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# SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD

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FOR VICE PRESIDENT:



BENJAMIN HANFORD,  
of New York.

## The National Convention.

The convention of the Socialist party recently held in Chicago from former conventions of the S. L. P. in that it was American in a large majority, and from former conventions of the S. D. P. it contained a larger proportion of German and Jewish elements. A decided disadvantage were the half-baked ex-Populist elements from the far west, who, while very little acquainted with Socialism, were as extreme "radicals,"—banded together with a few Chicago "Socialists"—former Deleontes—they formed a strange conglomerate. The peculiar specialty of these new members is their fight against all so-called "immediate demands." They want the Co-operative Commonwealth at once and they want it complete without racking poor brains as to just what the "complete commonwealth" means. The immediate demands, one man may regard some demands practical and preferable for the working class and for the proletariat, while another may prefer others; but to reject a working program altogether is to reject all political activity, and then there is no chance of a political party at all.

There are few of us who were not Utopians when we first entered the movement. Marx and Engels were Utopians, as many passages in the Communist Manifesto show. LaSalle was a Utopian with his program of state help, and so was Liebknecht, when he would not hear of militarism. But thinking men learn from facts, and go forward, acknowledging their mistakes. The question of "immediate demands" can only be a question as to what demands shall be agreed upon as the most important. The platform states what is necessary on this point. In the convention all the active elements expressed themselves positively in favor of a working program as absolutely necessary; and the accomplishment of which would clear the way for Socialism.

Indeed the platform adopted at Chicago is virtually the same as that of former years, with the difference only that Prof. Herron, who undertook to rewrite it, has given it a rather lengthy form. It is almost too verbose. Yet the above-mentioned impossibilists were apparently so taken by surprise at the richness of the diction and the fine craftsmanship of the platform that they actually forgot to oppose it, although it contains all the demands of the old platform and some new ones besides.

The constitution of the party was only slightly changed. Instead of the National Quorum, there will be in future a National Executive Committee, which is to be chosen by the National Committee and can be removed by them at any time. In the brotherly attitude of the party to the trades unions no change was made, spite of the bitter opposition of the Chicago impossibilists, assisted by the votes of some of the labor agitators and the applause of the Chicago gallery. A state and national program was also adopted by an overwhelming majority, although the revision of the details was left to the National Committee. Eugene V. Debs of Terre Haute, Ind., and Benjamin Hanford of New York were chosen as the banner-bearers of the party. Both candidates are Socialists well-known throughout the country. A better choice could not have been made.

Being to the fact that the Socialists have not yet learned to do business in a business-like manner, and also because many delegates at the convention as a sort of holiday outing, the convention dragged out tediously—although in the place of long-winded orations there were this time shorter and more appropriate discussions. However, it was almost three days before the convention actually got to work. It is to be hoped that we shall do better in the future. The resolutions made by the "impossible wing" of Local Chicago also proved to be "impossible," and together with the wretched acoustics of the convention hall and other similar circumstances, contributed much to hinder and delay the work of the delegates.

Yet these were small troubles. In the main, the Chicago convention was very successful—although the Chicago papers and the Associated Press with remarkable unanimity maintained a dead silence in regard to it.

But the world will yet hear  
*Victor L. Berger.*

With the national campaign just before us it behooves every reader of the Social-Democratic Herald to "get busy." There is work to be done for Socialism, and no better way can be thought of than to secure new readers for a Socialist-educator like the Herald. Everybody hustle! NOW is the time. A man "converted" by getting his subscription just before election doesn't have time to catch our philosophy and to shake the old voting habit. Give him plenty of time. Catch him NOW.

Our general subscription list covers the entire country and we are pleased with it. But we are NOT satisfied with our list in Wisconsin, within whose borders this paper is published. It is a downright duty of every Wisconsin Socialist to take the paper. In the first place it must not be forgotten the part Wisconsin has played in the formation of the national party and the national movement. This paper reflects the national party and the national movement. You should be fully familiar with it, so as to be able to act in unison with your fellow comrades for the strengthening of the Socialist movement in this country and the keeping of it out of the hands of the anti-Socialist forces. The Comrade Berger speaks of the rules and by-paths of utopianism that Comrade Berger speaks of in this paper. Don't smile at us through the window. COME TO US! That's where you belong. And we could read a harder lecture to the Socialists of Milwaukee, the city in which the Herald is published. You of Milwaukee have simply GOT to convert those other fellows to our shop or store or other work place. And your best way to do it is to make them take this paper. Get their subscription—we will give it to them!

As an extra inducement to our comrades in Wisconsin to get to work we will make this unparalleled offer: We will send, postpaid, a copy of our famous Capital, bound in cloth, to the first twenty persons who send us new subscriptions at 50 cents each. We have only twenty more of these volumes in stock, so if you want to be in on this, speak quickly.

The business man who cheats his customers outright is an angel compared to the business man or company who cheats the people by adulterating their foods. U. S. Senator Charles McNary, who was in charge of the pure food bill in Congress, has written a letter in which he gives the following information as to the adulteration of foods which the American people are eating and digest and turn into flesh: He says the extent of adulteration is appalling. It is a national calamity, he says, that has flooded the country with counterfeit money, with which the people are buying their food, and it is almost as bad a calamity to have the country flooded with counterfeit goods to be sold for good money. For instance, a tub of fine looking yellow sweet smelling and pleasant tasting can be purchased for one cent a pound. It gets on the poor man's table. But it is not a pound of meat, it is made of lard, and contains a little milk and a little coloring agent, and a little preservative. It does not cost eight cents a pound, and would be dear at that price. The maple sugar market, almost without exception, is made of cheap glucose colored with burnt sugar. There is no sugar in it, and the sorghum molasses

If all the groans and misery produced by the capitalist system could be bunched together and put upon you, perhaps you would begin to realize what an accursed, man-crushing system it really is.

A contributor to the Worker, of Brisbane, Australia, says that "new-born Socialists beset us everywhere." The effect of the recent labor victory in that country is bearing good fruit.

There's a message for you, Mr. Workingman, on the second page of this issue of The Herald. Read it carefully and reflect upon it. Don't believe the foxy capitalist editors when they tell you it is wrong to be discontented. They have an object in telling you that!

When a social system outlives its usefulness to the great majority of the people it is high time a new system was installed in its place. But the new system must be in accord with the natural evolution or unfolding of society. That is why Socialism is bound to be the next step in the progress of society.

The shameful scenes at the state convention of the Wisconsin Republicans could only be expected as a result of inordinate political self-seeking on the one hand and the corruptive power of wealth on the other.

"Civilized" America drafts its boys and girls into the work army before they are fairly out of babyhood and allows them to grow up mentally and physically impaired. Socialistic America would keep them out of the work army until they were matured physically and adequately educated mentally. Which do you think is the more civilized of the two methods?

The ballot is more powerful than the bayonet, says the Vanguard of Alba, Tex.

Socialism may get YOU  
If you don't watch out!

The oldest delegate to the national Socialist convention was 70 years of age. The youngest was 20. The average age was between 39 and 40. Of the 183 delegates, 120 were natives of the United States. Germany led the foreign countries as to place of birth, having 19. There were 78 delegates who were members of trade unions.

Self-Preservation the First Law of Nature.

Butte, Mont., April 22.—C. Henderson, a Methodist minister 60 years old, who lost his wife in Salt Lake City a year ago, and account of his age, came to Butte with his wife and two children. Since then he has been unable to get a call as a pastor. He has eked out only a scant living for himself and family. He has worked on the streets and washed dishes at the hotels, but could not supply his wants.

Yesterday he called at the city employment agency, where he had for a year been a daily caller, and announced that he was going to Los Angeles. He had a prosperous appearance and said he had suffered from want long enough. He had turned gambler and fortune had smiled upon him.

Says the Labor Leader of London: Will Socialism destroy the home? Would it destroy your home if you worked about four hours a day and got about \$5 for it. Would your wife think any the less of you because she didn't have to break her back over a wash tub or a hot stove? You are an average man; the way you will want things under Socialism is about the way a majority will want them.

Ten weeks, ten cents.

The self-made man generally turns out on investigation to be a selfish-made man. It is a bad system that rewards selfishness and punishes the better traits of life.

The latest bulletin of the Department of Labor gives the result of an investigation into the cost of living and shows that the cost of living in 1903 was the highest in the thirteen years ending with Jan. 1, 1904. The increases in the necessities of life run all the way from 33 per cent to 100 per cent. Even oil, good sanctimonious John Rockefeller oil was 100 per cent higher in 1903 than it was in 1893, and of course, coal took a nice big leap—and has forgotten to fall down again—blessed be the capitalist system! All these figures are very cheering to the workingman, who is anchored to the bottom of the stream of life by the rope called wages—a rope that was found to be shorter the last census year, 1900, than it was in 1890, the census year preceding. The stream of life is rising with the cost of living, and that rope is getting shorter. The worker's nose is just above the surface—some even have disappeared beneath the surface never to rise again. It is this way capitalism treats the working cattle upon whose agonizing toil it depends for all the luxury and the pomp and splendor it has in life. The slave will ever be treated with contempt and without mercy.

Cortelyou being simply a detestable type of the successful Yankee politician, his transfer from the head of the Bureau of Commerce and Labor to the chairmanship of the National Republican Committee puts him where he really belongs. But this does not mean that the labor bureau will get into the hands of a man who is nearer the people—not if the capitalistic monkey-workers who control this government know their business.

Additional editorials on last page.

## Debs Gives his Views of the Coming Campaign.

Eugene V. Debs, candidate of the Socialists for president of the United States, has been interviewed by the Terre Haute (Ind.) Sunday Tribune. He said:

"No definite plans for the campaign have as yet been formulated and the national executive committee will not begin actual work until about the first of July. Then will follow the first real national campaign the Socialists have ever conducted. In the convention last week in Chicago every state was represented and every state now has an active party organization.

"Since the national election four years ago there has been an unceasing propaganda of education in every part of the country and the party has now assumed national proportions, and will be recognized as the campaign proceeds, as a factor in the politics of the country.

"As to the plans and methods to be adopted, much will depend on the outcome of the Democratic convention at St. Louis. It is conceded, of course, that Roosevelt will be the Republican nominee. Assuming that Parker will be nominated by the Democrats, I take it that there will be a decided defection on the part of the radical element of that party. The leaders of the Democratic party are now attempting to harmonize the party organization, which, to me, appears to be an impossible task.

"In the last two campaigns the radical element secured control and lost. It now seems to be clear that the conservative section will secure the upper hand and to effect as far as possible a reconciliation of the conflicting factions, a compromise candidate, or at least, one who has not been prominently identified with either section, will likely be chosen in the person of Mr. Parker or Mr. McJellian. Allowing that this will be the outcome of the St. Louis convention, it seems quite probable that those who are demanding the nomination of Mr. Hearst will refuse to support the nominee, and that many of them will drift into the Socialist movement. Then, in that case, the vote of the Socialist party will be augmented in a degree that will prove a surprise to the country.

"The St. Louis Globe-Democrat, in an editorial a few days ago, made substantially this forecast and issued notice to the politicians of both the old parties to keep their eyes on the Socialists.

"Another factor of decided importance in the approaching campaign will be the decline in industrial activity. The state of industry is always a controlling influence in national politics. Four years ago industry was at high tide and the Socialist vote was comparatively small. This year the tide is running out, notwithstanding the efforts that are put forth to hold it in abeyance, and the party slogan, "Let well enough alone," will not have the effect it had four years ago, when labor generally was employed and workmen were measurably satisfied with their conditions.

"Many of the large industrial enterprises, including the steel mills, the barometers of trade, are already compelled to curtail their working forces and reduce wages, the immediate effect of which will be to create discontent among the workers and this will find expression in a largely increased vote for the Socialist party. Taking advantage of this, they will place thousands of speakers in the field.

"It is always venturesome to guess in the game of politics, but I would not be at all surprised to see the vote of the Socialists run into seven figures. My personal plans are not yet arranged. I expect, however, to speak in all the important cities, closing the campaign in Terre Haute.

"The candidate for the vice-presidency on our ticket is Mr. Ben Hanford, a printer in the employ of the New York Journal, and a man well known all over the country for his eloquence and effectiveness on the rostrum. He will make a thorough canvass."

"To Hell with habeas corpus; I'll give them postmortems instead!" is the elegant remark of Gen. Bell, the military ruler of Colorado, referring to the mine workers. We have already given an account of the murderous assault on Secy. Haywood of the Western Federation of Miners, when he sought to greet his chief, Pres. Moyer, who was brought to Denver from the bullpen at Telluride by the soldiers. The associated press reports even while giving the capitalistic side of it made it clear that Haywood had been grossly ill-treated, had been handled with true capitalistic malevolence. Comrade Haywood has now given his version of the affair, which is as follows:

"It is a difficult matter for me to make an absolutely correct statement of happenings that transpired so unexpectedly and almost instantaneously, but the facts, as I believe them to be true, are as follows: "I was anxious to meet Mr. Moyer, and felt that I would like to be at the depot to see him when he arrived, particularly in view of the current reports that he had been suffering from severe illness. I thought he would like to see some of his friends at the depot to greet him when he came in. So I got up early, and in custody of Constable Kendrick, who has been in charge of me, I went to meet the train. "I did not have the remotest idea of there being any trouble or I never would have gone to the depot. When

Mr. Moyer, accompanied by guards, came walking up the platform, there was a detachment of militiamen, both in front and behind him. He was walking alone. I stepped in when he came abreast of me, grasped his hand and was walking along, his hand in mine, when one of the officers, whom I think was Captain Wells, violently pulled me away by the arm or shoulder, and at the same time he made a motion as though he was going to strike me. He never uttered a word, nor did I, so far as I can remember.

"This action on the part of the officer seemed to have been a signal for the militiamen to make an assault, which I regard as entirely unprovoked. I had said or done nothing to provoke the attack. When one of the soldiers started the attack by striking me over the head with his gun, I then struck out to resist, and to defend myself. I did not strike Captain Wells to my knowledge and belief, though I cannot be absolutely positive, since I was engaged in warding off blows that were being rained upon me by as many militiamen as could surround me. I was then wedged in between two cars, and the soldiers were striking and jabbing me repeatedly with their gun butts.

"When they had satisfied themselves, they dragged me out from between the cars and General Bell came up and ordered his men to place me between the two squads

with Mr. Moyer, saying: "Just have him fall in behind that other man; that's where we want him."

"Then the detachment walked me up the street into the Oxford Hotel. Wells told off the soldiers, and a detail was instructed to take me back into the recess. I was standing where I had been ordered, whence someone commanded me to sit down. I replied that I did not want to sit down. Then he drew his revolver and attempted to strike me on the head.

"Ten or twelve soldiers surrounded me, and nearly all of them, so far as their cramped position would allow, were trying to jab or strike me with their guns. Several had their guns leveled, and would probably have fired upon me, but some officer, whom I did not recognize, said: "Don't shoot him! Don't shoot him!"

"By this time Walter Ganley, who was one of the nearest to me, got room to swing his arm, and struck me over the head with his heavy revolver, knocking me down the steps that lead to the basement. When I came up, the officer told the men to fall back.

"Extremely weak and exhausted from loss of blood from this murderous attack by the military, simply because I did not want to sit down, I sank into a chair, while further negotiations for my disposal were pending."

## Debs and Hanford, the Social-Democratic Candidates.

THEIR BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

Eugene V. Debs, Socialist party candidate for president, was born in Terre Haute, Ind., in 1855, and at the age of 15 began work as a railway employe in the Vandalia railroad car shops. Afterwards he worked as fireman on a freight engine for several years and became a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. He was made editor of the Brotherhood magazine in 1877 and three years afterwards he was chosen general secretary and treasurer, a position which he occupied for thirteen years, resigning it in 1893 to organize the Railway Union which was intended to unite the railway workers of America in one great organization.

Within a year the Great Northern Railway strike was won and won. Through his contest the wages of thousands of workers on the St. Paul and the Pacific coast were saved from reduction and the managers awoke to the fact that they had a new power with which to grapple.

In May, 1894, the famous Pullman strike occurred. Unable to effect a settlement by arbitration, the A. R. U. took up the matter at a national convention in session at Chicago in June. As a result, a vote was declared against the Pullman cars, to take effect July 1. Within a few days the entire railroad system of the country extended from Chicago West and South to the Gulf and Pacific Coast was tied up, and the greatest labor war in the country's history was on.

On July 2, 1894, Judges Woods and Grosscup, at Chicago, issued a sweeping "omnibus" injunction. Mr. Debs and associates were arrested for contempt of court, on alleged violation of the injunction. They were tried in September, but Judge Woods did not render a verdict until December, when he condemned Mr. Debs to six months' imprisonment, and his associates to three. The case was carried to the Supreme Court, which sustained the lower court, and in May, 1895, the imprisonment in Woodstock Jail began. The term expired on November 22, 1895, and on the evening of that day the prisoner was tendered a reception in Chicago, the like of which that city had never seen.

Debs and associates were also indicted and placed on trial for conspiracy, and the trial continued until the evidence of the prosecution had all been heard, but suddenly when the defense began to testify, a juror was taken ill during a temporary adjournment and the trial abruptly terminated in spite of all efforts of the defendants to have it continued. They were anxious to bring the General Managers' Association into court and show who were the real law breakers and destroyers of property. An acquittal by a jury upon substantially the same charge as that upon which they were imprisoned for contempt would have been fatal to Judge Woods.

On January 1, 1897, Debs issued a circular to the members of the A. R. U., entitled "Present Conditions and Future Duties," in which he reviewed the political, industrial and economic conditions, and came out boldly for Socialism. Among other things he said: "The issue is, Socialism vs. Capitalism. I am for Socialism because I am for humanity. The time has come to regenerate society—we are on the eve of a universal change."

When the A. R. U. met in national convention in Chicago, in June, 1897, that body was merged into the Social-Democracy of America, with Debs as chairman of the National Executive Board. The following year (1898) the Social-Democratic party was started as the result of a split in the Social-Democracy. In 1900 Debs was nominated for President as candidate of the Social-Democratic party, now known nationally as the Socialist party.

During the past seven years Debs has devoted all his time to lecturing and writing for Socialism, and has also taken part in some notable strikes in the industrial and mining centers of the East and West. He has visited every state during his travels and carried the Socialist message into more places than probably any other man in America.

Ben. Hanford of New York, candidate for vice president on the Socialist party ticket, has long been known as one of the hardest workers in the Socialist movement.

He combines to an exceptional degree, the qualities of agitator, speaker and writer, and he is therefore a worthy companion to the presidential candidate, Eugene V. Debs.

Hanford has been a Socialist over ten years and a trades unionist for twice that period. He was born in Cleveland, Ohio, 46 years ago, but began life as a wage worker in a country printing office in Iowa. He shortly afterwards went to Chicago where he joined the International Typographical Union, of which he has been a member ever since. He has worked in printing offices in every city east of Missouri.

Hanford became a Socialist in Philadelphia, and upon removing to New York in 1892 not only continued his activity as a trades unionist, but threw himself into the Socialist movement with all the intensity and earnestness which has always characterized him.

Although he has never held an office in his union, and has never been a candidate for one, he has answered to the call of duty for the political working class movement several times. In 1898 he was the candidate of the Socialist Labor Party for governor of New York, but leaving that party the following year because of disagreement with its policy, he joined the Social-Democratic party (which is the official name of the party in New York state) and in 1900 and 1902 was its candidate for governor. In the latter year Hanford increased the Socialist vote from 12,069 to 23,400, giving the party third place on the ballot.

Hanford's writings have become deservedly popular, his "Railroading in the United States" winning distinction for its merit and originality. His "Jimmy Higgins" has appealed to all Socialists as a description of a type peculiar to the Socialist movement everywhere.

As a speaker it has been said of him, "Two qualities go to make Hanford a convincing and inspiring speaker—a burning earnestness, as evident in his daily private life as in his appearance on the platform, and an ability to clothe his thoughts and feelings in the simplest and most direct language, so that no hearer can fail to understand."

"More than this, he is a working man, a class conscious workingman, in every fiber of his being—living the life of the working class, thinking its thoughts and instinct with its feelings, full of its growing hope and self reliance, hating class rule with all his soul and despising the sham and meanness and cruelty which are necessary to what is conventionally called 'success.' Thus he speaks for the working class when he speaks from his own experience, and he speaks in the sincere and unmistakable language of his class."

Socialists have been called drunkards, beer guzzlers and bummers for years, and when they are not called names of that sort they are charged with being in favor of the blue laws. Just to give the carping critics a rest so far as we are concerned we call their attention to a strange anomaly in Chicago, where the bar-tenders union has for its president one John O'Brien, who while he has been a bartender for years, claims not to know the taste of liquor, and that he is too busy to learn to drink, even if he had any inclination to do so. "Some of my friends," he says, "who were anxious to make me president wanted me to mop in a few beers during the campaign just for appearances, but I told them no, that I had never drank liquor in my life, and—well, I was elected on what they called the water-wagon ticket." His stomach was his own and he had a right to do with it as he pleased.

Great business men these capitalist aldermen! Printer Keogh, who has held up the city and county of

The Socialists will go into the coming national campaign with a determination no capitalist party can match.

SOCIALISM MADE PLAIN.

WHY THE FEW ARE RICH AND THE MANY POOR.

By Allan L. Benson.

NOTE: Although these articles are copyrighted, Mr. Benson wishes us to state that Socialist papers are not thereby stopped from reprinting selections from them. — Editor Herald.

(COPYRIGHTED)

WHAT THE WAGE-WORKER HAS; WHAT HE MIGHT HAVE.

Of all God's creatures, the wage-worker, under capitalism, is deserving of the most pity. By all the rules of right and justice, he should share with the farmer in the possession of all the material wealth in the country, because it is HIS labor that has produced all of this wealth that the farmer has not produced.

It is the labor of the WAGE-EARNER that brings to the surface of the earth the coal that keeps millions warm, generates the steam that sends trains whizzing across continents, and supplies the motive power for practically all of the manufacturing establishments in the country.

It is the labor of the WAGE-EARNER that wrests from the earth the iron and the copper that are smelted with the coal preparatory to their use in a variety of forms.

It is the labor of the WAGE-EARNER that fashions the iron, the steel, the copper and all the other minerals of commerce into merchantable shapes and distributes them over the continent.

It is the labor of the WAGE-EARNER that builds the great cities, from the lowest sub-cellar of the sky-scraper to the last stone on the roof; and it is the labor of the WAGE-EARNER, joined with that of the farmer, that produces the food and the clothing without our 80,000,000 of human beings would be hungry and cold.

Yet what has the wage-earner received for all this mighty output of productive effort? Does he own the coal that he and he alone brought to the surface?

A thousand times no! It belongs to Mr. Baer and the other "Christian gentlemen, to whom God, in His infinite wisdom, intrusted the property interests of the country"—according to Mr. Baer, not to the Bible.

Not owning the coal, can he buy it more cheaply than the capitalist idler who took no part in its production?

He cannot. The price of coal is the same to all. Does the wage-earner own the iron, the steel, the copper and the other metals that he has wrenched from the mines with his brawn, teased into usable forms with his brain and delivered to those who wish to buy iron products?

Ask Mr. Rockefeller, a man who never mined an ounce of metal in his life, yet owns more metal than any other man in the world.

Does the wage-earner own the great cities that were raised, paved and perpetuated by his labor? Go back to your census reports and read them again. Scarcely 20 in 100 even own the very roofs over their heads and if a wage-earner were to be asked if he owned any of the great structures of brick, steel and granite that his labor has pushed up toward the sky, he would think his inquisitor was either a fool, a lunatic or a cruel jester.

The wage-earner, who, with the farmer, creates ALL wealth, is desperately poor; struggling hard for a bare existence; seldom more than 30 days away from hunger as he learns whenever his wages stop for a few days.

And, unlike the farmer, he cannot know that he will have work even for another day, or shelter for another month.

The farmer, burdened with debt, may see his land slowly slipping into the hands of the landlord, and though the spectacle of others may be heart-breaking, he at least may know that he can work tomorrow—that his day of reckoning is months or years away and that however little he and his family may have, that they will at least have food and shelter with enough clothing to keep them warm. And while this prolonged agony is oftentimes intense, it seldom if ever takes the acute, brain-baffling form that the wage-earner's troubles assume when his foreman comes to him and says:

"Draw your wages tonight. We shall not need you any more. You are an agitator—a disturber. You don't know when you are well off."

Or,

"There will not be any work for you after Saturday night. The shop is going to shut down."

Either one of these announcements—and both are common—puts Mr. Wage-Earner right up against the immediate prospect of want—not to the prospect of want next month or next year, but of want within a very few days.

His last week's wages may have been spent in paying a doctor's bill for a sick baby and his rent may be due the next day, but for him there is no relief, so far as his present source of income is concerned.

The word has gone forth that he shall no longer be given an opportunity to produce with his labor, in that particular place, those things that are essential to the very lives of his wife and children.

The law, as well as his own inclinations, say that he MUST provide for his family, which he is eager to do if given only an opportunity.

Scattered all over the continent are the millions of his fellow-creatures whose wants create a demand for the things he is able and willing to produce with his labor, yet the man or men who possess the tools with which he must labor if he labor at all—the tools that must be used by labor if the wants of those who desire their products are to be supplied—have either arbitrarily denied him the right to use those tools or told him that he and his family must suffer for food, clothing and shelter, because "over-production" has brought about an industrial depression.

In other words, if the last reason be assigned, this wage-earner must be denied the opportunity to create food, clothing and shelter for himself and his family because he and others of his class have made TOO MUCH food, TOO MUCH clothing and TOO MUCH shelter!

And the wage-earner, if he be a thoughtful man—which he usually is—then makes the discovery that while labor is necessary to honest living that labor is NOT a right to be demanded as freely as one would demand air, but a PRIVILEGE to be begged from men who do NOT labor, but who nevertheless own all of the machinery with which other men must labor or starve.

"The DIGNITY of labor" did some political orator say? Since when has "dignity" become a word that may be appropriately used to describe so base a position? The dictionaries define "dignity" as meaning "elevation of rank;" "quality suited to inspire respect or reverence." Is there anything very "elevated" about the rank of a wage-earner who must go to some capitalist and beg for the poor privilege of putting forth his physical and mental efforts for one-fifth of his product in order that he and his family may not suffer for the necessities of life?

Is there anything very "elevated" about the rank of a wage-earner who, care-burdened and heart-sore, must go out of his place of employment like a whipped cur when access to the tools with which he works has been denied him by the man who owns but does not use them?

Is there any "quality suited to inspire respect or reverence" in the wage-earner who BEGS for what is as plainly his right as the right to breathe—the right to apply his labor to the earth and its products to produce the necessities of life—who suffers with his family when his capitalist "employer" denies him the right to labor and who then votes either one of the two tickets that the capitalists vote to perpetuate the very indignities that they have heaped upon him?

Is there any DIGNITY about any or all of these things? Is there anything about any or all of them to inspire RESPECT or REVERENCE?

If there is, "dignity" does not mean what the dictionaries say it does. There is no dignity in wage-slavery. The dignified man stands on his rights when he can and if he cannot, he always makes a vigorous attempt to do so. And the man who "inspires respect or reverence" is not the man who obsequiously thanks those who kick him and furthermore offers to furnish the boots with which the kicking is done. "Pity"—not "dignity"—is the word to use in connection with wage-slavery.

What compensating feature is there about a system of industry that holds so much of uncertainty and unhappiness for the wage-earner? Why, the possibility that the wage-earner may become a "captain of industry"—a millionaire—and live in luxury from the labor of others as others are now living in luxury from his labor. This brilliant bauble is always dangled

before the eyes of labor by the capitalist class. Whenever capitalists feel called upon to defend the system of industry under which they have prospered so greatly, they seldom fail to mention the "glorious" possibilities that are held out by it to the humblest laborer. Mr. Rockefeller goes to his son's Bible class and regales its members with the story of his early struggles—his industry and his thrift—and declares in his most solemn tones that this is an age and a country of great possibilities; that the poorest boy, if he be industrious and saving, may well hope to become a "captain of industry."

Unquestionably every wage-earner has the right to become a millionaire. But this right, like some other rights of the wage-earner, is of value only to the extent that he can find opportunity to exercise it. And fortunately the exact value of this right, when there is so little opportunity to exercise it, is susceptible of mathematical demonstration.

There are, in the United States, approximately 16,000,000 adult male persons.

Of this number, approximately 8,000 are millionaires, or multi-millionaires.

Which makes it quite plain that the average wage-earner has about one chance in 2,000 to become a millionaire.

Even in cities where gambling houses are permitted to run wide-open, the police "pull" a house long before the game gets so hard that a player stands only one chance in 2,000 to win. And they "pull" it on the ground that it is no longer a gambling house, but a robbers' roost!

The Louisiana Lottery Co. used to offer greater prizes in proportion to the investment than capitalism holds out to the wage-earner, but the government long ago denied it the use of the mails and drove it out of the country.

Socialism takes the ground that capitalism is, as disreputable in principle and more disastrous in practice than any lottery company that ever existed and in proof of its assertions, it points to the \$90,000,000,000 of wealth that labor has produced in this country and the 68.2 per cent of those who have produced it who do not even own their homes. Socialism would destroy this system of industry as utterly as the United States government destroyed the Louisiana Lottery Co. and give those who are now wage-earners, these rights:

1—The right to labor to sustain life without asking any man or men for the privilege.

2—The right to use the land and machinery without which wealth cannot be produced without giving any part of one's product for the privilege of using either.

3—The right to live without fear of periodical "industrial depressions," since panics, so-called, are caused by UNDER-consumption instead of OVER-production.

4—The right to exchange the product of any given number of hours of labor for the product of anybody else for the same time.

These are some of the things that those who are now wage-earners would be permitted to do under Socialism:

To select any unused land as the sites of their homes and to use such sites for a life-time, if desired, without the payment of a dollar to anybody as a purchase price.

To obtain the materials with which a house might be built by giving the products of as many hours of their own labor as there were hours of labor expended by others in the production of the materials. NO PROFITS FOR ANYBODY.

To obtain, on the same terms, their food, clothing, furniture, and all other things desired for which their labor might be sufficient to pay.

The right to labor would never fail so long as there was an inch of unused land or an unsatisfied desire on the part of anybody for the products of another; and that time has never come and never will come. Desire grows upon its food and the more civilized human beings become, the more they want. Men are now denied the opportunity to labor during industrial depressions, simply because the wage-earners have received so little in wages for their products that they are unable to buy them back, and the capitalists therefore cannot make profits by permitting labor to continue to exert itself. As stated a moment ago, it is under-consumption and not over-production that causes all industry to lag at regular intervals. Socialism would insure the wealth-producers against under-consumption and enforced idleness by giving them ALL of their products, instead of a wage that represents only one-fifth of their value. Give labor the

power to purchase its full product and the time will never come when men will have to go hungry because they have produced too much food, or shoe-less because they have made too many shoes.

Under Socialism, those who are now wage-earners would, for the most part, labor in the same places and at the same tasks at which they are now employed. The president of the steel trust would continue to manage it just as he does now, save for the fact that he would make steel in order that others might use it instead of to enable a few millionaires to derive a profit from its production; and instead of working for a board of directors composed of private capitalists, he would work for a board of directors composed of the president and his cabinet, representing the people.

Those who are now superintendents and "bosses" in other lines of industry would continue to be superintendents and "bosses" under public ownership, provided they should give good service; and the less skilled laborers would continue at their present tasks until such times as their ability might make it advisable to give them more important work to do. But they would receive just as much for their day's work as would the man at the head of their institution.

In fact, industry would be conducted in a sane, business-like way, except that "business-like" under Socialism, would mean the production of the best qualities with the smallest possible waste of labor or materials, instead of the production of the poorest qualities that will pass muster for the purpose of obtaining the greatest profits. Socialism would make things for use and not for profit.

It has been said that under Socialism, those who are now wage-earners, as well as everybody else, would have the right to labor without asking the permission of anybody. So far as this pertains to the use of the land, it is literally true. So far as it pertains to the use of machinery, it is practically, but NOT literally true. All things should be construed reasonably. A man would not be permitted to burst into a machine shop and go to work without asking the foreman. Socialism would systematize industry and such a procedure would absolutely destroy a system. In that particular machine shop, there might be no opportunity to permit another machinist to work to advantage. But so long as every human being has so many unsatisfied wants, there would always be a demand for the labor of every toiler and the task of finding where the labor might be needed would not be difficult. The fact should be remembered, however, that if the machinery of production and distribution were owned by the public, that industry would not be placed on a "go-as-you-please" basis. Everybody, in the end, would gravitate to that task for which he might be best fitted, just as most men now do. But men's tastes are so different and their abilities are so varied, that the desire of the individual would seldom clash with the welfare of the people as a whole, which, in the last analysis, would rise superior to all else. We do not now all want to be blacksmiths, farmers, physicians or school teachers. Human nature would be just the same and men would distribute themselves among the various occupations much as they do now, with the result that the individual would seldom if ever be denied the opportunity to perform exactly the kind of labor for which his tastes and his abilities seemed best fitted to him. And no man would ever be denied the right to labor at SOMETHING, to receive his full product and exchange his product for anything that anybody else made in the same number of hours.

The wage-earner now creates nearly \$6 worth of value to get \$1 in wages, the rest being wasted by the capitalist "employer" in competition, or pocketed in the form of profits.

With the dollar in wages, the laborer goes to buy some other laborer's product, but finds that profits and waste make it impossible for him to get with his dollar more than 30 or 40 cents worth of the other laborer's product.

The average wage-earner therefore produces \$6 worth of value to get 30 or 40 cents worth of the product of some other laborer.

If all profits were to be abolished and every human being were to be given steady employment and his entire product, who besides the capitalist idlers would be injured?

That is the plan of Socialism, but it is hardly likely that the capitalists will ever put it into effect. That is for the wage-earners and the farmers to do.

The National Socialist Platform for 1904. (As Adopted at Chicago, May 5, 1904.)

We, the Socialist party, in convention assembled, make our appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole of society.

To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are equally false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great proprietors' interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using those to betray and conquer foreign and weaker people, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take away unawares the right of the worker to a vote or voice in public affairs. By snatching new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself, or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public school, the pulpit and the press, and the arts and literature. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The principle of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths upon which our institutions were founded. But, under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings ever to become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces above its subsistence-wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

Socialism comes so to organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of thought and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

As an American Socialist party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international Socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the Socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national, but international, in both organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries, and of the so-called patriotism which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to this is due the present division of society into contending capitalist interests for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

The Socialist movement therefore is a world movement. It knows of no conflicts of interest between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

The Socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery, for its portion.

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever and whenever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long ceased to be individual. The labor of scores, or even thousands, enters into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two classes; and from it have sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interests, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

The Socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer com- Socialism is inevitable. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of the developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

Into the midst of the strain and crisis of civilization, the Socialist movement comes as the only saving or conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the Socialist movement. The Socialist party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall be by the people in common owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together; and that all opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

To the end that the workers may seize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government, and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Socialist party pledges itself to watch and work in both the economic and the political struggle for each successive immediate interest of the working class; for shortened days of labor and increases of wages; for the immediate insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, franchises and land values, the proceeds to be applied to the public employment and improvement of the conditions of the workers; for the complete education of children, and their freedom from the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, equal suffrage and municipal home rule, and for the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist, and increase the like powers of the worker.

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as far as it shall be entrusted to us by our fellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and complete emancipation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America, and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause, to cast in their lot and faith with the Socialist party. And we appeal only to what we, and the men and women whom we represent, are ready to give good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and those we represent, to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe that we are but preparing the soil of that economic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.

PAUL F. MUELLER, Pres. R. RAASCH, Sec. BERN. MCKANN, Treas.

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Come Out Strong for Socialism!

President and Vice-President of the great Flint Glass Workers Organization Declare for Collectivism.

Members of Toledo, O., celebrated May Day and their celebration made notable by two resolutions made by T. W. Rowe, president of the American Flint Glass Workers Union, and Vice President W. J. Croke of the same organization, who came out officially for Socialism. We give the following:

Christ. He declared trades unionism to be a palliative and not intended as a final solution of the labor problem. He scored President Gompers of the A. F. of L., and John Mitchell of the United Mine Workers, for their opposition to Socialism and defied them to point to any other way out of the industrial maelstrom.

Richer than Uncle Sam.

Commenting on the fact that John D. Rockefeller controls more property, is actually richer than the United States government, a writer in a recent article says: "Here is something never before experienced since the development of civilization—viz., a private citizen secure in the possession of more property than is collectively owned by the nation of which he is a member. One man has legal and valid title to more property than is required to protect and conserve the honor, liberty, safety and orderly administration of the affairs of 80,000,000 people. Is it right that the government (or the people) should favor an industrial system that means robbery of the masses? That permits one man to become more powerful than the government itself? When will the lethargic wage worker rouse himself? Will he sleep on until roused by the clanking of the chains of his servitude, only to find himself the miserable serf of the most accursed slavery to which human beings could be subjected? Workingmen of this trust-ridden, so-called land of liberty, please stand up and answer these plain interrogatories."

Anarchy reigns in Colorado. Miners are driven to labor like slaves in the mines of ancient Persia, or deported from their homes. Military despotism hold sway, backed by the governor of the state, and the mandates of the courts are disregarded, while the rights of citizenship are trampled under the iron

Capitalistic Ruffian Rule Anxious to Inaugurate Reign of Bloodshed in Colorado!

"Take Adjutant General Bell, for instance. The Star correspondent interviewed him today. He is a young man with a face, bearing and speech that are so bold and daring as to give one the impression of tyranny. Utterly fearless and heartless, he seems yet a man who is following his honest convictions. "The only thing General Bell had for the Telluride miners were oaths and condemnation. He sat at his desk in his rough soldier suit and cursed the miners for a good half hour. "Have you any idea how long martial law will be enforced at Telluride?" he was asked. "Leaving out the oaths the gist of his reply was this: "The soldiers never will be taken out of there until we have rid the county of the cut-throats, murderers, Socialists, thieves, loafers, agitators and the like who make up the membership of the Western Federation of Miners. "We don't care what the Supreme Court, the newspapers or anybody or anything else does. The soldiers are going to stay there, regardless of court decisions, and if there is any more monkey business there is going to be some much-needed shooting. "If we were to withdraw, the trouble-brewers would cross the ridge and return as soon as the snow is gone. The mines are going to run, and any willing man, union or not, will be protected in his employment. There is not room in Colorado mining camps for these loafers. Either we are going to rule or they are. We can't go on as we have been doing. If they can kill us off, they will rule, but if necessary we will try our best to kill them off to maintain our authority.... "Governor Peabody frankly admits that the time has come to crush the Western Federation, and that he will do everything in his power to bring this about."—Indianapolis Star.

heel of lawless power. Unless the federal government intervenes in support of the court and enforcement of the law an internecine war must follow, as the lawlessness of the governor and soldiery have progressed to an extent which necessitates the alignment of Colorado's citizens with one side or the other. —Labor Journal, Everett, Wash.

WHAT THE SOCIALIST OFFICIALS IN MILWAUKEE ARE DOING.

The Socialist aldermen made their presence felt at the meeting of the Milwaukee city council last Wednesday in a way that kept them in evidence all through the meeting. When they first entered the body the two capitalist party aldermen joined hands in a war of offense and defense against the representatives of the working class who had dared to come into "their" field. They showed almost in so many words that they considered the city government their especial preserve and that the Socialists were mere poachers. They are waking up to the fact that the latter must be reckoned with. We take the following from an account of the meeting in one of the city papers, with some emendations of our own and a correction of several inaccuracies:

The Social-Democrats scored a point in their fight for night sessions of the council, by having the report opposing a change in the rules put over for two weeks. Under the rules one-fifth of the aldermen can lay over a committee report. One of the capitalist aldermen was absent, so that the nine Socialist aldermen were able to cast the necessary one-fifth vote.] The majority of the committee on rules reported against the plan for night sessions and Ald. Wild submitted a minority report, in which a change in the rules so that the sessions could be held in the evening was recommended. Mr. Heath also submitted a communication from the Federated Trades Council asking for the change.

"We believe this matter should be given serious consideration," said Ald. Seidel. "We do not ask for night sessions because we cannot get away from our work. We believe they should be held, because it would give the citizens an opportunity to see what is done here and to be present at our sessions."

Both Ald. Melms and Welch supported the change, and on a motion to lay over, the Socialists secured several votes, which caused the matter to be postponed and it was thus saved from defeat. Ald. Smith (non-Socialist) said that the council years ago had held night sessions, but that now it would be difficult to get the attendance of the city attorney, comptroller and other officials if the change were made.

The committee on finance made a report upon the apportionment of the \$100,000 ward fund, which caused such a heated discussion when it was made several days ago. Ald. Heath submitted a minority report, favoring a different basis of apportionment and comparing the distribution of ward funds with those of previous years.

[The Socialists had also prepared typewritten statements showing up the crookedness of the work of the finance committee, which had favored the capitalist wards. These were placed on the desks of the aldermen.]

The motion to substitute the minority report for the majority report, however, was lost by a vote of 34 to 11, and the majority report was put over for two weeks by a one-fifth vote called for by the Socialists—another point scored by them.

Ald. Welch introduced an ordinance providing for placing the union label upon all city printing. After a lengthy discussion it was decided that Printer Frank Keogh [who is already under a grand jury indictment for swindling the county] will only receive \$60 for printing 500 copies of the report of the charter revision committee. His original bill was \$275, which was

later cut down to \$175. The minority of the committee, however, last night, in a report, recommended that \$60 be allowed. Ald. Heath, who signed the minority report, explained that he had investigated the subject and found that he could get the same work done in the largest printing establishments in the city for \$29. He wanted to cut down the recommendation of the minority report, to \$30, but this motion was lost. [However the city has been saved \$155 by his exposure of the overcharge.]

Milwaukee News: Ald. Frederic Heath sprung quite a surprise and created considerable of a sensation at the meeting of the finance committee of the council yesterday afternoon. While that body was voting away the city's money by thousands, as is its wont, and albeit its duty, Ald. Heath, a member of the committee, made this statement: "The committee is making extensive appropriations this afternoon and before we go any further I desire to suggest that talk is rife about the city to the effect that an effort will be made to so deplete the treasury that there will be no funds with which to make a start upon the municipal lighting plant. There are some conditions which indicate that an attempt to further delay this municipal ownership will be made in the manner indicated.

"As you gentlemen know, Ald. Fiebrantz has presented a resolution providing for a reduction of the public water rates so that there will be no surplus by the water department. "Mr. Fiebrantz is a stockholder of the electric company, and it appears to me that under all of the circumstances his action in this regard is rather queer."

By the electric company Ald. Heath meant the Milwaukee Electric Railway & Light company which has the present very profitable contract for lighting the streets of this city.

Ald. Heath was on the right scent, but according to the emphatic statement of Ald. Fiebrantz himself, he is not a stockholder of the street railway company. He was at one time, but that was a number of years ago.

However, there is an abundance of evidence to indicate that the general suggestion about delay made by Ald. Heath is well founded. If the emissaries of the street railway company at the city hall have their way, the city will be "strapped" before the lighting bonds, called for by the people in the spring election, are voted. The argument will then be that the comptroller cannot sign the bond ordinance because he lacks funds with which to pay the interest and sinking fund. The reply of the comptroller will be that the council voted away all of the money and that under the law he cannot countersign. Some of the tools of the street railway company are talking in favor of another \$100,000 bond issue for permanent street improvements. This is simply to crowd out the lighting plant bonds.

The Milwaukee Socialists are pleased by the fact that Socialist Supervisor James Sheehan has been made one of the county board committee on investigation into the county hospital scandal. The hospital is mainly filled with poor people who have uttered many complaints at bad treatment and indignities, and there will be no whitewash this time with Comrade Sheehan on guard.

NAT'L. H'QUARTERS.—A fund for the Socialist presidential campaign must be raised at once. In accordance with the resolution adopted by the national convention, party members and sympathizers everywhere are called upon to contribute one half day's pay sometime during the month of June, 1904.

It is proposed that one-third of the amount thus realized shall be retained by the local organizations, one-third shall be remitted to the state organization, and one-third sent to the national organization. Where no local organizations exist, contributions shall be divided equally between the state and national organizations. In unorganized states amounts shall be divided equally between the local and national organizations. In organized states all remittances should be made through the state secretaries and portion due the national organizations can be sent in the form of a money order or draft payable to the National Secretary, William Mally.

Lists will soon be sent out by the National Secretary through the state and territorial secretaries to all the local secretaries.

William Mally, Nat'l. Secy.

IOWA.—The state convention of the Socialist party of Iowa will be held in Reform Hall, cor. First Ave. South and Church St., Marshalltown, July 4th, at 9 A. M. The adoption of a state platform and the nomination of candidates will be the work in hand. Each local of the state organization in good standing is entitled to as many delegates as it has members in good standing, the delegates in actual attendance being entitled to cast the full vote of the local they represent. Members at Large in good standing are entitled to all the privileges accorded delegates representing locals. Credentials in duplicate are being sent out, the originals to be presented before the delegates, as well as members at large, are requested to also present their membership due books to committee on credentials.

J. J. Jacobson, Secy.

Despite the hot-air campaign of the Party-sites to disrupt organized labor, reports from different sections of the country indicate that the working people are more determined than ever to stand by their unions. There is a steady gain all along the line.—Cleveland Citizen.

The Herald is a clean paper that no one need be ashamed to read to his friends or strangers. Spread the light of Socialism. To keep it concealed is a crime.

THE AGITATOR.

Prompted by higher ideals,— By purer and nobler of motives; Broadened in mind by conception And eagle-like lifted in spirit. Claiming the world as his country And all of the people his brothers. And trying to teach and uplift them. Prophet-like lifts his voice And preaches the gospel of freedom, The gospel of love among brothers, The gospel of true self-denial. When one is in need of assistance.

In words that are sweet and appealing Tells the life of the poor man, Tells the burden of women— Of struggling babes in their cradle. He tells of the efforts of workmen And all of the wealth they created, Dying themselves of starvation For want of the food they created; Dying of cold and exposure For want of the houses they builded; Living an ignorant people For want of the books they have printed.

Thus and in similar language Speaks he to those who may listen. Some pay attention and hear him And pause for a moment and ponder O'er what he is telling and stating. Others will jeer and bespurn him And few will dare to assail him. But he like the Christians in Christ time, Believing the truth he is speaking, Presses his work with a zeal That only belongs to Great Spirit's Samuel X. Rubin. Minneapolis, Minn.

Truth from a Capitalistic Source.

To the Socialists, the farce of Hearst's antagonism to the trust is a greater insult to the intelligence of the workers than the Republican appeal to their bellies via the "fool dinner pail." Hearst is against the criminal trust, but in favor of legitimate combination of capital; he is like the Scotchman's monkey: "You hold Jocko, and he will bite me; I hold Jocko, and he will bite you." Mr. Hearst is loud in his lamentation of the humiliating degradation of the workers, but offers no tangible solution of their manifold ills, wisely contenting himself with exploiting their woes as political fly-paper for vote catching purposes.—Dallas Times-Herald.

In Darkest America!

A tailor died in Chicago at the age of thirty-three, and the doctor gave the cause of his death as "premature senility." In other words, the tailor died of old age. A resident of a college settlement made an investigation and found that this tailor had been running a sewing machine ever since he had been a six-year-old boy. The hard work had stopped his growth and made him an old man at a time when he should have been in the prime of his manhood. And this is an illustration of what the working class does for a leisure class under capitalism.—International Metal Worker.

Blatz Wiener Beer advertisement featuring a logo and text: "Blatz Wiener Beer Bottled Goodness Milwaukee's Banner Brew. It isn't talk that counts, it's quality—Quality that stands up at all times, for honest criticism. The unprecedented popularity of Blatz Wiener is due to its pronounced individuality—that indescribable, honest flavor that always means 'Blatz'—that delightful Blatz Wiener 'smack' that goes straight to the spot. Drink it for beer character—For health's sake drink it. Ask for it down town. Send a case home. ALWAYS THE SAME GOOD OLD 'BLATZ'." BLATZ MALT & WIVINE (NON-INTOX.) TONIC BREWERY OR DIRECT. VAL. BLATZ BREWING CO., 261-2600 Main, MILWAUKEE.

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Gleanings from Busy Socialistic Fields!

NOTE: In some states the organization is known as the Socialist Party, in others as the Social Democratic Party. Where the term "local" is used it does not refer to trade union locals, but to the local body

NOTES FROM YANKEE LAND. Comrade G. F. Carter of Boise, Idaho, has been elected national committeeman for that state.

The national organizing fund now amounts to \$5,245.41. Contributions are beginning to be made to the national campaign fund.

A stenographic report of the national convention proceedings will be published by the national secretary in book form, to be sold at a nominal amount.

The Socialists of Vermont will hold their state convention at Barre, on June 4. John W. Arvidson of Rutland has been elected national committeeman for that state.

The selection of Comrade Clafin as candidate for governor of New Hampshire makes a vacancy in the office of national committeeman, and a referendum will be held.

Pennsylvania Socialists will hold their state convention at Pittsburgh, May 29. The basis of representation will be one delegate to each local and one additional for every fifty members or major fraction thereof, in good standing for the past three months.

Recently the Houston local of the party expelled one W. F. Morrison from membership for appearing on a capitalist party platform and advocating the election of a capitalist party candidate for mayor of that Texas city. But there were nine members who cast dissenting votes when he was expelled, and the nine are to be called upon to explain.

The April financial report of National Secy. Mally shows receipts of \$1,071.10 for the organized states, and a total of \$1,348.42 for the organized and unorganized states and the miscellaneous sources of income. The disbursements total up \$1,166.98. The cost of moving national headquarters from Omaha to Chicago was \$156.55.

The Sheboygan Volksblatt has just celebrated the anniversary of its nine years of service for Socialism. A change for the better has been made by printing the first page half English and half German. The Volksblatt says that before the paper was started the wage conditions in Sheboygan were deplorable in the extreme, and that there is

still great room for improvement, the average wage being \$1.05 a day.

Comrade Sumner F. Clafin has been nominated again by the Socialists for governor of New Hampshire.

The country is saved. The Appeal to Reason announces that the "Appeal Army" will work for Debs and Hanford. With our national ticket getting the Socialist vote of the country and also that of the "Appeal Army," a tremendous vote ought to be run up next November!

As it will be fully three months before the new national constitution can be acted on by referendum vote, especially as there is a left-over-from-the-great-talking-convention a desire to subject it to further alteration, National Secy. Mally has proposed that the national quorum, which under the old and still existing constitution went out of office when the convention opened, be continued in power, as there are many things to require their supervision, and has asked for a referendum vote on the proposition by the national committee, the vote to close Jan. 6.

The Milwaukee central committee has named four study committees to take up the recent knowledge in the departments of sewage, education, criminology and machinery and become familiar with it so as to be ready to meet any municipal problems that may arise when the party has secured complete power. The committees are: Sewage—Fink, Briggs, Peterson, Acker, and Buech. Criminology—Seidel, Diets, Hartmann, Scherer, and Knutson. Education—Schmidt, Thomas, Heath, O'Day, and Aldridge. Machinery—Handley, Joney, Briggs, Panyard and Grass. Other committees will be added.

There was a significant movement in the Milwaukee common council when the newly elected board of aldermen was seated. The Republican and Democratic members hurriedly joined forces to oppose the nine Socialist aldermen who stood aloof from the rest. This is a sign of what will happen throughout the nation. As the Socialist party grows in strength the Democrats will fade away, and there will be but one opposing party in the field. Mark Hanna's prophecy will then have come true.—The Crisis.

"Confessions of Capitalism," five cents each; thirty copies, one dollar.

ACROSS THE HERRING POND.

The Labor Leader of London states that a Miss Mabel Parker Grant, late of the New York World, was the speaker at the Bolton, Eng., Labor Church, recently.

London Justice issued a very creditable May Day number. It contained a Socialist survey of the time by the veteran, H. M. Hyndman.

The Young Socialist, the official journal of the Socialist Sunday Schools of Scotland, is now in its fourth volume. It is well edited and suited to young readers, and a sample copy may be had by addressing John Seanson, 249 Main street, Bridgeton, Glasgow, Scotland.

Socialists throughout Europe are joyful over the outcome of the Paris municipal elections. Le Petite Republic says that Paris has cleaned herself and that the second ballots should result in further nationalist defeats. The first ballot resulted in the election of twenty Socialists.

Socialists are commenting with surprise and exultation at the admission of a conservative Russian journal that the greatest danger to Russia in the "appalling ignorance of her population and the lack of educational facilities." They consider it a remarkable admission.

The Labor party in Australia is agitating to prevent lawyers from appearing in the arbitration courts. The party wants employer and employee to appear before the court on an equal footing, whereas, if they are to appear by attorneys the employer has the means to hire the most successful lawyers. This is a straw that shows the trend of things.

Socialism cuts a big figure in the Belgian parliament so far as the dignity and the aggressiveness of its fight goes. Owing to the fact of plural voting it has but 39 out of 100 seats, but this does not still its voice, by any means. During the recent debate on the general policy of the government, the speeches of Vandervelde and Anseele were reckoned among the very best. Cheer upon cheer greeted their utterances. When Anseele concluded his address the Socialists rushed from their seats to shake his hand.

HERE YOU HAVE IT!

Here is a positive eye-opener—just the thing you have been looking for, to get at the every-day citizen who wants to read about Socialism in every-day language. You must not miss this

CONFESSIONS OF CAPITALISM, By ALLAN L. BENSON.

Benenson teaches Socialism by letting the Capitalists talk. He uses their own figures to indict their system—figures they cannot dispute. Absolutely the best pamphlet for propaganda ever published in this country. It will make thousands of converts. Trade copies, 5c; Thirty, \$1.00; One hundred, \$2.75; Five hundred, \$12.50; One thousand, \$18.00.

Social-Democratic Herald, 344 SIXTH STREET, MILWAUKEE, WIS.

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Social-Democratic Herald

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FREDERIC HEATH, Editor.

Official Paper of the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee and of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

Entered at Milwaukee Post-office as Second-class Matter, Aug. 20, 1901.

What International Socialism Demands:

- 1. Collective ownership of public utilities and all industries in the hands of Trusts and Combinations.
2. Democratic management of such collective industry.
3. Reduction of the hours of labor and progressively increased remuneration.
4. State and National Insurance for the workers and honorable rest for old age.
5. The inauguration of public industries to safeguard the workers against lack of employment.
6. Education of ALL children up to the age of 18 years. No child labor.
7. Equal political and civil rights for men and women.

If you believe in the above vote with the Social-Democrats.

ALL HAIL TO THE DOCTORS!

The latest thing is Consumption Expositions. It is a plan of the doctors, who now admit that the great "white scourge" cannot be dragged out of the human family or exorcised by medicated air and incantations written to the druggists in Latin.

There never was any other way, there never will be any, and we feel a profound thankfulness to the doctors for their frankness in the matter, even if it does come a little late.

Before we close we wish to apply this confession of the doctors to a wider field—yet one to which the proposed exposition naturally leads. Meantime let us stick to our text.

Now we wonder if the doctors realize where this new path that they are treading naturally leads? Probably not. Nevertheless, if they honestly follow it they will land, sure as fate, in the Socialist philosophy. Nothing under the heavens can prevent it.

An exposition of the kind referred to is to be attempted in the city of Milwaukee. It is proposed to show to the public the dangerous things in daily life that tend to produce diseased lungs, and even to exhibit lungs in different stages of the disease—although we are not clear that this will have any other effect than to scare a lot of people to death. It is promised that there will be many things of interest on exhibition in connection with the subject, the same as there was at a similar exposition held some time ago in Baltimore.

It seems, however, that in connection with the exposition, the secretary of the Wisconsin state medical society will ask Prof. Ely of the Wisconsin university to send a student of economics to Milwaukee to study the conditions that tend to produce tuberculosis and to gather facts and figures as to its ravages. It is this feature of the affair that we welcome most, for it is the path that the doctors have set out upon without realizing where it will lead to.

What produces diseased lungs? Bad air, bad food, habitual overtaxing of the human system, unsanitary living and sleeping rooms, long hours of work in dusty and noxious workshops, lack of contact with the sunlight, the use of drugs, narcotics and stimulants, child labor, and so on.

What causes people to live amidst bad air when the earth is so plentifully surrounded with good air? The capitalist system. It obliges a large fraction of the people to live in poverty-cursed habitations, with bedrooms that never receive a bath of sunlight, and with rooms ill-ventilated and smoke poisoned in winter because fresh air at that time of the year is cold and the price of warmth is wickedly high.

What causes a majority of the race to subsist on bad food? The capitalist system. Wages hover close to the subsistence point. Shelf-worn canned goods is good enough for the working people! The cheapest grade of everything is purchased, and this means that a large share of it is made up of adulteration. It is figured that a billion dollars worth of adulterated food is put on the market for the poor class every year!

And what causes the habitual overtaxing of the physical powers? Again, the capitalist system. Who will ever believe that the human being was created to be a ten-hour drudge, day after day, in factory, mine or shop? Worse still, to drudge ten hours daily at work that over-exercises a few muscles until the worker gets muscle-bound, while most of the rest of the body is made flabby from disuse, is a crime that society must sooner or later protest against, in sheer self-defense.

And what fosters the use of drugs and stimulants but the capitalist system!

What keeps the people away from the revivifying rays of the sun, if it is not the exactions of the capitalist system?

And child labor and all the other crimes against society—it is capitalism again that is the procuring cause.

Will that special student of economics have the courage to point out these things and to show that consumption is largely a working class disease and that it will not begin to disappear until that vast class is emancipated? If he does, the doctors will shrink back aghast at the inquiry they themselves have set on foot, and the report may even be suppressed.

As far as our observations go, the great majority of the human race is already afflicted with consumption; for the actual beginning of the disease is the first appearance of a catarrh from the throat and lungs. With some people the disease advances rapidly, with others it is a slow development, due to some changed condition of their general bodily health. With still others the disease may advance awhile, then retrace its steps and, owing to some change for the better in their habits, their living or their surroundings, may leave them entirely. Cases of this latter sort are known where the disease had advanced far enough to leave permanent scars on the lungs before it disappeared. The old idea that consumption travels a fixed and inevitable course, has been exploded. But under capitalism most men are chained to their fate and their opportunities for shaking off the grip of the scourge are slight. What chance has the miner or the slum-dweller or the worker in a dingy, dusty factory, for instance!

So we feel justified in terming consumption a capitalistic scourge. And if the doctors really mean business with their expositions and their efforts to fight the causes instead of the diseased effect, we say all praise to them AND MAY THEIR TRIBE INCREASE!

And before we depart from the subject, let us give this new departure of the doctors the wider application we hinted at in the opening of this editorial. All disease is effect; and all effects have their causes. Many people suppose that it is vaccination, the inoculation of the human blood with the pus of sores on cows, that has reduced small pox as a scourge. But there are eminent scientists who show that the reduction of small pox as a devastator of the human race has been due almost in toto to the improvement in sanitation, just as yellow fever is lessened by improving the sewage system of cities and clearing the air of poisonous odors.

A normal man cannot contract disease. There would be no impurity in his system for disease to feed on. Let the doctors do to other diseases and maladies what they now propose to do to consumption. Let them educate the people as to the causes. They are going to stop killing off consumptives with creosote and Koch's lymph; let them then admit to the world that disease is a thing to be considered and studied by the student of economics, by the social student, and then let them help the Socialists bring about right relations in society so that disease will not come to the individual undeserved.

It is with the human system as with the social system. Diseased conditions indicate the necessity for the suppression of the wrong conditions that produce the results.

Have you read the Communist Manifesto? Don't all speak at once. We have it in cloth at fifty cents, and in paper at ten cents.

"Back Among the Old Folks!"

CIVIC FEDERATION



Vice Pres. Gompers and John Mitchell of the Civic Federation Return to the Bosom of their Capitalist Cronies, after their Annual Unsuccessful Fight for Labor Laws at the Capitalist Congress at Washington.

But the Working Class is Getting Tired of Bad Leadership and Instead of Begging Laws from Capitalistic Congressmen will Soon Send their Own Class to Congress.

Why the Labor Bills were Defeated.

Another object lesson has been given the wage-earners and unionists in our land by the defeat of the Eight-Hour bill in the last Congress. It was clearly and purely a "class legislation. The capitalists were solidly organized and had its agents put forth their best effort to defeat the will of millions of the working class. We were not surprised at the fate of the Eight-Hour bill; in fact, we expected it. The friends of the measure on the committee were decidedly few, while its enemies were legion. ANOTHER CASE OF TRYING TO GET AMELIORATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION. The sooner the wage-earning voting class come to the conclusion that their class must be represented by their own class, the sooner will come amelioration for them. How can the wage-earning class expect the "other" class to pass laws, which, in their minds, would be detrimental to their welfare—especially that pertaining to the shortening of the hours of labor; their greed is so great. They want the profit of as many hours' work as they can get out of their employes.—Nashville Labor Advocate.

Mitchell et al Make Reply.

The following is a communication received from John Mitchell and other officers of the Mine workers, in reply to a communication which we printed recently from the pen of Comrade Debs. We have taken the liberty to expunge from the letter many words and phrases of an abusive and slanderous character, but otherwise it appears just as it was written, and its meaning has not yet been impaired:

Indianapolis, Ind., May 7th. Editor Social-Democratic Herald.—In your issue of April 6th you publish an article under the signature of Eugene V. Debs containing a mass of misstatements with the apparent purpose of making your readers believe that the officials of the United Mine Workers of America, and particularly President Mitchell, have betrayed the trust reposed in them by their constituents by using their official position for the benefit of the employes instead of for the welfare of the employes.

Mr. Debs' knowledge of mining affairs is limited, by virtue of his lack of time and opportunity for personal investigation, and must of necessity be general and superficial. He has not sufficient knowledge of the mining industry to be a competent critic of our trade policies, and yet, if he had confined himself to a criticism of those policies they might have passed unchallenged, so far as we are concerned. But when, without investigation of the facts, he takes an Associated Press Dispatch, distorts it to suit his own purpose and jumbles it up with a number of other things that never existed except in his own diseased imagination, in order to prove that the officials of the United Mine Workers are dishonest, we believe that justice to ourselves and the organization we represent demands that his statements shall be refuted and his purpose laid bare.

Men of experience in the labor movement usually pass by, unheeded, the insinuations circulated by the paid agents of capital for the purpose of destroying their influence and weakening the power of resistance of their organization, but when those insinuations are uttered and circulated by a man who for years has leaned upon the sympathies of the wage workers as the crucified martyr of a lost cause, the halo of glory he has painted about himself cannot shield him from the contempt of honest men. What is this wonderful Press Dispatch around which Mr. Debs' imagination has built such a magnificent net work? We reproduce it from his own article.

There was by no means a hopeless spirit among the returning Coal Operators from the Indianapolis Convention which the Miners closed Saturday with a disagreement. From the best authority the Post was informed yesterday that the break in the negotiations between the two interests is not a permanent one and that by March 21st, another meeting of Joint-Sub-Committees will be held quietly. The whole matter will again be discussed among them and a solution to the present difficulty sought. It was further said that there was every reason for believing that the ultimate end of the whole matter would be the acceptance of the lower rate by the miners, or the 85 cents a ton base for pick mining for the next two years.

The ultimatum of the operators to a referendum vote of the members affected. The vote was taken on the afternoon of March 15th. It was sent by the local tellers in sealed envelopes to National Headquarters, and these envelopes were not opened until March 17th. It would have been impossible for the Pittsburgh Correspondent, Frank Robbins, John Mitchell or even the versatile and prophetic Mr. Debs to have known on March 6th what the result of that vote would be.

That is misstatement No. 1 refuted. In a subsequent interview in the Terre Haute Sunday Tribune Mr. Debs dares anyone to put his finger on a single word that is not true or deny a single allegation. There is scarcely a truthful statement in the entire article. Let us be specific. The Joint Convention of Miners and Operators adjourned on March 5th. No agreement had been reached, but negotiations were not broken off as asserted by Mr. Debs. When it became apparent that the operators would not move from their final proposition of five and fifty-five one hundredths per cent reduction and the miners must either accept that proposition or strike, the sub-scale committee, composed of two delegates from each of the four states represented, selected by the representatives from those states, and eight operators selected in a similar manner, publicly withdrew from the conference for a few minutes and held a consultation. As the miners had not yet decided upon their line of policy and might not be able to do so for some time, it was decided that the scale committee should re-convene on March 21st, at which time the operators would be notified whether the miners had decided to strike or not. Consequently negotiations were continued.

That is misstatement No. 2 refuted. Mr. Debs says, "The miners and operators returned to their homes. Preparations began for war. It was at this juncture that the above dispatch went out from Pittsburgh." The dispatch was sent out from Pittsburgh March 6th. The miners' convention did not adjourn until March 7th and the delegates could not have been at home preparing for war at the time alleged.

That is misstatement No. 3 refuted. Again Mr. Debs says, "Pittsburgh, be it remembered, is the home of President Robbins of the Pittsburgh Coal Co. and the floor leader and spokesman of the operators in all the joint conventions with the miners. He is quite entitled therefore that 'the best authority' quoted in the above dispatch, was none other than Mr. Robbins." When the joint convention adjourned on March 5th the miners immediately went into convention to outline their policy. It did not finish its work until the afternoon of March 7th. A delegation of operators remained in Indianapolis awaiting that delegation. Frank Robbins was one of that delegation. He did not leave Indianapolis until the evening of March 7th and could not therefore have been the returning coal operator quoted in the dispatch.

That is misstatement No. 4 refuted. We quote further from Mr. Debs. "The National Convention had (on March 5th) virtually declared for war" and further on he says: "The convention voted to fight and the delegates went home to prepare for hostilities." It had done nothing of the kind. Mr. Debs knows as well as any man that the declaring of a strike does not always mean success to the strikers. His experience in 1894 is conclusive proof of that fact. A repetition of the strike of 1894 would have been as disastrous to the United Mine Workers of America as the strike was to the American Railway Union. Many of the delegates believed that it would be better for the miners to accept the reduction offered than to take the chances of war, especially when the employers had selected the battle ground, but they were bound by instructions and could not violate them. When the officials were approached by their delegates they advised them to obey their instructions, to meet this situation the convention on March 5th selected a committee composed of two members from each district to formulate plans to meet the crisis. The committee reported on March 7th and recommended that the ultimatum of the operators be submitted to the miners affected for their acceptance or rejection, the vote to be taken between the hours of one and six P. M. of March 15th and the mines to be idle that afternoon in order to give every member an opportunity to vote who desired to. The officials supported that proposition and it was agreed to by the convention. It will thus be seen that

A PHOTOGRAPH OF THE DELEGATES

To the NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY is now ready for delivery. It is a large group, 14x17 in. Every face is clear and distinct, each picture plainly numbered and the names printed below, so that every face can readily be identified. Sent prepaid, ready for framing, on receipt of one dollar. . . . .

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Report of the National Convention.

The May number of the International Socialist Review is almost wholly taken up with the proceedings of the National Convention of the Socialist Party of America. It contains the only adequate report that has yet appeared and is so arranged that the really important information which Socialists will look for can readily be found. The price is ten cents a copy except to stockholders in the co-operative publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Company, who can get copies in any quantity, large or small, at five cents each. A booklet explaining how to become a stockholder will be mailed to any one asking for it.

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there was no virtual declaration of war on March 5th and that the convention had not voted to fight.

That is misstatement No. 5 refuted. These are the alleged truths upon which Mr. Debs builds his flimsy insinuations and attempts to destroy the reputation of honest men. We have refuted them. Every delegate who attended the convention knows our statements are true. There was no secrecy about these actions. If Mr. Debs had wanted to know the truth, a simple investigation would have revealed it to him. It is very evident that he is not seeking for the truth. The insinuations used by Mr. Debs clearly prove this assertion. Here are some of them.

"The question is, did Robbins, chief of the operators, have an understanding with Mitchell, president of the miners?" "But the delegates having given up everything balked at least, even Mitchell's 'masterful effort' in behalf of the operators fell flat."

"As soon as the convention adjourned the leaders of the miners began to work upon the rank and file, many of whom are so pitifully ignorant that they look upon a union official as a Chinaman does upon his Joss."

"The labor leader, and Robbins, the labor exploiter, pooling issues and joining hands to force down the wages of the mine slaves. Oh, what a transformation!"

There is some more along the same line, but that is the gist of it. Neither Mr. Debs nor any other person ever heard Mr. Mitchell make a "masterful" or any other kind of an effort in behalf of the operators. Every such proof and we know that it did not exist.

When the bituminous miners of Indiana in convention at Terre Haute, knowing the facts, passed a resolution condemning the action of Mr. Debs, he immediately began to whine. In the interview published in the Terre Haute Sunday Tribune, above referred to, he asserts that "Labor may always be relied upon to crucify its friends." What a woful wall coming from the lips of a man who started the cry of "crucify them" against Mr. Mitchell and his associates.

Much more might be said in reply to the falsities contained in his article, but enough has been told. Whether he is alone in this attack or is merely carrying out a preconceived plan to destroy the trade union movement, we do not know. He may succeed in injuring us personally, but the trade union movement is based upon eternal principles of evolutionary development and he can never destroy it or divert it from the fulfillment of its destiny, than he can destroy the waters of the Mississippi with a stone or change its channel with a Chinese chopstick.

John Mitchell, T. L. Levin, W. B. Wilson.

Owing to the interminable length of the above communication, several letters from correspondents which we expected to print this week had to be held over.

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DAVIDSON. VAUDEVILLE DAILY! THIS WEEK'S BILL: GREEN & WERNER, 5-VASSAR GIRLS, Mr. & Mrs. GENE HUGHES, ARTHUR H. HAIN, PORTER'S MUSICAL DOGS, 5-JUGGLING MOWATTS, A MONKEYS, MOVING PICTURES, HAPPY JACK GARDNER.

STAR THEATER. Commencing To-morrow Matinee. TWO PERFORMANCES DAILY. PRICES: TROCADERO Extravaganza ...Company... 10, 20, 30c ...LADIES MATINEE FRIDAY...

CRYSTAL THEATER. 178 Second St., Near Grand Ave. CONTINUOUS VAUDEVILLE. Matinee Every Day 2 to 5. Nights 8 to 11. A REPORT FOR LADIES, CHILDREN AND GENTLEMEN. MOTION PICTURES. Admission 10 cts. Including Seat.

Ernst Kreiter's Concert Hall 790 THIRD STREET, Near North Avenue. Good Singers and Comedians always on hand - First Class Orchestra. Change of Program Weekly. Miller's Celebrated "Best" on Tap.

J. Bruett & Son Clothing, Furnishings, Hats, Caps, Gloves, Mittens, Underwear, Hosiery, Shirts, Neckwear, Etc. Found du Lac Avenue, Corner Lloyd and 10th Street.

HATS Wm Gerhard 907 THIRD STREET COUPON. Cut this out and bring it to THEO. SCHELLE, 316 WEST WATER STREET, You will get something for it. Telephone 8282 White. MODERN TAILORING CO., Merchant Tailors, 619 Grand Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis. Altering, Remodeling, Dyeing, Pressing and Repairing.

CHAS. L. WUERDEMANN, ...BICYCLES... Enameling, Nickel Plating, Lawn Mowers Sharpened, Bicycles Made to Order, Light Machinery Repairs. REPAIRS, SUNDRIES. 1803 BROWN STREET, Corner 18th.

GOOD COAL Perfectly Screened. Burns to a White Ash. You get satisfactory results by trying the FETTE & MEYER COAL CO. J. H. STOUTHAMER, Pres. 35 ONEIDA STREET, MILWAUKEE, WIS.

WANTED: That You Help Unionism by Patronizing the First Union Bakery. ALVIN FLEISCHER, 922 FIFTH STREET, Milwaukee. Open Day and Night | One Minute | Tables for Ladies and Gent. LUNCH ROOM Established 1882. Formerly Tachank's Restaurant, Mrs. C. ELLENBERG, Prop. 180 Second St., betw. Grand Ave. & Wells. THIS IS WHERE YOU GET THE BEST MEAL IN THE CITY Y. M. C. A. RESTAURANT 143 FOURTH STREET. Open 8 A. M. to 12 P. M. Sunday 9 A. M. to 2 P. M.

Crown Copies by the Town Crier.

The Republican inspectors in the first precinct booth of the Twelfth ward at the last election were either boozed or incompetent, so that they could not read the figures on the machine right. The returns they sent in gave Robert Buech, Social-Democrat, 27 votes, while his running mate, Max Grass, had 273. Last week the Finance committee of the city council had the machine opened and it showed that Buech received 270 votes. The incompetent inspectors were Knuesler, Risch, Gauer and Smoljez. Wonder how much more of the same sort of miscounting there was in the other wards!

The Socialists in the Tenth ward have made an investigation of the ward work to see if it was being done under proper conditions. As a result they found that a wealthy woman named Anna Kuhn, living in a double flat building on Lloyd street, which she herself owns, was getting 58 cents out of the pay of one of the men every day he worked, although he owned his own team and did all the work. She got the snap six years ago through crooked political influence and ever since has been drawing the man's pay for him and giving him only a part of it each month. The man is well along in years and lives as no working man ought to live, while she lives in luxury. The Socialist aldermen of the ward will refuse to sign the pay roll until the board of public works straightens the matter out and gives the man his full pay. Everything the capitalist politicians have anything to do with needs investigation!

Watch your alderman. Aldermen who vote against getting more money for improvements in their wards are not above suspicion. If they are not looking out for their wards they are for their own pockets! There is no other explanation of it. In the city council last Monday, Socialist Ald. Heath from the Finance committee brought in a minority report to take the place of the crooked part of the majority that gave the most of the ward money to a few capitalist wards. The minority report gave the Second, Fifth, Eighth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Seventeenth, Nineteenth, Twenty-second and Twenty-third wards large increases, yet the capitalist aldermen from those wards voted it down! Why? Ask them! The following table shows how crooked the division of the ward funds was in 1902 and 1903, also the crooked majority report of the Finance committee, and, in the last column, the minority report division that the misrepresentatives of the working class wards voted down:

Table with 5 columns: Ward, (1902), (1903), (Majority report 1904), (Minority report 1904). Rows 1-23 showing financial data for various wards.

A Saturday evening sociable and dance has been arranged by the 14th Ward Branch, Milwaukee, for Saturday evening, May 28, at Eckelmann's Hall, 3109 Lisbon ave. The expense will be paid among the gathering. Everybody welcome.

Spring Requirements A timely advice - Ice is higher, to be economical purchase one of OUR REFRIGERATORS, with walls insulated in a scientific way by mineral wool, air spaces and charcoal absorbing, with either galvanized, porcelain enameled, or opal glass inside, 17-25 and upwards. In hot weather, comfort and economy command the purchase of one of OUR MANGLES, from \$1.00 upward. People using same will testify to their merits. It does not pay to repair an old wringer, when nearly worn out. You can have one of OUR WRINGERS for \$1.50 and upward. A \$2.00 Home Sewing Machine is warranted for three years; it will last ten years. We have the right ware and the right prices. Peter Paulus Hardware Co. 267 Third and 310 Chestnut Streets.

FOR SALE. \$2000, 1 1/2 story House, brick basement, sewer, water and gas, on Concordia Ave., convenient to car line, \$200 down, balance to suit the buyer. \$2100 Lot 30x120 1 1/2 story House on 23rd St., \$200. Balance small monthly payments. W. A. DUNN & CO., 201 Grand Avenue, Room 9. Phone Main 991. SECOND-HAND FURNITURE. Highest Cash Price paid for Furniture, Sofas, Carpets, Tools, Etc., at L. SOREFF, 415-417 Third Street, Phone White 9162. Orders by mail or given in person will be promptly attended to. FOR SALE. HOUSES, LOTS & FARMS. Improved and unimproved farms in all parts of the state for sale or lease. We have a fine line with stock, machinery and good buildings, which I will sell cheap or exchange for city property. BERNAT & COBUS, Room 25, Citizens Trust Building, Corner Ogden and Market Streets.

"Dead men tell no tales!" Mike Dunn admitted in court last Wednesday that he accepted the \$1,500 bribe from Gus. Pabst, but that he turned it over to George Porth, and didn't know what Porth did with it. Porth is dead and cannot defend himself from the suspicious charge. If Dunn gets off on a technicality it will only prove that the law is only meant for the workingman and not for capitalistic crooks and hoodlers.

A grand May ball will be given by Carpenters' Union 522 at West Side Turn hall, Saturday, May 21, for the benefit of the national convention to be held in Milwaukee in September. All invited.

Starting on May 26, a school will be inaugurated at 382 Washington st. for the study of Socialism, Parliamentary Law, Municipal Government, etc. The school will be conducted by W. R. Gaylord, E. T. Melms and H. E. Briggs. Comrades and friends are invited to participate, and the school will continue to be held on the last Thursday evening of each month.

The Socialist aldermen and supervisors have been asked to assist in the work.

THE THEATER.

DAVIDSON THEATER. Eight dainty bits of femininity, known as the Vassar Girls, will be the leading feature of the Davidson's vaudeville bill for this week. They dress in the gray gowns and caps of Vassar college, and play a host of musical instruments. The act opens with a quartette on the oboe, flute, clarinet and bassoon. Then comes one of the greatest saxophone acts imaginable, a sextette on these beautiful instruments. The ballet setting resembles a May pole dance with the pole left out. Instead of ribbons there are long rope ropes which the young women fasten to their dresses. The ballet begins, and the lights begin to gleam. These are tiny incandescents fastened to their dresses, hidden in their hair, and covering their slippers.

Other acts on the bill are Porter's musical dogs and monkeys; Arthur H. Hahn, the English baritone; Mr. and Mrs. Gene Hughes, who have just returned from a four years' absence in England, in a sketch called "A Matrimonial Substitute"; Happy Jack Gerdeer, monologist; the five Mowatts, sensational jugglers; Green and Werner, in a unique act called "The Babes in the Jungle." The moving pictures of Faust and Marquerite complete the bill.

Fun, vivacity and rippling music will rule the Star theater next week, beginning with tomorrow's matinee. The Trocadero Extravaganza company is a large and competent one have created a furore in all the cities where it has played. CRYSTAL THEATER. Anderson and Wallace head the bill at the Crystal Theater next week. The other attractions are John T. Powers, the Manning Trio, McKinnon and Reed, Kinzo the juggler, Eugene Douglas, and the wonderful Crystalograph.

Handsome Baby Carriages. There are years of satisfactory service in every one of the artistic baby carriages and go-carts manufactured by us. You can make a Saving of 25% From Retail Prices by selecting any buggy from this stock - Milwaukee's largest. Bring your damaged vehicles here for fine repair work. Pahl & Co. 119 1/2 CENTRAL ST.

Guenzel Bros., Hatters, Cor. Third & Harmon Streets, Milwaukee, Wis. For good reliable Shoes at Lowest Prices Go to M. PERRANDE, 708 Muskego Avenue, Corner Mitchell Street, Kinloch Block, Milwaukee, Wis. UNION MADE SHOES.

Wisconsin State Board. The State Executive Board met May 8, with all resident members present except H. Tuttle. Charters were granted to South Milwaukee on condition of payment of dues, and to Ashland and the Second precinct of Wauwatosa, subject to the approval of the City Central Committee. It was voted to employ Carl D. Thompson as joint organizer of Wisconsin in co-operation with the state of Minnesota. It was also voted to employ Mrs. I. C. Hazlett to do organizing work in the western part of Wisconsin, especially in the counties of Grant, Richland, Crawford, Vernon, La Crosse, Monroe, Jackson, Tempeleau, Buffalo, and Eau Claire. The secretary was instructed to order 2000 red-flag buttons.

Bills were allowed as follows: 40 cts for letter boxes, 50 cts. for scrubbing floor of office, \$6.00 for posters advertising Strickland's meetings, \$10 advanced to Strickland for organizing work, \$5 advanced to Sattiel for organizing work. The secretary's report for April was as follows:

State Secretary's Report for April. Balance on hand April 1...\$14.45 Dues received: 1 of Kewaunee... 1.50, 1 of Jefferson... 2.40, 1 of West Allis... 1.50, 1 of Racine... 6.60, Bohemian branch of Racine... 4.20, 4 of Milwaukee... 8.40, 18 of Milwaukee... 6.60, 1 of Brillion... .90, 3 of Milwaukee... 3.00, 2 of Milwaukee (Engl)... 3.00, 12 of Milwaukee... 9.30, 1 of Brookfield... 6.00, 1 of Madison... 3.90, 1 of Rhineland... 10.20, 19 of Milwaukee... 11.70, 1 of Marinette... 7.20, 1 of Milwaukee... 5.10, 2 of Racine... 3.00, 1 of Pacific... 3.60, 1 of Eau Claire... 3.90.

THE EMERSON \$3.50 \$5.00 ... SHOES ... have stood the test, they are made only by the best skilled Union Labor, and every pair has the famous Rock Oak Sole. They are bound to wear longer than any other shoe on the market to-day. We also carry a \$2.00 and \$2.50 Union Made Working Shoe. SCHICK & DUCEY GRAND AVENUE & THIRD STREET. Open Evenings.

Table with 2 columns: Location, Amount. 21 of Milwaukee... 13.50, 2 of Milwaukee... 7.50, 1 of Town of Milwaukee... 2.40, 3 of Sheboygan... 1.50, 1 (1st precinct) of Town of Lake... 3.90, 9 of Sheboygan... 6.00, 13 of Milwaukee... 9.90, 1 of New London... 1.50, 14 (Polish) of Milwaukee... 2.40, 1 of Superior... 7.50, 1 of Janesville... 3.60, 17 of Milwaukee... 15.90, 15 of Milwaukee... 4.80, 5 of Sheboygan... 1.50, 4 of Sheboygan... 1.50, 1 of Pittsville... 4.20, 1 of Ashland... 3.90, 1 of Marshfield... 4.80, 5 of Milwaukee... 3.84, 16 of Milwaukee... 2.70, 20 of Milwaukee... 6.15.

Campaign Fund: John Preem... 1.20, Sale of leaflets... 1.80, Sale of buttons... 6.35, Monthly pledges: P. L. Devine... .75, Thomas Muenzer... 1.00, Kiel pledges... 3.00, Thomas Muenzer... 2.00. Total receipts... 256.54, Paid J. Reichert, treasurer... 246.54.

City Campaign Fund. Previously reported... \$1,533.11, A. M. G... 2.00, Violin Sale... 5.00, Mrs. A. E. Palauer... 3.35, Fr. Staps, Elmwood Pl. O... 1.00, Richard Zelude... 1.00, Ben. Baemli... 5.00, Jas. Sheehan... 5.00, Fred. C. Dreyer... 2.00, Chas. V. Schmidt... 10.00. \$1,607.56.

Keep that big Racine picnic in mind. It will be held at Central Park, which is on the lake shore in Kenosha county—an ideal spot for a day's jollification. It can be reached by train or trolley car, and branches in the state will do well to arrange excursions. Comrade Gertrude Breslau Hunt of Chicago will make an address and the Social-Democratic band of Milwaukee will play.

GREATEST BICYCLE SALE Milwaukee Has Ever Known \$20 \$20 Buys a High Grade \$40 Andrae ANDRAE, 225 West Water St. This great sale comprises the well known Andrae wheels, "The wheel that never disappoints." NOTE: We will equip your wheel with the celebrated Morrow Coaster Brake and new spokes for only \$5.00. Bicycles enameled for \$1.25 up. We do the best and most skillful repairing in town.

Clothes of Merit We Sell Them. The greatest possible value for the least possible money. All-wool Men's Suits from \$5.00 up to \$20.00. M. Bender, Men's and Boys' Clothing Furnishings and Hats, 450 11th Ave., Cor. Scott.

THIRD ANNUAL MONSTER PICNIC GIVEN BY THE Social-Democratic Party, TO BE HELD AT Schlitz Park, Milwaukee, Sunday, July 17, 1904. ADDRESSES, CONCERT AND GAMES. GRAND BALL IN THE EVENING. ADMISSION 10 CENTS. TO HALL 25 CENTS.

Second Annual Monster Picnic GIVEN BY THE Social-Democratic Party of Racine, Wis. AT CENTRAL PARK, KENOSHA COUNTY, SUNDAY, JUNE 19th, 1904. Music by Social-Democratic Band of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. This is the nicest place in Wisconsin for a picnic. It is located near the lake on the Milwaukee, Racine & Kenosha Street Car line and on the Northwestern Railroad. Comrade Gertrude Breslau Hunt of Chicago and others will speak. Dancing in the afternoon and evening. All Comrades and Friends are invited. For further information contact N. P. NIELSON, 929 Forest Street, Racine, Wis., Sec'y of Committee.

Tools for Mechanics. GOOD TOOLS, with which good work can be done, are more than our specialty. The very best of tools for Carpenters, Masons, Machinists and all Trades are our Hobby. All our tools made by the most renowned Manufacturers who are not afraid to guarantee their product. "IF IT'S FROM GROSS IT'S GOOD." PH. GROSS HARDWARE CO., 126-128 GRAND AVENUE, MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN.

CASH CONQUERS WE GUARANTEE To give better value at a smaller price than any other Shoe House in the City. We buy and sell for Cash only. We keep no books and have no losses—you get the benefit. For the Coming Week we offer: 650 pairs Mens Vici Kid and Valour Calf Shoes, regular \$2.50 grade, at \$1.95. 340 pairs Mens Canvas Oxford Ties, regular \$1.50 grade, at 95c. 275 pairs Boys Canvas Lace Shoes, regular \$1.25 grade, at 85c. 350 pairs Ladies Kid Lace Shoes, with Patent Leather Tips, worth from \$1.50 to \$2.00 per pair, at \$1.00. 230 pairs Ladies Patent Leather Lace Shoes, with Cloth and Leather Tops, latest styles, \$2.50 and \$3.00 Grades, at \$2.00. 440 pairs Boys Satin Calf Lace Shoes, Sizes 1 to 5 1/2, worth \$1.25 and \$1.50, at 98c. 600 pairs Mens Leather Slippers, in Black, Tan and Wine Colors, at 50c. 530 pairs Girls Kid Lace Shoes, with single and double Soles, sizes 8 1/2 to 11, at 75c, sizes 12 to 2, at 85c. 700 pairs Infants Soft Sole Shoes, in all Colors, worth 50c, at 25c. RED, GREEN OR BLUE TRADING STAMPS WITH EVERY SALE. LOUIS RIPPLE 554 Mitchell St., Between 5th and 6th Avenue, Milwaukee.

VICTOR L. BERGER 344 SIXTH STREET, MILWAUKEE. FIRE INSURANCE AND ACCIDENT INSURANCE. Only the Best Companies in Existence. Remember, the Premiums are the same in all Companies. All business turned over to me will receive immediate and prompt attention.

Barrett's A GOOD PLACE TO TRADE. JOHN SCHUETZ, The Leading Clothier and Merchant Tailor, 957-959 HOWELL AVE., Cor. Kinnickinnic. Our stock of unmade suits and latest style, is now complete. The largest stock of unmade suits and furnishings in the city at present. NOTICE: If you want a UNION-MADE suit you can get our Union Label suits made by the Union Label.