

On earth peace,
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toward men

The Social Democrat

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Social Democracy Booming in New England States Boston Comes Nobly to The Front.

IMMENSE AUDIENCES ASSEMBLE TO LISTEN TO THE GOSPEL OF WAGE EMANCIPATION. ENTHUSIASM RECALLS DAYS OF THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT.

Social Democracy is creating an immense furor in the East, and the inhabitants of cultured Boston, and the staid New England towns which are commonly regarded as the strongholds of conservatism, are being stirred as they have not been before since the days of the historic abolition movement.

Beginning at New York City, the present propaganda tour of Chairman Debs has been a triumph success; everywhere he has been greeted by immense audiences, and everywhere the gospel of Social Democracy has been hailed with the greatest enthusiasm, the people generally seeming to recognize the fact that it promises a sure remedy for the abhorrent and impossible conditions now prevailing in society. Many misconceptions and false impressions concerning the aims and methods of the Social Democracy have been corrected, and much prejudice concerning the movement has been cleared away. Our Eastern comrades have come to realize that the Social Democracy goes to the root of things, and are rallying under its banner as representing an organized expression of the truly American section of the general Socialist movement of the world. It is very gratifying to note the manner in which the gospel of emancipation from wage slavery has been received at the various points where it has been presented, as well as the uniformly fair manner in which the meetings have been reported by the press.

AT NEWARK.

Comrade Debs spoke twice, once at Essex Lyceum, under the auspices of the local branches, and again to an audience of several hundred Hebrew garment workers in another part of the city. The Newark Daily Advertiser gives a two-column account of the Lyceum meeting, and its treatment of the Social Democracy is eminently fair. Speaking to an Advertiser reporter, Comrade Debs said: "The Social Democracy is less than four months old, yet is organized in twenty-six states. We are just beginning to get down to good hard work, and I believe that in the next ninety days we will easily increase our membership by 5,000."

The dominant note of the Lyceum speech was resistance to the system; it was made plain that socialism makes no war on individuals, and criticizes them only as they typify conditions.

"I am not scoring the rich individual, but the system which produces him," said Debs. "Many estimable people, seeing the unrest in the political and social conditions of our country, think with Macaulay that self-government is to be proved a failure. I am not of that number. The most hopeful sign is that the people are beginning to think. We shall yet come out of this gloriously. Workingmen will yet take their rights, not by force, but by the ballot."

"What have we to offer? The co-operative system—the only rational one, under which every man will have the right to work and have the profit of his toil. We believe in collective ownership. Every trust is a co-operative institution, being founded on socialistic principles. We don't object to it, but to its manipulation for the few. We propose to make it for all."

"Under the present system the few enjoy and the masses are doomed to serve as beasts of burden. Under our proposition there will be no rich, no poor; all will be equal."

"What is socialism? Merely Christianity in action. It recognizes the equality in men. If they are not equal it is because of the system under which we live." The inevitable trend of the system was graphically presented. "In ten years," said Debs, impressively, "you'll be a pauper or a millionaire."

The great enthusiasm displayed by the Newark audiences, together with the energy and earnestness of our local comrades, is guarantee that the work of organizing will be well attended to in that vicinity.

AT LYNN.

In the Labor Church, of which Comrade Herbert N. Casson is pastor, Comrade Debs spoke twice on Sunday, Oct. 24. The Boston Globe, in its report of these meetings, said that the "audience occupied every inch of space in the church," and "many people were unable to gain admittance." Says the Globe: "Mr. Debs spoke for fully two hours, and during that entire time not a person left the church or scarcely moved, so closely was he followed."

He pointed out to his audience that the only true way to alter conditions was through the plan proposed by the Social Democracy, and it is evident that his hearers appreciated the force of the argument, as the Lynn comrades have formed a branch with 56 charter members as a result of these Sunday meetings.

"THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY," said Comrade Debs, in answer to a Boston Journal reporter, "is a national political and economic association. It stands for collective ownership for an economic democracy, in other words. We are very friendly toward labor organizations. We do not bar non-Union men from the Social Democracy, however. We believe that it will take something more than trade unionism to enable labor to obtain its rights. Trade unions cannot control economic conditions without political action. A great many trades unionists believe in economic action alone. I don't. You can not prevent wages going down by that one thing."

Speaking of THE COLONY FEATURE of the organization he said: "We are going to begin methodically. First we shall want farmers, then wood choppers, then all sorts of laborers and workmen. We must first feed the people, then clothe them, and then shelter them. We are going to raise and manufacture articles for use and not for profit. We will use no money among ourselves. A man who does a certain amount of work will be given a check which will entitle him to so much food or clothing. We don't propose to have any idlers. I suppose it will be necessary at first to use United States money in our dealings with outsiders."

The two Lynn meetings were followed by a notable meeting in HISTORIC FANEUIL HALL.

On the evening of Oct. 25. This was undoubtedly the most memorable affair of the entire Eastern trip so far. All the Boston papers give excellent first page reports of the meeting, illustrated in fine style. The Globe devotes nearly four columns to its report, giving a very complete digest of Comrade Debs' two-hour speech. "Mr. Debs had an immense audience," says the Globe. "Faneuil hall, where the meeting was held, was crowded to the doors, and a speaker could not well ask for a gathering more in harmony with him. If enthusiasm and generous applause inspire a speaker, than Mr. Debs lacked nothing. That he appreciated his surroundings is seen in the fact that he talked for almost two hours. The audience remained with him to the end, notwithstanding the fact that most of it was obliged to remain standing throughout."

Prof. Frank Parsons presided at the meeting, and made a stirring introductory speech in favor of the Social Democracy. Concerning the means by which the objects of the Social Democracy are to be attained, Prof. Parsons said that many people have an idea that the law is to be defied, but this is an entirely wrong impression, as the purpose of the movement is to be achieved by and within the law. Prof. Parsons declared himself in thorough sympathy with the principles of the organization, and said that those principles have never been surpassed since the landing of the Mayflower. Rev. Herbert Casson next made a stirring address in favor of Social Democracy. The Globe says "the reception which Mr. Casson got was no less demonstrative and enthusiastic than that accorded to Mr. Debs."

The Globe remarks as a surprising feature of the make-up of the audience that it was composed largely of young people.

"A surprising feature of the attendance was the number of young people. The women, as a rule, were all young. There were scores of young fellows who looked not more than 20, most of whom had a very studious appearance." This is a very hopeful sign of the times. The hope of the social revolution lies in the youth of the nation; the generation of men and women who are just coming upon the field of action to begin the battle of life. These young people are trained and disciplined by the machinery of the capitalist system, and when they once begin to seriously consider the causes which shut them out from the opportunities of life which they have looked forward to with all the enthusiasm common to youth they will become a force of immense magnitude in bringing about the change to a better system. The hope of the future lies in the youth of our land.

In his Faneuil hall speech Comrade Debs struck the keynote of the spirit which animates the Social Democracy organization by declaring himself opposed to leadership, because it implies the master and the slave. Let all men be leaders; if they do not rely on others to do their thinking for them they will not be misled.

Following this immense demonstration in Faneuil hall came

TWO MEETINGS AT CAMBRIDGEPORT. On Oct. 27th. The hall of the Prospect Union, where the meetings were

held, was not large enough to hold the assembled crowds. The Herald says "the hall was uncomfortably crowded," while the Journal says "the audience overflowed into the corridors. The room was not quarter large enough to accommodate the crowd which wished to hear."

On the whole the campaign in Boston and vicinity has proved a most gratifying success. The status of the Social Democracy has been clearly established, and its methods and policy broadly outlined. The zeal of our comrades has been awakened and strengthened, and given a definite direction in which to act, and as a result new members are coming into the organization with a rush and new branches are in the course of formation at every available point.

Many letters have reached national headquarters from men who are prominent in business and social affairs in Boston and vicinity commending Social Democracy and offering aid and support to the cause. The writers of these letters almost invariably state that they have been prejudiced against Social Democracy and have been under a misconception concerning its scope and character, but since Comrade Debs' agitation began they have been induced to view the movement in a different light; they now recognize it as the great constructive movement of the coming new order, and are investigating its methods and purposes and offering it their support.

The present system is rapidly breaking down; it is disintegrating at all points and dissolving society into its original elements. This means violent revolution, to be followed by a dreary period of darkness and chaos, unless the intelligence of the age can establish a new social synthesis and put in operation social machinery which is competent to assimilate the disintegrated particles of the old order and organize them on a different basis, a higher plane of social activity. This is the need which has called the Social Democracy into being. It is not an ephemeral organization which seeks to accomplish merely ameliorative reforms in present conditions, but a logical outgrowth of the evolution of economic and political conditions, and while recognizing the inevitableness of the disintegrating process, it seeks, not to stay the process of the unavoidable, and force society back into its cast off clothing, but to hasten, if possible, the rapidity of the natural trend by bringing scientific economical processes into play for the benefit of the hopeless and desperate victims of the present system. This is the only way to avoid a violent outbreak. A social revolution must come which will mean the nation and its laws for the masses, and work for every willing member of the community. Social Democracy means this and the fact is coming to be generally recognized.

From Boston the work of propagating the seeds of Social Democracy will be carried to Hartford, Conn., Portland, Me., and other cities in New England and the East. Urgent calls are coming in from all quarters in the East, and Comrade Debs will be busily occupied in that part of the country until Nov. 15th, at least. Social Democracy is being organized on an enduring basis, and is rapidly marching on to victory. We can already perceive the first rosy flush of the dawn of the new order, and "Finis" will soon be broadly written on the last page of the old.

Observations.

Labor had no cause to weep last Tuesday when the wires brought news of the death of George M. Pullman, the Midas of the sleeping cars. It had nothing to rejoice over either, as a matter of fact, for when an oppressor is removed by death nowadays there are others who have been schooled by the capitalist system to step into the dead man's shoes. The lesson of this is plain: It is the capitalistic system rather than the tyrants it raises into power that is labor's real oppressor.

I always feel that energy is being wasted when I hear anathemas hurled at the rich men of the country. Except that it serves to rouse a public sentiment, it is heat vented in a wrong direction. To work up a bitterness against a certain man while ignoring the system that makes him possible is to run the risk of having public clamor appeased when that certain man disappears from view. This was one of the mistakes of Populism. The Populist made the execration of the monopolist a safety valve for his feelings; once rid of a certain excess of feeling in that way he was ready to rest until his feelings boiled up again.

Take the case of Mr. Pullman. Will his death make a particle of difference for those working for the Pullman company? The money invested in that concern will demand its dividends just as fiercely as before and the man who steps into Mr. Pullman's shoes will satisfy or dissatisfy the stockholders in proportion as he emulates or fails to emulate his predecessor's abilities as an exploiter of labor. As at the gambling table at Monte Carlo, the game goes on no matter what players drop out.

I see by the reports that the Pullman company recently declared a dividend of 50 per cent of its gross earnings. Just think what that means.

Half of the gross earnings paid for material, labor and all other expenses of clerk hire, supervision and the waste that is inevitable under a competitive system. The other half was clear cream, to be skimmed off by those who still have the face to pretend they are the friends of labor. Not only that, but they will appropriate it with clear consciences and when the poor in Chicago this winter accumulate like so much wreckage, and in their despair become a menace to the serenity of the rich, these same fleecers will toss out a few pieces of money to keep the crowd quiet—and demand praise from the papers for doing it. It is the old game, but it takes shrewder people to play it from year to year. It is with those shrewd ones that our real fight will eventually be.

Even now the possession of wealth is security, but it will not be so long. Gradually the stockholder whose stock in business is merely wealth will be weeded out. At first the shrewd fellows in the corporations were the servants of the wealth placed under their protection, soon they will become the masters of it. Many a rich man will tumble down into the middle class and as that class is fast disappearing he will go down into the Proletariat with it.

No one better deserved the term "baron" than George M. Pullman. No baron of old under the feudal system ever held up the people around him to better purpose than the great George M. He was guilty of one of the meanest wholesale crimes possible of perpetration on American soil, that of shaping conditions so that an industrial army of people were obliged to be members of his model town, there to be absolutely at his mercy and whim. He was master, it was theirs to obey. It was a crime against the very spirit of the nation and a crime against the inhabitants of his town individually, for it was impossible for them there to be the free men this nation boasts of being composed of.

Homestead was just as bad—and it must be confessed that almost the same conditions develop round almost any great industrial plant. The only difference is that Pullman planned the extra exploitation in his case while the owners of the large plants elsewhere merely take advantage of an opportunity that presents itself ready made.

Take Bay View, in my own city, where the Illinois Steel Company has one of its large works. The company does not own the land on which the houses of the workmen stand, but the workmen who own their own little cottages are practically tied to the place, and if the company cuts their wages and they strike their little property holding, even though it be mortgage, fastens them to the spot and sooner or later they are forced to give in to the company. We see that in greater or lesser degree the American laborer is always a victim.

The International Brotherhood League (unsectarian) has just struck some of the western cities. It was organized last April by Mrs. Katherine A. Tingley in New York city, a well known "philanthropist." Its first object is as follows: "To help workingmen and workingwomen to realize the nobility of their calling and their true position in life." The second aim is the education of children of all nations, etc., and "to prepare destitute and homeless children to become workers for humanity." There are five other objects, but these are put first and disclose the real purpose back of the organization.

Here we have a fresh insult to the people whose toll sustains our present society. The working people already realize the nobility of their calling, most of them, for did they not vote for McKinley in the last election and are they not just dying to do so again? They know their true position in life already. As was said of the submissive negro before the war, "they know their place." Their place under the present system is the meaner parts of the big cities, where they sleep in bad air and rise early to go to a day of exhausting work to pile up wealth so that superficial women like Mrs. Tingley can play "philanthropists."

Doubtless they will furnish working people with mottoes for their homes bearing the familiar sentence: Servants obey your masters. Educating children to become workers for humanity is a fine thing, of course—for the upper crust of humanity—but it don't quite jibe with that fine phrase of universal brotherhood.

Further on in the list of objects I find that the new organization will "ameliorate the condition of unfortunate women and assist them to a higher life." The real way to get at the great social evil, with its countless number of degraded women, is to change the industrial system that produces them, but such "philanthropists" as Mrs. Tingley do not know this. We shall not have a true "international brotherhood" until the principles of Socialism prevail the world over. So long as the people of the earth are divided into classes of masters and servants, so long as "philanthropists" even are necessary, all talk about establishing a present brotherhood of man is the veriest rubbish, and stamps those who do such prating as ignorant of social

Debs Gives a Brief Account of Progress in the East College Students Organize a Branch.

BOSTON COMRADES PUSHING THE MOVEMENT WITH ENERGY AND DETERMINATION. MANY PERSONS UNABLE TO GAIN ADMITTANCE TO THE MEETINGS.

The Social Democracy is literally sweeping over the New England states. The week just closed has witnessed the organization of five new branches in this vicinity, one composed of college students and another of railroad employes.

The meetings at Boston, Lynn and Cambridge were all packed to the doors and not a person left until the last word was spoken. At the famous Lynn Labor Church, so ably presided over by Herbert N. Casson, a local branch, with fifty-six charter members, was instituted on the 26th. In Boston several new branches are under way and will soon be in working order. A local organization of Socialists at Rockville, Conn., have decided to join the Social Democracy in a body.

The meeting at Cambridge, under the auspices of Prospect Union, annex of Harvard University, was a most gratifying success. The hall was so crowded that I had to be forced through to the rostrum by main strength. The corridors of the building overflowed and every available inch was occupied. The address occupied two hours and fifteen minutes, and notwithstanding the jam, not a person left till the very close of the meeting. Professors and students were alike interested in the gospel of the new emancipation, and they listened with eagerness and applauded with enthusiasm. Noted educators were present, and Miss Longfellow, daughter of the great poet, was also in attendance.

Prof. Frank Parsons, Rev. Herbert N. Casson, Mrs. Mary Gunning, Mrs. Dr. Konikow and a host of others are

taking hold of the work, and the progress from this time forward will be a revelation. A little later Herbert N. Casson, the gifted and fearless, will make a tour of the West in the interest of the Social Democracy.

The movement in and about New York and Philadelphia is spreading rapidly. A series of crowded and enthusiastic meetings in both cities has resulted in large increases in membership, and growing interest and activity in the movement. In the next two weeks I shall cover New Haven, Conn.; Brockton, Haverhill, New Bedford and Holyoke, Mass.; Exeter, N. H.; Portland, Me.; Jersey City, Belvidere and Paterson, N. J.; Baltimore, Md., and Cleveland, Ohio, where I close on Nov. 15th. I shall then start for the West, then for the South, and then the Northwest, and so on until every corner of the continent has been reached and awakened to the glory and promise of the new-born emancipation.

There is great interest here in the colonization department, and every allusion to it is heartily cheered. The activity of the commission gives assurance that they are in deepest earnest, and they should have the solid and unvarying support, financial and otherwise, of every branch.

The light of the new day is breaking. All the skies are brightening. Persistent, earnest work on the part of each member is all that is required to insure success. Let this day, this hour, this instant mark the new beginning, the stern resolve to conquer in this great battle, and achieve for humanity the greatest victory of all the centu-

Hartford, Conn., Oct. 29, '97.

"Socialistic Fallacies" was the subject of a Sunday evening address in the Tabor Opera House in Denver last week by the Rev. Father Malone, and the press dispatches say that people were turned away. As the address teemed with such expressions as "wild and senseless attacks of demagogues," "irresponsible blatherskites," "senseless attacks on corporate wealth," and so on, it can be seen at once that the address was an appeal to the passions of capitalistic sympathizers rather than to reason or scientific contemplation. The address shows one thing very clearly, and that is that Father Malone is surprisingly ignorant of the simplest principles of Socialism, and I do not hesitate to say that in presuming to make a public address upon a subject he knew nothing of the reverent father disgraced a church largely built up and maintained by the mites of the poorer classes. From that very fact he should have taken the part of the plundered poor as against the plundering rich. Certainly no man of sympathy could well do less. After a wholesale denunciation of Socialists, whom he recklessly charges with all the crimes of the labor fakirs and the hoodling legislators, he says:

"Intelligent citizens should firmly oppose a system that would destroy established institutions solely for the purpose of arranging a more general distribution of wealth." And farther on in his address I find this sentence:

"I believe the time has come when honest men should speak out as their conscience dictates in reference to present economic conditions."

Now, as a matter of fact, the very thing that worries Father Malone is that honest people are speaking out with regard to economic conditions. And for that very fact they will not be very likely to "oppose a system that would destroy established institutions" for the purpose of substituting a better and more humane one. This isn't the kind of speaking out he wants; it is the capitalist and the justifier of capitalism that he wants to do the speaking. The other fellows, the ones that are surely sinking in the economic quicksands, should keep still. By looking up and admiring their capitalistic oppressors they will be able to keep their eyes off of the quicksands, and can't thus have easy minds.

Now, there are several things that the reverend father, in his conceit, has never learned. One is that production to-day is carried on socially, but that the tools of production (the complicated machines) are privately owned. The private owners can thus exact an exorbitant toll from the actual workers who are forced by industrial conditions to do their work by the aid of those machines. When in the past production was individualistic, when the workman owned his simple tools and was master of what he produced, capitalism on a large scale was impossible. It must not be forgotten that there are two ways of getting wealth. One is to produce it, and the other is to acquire it. To-day the actual toilers

produce the wealth, and the capitalists acquire it, leaving, however, from the necessities in the case, enough in the possession of the worker to keep him from starvation and to raise a family of new workers, so that the labor market will continue well stocked. Does Father Malone know this, and does he know the many "legal" ways by which the rich acquire the wealth the poor produce? If he doesn't, he owes it to himself as a self-respecting teacher of men to get posted. Socialists have no apologies to make for wishing to see a new social system inaugurated whereby the man who produces wealth will be the possessor of it, without the necessity of paying it all out in tribute in the form of rent, profit and interest. If Father Malone will only study Socialism it will appeal to his sense of justice and humanity, I am sure.

And another thing. Father Malone speaks of the sins of legislators who introduce offensive bills for the purpose of being bought off as justifying capitalism and its tactics in legislative lobbies. In spite of this, he says, the cry goes forth that wealth and capital are synonymous with bribery and corruption. Stop and think. Why do legislators do as they do? For wealth and capital, nothing else. What is the one impelling motive back of the bribe giver and the bribe taker? The desire for money. Now the great aim of Socialism is to bring about a condition of society where people will not be obliged to sell their honor for money. Bribery is prevalent now because we live in a capitalistic atmosphere, and for no other reason. Assure men their fair share of the necessary work of society and a good, wholesome living in return for that work, banish the fear for future well-being, and the people of this earth will forget the unholy love for money, because it will not be necessary to love it. I agree with Father Malone that wealth is a good thing. It is such a good thing that I want every one to share in its benefits. At the same time I want every one to bear a fair share of the burden of producing it. Anything immoral about that, Father Malone?

Wayfarer.

Investigations made by German demographers show that the rich live long and the poor die early. The mortality of infants among the noble families of Germany is 5.7 per cent., while among the poor of Berlin it is 34.5 per cent. Diseases arise from the conditions under which the working people labor and live.—Commonwealth.

According to Farm, Stock and Home, in the circles of the rich the phrase: "Courage of our interests," is substituted for the "courage of our convictions."

Coin is the money of barbarians. Half civilized people want coin and convertible paper. But people who are fully civilized prefer paper money.—Herbert Spencer.

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Social Democracy is marching on to victory! Don't forget to order extra copies of our special number. It will be a hummer.

The highest interest is the interest of the whole body. When you are aiding Social Democracy you are aiding yourself.

All the noble aspirations of the best minds of all the ages are condensed in, and expressed by, that one word—Socialism.

You can aid the cause of Social Democracy by getting subscribers for the Social Democrat and circulating copies of the paper at branch meetings.

The capitalists are class-conscious; they never permit petty discords or individual differences of opinion to interfere with their class interests. Workingmen should take a lesson from them.

Says one of our correspondents: "The difference between the average workingman and the average capitalist is not a difference in ethical ideals, but is rather one of ability, chance or opportunity." This is a great truth. Until workingmen stop trying to be capitalists they will never be able to emancipate themselves from wage slavery.

A Banner Number. Our issue of Nov. 18 will be a banner number, gotten up specially to commemorate the release of Eugene V. Debs and his comrades from Woodstock jail.

Woodstock jail was the real birthplace of the Social Democracy; there the mind forces were put in operation which enabled the A. R. U. leaders to make the complete transition from the old trades union basis and pass over the dividing line into full class-conscious Socialism.

It is eminently fitting that the real birth anniversary of this great American Socialist organization should be commemorated, and we propose to do it by giving our readers a feast of good things. A special Woodstock article will be one of the features. Another feature will be an illustrated poem entitled "The Vampire," from the caustic pen of Mrs. H. S., Geneva Lake, poet, philosopher, minister, who for more than twenty years has been in the very fore front of the conflict, and has sung and said the great truths which burden the heart of the new civilization. This poem and sketch are a sharp arraignment of shams.

Other special features of great importance will appear, and gems of thought from the leading thinkers of the day will abound. You can not afford to miss this banner number of the Social Democrat. Branches should send in their orders for extra copies at once, so that all may be supplied. A special effort should be made to circulate this special number.

"You can fool part of the people all the time, you can fool all of the people part of the time, but you can never fool all of the people all of the time."—Abraham Lincoln.

There is, first, the selfishness of each man for himself; and second, of all men for all men and each other. The true glory of life is the devotion of all men to an eternal principle.—Toynbee.

THE EDITOR'S ARENA

Mr. Geo. E. Roberts in the Chicago Times-Herald, in commenting upon some statements of the Populist orator "Cyclone" Davis, regarding the public and private indebtedness of the United States, makes the remarkable statement that "whether all of this (the public and private indebtedness) amounts to \$516 per capita, nobody knows, but we do know that the total has no significance except as it suggests the wealth of the country in which some of the people have so much to lend and others so much property on which to borrow."

In the same article he says: "No man assumes a debt without receiving what he estimates as its equivalent. So long as each obligation in a creditor's hand is offset by this equivalent in the debtor's possession, what difference does it make whether the indebtedness of the people of the United States to each other amounts to \$516 per capita or \$1,232 per capita?"

Mr. J. W. Bennett, in a very able article in the Arena for March, 1894, estimates the total wealth of the United States at \$72,000,000,000. "That fully 80 per cent of this sum pays interest," says Mr. Bennett, "may be verified by any person who cares to give the subject thought. If any of the money invested in business bears interest, all money invested in business must likewise bear interest, otherwise nobody would assume business risks."

Assuming that \$50,000,000,000, on an average, was loaned or invested or in business where it gained an average of six per cent, he shows that the entire earnings of capital for the ten years from 1880 to 1890 must have been at least \$30,000,000,000.

But the wealth of the country increased but \$22,000,000,000 during that decade. In other words interest and profits must have absorbed not only the entire increase during those ten years, but the enormous sum of \$8,000,000,000 besides on an amount nearly three times the national debt at the close of the rebellion.

When the total increase of a nation's wealth will not pay the charges demanded by capital it seems to us to be a fact of the highest significance, and one that demands universal attention.

"The whole theory of Populism concerning debt," says Mr. Roberts, "rests upon the notion that debt is always a calamity, whereas it is simply a business partnership." Yes, debt is a partnership—a partnership with tyranny, injustice and iniquity—a partnership with hell! Debt has done more to burden, oppress and pauperize the human race than all other tyrants combined. It has been an "Old Man of the Sea" upon the backs of toiling humanity—a ball and chain upon the limbs of progress. By so much as a man goes into debt does he sell himself into slavery. When the debt becomes so large that he can never pay more than the interest he is wholly a slave—must labor through life that some one else may reap the benefit. May heaven save us from such "business partnerships!"

We agree with the Populists that debt is always a calamity, but we arrive at that conclusion by a very different process of reasoning.

The weakness of Populism is that it does not rightly diagnose the disease of the body politic; it has not found the seat of the difficulty; it does not plant itself on the one great fundamental principle which must in the end control all social relations and then follow wherever truth leads the way. It still clings too much to the traditions and institutions of the past to make a safe pilot while sailing the stormy seas whither we are now trending.

The great social principle which will one day redeem the world, and which has been struggling for recognition during all the ages, is equality—equality of opportunity—and any political creed or system of philosophy which does not have this as its chief cornerstone when weighed in the balance will be found wanting. The goal of the Populists is not equality. They do not aim at it, would not secure it nor maintain it if it were secured. They, in common with other citizens, have had much to say of the "destruction of our liberties"—of our government drifting away from the high purposes of its founders, assuming that when fresh from the hands of its authors, before our institutions and laws had been subverted this government guaranteed equal rights and equal opportunities to all.

There could hardly be a greater mistake. Not only did the Federal constitution recognize African slavery, but the "despotism of the dollar" was firmly established in that instrument. It is of little consequence that the new monarch was then, and for many years remained uncrowned—he must needs reach his majority. The potentialities of the oak are in the acorn. A favorable environment and time will transform it into the giant of the forest, but from the very beginning it is and must ever remain an oak. In the same sense this government of ours has, from the beginning, been a despotism.

In the midst of that mighty conflict which severed the bonds that bound us

to the British crown, when all hearts for the time beat as one, the Declaration of Independence, like the voice of a prophet, astonished and startled the world by proclaiming a new doctrine—that "all men are created equal"—not equal in physical strength or mental vigor, but equal in their right to life, equal in their right to liberty, equal in their right to the pursuit of happiness. The mere statement carried conviction—it was "self-evident." Empires trembled, thrones tottered, and neither the crowns of kings nor the special privileges claimed by the "upper classes" have ever since been secure.

But when the roar of battle died away and peace had returned, pride and selfishness came with it, so that when the constitution was adopted some years later, equality, the principle that had inspired them to mighty deeds, was rejected, the inalienable rights of man were forgotten, and a class government was inaugurated under which opportunities so far from being equal were destined to become more and more unequal with every passing year.

Socialists do not propose to put the oak back into the acorn again, nor go back and build upon the original foundation. We say rather that equality—the stone that the builders rejected—shall become the head of the corner. Upon that principle as a foundation will we rear our future state.

Debt and equality of opportunity are incompatible and cannot both exist among the same people at the same time. When debt comes in at the front door "equality" flies out at the back door. Where equality of opportunity does not exist there is slavery. Since debt and equality cannot co-exist "debt is always a calamity."

It is for like reasons that the profit system in any form must be condemned. A sum of money, however small, if continuously invested and reinvested, whatever the rate of interest or profit, would in time devour the entire wealth of the world.

Had Columbus loaned one dollar at six per cent thirty years before he discovered America, and it had been kept invested and compounded continuously since, it would require all the wealth of the United States at this time to pay it, and in the course of another half century it would absorb the wealth of the world.

Service is the only coin that enables any one to share in the distribution of wealth. He who has the power of exacting from others wealth that does not represent service rendered acquires an advantage over those from whom he receives it, which, if permitted to continue, must sooner or later destroy equality of opportunity and subvert the liberties of the people. And since liberty is only secure in a land of equal opportunities, and since the profit system always creates inequality, therefore the profit system is wrong and must give way to a system that will guarantee and render forever secure economic equality, for thus only can any man be secure in his right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

We have recently seen it stated that in 1892 the labor cost of iron billets was about \$9.52 per ton, while today, with the aid of the latest machinery, the same work can be done for a trifle less than three and a half cents per ton. If this information is correct, then but one man is now required where formerly 280 were employed. Strange that our country is full of idle men, isn't it!

The latest converts to Socialism are the wire manufacturers of the United States. They have apparently been studying the principles of co-operative industry and evidently have reached the conclusion that it is a good thing. At all events they are all to consolidate in a single corporation, with a capital stock of \$100,000,000. J. Pierpont Morgan, whose experience in practical socialism is practically more extensive than any other man in the United States, is at the head of the movement. This insures success. If socialism is so good a thing for the benefit of a few, wonder why it shouldn't prove beneficial to everybody?

Injustice cannot be transformed into justice by any lapse of time, however long; nor can it acquire the right to live. However hoary with age, however beneficent its pretensions, when discovered, it may rightfully and unconditionally be at once supplanted by justice.

The mortgage indebtedness of Ohio increased \$20,000,000 during last year. A few more years of "prosperity" would bankrupt the state.

The recent system of finance robs labor, gorges capital, makes the rich richer and the poor poorer, and turns a republic into an aristocracy of capital.—Wendell Phillips.

It is idle and useless to hope to build a new civilization on the foundation of hate. Love to all men, patience with all, is the only basis on which a better system can be established. Hate may destroy, but love alone can build.—Star and Kansas.

PUCKERBRUSH ALLIANCE

Puckerbrush, Ohio, Last Saturday. Mr. Debs and all the rest of you:—When Nancy, that's my wife, red the letter from Mr. Debs in last week's paper, advisin' 'em to vote the Socialist Labor party ticket this fall, she sed it was just grand, and showed the true Abe Lincoln greatness of the man. Nancy was the first Socialist in these parts. She got returned by showin' how the People's party had lost its character, and only stood for prices anyhow, while the Socialists stood for a change of system which would give us economic equality just as we had political equality.

When she red the letter thru a second time she sed: "I wonder what them soda Socialists will say to that? They auter feel ashamed of themselves, but I guess some of 'em don't know how." She calls 'em soda Socialists because they don't consider anybody a Socialist except they will let 'em put the bakin' soda trade mark on. She says they is much like soda, too. Too strong to take raw, but good to lighten the dough when well stirred in.

Well, Sir, Socialism is all the talk in this part of the county. We are bizy huskin' corn; everybody puttin' in their best licks while the wether is good, and while they are huskin' they are talkin' Socialism; sum fur it, and sum agin it. The county candidates have been gum-shoelin' it all over our township thick and hard. If the good we are doin' for human mankind can be measured by the cusses these fellows are givin' us, why, I don't need to wait until I die to get my reward. I got it already. Ha! Ha!

At the last meetin' of Puckerbrush Alliance the free sixteen-to-one silver fellers was inklined to be abusive, and Miss Smart, the schoolteacher, says this is the surest sign that they feel their case is not as good as it used to be. Preacher Gard is stikin' in the God and morality, gold standard and high tariff party, just like he stiks in his salary, and I gess he won't let go unless we can show him there is more in it for him to be a Socialist, and then I gess providence wud get in his work and send him a kull to change his mind, the same as changin' pulpits.

When the president kalled to order at the last meetin' he sed: "I don't see why we kan't discuss the free sixteen-to-one silver question, and the great and awful krime of seventy-three. It looks just like these Socialists was a tryin' to bust up the Democratic party—the new and rejuvenated Democracy, at that, and I think we auter put a stop to it." I tried to ge the floor, but Sam Johnson jumped up and sed: "Hold on there, when you say new Democracy you mean silver-plated Democracy, and it's a fraud. The platin' is beginnin' to peel off in large chunks. For instance, look at Tammany in New York and the rooters from Chicago. You know I was as crazy last fall as any of you, shoutin' for Billy Bryan and free silver, but I'm olde; now, and if I ain't so good lookin', I know more. You know how we all broke our necks to get a copy of Billy's book, "The First Battle," payin' anywhere from \$2.50 to \$5 fur it. I got one and red it. I thought it was a dandy, but last month Miss Smart gave me a copy of Bellamy's new book, "Equality." After I had red it twice she said I shud read "The First Battle" agin, and I did, but it was just like takin' church social oyster soup after bein' used to good beefsteak—too thin to mention. You just try the same plan, and you will understand why you don't hear no more about McGinty or "The First Battle." They have formed a partnership down at the bottom of the sea. You can just bet we are goin' to bust up shamocracy, and then wipe out plutocracy. There is only one genuin' new Democracy, and that is the Social Democracy.

The president said: "Yes, but why don't you go for the Republikans more? You go for the Democrats harder'n you do for the Republikans, which looks like you was paid for to bust us up." Then I spoke, and sed: "Did it ever come into your mind that the existance of the Republikan party depends on keepin' alive the Democratic party, and vice versa?" Well, it's a fact. They hold the bulk of their membership in line by prejudices born during the war of the rebellion. With either party out of the way, and the remainin' party compelled to face an entirely new party, with demands such as the Socialists make, there would soon cum a change, but if they can keep the bulk of the people in these two old camps, they can skan 'em as often and as hard as they want to. The Republikan party is rite bold out in defense of property rites against human rites, though it come into existance fightin' the other way. We might compare 'em to the fellow what holds you up at the point of a revolver. It takes some courage, but they glory in it. The Democratic party is more like the confidence game cuss. It comes up and says: "Why, howdy do, Unkie Rubel!" puts you on the back, and tells you what a good friend of your'n he is—the workin' man's friend, you know, and just when you are feelin' easy, he goes through your pockets. The pretended friend is worse than an open enemy, and fur this reason the Democrats catches fits from the fellers they have fooled. When the Republikans have to line up against the Social Democracy they will find themselves where the Democratic party was just before the war—defendin' slavery; then there will be a change that will be something more than a change of officers. If you free-silver fellers want to get free silver quick, I can give you the receipt to do it. Just get to work and see that the Socialist ticket in

Ohio gets fifty thousand votes this fall, and that will do more for free silver than a Democratic victory, for that would make 'em get a hump on and give you any kind of coinage you wanted, so as to stop such votin'. Try it once and see. A good, healthy, independent minority often influences legislation more than a majority, where there is only two parties."

Abe Wilkins got up and sed: "What Jonas has said comes pretty near bein' the truth, and I'm goin' to make a proposition to try his receipt. I have been a Republikan all my life, as you all know, and Sam Johnson has been a Demmy. Now, Sam, if you will vote the Socialist ticket, I will give you my word and honor I will do the same. This will make no difference in the result between the Dems and Reps, but will give the Socialists a boost, and by the time we come to elect congressmen next fall we will know fur sure if we want to keep on votin' that way. We can study this winter, and if we keep up Puckerbrush Alliance we can discuss all the questions, and know as much about them as the next fellers. What do you say?" and Sam said: "I'll go you, shake!"

"That's the stuff," says I. "That's about the same as the senators and congressmen do when they pair to go home or run out to see how sugar stock is goin'. Now, sposin' all the voters in this township wud do that, don't you think you'd scare them tilters up to the county seat out of their boots? Bet it wud."

Miss Smart was goin' to say somethin' about machinery, but we got off on this party politiks, and she didn't get a chance, but we will get down to it after next week, when the politicians will once more save the country—like the old lady kept tavern out in Indiana.

I'll try to keep you posted, anyhow. Yours to the end, Jonas Harrison.

The Cry of The Poor.

Oh, ye money lords of the United States Oh, thou parvenu, pig-headed aristocracy! Oh, ye men of unbounded wealth and license, ye men who reap where ye have not sown and gather where ye have not strewn, ye men who have arrogated to yourselves the right of establishing a despotism over American society, ye men who have banded together to destroy the great Republic and to rebuild on its ruins the abandoned, owl-haunted fabric of the past, ye men who are the foes of human liberty, who do not believe in the democracy of man, who trample down truth and crush the aspirations and hopes of 70,000,000 people under your gilded Juggernaut, ye men whom nothing will satisfy but to gather up the total earnings of your countrymen and consume them in the attempted gratification of your insatiable greed and luxury, ye men whom preachers preach to and teachers teach and lawyers plead for and orators flatter and journalists glorify, ye men who have purchased the organized powers of society and who use them as the dumb pawns of the gambler's board, who think you can buy the world and convert it one-half into a slave market and the other half into a park, ye men who own all the railroads and all the bonds and all the sugar and all the petroleum and most of the cotton and all the whisky—heaven save us!—of the United States, ye men whose intolerable pride overtops that of the feudal lords and whose unmitigated selfishness devours the lives of others as the Roman gluttons devoured humming birds and snails, ye men who fear neither the proclamation of truth nor the appeal of innocence in torment, ye millionaires and multimillionaires and billionaires about to be, whose spoliation of the human race goes on unchecked and whose arrogance already grins defiance out of the ironbound windows of your arsenals, stop—stop now!

The time has come for you to pause and listen! The low murmur which you hear in the distance, so sad and far, is the cry of the poor. They who cry are your fellow beings. They are as good as you are. They have as much right to the blessedness of life as you have. They have brothers and sisters and children, as you have a few. They have hearts, as some of you have. They are patient and true, as you are not. They are not arrogant and envious; they are humble and sincere. If there be a God, they are his loved ones, and now, by the goodness of heaven, you shall hear their cry. We serve upon you a modest and generous notice to hear that cry. You shall do it. The nation will make you do it. You are not the lords of the world; you are not the proprietors of nature. You are simply men, as are the rest of your brothers. Your brothers will do you no harm, but you shall hear their cry. You shall not be liars and say that there are no poor; you shall not be casuists and say that it was always so and always will be, for civilization will either abolish poverty or be abolished by it. You shall not be hypocrites and say that God will take care of those whom you have robbed of their labor and their hope, as though He were your confederate. Hear ye, hear ye, the cry of the poor and answer that cry with justice and compassion! Otherwise the future will come down on you like night, and your children's children, visited with a fate worse than that which you now inflict on the children of the poor, will damn you for your sin and folly.—John Clark Ridpath, in the Arena.

No individual life can be truly prosperous passed in the midst of those who suffer. To the noble soul it cannot be happy; to the ignoble it cannot be secure.—Matthew Arnold.

Welcome to Eugene V. Debs.

Air: Battle Hymn of the Republic. (Composed by Comrade Sada Bailey Fowler and sung by the members of Branches Nos. 1 and 5, at Philadelphia, October 13, 1897.)

We will sing a joyous welcome—an anthem of the free, A hearty, welcome greeting, our brother now of thee, All voices join the chorus to our song of Liberty— Our cause is marching on.

Chorus: Glory, glory, hallelujah, etc. Yes, marching with the people who have waited—oh, so long For Democracy to lead them on to conquer greed and wrong. See now our ranks are filling up with hopeful hearts and strong— The hosts are marching on.

Chorus:— Hall, hall thou earnest chieftain, thy great soul is brave and bright, Thou comest in the name of Peace—of heaven's love and light, Thy brothers and thy sisters, too, are with thee for the right— With the people marching on.

Chorus:— And gathering in Democracy in true and fond embrace, The throbbing hearts and noble forms of all God's human race We'll lead them on with steady step in Christian social grace— The Christ is marching on.

Chorus:—

Proportional Representation No. 9. Two weeks ago I described the Hare system in a brief way. This week I describe another good plan, called the Gove system. Like other plans of Proportional Representation, it requires large electoral districts, electing, say, seven members; and each elector has only one vote that counts. Unlike the Hare system, the elector does not mark any names as "alternates."

THE GOVE SYSTEM.

This system was proposed by Hon. W. H. Gove, of Salem, Massachusetts, and has been adopted by the Proportional Representation League of the United States as one of the two plans which they recommend. Under the Gove System each candidate publishes, at a certain time before the election, and in a certain formal way, a list of the candidates to whom he will transfer (1) his surplus votes if he gets more than a quota, or (2) all his votes if he does not get votes enough to be elected. The order of preference of such transfer is determined by the comparative number of votes cast for the others whom he names; that is to say, the man having the largest number of votes on his own account, has the first claim on transferred votes, if he needs them.

It is, therefore, only necessary for the voter to mark one name on his ballot, and the result of the election can be obtained by dealing with statements furnished by the deputy returning officers from the polling sub-divisions, instead of the actual ballots being sent to the returning officer. Then the process is this: 1. The statements of the deputies are added together, and the total vote for each candidate is ascertained, together with the grand total of the whole vote.

2. The grand total of the whole vote is divided by the number of candidates to be elected. This gives the "quota," or number of votes necessary for election.

3. Any candidate who has a quota or more than a quota is declared elected, and his surplus votes, if any, are transferred to the credit of that man on his published list, not yet elected, who has at this stage the largest number of votes.

4. Anyone getting a quota in this way is declared elected, and no more transferred votes are credited to him. The process is continued until all the surplus votes are transferred to men on the lists who need them.

5. The returning officer then begins at the bottom of the poll. The candidate having the lowest number of votes is declared "out of the count," and all his votes are transferred to those on his list who need them, in the way indicated above.

6. This process is continued by cutting off, one by one, the candidates from the bottom of the poll upwards, until the required number of elected candidates remain. If these have not all a full quota, those who come nearest to it are the chosen ones.

COMMENTS AND COMPARISONS. The method of working resembles that of the Hare system, and a reading of one plan helps to an understanding of the other.

The Gove System is chiefly objected to on the ground that the candidates determine the transfer of ineffective votes, whereas the voters themselves ought to determine this.

To this objection the answer is that the voter takes into consideration both the candidate and his list of proposed transferees. Those whom a candidate puts on his list are usually men of the same party as himself, or those in harmony with his opinions; and these are just the persons whom in most cases the voter himself would choose. The making of an improper list would seriously injure a candidate's chances; whilst the very making of a list is useful information to the voter as to the political position of the candidate, especially if independently nominated.

Taking now the manifest advantages of the system, they are these: The voter has only to mark his ballot for one candidate.

The counting is much quicker, and the ballots have not to be taken to a central place to be counted.

Socialism is scientific economy applied on lives of justice.

FROM OUR CONTRIBUTORS

(NOTE.—The editors are not responsible for the opinions of correspondents.)

How Our Laws Are Made.
(By Eltweed Pomeroy.)

A good deal of controversy has taken place recently over Section 22 of the Dingley tariff bill, which imposes a discriminating duty of 10 per cent "in addition to the duties imposed by law on all goods, wares and merchandise which, being the product or manufacture of any foreign country not contiguous to the United States, shall come into the United States from such contiguous country."

There is no question at all that these clauses are in the law as passed by both houses of Congress and signed by President McKinley. But they were not in the Dingley bill as it first passed the House, nor were they in it as amended by the Senate and sent back to the House, nor were they in it when being considered by the conference committee from both houses, nor were they known to be there by a majority of the committee—at least these gentlemen so say—nor were they discussed on the floor of either House. Yet there they are in the bill as passed. As Speaker Reed says, they were "slipped into the bill;" as the Outlook says, they were "smuggled in," and worse phrases have been used ament them. But along comes Hon. Stephen B. Elkins, U. S. senator from West Virginia, and confesses that he smuggled them in as the easiest way of accomplishing his purpose and he boasts of it most shamelessly. He says: "I am not ashamed of the part I have played. I am proud of it. I simply worked to succeed. Of course I was not going to tell those opposed to the scheme all about it."

There is a very big nigger in the wood pile in that section. The Canadian Pacific Steamship Line imports a great deal of tea and other oriental products to Vancouver in British Columbia and these by the Canadian Pacific Railroad in bond to Chicago, New York and other points. These, under this section, would have to pay 10 per cent extra, or else come in via San Francisco and the American trans-continental railroads. Do you see how it would benefit the Southern Pacific, Union Pacific, Northern Pacific and Great Northern railroads? But there it is in the law as plain as the nose on your face. The railroad lobby has been successful, but the man used has been a railroad attorney who is also a U. S. senator. Dr. Jos. Nimmo, Jr., writing of it in the October Forum, says: "That it involves no complications of construction, and that upon its face the intent of the legislator is so clear that its meaning is beyond question." And on August 11th Attorney General McKenna decided that some diamonds which came in from Canada at Detroit, being evidently the product of a country not contiguous to the United States, were subject to this discriminating duty without any regard to whether they came in in a vessel or a railroad car.

But the Pacific railroads reckoned without their host. There is more than one law-making power in this country, and the Canadian Pacific Railroad, the Canadian government and the importers have been able to bring such strong pressure to bear on the President and his cabinet that they have directed Attorney General McKenna to reverse his decision on the diamonds, which he has done in a decision on some tea, issued less than two months after the first one. This, as a paper favoring it, says: "Is a long and intricate argument" and "not as convincing on all points as we would desire." In fact it is a most wonderful piece of sophistry and declares the law to mean something contrary to what it says, to what the author of the section says it says, and to what Mr. McKenna less than two months ago said it says. Thus we see how our laws are made by a part of the executive, or the non-law enacting side of our government. In fact, Mr. McKenna claims to go behind the plain words of the Senate and get at the intent of Congress. If this is permitted every administrator could make his own law. Granted that it was smuggled by deceit and passed by fraud without debate, it is there and should be the law until repealed.

But there is still another law-making body, the Supreme Court, and they may take a hack at the law and decide in favor of the Pacific railroads. This they would be more likely to do, as it is the plain wording of the law, if it were not for the fact that McKenna will probably be translated to that bench soon. How much better is the Swiss way of submitting the text of important laws to the people, and after a full discussion of every line, letting them vote on it, which is the referendum, and if an executive officer does not enforce a law by the recall or imperative mandate, putting him back to private life and electing another in his place.

Eulogy on Geo. M. Pullman.

With the passing away of George M. Pullman civilization loses one of its greatest benefactors. Mr. Pullman, at the head of one of the largest corporations of the world, has done more to advance the cause of humanity than perhaps any man of the last generation.

There may be those who would dispute my statements, by saying that he oppressed the poor; that he forced down the wages of his employees to the lowest possible notch consistent with sustaining life and still enable them to perform their daily toil, but let us stop and consider. Did not this very condi-

tion of affairs give birth to an agitation the waves of which swept around the world, breaking down many a barrier of prejudice and superstition, an agitation the result of which will live long after the participants have left this mortal coil, and an agitation which can only result in good to humanity?

On the other hand, has not Mr. Pullman, by the very magnitude of his schemes and enterprises, shown the world how much cheaper and better business may be run and plants operated on a large scale than by a whole pack of petty competitors, who would waste their labor and energy in a merciless warfare of competition, and in time be altogether swallowed up in liquidation or some great trust?

Whether Mr. Pullman's imperfections he hid beneath the sod or in some imposing monument, we can only say, "rest in peace," for surely he has served the purpose of Him "who doeth all things well."

We need such men to teach the people the science of co-operation that by substituting association for competition in every branch of human industry is the only way out of the muddle of despair and uncertainty that seems to hang like a cloud over the future as well as the present state of affairs.

So it is without malice or regret for the past that we bow our head while the last sad rites are being said over the clay of him who has done his share to hasten the golden era of the millennium, when peace and happiness shall dwell over all the earth and the wolf shall lie down with the lamb.

Leroy Doude.

The Declaration of 1897.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are not created free and equal, nor endowed with certain inalienable rights, except to life, slavery and the pursuit of industrial misery.

That to secure these blessings in the free land of the United States governments are instituted by injunctions among men, not deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

That when any form of government not consistent with these God-given truths becomes destructive to these ends it is the right of those in power to alter and abolish it, and institute a new government.

That right of public meeting shall be so long as these doctrines are lived up to.

That the right of free speech and trial by jury are upheld as priceless heirlooms only, to be tolerated in the sight of the powers that be.

That the right of the people to bear arms shall never be abridged in theory, but may in practice.

That the power of injunction law is the guarantee of our existence; therefore, for our liberty, jails, hired assassins, scaffolds and bastilles become a part of the people's power.

Liberty means plutocracy; therefore, all are traitors who do not subscribe to these God-given truths.

The people in theory are the sovereign rulers, and we pledge our sacred fortunes and our lives that this shall never be abridged.

The better to secure these blessings two political parties are necessary, Democrats and Republicans, or Saints and Sinners. So long as the people respect these so long shall the constitution be a guarantee of their slavery.

Whenever a new party appears destructive to these ends—denying that right is right—a rank heresy of the might of the man—The Social Democracy of America—it is our right to destroy it by every means in our power, for its success means our destruction, as laid down by the Supreme Court, its uncles and its cousins and its aunts. We are the people, the whole people, and only the people.

Plutocracy is the hope of our liberty and the sovereign ruler of the United States—let all those doubting try the issue.

Plutocracy and the Supreme Court mean the power of injunction law and the synonym for American liberty in 1897. Arguments are best met with Gatling guns in a republic. Truth and justice are only expedient when our infallible sages—the holy saints of the Supreme Court—allow that Pharisalism is consistent Christianity.

It is not as we do but as we say. We are the people, deriving our power from the Holy Writ. "It is given unto you," that means—us—"slaves obey your masters." What a divine injunction! Those refusing are not the followers of Christ.

For the better securing these priceless liberties a strong, centralized government is necessary, with armories and a large standing army of murderous cut-throats and hirelings. This is better accomplished by taking from the state all its political rights.

The constitution of 1776 is not progressive in this age of plutocracy. Now might is right, and the survival of the fittest the virtue of the hour. Murdering and shooting down labor is an American holiday and the trampling upon right and justice the lawful pastime of the New Aristocracy—the Money Kings, Coal Barons, Oil Princes, Railroad Lords and Porkocrats of America.

Patriotism of plutocracy points with pride to Homestead and Hazleton, Pullman and the traitorous days of the American Railway Union. We are here to stay; we know a good thing when we have it; and by the eternal watchfires of our beloved we'll hold on to it, too, for we are here to stay.

and if you do, 't live it get off the grass—or for our better purposes—off the earth.

Signers of the Declaration of 1897:
McKinley Bill,
Cleveland Bonds,
Mark Hanna,
Trusts and Monopolies,
Railroad Lords,
Coal Barons,
Oil Magnates,
Gold interest-bearing bonds,
The Supreme Court and all their slivers and their cousins and their aunts.
MURPHY O'HEA.

Mr. Editor:—I send a few thoughts to be considered by those who have been stranded on the old hulk competition, and who are about to ship aboard the new clipper-built craft Co-operation.

I would advise that we be very careful to leave the old compass, the sails, ropes, masts, etc.; let them sink with the old worn-out ship and forever be buried out of sight.

When we get aboard our new ship we must see to it that every necessary is of the best pattern and workmanship, for if we pattern after the old we will surely follow in her wake, and in turn go down to the bottom and be lost; the old ropes and sails must be left sink with the old ship. In their place put simply the Golden Rule: "Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you." This is a religion in itself, and good enough for all to live or die by.

MONEY.

In its place will come the Labor Check that will do justice to all, and rob none; every person's check for a day's work will be equal to any other person's.

TARIFF.

We will have free exchange; labor for labor; a day for a day.

RULES OR LAW.

All should be excluded as far as possible. Make only one rule to commence with, and others only if they are needed, and let every person who has to be guided by such rules have a voice in their making. Then no one can rightfully complain. This one rule should be: Every person must work if able and for the same remuneration as every other person, or they must not eat.

J. B. BEEL.

Private Monopoly Cheating.

(Dr. C. F. Taylor, in "Medical World.")

In his reports, Postmaster General Wilson estimated the cost of railroad transportation of the mails, for an average haul of about four hundred miles, to be eight cents per pound. This exclusive of the handling and delivery by the employees of the postoffice department. As the postal rate to publishers on newspapers and magazines (the second class rate) is only one cent per pound, it is easy to see that the government loses heavily on that class of matter. On that account great efforts have been made to increase the second-class rate of postage from one cent per pound to eight cents per pound. But it has been discovered that the railroads charge the government for carrying the mails much more than they charge private parties for similar service. For example, they must charge the express companies much less for hauling their packages, for they will haul 50 or 100 pound packages from Philadelphia to Chicago, for example, much farther than an average haul, for two and one-half cents per pound, including calling for the package and delivering it any place in Chicago. But for hauling carloads of Uncle Sam's mail sacks they exact eight cents per pound! This looks a little like treason, doesn't it? But the worst case of discrimination comes to my attention to-day. Mr. Charles Wood Fassett represents various medical publications at the meetings of various medical associations. I received a letter from him to-day inviting me to allow his bureau to represent The Medical World at the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Medical association, which meets at Louisville, October 5-8. He asks that two hundred copies (or more) of The World be sent, and the point I wish to call your attention to is the manner of sending. The following is quoted from his letter: "Do not send journals until you receive special labels, which will secure you an express rate of one cent per pound for any distance." Now, this is supposed to represent a profit to the express companies, for they are not in business for fun. If the express company makes a profit, the railroads must charge them less than a cent a pound for hauling from Philadelphia to Louisville, about seven or eight hundred miles; yet they charge the government eight cents a pound for hauling an average haul of a little more than four hundred miles! If the railroads were compelled to haul Uncle Sam's mail bags at the same rate that they haul express packages, we could have one cent letter postage, and a package post at about one cent per pound to any part of the country. Such unjust discrimination against the government and in favor of private corporations is what stimulates the sentiment in favor of government railroads.

"All men are equal in the sight of the law," used to be at least an ordinarily respected maxim. Today it is barefaced falsehood.—Duluth Labor World.

The world maintains an army of 5,000,000 men solely for destructive purposes. Were this same army organized to produce instead of to destroy, it could comfortably feed, clothe and house 25,000,000 women and children who are kept by the sons of toil, who have also to feed, clothe and house this terrible army of non-producers.—Commonwealth.

COLONIZATION DEPARTMENT

CYRUS FIELD WILLARD, SECRETARY

(NOTE.—The editor is not responsible for the opinions of correspondents.)

The Treasurer's Report.

The treasurer has not yet succeeded in getting his report in shape to be published, but will have it out in the next issue of the paper without fail.

There has been an immense amount of work which has devolved upon the treasurer since he came to the office, much of it not strictly pertaining to his official position, but all absolutely necessary to be done; and of much more importance for the time being than the publication of a report.

There are financial negotiations now on foot which will place the commission in possession of abundant capital if they are successful, and it is hoped to incorporate a favorable account of these negotiations in the report to be published next week.

Many persons who have sent money to the commission have requested that their names be kept secret. Such requests will be observed, and the amounts so received will be credited to "Friend."

Many persons have sent in contributions by money order, made payable to Cyrus Field Willard. This should not be done, as all such orders have to be endorsed to the treasurer before they can be used, and as Secretary Willard is now in the West, in company with Chairman Hinton, it is not possible to secure his indorsement without a deal of unnecessary trouble. Make your orders payable to W. P. Borland.

Mr. Editor—I will be one of one thousand to contribute \$100 each to the work of colonizing as laid down by the Social Democracy of America.

I will be one of five hundred to contribute \$50 each to the same object.

I will be one of two hundred and fifty to contribute \$25 to the same object.

The above offers to be subject to the following conditions:

1. That when the \$25 club is formed I will pay my subscription thereto to be credited on my subscription to the \$50 club.
2. When the \$50 club is formed I will pay the balance of \$25 due on my subscription thereto, the whole sum of \$50 thus paid to be credited on my \$100 subscription.
3. When the \$100 club is formed I will pay the balance of \$50 to complete my subscription thereto. Provided, that if the \$50 club is formed first I will on payment thereof be released from my subscription to the \$25 club, and if the \$100 club is formed first, I will be released from my \$50 and \$25 subscription on payment of said \$100.

William E. Richardson,
Spokane, Wash., Oct. 27, 1897.

Mr. Editor—I will be one of one thousand to contribute \$100 each to the work of colonizing as laid down by the Social Democracy of America.

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William E. Richardson,
Spokane, Wash., Oct. 27, 1897.

Checks For Contributions.

A California comrade asks us to issue labor exchange checks in exchange for contributions to the colonization fund.

This is not feasible at the present time. Labor exchange checks can only be issued after we have become established on a working basis and are able to take account of our resources and means of production. The amounts which are being contributed now must be used for the purpose of procuring land and machinery necessary to form the basis of our colony work. This land and machinery must be owned collectively. There must be no individual claims on it whatever. One person's interest in this basis, or fixed capital, must be as great as another's, wholly irrespective of the amounts contributed by each for the procurement of that fixed capital. We cannot undertake to complicate the question of collective ownership and control of our fixed capital by issuing a lot of claims against it, which will be various in amount, and which will at the outset introduce that factor of private ownership, which we are endeavoring to escape from. A labor exchange check issued in return for a contribution to our fixed capital fund would represent an individual claim of a definite amount against the capital which may be procured with that fund.

This cannot be. The amounts contributed towards our fixed capital fund must be given for the common good, and all must share equally therein irrespective of amounts contributed.

Labor checks will be used to conduct the necessary exchanges between members of our colonies after operations have once begun, and when we have once started to produce wealth it will then be feasible to issue checks to those on the outside in return for their contributions. These checks will represent claims against consumable wealth produced in the colony by the collective effort, and the legal tender money received in exchange for them will be used for the purchase of articles to supply the collective need which cannot well be produced in the colony at the time.

One of a Thousand.

We publish this week a letter from Wm. E. Richardson containing a financial proposition of some interest to our members. Comrade Richardson is judge of the Superior Court of the State of Washington for Spokane county, and his offer is but one of many which we have received on the same line. We are trying to organize this sentiment

and reach at least a thousand of our friends throughout the country who are able and willing to contribute \$100 to our colony fund on condition that 1,000 persons do likewise. The treasurer has had blank agreements printed for these persons to sign, and will send them out to selected persons as fast as possible. Let the members take hold of this matter in the locals and aid us to secure this fund as soon as possible.

If we are going to establish the co-operative commonwealth we must be prepared to contribute some money to that end. This is no child's play, but a sincere effort toward the accomplishment of which thousands of people are being misled. In the beginning a small amount of money will be necessary, but as soon as the work is in actual operation the call for money will be but slight.

The necessity for money is plainly apparent, and as soon as deemed advisable a notice giving the list of contributors will be published by the treasurer if he deems it to the best interests of the movement. All persons who have contributed are given a receipt and the National Executive Board is furnished a statement from week to week of the amount of money received. Members and sympathizers need have no hesitation about contributing on this score, as every cent will be carefully recorded and receipts given for the same, and the whole will be under the oversight of the National Executive Board. This is said because there are some people who have contributed a dollar, and because their names have not appeared in print, have come to the conclusion that the whole movement was going to be side-tracked.

Just at the present time we are engaged in negotiations which mean a large amount of money for the organization.

The Tennessee Colony.

Many unauthorized statements have been made in regard to the colony in Tennessee, which have had their origin largely in a proposition to build a railway for the city of Nashville and thus give employment to a large number of unemployed men. There has been made to the commission a proposition to take a certain body of land in that state, but up to the present writing there is nothing definite to tell our members and they can rest assured that they will be the first to be informed if there are any definite statements to be made or information to be given out.

Money Needed.

In this work we shall, of course, need considerable money, and it is also

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advisable for the commission to always have a considerable amount on hand over and above the nominal cost of office expenses. It may be possible that our present negotiations will not succeed, and therefore it is advisable to raise funds in every direction. The collectors should do their utmost to secure regular monthly contributions and should every once in a while read the first report of the colonization commission as published in the Social Democrat. Efforts should be made to secure signers to the \$100 pledge. Those who are not able to do that should write for one of folding boxes containing half-tone portraits of our great leader, Eugene V. Debs, and Col. Hinton, the chairman of the colonization commission. These boxes are novel, interesting and amusing, and have taken immensely wherever they have been seen. Many members have written letters of commendation upon them, and any one who will send a two-cent stamp to pay the postage can receive one of these half-tone portraits of Debs and Hinton.

Then the voluntary contribution in the branches should be taken up each meeting and forwarded to the treasurer. It is too bad that we are obliged to emphasize the necessity of these financial matters, but at the present time we are in the midst of the competitive system where money is necessary. Let us hope that the time may soon come when money can be abolished, and all that will be necessary will be a labor exchange check whereby everyone willing to labor can receive sufficient of the fruits of his labor to be happy and comfortable under all circumstances.

Until such time, however, we must call on our members for financial assistance, or rather, to be more exact, we must ask them to send their voluntary contribution, realizing that in so doing they are simply paying their money into a bank. They are likewise paying their money over to an insurance company, which will insure them against want. What other insurance company in the world is doing as much? If our members will but do their share we can have the co-operative commonwealth established in several states within five years. The competitive system is the product of centuries; it will, therefore, take more than a few months' work to substitute the co-operative commonwealth for it. But if our members do their duty, as the words of enthusiasm and cheer which come to our office would seem to indicate, we can carry the present plan out to a successful termination.

In the long run men hit only what they aim at. Therefore, though they should fail immediately, they had better aim at something high.—Thoreau.

"Thoughtful men see and admit that our country is becoming less and less democratic and more and more plutocratic."—Judge Walter Q. Gresham.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

A RECORD OF THE WEEK'S PROPAGANDA AND PROGRESS.

Some Interesting Facts About The Movement From Various Parts of The United States.

Pottstown, Pa., starts out with a splendid branch composed of thorough Socialists, and there is promise of several other branches in that vicinity shortly.

In addition to the new branches reported in the last issue, several branches have been formed in the East and many others are now in course of formation, as a result of Comrade Debs' efforts.

Organizer Osborn is working in Georgia and Alabama. The Atlanta branch, which is in Comrade Osborn's territory, contains some of the most earnest workers in the entire organization, and the seeds of Social Democracy are being solidly planted in the South.

The two reports published on the first page of this issue give our readers an excellent idea of the work that is being done in the East. Comrade Debs is meeting with abundant success, and the wave of Social Democracy is rolling over the staid New England towns with tidal force.

There has been a great deal of excitement in New York recently over the political campaign, but the comrades there have not permitted that to unduly interfere with their work. A Greater New York central committee has been formed and the work of organizing and consolidating the Social Democratic forces in New York and Brooklyn is progressing steadily and surely.

Organizer Lloyd has left Toledo, and is now working in Cleveland. His work in Toledo has been productive of excellent results, and it is certain that he will stir things up in Cleveland to the best of his ability, and that is saying a good deal. He will remain in Cleveland until Debs returns from the East, about Nov. 15, by which time it is hoped to have the Forest City solidly organized.

Director Burns is still working in Chicago and vicinity. Under his efficient direction the movement in Chicago is being consolidated and organized on a sure basis. The comrades are working with a will and determination to succeed that knows no such thing as failure. Comrade Stedman is making speeches almost nightly, and is one of Director Burns' most efficient lieutenants.

The character of the support which Social Democracy is attracting is indicated by the fact that one of the recently organized branches in the East is composed wholly of college students. It is an encouraging sign when men of this sort give such unmistakable evidence that they recognize the trend of events and join hands with the struggling proletariat in a movement of this kind.

Lynn, Mass., starts out with a charter membership of 56, and there seems good reason to believe that the entire congregation of the famous Lynn Labor Church will soon be organized under the banner of Social Democracy. The eloquent pastor of the Labor Church, Rev. Herbert N. Casson, will soon make a propaganda tour in the interests of our movement, and it is unnecessary to say that his services will be of immense value. By the way Comrade Casson has promised to become a regular contributor to the Social Democrat. He is one of the few great orators who are also good writers, and our readers can look for a treat in his articles.

Buffalo, N. Y., comes to the front with another strong branch. Buffalo used to be one of the strongholds of the A. R. U., and it is not strange to find the comrades there taking hold of the Social Democracy with vim and determination.

The Pittsburg district will soon be solidly organized. The miners' strike opened the eyes of many of the trade unionists there, and there is a very pronounced movement towards the Social Democracy as a consequence. A new branch is reported from Reading, and many other branches are in course of formation throughout the coal and iron districts of Pennsylvania.

Our New Clubbing List.

Note the additions to our clubbing list which appear in this issue.

In making up a clubbing list our aim is to educate, and we intend to give our readers an opportunity to read the very best socialist journals published. With this end in view we have made arrangements whereby we are able to add Commonwealth and the American Fabian to our list.

These two journals are educational in the best sense of the word. Commonwealth is a 32-page magazine, published weekly. It contains the essence of important writings and views of the world on live social topics, with contributions from leading writers and thinkers. If you desire to be up with the times you cannot afford to be without this excellent magazine.

The American Fabian is a monthly magazine. It believes that capital—in the power which it possesses over the labor and lives of men—is too great a force to be with safety entrusted to private hands. It believes, therefore, that capital—or that part of the general wealth which is to be used for further production, and now assumes the form of capital—should be vested in the hands of the whole people.

The scientific aspects of socialism are admirably treated in its pages by the foremost writers of the day. On its editorial staff it has such well-known leaders of thought as Edward Bellamy, W. D. P. Bliss, Helen Campbell, Eltweed Pomeroy, Henry D. Lloyd, Preston Mann, Frank Parsons and Charlotte Perkins Stetson. These names are sufficient to indicate the excellent character of the matter which appears in each issue of the magazine, and should be sufficient inducement to our readers to take advantage of the offer we make them.

"Short Lessons in Marx" appear in each issue, and this feature alone is worth many times more to the student of socialism than the subscription price of the magazine.

Use our clubbing rate to obtain either of these excellent publications, or send single subscription to this office.

A Pullman Obituary.

Geo. M. Pullman, the sleeping car magnate and laboring man's foe, is dead. He staved the glad tidings off for several years, but at 5 o'clock Tuesday morning he done the only decent thing known to his biographers. Whether he took an upper or lower berth when starting on his last journey, the dispatches do not state, but, being the president of his gigantic monopoly, it is only fair to presume that he took the latter. The smiles on the faces of the members of the A. R. U. are an indication of the esteem in which he was held by that body, and they all feel confident that he has gone to his reward. If America owed Satan a million rogues and he would not take George and give a receipt in full we would be in favor of repudiating the debt.—The People's Champion, Gunnison, Col.

If all men had land to use, houses to occupy, clothes to wear, food to eat, and machinery and tools with which to produce food, make clothing and build houses, wouldn't you expect a lessening of crime and more social harmony? Well, that is the condition of society which Socialism advocates.—Coming Nation.

All the land between London and Liverpool, a distance of 200 miles, legally belongs to six men, whose only claim to it is that they are the oldest sons of their fathers.—The Clarion.

Under Socialism the larger the product the larger would be the provision for the consumers who produced it. Under the present system the larger the product the sooner are mills and factories shut down to enable the owners to sell off stocks at a profit, while the producers starve in the midst of plenty.—Coming Nation.

The Social Democrat SUBSCRIPTION BLANK TO THE PUBLISHER, 504 Trude Bldg., Chicago: Find enclosed \$ for which send THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT for months To Full P. O. Address RATE: Twelve Months, \$1.00; Six Months, 50c; Three Months, 25c. CUT THIS OUT AND SEND TO THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, JUNE 21, 1897. We hold that all men are born free, and are endowed with certain natural rights, among which are life, liberty and happiness. In the light of experience we find that while all citizens are equal in theory, they are not so in fact. While all citizens have the same rights politically, they do not possess them equally. The present system of economic inequality, which is essentially destructive of life, liberty and happiness. In the light of experience we find that while all citizens are equal in theory, they are not so in fact. While all citizens have the same rights politically, they do not possess them equally. The present system of economic inequality, which is essentially destructive of life, liberty and happiness.

MEETINGS OF LOCAL BRANCHES [Notices of meetings will be published under this head for 25c per month.] Branch No. 1 of Illinois meets every Sunday, 2:30 p. m., at 198 East Madison street. Good speakers. Everybody invited. Free discussion. Note change of hall. Illinois Local Branch No. 5, meets every Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock, corner 11th and Michigan avenues. Illinois Branch No. 9, meets 2d, 3d and 4th Mondays at 8 p. m. Meetings for discussion. Chicago. Business meeting for members only 1st Sunday of each month at 10 a. m. Illinois Branch No. 10, meets every Wednesday at 21 N. Clark street, Chicago, at 8 p. m. Missouri Branch No. 1, St. Louis, Mo. Meets October 15 and 22, at 8 p. m., at 1000 Olive St. Missouri Branch No. 3, meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday at 10th and Wyoming sts., St. Louis, Mo. M. Dorn, Sec'y, 1833 Lami Street. New York Branch No. 10, Buffalo, N. Y., meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m., Schweizer's Hall 433 Broadway. Pennsylvania Branch No. 1, meets every Sunday and Tuesday at 8 p. m., Co-operative hall, 1125 Poplar street, Philadelphia. Ohio Branch No. 2, meets every Monday evening at 8 o'clock, Stengel's Hall, cor. Pearl and Monroe streets, Cleveland, Ohio. Massachusetts Branch No. 1, Business meetings 1st and 3d Fridays. Meetings for discussion and education 2d and 4th Fridays, Castle Square Hall, 449 Tremont street, Room 11, Boston, Mass. Illinois Branch No. 11, meets every Friday evening, Social Hall, corner 11th street and Michigan avenue, Chicago. Indiana Branch No. 3, Richmond, Ind., meets 2d and 4th Wednesday evenings, hall of German Benevolent Society, corner 5th and Main streets. New York Branch No. 6, 12th Assembly District, S. D. A., meets every Friday at 8 p. m. at American Star, No. 112 Clinton street, New York City. New Jersey Branch No. 1, meets every Tuesday. Club rooms are open for friends also on Thursday, Saturday and Sunday, 356 Pacific St., Paterson, N. J. The Greater New York City Central Committee of the Social Democracy of America, meets every Saturday at 8:30 p. m., at 312 East Broadway. Nicholas Aleinikoff Secretary, 57 Nassau street, New York City.

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Half-tone Portraits Free A friend has got up an ingenious idea which requires the name and address of every member and every sympathizer who desires to assist the Co-operative Commonwealth, but who are prevented because they have very little money. It is a folding box, with two handsome Half-tone Portraits, those of that great and beloved leader, Eugene V. Debs, and Col. Richard J. Hinckley, the friend of Abraham Lincoln, and chairman of the Colonization Commission. They will be sent free, and the only price is that the box shall be used. Full directions and explanations will be sent with the portraits. The idea is novel, instructive and amusing. Send a two-cent stamp for the postage to the secretary of the Colonization Commission, 504 Trude Building, Chicago.

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