

Means to Freedom L BERGER'S THOUGHTS ON LABOR DAY

first and greatest demand of man's nature is to be free. as second is the opportunity to better his condition. Freeand opportunity make the pursuit of happiness possible. happiness is after all the aim and object of all men. Now, to begin with, are we free?

e state constitutions, party platforms, preambles, etc., the inhabitants of thie country a free people. But to call as not make him so. To call a conutry a republic does t the people rule.

s it mean to be free? For one to be master of the conown life, or at least to enjoy an equal right for an exrybody else.

which I live is my master. If a man has to sell himself, me, to another individual in order to make a living, his somebody else. It is resurrecting slavery when my I like corn and cattle to the highest bidder. To show piece of paper wherein it is stated that I am free and ith my master means to mock my misery. It is foolishness workingman is free to accept the terms of the employer them. The laborer must accept. When the alternative is suile, it is preposterous to talk about freedom of contract. man were at least as sure of shelter, clothing and is employers, then there would be some freedom of there is not. The necessity that compels me to toil for me the other's slave.

some aspects this modern form of slavery is even worse one. The old slave was at least sure of getting work and care of under all circumstances, even when sick or old. the slave repjresented capital that belonged to his master. was worth \$1,500—or even more, sometimes—and a capigood care of a \$1,500 horse or a \$1,500 machine, we chattel slave got good medical treatment when sick and when old, for if he could not do much work he could was better than nothing.

out the wage slave? Does the employer, who often does whim by name, care when he is sick? Or when he is old? I loses nothing by his perishing. There are plenty wait-ance to take his place.

re now about half a million workingmen idle all the year ing the so-called "good times," although willing to work ing on work for a support of their families. There are now illion men idle part of the year, during periods extending is to eight months, also during the "good times." The nemployed reaches four millions during "hard times."

out patriotism. About the "Stars and Stripes." What is tramp but the "Stars and stripes? The stars above him in the free air in summer and the "stripes" upon him to the house of "correction" in witter. about patriotism, and then look at the conditions in Colo-

tell us that the economic side of it is the necessary ef-pery. That machinery "saves labor."

ask: Did Genius brood over books and drawings, work laborer's and laboratories to lift the burden from the give the toiler time for mental feasts and domestic pleasures? genius of humanity intend that by his achievements milin beings hall be retired to their miserable abodes and of hunger and want?

is provided they do not prefer to leave their homes and come tramps.

rstand that under the present economic system this can ed. That the workingman cannot get the full value of his are the employer (the capitalist) must nowadays make a be work of his laborers. That this is considered perfectly legal and necessary. That if the capitalist, the owner of the and the raw material, does not see any profit in engaging an for the purpose of producing, he will not produce. That

as of the purpose of producing, he will not produce. That ass is excusable and necessary. as spirit of selfishness is to predominate and control the man race—so are WE selfish. And since we cannot help individually, since the means of production are so concen-that only in collective form can they be returned to us, sinces has taken a COLLECTIVE FORM. And the progress and the existence of civilization depends upon the success of

at help all in order to help one. And that is our aim. aim of Socialism. And if we cannot get all of it at once, get as much of it NOW as we possibly can.



Judge a man by his works, not by is professions. This is an awful his professions. good rule to apply when a capitalist candidate is telling how much he oves-labor!

Pittsburg Phil, according to photographs printed in the daily press, is followed by a crowd of men who wave their hats when he goes along the streets of Saratoga on his way to the betting ring. The capi-talist press plays upon and develops the perverted ideals of the people because it serves the interests of capitalism. Deny it if you dare!

Under the capitalist system capital can demand its increase and thus the worker can never expect to get his full, socially-due share of what he produces-a capitalist class must get its living out of the labor of the working class. By the abolition of capitalism the capitalistic class itself will disappear, thus ceasing to appropriate the fruits of the toil of others and hence enabling those others to lay full claim to the proluct of their industry.

A FORTUNE BUILT ON MISERY. "The Democratic party is prating of a return to 'Generaonian simplic-ity.' Shades of the great Thomas J. himselft You should see the home of Henry G. Davis, the party's Vice-Presidential candidate. It is a pal-ace fit for an emperor. It surpasses in solendor every dwelling place in or nearly the Davis, the party s vice Presidential candidate. It is a pal-ace fit for an emperor. It surpasses in splendor every dwelling place in West Virginia save the home of the Republican United States Senator Stephen B. Elkins, who, by the way, is a son-in-law of Mr. Davis. "While Henry G. Davis lives in a style that is truly royal, the poor miners who delve in the bowels of the earth and bring forth fne wealth that pays for all the **Davis** splendor, are themselves housed like cattle. No dog or horse owned by Mr. Davis would be allowed to dwell for a day in the miserable shacks where the miners of his coal camp live. The rich man's dog and horse must have the comfort and convenience of life, but the poor human slaves who pro-duce the rich man's wealth must be satisfied with a place to crawl into word clew. Yet millions of working.

duce the fren man's weath must be satisfied with a place to crawl into and sleep. Yet millions of working-men by their vote next November will declare that the continuance of this pitiful economic contrast is right and proper."-M. W. Wilkins, Socialist organizer, now in West Vir-sinia. rinia.

people Under Socialism young

A vile and slanderous book against Socialism, entitled "A Na-tion of Fatherless Children" which would undoubtedly marry earlier than they do now. Under capitalism inability to support a wife dehas been taken up by certain antiters a large proportion of young as also caught the ocialist priests

Not content with showing up the olossal criminality of the Standard Oil company, Thomas W. Lawson the Boston millionaire, is now tak ing a few side shots at another bunch of crooks, the men who control the Democratic party. He is calling a spade a spade, and his disclosures are far from relished. The claim is now made that Senator McCarre nis thinking of replying, to which Lawson retorts:

"More than fifty days ago I made the atfooted statement: 'If Senator Me-

to which Lawson retorts: "More than fifty days ago I made the flatfooted statement: If Senator Me-Carren is not the trusted agent of the Standard Oil I will pay the Democratic committee \$100,000.' "If I were Senator McCarren and the Democratic national committee, who have charge of the job of making the American people believe the unknown country gentleman who acted as chair-man of the executive committee of the bemocratic party, which nominated Dave Hill governor after one of the slipperiest campaigns in the history of New York's many slippery campaigns and who was immediately in payment thereof promoted to the supreme court bench of Dave Hill, and who cast the deciding vote which broke the tie of the appellate court in the famous thirty odd million suit of the Farmers' Loan and Trust company after a brief visit to Lenox—if, I say, I were Senator McCarren and the Democratic national committee who have charge of the job of making the American people believe that Judge Parker is innocent in all ways political, I would shut up sharp and tight on the subject of who hired McCarren and his associates to put through the job at the St. Louis con-vention, or they may be confronted with

Accarren and his associates to put through the job at the St. Louis con-vention, or they may be confronted with a political problem of who owns more important individuals, and how, which Senator McCarren so far into the back-ground that it never would be resur-vected until long effect to would put the question of who hires Senator McCarren so far into the back-ground that it never would be resur-rected until long after the Democratic national committee, or whoever has the authority, meet to choose a, candidate for the Democratic party to fill the yeacney caused by the resignation of the able and upright judge from U. Soap Us and well soap you. I certainly would.

ISSUE, 1904. LABOR DAY GREETING. EUGENE V. DEBS WRITES OF THE DAY OF RELEASE

HE Working Man is the ally man in whose presence I take off my hat. As I salute him, I honorymyself. The Working Man—and this is the day to write him in capital letters—has given me what I have, made me what I am, and will make me what I hope to be; and I thank him for all, and above all for giving me an eyesto see, a heart to feel and a voice to speak for the Working Man.

Like the rough hewn stone from which the noble statue is chiselled by the hand of man, the Toiler is the rough-hewn human from which the perfect Man is being chiselled by the hand of God.

All the working men of the earth are necessary to the whole Work-ing Man-and he alone will survive of all the human race. Labor Day is a good day to rest the hands and give the brain a

chance-to think about what has been, and is, and is yet to be.

The way has been long and weary and full of pain, and many have fallen by the wayside, but the Unconquerable Army of Labor is still on the march and as it rests on its arms today and casts a look ahead, it beholds upon the horizon the first glowing rays of the Social Sunrise.

Courage, comrades! The struggle must be won, for Peace will only come when she comes hand in hand with Freedom.

The right is with the labor movement and the gods of battle are with the Working Class. The Socialist Party and the Trade Union Movement must be one

today in celebration of Labor Day and pledge each other their mutual fidelity and support in every battle, economic and political, until the field is won and the Working Man is free.

Forget not the past on Labor Day! Think of Homestead! Thinks of Latimer! Think of Buffalo! Think of Coeur D'Alene! Think of Groton Dam! Think of Chicago! Think of Virden! Think of Pana! Think of Leadville! Think of Cripple Creek! Think of Victor! Think of Telluride!

These are some of the bloody battles fought in the past in the war of the Workers for Industrial Freedom and Social Justice. How many and how fierce and bloody shall be the battles of the

future?

Comrades, this is the day for Working Men to think of the Class Struggle and the Ballot-the day for Labor to clasp the hand of La-bor and girdle the globe with the International Revolutionary Solidarity of the Working Class.

We are all one-all workers of all lands and climes. "We know not color, nor creed, nor sex in the Labor Movement. We know only that our hearts throb with the same proletarian stroke, that we

keeping step with our class in the march to the goal and that the soli-darity of Labor will vanquish

Frorba

TO REACH THE MAN ASLEEP!

The National Socialist Headquarters in Chicago has gotten out an effective private mailing card for use by Social-Democrats, with the following message to the person to whom the card is sent:

DEAR FRIEND:-P

slavery and Humanize the World.

DEAR FRIEND:--You and I have "whooped it up' for the politicians until our coun-try has reached a point where we are but puppets in their hands, and where the politicians are but tools of the corporations. You know this as well as I do, and when we get right down to a heart to heart talk with close friends we do admit that there is no real difference between the Democratic and Republican parties or machines. Some time ago I began quietly reading up some on economics-don't get scared at the word, with the result that I am ready to confess myself a tool for voting as I have been doing. I was honest in my intentions, however, as I believe you are, but honesty may cover up lots of ignorance. To make a long story short I am taking this method of informing you and other of my friends that this year I am going to vote for Debs and Hanford who are the Socialist party candidates for President and Vice-President. No, I am not crasy! As you can demonstrate for your-self if you will do some unbiased reading about the philcsophy and pro-gram of Socialism. Not what others say, but what their own writers say. For the purpose of avoiding any personal racket I'm going to leave

For the purpose of avoiding any personal racket I'm going to leave you to guess who sent you this card, but take my advice and investigate for yourself.

gate here from Russia, with which The Democratic party is an agcountry our own is waging one of gregation of scalawags. It is led by the most disastrous wars that have greaks and followed by men who are crooks and followed by men who are ever done violence to the fraternity potential grafters and enemies of

jury."

ocialists protest against deifying cash and demonizing man. against exalting the products of labor and degrading the We insist that a brane, industrious man, factory, worker or ho lives and loves, is worth infinitely more than a pile of gold e of greenbacks. We demand that even today in every inwiring dead capital and living work—cash and labor—the mid be considered the more important of the two.

nt refined brutality that excuses enforced idleness that evils-misery, starvation and shame-by arguing that of labor must be regulated by the law of supply and de-I labor is to be regulated by the law of supply and demand he producers, want to have the controls of the supply and and. And there is only one way to do it, i. e., by public owner-

are Americans who claim that while collective ownership all right in other countries, it would never do in this, because ild have too much stealing. Is that a good argument the fact that stealing is now going on everywhere in private in public life because people are made corrupt by necesthe insecurity of our economic conditions the to steal—can it be that the American people have become t in their nature that they dare not trust themselves to do busienss? If so, then the time has come when we raust give of civilization to another race.

he has not come. But the time has come for a thorough Let us have a house-cleaning. cleaning.

are two ways of effecting great social changes in a republic and the bullet, and we may have use for both of them. but a fool will consider the latter now, until the former has th its full effect.

believe the balldt has great efficiency. I believe that while off will not make us free, it will put the means into our ring our freedom.

wing our freedom. purpose the ballot must be used in the right way. If you the Socialism your must have a Social-Democratic party. Id parties can help us. Capitalism has no special politics, y to perpetuate its power. "Money is no object" if it will rest of capitalism. The leading editors, lawyers and poli-capitalist parties are in the constant employ of the capi-nds of daily and weekly papers identify capitalism with Socialism with disorder. Over five hundred thousand on the Republican president of the United States down the garbage inspectors in Milwankce, are for a similar is can by the capitalists from the earnings of labor. It is these politicians to-ware the people against Socialism.

eye, it appears, of Pres. Samuel men from marrying at just the time Gompers, who is trying to protect when such a union would safeguard his job by despairing and vain ef- them from immoralities that exact forts to keep Socialism out of the their penalties and that through American Federation of Labor, and he has written an autograph ed-dorsement of the book. So here we also calls for a large number of have a man whose hair is leaving in patches simulating fear for the to it. The capitalist system is an patches simulating fear for morals of the people when Social-ism abolishes the capitalistic sys-of a myriad of reasons why it must tems and its prostitutions! be abolished.

and to tell them to demand "protection," or "free trade," or the promise to "smash the trusts," or to "resolve" to demand the "referendum" of the law-makers.

In short, capitalism controls all natural resources; the money, the ommerce, the transportation lines, the congress, courts, legislatures, and executives; it controls the press, the congress, courts, legislatures, and executives; it controls the press, the churches, the police, the militia and the political leaders. There is no hope unless the laboring people—the producers of the country—organize in one great body which will fight capitalism everywhere, in politics, in the press, in the pulpit, in the economic field, and with bullets if the time the necessity arrives.

I concede that this preaching is "lawless." But what of it? Lawlessness of the right kind is a lever that has moved the world forward. It was by an unlawful conspiracy that the Magna Charta was ob-tained; the Reformation was a rebellion against God and the Holy Church; regicide, then the "blackest of crimes," barred out of the Eng-lish constitution the doetrine of "divine right;" grand larceny in Bos-ton led up to the Declaration of Independence; the blood of kings, bishops and nobles washed away foudalism in France; and John Brown's lawless raid freed the negro slave. And last but not least: Are the capitalists in Colorado and everywhere else not also lawless whenever it suits their purpose? We should be grateful if the social revolution of the freeing of seventy-five million whites would not cost more blood than the freeing of four million negroes in 1861. And the better we are organized, the more political power and social strength we obtain, the *less bloody* the revolution will be. Therefore workingmen of America, organize in your unions. Join sness of the right kind is a lever that has moved the world forward.

Therefore workingmen of America, organize in your unions. Join Social-Democrotic party. Think of the tremendous duty before Think of your children and

you. Think of your children and their future. These are the only befitting thoughts for a Labor Day. A. D. 1904.

While Lawson does not have to tell the people that Parker is owned by a trust as they were convinced of it themselves, his claim that the Democratic presidential nominee has a past filled with "high finance" crookedness, that he was elevated to war." the bench to twist justice to keep on a certain big steal, and that he

delivered the goods, is illuminating. Rnd when you think that all this political rascality is not due merely to political ambitions, but is a part of the great business crookedness of the country and that beneath it all is the creaking back of Labor, the enormity of the situation begins to be apparent. It is all carried on working class of this country and it working class of this country and it wil continue and grow worse as long as the workers support it with their ballots.

Mr. Katayama, speaking in Eng-lish, said: "I am glad to find a dele-

M. Plechanoff said, the Russian people would be the victims, but Japan was removing one of the feet plead with the delegates from the

The congress unanimously adoptanother bit of advice to McCarren and the Democratic national commit-tee: "Don't monkey with buzzsaws that have live teeth."

jury." These words were hissed by the heelers of Mayor Rose who were present to help Somers win the is stricken by war, the Socialists here greet the Rusian and Japanese nomination. They were not there to listen to the truth. proletariat, sacrificed and massacred

The Wisconsin state Democratic ov capitalism and governments, and convention at Oshkosh nearly elect-ed Henry J. Killilea of Milwaukee ely upon Socialists everywhere to oppose by all means in their power the extention or continuation of the chairman. Who is Killilea? A paid railway lobbyist and boomed by a

and lie low till the storm blew over.

platform, saying, "Let us not nom-inate a man who has to leave the

city every time there is a grand

certain Milwaukee reform daily; we are told that there was a fight in the convention between the conser-

Socialism is industrial democracy. Our present development of incus- vatives and the radical wing. try is all right, only it lacks the one radical wing, behold you, consists of humane and necessary ingredient: Mayor Rose and his gang, who are a collective ownership of the pro-ductive forces in order that those lative corrupter, Boss Pfister! And who work shall have the full return this is the crowd that is to give us of their labors. The man who votes Reform ! . But then, the voter has of their labors. The man who votes against this great change, votes to keep the workers in misery and tor-ment in order that the few may sur-feit on the toil of the rest.

as the workers support it with their ballots. There was great applause at the International Congress when two of the vice-presidents, Katayama of Japan, and Pleckanoff, of Russia, publicly shock hands. Mr. Katayama, speaking in Eng-

Victor Berger

2 SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC, HERALD. CARLES BARRIES EUGENE V. DEBS OPENS THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST CAMPAIR Stirring Denunciation of Capitalist Political Hypocrisy. An Appeal to the Workers to Stand T.

LY .

There has never been a free people, a civilized nation, a real repub-lic on this earth. Human society has always consisted of masters and slaves, and the slaves have always This is the been and are today, the foundation stones of the social fabric. Wage-labor is but a name; wagein the present national campaign.

Wage-labor is but a many of this discussion that and a slavery is the fact. The twenty-five millions of wage-workers in the United States are twenty-five millions: of twentieth antury slaves.

THE LABOR MARKET. tariff, finance, imperialism and And the labor market follows the other dust-covered and moth-caten

eapitalist flag. The most barbarous fact in all christendom is the labor market. The mere term sufficiently expresses the animalism of commercial civilization.

They know by experience and ob-servation that the gold standard, They who buy and they who sell free silver, flat money, protective in the labor market are alike de-humanized by the inhuman traffic in the brains and blood and bones rule and wage slavery. f human beings. The labor market is the founda-THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

The labor market is the founda-tion of so-called civilized society. Without these shambles, without momentous campaign. The struggle this commerce in human life, this for political supremacy is not be-tween political parties merely, as hood, this barter of babes, this sale appears on the surface, but at bot-of souls, the capitalist civilizations pf all lands and all climes would between two hostile economic clas-

Mr. Chairman, Citizens and Com- crumble to ruin and perish from ses, the one the capitalist and the rades: other the working class. The capitalist class is represented Twenty-five millions of wage slaves are bought and sold daily at prevailing prices in the American Labor Market.

PARAMOUNT ISSUE

issues entirely to themselves.

The ratile of these relics no lon-ger deceives workingmen whose heads are on their own shoulders.

by the Republican, Democratic, Populist and Prohibition parties, all of which stand for private own-ership of the means of production and the triumph of any of which will mean continued wage slavery

to the working class. The Republican and Democratic parties, or, to be more exact, the Re-publican-Democratic party, repro-sents the capitalist class in the class struggle. They are the political wings of the capitalist system and such differences as arise between them relate to spoils and not to The capitalists may have the

principles. Under the administration of both these parties the means of produc-tion are private property, produc-tion is carried forward for capitalist. profit purely, markets are glutted and industry paralyzed, working-men become tramps and criminals, while injunctions, soldiers and riot

guns are brought into action to pre-serve "law and order" in the chaotic carnival of capitalistic anarchy. Deny it as may the cunning capitalists who are clear-sighted enough to perceive it, or ignore it as may the torpid workers who are too blind millions come to see and under-stand it and rally to the political standard of their class, they will drive all capitalist parties of whatever name into the same party, and the class struggle will then be so and decisive blow that will destroy

slavery and achieve their full and final emancipation. ATTITUDE OF THE WORKERS. What shall be the attitude of the

vorkers of the United States in the present campaign? What part shall they have in it? What party and what principles shall they support by their ballots? And why?

The Socialist party stands square-ly upon its proletarian principles and relies wholly upon the forces of industrial progress and the edu-cation of the working class.

The Socialist party buys no votes and promises no offices. Not a farthing is spent for whiskey or cigars. Every penny in the cam-paign fund is the voluntary offering of workers and their sympathizers and every penny is used for educa-

What other parties can say the ame? Ignorance alone stands in the

way of Socialist success. The capi-talist parties understand this, and use their resources to prevent the

free nation.

longer dumb, that at last it has a voice, that it may be heard and if united must be heeded.

The Republican and Democratic

servicnce to capital and their hostility to labor.

avoid offense to the capitalists wh own it and furnish the boodle to

keep it in power. The labor platforms of the Re-publican and Democratic parties are interchangeable and non-redcem able. They both favor "justice to capital and justice to labor." This hoary old platitude is worse than meaningless. Justice to labor means and unthinking to see it, the tituy meaningless. Justice to labor means gle in which we are engaged today that labor shall have what it pro-is a class struggle, and as the toiling duces. This leaves nothing for capital. Justice to labor means the end of capital.

What workingmen had part the Republican national convention or were honored by it? the class struggle will then be to trust magnetes, corporation output, clearly revealed that the hosts of trust magnetes, corporation output, labor will find their true place in money lords, stock gamblers, pro-dict and strike the united fessional politicians, lawyers, lobbytrust magnetes, corporation barons, ists and other plutocratic tools and mercenaries, but there was no room

for the horny-handed and horny headed sons of toil. They built it but were not in it.



1007 FIRST AVENUE.

SEE THAT THIS LABEL

OU BUT

Whether Smoking, Chewing or Snuff NONE GENUIRELY UNION MADE WITHOUT IT DEMAND THIS LABEL



The Beer that Made Milwankee Pamons

Who are the nominees of the Re-publican party for the highest of-fices in the gift of the nation and what is their relation to the work-ing class? First of all, Theodore Roosevelt sud-Charles W. Fairbanks, candi-to serve the ruling class and keep subjection. The subjection of t

struggle and this almost infallibly fixes their status as friends of capital and enemies of labor. They in-sist that they can serve both; but the facts is obvious that only one can

be served and that one at the ex-pense of the other. Mr. Roosevelt's whole political career proves it. The capitalists made no mistake in nominating Mr. Roosevelt. They know him well and he has served them well. They know that his in-

stincts, associations, tastes and de-sires are with them, that he is in ger. They are not in sympathy with fact one of them and that he has nothing in common with the work-

ing class. When ex-President Grover Cleveland violated the constitution and outraged justice by scizing the state junction" as cannibals, barbarians of Illinois by the throat and hand- and anarchists, and this violent and cuffing her civil administration at sweeping stigma embraces the whole the behest of the crime-stained organized movement of labor, every trusts and corporations, Theodore Roosevelt was among his most ardent admirers and enthusiastic sup- United States.

porters. He wrote in hearty com-mendation of the atrocious act, pro-There is also the highest authority for the statement charging Mr. Roosevelt with declaring about the same time he was lauding Cleveland that if he was in command he would

that if he was in command in which ing the Toledo, Ann Arbor and have such as Altgelt, Debs and ing the Toledo, Ann Arbor and other traitors lined up against a North Michigan railroad strike that dead wall and shot into corpses.

Following the Pullman strike in motive Engineers and Fu

to serve the ruling class and keep gine, on special time, and a their protesting slaves in subjection, vaulted into the arena and launched his vitriolic tirade upon the mob that dared oppose the divine decree of a corporation judge. dates for President and Vice Presi-dent, respectively, deny* the class vaulted into the arena and launched

clad ancestors, who lived in caves,

fought one another with stone-head-ed axes and ate the man moth and wooly rhinoceros. They are dangermen of good minds and good civic morality." In direct terms and plain words

Mr. Roosevelt denounces all those who oppose "Government by In-

man, woman and child that wear the badge of union labor in the

The appointment of Judge Taft to a abinet position is corroborative nounced it most exalted patriotism evidence, if any be required, of and said he would have done the President Roosevelt's fervent faith same himself had he been president. in Government by Injunction. in Government by Injunction. Judge Taft first came into national notoriety when, some years ago, sitting with Judge Ricks, who was later tried for malfeasance, he issued the celebrated injunction dur-Toledo, Ann Arbor and paralyzed the Brotherhoods of Loco-

of a corporation judge. "Men who object to what they style 'government by injunction," said he, are, as regards the essential principles of government, in hearty sympathy with their remote skin-clad ancestors, who lived in cavas

Still again did President Roo velt drive home his arch-ennity labor and his implacable bosh to the trade union movem he made Paul Morton, the n union hater and union wrecker, secretary of the navy. That pointment was an open every trade unionist in the m and they who lack the self-reto resent it at the polls may the badge, but they are lac wholly in the spirit and princip of union labor.

Go ask the brotherhood m were driven from the C. B. & and the striking union mach on the Santa Fe to give you pedigree of Mr. Morton and will learn that his hate for mice men is equalled only by his love far the scabs who tar a their places.

Such a man and such anothe Sherman Bell, the military ferret of the Colorado mine owners, ideal patriots and personal ch of Mr. Roosevelt and by honorin these he dishonors himself an these he dishonors himsel should be repudiated by the of every working man in the na (Continued on Page 6.)

The Mational Socialist Platform for 1904

(As Adopted at Chicago, May 5, 1904.)

I.

We, the Socialist party, in cenvention assembled, make our appeal to the American people as the defender and pre-server of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement state. The Defend- only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratising of the er of Liberty. whole of society.

To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are equally false. They allks struggle for power is intain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such iberties already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor. Our American instill tions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the still talist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national beginners have become the mere agencies of great propertied interests. These interests control the appointments at decime of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions all thus of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker people, in order to establish me matches for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to huy. They are gradually as invading an e-stricting the right of suffrage as to take away unawares the right of the worker to a veto or voice in public afins. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to such a 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 was a protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyrasny. It completely controls , the university and pro-school, the pulpit and the press, and the arts and literatures. By making these occombinally dependent you had, to have brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

has brought all the forms of public teaching into servic submission to its own interests. Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all there and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths upon which are in stitutions were founded. But, under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our Capitalism political institutions to make it impossible for the wast majority of human beings ever to become pos-metry political institutions in the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the Private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellected and political tyranny inevitable.

and political tyranny inevitable.

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

II. As an American Socialist party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international Socialism, as ambolied in the united thought and action of the Socialists of all nations. In the redustrial development already accompliabed, the Capitalism interests of the world's workers are separated by no rational boundaries. The condition of the most Levels exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to fing any Society. make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and inners and of the so-called patriotisms which the raling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these ping to contending capitalist interests of the control of the control of the string to each other in the string set of the so-called patriotisms which the raling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these ping to contending capitalist interests for the control of the vyet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining setund of profit. The Socialist movement therefore the control of the vyet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining setund

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.

III. The Socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world process which is repub-separating a working or producing clas: from a posessing or capitalist class. The class that produces applied in sesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery, for its portion. ITT:

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conccious of their distinction from each other, the hat 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. W

workers from seeing the light. Intellectual darkness is essential to industrial slavery. Capitalis parties stand for Slavery and Night The Socialist party is the herald of Freedom and Light. The Socialist party is uniting them upon the living issue: Death E to Wage Slavery !. 3 The ballot of united labor ex-presses the people's will and the people's will is the supreme law of 2

The ballot means that labor is no

CAPITALIST PARTIES.

parties are alike capitalist parties differing only in being committed to different sets of capitalist interests—they have the same principles under varying colors, are equally corrupt and are one in their sub-

"No More

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PARK PLACE ON THE RIVER.



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supports either of these parties forges his own fetters and is the unconscious author of his own misery THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. Why should a workingman sup-port the Republican party? Why should a millionaire support Telephone 9111 White. the Socialist party? For precisely the same reason that all the millionaires are opposed to the Socialist party, all the workers should be oposed to the Republi-can party. It is a capitalist party, is loyal to capitalist interests and entitled to the support of capitalist voters on election day. 1. ------All it has for workingmen is its "glorious past" and a "glad hand" when it wants their votes. The Republican party is now and has been for several years in complete control of government. What has it done for labor. What has it not done for capital? Not one of the crying abuses of capital has been curbed under Re-publican rule. Not one of the petitions of labor has been granted. The eight hour and anti-injunction bills war again ruthlessly slain by the last congress in obedience to the capitalist masters. David M. Parry has greater in-fluence at Washington than all the millions of organized workers. Read the national platform of the Republican party and see if there is in all its bombast a crumb of com-fort for labor. The convention that adopted it was a capitalist conven-tion and the only thought it had of labor was how to abstract its vote without waking it up. In the only reference it made to labor it had to speak easy so as to Read the national platform of the RICHARD ELSNER. ities: Probate, Corporation and Real Esta Law. All Legal Documents Drawn.

your bad beer is unhealthful. You may be absolutely certain of its healthfulness when you drink Schlitz Beer. orcial Printing JACOB HUNGER, PRINTER. ut St., cor 6th. - Milwaukee, Wis Teeth Extracted ABSOLUTELY Without Pain or Danger, 25c. New Tosth, best and finest mann- \$8.00 Pit guaranteed or money refunded. Itandard Crowns and Bridge \$5.00 Fine Fillings a leading specialty. We guarantee complete' antisiactic dvs honest, intelligent advice tree a seceive nobody. DR. YOUNG, dis-416 Ger--8:30 to 6: Sunday, 9 to 12. PHONE SS13 BLACK COMRADES, YOUR PATRONAGE IS RESPECTFULLY SOLICITED.

ever and whenever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, ensure independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long caused to be individual. The labor is cores, or even thousands, enters into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practical everything is made or done by many man—sometimes asparated by seas or continents—working together for the an end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make the but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this due the present division of action into two classes; and from it have spring all the missive, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization. Between these two classes there are be no worked by a sease of contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise and contradictions of our crimentum Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interests, any more than there are be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society basel 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 best for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and motal harmony, except in the conscious and complete infumpt of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be. *IV.* 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, invitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. If is no longer or invitable. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of the developing socialistation of the working the society of the work of the work of the work of the trapidity socialising forms of intermediate the work of the work of the work of the more respiration of the work of the more rapidity socialising forms of intermediate interview of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to brank down the same of the work of all not the work of all notions in the Socialist morement. The Socialist party comes with the oally properly provide a same of the individence of the work of the tools of employment hall being to their crafters and an any properly organized the conscious organization of society. The individence of the work is the same that the tools of employment hall being to their crafters and the work in the trade work is a solely work work of the work is a solely work work of the work of the work of the prove of the work of the work of the providence is the work of the wo

To this end we piedge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast an anti-structed to us by our fellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and summ-antrusted to us by our fellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and summ-for the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will such their to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will such their setting the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will such their to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will such their workers. party. Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our chasten humanity. In pledging ourself we represent, to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we ballowe that we are last pregaring the set nomic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.

Ten Cents.

F LABOR IN AMERICA.

view of the new

perative commonwealth. stands far up in advance to toiled in the colonies waved the flag of King

lution, as such, brought liste relief, but it gave ity for/independent ina lay the foundations of close of the Revolution d of negro slaves, conredemptioners and a The first two orers brought here against one from the wilds of other from the prisons the third, nominally. ir own free will, in redriven by the same that today forces the seck for a master. flying from the hideous hich the factory system

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ANUFACTURERS

the factory system had its birth in their magnificently terrible battle America. tury for it to fully develop and by important of all, the steady growth 1820 it had gone far enough to prc- of intelligent rebelliousness and its duce its inevitable counterpart, a expression in the Socialist party. labor movement. This labor move-ment expressed itself in trade ing onward and upward. Through unions, co-operative efforts, labor the awful turmoil of Pittsburg, parties in the political arcna and a Pullman, Homestead, Coeur do

of unimportant labor press. Some Alène, Hazleton, Chicago and Colo-of the things for which the laborers rado we trace a thin red line of 'rove at this time were a mechanic's growing class intelligence. lien law, the abolition of imprisonment for debt, a homestead law,

White Clover Soap

DEALERS IN

fast that the beginning of the 19th century saw no state having man-hood suffrage, while the Civil War found it almost universal through-out the United States. Imprison-ference of the title deeds to wealth

McMaster again: "He worked from survise to sunset, and the fierce S-hour struggle of the summer, was paid at irregular intervals, and if not paid at all had no lien on the product of his labor. If he were so ran-fortunate as to fall into debt, though the might at the will of his creditor be torn from his family and cast into jail, there to remain until the debt and the prison charges were paid or be died of hunger and discase." With the close of the war of 1812 With the close of the war of 1812 With the close of the war of 1812 workers in the transmission and the fierce so the torn from his family and cast into jail, there to remain until the debt and the prison charges were paid or be died of hunger and discase." With the close of the war of 1812 With the close of the war of 1812 their magnificently terrible battle

its mission and the methods to ac-It was to take a half cen of Pullman, and, finally, and most

advance. Its tremendous elemental strength is still with it, but to the estless power of its numberless host t has added a conscious directing power. It is as if steam had found brain amid the watery vapors, as f the cyclone had developed a nervous system or the law of gravitation had taught itself to think. Before Trustified wealth teaches the les son of the economy of compulsory co-operative labor while it proves

ment for debt, a homestead law, son of the economy of compulsory equal rights for women, universal suffrage and abolition of the exist-ing tillitia system. Most of these they obtained, for some of them we are still fighting. No history that I have ever seen gives any credit to these first labor agitators for the class struggle. While private own-

complish it.

When this stage has been reached,

when labor becomes CLASS CON-

SCIOUS, there is no resisting its

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THE STORY OF TIM REAGAN

AN INCIPIENT "REFORMER" OF THE USUAL SORT!

NEVER hear of a reform **MI** movement, but I think of a friend of my boyhood days, named Tim Reagan. Tim was one of those boys that your mother always warned you against having anything to do with, and you were not to be found in his company on pain of getting a good thrashing. Yet there wasn't a boy in the neighborhood but would give up his great-est treasure for the pleasure of going fishing, swimming or stealing apples with Tim Reagan. Tim could whip every boy in the town that was any-where near his size and years. He was captain of the baseball team, and in the old days before the invention of the face mask, breast protector and padded glove, it was a sight that filled the heart of the av-erage boy with delight to see Tim close under the bat taking all that was coming to him as catcher of the "Shamrocks." Woe betide a player of Tim's team that made a bad play, for then and there the game was stopped sufficiently long for Tim to stalk out on the field and administer a fitting rebuke, which often took the form of a good beating if the

put in my time picking bugs off the day! vines. This was a grievous matter for me, as this particular Saturday was the one when a free excursion was to be given the "poor children' of the town by one of those wellmeaning societies made up of bespectacled old ladies and tall, thin nen in checked pants and frock coats, who run largely to side whis kers and a "what-can-I-do-for-you-Madam" smile. There was to be a band on the steamer, and, above all things, it was announced that free ice cream would be dealt out to the children as we journeyed down the iver. It was with a heavy heart that I proceeded with my task when I heard a hail from across the fence, and looking in the direction, discov-ered Tim Reagan decked out regardless for the occasion. Things imme-diately took on a brighter hue, for Tim had the well merited reputation of being a wonder in finding a way out of hard places. Briefly I stated my hard luck to Tim, who listened attentively and with sympathy ex-pressed in every feature. By the ime I had ended my recital Tim had already matured his plans, which consisted of rounding up all the boys in our crowd to help in doing the work in the potato patch in a hurry The result was that before 10 o'clock the hour set for the sailing of the steamer-we had cleaned up all the bugs in the place and were on our way, by short cuts and at our best speed, for the river landing, where we arrived in sufficient time to ge aboard before the gang plank was pulled in. The situation we found on board, however, so far as our C. C. Rogers Co., Albert Trostel & Sons

chances for getting ice cream was concerned, was, to say the least, dis-couraging. A long line of children had been formed, extending from the ice cream freezer, which was located forward on the main deck, clear back and up the companion way until it reached well along the prop nade deck. The size of the ice cre freezer was obviously out of all proportion to the number of children that were kept in line with difficulty and made to take their turn in front of the freezer, one at a time. It was to no purpose that we employed every device we knew of, ably led by Tim, in an attempt to break into the line reasonably near the front. Discouraged at last, I took my place at the end of the line. Suddenly a cry of fire was raised somewhere down on the main deck. In a moment the wildest confusion reigned and it was with the greatest difficulty that many of the excursionists were prevented from leaping over the side into the river. At last quiet was restored and the alarm found to be a false one. The line to the ice cream was reformed and the first child in the line, with his little fat belly pressed the form of a good beaung it the line, with his little lat beny pressed unhappy player was inclined to "give back talk." One Saturday in Reagan. When I heard that first cry the summer, when I was about 8 years old, I was given strict instruc-thing familiar in the voice. Yes, tions by my father before he started Tim reformed the line, and he did for work to go immediately after it in the style of the most modern breakfast to our potato patch and and up-to-date reformer of our John Henigan

Dallas, Texas, Aug. 24, 1904. ~≫ USE ≪~~ Milwaukee Belle Flour **Berger-Crittenden** Milling Co. Galvanic Soap. Not the Woman, Does the Work. Made Oaly by B. J. Johnson Soap Co., MILWAUKEE, WIS. Manufacturers and Builders of Grade Electric Passenger and Freight ELEVATORS. = 16th St. & St. Paul Ave., MILWAUKEE, WIS. Telephone West 87. Manufacturers of and Dealers in







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ame ership shuts the workers out from WHAT SOCIALISTS FIGHT FOR. Dr. Titus shows the Curse of Private Ownership.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

THE CONQUEST OF AMERICA. not have to regret our inability to Let us not shrink from calling

Take even the best possibility. Let

An Armed People always Regarded with Respect.

HE waves of social unrest know what it really is. And behind are rising high. Thousands are stirred in both old parties, indignant at the unred into "brothers to the ox."

The scattering of literature and permember that you have armed men the passionless voting at elections all about you now, and they are all will not touch the intelligence of an the side of your enemies. We such people. To be victorious, the working class must reckon with the among armed. If we must live among armed men let up returned to surrender of their political organi rations to the high capitalist powers. Thousands have already left both old parties since the conventions in Chiago and St. Louis and are casting ut for new affiliations, unconanarchist spirit of this type of men. Whoever nursed the illusion that the sciens of the presence or meaning of the Socialist party. Other thousands class struggle would dissolve into a ate rushing into our ranks, eager to join in the assault on Capitalism. pleasant and good-natured voting contest, and that the outvoted capitalist forces would quietly surrender

Those thousands must be educated the powers of government to the working class, had better look about order to become staunch and in order to become staunch and trustworthy comrades. But educa-tion alone will not suffice. It must him and face the facts. be rendered fertile and efficient by How will the development of so-

ciety proceed within the next dec-ade? Will the Socialists have time organization. This is the time when the full meaning of the social revolution is to penetrate with the light of reason borne in upon us. We want only a into every nook and corner of capi-peaceful and orderly education. We talist society? Or will history rush down upon us with unforeseen events which will bury the flower of the revolutionary proletariat in an avalanche of blood, before we are want calm reason and enlightened down intelligence to solve the social probem without blood and without iron.

But the forces of reaction care heir profits are endangered. They do not intend to study Socialism, us assume that we shall be enabled to count a clear majority of Socialist votes at the polls, say nine millions, but to suppress it without caring to

Northwestern Straw Works,



Milwaukee's German Daily.

things by their proper names. It may be a dangerous thing to have a lot of armed men about you, becaus the temptation for premature vio-lence and useless bloodshed is a factor to be carefully considered. But The scattering of literature and premember that you have armed mer

having arms. In due time we shall acquire the discipline necessary to avoid a rash and ill-advised use of arms. Being armed will not prevent us

from being calm and continuing our peaceful work. Reason with your neighbors and educate them. But it will assist your argument materially, if you can back it up with your whole athletic personality. And what is true of the individual, is true of your organization. A street meeting attended by a dozen comrades who are accustomed to boxing, wrestling and military drill, will be less in danger of disorderly and disturbing elements. Besides, the necessity of practicing and drilling to-gether will be an additional incentive to attend the business meetings of the local. And it will bring you all closer together and give you more confidence in yourselves.

while the capitalist forces will rally Consider also that peace will be so only about eight millions, at some time in the near future. And fake it for granted that the Socialists much more secure, the more we impress the reactionary element with our determination to defend our manly rights to the utmost. There will be less eagerness on their part to overstep the bounds of discretion,

What will follow? The capitalwhen they know that we are prepared ists will still be in control of the to retaliate in kind. federal forces, and of the majority of You may say that any attempt on our part to form a military organithe states. And they will be prepared for such an emergency as this. What shall we do then? Nothing zation will arouse the reactionary element so much quicker to violence but a civil war remains, and they. Well, they are using violence even now, whether we are armed or not. will be prepared, while we shall be compelled to organize our forces un-They are using as much violence Will it not be better against the unarmed workers of Chito face the truth and be prepared as cago as against the armed miners of

I know that we are an Colorado.





CTIVE MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM OCIALISTS have been critics in the main until today, because

CIALISTS have been critics in the main until today, because they have had no opportunity to be anything else. They have been sufficiently occupied in most localities to maintain their right to criticise even. But with the growth of the party to political strength and the approach to political power and responsibility, comes the obligation to assume the constructive attitude and frame of mind, and begin to answer the question, "What are you going to do?" in some definite and coherent fashion.

And those who are wise in the Social-Democratic ranks will be thankful that the day of opportunity comes upon us gradually, that the doors do not open to us widely at once. The natural process of acquiring political power, under our form of government, will bring us to control first in the local, then in the state, and lastly, in the national government. And while we say, and must say, that we cannot accomplish our sim our aim until we shall have a majority in Congress and a Socialist president in the chair; let us also recognize the fact that the very ability to elect a majority of congressmen and a president involves the responsibility for local and state administrations for some time in advance. positions Moreover, we do not want to leave behind us any unoccupied in the hands of our enemies, by means of which they could defeat us even if we were intrenched in the national seats of power.

But meanwhile, there is much to be done in the smaller circles of collective action and interest. The experiments which capitalists have been compelled to make in collective ownership and control are to be supplemented and followed up sympathetically. The "blind struggle in the dark" which has marked the evolution of the city and the state in collective ownership and control is to be replaced by a "conscious evolu-The type of the collective unit is to be brought into the course tion." of development; the principles of collective industrial control are to be worked out; the problem of industrial democracy is to be attacked upon the smaller field, so that when it comes to its working out upon the larger national field we shall not be ignorant either of the principles nor of the practical difficulties. There will be need also of men who have the confidence of the people,—confidence won in the local fields of ad-ministration and legislation, who have proven their ability and honesty in the service of those they represent.

Let us be frank enough to say, that if the complete political power were to come at once and all at once into the hands of the Social-Democratic party we should be embarrassed by its possession now, and in the end would probably be hindered by very excess of responsibility in the doing of those things which we desire to do. It is the recognition of such facts as this that has brought the majority of the members of the party face to face with the necessity for the adoption and working out of a program, and has put the impossibilists gently but firmly outside the ranks of the working class political movement. Those who expect to achieve the Co-operative Commonwealth, not by hard intellectual and social labor, but by some sudden catastrophe, belong not among the ranks of Social-Democrats, but among the Anarchists.

For should the catastrophe come, in spite of the patience of the working class and the unwillingness of the Social-Democrats to make or suffer violence, it will mean that we must face problems only the more difficult because of the social disorganization and the personal bitterness that will inevitably follow any such outbreak.



In Clubs of Thice

Thus the Social-Democrat has a two-fold problem to work out. must secure from the local state governments permission for the municipalities to act freely within the sphere of their own life and interests. To do this he must overcome the prejudice and ignorance of the dwellers in the country who know little and are likely to care less about the affairs of the city. But he will be strengthened in his efforts efforts by the growing interests of the small towns and cities, and the fact that the representatives of these in the state legislatures will be better organized and more accustomed to organized action than those from the country

Thus it becomes plain that Municipal Autonomy is really the first one of the planks to be put in the Socia -Democratic State and Municipal program. Until this is had, in all matters which concern the interest program. Until this is had, in all matters which concern the interest of the municipality, there can be but scant progress in social develop-ment. Indeed this is today the chief obstacle in the way of municipal progress.

Municipal Autonomy should be secured for every municipality, giving the following powers:

1. Complete political home rule.

Complete control over all taxing and bonding transactions which are proper to the life and welfare of the city.
 Freedom to engage in any enterprise, within or without its own

territory, except as specifically prohibited by state or national law.

The ideal is, self-government for city, state and nation. And this can and must be attained for the city, if Democracy is to have its way, That it will be attained, is guaranteed far pore by the growth of urban population than by any propaganda or agitation of the Social-Democrata Indeed, it is the purpose of this article to show that the guarantee of all the things for which we have reason to hope lies rather, and much more in the economic and industrial development than in our own actions a a propaganda, or even as a political, movement. It is the function of the Social-Democratic party to consciously seize the opportunity, direct the arousing social consciousness, and by study and forethought provide against reactions which might destroy in a month the whole fruit of centuries of civilization.

The Social-Democratic members of state assemblies and local governments will do well not to regard themselves merely as the represen





eks, Ten Cents.

ventful Year for Labor

Stedman Reminds the Workers of a Few Things

laboring hosts of Am-|capitalism. For the textile factory again assemble and yielding its dividends by tearing out counsel with each the heart, eyes and entrails of in-What has the past fants to the wild war combats of them—what will the world powers, we behold a stream-ing gulch filled with plodding work-

which priests, philosophers, see savants and the hailed mighty

is the mission of the working class.

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MARTIN LAWLOR, Secretary, om 15, 11 Waverly Place, New York,

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When you are buying a FUR HAT, either soft or it that the Genuine Union Label is seved in the II is loces labels in his possession and offers to put one ryou, do not patronise him. He has not ingright ose labels. Loose Labels in retail stores are constru-ted into any explanation as to why the hat has the Genuine Union Label is perforshed on three ed-p. Constructions for the sometimes perforshed on three enclose for the the operation.

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on the box.

Union-made Cigars.

And the second s

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state-the Centeners Upon the plains in the stockyards, in the rolling mills, they create the food for all, clothing for civil law is shatteredroots, and a military as the power of governall, and steel for the battle ships of their masters. It all comes from

s" loot and pilfer the cothose who labor and fight and die as the Dick Military Bill, the president may enlist the president may enlist the president may enlist the striding mammoths.

striking workers of Illi-Another convention assembles, of men from 18 to 35 are workingmen, representing every child, woman and man who adds to call at any time, nay, are times of peace members this world's riches and has a right to live. Here Katayama of Japan nal militia. injunctions multiply by and Plechanoff of Russia clasp

in a single suit. In Chi-machinists are cited for hands-two workingmen of hostile governments united heart and soul for Socialism-FOR PEACE, and

olitical parties as-ation and, finding no the Orient and the Occident-that political parties as WORTHY and FIT, peace, justice and righteousness a strike-breaking a military strenuosity rd hearers, then in their the world have failed to establish, forms devote a small parahe working class, telling "have rights before the great discovery championcapitalist candidates in list platforms.

Fall River, Mass., comes of the unemployed, and is by the sigh of the locked wist in Pullman's "Model

Sam. Gompers and the L with its hosts and workers AND VOTERS.

is the mission of the working class. A national-convention assembled in Chicago, also composed of workingmen. They nominated a workingman for President and one for Vice-President, and declared their pury see to be the destruction of capitalism, substituting therefor a Social-Democracy. Such was the greatest Labor Day of the year, for "by their acts, ye shall know them." How useler: desire or hope for better conditions if, with protest and com-plaint, there is) a political division of the "voting kings" who like the dumb brute upon a treadmill is ever stepping without gain or profit, and never reach-ing the top. The strikes won the past year en-courage,—the strikes lost instruct,—the industrial depression sweeping across the civilized world will bring its lesson, hard and inexorable—the innocent must auffer with the cuity. el and implore for a na-thour bill, and are are while Congress appro-s to enlarge the stables hard and inexorable Roosevelt's horses resuffer with the guilty. Those (the So-cialists) who know the solution must wait patiently and painfully for those so blind and so deaf. more commanding influ-wait pa

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rganized labor of "poor and simple ed of Russia and synce each other for peed. ents of the world their own, and then, the stars may sing took the world their own, and then, the stars may sing took the world their own, and then, the stars may sing took their own, and then, the stars may sing the stars and the stars the stars the stars the stars the stars the stars and the stars the st wretched of Russia and re destroying each other for rs' greed. vernments of the

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to Keep a sharp lookout for the order to get rid of their scab-

FFITT, President, Orange, N.J.

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SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD (Continued from Page 4.)

A Letter from West Ua. Editor Herald: When I arrived at

McMechen, West Virginia, May 24, there were nine locals in the state two of them unchartered, and only four in good standing. There was no active state organization, except an acting state secretary in the per-son of F. A. Zimmerman of Mc-Mechen, who had volunteered to do the work.

There had never been a state nominating convention of the party. I remained in West Virginia un til the evening of August 13. During that time I made 48 speeches in the state and 6 on the Ohio side When I left the state there were 22 locals, all in good standing, I believe, but two. A state nominating

convention was held at McMechen July 3, an account of which you have already had. There is a complete state or ganization, with headquarters for the coming year at McMechen; with a local quorum composed of one member from each of the locals of Wheeling, McMechen and Moundsville; with an able and painstaking state secretary in the person of Dr. Geo. B. Kline of MeMechen. A strong working state constitution has been adopted.

The party has a complete elec toral, state and congressional ticket in the field standing upon a strong platform. County tickets will b nominated in several counties. The Socialist movement in West

Virginia is in a vigorous and active condition, and there is certain to be a large increase in the vote. Steps are being taken to vigorously push the work throughout the state.

M. W. WILKINS. Cumberland, Md.

DEFINITIONS OF SOCIALISM.

The collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. A theory of society that advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed. (Webster's Dictionary.) A science of reconstructing society on

an entirely new basis, by substituting the principle of association for that of competition in every branch of human industry. (Worcester's Dictionary.) A theory that aims to secure the re



Notice to Camden, N. J., rezders. L. Juster, 17 Hudson st., Camden, N. J., is authorized to take subscriptions for this paper.

Notice, Philadelphia. Everybody wishing to subscribe for he "Social-Democratic Herald" drop a sostal to Jos. P. Nick, 517 N. 8th st., and will receive prompt attention.

This paper may be had ten weeks for ten cents. Try it.

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

tatives of a political machine which has thrust them into positions of more or less power, as rather the forerunners of that coming industrial state, or social organization, which has cast them on ahead, as the breaking crest of a coming wave, or as scouts before an army.

They are to fight "on a parliamentary basis the class struggle which brought into existence the Socialist movement" in all lands. And their functions may be spoken of as being two-fold, (1) educative or agitative, and (2) effective.

The first of these functions will doubtless be the principal one while the party is so far in the minority that it cannot gain sufficient aid to carry out any portion of its program. It will be most effectively ac-complished by the introduction of well-drawn measures which look to-ward the immediate benefit of the working class of the community; by minority reports, when the Social-Democrat is appointed on committee of various bodies; by administrative or executive decisions and actions which give decided advantage to the working class as such, if there should offer opportunity for such action. Even if the latter should be over-ruled, or perhaps, even more by its being over-ruled, the attention of the working class will be attracted to the facts connected with its present enslavement, and so made the more intelligent as to the way of release

The second function, of effective action, by which is meant the actual securing of political action favorable to the working class, while likely to be somewhat deferred with respect to large results, should nevertheless be kept constantly in mind, as having sufficient promise of immediate results to warrant some plan of proceedure and some program of effort.

All measures are to be considered in the light of their bearing upon the working class as such. Those which will prepare the working people for their part in the class struggle—by increase of their intelligence, by strengthening their bodies, by securing independence of livelihood for them-are to be considered as so many weapons making for their victory. On the other hand, the taking away from the capitalist class of exclusive privileges, making the courts free to all, and securing as far as possible the limitation of those powers-financial, legal, social and political-which have accumulated in the hands of that class, will tend of course by weakening the opposing class to make the victory of the working class more easy and more certain at every step.

And this same idea of the "class struggle" may well be the guiding star of the Social-Democratic legislator and administrator: for the problem of Constructive Socialism is after all not so much like the planning and building of a great dwelling, as it is like the organization of an army, with which to take possession of the enemy's camp and territory, It is to organize for taking possession of the term possession and for proper use in possession, of the social and industrial structure already in existence, that we must bend our energies and intelligence. And here is the reason why the Social-Democratic strategist must know thoroughly the nature of the country to be possessed, and the nature of the enemy's organization, his strength and weakness.

The previous chapters have shown that the capitalist class, by reason of the industrial development, has been compelled to give up one position after another. This is due to the fact that while there is a capitalist class which can be considered as a unit politically and socially, on the industrial and commercial field there are antagonistic elements within this class which endeavor to take advantage of each other. In their this class which endeavor to take advanage of each other. In their struggle for mastery among themselves, they voluntarily abandon one position after another to the people as a whole—the working class, which thereby has been strengthened, educated, uplifted, given political equali-ty etc. But hitherto the working class has exerted itself to gain these things for itself in only a slight degree. The control over the govern ment has always been maintained by the capitalist class, and the control over the essential means of exploitation. They are today, though they have given up so much, still the masters. The ownership of the laborsaving machines of the world gives to them the great power of controlling civilization. If the hours of labor have been reduced, they still have a larger product than before; if wages even are somewhat higher, they have control over the throttle that determines the price level; if water is cheap through municipal ownership, and streets are lighted free, the price of rent makes up the difference to the ready capitalist, while streetcar fares and electric light bills fill in the crevices made by the struggle of the trades unions. Coal we know how to mine and ship, but not control the machinery that must be used to handle it; ice we have at our door in winter, and willing hands to handle it, but we do not-alas -own even land enough nor buildings enough to store the stuff until hot weather makes of it a necessity in a great city.

Yes, it is possession that we are striving for. And all gifts of law and liberties are as nothing, if the people do not control those things which have become necessary to their common life.

It is for the Social-Democrat to understand and take advantage of the fact that, in the struggles now going on in society, there are social groups which at various times will find their temporary interests to be served, by the application of some principle which the Social-Democrat knows to be permanently valuable to the working class. An illustration of this is to be found in a recent occurrence in Milwaukee. The formation of an ice combine had forced the price of ice to an unheard of level. Merchants of all sorts who used ice protested, but to no effect. A mass

meeting was called, but attended mainly by Social-Democrats. A local lawyer appealed to the State Attorney of Wisconsin for an investigation, which will doubtless turn out very much as have all other attempts at "trust-busting." Cc-operative ice companies have been organized and their stock offered for sale. The public mind is greatly stirred, and, most important of all, certain business elements see that their interests will be as well served by the public ownership and operation of an ice plant as by the same sort of water supply. Accordingly, when the Social-Democrat goes to Madison next fall, as some of them expect to go in the capacity of legislators, they will find the way prepared for the enactment of a law which, while benefitting a class which is more or less temporary in the nature of the industrial development, will at the same time provide permanently for one of the necessities of the life of the being furnished under their own control and ownership. people

It is for the Social-Democratic legislator to see to it that the or-ganization of this plant is of such a character that it will not too easily fall a prey to the profit-hungry corporation or the boodle-seeking politi-cian, and this he will do by following well-established principles of public control and democratic discipline.

It is the duty of the working class representative in legislative office to forward the socialization of all enterprises as much as possible, and secure their operation on the lines of industrial democracy. In doing this he will meet the opposition of the capitalist representatives, will of course wish to have these enterprises operated as much as who possible for their own benefit. And he may anticipate efforts on their part along the following lines, essentially:

(1) By operation on the usual principle of commercial transactions, giving special privileges to large users and rebates or reductions to large consumers

(2) By operation at a profit, and the application of these profits to the reduction of private taxes.

(3) By keeping remunerative positions in connection with such enterprises at such a salary level as to provide comfortable positions for members of their class, and insisting that only members of their class are fit for such places.

(4) By perpetuation of the contract system in public works, to give opportunity for "rake-off" and "graft" to members of their class or friends

(5) By limitation of financing and bonding powers of the municipality, so as to throw the financial control into the hands of the present financial aristocracy, etc., etc., etc.,

On the other hand, the representatives of the working class will constantly endeavor to modify these activities in ways like the following: (1) Public enterprises to be operated,

(a) either free of cost to the public, and paid for out of the general fund :

(b) or service to be furnished at cost of production; (c) or service furnished at a profit, the profit to be applied in such a manner as to benefit the whole people, and not to reduce taxes. (2) By application of civil service principle and equalization of

salaries

(3) By inaugurating a complete system of public works depart ments in state and local affairs.

(4) By enlarging bonding and financing powers of state and local governments, so as to deliver the people from the money power and the bankers

(5) By introduction of initiative and referendum on all matters pertaining to the public welfare or the holding of public office. Under this head will come the use of all modern methods of facilitating the voting of the people, such as electrically connected voting machines, etc. From what has been said it will be seen that the Social-Democrat

will not have to violate any principle of his party faith which prohibits fusion or trading votes in legislative action." But knowing, as others do not know, the undercurrents which are at work, he will forward the plans of the working class now through this and now by that channel, or by the aid of the co-operative social or industrial group which may be composed of representatives from different and opposite political parties. As an economic expert he will know how to clear the channel of popular legislation for those things which will benefit his class, while understanding also how to play opposing forces against each other for hinder-ing legislation hurtful to his class.

Constructive Socialism is like constructive landscape gardening. It consists not in a mere upheaval of existing forms, so much as in a shaping and forming of elements already present and in process of growth. And the wise men will realize that their part lies in disturbing growth as little as possible the normal constructive process, and in pruning only the useless and dead or dying branches of the social and industrial organism.

This point of view will not prevent the pruning process, but will rather give the required nerve for that operation when it is necessary, since it will enable the social architect to understand and properly balance in his mind the value of the various forces and elements which he has to do.

It will not all be gentle action. Now and then there may have be quick and hard action. But the writer is persuaded that the point of view maintained in these chapters is the one which will best prepare the public representative of the working class to meet all emergencies, and do the least of harm as well as the most of good, when opportunity shall be given him to act.

Gleanings from Busy Socialistic Fields!

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

NOTES FROM YANKEE LAND. Illinois will send out a second tate organizer. The Luzerne Co., Pa., Socialists have nominated Comrade Charles F. Quinn of Wilkes-Barre for congress. Stone Cutters' union is doing effective street speaking at Concord, N.H.

State Fair, and will distribute and lord Wilshire, Meriden, Com sell Socialist literature. Not a bad Mother Jones, Cleveland, Ohio.

ACROSS THE HERRING POND. Ky.; Courtenay Lemon, Allentown, The following resolutions against Pa.: Lena Morrow Lewis, Jackson, Castle, Pa.; B. McCaffery, Lehigh, International Social-Democracy was Ia.; A. M. Simons, Spring Valley, passed at the Amsterdam Congress Ill.; John W. Slavton, Fostoria, O. "We decidedly condemn the attempts ave nominated contract contrac

Orth. Oneida county convention will be held Aug. 20 at Rhinelander. Waukesha, county convention at Waukesha, Sept. 2. Columbia county convention at Wyo-cena, Sept. 2, and Eau Claire county con-vention at Eau Claire, Aug. 31. 10th Congressional convention will meet at Grand Rapids, Aug. 31. Congressional convention will meet at irand Rapids, Aug. 31.
 Wood county convention was held at esper, Aug. 19, with over forty dele dea present. A like discussion of the average of the sector of the

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WISCONSIN.--New branches have een organized in North Milwaukee. own of Greenfield and Gordon, Ash-nd Co. Kenosha comrades will hold a pictic Anderson's Park, Sept. 18. All who Bartis and State States and Stat Kenosha comrades will hold a picnic at Anderson's Park, Sept. 18. All who want a good time should attend. Brillion, 12; Kewaunee, 13; Algoma, 14, T. H. Lucas will spend two weeks in campaign speaking in Milwaukee. He will hold open air meetings in all parts

want a good time should attend. Kenosha County has put up the fol-lowing Social-Democratic ticket: For assemblyman, Walter W. Britton; for country treasurer, Hugh Wallace; for district attorney, Wm. Kaufmann; for county clerk, John Burns; for clerk of the vircuit court, John B. Ellison; for surveyor, Robert Wilson; for sheriff, Lyman Larabee; for coroner, Joseph Orth. will hold open air meeings in an pro-of the city. Carl D. Thompson's dates are as fol-lows, subject to change: Sept. 15, Hud-son: 16, Chippewa Falls; 17, Eau Claire: 18, 19 and 20, Wood County;

son: 16, Chippewa Falls; 17, Eau Claire: 18, 10 and 20, Wood County; 21, Portage; 22, Janesville; 23, Beloit; 24, Whitewater; 25, Milwaukee. Rock County has nominated the fol-lowing ticket: County Treasurer, W. Williams, Janesville; County Clerk, John R. Horn, Janesville; Clerk of thö Court. W: H. Phelps, Janesville; Re-gister of Deeds, Chas. H. Conger, Beloit; Surveyor, F. Burdick, Milton Junction; Sheriff, Peter Christoffson, Beloit; Cor-oner, G. H. Parker, Beloit.

Moines will have a tent at the Iowa

A theory that aims to secure the re-construction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor and capital (as distinguished from property), and the public collective management of all industries. Its motto is: "Everyone according to his deeds.". (Standard Dictionary.) Sumour Elide Dictionary.)



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Social-Democratic Ibera PUBLICHE EVERY SATURDAY BY THE Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Co. Board on Unrectors E. H. Thomas, Pres.; Vietor L. Berger, Vice-Pres.; Edin T. Mcimas, Secret rug-Treasurer; Emil Sciedel, John Doerder, Sr., C. P. I A. J. Weich, Fred. Brockbausen, Sr., Wm. Arnold.
FREPEERC HEATE, VICTOR L. BERGER, Associate.
Official Paper of the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee and o. Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.
Entered at Milwaukee Post-office as Second-class Matter, Aug. 20, 1901
What Internationa! Socialism Demands:
 Collective ownership of public utilities and all industries in the hand of Trusts and Combines.
 Democratic management of such collective Industry. 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 saleguard the worker sgainst luck of employment.
The state of ATT shildren up to the second 18 money No child labor

tion of ALL children up to the age of 18 ye Equal political and civil rights for men and women

If you believe in the above vots with the Social-Democraty

Allan L. Benson Discloses the Hypocrisy of the Old Party Newspapers. **Erowth of the Socialist Ballot in Four Leading Nations.**

1.1.	UNITED STATES.	marte start	1881	····	311,96
1888		2,068	1884		549.99
1802		21,512	1887		763,12
1804			1890		1,427,29
1805			1893		1,876,73
1806			1898		2,113,07
1807			1903		3,008,000
1868		82,204	1.575.	FRANCE.	1.
2000		98,424	1887	All and a state of the second s	47,00
1902		225,903			
100	A COUNCE & DESIGN OF A DESIGN OF A		1889		
	GERMANY.		1893		
1867		.10,000	1898		
1871		101,000	1900	/	. 880,00
1874		351,952	1223	GREAT BRITAIN.	
		493,288	1.800		. 55.00
1877					
1878		437,150	1 1 900	j	. 100,00

Competition and Death Co-operation and Life.

Bourke Cockran summed up the favorite "scientific" argument for the competitive capitalist system very clearly some years ago, when he appeared before the Trust Con-

ference that was held in Chicago. . He said :

"Competition is not warfare, in the sense of being destructive. Com tion is the best method of ascertaining the place of greatest utility for individual. Believe me, every man has an aptitude for some occupation man who is defeated in one field of competition is not excluded from whole field of production, but he is transferred from a field of lesser to a of greater efficiency. Competition prevents a misdirection of powers."

Now this reads smoothly and it may seem to be wisdom to many superficial observers and even victims, but the trouble is it is not true. Upon investigation it will be found not to have a leg to stand on.

We want to put the question squarely to the average working man, the average wage worker, store worker or factory worker, it makes no difference: Do you find from actual experience and from observation of the experiences of the workers of your class, that competition—that is, the capitalist system—is the best method that could be devised to do justice to all people in the determining of their life work? You will have to answer this in the negative.

Outside of the interests of the workers themselves, the best interests of the capitalist system are not served by this "best method." Who can estimate the amount of genius that is misplaced under the capitalist "best method of ascertaining the place of greatest utility?" Who is able to measure the amount of human genius that a life in a coal mine snuffs out, for instance?

If what Bourke Cockran says is true then everybody today placed where his abilities can be of the greatest service to production and to progress. Is this true? No. On the contrary, nine-tenths of the workers are held to employments they have no heart in. Only the best work is done when it is done in an interested manner. How about the woman in the factory? How about the baby mill slaves? Are they where they belong?

Under the capitalist system there must be waste so long as there is competition, but the saddest waste of all waste is the waste of human lives. It is an exhausting system, and those whose lives are not wholly crushed out of their bodies, soon run up a fund of ill health; but must work on, or starve on if work cannot be had.

For the great wage army the landscapes smile in vain. Nature is The world is filled with countless delights-but not for beautiful. the man of industry, the man who serves society by his productive

No, competition is not the "best method" of putting each man in his place, but it is a successful method of cheapening labor, in the in-terests of the capitalists. The capitalists have found out how ruinous competition is between the members of their own class, and are now resorting to combination from the necessity of the case. For themselves the big capitalists want no competition, but for the small business men and the wage workers it is just the thing. It makes sure of the rapid downfall of the small business man and gets him out of the way, and it reduces the wage workers to the necessity of a scramble to who shall work and who shall starve. It sets them to underbidding each other for work and thus keeps wages down.

SUCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

necessity for writing to suit the political policy of the paper and to stike at times the truth as he saw it, was hard to bear up under and so he re in pre-



The Love of the Capitalist Press for Labor.

The Herald takes pleasure in pre-senting the counterfeit presentment of Allan L. Benson, the author of "Socialism Made Plain," and "The Confessions of Capitalism," and a valued contributor to the columns of the paper. We have done this in response to many requests and after which we made to Comrade Benson himself. Our readers will see in the himself. Our readers will see in the himself. Our readers will see in the hin and analytical face, and with he for a so of grey hair just above over, this tell tale adornment is not needed, for his writings proclaim him and of mature mind and experi-ence with the world. A strong trait farik and to illustrate this we will write a Benson will not be too vere, the dotale a good deal under faricate and you con him as man-far taking such a hibr in the charded a sufficient to be too vere on us for taking such a hibr it de charded a sufficient of the betroit Times, his delitor of the Detroit Times, his daily editorial contribution to be paper he felt suffocated if he youd not have free rein and elbowe has finally left the Times and in the letter we refer to informs us that in his new position at the head of the Michigan agency of one of the

man."

not pay more."

The same Christian gentleman

the offer.

large insurance companies, he has in two weeks written \$32,000 worth of insurance, and broken the record of the office. So you see that the old ery that Socialists were not practical men or willing to work, is disproved in his case at least—and it never did have any foundation in fact anyway. Before going to the Times, Comrade Benson was an editorial writer on Hearst's New York paper, and he has a good deal of the Brisbane style in his writing. It was while on the New York Evening Journal that he became a convert to Socialism. He had gradually seen through the bol-lowness of Hearstism and was prompted by a statement which Dr. Lyman Abbott made to the effect that "nothing can stay the progress of Satisfies each each was been in the the other byman Abbott made to the effect that "nothing can stay the progress of Socialism, and nothing ought to stay it," made a study of Socialism and saw at once that it was the truth he had so long groped after A prostituted capitalist press has driven a good newspaper may out of the fold, the sort of a writer the people stand sorely in need of, per-haps permanently, or at least until the editorial work of the daily press develops to the point where it can be faithful to humanity and break its, bondage to the wealth interesta. Meantime, Comrade Benson will write occasionally for the Herald, for his Socialist convictions will de-

COLLI DEMOCRATIC HEDALD

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> as the only party that is organized to abolish industrial slavery, the molifs source of the giant evils that afflict the people. source of the giant evils, the frontise people. The overthrow of capitalism is the object of the Socialist party. It will not fuse with any other party and it would rather die than compromise. The Socialist party comprehends the magnitude of its task and has the full tience of preliminary defeat and the full of ultimate victory. The working class: must be sumade pated by the working class. Woman must be given her true place in society by the working class. Child labor must be abolished by the working class.

Ten Weeks, Ten C.

adapted to the needs of modern society. Centralization and combination are the modern forces in industrial and com-mercial life. Competition is breaking down and co-operation is supplanting it. The hand tools of early times are used no more. Mammoth machines have taken their places. A few thousand capitalists *aum* them and many millions of work-ingmen.use them.

own them and many millions of work-ingmen use them. All the wealth the vast army of lobor produces above its subsistence is taken by the machine owning capitalists, who also own the land and the mills, the fac-tories, railroads and mines, the forests and fields and all other means of pro-duction and transportation. Hence wealth and poverty, million-aires and beggars, castles and caves, lux-ury and squalor, painted parasites on the boulevard and painted poverty among the red lights.

Child labor must be abolished by the rorking class. Society must be reconstructed by the vorking class. The working class must be emplored by the working class. The fruits of labor must be enjoyed by he working class.

boulevard and painted poverty among the red lights. Hence strikes, boycotts, riots, murder, suielde, insanity, prostitution on a fgar-ful and increasing scale. The capitalist parties can do nothing. They are a part, an iniquitous part, of the foul and decaying system. There is no remedy for the ravages of death. The fruits of informust be enjoyed by the working class. War, bloody war, must be ended by the working class. These are the principles and objets of the Socialist party and we featieshy proclaim them to our fellowmen We know our cause is just and that it must prevail.

of death. Capitalism is dying and its extrem

We know our cause is just and that it must prevail. With faith and hope and courage, we hold our heads erect and with daunties spirit marshal the working class for the march from Capitalism to Socialism, from Slavery to Freedom, from Barbar-ism to Civilization. Capitalism is dying und its extension ties are already decomposing. The blotches upon the surface show that the blood no longer circulates. The time is near when the cadaver will have to be removed and the atmosphere purified.

CLOSING WORDS.

CLOSING WORDS. These are stirring days for living men. The day of crisis is drawing near and Socialists are exerting all their power to prepare the people for it. The old order of society can survive but little longer. Socialism is next in order. The swelling minority sounds warning of the impending change. Soon that minority will be the majority and then will come the co-operative com-This speech of Comrade Debs will a issued in a 32 page booklet by the Na-tional Headquarters and will be sent prepaid to any address as follows:

then will come the co-operative monwealth. Every workingman should rally to th standard of his class and hasten the full-

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standard of his class and hasten the full-orbed day of freedom. Every progressive Democrat must find his way in our direction and if he will but free himself from prejudice and study the principles of Socialism he will soon be a stardy supporter of our party. Every sympathizer, with labor, every friend of justice, every lover of human-ity should support the Socialist party WHEN ORDERING SUITS





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0.022 other, it is labor. With this fact, most persons are tolerably familiar, because the capicapitalists. times a year. "What can we do for labor?" is the cry that daily goes up from a thousand printing presses—a cry that is echoed and re-echoed as many

there be any one thing

that the capitalist press more dearly loves than an-

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Herald takes p

I believe I know a little more bout the REAL attitude of capitalist press toward labor than ____WHO DEARDY LOVES LA-is known by the average newspaper BOR-is like the rule of all other reader. For 14 years prior to August 1, last, I was connected, August 1, last, 1 was connected, newspaper publisher only in that either as reporter, editorial writer, for managing editor, with large rule is to pay the smallest wages up-dailies in Detroit, Salt Lake City, on which his employees will consent or managing editor, with large dailies in Detroit, Salt Lake City, San Francisco, Chicago and New York. And to this day, I never hear

that old cry of "What can we do for labor?" that I do not think of the imilar question that Alexander put o Diogenes. The great Alexander, weary of

world-conquering, made a long journey to the side of a sea where he had heard there was confined vonderful old man who had been aptured by pirates. Taken to the sandy shore, he

ound Diogenes seated in a tub enoying the bright morning sunlight. He plied him with questions and was at first pleased and then delighted with the brilliancy of the old bilosopher's answers.

And finally, in an outburst of patronizing condescension, the great varrior exclaimed, "Oh, my good nan, what CAN I do for you?" To which the haughty Diogene unused to anybody's alms, quickly

nade reply: "You can get out of my sunlight came here to enjoy the warmth of the sun which is my right-not

o accept favors even from a king." Two thousand years and more have passed since then, but the counterfeit spirit of Alexander is still embodied in the attitude of the apitalist press toward labor.

Unfortunately, however, the real pirit of Diogenes is not embodied n those who produce the wealth of he country.

If it were, labor, replying to the question of the capitalist press, would say: "You can cease to aid those who are robbing us."

Yet the capitalist press, whatever | that can get the working class of its its pretensions to the contrary, will vicinity on its subscription list has always be found working FOR capi-a mighty "jimmy' with which to taliam and AGAINST labor," for the break into the coffers of its advertisvery simple reason that the daily ers. Hence the popular tendency of ewspapers of the country are ownnewspapers to try to seek the favor talist press itself proclaims its un-dying alliegiance to the toiling ests, who are as diligently engaged one of them—and I make the statenasses on an average of at least 365 in exploiting labor as are any other ment with a knowledge of the facts

mand an outlet.

-whose editorial policy is not shap They exploit their reporters to the limit. Reporters have not yet ed by the publisher in the business office, and whatever is done or is not done is solely for the purpose of learned the desirability of organiz-

man who understands—come back the varying echoes, "What can we 'do' knew 'do' chanic receives are the average me- ful ignorance, did not the blissing unions, and are therefore at the making money. peremptorily ordered not to mention Socialism by name in the edicapitalists, who differ from the newspaper publisher only in that to exist. This factors well illustrat ed by an instance that I now recall revision, after which he cut out everything "objectionable" and it that occurred on a certain news paper whose publisher prates much about his love for the "forgotten was no longer worth while for me to There was under considera-

> the purpose of fooling the readers I attracted to his paper into to me = 1 replied that I did not be he was a Gold-Democrat, who wor-lieve the man would come for \$12 shiped Grover Cleveland and will

> a week, as he had a wife and some children to support. Furthermore I offered the suggestion that a man trouble with the capitalist press is with the publishers, not with the editors. The editors must obey orand his family could hardly live comfortably in _____ on \$12 a week. His affairs are nothing to me," reders, or get out of the business, as I plied the Christian publisher who have done. I know of a Detroit loved the "forgotten man," "if I newspaper on which C. J. Lamb can get him for \$12 a week, I will state organizer of the Socialist party

in Michigan, said he counted 14 Socialists, including several editors and reporters. But the paper is I declined to be instrumental in such a hold-up and refused to make strictly Republican, because the publisher's ideas are the only ones the that can get expression.

obbed me of \$200 during the last Which calls to mind the reply that I made to Mr. Joseph Pulitfour months I was on his paper-robbed me as plainly as if he had zer's request for my opinion of his put a gun to my ear and taken the act in setting aside several millions for the establishment of a school for noney from me. In fact, he did put a gun to my ear—the gun of my necessities. He saw an opportunity to jam me and he did it. His only journalists on the banks of the Hud-son. I told him that as I saw it, a reform school for publishers was much more needed. The New York mistake was in believing that I would be indefinitely at his mercy. World, however, did not re-print I could give other specific proof. the editorial in which I made the

> reply, although it gave up considerable space to the printing of other

> > QR Henson:

reign for a time until some of his average reporter, while a carpenter or a bricklayer receives much more. less ignorant capitalist friends "put him on." Then the garrote was the The rule of the newspaper publisher than _____WHO DEARDY LOVES LAhim on." Then the garrote was gradually applied until finally I was

> torial columns of the paper, nor to advocate political action to that end. I disobeyed the order repeatedly until I was finally silenced by the act of the publisher in ordering the editorial proofs sent to his desk for

disobey. tion the question of getting a cer-And when I was no longer conlong tain reporter from Indianapolis. I necte where was asked how mitch salary I be-editor ned a lieved it would require to get him. the p been I replied that \$19 a week might that I nected with his paper, he printed be-editorials squinting at Socialism for probably be sufficient. "Offer him continuing their subscriptions, \$12" was the order that was given This, notwithstanding the fact that

this year vote for Parker. In conclusion, I may say that the

The workers have been advised by the capitalists to their own destruction. Taking the advice of the enemy doesn't pay. Only a recon-struction of society by which only the industrious will be successful instead of the drones, as at present, will help the workingman.

The scales are falling from the worker's eyes. He feels that a new and a humane and same system of industry is just beyond and that his vote is needed to help bring it into view. In imagination he can smell the fragrance of its followers and its sunshine. He wants the day to come when the wealth he produces will be his and when men day to come when the wealth he produces will be his and when men will all be as brothers, with the necessity for craft, deception and over-reaching gone. When it will prosper a man to be honest, guileless and sweet. He is coming to see the wrongs entailed in Mr. Cockran's "good method" and he is enabled and brightened by the knowledge that upon him personally rests the necessity of helping in the new system. The uphill work of the Socialist advance is now nearly pas-ter of the bar toward and the meanment is destined to sweep on sed, the tide has turned and the movement is destined to sweep on from victory to victory. A groaning humanity calls out that this must be. And in such a world saving task, once seeing, no power on earth can hold the worker from responding to the call to duty.

(Continued from Page 2.)

ed nuisance in the conservative Mr. Fairbanks, the Republican andidate for Vice President, is a corporation attorney of the first class and a plutocrat in good and regular standing.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

In referring to the Democratic In referring to the Democratic party in this discussion we may save time by simply saying that since it was born again at the St. Louis convention it is near enough like its Republican ally to pass for a twin brother.

The former party of the "com-non people" is no longor under the oreast of the plutocracy since it as adopted the Wall street labet and renounced its middle class

adical and pregressive ele-the former Democracy hav cted and must and other emocracy has

counsels of the old party. Where but to the Socialist party can these progressive people turn? They are now without a party and

They are now without a party and the only genuine Democratic party in the field is the Socialist party and every true Democrat should thank Wall street for driving him out of a party that is democratic in name only and inte one that is democratic in fact.

A TRUST JUBILEE.

The St. Louis convention seas a trust abiled. The Wall street reorganizers and short work of the free silver ele-nent. From first to last it was a cap-alistic convestion. Labor was totally pored. As an incident, two thousand in chain were reserved for the Buritoice chairs were reserved for the Bu d, fed and

from my own experience, of the fact that the capitalist newspapers that For capitalism, laber's "Old Man affect a love for labor are arrant of the Sea" would soon be thrown frauds and hypocrites. off by labor if it were not for the They all pretend to be the sworn efforts of the capitalist press to keep allies of labor, merely because it is profitable to do so. A newspaper

As another incident, when Lieutenant Richmond Hobson dramatically de-clared that President Cleveland had been the only president who had ever been patriotic enough to use the federal troops to crush union labor, the trust sgents, lobbyists, tools and clackers screamed with delight and the convention shock with applause. The platform is precisely the same as the Republican platform in relation to labor. It says nothing and means the same. A plank was proposed condemn-ing the outrages in Colorado under Re-publican administration, but upon orpublican administration, but upon or der from the Parryites it was promptly

thrown aside. The editor of "American Industries." organ of the Manufacturers' Association, commented at length in the issue of July 15th, on the triumph of capital and the defeat of labor at both Republican and Democratic national conventions. Among other things, he said: "The two labor lobbies, partly similar in make-up, mere, to put it blanfly, thronon out bodily in both places."

inge Alton' B. Parker corresponds about the Democratic platform. It made to order for him. His famous graci intermedia

replies.

driven cattle, to pull the ticket through in November. As another incident, when Lieutenant Richmond Hobson dramatically de-clared that President Cleveland had been patriotic enough to use the federal troops to crush union labor, the trust sgents, lobbyists, tools and clackers screamed with delight and the convention fit. Thomas W. Lawson, the Boston mil-lionaire, charges that Senator Patrick McCarren, who brought out Judge Par-ker for the nomination is on the pay roll of the Standard Oil Company as politioni master mechanic at monty thousand dal-lars a year, and that Parker is the chosen tool of Standard Oil. Mr. Lawson of fers Senator McCarron one hundred thousand dollars if he will disprove the charge.

The Democratic action one hundred the prove the charge. William Jennings Bryan denounced Judge Parker as a tool of Wall street before he was nominated, and after his nomination he charged that it had been dictated by the trusts and secured by "crocked and indefensible methods." Mr. Bryan also said that labor had heen betrayed in the convention and seed look for nothing from the Democratic party. He made many other damaging charges against his party and its randidates, but when the supreme test came he was not equal to it, and instead of denouncing the betrayers of the "common people," and repudiating their made to order Wall street program, he compromised with the pirates that sentited his slip and promised with his lips the suport his heart refused and his conscituee condemned.

to put if blandly, from out bodily in both places." What more than this is needed to open the eyes of workingmen to the fact that neither of these parties is their party and that they are as strangely out of blit would be in the Socialits party And how many more times are they stay out and join the party of their thus is supreme, a party this clean. The Democratic nominee for president wis one of the supreme judger of the State of New York who declared the stay out and join the party of their that has conscience and convictions, a fint has conscience and convictions, a fint will one way more the old parties from the field like chaf, and instruction the field like chaf, that labor is charged with rettly used dynamite in property and that the p should be subjected to sub-

tims. It is hardly necessary to make more than passing reference to Hefny G. Davis, Democratic candidate for Vice. President. He is a coal baron, raibboad cwner and, of course, an enemy to union labor. He has amassed a great fortune exploiting his wage-slayes and has al-ways atrenuously resisted every attempt to organiz- them for the betterment of their condition. Mr. Davis is a staunch believer in the virtue of the injunction as applied to union labor. As a young man he was in charge of a slave planta-tion.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. The Socialist party is not, and down to pretend to be a capitalist party it does not ask, nor does it expect the votes of the capitalist class. Such cap italists as do support it do so, seeing the approaching down of the capitalist yr-the Socialist party is not a capitali-party, nor a middle class party, but, revolutionary working class party, but, isorie mission it is to conquer capita-iss of government and through the public powers, take possession of it means of wealth production, abolis wase-slavery and emancipate all word-ers and all humanity. The people are as capable of achiev-to secure their political liberty, and bot are necessary to a free nation. The capitalist system is no long



SOCIAL-DEMOGRATIC HERALD.



