, the car magnate, runs until 1934, and we are apparently handicapped, but with a friendly legislature, we can, in time, find a way to get possession of the car lines. At the present time we are contenting ourselves with making the car companies obey the law. We have enforced the use of lifting jacks on all cars and have taken steps to enforce the law requiring the enclosing of car fronts to protect the motorman during winter. It is our intention also to build a municipal street car terminal, into which all cars will be required to run. We are proceeding cautiously with our work, spending no time with the impossible and impracticable. There is one thing about us that cannot be gainsaid; we are giving the city of Milwaukee an honest administration. This, we find, is the opinion of the very worst enemies of Socialism in the city, and the opposition is having a very hard time of it trying to find something to criticize."

City Treasurer

In the city treasurer's department something like \$7,500,000.00 is received and paid out annually. It is one of Mr. Whitnall's fond desires to establish in connection with the city treasurer's department, a municipal bank. Through this bank the bonds of the city can be purchased with the savings of Milwaukee working people, the bonds deposited with the state treasurer as collateral, and the people's money used for municipal improvements. The city is handicapped by lack of home rule privileges which only the state legislature can grant. The entire legislative delegation from Milwaukee, both Socialists and non-Socialists, are going up to the state capitol to work for home rule, for it is known that the people of Milwaukee are beginning to see that practical Socialism is a good thing for everybody and they want the charter restrictions which limit the things the city may do removed. Recently Mr. Whitnall required an additional bond for \$500,000.00 in order to handle certain funds. He was the recipient of many offers to go his bond, among the number being Mr. Charles Pfister, the wealthiest citizen of a wealthy city.

If you want to see the evidences of a Socialist administration in Milwaukee you must look for it, not in the streets and buildings, for the administration has not as yet had time to do much in the way of change, but you must look for it in the people. The people of Milwaukee have changed. They have new ideas and ideals. The Socialist spirit is in the atmosphere. It has possessed the people, and they are going to materialize it in a transformed city.

Police and Fire Departments

These departments are under civil service direction and when the Socialists took control of the city there were few actual Socialists among the policemen and firemen, but some humane laws, passed by the Socialist council, dealing with increased pay, shorter hours and work, and vacation periods, has opened the eyes of the patrolmen

and firemen, and I am informed that they are turning to Socialism in considerable numbers. It may be my lively imagination, but I fancy at least that I can see a difference between the Milwaukee policemen and those of other cities. There is not among them that air of arrogance, so frequently met with in the city policeman. What is more natural than that they should reflect the spirit of the administration which is sympathetic and charitable toward the unfortunate.

Commissioner of Health

A visit to Commissioner of Health Dr. F. A. Kraft, who has charge of the "clean up and keep clean" work of the city, developed many interesting details. For instance, he is organizing a women's inspection brigade to look after the tenement districts, departments of free medical advice have been opened and some new municipal hospitals designed. In the department of Public Works they have a purchasing department which has saved the city considerable money in the purchase of supplies. It is through this department and that of the city engineer's that they expect to abolish the notorious contract system.

We could have gone through the city hall from department to department, finding many things of great interest to those who will read this paper, but space absolutely forbids us to handle the many interesting things we saw, or at least to give them more than passing mention. For instance, the department of weights and measures, originated and fostered by the Socialists. Here Fred C. Jansen, the Sealer, showed us a large room containing thousands of weights, scales, measures, milk cans, etc., which have, during the last nine months, been confiscated from dealers, and some of them made to suffer heavy fines. We saw peck and half-bushel measures with false bottoms, shrewdly constructed scales for false weights, short measure milk cans, short ice dealers' scales; all bearing evidence that the people of Milwaukee have been submitted to wholesale robbery in weights and measures. Mr. Jansen informed us that it would take a full year to complete the organization of the city and clear out false weights and measures.

How Socialists Govern.

No Socialist in the city administration on any matter of importance, acts wholly upon his own judgment. Beginning with the mayor there is what is called the council which consists of that official, the city clerk, city treasurer, attorney, comptroller, and public works commissioner. Whenever anything of importance requiring executive action comes up the mayor summons the council and the whole matter is gone over, carefully thrashed out and a decision reached. Then there is what they call the caucus which consists of the above named officials and the city council. This caucus meets Saturday afternoons and carefully considers all matters to be presented to the common council. These are gone over in detail with full and free discussion and then a majority decision is reached and such decision becomes binding on all. When they go into the council chamber the Socialists are a unit for any measure decided on at the caucus. Then there is still another supervising body. This is the city central committee, to which many matters are referred for decision, and back of all this is the referendum to the membership. It will thus be seen that the Socialist administration is not, nor can it be, a one-man affair. Many people believe that Victor L. Berger is the Socialist boss of Milwaukee. This is not true and no one would resent this more than Berger himself. I have found men of talent in all the offices filled by the Socialists, many of whom, in fact all of whom measure up to Berger in ability. They do not all have his learning nor his aggressive fighting qualities, but they each have peculiar fitness for the work in hand.

The Socialists of Milwaukee are not trying to save money by economizing in the conduct of public affairs through decrease in salaries and wages. Socialists do not believe in that kind of economy. They have raised many salaries through the various departments in order to secure efficient men. One noteworthy thing is that they have raised the wages of the street cleaners, who, by most administrations, are squeezed down to the last cent for which they can be hired. A minimum wage of \$2.00 per day is paid to street workers. The administration is going to abolish the contract system and do all city work under the direct su-

per vision of city engineers. This will insure better work and do away with those parasites of capitalist city governments, the contractors, with their boodle and graft. The contractor, by working a political pull at one end of the line thus securing prices from the city higher than the work justifies, and at the other end beating down the price of labor, manages to extract a rich sum from the city treasury. A business administration, so called, finds no fault with this system because business is founded on private profit. A Socialist administration takes the view that serving the people, and that, since they are in the vast majority, means the working people, is the all important thing. Among other things planned to cheapen cost of street work, is a municipal stone quarry. An expert geologist from Madison has been engaged to analyze the stone from the various quarries so as to pick out the best. By conducting a city stone quarry and laying street paving under the direction of the city engineer, cutting out all side grafts, not only better work may be done on the streets, but thousands of dollars saved to the city. Below will be found the resolution relating to the pay of street workers introduced by Victor L. Berger in the council, passed by that body:

Whereas, The cost of living is continually rising and acts with particular sharpness upon the common laborer, the man who receives the lowest wages for hard and necessary work, but

Whereas, The man receiving the lowest wage thereby also decides the wages of skilled labor and fixes the standard of living in his vicinity; and

Whereas, A city corporation ought to set a good example for paying fair wages in that community by paying fair wages itself;

Resolved, That from and after January, 1911, no workman employed by the city in any of its departments (public works, water department, park board) shall receive a smaller wage than \$2 for a day's work of eight hours; further

Resolved, That the board of estimates be and hereby is requested to prepare the budget for next year in accordance with this provision.

Seen From An Auto



AMONG my pleasant experiences during my stay in Milwaukee was a ride over the city in the common council automobile with Frederick Heath, member of the board of supervisors and city treasurer, C. B. Whitnall. The latter is one who is destined to play an important part in the future of Socialist Milwaukee and in that connection deserves more than passing notice. Mr. Whitnall is one of the substantial characters of the city, one who has had commercial training. He is a florist by trade, an artist by temperament, and yet with all, has a substratum of clear practical sense and a poise of mind which qualifies all combined, make him of priceless value to the Socialist movement and the Milwaukee administration. In addition to being the guardian of the city funds, he is a member of that important body known as the Park board, only three of whom are Socialists but all favorable to the Socialist scheme of parking and beautifying the city. The influence of Mr. Whitnall on this board and his directing mind is easily apparent.

Whirling through the city in the auto, Mr. Whitnall at intervals pointed out to me, in a vastly interesting way, the new avenues that will be cut, some of them directly through the center of a block, in order to carve out streets and parkways that like the leaves of a fan, will spread out from the heart of the city to the suburbs, permitting people from all parts of the city to reach the downtown districts along the nearest ways of approach. These wide parkways will be planted to trees and shrubbery, with parks and comfort stations at intervals and as the outskirts of the city are approached, residence districts with parks adjoining will be provided. In addition to this the city is being divided into zones, where business, manufacturing and residence will be grouped for convenience and comfort. Factories will be placed in factory sections, residences where there will be health and comfort. To this end the city is almost weekly buying land and parks, issuing therefor real estate mortgage bonds to run twenty years with small annual payments. Where residence districts are opened, modern homes will be built and sold to the working people on long time with easy payments and small interest rates. In this work the county administration will also co-operate and on the further outskirts of the city acquire land where homes with gardens attached may also be secured by people who desire this kind of residence, on the same terms as named above.

Mr. Whitnall pointed out to me

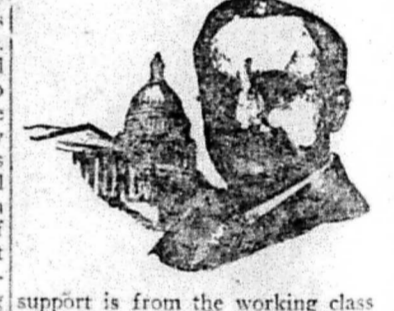
the place where the city will build a terminal station into which all city and interurban street railways will run; how they are intending to secure car rates over these lines for transportation of freight and delivery of merchandise; the building of local warehouses at convenient places, where the goods from the business section will be taken at night by the trolley delivery cars and distributed by wagons next morning. This will save the passage of heavy traffic over the streets and thousands of dollars in paving, besides getting the trucks off the congested trade centers. The ultimate ownership of the car lines by the city is intended, but at present impossible. At frequent intervals Mr. Whitnall would point out the location of a neighborhood center which is to be constructed along lines described elsewhere.

Now all this, dear reader, is not a "pipe dream" but it is to be a reality and actual work is to commence in the spring on all that I have outlined above. Does it sound good to you tenement dwellers in the dark, unhealthy and overcrowded districts of the city? Wouldn't a home in a beautiful park suburb within easy access of the car line appeal to you? Well, dear worker, there is not a city in the nation that cannot be doing likewise. Give a little study to Socialism, get in touch with the movement, join the party, and you can begin in other cities to work out these problems and in the end it will mean freedom to you and your children.

Visit to the Bergers

No story of the Socialist administration would be complete without mention of Victor L. and Meta Berger. I mention Mrs. Berger because through all his long and stormy career as a Milwaukee Socialist, Mr. Berger has had the support of a brainy and loyal woman. This in no small degree has contributed to his final triumph. Berger is called "The Socialist Boss" of Milwaukee. This charge comes not from the Socialists, who, themselves, know that in no sense is it true, but from his enemies.

Berger has the courage of a lion and that fighting disposition that never quits while breath lasts. While Mayor Seidel and others of the administration have not only the support of the working class but the sympathy of many other elements of the population, Berger's



support is from the working class exclusively. The working people of Milwaukee have come to know him as their champion. When he speaks, he speaks in revolutionary language and his words come hard and crisp. He applies no soft epithets to capitalism, but he lays bare its hellishness and hypocrisy in a way that hurts. Therefore, capitalist Milwaukee does not love him. We vent over with him the clippings and cartoons which tell the story of how his enemies fought him. He was called every hard name and made the subject of every vile insinuation that corrupted genius could create. This strong, hard-fighting man is sensitive and the fight got on his nerves and it took him weeks to recover from the shock of conflict. However, he won and then his enemies began to praise him. He will be heard. We saw his great library, said to equal that of the University of Wisconsin. With these books he is familiar.

Mrs. Berger is a member of the school board, on which body are two other Socialists, Mrs. C. B. Whitnall and Henry Raasch. I called at the Berger home as much to see Mrs. Berger about the public schools as anything else. "What have the Socialists done for the schools of Milwaukee," I asked her.

"Not very much as yet," was her reply. "We have but three members on the board and being in the minority have not been able to do much. However, we have placed Mr. Raasch on the building committee and through his practical ability as an architect we have been able to get better school room and sanitary conditions. The Socialists of Milwaukee have in mind free text books, free lunches for the poor children and free clothing when necessary. We also want larger play grounds and a more practical and simpler course of study. In the spring seven new members of the board will be elected and we confidently expect to secure control of the schools."

Warring Vice in a Great City



WHEN it comes to a discussion of this phase of our subject you must understand that Socialists make no pretensions to being moral crusaders. The Socialist is fighting for a change in the method of conducting industry, from the capitalist to the Socialist system.

Changes in social and economic conditions never come from the top of society; they must begin from the bottom. Wealth is complacent amid evil and injustice. It lives on the high ground and breathes pure air; it comes seldom in contact with distress and finally loses its sympathy for suffering.

But just how to handle the vice question is a big one. Our friends, the prohibitionists, rant about destroying the saloon and the preacher tell us that all the troubles of workers come from their intemperance.

"We are going to solve the vice question," said Frederick Heath, "by making virtue and virtuous things attractive. We do not intend to even attempt to destroy that saloon which will obey the law, but we are going to establish at intervals over the city, neighborhood meeting places.

"The Socialists have closed up the dance halls that have been run in connection with the saloon. This at first raised a howl of protest but the need for dancing by the young people was quickly met by dances promoted by lodges and clubs, and by establishing a municipal dance given under the encouragement of the city administration, and managed by a capable committee of representative citizens.

It was our pleasure and privilege while in Milwaukee to attend a session of the municipal dance. The happy people, thousands in number, were gathered in the three large auditorium halls, where light, warmth and sanitation made everything conducive to good behavior and gentility.

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have good amusements they don't care for the other kind.

Another undertaking fostered by the Socialist administration is a series of municipal concerts at the people's auditorium every Sunday afternoon, given by the cream of Milwaukee's musical talent. The city is German in its predominant nationality and, of course, is music loving and music talented.

"We propose to make Milwaukee a good place to live and a safe place to rear children." I can add my own personal testimony that never in my life have I been in a city where law and order are so apparent and such confidence is reposed in the integrity of the administration. We, outside, hear much of Milwaukee as a beer-soaked city. This is due to the presence of its big breweries.

One of the crimes that cry to heaven in all cities is the treatment of clerks and department store girls. The rule of clerking and prostitution is pretty well established in all cities. Girls are hired at wages which will not permit of self-support.

The Young Women's Christian Association has tried it, but the system of espionage practiced by the association is irritating to the normal girl. A municipal lodging house for girls, ideally conducted, will be minus this espionage feature and aim simply to furnish opportunity for virtue and not try to enforce it.

There can be no complete removal of vice until some fundamental conditions are removed from society. The opportunity to work must be open to every woman. This work must be sufficiently remunerative to supply all needs. It must not be of a nature destructive to pride. When these conditions are met and only Socialism can meet them, very few women will be prostitutes.

I was not surprised to find the Socialist administration in Milwaukee engaged in the work as outlined above. It is not what we have all been talking and dreaming about? It is just what you would expect a Socialist administration to be doing, and that is just what other Socialist administrations will do, my brother working man, when you get into the Socialist ranks and take over the property you have helped to create.

What They Say of It.

Dec. 8, 1910.
Mr. Allen C. Jones, care Pastor Hotel, City:
Dear Sir:-In compliance with your request, I have gathered up the following replies to your inquiries:

1. "How did the Socialists carry Milwaukee?"
We stopped fighting the workingmen. Then we worked hard for many years organizing. We distributed easily digestible literature on subjects that we had ourselves first digested. We had modified milk instead of clam-chowder. And we did not expect it to race until it could walk.

"What do you expect to do?"
We expect to build up a working people's movement which eventually shall encompass the working class. This is the Social-Democratic party. We expect to carry on a constructive legislative program in city and state affairs which, in contrast of the usual party program, will be carried out successfully.

County Attorney.
Dear Sir:-In reply to your communication, I desire to answer your inquiries as follows:
The Social-Democratic party at the last election was, perhaps, mostly due to an efficient party organization. Early we formed a permanent organization and every individual was prompted to exert his efforts, not for a mere political notch but for a cause which is deeply embedded in the class conscious mind of all members of the party.

County Clerk.
How did we carry Milwaukee? By having the trade union leaders with us, constantly advocating political action by the working class. We ran on a program of good, true workmen to the city council and a few to the legislature, thereby being able to bring about a change in the attitude on all public questions and especially on labor legislation. By a systematic party campaign, we have shown the distribution of literature showing that the Socialist party is the only political expression of the worker.

The Coroner.
The Socialists carried Milwaukee because we were the only party in the field which had a clean, honest, and sane program. The city administration demonstrated to the citizens of the city of Milwaukee its sincerity and honesty of purpose, and it is for this reason that the citizens of the county of Milwaukee wanted us to take over the administration of the city.

City Treasurer.
We carried Milwaukee by gradually acquiring the confidence of the people in our ability to scientifically solve the city's problems by means of getting before them with literature, with our speakers before every kind of audience where we could get hearing, and by making good whenever entrusted with office.

City Comptroller.
We won Milwaukee to Socialism by persistent agitation in the Social-Democratic press, mass meetings, and the systematic distribution of literature showing that the Social-Democratic party is the only cure for the ills of existing society.

The Aldermen.
The Socialists carried Milwaukee after a fifteen-year literature campaign, which in the spring of 1910, carried on by the Socialists in the homes of the people by our 1,200 volunteer brigade. Result—Socialists elected to the city council, and the city government was turned over to Socialists. We are planning many things which have been held back by the old-time guardians, the state legislature, must give us a local self-government. In our budget to the legislature we will ask for power to establish and operate a municipal laundry, hospitals, laboratories, cold storage plants, five dispensaries, ice plant, slaughter house, and a meat market. We also want Home Rule, the

Attitude of the Churches.

N. MILWAU-KEE there are something like three hundred churches. Estimating the average membership at five hundred each, including the Catholic, there must be 150,000 people connected with churches.

connected with churches. Here is a moral force for us which, if directed toward Socialist ideals, can not help being valuable. Estranged from the movement, it would be an obstacle hard to overcome. The Socialists of Milwaukee have cultivated the friendship of the churches just as they have so successfully cultivated the friendship of the unions. They have not tried to get unions to declare for Socialism and neither have they tried to get church congregations and preachers to do the same.

We carried Milwaukee by continually agitating and distributing literature, setting up a license committee, and using people were continually exploited, and the things possible to be done by electing our own class to the city council. As I have done much, we all work as a unit, especially on important matters. I have had a license committee, and it is possible to stop the evil of Sunday night dances, and gambling, by withdrawing the license, and to stand with my comrades for the interests of the working class.—Jacob Rummel, Alderman 19th Ward.

The Preachers Testify.
To the Editor: The people's dances at the Milwaukee auditorium under the supervision of the city administration are actively good. It is disgusting that some people, even Catholic priests, find all the good that is done and get themselves and their families into the churches by seeing where they go, what they do, and by being with them. The act of lamenting people is doing nothing, and it is better to do it. We cannot with good grace criticize the Socialists for going ahead of us in our own work.
Saxon, Wis., Dec. 13, 1910.

While in Milwaukee I addressed a communication to some of the resident clergy, asking for their opinion on the question whether or not in their judgment the administration had been beneficial to the city. I received the following replies:

"I cannot set in order the things the administration does for the city. But there can be no doubt that it has lifted the business of managing municipal affairs to a higher level. There is no suggestion of any meddling of the interests of predatory wealth, but a genuine effort to minister to the welfare of the whole people with particular attention to the welfare of the working people.—C. H. Beale, Grand Avenue Congregational Church.

"I believe the Socialists are giving us a good administration. Conditions are better than they have been and I have confidence that they will grow more so.—Raymond G. Peterson, South Baptist Church.

"With the conviction that Socialism in this country will become constructive, I am glad to see the average citizen of the country taking a chance, since we must have a change and have nothing better in sight.—Aug. T. Bender, St. Matthew's Lutheran Church.

"It seems to me that the Social-Democratic administration has been good for the good of Milwaukee. Moral reforms have been put with kind reception. Interest in the welfare of young people and children is being shown. The moral support of the administration given to the working class is a salutary emphasis.—R. L. Donaldson, Perseverance Presbyterian Church.

"I believe our city government is run more honestly, if not more economically than formerly.—Rev. S. C. Haskin, Pilgrim Congregational Church.

"I will say that Mayor Seidel seems to be honestly, sincerely, and heartily endeavoring to promote the moral welfare of the city. His public addresses breathe that spirit. His influence is good. He says, 'It is to keep my hands clean, you must keep your son pure.' As far as I know they are enforcing the law against vice.—W. A. Cutler, Westminster Presbyterian Church.

group. He is a ripe scholar and a good speaker. Then we have Rev. Carl D. Thompson, city clerk, and Rev. W. H. Gaylord, state senator, who each do work among the churches both in the city and the state. In my mingling with the church people I find great respect for the Socialist administration, and an appreciation at least, for the honesty and integrity of Socialist officials. The Socialists have appealed to the civic pride of the people and created a desire for a beautiful city, one that will make living more enjoyable and life less selfish. To have done this in so short a time is indeed marvelous.

I was unable to find any outspoken support of the Socialist movement from the Catholic clergy. This is said to be due to the antagonism of local Arch Bishop Messner, who, it is claimed, was brought here to handle the Socialist situation. However, I am informed that some of the priests are secretly in sympathy with the movement, but are restrained from saying so through fear of the disapproval of the Arch Bishop. There are Catholics among the lay members of the church in great numbers who rigidly maintain their political right of preference and choice. They all agree that they are willing to take their religion from Rome, but not their politics. This is becoming the attitude of the Catholic working men everywhere, and as we have long believed, the opposition of the church to the efforts of the workers to remedy their conditions through political organization will, finally, avail the church nothing. A case was brought to my attention concerning a Catholic choir in one of the local churches which was active in the Socialist movement. They received orders "To cut it out," but instead of doing so they discontinued singing. The Socialists have treated the Catholic churches as they have all others, with courtesy and consideration.

Capitalist Lies.
Alderman Bogk, a hold-over democratic official has made himself famous as the colossal liar of the city. He has written an arraignment of the Socialist administration accusing it of extravagance and increase of taxes and misuse of money. This tissue of falsehood has been industrially circulated in the capitalist press in cities where Socialists are near to victory. Its design, therefore, is plain.

What are the facts? The present tax levy on which Milwaukee people are now paying taxes was made by the former administration and the assessment made by former capitalist appointed assessors. Only the new levy to be paid next year is by the Socialists, and will be assessed by them. The Socialists feel heir to the extravagance, misuse of money, and debts of the notorious Rose administration—the man of many wives and the celebrated lecturer of the wholesale liquor dealers association. These debts they must pay and their levy must be higher to get out of democratic debt. The pay rolls have been increased because the city is eliminating the craft and grafter that lives on the spoil of cities—the contractor, and the work will now be done by the city direct, and the workmen paid by the city. Then, too, it will be remembered that the city closed up the dives and lost this revenue. If the legislature will give the city administration the power to operate public utilities, the Socialists will in a few years give the taxpayer the lightest burden he has ever borne.

The new system of accounting, the purchasing department which has abolished the purchase of scab made goods and which is removing the element of graft from the city's purchases, the securing of rock from the city stone quarry—these and many other measures will give Milwaukee a city of the people, by the people and for the people. The two great curses of the public are ignorance and the lying capitalist press, that serves not the public, but its money-thirsty and consciencless stockholders.

The present administration is making efforts to fulfill its promises. They have not succeeded so rapidly as some imagine they should, simply because they have heirs to many ills. I think the administration would do a great deal more for the city if it were not handicapped by lack of means.—C. L. Linney, Episcopal Church.

I helped out in office the present administration. Mr. Arund, the sheriff, is a Methodist and a good one. They seem to be trying to make good.—Rev. P. W. Peterson, M. E. Church.

PROPAGANDA NUMBER
No. 799, dated March 25, will be a special propaganda number prepared under direction of C. L. Pifer, but having brief contributions on special subjects by those best qualified to handle them. It will tell in plain words the aims of Socialism, the reasons for it, the methods and tactics, philosophy and everything a beginner will want to know. The platform will be given, and a hundred questions asked by readers relative to various aspects of the movement will be answered. This number will contain no agitation matter. It will be just the thing to give to the "new man" before the spring election, yet will be timely for years to come. It is intended to make this absolutely the best propaganda and teaching number of any paper ever issued. Prices as usual—50c per 100, \$5.00 per 1000.