SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

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WARNING VOICE. & .

"Revolution and anarchy will surely eign in America as it did in France un-as provision is made so that every man tho wishes to work and make a home or himself and family can do so."

This startling statement was made by nmander Bocth-Tucker of the Salva tion army to a Milwaukee Sentinel reer at Racine.

The representative of Gen.' William Booth and head of the Salvation army in America who is on a lecture tour of the country delivered a lecture on "Light and Darkness," illustrated by limelight res, in the Salvation army andito rium in Racine to a crowded house. He repeated the same lecture at Plymouth Congregational church in Milwaukee the

Commander Booth-Tucker is on a begsing trip for his Salvation army colony. He travels in a private car, which, al ngh it is not luxurious in appoint ent, appears to contain about everyng necessary to the comfort of a trav eler. It was while seated in his car that commander gave expression to his radical views concerning the future of this country. Continuing, he said:

"This revolution will come suddenly, ore suddenly than would be possible France, Germany, Russia or any othin France, Germany, Russia or any oth-er European country, because here, any man who wishes to can buy firearms, gunpowder and dynamite and what is to prevent him from using them when he becomes desperate through hunger, and after his family is torn from him as become hard and his search for work is truitles? fruitless?

per in different institutions when times become hard and his search for work is fruitless? "Our workingman will not stand such things forever. He is becoming educat-ed, for the government has accomplished wanders in an educational way, and when the time to strike comes the blow will come swift and sure and will strike at the very foundations of existing coud-tions. Men will get together and will consider the power of their vote and will conse to the conclusion that there is noth-ing in it; that things go along in much the same old way whichever party is in power, and becoming desperate, will say to one another, 'let's blow them up.' Then marchy and revolution will have full way. That is what happened in France and though it was all very horrible, the prosperity of France, after the revolu-tion, increased with a bound. "Revolution, however, can be avoided, and the plans of the Salvation army, plans that are even new being carried out, will in time cause the death of an archy, because the reasons for its exist-ence will hare disappeared. Families will not be separated because of poverty; young men and young women will not be forced to remain stack because they emnot afford to get marfied. That will be done away with, and our country will enter upon a reign of prosperity nev-er before experienced. This will be ac-complished through the establishment of colonies, where houses will be created and farms laid-out for settlement. Any mu who wishes to become a member of one of these colonies can do so by tak-ing on it as he is able. Work will be furnished him and a part of the money eurone will go toward the purchase of the place, which will be turned over to the mant. When the final payment is made.

made. "We have three such colonies in suc-cessful operation and the results have fulfilled all our expectations. The large "We have three such colonies in successful operation and the results have the second of the

Cleveland, O., we have a tract of 300 acres with a settlement of thirty people. The army has issued bonds for \$150,000, with interest at 5 per cent. Of this amount \$120,000 has been taken up. Son-ator Mark Hanna, Gen. Tracey, George B. Hopkins and many other men well known in the financial world have sub-scribed for these bonds, and we expect to have little difficulty in disposing of the rest.

to have little difficulty in disposing of the rest. "I would like to see the United States government take hold of this problem. The cost would be nothing in comparison, as it now costs cities and counties of the United States from \$50,000,0000 to \$100.-000,000 a year to keep the stranded fam-lies, and this amount is large enough to put 500,000 people in country homes, and, more than that, it would be paid back in about seven or eight years. "I am much opposed to Henry George's theory that the government should own the land, but I do believe that it should give every man an opportunity to own a hone."

So Commander Booth-Tucker in the in-

We reprint it verbatim not because believe that Booth-Tucker's plan-which has the sympathy and financial suppor of Mark Hanna, Gen. Tracey, George B. Hopkins and other financial magnates s any way a remedy. The "social ques tion" can no more be solved by the charity propositions of the Salvation army than the sewers of Chicago or New York could be cleansed by putting in a little eau de cologne. In spite of the remarkable growth of the Salvation army there is considerable more crime and prostitution in the large cities today than there was twenty years ago. Further more, it is amusing to notice how Mr. Booth-Tucker mixes the terms of archy." "French revolution," etc. The French revolution was anything but "an-archistic." In fact, it was one of the strongest and strictest governments nown to history.

But we register as important the expression of a man whose life-work brings him into much closer contact with the owest strata of our population than the average preacher, journalist or "busines man." The ruling class of this country The ruling class of this country will do well to listen to his warning voice, even though the remedy he proooses is ridiculously inadequate.

If trades unionists would exercise the fidelity to their interests on election day that they do in electing their own nen to office in the unions, they might control the nation.

Former Senator Allen insists that the Democrats and Populists have distinctly different aims and objects, yet should continue to co-operate on the fusion plan. The bond of union is, of course, the of fices.

Mr. Rockefeller was lately reported as saying to his Sunday school pupils that he thought it possible for rich men to get to heaven. And that is exactly what many proletarians wish them-that they should all be in heaven.

Among the new Vandenbilt baby's pres ents was a rattle studded with diamonds we read in the daily papers. That is what they call "society news" in this capitalistic world. We expect to read a description of the rubies and sapphires on another very necessary-utensil next

Taxation was discussed at the monthly banquet of the Chicago Commercial club

In speaking of taxation John B. Farwell, Jr., a millionaire, said:

well, Jr., a millionaire, said: "I believe that Americans will be compelled to admit that when our atti-tude is compared with that of others we are almost hopelessly lost. Men who would be most particular in their person-al conduct, most scrupulous in their busi-ness dealings, will not feel any scruples if the state is taken advantage of. A debt to the state is payable at 50 cents on the dollar, and often the wealthier the person or corporation owing it the less the percentage of the debt paid." That is at least an honest admission of

That is at least an honest admission of

A On the Question of Arming the People.

It is generally believed that a further lowering of the wages of the masses might be most easily prevented by continually withdrawing industries from competition and socializing them, that is, handing them over to the community. Both Socialists and many reformers of all kinds agree that mines, means of transportation, telegraphs and other public utilities should be managed by the com-monwealth on the account and for the benefit of the commonwealth.

But to these demands, as in all other good things on earth, there is a hook and a crook.

For even if these demands were realized, by far the greater number of workingmen would remain a defenseless prey to the profit-makers, while the exist-ing system might have the support of a larger number of people in tolerably good circumstances.

Indeed, far-seeing representatives of the capitalistic parties also understand this

The Chicago American, for instance, a large and rich Democratic sheet, has recently appropriated these demands of the Socialists upon the present state and is agitating for them; it even wishes the Democrats to place them in their platform

While it is all one to us from what quarter relief comes for the working people, that is, an increase in their wages, it must nevertheless be observed that this agitation on the part of a capitalistic paper is misleading. The mighty friendship of the American for the workingmen is simply a scheme to increase the circulation and at the same time make votes for the Democratic party. It has nothing to do with the abolition of the present wage system, on the contrary, that system is to be perpetuated by these measures.

The worst of the matter is that an actual realization of these so-called a forms can never be expected from the old capitalistic parties, in spite of the warning voices of a few far-sighted ones. The ruling class never will and never can voluntarily permit so many branches and departments of the economic world to be taken out of their hands and given over to the commonwealth. And the Republicans and Democrats-c'est le etat-they represent the ruling class

But if the wages and living of the American workingmen is to be kept from falling lower by means of the votes of Socialists and Social reformers, then there is a sorry outlook indeed for our working people. Our form of government is not so centralized, not so paternal, as the government of Germany, England or France. Here there is no ministry to protect, no royal crown in danger. Here on the other hand is a thousand-headed plutocracy, which is far more unfeeling, brutal and devoid of conscience, but also more powerful, than the European bourgeoisie can ever become. From evident reasons. In Europe the interests of monarchy and of feudalism, which are still considerable, are not always identical with the interest of the capitalist class, and in many instances are directly antagonis'ic. Furthermore we find great and mighty Social Democratic parties in ev-ery progressive country in Europe. Not so in this country. The fact that our party has elected two men to the Assembly in Massachusetts has called forth no great political or social convulsions anywhere in the United States. We can boldly maintain that at least seventy millions of our population have probably never even heard of the event.

Besides, here in the middle West as early as twenty-five years ago the Socialist Labor party elected aldermen and members of the Legislature in Iilinois, Wisconsin and Ohio without any special benefit to the people. The immense ma-jority of the native element has so far shown little or no comprehension of Socialist ideas and projects even when they are ably presented. At any rate, it is safe to say the standard of wages and the manner of living of American workingmen will not be influenced by victories in Haverhill and Brockton.

So the only weapon against the lowering of wages and the consequent deterior

ation in the standard of living, remains, as before, the strike. But the strike of course can be made use of only when there is at least some spect of success

In view of the permanently large "reserve army" of the unemployed, however, the strike is generally a miserable weapon, even during a socalled period of "prosperity." At best, the strike is like a sword which turns the sharp edge toward the workingman and the blunt side toward the employer. It is the fight of the stomach of the laborer against the purse of the employer. But during socalled "hard times" the worker is already starved out when he enters on this famine fight and therefore hopeless from the start.

Yet the situation is becoming worse even in so-called "good times," because it is not only easy to fill the places of the strikers, but because the capitalists and most of the courts) regard it as a sort of high treason if strikers, even with words, appeal to the sense of solidarity of those who take their places. Hitherto in such cases the striking workingmen have been beaten or thrown into prison; now they are often shot down in short order, like wild beasts. We have seen examples of this during strikes in St. Louis, Albany, N. Y., etc., in recent years. A crowd of workingmen now meets with as little respect as a pack of coy otes.

According to the dispatch-bureaus, which are in the hands of the capitalists, the workingmen of course are always to blame for the bloodshed, because they try to interfere with the "right of others to take their jobs," even if they do so by persuasion.

Furthermore, we must consider that the social and political power of a trust is infinitely greater than that of the individual employer of ten or twenty years ago. The trust is also very much more inclined to use "heroic measures"—i. e., a "dose of lead" for rebellious workers. In consequence of this "heroic treatment." which is getting to be more and

more in vogue with all capitalists and corporations-for the machinery of gov-ernment is willing, and in any case able-bodied and reckless men can always be had to protect "law and e der" as deputy sheriffs for \$5 a day-strikes (the last and only expedient of the workingmen, the "jus ultima labore," against lowering of wages) become continually more hopeless. Every strike nowadays has but ONE consequence: It ruins the existence the

more or less large number of workingmen. As a bulwark against the low-

employers a living, but the employers never furnish the workers a living. So ong as a majority of workers are fools enough to believe this lie of the capitalists, they will live like slaves, while they keep their lords in luxury.

For at least two reasons the Fifty-seventh Congress, the first session of which began on last Monday, will be notable in history—so say the daily pa-pers. The appropriations that will be authorized by it, if the projected programme is adopted, will be greatly in ex-cess of those of any preceding Con-gress. The other reason for making the next Congress remarkable will be the starting of the construction of the interceanic canal.

The construction of the Isthmian canal a useful and necessary undertaking, although at the present time the capitalst class will reap most of the benefits

The construction of the isthmian conal attrag the day: The construction of the best of the benefits is class will reap most of the benefits its reas will reap most of the benefits its reas will reap most of the benefits its of the toposed lavish expenditure: They years ago a billion dollar Con-mists and incidentally great political cap-tial for the Democrats. The record for the coming Congress will be nearer to the many area taken place, so greas formished a test for the com-many presentations of late years that the benefits and incidentally great political cap-tial for the Democrats. The record for hey on out of the regular army, or for user less and corrupting office-lock and the group chapter of the regular army, or for user than uncessary to take care of error diabled worker, and also pay every pro-time has been made in this country to the some railroads, but in an inndequate and been dading way, the positon starting this country an early denth is rather there and age. At the same time the ruling class of per cent. of all proletarian workers, in stander from that: This country there is an argored to be elserible and the sole of the sillor for the rongany. For more thand per cent, of all proletarian workers, in stand afform that: This country there is a nargor and the sory of the sole per cent. of all proletarian workers, in stand age. At the same time the ruling class of the book the time and or sole is argored to be elserible and there is a nargor with the definition errory are for the con and any we are the order the there is rear-there is a forth that: This country and ade from that: This country workers have built it up, have main infer de a rory and every ser for the stand afform that: This country and add from that: This country workers have built it up, have main infer de a rory and every ser for the stand afform that: This country and add from that: This country and add from that: This country and add from that: This country in the dighter consequen

Congress could do no more remarkable and important a thing than inaugurate eneral system of pensions for all working men and working women in the country whose income is below a certain limit. Yet it would be perfectly ab-surd to expect any such legislation from he Fifty-seventh Congress.

Paris has a glass road. The road to H- is nowhere smoother than in "gay

We read in a special cable dispatch to he Chicago Record-Herald the follow-Ing: "London, Nov. 30.-The chief topic in London society now is the announcement "London, Nov. 30.—The chief topic in London society now is the announcement that future drawing rooms are to be held at Buckingham palace in the evening. Needless to say, everybody concerned is delighted, for it has always been gener-ally admitted that to put women in low-necked dresses and in all sorts of light colors in the middle of the day is a very trying thing, particularly for those of advanced age.

✤ A PROPHECY.

trying thing, particularly for those of advanced age. "There is no doubt moreover that drawing rooms in the palace by night will be very brillint affairs. Lewels will show to much better advantage, and court dresses will look much better than during the day. "It is said that in the future ladies will be invited to attend the drawing rooms instead of having their names submitted to be approved at the lord chamberlain's office.

As long as "organized workingmen' will permit "nonpartisan" leaders to denounce the discussion of Socialism in the I nounce the discussion of Socialism in the trades unions as being "politics," while at the same time these "nonpartisan lead-ers" are working for spoils and office by advocating the Republican or Democrat-ic branch of capitalism, just so long will organized workingmen "get it in the neck" and capitalism will be on top. The members of our trades unions of Milwaukee know this and will never per-mit any smooth labor fakir to lead them astray.

* Reform or Revolution Once More.

WHAT INTERESTS US MOST.

Off and on we are challenged by so-called "scientific Socialists" who are opposed to the Immediate Demands of our party, because "these demands give the old parties an opportunity to parade before the people as 'Socialists too,' and because the old parties can thus 'steal our thunder. Now we on the other hand are of this opinion:

Thunder which can be stolen is nothing but theater thunder, and it concerns us very little whether it is stolen or not. Moreover, the aim of the Social Democratic party is not to thunder, but to lighten. And the Socialist lightnings must be real lightnings that rend the clouds and strike-no oratorical colop that only shines a little time on the stage, while a few "true believers of the faith" clap their applause and open their mouths in admiration.

Since the time of Prometheus, nobody has stolen genuine lightning. According to the fable, Prometheus stole it in order to teach men the art of making fire and to lay the foundations of our civilization. If a new Frometheus should steal the lightning of the "Socialist gods" to give it to men and thus build up a higher civilization, the writer, like an old heretic, would be most exceedingly rejoiced. But unfortunately the Titans are all dead-Prometheus was the last.

But enough of mythology. Some of us have little faith in heavens-either the ancient Greek, the modern Christian, or the future Socialist heaven. With this declaration we give the janitor or the "great outer watch" of the Socialistic heaven of the future the right to shut the door in our face if we should ever apply for admission.

What interests us most is the solution of those problems which Socialists

What interests us most is the solition. must solve within the present society. Therefore we are compelled to put forth and maintain the series of de-mands which form the second part of the Socialist platform. The Social Dem-ocratic party is just a political party-if we were a mere sect, then we should only be a solitical party is just a political party-if we were a mere sect, then we should only be a solitical party is just a political party-if we were a mere sect, then we should only be a solitical party is just a political party-if we were a mere sect, then we should only be a solitical party is just a political party which which which we appear need a sort of confession of faith. But as a political party, which wishes above all things to represent the wage-working class, it is our fin st duty to tak all things to represent the wage-working class, it is our arts, to take the that all people who perform useful and necessary labor shall be economically, mor-ally and physically strengthened, rescued from extreme poverty and made capa-ble of resistance in body and spirit. Every success in this direction will natu-ally compel us to work for those demands which are not yet attained. In this way the present state—not without many dangers, and perhaps with repeated effusions of blood-will "grow into" (to use Liebknecht's expression) the So-children extern cialistic system.

ering of wages, under these circumstances, it proves from day to day more and more a failure.

The unions, federations and brotherhoods on the other hand are not in a condition to play the role which the crafts, companies and guilds played in the middle ages. The modern labor unions are not in a condition to fulfill what they de facto PROMISE.

Why cannot they do it? And why could the guilds of the middle ages, far inferior in numbers and intelligence, do it so well?

Simply because our workers are perfectly defenseless and unarmed-the workers of the middle ages were not.

are simply stating facts, and are speaking of the MORAL (or rather immoral) EFFECT of a people being totally disarmed.

As we have explained in our former article we are entirely and positively opposed to any street riots or disturbances, which under no circumstances would any good to the working class.

Yet, for various and entirely different reasons, we would like the working ple and the farmers, in fact every citizen and voter of this great country, be-GENTLEMEN. to be

That means historically before all things to have arms and to know how to

We will have more to say about this in our next issue.

In theory. Brother Berger is right when he says that education is a better antidote for crime than severity, but he hasn't told the specific kind of educa-tion needed for the prevention of cer-tain crimes.—Milwaukee Journal. we are called "Anarchists, revolutionists

An education that improves the body as well as the mind and that is connected with good food, warm rooms and clean clothes, and before all things an education that brings with it the security of getting a decent livelihood. But alas, such an education is, under the capitalist system, only possible for the rich or at least the well-to-do.

Assuming the working age to be from twenty to fifty years, and counting only male workers, 500 persons in this coun-

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and lunatics" by some of the very people who would be benefited most.

The claim that the capitalists furnish working people employment is absurd. It is the demand of the public for goods that makes employment possible. When there is no aemand the employment of the working people very soon ceases. All the capitalists do is to prevent the working people from working until they agree -for wages-to give the capitalists-for the use of machinery which has been try live on the labor of every 100 work-ers. Yet, if we advocate a system by is produced. The workers furnish the

The Social Democratic Herald has been accused of "Opportunism," b we believe in a policy of steady socialistic reforms and do not believe that a "catastrophe" can change very much in the social system per se unless

conditions (besides also the education and enlightenment of the people) are favorable towards complete change. Otherwise we might simply change maste For instance, we do not believe that the English working class that applauds the butchering of the Boers in South Africa is in any way morally and intellectually ripe for Socialism-no matter whether a "revolution" or a dozen of them

should take place during this or the next generation. America's proletariat is not on a higher level, and we more than doubt whether even the German workmen have reached that line.

Moreover, as we have frequently pointed out in these columns, the evolutionary view which we stand for does not necessarily exclude a "bloody revolution." or even a round dozen of them; for proof of this take the revolutions and upris-

ings of the bourgeoisie against monarchy and feudalism. In the world's history there are no sudden leaps, and today, more than 100 years after the bloody abolition of the nobility and the church in France "forever," it was only the Socialists who saved the republic for the French people two years ago from being overthrown by the nobles and the crozier

Just so or even more so it will be with the social revolution, or rather the social revolutions.

A moral, physical and intellectual strengthening of the proletariat, and the formation of a close alliance with farmers of progressive views, we consider requisites without which, there is no chance for Socialism, even if "revolutions" do happen.

Yet, we would like to see a systematic way of arming all the people, not for

the sake of "revolutions," but for the sake of peace and progress. An armed people is always a free people. Even demagogues would have a great deal less to say then than they have today. An armed people is always a strong people

With the nation armed (as, for instance, in Switzerland) reforms of all kind are carried easily and without bloodshed. With the nation armed the proletariat could even trust capitalist parties with earnestly desiring social reforms and with earnestly carrying them out.

With the nation armed in a systematic way the capitalist class need not fear any sudden uprisings.-there are less riots in Switzerland than in Russia. But with the nation armed the workingmen are not in danger of being shot down like dogs at the least provocation.

In the least provocation. On the other hand we are absolutely in favor of socialistic REFORMS-"one step." two steps or six steps at a time-as many as we can make-and we are deadly opposed to the impotent and good for nothing REVOLUTIONARY PHRASES that are the stock in trade of certain hypocritical or ignorant Socialist "leaders."

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SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

army, the navy and the colonies, he will exclude political influence of every sort. Social Democratic berald

have be

negroes."

icy.

still further ignore his predecessor's pol

One of the ablest articles written or

the "Negro Problem" is by Thomas Nel-son Page. It is wholly without senti-

ment and reaches the conclusion that "Like all other ethnic problems, it must

rest upon economic conditions and can only be solved on economic principles.

Sentiment may hasten action, but, after

all, the final solution must be based on amic principles." The writer's view

on the present outlook are by no mean

The character of the American Con-

gress is in keeping with the times and

never more complete than today.

Fifty-seventh Congress has through this

caucus been organized to do the bidding of the men who are in control. Now let us all sing, "Land where my

fathers died, land of the pilgrim's pride, from every mountain side let Freedom

Shivering, Hungry Multitude!

December is here and with it Old Win

the sources of charity in every large city

of the country. For hundreds of thou-sands of people it is going to be a hard

winter, a winter of privation and suf-fering: Already, we are told, the Chi-cago Bureau of Charities has 15,000

families on its hands, with the list grow ing daily. This means that about 75,-000 human beings in one of the richest

cities in the country re thus early in

doors of organized benevolence and plead for food and clothing. Yet in the last

the season compelled to gather at

The

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EDITORS VICTOR L. BERGER.

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MILWAUKEE, SATURDAY, DEC. 7, 1901.



The season for giving 50 cents' worth of work or 10 cents' worth of soup to a poor fellow in need is at hand. And, as usual, nothing will be settled.

The Congress of the United States ha just assembled. The people have been told in advance that it will spend two billion dollars. And mighty little good the people will derive from it.

An equitable exchange of personal service and the promotion of social ef ficiency for the satisfying of social needs, ring!" Repeat ad libitum. is socialism. The emphasis belongs of the word "equitable," and that is why the class which enjoys the results of in equitable exchange opposes socialism.

There is a recognition in nearly all great writing of the fundamental truths o Socialism in its ethical aspects. Says Thomas Carlyle in his "French Revolu 'What are you doing on God's tion:" fair earth and task-garden, where whose ever is not working is begging or steal

Socialists combat the orthodox idea that each one is responsible for his own condition, be it good or bad, and while recognizing inequalities of individual tal ents and capacities, contend that the possession of talent or capacity by the individual is something that society be stowed.

Toll is to labor, from necessity, To bear the crushing weight upon th

heart. As when a poor man carries to the grave The coffin of his dead and only child, With lagging feet, and aching, nerveles

arms. Oh, it is joy to labor, when the hand And brain and heart co-operate, and life Is rich as Autumn in its plenteous fruits. --Thos. Lake Harris.

Herbert N. Casson has just completed a "History and Defense of the American Labor Movement," which will be pub lished under the title "Organized Self Help." The book describes the impor tant part played by trades unions in the building up of the American republic It is the first attempt to write American history from the standpoint of the wage workers, and throws a new light upon the origin and development of our insti tutions

Without laborers-no capitalists. Without laborers-no millionaires. Without laborers-no trusts. Without laborers-no food. Without laborers-no clothes. Without laborers-no houses. Without laborers-no loafers. Without laborers capitalists and loan

rs would be naked and hungry savages Laborers make capitalists and loafer possible and support them when made.

One of the most absurd things the American Revolution, which is supposed perverts have

Father McGrady's Writings. Probably not one of these things would en done by McKinley. Roosevelt will remove Madden, he will

The clear and cogent socialist writings of Father T. McGrady are becoming faily more popular and exerting wider infinence in the party propaganda, espe-cially in Catholic circles. In all be says, Father McGrady is not omy pointed and eloquent, but bril-iant and epigrammatic. As author and orator in the movement of revo-utionary socialism he occupies a unique and commanding position. By a recent arrangement the Standard Publishing company of Terre Haute, Ind., has beccome the sole publisher of Father McGrady's social and economic writings. At present these are: "Unaccepted Challenges." "Bocialism and the Labor Problem." "Beyond the Black Ocean." The first sells at 5 cetas per copy; the second at 10 cents, and the last-named at 50 cents. Agents, dealers, speakers and organ-izers can obtain these books, charges pre-paid, in the quantities named, at the fol-lowing rates: "Unaccepted Challenges," \$2.50 per 100. "Socialism and the Labor Problem."

encouraging. He says that "when the negro race was emancipated, social spe-

intercourse was far more general and apparent social equality far nearer than at present. Today social inter-course is closer between the whites and the older negroes than between the whites and the younger generation of

Socialism and the Labor Problem,"

\$4.00 per 100. "Beyond the Black Ocean," \$4.00 per

dozer

dozen. The 5-cent and 10-cent books are spe-cially prepared for propaganda and sell readily and are read eagerly everywhere. "Beyond the Black Ocean" is the first American novel of the social revolution. It is a book of over 300 pages and is of heliling interest from start to finish the fendency from democratic principles and usages. Last Saturday afternoon the Republican members of the lower house of Congress held a caucus and aft-It is a book of over 300 pages and is of thrilling interest from start to finish. The principles of socialism are staunchy maintained, yet presented in such fasci-nating style and blended with such charming romance as to make the book irresistible in its impressions, especiality upon those who have not yet given seri-ous thought to social problems. Pror. R. O. Stoll, the author and Socialist of Eau Gaire, Wis., says of this book, in order-ing a second copy: "This work should sell by the carload if the people are at all cognizant of trae merit in fiction." This is the verdict of hundreds of literary critics who have read in colling of the scineta er discussion gave into the hands of the speaker the power to recognize members at will, to question them as to why they had arisen in his presence and to permi that official to sit in judgment on the question whether or not the individual nembers of the House were carrying the wishes of their constituents. The sur-

render of the individual member of all his rights to the supreme power of the speaker and the committee on rules was

read it. read it. A new edition of this stirring nove has just been issued by the present pur-lishers, who purchased recently the copy-

right A handsome edition in cloth has also

A handsome edition in cloth has also appeared which may be obtained at \$1.00 per copy or \$8.00 per dozen. This will make an excellent holiday or birthday gift to a relative, friend or courade. We are informed that Father Mc-Grady has another work in course of preparation that will create little less than a furore when it appears. It is an answer to the latest attack of a noted pricet on socialism in a pamphlet en-tied, "Socialism in the appear early in the new year and we can promise our readers a treat in polemics that will stir their circulation, however sluggish, to the point of socialist enthusiasm. All orders for Father McGrady's books should be addressed to Standard Publish-ing Co., Terre Haute, Ind. ter, dark, sullen and cold, drives a mul-titude of hungry mortals shivering to

200000000000000000000000000000 The Instinct of Workmanship. §

By CHARLOTTE TELLER. 30000000

for food and cloching. Let in the last hundred years more wealth has been produced by labor than in all the cen-turies that preceded it. Then, too, the condition has not been improved by a year of "prosperity." Last winter the charities of Chicago rendered assistance to about 14,000 families. This year be-

Man is not by nature lazy, says Char-lotte Teller in the American. Necessity is not the only force com-pelling him to work, although many men in pulpit and professor's chair maintain that it is. It is an accepted fact in the world of science that one of the strongest human instincts is the "instinct of workman-ship"—as Thorstein Veblen puts it. The students of human evolution show that the desire to create something—to give

Instincts is the "instinct of workman-state of the matter is that there are additional thousands who do not seek assistance but prefer to suffer and hide their real condition from public notice. The num-ber of these will, no doubt, equal thous who accept aid and if the real truth could be known is much greater.
Yet, in spite of all that the organized growing out of the wretched conditions in which people are plunged by a so-ciety cornered and helpless in the graps of capitalist industry with all its debas-ing auxiliaries.
There is freedom from charity, relief from suffering and an ample supply for every human being born into the world, ins with its robbery of labor which makes men poor is in the saddle.
At Society's Dictation.
Some of the members of an organiza-tion known as the Daughters of the American Revolution, which is supposed to be known as the Daughters of the American Revolution, which is supposed to be mode un aviliant is an organiza-tion known as the Daughters of the American Revolution, which is supposed to be mode un aviliant is a supposed to be mode un aviliant is supposed to be mode un aviliant is supposed to be mode un aviliant is a supposed to be aviewed to be avera to aving aviewed to be aviewed to be mode to avie

Aret a professor of economics, who has Yet a professor of economics, who has

The total income of the Gewerkschaften for trades union purposes was \$1,921,000. The Christian trades unions numbered 36, with 11,860 members. In Holland in 1895 there were 370 of dinary trades unions and 131 Roman Catholic. There were 32 ordinary unions and one Roman Catholic in the pri.ting and one Roman Catholic in the pri.ting and paper-making trades. Trade associa-tions other than unions are included in the above figures.

and one Roman Caluffic and the printing and paper-making trades. Trade associa-tions other than unions are included in the above figures. In France in 1899 there were 2685 unions, with 492.647 members. There were 73 federations of trades unions, with 1199 unions therein having 432.450 members. In the printing and allied in-dustries 197 unions had 13,944 members. In 1809, in Switzerland, there were 755 unions, 531 not affiliated to the general federations of trades 'unions. Among those not affiliated are thirty printers' unions with 2313 members and ten book-binders' unions with 437 members. Twelve lithographers' unions, having a membership of 206, are affliated with the general federation. In Austria there are 5317 trade guilds, with 1,247,088 members. In 1809 there were 883 trades unions or clubs, with 1379 branches and 157,773 members. In the printing, etc., trades, seventeen unions with sixty-five branches had a membership of 12,750. Their receipts were \$159,175; expenditures, \$158,000; balance on hand, \$284,500. In Hungary four unions in the same trades had 2007 industrial employers and their employes engaged in places other than factories, and include independent craftsmen, etc. (not employing workpeople). In addition to these guilds there are also federations of these organizations. Membership in trade guilds is compulstory for all per-sons carrying on a trade or handicaft under conditions excluding their estab-lishments from the technical definition/of "factories."

factories There will be a great gathering of So-cial Democrats tomorrow (Sunday) aft-ernoon at Bahin Frei Turner hall, for the entertainment and dance.

Occupation of the Rich.

Question: What is your duty as a di-Answer: To give my name to a pros

Answer: To give my name to a pros-pectus. Is there any necessary formality be-fore making this donation? Yes; I am to accept a certain number of qualifying shares in the company obtaining the ad-vantage of my directorial services. Need you pay for these shares? With proper manipulation, certainly not. What other advantages would you se-cure by becoming a director? A hundred dollars for an attendance. What are your duties at a board meet-ing? To shake hands with the secre-tary and to sign an attendance book.

ary and to sign an attendance book. What are your nominal duties? Have not the faintest idea. Would it be right to include in your nominal duties the protection of the in-terests of the shareholders? As likely as

and an universitie protection of the in-terests of the shareholders? As likely as not.
Would it be overstating the case to say that thousands of needy persons are absolutely ruined by the selfish inten-tion of a company's directors? Not at all—possibly understating it.
I suppose you never read a prospectus to which you put your name? Never. Nor willingly wish to ruin anyone?
Noi, why should I? You are guilty of gross ignorance, and brutal indifference? Quite so. And consequently know that, accord-ing to the view of the judges, you are above the law? That is so. And any, therefore, do what you like without any danger to your own inter-ests? To be sure. And consequently will do what you best please, in spite of anything and anybody? Why, certainly.
Your attention is called to the premi-dia to the premi-stant is called to the premi-dia to the premi-and to any data to the premi-tion of a consequentian the premi-tion of a premi-tion of a consequentian the premi-tion of a premi-tion of a premi-and consequentian the premi-stant premi-and consequentian the premi-tion of a premi-and premi-

Your attention is called to the premi-um aunouncement in this paper. Send us ten yearly subscribers and receive one of the handsome razors.

India Ruined by British.

India Ruined by British. There will very shortly be published by Fisher Unwin a book on India by Wil-liam Digby, C. I. E., which can scarcely fail to have a great influence upon the discussions now proceeding with refer-ence to the condition of our vast depend-ency, says London Justice. In that work, entitled "Prosperous India," Mr. Digby will show by facts and figures and dia-grams and irrefutable calculations, all drawn from official reports, that the total gross income per head of population in British India has fallen from 2d a day in 1900; that though we denounce the Indian money-lenders, our system of rais-ing the land revenue forces the culti-vators into their hands; that if the mon-ey-lenders ceased to advance the land revenue India would have to declare a public bankruptcy tomorrow; that in ef-tect India is now bankrupt and the peo-ple are being systematically starved by our rule.

Electrical Workers' Funds.

The seventh biennial report of the grand secretary of the International Brotherbood of Electrical Workers shows that during the past two years charters were issued to 202 lodges and 37 char-ters were canceled, leaving a total of 208 local unions in good standing October 1, 1901. The total receipts for the two years were \$56,517.75; disbursements; \$54,450 \$29 logsing a balaws of \$2005.

AN ECONOMIC STORY A PERPLEXING SITUATION.

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cialism is that it is the enemy of capi-This is urged to make the working class dupes believe that Socialists want to destroy property. It is unqualifiedly false. None understand better than So cialists the origin of capital and its func tion in carrying on production. None have a clearer comprehension of its misuse and its waste under capitalism. But Socialist, dead or alive, ever advo cated or favored the destruction of capi-

Edmund Clarence Stedman, the poet, recently wrote, to a gathering held in New York in honor of Tolstoy, a letter in which he said:

in which he said: "In every rank of life men of the first intelligence perceive that civilized races are advancing almost abreast to-ward a humane and scientific socialism. The movement is automatic, evolution-ary, that of a tendency as absolute as what we call the blind force of nature. It goes on with geometrical progres-sion. The outset of a golden year may, be nigher than we dare belive. When its luster comes it will be inclusive as now honestly loyal to their dismal sci-ence, report each ineritable failure of these 'too-previous' communes as anoth-er refutation of socialism. These very journals will so insensibly go with the drift as to become the voluntary expo-nents of the new order."

Is Rooserelt following his predecessor's policy? Well, hardly. He has appointed Democrats in the South to the Federal courts, made an independent Republican collector of the port of New York, turned down Addicks and his men in Delaware, restored to the civil-service rules 1500 places in the war department which had been taken out by McKinley

he made up without reference to rank f the direct descendants of the meh who stormed the heights of Bunker Hill or laid down their lives for a principle at Valley Forge, have decided to divide the organization with an aristocrati branch to which will be admitted only the daughters of the heroes who wor the distinguishing insignia of a commis sioned officer. These daughters of the patriotic forefathers say it is no longer possible to meet the descendants of the private soldier on a plane of equality Says one of their number who is very

rich: "It isn't possible for one to mee one's washerwoman on a plane of equality, no matter what her forefathers may have done in the way of fighting As for myself, I would as soon invite a

onest woman to any function in which I had a voice, without reference to her worldly possessions. But society is stronger than anyone person and I cannot afford to ignore its mandates." The descendant of a private, no matter how brave or how heroic he may have heen, will not be in line for promotion, She must be satisfied with the honor of being a member of the organization, with such rights and privileges as might be supposed to pertain to the great-great great-granddaughter of a private.

It is easily seen that society-the so riety of wealth and showy ostentationdemands this separation into two classes because of economic contrasts. The de-scendants of a fellow who wore shoul-der-straps at Bunker Hill may not associate with a private patriot whose de scendants are now doing honest work. Perish the thought! Society-capitalist society-wills it otherwise; only those can belong to the aristocratic branch whose possessions testify to their conand he has served notice on the politi-eians that in making appointments to the nection with present-day parasites.

Yet a professor of economics, who has evidently overlooked these facts of phys-iological and psychological importance, upholds the view "that if this strong mo-tive of self-interest (using 'self' in its narrow sense) for securing efficiency were removed, everyone would insensibly relax his exertions, and the result would be a great decrease in the amount of pro-duction—that is, a scantier provision for the satisfaction of the wants of the whole community." To a certain extent that is true; if the rood of "economic pressure" were not held over the heads of mankind they would at first relax their strenous efforts. They would stop, and get rested. Thousands and thousands of hunger-hunded men would yield to the almost overpowering fatigue, and the production of food and clothing might slacken for a time. But when the physical body became in-vigorated through much-needed rest and the mind became free of the terrors which haunt it under the competitive sys-tem. the men would rise again to work -to satisfy in a natural and harmonious manner the instinct of workmanship. The wonder of a rested world going to work in harmony for the good of all! But in spite of the feverish and abnor-mal activities of today, resulting from poor social organization, it is something to know that there is an instinct of workmanship in many, and that the other extreme of idleness need not be feared.

Trades Unions Abroad.

From a report on trades unions abroad recently made to the government of the United States we extract the facts which follow:

follow: In Denmark in 1900 there were 1196 trades unions, with 96,359 members. There were 67 unions in the printing, paper and allied trades, having a mem-borshin et 3554 hip of 3554.

bership of 3554. Under, having a mem-bership of 3554. Under, having a mem-in Germany in 1900 the Hirsch-Dunck-er trades unions, affiliated with the fed-eration of trades unions, had 86,423 mem bers; the Gewerkschaften (social-demo-cratic trades unions) had, in 1899, 55 central federations and 7623 branches (the members of the central federations numbered 580,473, and the approximate membership of the non-federated local unions was 15,946-a total of 596,419).

1901. The total receipts for the two years were \$56,517.75; disbursements, \$54,450,82, leaving a balance of \$2,066.-93. This added to the cash balance on hand October 1, 1899, makes a total bal-ance of \$9,295.15. During the two years 68 death claims were paid, amounting to \$6800, and for strike benefits and for strike benefits and for \$6800, and \$68

An English Organization.

An English Organization. According to the current monthly re-port the membership of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers in England now stands at 90,247. The strike at Leeds still continues, both union and non-union men objecting to the introduction of what is called the "one-break" system without a corresponding reduction of hours. The hours worked in the firm's workshop in question are fifty-three per week and the employers wish the men to start at 7 a. m. and work right on to closing time with only one break for dinner. This means that if the men want breakfast they must rise at 6 a. m. to get it. The workers contend that such conditions would have evil effects on their physical condition and on the quality of their workmanship and have struck work. The society is supporting them in their strug-gle.

More Words of Praise.

Edling Bros., Calhan, Colorado: ample of your paper received. We vere old subscribers and appreciate The Ierald very much. Will mail you sub-cription." Teraid very much. Will mail you sub-scription."
 Otto Kammerer, St. Louis, Missouri: 'I had decided not to renew my sub-scription, but on receiving your last edi-ion it completely changed my mind. I nust say your way of dealing with ques-'ions is something grand."
 R. W. W., New York: "Please send 'our paper for a year to the addresses nclosed. There is a reasonableness 'bout your paper which makes it possible is offer it to them as an example of de-cent Socialist agitation."

son, who entered upon a career as an architect. The woman's daughter fulfilled her mother's hopes. The crowning glory of womanhood was hers: she became a mother. A tiny baby girl crowed in her arms, toddled by her side, unfolded through lovely glifhood to sweet mailed hood, and, in time, with true womanly instinct, repeated the lofty destiny of mother and grandmother and gave to the world new life. In their old age the twin brother and sister again, as in the olden days, talked together of their youthful hopes and any billons, now so amply fulfilled. Said the brother, "As my work has gone on and spread and grown, to the

 Image: Solution: Solution

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.



The provided states, as in other com-international Socialism is making does strides and its seven mil-supporters, spread over all the method zones of the globe, and the trive propagandists ever known, the next few years be multiplied atrolling majorities in all lands are modern industry as the basis of civilization. Socialism being question of economic develop-This will mean the end of the tempitalist competitive system and reduction of its economic succes-to-operative Commonwealth. movement is international because in of and follows the development expitalist system, which, in its min is confined to no country, but stimulus of modern agencies of into relations of industrial and real co-operation, as the economic is activities. By this process all ions of the earth must finally be into relations of industrial and real co-operation, as the economic is the goal of modern Socialism is this that inspires its disciples seal and ardor of crusaders. The has been said and written of the presons who have no proper tom of its origin, its philosophy mission, or who, for reasons of many people institutives, which have resorted to willful misrep-tion, that it is not strange that a scientific doctrine as the ene-tion, the divident this perfectly as scientific doctrine as the ene-tion with cherished institutions. It is purely an economic question; oution of industry has developed m. Man can only work, produce with tools. The mere hand former times have become pon-

in purely an account of the second product of the second product with tools. The mere hand former times have become pon-nd very costly machines. These s, Socialists contend, represent factories, mills, and shops in hey are housed, as well as the d mines from which the raw mare drawn, are used in common by ters, and in their very nature are for common ownership and con-point of property, but of cap-ti sto say, the instruments of production, which, in the form of roperty, but of cap-ti vas numbers of workers, thus millionaires and mediate and the second propose the col-production, which, in the form of property, enable a few capitalists it vast numbers of workers, thus millionaires and medicants and naires and mendicants and lass rule and all its odious

inte property, enable a few capitalists exploit vast numbers of workers, thus magurating class rule and all its odious dandemocratic distinctions. Socialism proposes equal rights and op-ritualities for all without reference to to, color or other conditions. Equality the vital principle of Socialism. Its ision is to abolish class rule by mak-g all equal proprietors of the means on which all depend for employment, a without which there can be no "life, serty and pursuit of happiness." This muse economic freedom for every hu-m being. As no one would have pri-the property in that upon which another pended for employment. Industrial metery and slavery would disappear to-ther and competition for profit would we way to co-operation for use. The rapidly changing economic condi-ons are paring the way for the transi-on trom competive capitalism to co-op-ative Socialism. Socialistis are simply dicking the trend of the evolution, and eking to prepare the way for the transi-on is a fact in nature. In the cease-s process one state of socialism is the socialism. The coming of Socialism is sufficient in the spene of succession. The socialism to doubt or con-cture, but of scentific calculation. The social to fis of the evolution, and exing in the spene of succession. and apareng from that medieval sys-m. Within the spen of two centuries is system has practically reached the inster size the achievements of all the invelous material progress of that pe-d exceeds the achievements of all the invelous material progress of that pe-d exceeds the achievements of all the invelous material progress of that pe-d exceeds the achievements of all the invelous material progress of that pe-d exceeds the achievements of all the invelous material progress of that pe-d exceeds the achievements of all the invelous material progress of that pe-d exceeds the achievements of all the invelous material progress of that pe-d exceeds the achievements of all the invelous material progress of that pe-d exceeds the achievements of all th

Taries since the slaves of Pharaoh in the pyramids. The rapid centralization of capital and extensive co-operation of labor mark high state of our economic develop-at. Individual initiative and competi-e coort are becoming less and less pos-ic. The day of small production has and never to return. Nothwithstand-

"The Passing of Capitalism."

The book of this title by Isador Ladoff. ever may be said by adverse critics, stirred the circles of socialist ight, here and abroad. The book is

ing the outcry, trusts and department stores, these great modern agencies, in-crease in number and power. They are the inevitable outgrowth of the competi-tive system. The efforts of sould capi-talists to destroy trusts will prove as fruitless as the efforts of workingmen to destroy labor saving machines when first introduced in the last century. Socializat take the ground that the

introduced in the last century. Socialists take the ground that the trust in itself is not an evil, that the evil lies wholly in the private ownership, and its operation for private profit. The remedy is collective ownership and they propose to transfer all such agencies from private hands to the collectivity, to be managed and operated for the good of be managed and operated for the

be managed and operated for the good of all. Ignoring all such alleged issues as "ex-pansion," "imperialism," "free silver," "gold standard," "protection," "free trade," etc., the Socialist party declares that economic freedom is the supreme question that confronts the people. A century and a quarter ago the revolution settled the question of political equality in the United States. But since then an political equality exists in name only, while the great mass struggle in economic servitude. The working class are depend-ent upon the capitalist class, who own machines and other means of production; and the latter class, by virtue of their economic mastery, are the ruling class of the nation, and it is idle under such con-ditions to claim that men are equal and that all are sovereign citizens. No man is free in any just sense who has to rely upon the arbitrary will of another for the opportunity to work. Such a man works, and therefore lives, by permis-sion, and this is the present economic re-lation of the working class to the cap-italist class. In the last century millions of workers

lation of the working class to the cap-italist class. In the last century millions of workers were exploited of the fruit of their labor under the institution of chattel slavery. Work being done by hand, ownership of the slave was a condition necessary to his exploitation. But chattel slavery disap-peared before the march of industrial evolution, and today would be an econo-mic impossibility. It is no longer neces-sary to own the body of the workingman in order to appropriate the fruit of his labor; it is only necessary to own the tool with which he works, and without which he is helpless. This tool in its modern form is a vast machine which the worker cannot afford to buy, and against which he cannot compete with his bare hands, and in the very nature of the situation he is at the mercy of the owner of the machine, his employment is precarious, and his very life is suspended by a thread. Then, again, the factory and mine are

precarious, and his very life is suspended by a thread. Then, again, the factory and mine are operated for profit only and the owner can, and often does, close it down at will, throwing hundreds, perhaps, thou-sands, out of employment who, with their families, are as helpless as if in the des-ert wastes of Sahara. The few who own the machines do not use them. The many who use them do not own them. The few who own them are enabled to exploit the many who use them; hence a few millionaires and many mendicants, extreme opulence and abject poverty, princely palaces and hideous huts, riotous extravagance and haggard want, constituting social scenes sickening to contemplate, and in the presence of which the master hand of Hugo or Dickens is palsied and has no mission.

Hugo or Dickens is paisid and has no mission. The Socialist party is organizing in every village and hamlet, every town and city of every state and territory of the Union. It is appealing to the people. It will neither fuse nor compromise. It will neither fuse of the capitalist system. The factories and mills and mines, the railroads and telegraph and telephone, and all other means of pro-duction and distribution will be trans-ferred to the people in their collective ca-pacity, industry will be operated co-oper-atively, and every human being will have the "inalienable right" to work and to onjoy the fruit of his labor. The hours of labor will be reduced according to the progress of invention. Rent, interest and profit will be no more. The sordid spirit of commercial conquest will be dead. War and its ravages will pass into his-tory. Economic equality will shave tri-pated, and the sons and daughters of men will glorify the triumphs of Social Democracy.

OUR POSITION ON ANARCHY CHALLENGED. to Article in Herald of Novemb "The Philosophy of Anarchy."

As I am neither a Socialist nor an Anarchist I am at least an unprejudiced judge of both. Anarchy champions law and order in accordance with the laws of life, which are perfect laws, instead of artificial laws made by selfash and ignorant man. A man may be possessed of all the knowledge man has put into books, he may be of a very intellectual order and yet be ignorant of the laws that create harmony in the universe. Anarchy studies nature; man. instead of man's imaginations and deceptions. Which study leads him into law and or-der and harmony and prosperity so far as it is followed. It fails when men who are still of the old man-made law whick unit and work for selfash pur-poses.

"Socialism stands for cooperation, mad majority rule." That is why it fails to establish harmony in the world and hass so much difficulty in keeping the hold. It is against the law and or-marchy advocates "free everything." In harmony with the law and or-dire, and voluntary co-operation, which is the only co-operation that will not some or describe lim into co-operat-in, but there is no real progress made in that way, and no permanency in the ways fails. If a man will not do volun-tarily be had better not do at all. "With Anarchists the individual is everything" add the state is made up of individuals, where all are for each, each will be for all do cong as the individual's wated in that way, and no permanency in the ways fails. If a man will not do volun-tarily be had better not do at all. "With Anarchists the individual's wated in that way, and no society of those who do not want to do, and anar-ehy would build a society of those who do not want to do, and anar-ehy would build a society of the best of their ability. It works instance making the compulsion needed fast so long as the individual's wated is to long as the individual's and wives; when they do for each other be-cause they have to the old rikk is to pay, but when they do for each other be-cause they have to the old rikk is to pay, but when they do for each other be-cause they have to the old rikk is to pay but when they do for each other be-cause they have to the old rikk is to pay but when they do for each other be-cause we have not learned the meaning of freedom yet. We cannot have any system in perfection is. No matter how perfect a system is, the society can be obstier than the peonle who com-bos it. The proof as to whether So-ciause we have not learned the meaning of freedom yet. We cannot have any system in perfection is. No matter how what uperfection is. No matter how perfect a system that is not wicked system in the s

A Republican Opinion.



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tion is transformed for him into a simij lar compulsory law. The enormous ex-panely force of modern industry, com-pared with which that of gases is mere claid's play, appears to us now as a ne-cessity for expansion, both qualitative and quantitative, that laughs at all re-sistance. Such resistance is offered by consumption, by sales, by the markets for the products of modern industry. But the capacity for extension, extensive and intensive, of the markets is primari-ly governed by quite different laws, that work much less energetically. The ex-tension of the markets cannot keep pace with the extension of production. The collision becomes inevitable, and as this cannot produce any real solution so long as it does not break in pieces the capital-ist mode of production, the collisions be-come periodic. Capitalist production has begotten another "vicious circle." As a matter of fact, since 1825, when the first general crisis broke out, the whole industrial and commercial world, production and exchange among all cir-lized peoples and their more or less bar-baric hangers-on, are thrown out of joint about once every ten years. Com-merce is at a standistill, the markets are glutted, products accumulate, as multi-tudinous as they are unsaleable, hard cash disappears, credit vanishes, fac-tories are closed, the mass of the work-ers are in want of the means of subsistence; bank-ruptcy follows upon bankruptcy, excen-tion upon execution. The stagnation lasts for years; productive forces and production are destroyed whole-sale, until the accumulated mass of com-modities finally filter off, more or less de-preciated in value, until production and exchange gradually begin to move again. Little by little the pace quickens. It be-comes a trot. The industrial trot breaks into a canter, the canter in turn grows into the heationg gallop of a perfect

industry is turned into one gigantic joint stock company internal competition gives place to the internal monopoly of this one company. This has happened in 1890 with the English alkali production, which is now, after the fusion of forty-eight large works, in the hands of one company, conducted mon a single plan, and with a capital of £6,000,000, In the truste

and with a capital of £6,000,000. In the trusts, freedom of competition changes into its very opposite—into mo-nopoly: and the production without any definite plan of capitalistic society capit-ulates to the production upon a definite plan of the invading socialistic society. Certainly this is so far still to the bene-fit and advantage of the capitalists. But in this case the exploitation is so papa-ble that it must break down. No na-tion will put up with production con-ducted by trusts, with so barefaced an exploitation of the community by

In any case, with trusts or without, the official representative of capitalist so-ciety—the state—will ultimately have to undertake the direction of production. This necessity for conversion into state property is felt first in the great institu-tions for intercourse and communication —the postoffice, the telegraphs, the rail-ways.

The postoffice, the telegraphs, the 'rail-ways. If the crises demonstrate the incapaci-ty of the bourgeoise for managing any longer modern productive forces, the transformation of the great establish-ments for productive forces, the transformation of the great establish-ments for productive forces, the transformation of the agreat stablish-ments for production and distribution in-to joint stock companies, trusts and state property, show how unnecessary the bourgeoise are for that purpose. All the social functions of the capitalist are now performed by salaried employes. The capitalist has no further social function than that of pocketing dividends, tear-mg off coupons and gambling on the Stock Exchange, where the different cap-italists despoil one another of their capi-italists despoil one another of their capi-italists despoil one another of their cap-italists despoil one another of the ranks of the surplus population, al-though not immediately into those of the industrial reserve arms. But the transformation, either into joint stock companies and trusts, or into state ownership, does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces. In the joint stock companies and trusts this is obvious. And the modern state, again, is only the organization that bourgeois society takes on in order to support the external conditions of the state of the capitalists. The modern state, no matter what its form, is esentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal person-dication of the total antional capital. The more it proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become. the national capital, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage-workers-proletari-ans. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head, But, brought to a head, it top-ples over. State ownership of the pro-ductive forces is not the social nature of the modern forces of production, and ex-change with the socialized character of th

disturbance and , riodical collapse, will become the most powerful lever of pro-duction itself. Active social forces work exactly like natural forces-bindly, forcibly, de-structively, so long as we do not under-stand, and reckon with them. But when once we understand them, when once we grasp their action, their direction. their effects, it depends only upon ourselves to subject them more and more to our own will, and by means of them to reach our own cods. And this holds quite es-pecially of the mighty productive forces of today. As long as we obstinately refuse to understand the nature and the character of these social means of ac-acian-and this understanding goes azainst the grain of the capitalist mode of production and its defenders-so long these forces are at work in spite of us, in opposition to us, so long they master us, as we have shown above in detail. But when once their nature is under-stood, they can, in the hands of the pro-ducers working together, be transformed from master. demons into willing serv-ants. The difference is as that between the destructive force of electricity in the lighting of the storm, and electricity under command in the telegraph and the voltais are; the difference of the productive forces of the action at last of the real nature of the productive forces of the action and elementer plan-according to the needs of the productive forces of the colar, the social anarchy of the of production upon a definite plan, according to the needs of the propriation, in which the product emslayes first the pro-ducer and then the appropriation of the products that is based upon the an-ture of the moder of appropriation of the products that is based upon the an-ture of the moder means to prodiction of the products that is based upon the an-ture of the moder means to prodiction of the once means to the maintenance and extension of production-on the other, direct individual appropriation, as means of subsistence and of enjoyment.

remists. Without any partiality he dem-conceal his critical attitude towards ex-onstrates the wrong conceptions about social problems entertained by the Anar-chists, the followers of Tolstoy, the sin-gle-tuxers and ultra-Marxinas. It would head us too far if we attempted to dis-cuss the topics treated in the book in de-tail. It will suffice to recommend once more to our readers the study of this compend of the postulates of social re-form sold at such a reasonable price by the Standard Publishing company, Terre Haute, Ind." The same paper has an editorial in which allusion is made to "The Passing of Capitalism" and its author in the fol-lowing culogistic terms: "The author is a thoroughly educated man, who is deeply interested in all the burning problems of the day and has made them a subject of special, yet im-partial investigation. What he says orig-inates in his own inward conviction and is free from high-sounding phrases. Not one book devoted to the solution of social problems and published in our time pleases us so much as this book of La-doff's. It ought to meet with the full measure a powerful means of enlighten-ment and exposition of popular miscon-ceptions. To prove the correctness of our assertion we translate a chapter of this book into German and commend it to the attention of our readers." On an appeal from a local organization, as much discussed and widely read, some able critics aver that time will Although the state of municipal own-ership of public utilities has not yet reached the point where it can properly be called a burning question in this Haute, Ind." The same paper has an editorial in which allusion is made to "The Passing of Capitalism" and its author in the fol-lowing eulogistic terms: "The author is a thoroughly educated man, who is deeply interested in all the country, the interest in it has grown per-ceptibly in the last ten years. Many in-tent interesting in the says originates in his own inward conviction and is free from high-sounding phrases. Not one book devoted to the solution of social problems and published in our time pleases us so much as this book of La-doffs. It ought to meet with the most extensive circulation, being in the full measure a powerful means of enlighten-ment and exposition of popular miscon continue translate a chapter of this book into German and commend it to the attention of our readers." To an appeal from a local organization, President Shaffer, of the iron and steel supported under any or all circumstances. **ION BLANK.** Haltonet, Identical solution of the provide the backies to assume the beefit of all the popile. They assue the state or the site or the benefit of all the popile of the ison as most be blackmailing them by the threat of thesis support victimized strikers from 10 to 5 per cent. The ruling was made, how-ever, that the blacklisted men must be supported under any or all circumstances. **ION BLANK.** "I always hare believed and slways "I always hare believed and a laways "I always hare believed and a laways "I always hare believed and always "I always hare believed and always

Boston, Mass

te it to be an epoch-making contribu-to socialist literature: late issue of the Freidenker and A late issue of the Freidenker and masting of Milwaukee contains the lowing review: "This valuable book of 160 pages must

This valuable book of 160 pages must This valuable book of 160 pages must be well recommended to all who are not re familiar with the philosophical and thical side of socialism, and would pre-ter a quiet, academic treatment of the mapled to editorials and extracts from the current socialistic press. Mr. Ladoft, and a thoroughly and scientifically edu-cate man, has succeeded in presenting the sametial and interesting treasures of the howledge and literary versatility, avoing, however, the use of scientific throughout is popular, easily understood and free from empty phraseology and ar-tificial pathos. The text of the book is imported by the purest and most sacred dimine and does not contain a trace of class latted or spirit of cast exclusive-ness. The book is a gem and takes its piace indisputably among the best speci-mens in that class of popular literary book are instructions in the spirit of evo-union. What the author has to say em-ments of ma pure heart. He does not What the author has to say em-from a pure heart. He does not

> **** SUBSCRIPTION BLANK.

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State

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"I always have believed and always will believe that a white man is better than a nigger," says Senator Ben. R. Tillman, who was in Milwaukee this week. There is not the least doubt about the correctness of that. But it makes a difference what nigger is taken for an example, and quite as great dif-ference what white man is. For in-stance, it would be a pretty mean nigger that would not be as good a man as Ben. R. Tillman.-Milwaukee Free Press.

All arrangements for the entertain-ment and dance tomorrow (Sunday) aft-ernoon and evening are completed. Bahn Frei Turner hall. Don't let anything keep you away.

into a canter, the canter in turn grows exploitation of the community into the heatlong gallop of a perfect small band of dividend-mongers. by

other, direct individual appropriation, as means of subsistence and of enjoyment.

Child Labor South.

Child Labor South. It would have been just as well if the treasurer of the Alabama City (Ala.) cot-ton mill, J. Howard Nichols of Boston, had not made any reply to the recently published appeal of prominent Alabama citizens in respect to child labor in the cotton mills of the state. That appeal was addressed to the people and press of New England, and was signed by Rev. Edgar G. Murphy of Montgomery, ex-Edgar G. Murphy of Montgomery, ex-Edgar G. Murphy of Montgomery, ex-It stated that the mills in Alabama op-erated by New England capital were, if anything, the worst sinners in the em-ployment of children, and that this sec-tion accordingly had a responsibility in he matter as well as the people of Ala-bama. Mr. Nichols replice through the Boston

sending the whole correspondence broad-cast. He points out that at the legis-lative hearings last winter the paid rep-resentative of Mr. Nichols' mill was first and foremost in the fight to prevent child-labor legislation-acting as the spokes-man for the other manufacturers. And the bill under fire prohibited child labor under 12 years, while 14 years is the Massachusetts limitation. This fact alone makes sport of the whole of Mr. Nichols' defense. Here of course was an opportunity to end the competitive con-ditions which made it difficult for any one mill to abolish child labor, and yet the Alabama City mill appeared quite as eager as the others to escape it. How the efforts of outside labor bodies to pro-mote the legislation can form an excuse for manufacturing opposition is a triffe difficult to see; and Rev. Mr. Murphy further says that the Alabama anti-child labor movement has its beginning and main strength at home-glad, however, of any help it can get elsewhere. He states again that some of the Alabama cotton mills explicitly refuse a home to helpiess employes unless the latter will agree to put their children at work. Al-together it would seen that child labor resists in Alabama because the manufac-turers want it to, and for no other rea-son.

mote the legislation can form an excuse for manufacturing opposition is a trifle tama.
main strength and the source of the second to be second to stop child labor in his mills. He quotes a written order which he had some than its effect, says child labor is wrong from an economic as well as humanitarian stand point, and then tells of the efforts of his mill to send that the competition of operatives by means of comfortable tener ments, a library, a school house, and schere it would seem that child labor in operatives by means of comfortable tener ments, a library, a school house, and schere it to, and for no other reason.
means a library, a school house, and schere it to, and for no other reason.
the adds that the competition of other mills superintered before the alabama because the manufacturers want it to, and for no other reason.
the adds that the competition of other mills superintered before the alabama because the manufacturers want it to, and for no other reason.
the adds that the competition of a stated signification of particle thing which appeals to every humanitarian stating tor correction. The excuse given is that a state reside the state, and the manufacturers resement this interference, determining that is not which score productive of gain has a restation must come from within the state and that no entering wedge for a lot of subor legislation should be started from made in forcing a conscience. It is the ther the state for the state and the manufacturers resement the the issolation more from within the state and that no entering wedge for a lot of without.
The chairman of the Alabama committee now replies to Mr. Nichols and is

Must Reverse the Action of Govern

ment.

Must Reverse the Action of Govern ment. As the right of the working class to organize is now openly challenged by the capitalists, and as their assaults upon union are always directed upon the lines of governmental action, the true course for the workers to pursue becomes plain. We must REVERSE THE ACTION OF GOVERNMENT. Its powers must be directed against the capitalist class, not against the working class. To accomplish this we must unite politically as we have industrially. As A CLASS. And as a class in politics our principles must reflect our position—working class politics, working class principles. As the capitalist rose to power through control of the powers of production, the first principle of working class polkics must be PUELIC OWNERSHIP OF SO-CIALY-CREATED WEALTH. Applying this principle so far as it is involved in apposition to any and all political action which does not demand restoration to the people of all the property haberio stolen by the railway capitalists, its ownership henceforth by the municipality, and its operation by organized labor, under conditions worthy of honest toil and the digity of American citizenship. This position once taken by the union men of the ntor, the further of organized labor, under conditions worthy of honest toil and the digity of American citizenship. This position to merican citizenship. This position once taken by the union men of the nation, the further of organized labor in every city will be full of achievement of the hopes of civilization. — House the real way capitalist, its organized labor in every city will be full of achievement of the hopes of civilizenship.

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steals.

Shave yourself and enjoy the luxury by using one of our fine Premium Ra-zors. We will send you one the first week in January for ten new yearly sub-scriptions.

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CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

- OF MILWAUKEE, -Sunday, Dec. 8, 1901,

Bahn Frei Turn Hall, 12th St. and North Ave.

Bach's Band, 10 men, will furnish the music and a fine programme

| | nas been selected for t | | anterno | | Sillertanimente |
|----------|----------------------------|---|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | Musical, | | • | • | - Bach's Orchestra |
| 2. | Bet und Arbeit, - | • | 1918 - 191 | | Socialist Maennerchor |
| 3. | Character Artist, | | • | | Harry Ellis |
| 4. | Selection, | | | | - Bach's Orchestra |
| 5. | The Will-o'-the-Wisp, - | | | • • • • • • | A. S. Edwards |
| 6. | Acrobats, | | | | - De Ferris Bros. |
| 7. | Music | | - | • | - Bach's Orchestra |
| 8. | Das Lied des Crystal, - | | dang sa di sa Ngang ng € ng g | | Socialist Maennerchor |
| 9. | Black Face Artist, | | | • | Harry Ellis |
| 10. | Music | | • | | - Bach's Orchestra |
| 11000515 | The Genteel Clown Juggler, | | | san basa Pernangan | Carnivalli |
| | Song, | • | | | Socialist Maennerchor |
| | | | | | |

Supper at 6 o'clock, 25c. After 6 o'clock 25c.

Admission IOc.

PARTY NEWS SOGIALIST

State Executive Board.

State Executive Board. A meeting of the state executive board was elected temporary chairman and Miss Thomas temporary secretary. On were asked to endorse the election of omrade E. H. Thomas as permanent be state committee, and neither having withdrawn, the selection of one is again to a the one of the membership for another outside members are always interest of a tiend. All meetings of the outside members are always interest Richter was elected. The for the the members in the state again in due to membership for Meeting. Meeting in due to membership for Meeting.

City Central Committee.

The meeting of the city central com-mittee on the evening of December 2 was presided over by Comrade Hunger. The committee in charge of the enter-tainment to be given December 8 report-ed that all arrangements had been made and it rested with the comrades to turn out and make the affair a success. Credentials were presented from Branch 20, naming Phil Siegel and Max Krammas delegates to the Central com-mittee.

mittee. Branch No. 11 reported two applica-tions for membership in the party, Branch No. 17 one, Branch No. 21 two

called upon to make nominations of can-didates for two secretaries, it being un-derstood that the candidate receiving the highest number of votes shall be elected and the candidate receiving the second highest number of votes to stand elected in the event that the Socialist Labou party omits to elect a delegate in com-pliance with the conditions of representa-tion

pliance with the conditions of representa-tion. Any member of the party in good standing may be nominated. In nominat-ing candidates, the comrades will bear in mind that the secretaries may be called upon to pass not only upon matters concerning the Socialist movement of our country, but upon questions concerning the movement of other countries. The officers of the locals in organized states are requested to forward the names and addresses of the candidates nominated, to their respective state sec-retaries; locals in unorganized states to forward their nominations to the national secretary; said action to be taken in such season, that the nominations in both organized and unorganized states will reach the undersigned not later than January 1, 1902. Yours frakernally, LEDON GREENBAUM, National Secretary.

GENERAL NOTES.

Utah Socialists have called state con-vention for December 28. Connecticut will hold state convention at Derby on December 15.

In elections in Charlottenburg and Forst, Germany, the Socialists scored magnificent victories despite the fact that all other parties united against them.

all other parties united against them. By referendum all the trade union and Socialist bodies of Switzerland voted to unite and fight for working class inter-ests, industrially and politically. The following applications for local charters were referred to the Kansas state committee: Thayer, Goodland, St. Paul, Lafontaine, Canton, Neodesha, Pike Township.

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9601 votes, a gain of 61; Socialist Labor party, 6236, a loss of 1511. Official re-turns on governor in New Jersey give-national licket of the S. L. P., 1918; the national licket of the S. D. P. a year ago received 4609 and the S. L. P., 2174. The head of the ticket in Pennsylvania received 2674 votes; S. L. P., 2583. A year ago the vote of the Social Demo-cratic party in Pennsylvania was 4831 and the S. L. P. 2336. Municipal electiona in Holland show a

cratic party in Pennsylvania War 4334 and the S. L. P. 2366. Municipal elections in Holland show a splendid increase for Socialism, despite the great advantages of property-owners under the law. In Amsterdam all the capitalist parties—Liberals, Radicals and Conservatives, Protestants and Catholics —combined against the Socialists, but the latter increased 55 per cent., although but 20,000 votes were cast in a popula-tion of 512,000, thousands of ware-workers having been distranchised. In Rotterdam the Socialists gained a seat, in Haarlem two, in Arnheim two, in Groningen two, and members were also elected in Utrecht, Leenwarden, Dort-recht, Hengeloo, Enschedee and smaller places.

Send in your suggestions for The Fair.

Ruskin College Under Fire.

<text>

Biggest affair in the movement-The Fair,

Wilshire Comes Back.

clusion as to our economic development. If from certain indications I have ar-rived at the conclusion that a dain is to break and let the flood down upon Ber-ger, the mere fact that he is not in a bathing suit will not disturb my convic-tions.

bathing suit will not disturb my convic-tions. I am not at all in accord with your theory that "we are going to have a great deal of Socialism before we die." We are going to die unless we get the whole thing. There is no partial step towards Socialism which will solve the coming "unemployed problem," and I challenge you to prove the contrary. Probably you think that if you could get the gas works of Milwankee municipalized you would be several hours nearer Socialism. I do not. You say we will not have "full-fiedged Socialism" within ten years. Will you please tell us what Socialism that is not "full-fiedged" would be, and also whether you consider that anything but "full-fiedged" socialism would be u remedy for the coming unemployed prob-lem. Faithfully yours. H. GAYLORD WILSHIRE.

Fair and Winter Festival in February.

The Business Agency.

The attention of all trade union organ-izations in Milwaukee is called to the es-tablishment of the office of the Federated Trades' council at 318 State street, with Yels Anderson, business Agent, in charge. From the council's circular announcing this excellent move we take the follow-ing:

Vels Anderson, business Agent, in charge. From the council's circular announcing this excellent move we take the follow-ing: "We desire to call your attention to the fact that the Federated Trades' council has established an office and elected a business agent to transact the business pertaining to the welfare of organized la-bor of this city. The object of the office is to have a recognized headquarters of labor in the city, through which the nec-essary business, pertaining to the work-ing of the council, can be officially trans-neted, and an office at which unions de-siring the assistance of the Federated Trades' council can present their request, and it will be given immediate attention. "The further object of said office is to establish it as a free employment and registration bureau, where workers of all crafts can register and secure employ-ment, as our object is to have employers seeking help secure same through our of-fice, and in that way secure a better requi-lated system of the comployment of labor, and establish a better and more uniform-rate of wages. The object of the busi-ness agent is to have a man at all times at the service of the council, to imme-diately attend to all matters referred to the council, to transact the work ordered by the executive board and grievance and organization committees and the different trade sections, and in general his work shall be for the strengthening and benefit of the ranks of labor. "He shall also be at the disposal of unions not having a business agent to en-able them to have the services of an ex-perienced representative to transact any of their business they may have, and to assist them in any gravance that may arise, at a very small cost. "He shall also be and mediated markers to have your heartiest co-operation. If your meetings are small, if your craft needs to be more organized, call and consult with the agent and he will help you. His duty is to do so, he must assist you in all possible way

month at Kaiser's hall, 300 Fourth street. The Metal Trades' section meets the first and third Monday at the office of the F. T. C., 318 State street. The Label section meets the second and fourth Wednesday at the office of the F. T. C., 318 State street. The Miscellaneous section meets the first and third Thursday at the office of the F. T. C., 318 State street.

Labor Notes.

St. Louis boot and shoe workers passed resolutions calling upon workingmen to vote for the overthrowal of the capitalist system.

Vote for the overintowal of the capitalist system. Machinists' Journal has uncovered a spring agency that is working against the International Association of Machin-ists, especially on railroads. There is a strike on in another Phil-adelphia' newspaper, and the New Era charges that a conspiracy exists among the organs to suppress all reference to their own attacks upon labor. Canning machines and the Chinese have had a short, sharp tussle for su-premacy in British Columbia, and the machines won. The machine cuts and packs fish and puts the top on the box. Two men and a machine can do the work of forty Chinamen.

The iron and steel workers are discuss The iron and steel workers are discuss-ing the question of assessing themselves 10 per cent. of their wages to create a war fund to have another try with the billion-dollar combine. Those who are still smarting under the defeat in the recent strike make no secret of their desire for another battle, but they are going to strengthen their position with a big fund and by taking all branches of mill labor into the association.



330 Grand Ave. and 377 Third Street. Largest Piano Business in the North-

Special Sale Commencing Monday, Nov. 4.

We must make room for four carloads of Pianos just arrived from the East and will sell a large stock of good Pianos at nanufacturers' cost.



FIFTEENTH WARD BRANCH meets every second and fourth Wednesday in August Bressler's hall, corner Twenti-eth and Chestnut streets. Dr. Q. Barckmann, secretary, 948 Winnebage street It will pay you to visit our warerooms and inspect the Pianos we sell for \$130.00 and \$118.00.

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street.

J Branch Meetings.

The city central committee meets ery first and third Monday evening the month at Kaiser's hall, 208 Foor street. EUGENE H. ROONEY, Sec.

BRANCH NO. 1, S. D. P., meets on the second Thursday evening of the mon at 614 State street.

SECOND WARD BRANCH m sts every third Friday of the month, corne Fourth and Chestnut streets. Jace Hunger, secretary.

FIFTH WARD BRANCH meets even first and third Thursday of the mont at southeast corner Reed street an National avenue.

EIGHTH WARD BRANCH (formerh 43) holds free lectures at the hall, cor-ner Fourth avenue and Mineral strees every second and fourth Thursdays a 8 p. m.

ELEVENTH WARD BRANCH (for-merly No, 9) meets at Charles Miller's hall, corner Orchard street and Ninh avenue, every fourth Friday in the month.

THIRTEPNTH WARD BRANCH meets every second and fourth Wednes day of the month at 524 Clarke street H. Schneider, secretary, 630 Four-teenth street.

SEVENTEENTH WARD BRANCH meets every first and third Thursday at 1224 Kinnickinnic avenue, W. Schwab, secretary, 861 Hilbert street.

TWENTIETH WARD BRANCE meets every first and third Thursday of the month in Folkmann's hall, con-ner Twenty-first and Center streets.

TWENTY-FIRST WARD BRANOE (formerly No. 22) meets at Gaethkey hall, Green Bay avenue, hear Concor-dia, every, second and fourth Tuesday in the month.

FRIENDLY CONTEST OF WORKERS

As hitherto announced in The Herald, we are prepared to give a Pree Scholar-ship in Stoll's College, Bau Claire, Wis, the cash value of which is \$50, to the one sending in the largest num-ber of subscribers at 50 cents a year to this paper. This unusual off-r we are able to make through the gener-osity of Mr. R. O. Stoll, principal of the college,

TO INCREASE THE CIRCULATION

of The Herald and aid the cause of Socialism. Should the winner be un-able to take advantage of his good luck for financial reasons alone, Prin-cipal Stoll agrees to find imployment for him during the year. In order to give our comrades and friends ample time to make the cauvas, it has been decided that the contest shall remain open from

SEPT. 15th TO DEC. 31st, 1901

And the result will be announced as soon thereafter as practicable. The winner can go to the college at any time that suits his convenience and have his choice of a Scientific, Clas-splendid opportunity to help thecames by helping yourself at the same time. To aid you in making the canvas we have had printed a guantity of postal card orders which will be sold at 500 cents cach. If the winner desires he may transfer the scholarship to a friend or member of his family.

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The Faris Commune; Benham. Paper, 25c; Cloth, The Eastern Question; Marx. Six Centuries of Work and Wagee; Rogers... Socialism and Unsocialism; Thos. Carlyle... William Morris; Poet, Artist; Socialist..... Pablan Essays in Socialism. The Economics of Herbert Spencer; Owen.... Horace Greeley; Farmer, Editor, Socialist.



WISCONSIN STATE COMMITTEE-Ser retary, E. H. Thomas, 614 State street, Milwaukee, Wis.