

On earth peace,
good will
toward men

The Social Democrat

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Vol. IV.

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No. 29.

Rosa Proletaire Writes a Few Interesting Notes German Socialism Aply Reviewed

ADVANCE OF THE MOVEMENT AGAINST DETERMINED OPPOSITION OF
THE RULING CLASSES. GERMANS RECOGNIZE THE
VALUE OF AN INDEPENDENT PRESS.

My Dear Brother John:
The other night I read some articles written by an English Socialist about Ferdinand Lassalle, the great agitator and founder of the Social Democratic party in Germany. Lassalle took the same grounds as Debs; even to our enemies we must do what is fair, right and just, he said, and above all we must act like men, not like boys. We must act in such a manner that even our most bitter enemies will be morally compelled to respect us.

Apropos! While referring to this great man Lassalle who commenced his Socialist agitation in 1862, if I remember right, I am reminded of the annual congress of the Social Democratic party of Germany held in Hamburg, October 4 to October 10. Since you have commenced to study the International Social Democratic labor movement from authentic sources, and since I am in possession of authentic reports from a friend of mine who lives on the other side of the Atlantic I consider it my duty to give you a synopsis of the proceedings of that Hamburg congress.

It is not by accident that the Social Democratic party of Germany is today the strongest and most powerful labor party on the face of the earth. Neither is the party exclusively the result of the agitator's work. Political and economic conditions were more favorable in Germany than in any other country. In 1862 Ferdinand Lassalle commenced his Socialist propaganda. This was at a time when our American Republic was in the midst of a bloody civil war caused by the chattel slavery question. This civil war was ended in 1865.

From this year on America became a paradise for the millionaires and speculators, and even wage-workers made considerable money for a time. Indeed, it looked as if every American wage worker could become a millionaire, and there were fools enough to believe that this was really true. Prosperity ruled supreme. Millionaires sprang up like mushrooms after a refreshing summer rain. The blood of our brothers that was shed on the battlefield had become the fertilizing elements on the field of capitalism and speculation. Under such prosperous conditions, of course, there was neither need nor time for Socialist propaganda, because everybody was free to become a millionaire.

While America was going through this period of convulsive, feverish prosperity, Germany went through a series of political revolutions, and above all, Germany underwent a general intellectual revolution. Bismarck, in order to gain power and to be victorious over his adversaries in Vienna and Rome, was fishing for the sympathy and united assistance of the German people. Following the advice of Ferdinand Lassalle he introduced, or had to introduce, a system of Universal Suffrage that is, in many parts, much better than the system we have in this country. Besides, in order to win the battle for his own personal honor, in order to break the power and influence of the Catholic church, he introduced in Germany a better system of popular education, so that today Germany has one of the best, if not the best, public school systems in the world.

Brother John, you will clearly see that an excellent public school system and Universal Suffrage were just the means the German Socialist workmen were waiting for. Unlike their American brothers they made good use of these reforms, and the very same weapons whereby Bismarck overpowered the reactionary power in Vienna and Rome were later on used by the Socialist workmen of Germany to upset the throne of the "Chancellor of Blood and Iron" and to force the greatest statesman of his age to retire from public life.

Ten years of Anti-Socialist laws—1878-1888—could not kill the Social Democratic movement. Thousands of fathers, brothers and sons had to leave Germany, their families, their home, their all! Thousands of families were brought to bankruptcy and despair under Bismarck's rule. Thousands of brave men spent years and years behind the prison walls—for no other crime than being staunch believers in Socialism. But in spite of all Bismarck's the party grew more rapidly from year to year. And in 1890 Bismarck and his system of tyranny were moved under by over one million straight Socialist votes. The emperor seeing that Bismarck, by his brutal coercive measures of the last ten years, had only poured oil into the lustily burning fire of Socialism, ordered Bismarck to go to h. . .

To give you an idea, Brother John, of the growth of Social Democracy I give you the following authentic figures of the Socialist vote in Germany for the last 25 years:

Election in	Total Number of Social Democratic Votes	Members Elected
1871	124,655	2
1874	351,952	9
1877	493,288	12
1878	497,158	9
1881	371,961	21
1884	549,900	24
1887	763,128	11
1890	1,427,298	35
1893	1,876,738	44

And in 1896 the number of Socialist Deputies was forty-seven!

The recent Hamburg congress was attended by over 200 delegates representing about 2,000,000 Socialist citizens of Germany out of an entire population of about 50 millions. Although the Socialists are the strongest party in the empire their number of members of the Reichstag is not the highest, which is due to the "gerrymandering" of the government in the strongest Socialist districts, as well as to the fact that in cases of "Second Ballots" all the capitalist parties combine to defeat the Socialist candidates.

Paul Singer opened the congress and was elected permanent chairman of the same. He recommended that the delegates send fraternal greetings to the striking machinists of England. Unanimously adopted. The reports of the executive council were read and accepted; they present a very encouraging outlook. For the Hamburg longshoremen's strike the German Socialists collected nearly 2,000,000 marks, about \$500,000!—inside of about three months.

Telegrams of congratulation were received from the Socialist parties of the various countries. August Bebel declared that in 1898 the Socialist party would gain perhaps twenty-five or thirty new seats in the Reichstag, and that the vote would be far above the 2,000,000 mark. It was decided to take part in the Prussian Landtag elections, although the prospects are that the Socialists may not elect a single candidate, owing to the so-called "Three Class Suffrage," under which a single capitalist has more voting power than 10,000 wage-workers.

The resolution in regard to the participation in the Prussian Landtag elections contained the clause that the Social Democratic party shall not enter into any compromise or entangling alliance with any other political party.

Comrade Bebel was elected chairman of the executive committee, Comrade Singer as vice-chairman, Comrade Gerisch as treasurer, and Comrades Pfanukuch and Auer as secretaries. Comrade Mrs. Clara Zetkin has been elected a member of the auditing committee.

Of the Hamburg longshoremen's strike fund 171,227 marks were contributed by the Socialists of Hamburg, while the Berlin Socialists contributed 166,525 marks. Brother John, how much did the New York or Chicago organized wage-workers contribute to the strike fund of the coal miners during their present strike? Mr. Ratchford might perhaps answer this question.

The Social Democratic party of Germany owns now thirty-nine daily papers, of which the "Berlin Vorwaerts" alone has 45,000 subscribers, while the "Hamburg Echo" has about 40,000 subscribers. Besides the party owns: Fifteen papers published three times a week; nine papers twice a week; five papers once a week; one paper once a month. There are also fifty-five Socialist trades union papers in Germany, of which one is published three times a week, twenty-eight once a week, one three times a month, twenty-two every two weeks, and three once a month.

One hundred and twenty-four papers fighting for the principles of Social Democracy! Brother John, it makes me feel bad to think that the American wage-workers are still without their own labor press, and that they still depend on the plutocratic press to represent their interests. Up with the banner of an independent Social Democratic labor press!

During the last year the Social Democratic party of Germany also donated considerable sums of money to Socialist parties of other countries; 10,000 marks to the Socialists of Austria, 2,800 marks to the Socialists of Holland, 1,300 marks to the Socialists of Italy, etc.

During the same period the Socialists of Germany had the pleasure of enjoying a total imprisonment of seventy years, ten months and twenty days for "illegal" agitation. Besides they had to pay fines amounting to 28,229 marks.

In 1898 the general elections to the German Reichstag will take place. Undoubtedly the capitalist parties will do all in their power to keep the Social Democrats out of the national legislative body. This, however, would be quite a job for them. I assure you, Brother John, that our Socialist comrades of Germany are prepared for the battle; we need not trouble about them, for they know their duty. Their next victory at the ballot box will be an encouraging signal for the wage-workers of the world to follow their noble example.

By the way, Brother John, I almost forgot to inform you of the fact that our old comrade, Liebkuech, who is now 73 years old, has been sentenced to four months' imprisonment because, at the opening of last year's Socialist congress in Breslau, in answering the Emperor's attacks on Socialism and the Socialist party, solemnly and emphatically declared that the Socialists were standing on such high moral ground that the mudslinging of an individual sitting on a certain imperial throne could not reach them. Brave old veteran of Social Democracy! Honor to your name!

My notes are getting rather lengthy this week, Brother John, but the subject is so interesting and important that I can not help adding the following cablegram of the "Associated Press," which shows that the most prominent professors of German universities are becoming fearless advocates of Social Democracy. Just read the following:

REINHOLD'S DEFENSE OF SOCIALISM.

Berlin, Oct. 28.—An extraordinary scene was witnessed last night at the University of Berlin, on the occasion of the inaugural address of the new professor of political economy, Dr. Reinhold, of Wiesbaden. Dr. Reinhold's appointment last July evoked a chorus of execration because he had asserted that "social democracy should be left to find its own solution." The crowd of students that gathered to hear the inaugural address was so large that the most spacious room in the university had to be used. Dr. Reinhold deprecated "that view of socialism which regards it as mere gutter agitation, which can be suppressed by the military." He said: "Such a view evinces the narrowest shortsightedness, for this is a battle of spirit against spirit. The laborers are fighting for freedom; and it is nothing out of the normal course of civilization in the progress from the status of slavery to the status of contract." The lecture was loudly cheered, the applause quite stifling the few hisses.

With best wishes for our noble cause of Social Democracy, I remain, your beloved sister,

Class Consciousness.

Members of the Social Democracy will do well to exercise care in the matter of preaching class-consciousness. If it is not done with understanding it may do mischief and also obscure the very fact that makes the difference between our organization and that of the Socialist Labor party.

Like fire, class-consciousness as a political slogan is a good servant but a bad master. The class-consciousness that makes an Anarchist throw a bomb into a restaurant full of innocent people, even though these people are members of the ruling and oppressing economic class, is not well in hand. The class-consciousness that inspires a man like Marx to consecrate his whole life to labor, looking to a time when classes can be abolished, is class-consciousness understandingly used.

Karl Marx did not belong to the proletariat, but he wanted that class emancipated as a part of a general emancipation of society as a whole. He wanted proletarians to feel their class-consciousness so that they would be able to understand the guiding forces in a capitalistic society. The cry of the toilers for justice could only become formidable when the toilers themselves felt their solidarity. Their only chance to help in the demand for social regeneration was to feel their class interests. "Proletarians of the world unite," rang out the voice of Marx.

Socialism is something more than a mere labor question. It is a demand for an equalizing of burdens and an equalizing of benefits throughout the whole society. Class-consciousness for the laboring man is safe where it is made a part of a high moral demand in the interests of society as a complete organism and not of one class only. The toiling class needs that change more than any other class, in a certain sense, but the whole society needs it badly also. The workingman must realize his class and must also realize that under the present system the members of the capitalist class are forced to be his economic enemies. The capitalist class must exploit him to maintain itself. And so he must be careful to see that it is the system and not the individuals ruled by it, that is his real foe. Denouncing individual oppressors and ig-

norning the system that produces them is wasted energy.

If we were to preach class-consciousness and class interest to all classes of society it would work mischief. For instance, the most persistent fighters for a new and better order of society have come from the middle and even the upper class. The peerless agitator, Ferdinand Lassalle was the son of a wealthy wholesale merchant of Breslau, and need not have troubled himself with the miseries of the toilers. Karl Marx came from a German family of high social position, and his co-worker, Engels, lived and died a rich man. Ferr Liebknecht of the German Social Democracy of today started out with a college education, although he has never been at all a rich man. His co-worker, Bebel, belongs to the employer class, not to the proletariat, though he started from the lower rank. In England the late William Morris was a wealthy and prosperous manufacturer, and that master mind, John Ruskin, had been true to his class interest, would have been a fighter for the rights of amassed wealth instead of the grandest of warriors for the rights of the common people.

In view of all this it will be seen that much of our hope comes from the middle class and that even the upper class may be appealed to. The member of the upper class has powers of endurance not possible to the proletarian. In the past the fight against the capitalistic system has recruited valuable fighters from the capitalist class itself; it will be the same in the future. Manifestly then, the interests of the revolutionary movement demand tactics that will keep no one through prejudice from joining us. If the member of the upper class follows out his class interest he is found to be against us; if his sense of justice gives him a clear view of the social situation he may become one of our hardest fighters. Narrow, bitter and unnecessarily offensive propaganda will work more harm than good, therefore.

The very atmosphere today is charged with Socialistic thought. In scientific circles it is constantly up for discussion. The competitive system has gradually produced an atmosphere that is unfavorable for the best interests of art and literature and this has forced Socialism into the thoughts of the upper class, for they are coming to see that there is no other escape. The masses must have more leisure and comfort and become part of a higher social life; if our civilization is not to become utterly unbearable.

This demand for juster social arrangements comes to the more intelligent people almost unconsciously. It is the triumph of their better natures over their former prejudices.

Our magazines and reviews by discussing Socialism are doing good service in ridding people of their prejudice against the name, and we must not underestimate the value of that work.

An effective American Socialistic party must take all these things into account, and make its campaign on the highest moral grounds. We must not make Socialism obnoxious to the people. We must make it attractive to them; must make a direct appeal to their reason and love of justice. This is the ground occupied by the Social Democracy of America, and in this light it can be easily seen that it is not a mere competitor of the Socialist Labor party, but an organization leading to the same goal by means of different tactics. These two organizations have a common enemy: Capitalism and the wage system. They should be content to fight side by side until the time when they can see their way open to a united advance by tactics that will be acceptable to both.

One of our Chicago comrades is about to establish a school of penmanship, and as a departure from time-worn methods he desires to put before his pupils a collection of Socialistic mottoes to copy from. For instance, instead of that well-known friend of our childhood days, "Honesty is the best policy," we might have "Honesty and capitalism cannot exist together." Our comrade's idea is to begin with the letter A, and he thinks that by the time his pupils have arrived at Z they will be Socialists, if he can get the proper sort of mottoes before them. The idea is a good one. Send your suggestions for mottoes to this office.

Land is opportunity to labor. There is no natural scarcity of land, but private property in land makes an artificial scarcity of it which amounts to the same thing. Private property in land takes away the "elsewhere" to which the striker is advised to go when he is not satisfied with his wages.—Contocook (N. H.) Independent.

Competition among capitalists is to see who will get the biggest share of the wealth produced by the workers. Competition among the workers is for permission to create more wealth for the capitalists to enjoy.—The Beacon.

Will The Change Come by Evolution or Revolution? Question by The Man Without a Soul

ALL THAT IS LACKING TO CREATE REVOLUTION OUT OF PRESENT
CONDITIONS IS A LITTLE FURTHER OPPRESSION
ON THE PART OF PLUTOCRACY.

When society is growing in enlightenment, in education, in true morality and broad equality; when the government is in the hands of the people, run by the people, for the people's best interest, and all the people are growing warmer toward each other, with a tendency to give each child born into the world an equal opportunity to dig a livelihood out of the natural elements; when all wrongs are righted as nearly as it is possible to right them; when the thought becomes more general that private ownership of all natural sources of wealth is wrong; when public officers feel it their duty to guard and protect the weak from the strong, to apply the law justly, to check the encroachments of tyranny and oppression, whether of government or individual origin; when the tendency is for men to live together as brothers—this is evolution.

But when the weak receive no protection from the government, and must arm themselves to stop the further encroachments of plutocracy, backed by the political tools who hold the reins of government—this is revolution.

All that is lacking to make a genuine revolution out of present conditions, is for the oppressed people to attempt checking the encroachments of plutocracy by force.

All that is needed is for the people to sign another declaration of independence, and say to the trusts and combines of plutocracy, "you shall go no farther, but shall now give back to the people the rights you took from them," and the great revolution will be on.

No one dreads the approaching crisis more than the thoughtful Socialists. He sees either evolution or revolution growing out of the people's wrongs.

Socialism is the school of evolution, where a remedy is pointed out to cure the crimes of this barbarous age; but the blood of martyred laboring men who have been shot down during the last few years for demanding no further encroachments from plutocracy, cries loudly to the outraged souls of the oppressed for vengeance, and there are more bitter souls brooding over brutal wrongs everywhere in the civilized world, than ever before in the history of human outrage.

When I talk to the calculating business man concerning the bitter strife going on between men, he only smiles, and tells me that the successful business man has no time for sentiment, and emotion, and feeling, and sensibility, and sympathy, and must travel in the beaten and hard path of cold commerce, and not turn out for any one, unless crowded out by some stronger competitor.

This answer always recalls to my mind the fact that toads and snakes and alligators and sharks, and all beasts of prey, and hawks and eagles and vultures and buzzards have no sentiment or feeling or emotions, and travel in the hard beaten path of natural instinct in search of flesh and blood to devour.

To which animal or fowl or reptile shall we compare our Rockefeller and Carnegies and Pullmans and Sages and Vanderbilts and Morgans and Grover Cleverlands and Hannas and McKinnleys, and the other human reptiles who have no sentiment nor feeling nor sympathy?

Will evolution ever penetrate the boiler-plate of greed and cold calculating cruelty that surrounds their souls, or must the opposite remedy be applied to such cattle?

Is it any wonder that civilization is growing indifferent toward poetry and art, music and the sentiment that makes man lovable, and the love of dollars is crowding all that is manly out of our lives?

Evolution cannot reach the man who is cold and dead to sentiment and feeling, for he no longer loves his fellow man, except in the way the hyena loves the lamb.

So fast as sentiment and feeling and emotion and sympathy fade away from civilization, just so fast as we drifting into animalism, and every hope of reform in the thoughtful man's bosom stands trembling in silent awe; for that hope can only see reform far out over the bright red stains on God's green earth where the oppressed and the oppressors have met in deadly conflict, and right and justice grow up out of the many unmarked graves where martyred braves fell in the cause of humanity.

How shall we avoid the coming revolution, if men will not adopt Socialism as the remedy for oppression and plutocratic plunder?

Can it be doing God's work to preach and teach the oppressed that contentment is all they need? Is it doing God's work to attempt making

men contented with their poverty and wrongs, beseeching them to bow to their oppressors in all their brutal demands, for the good of humanity?

Is not a wrong against humanity a crime? Is not oppression a wrong and a crime against humanity? And shall those who love humanity and right and justice, forever sit in silence and watch these unsentimental and unfeeling and unemotional and unsympathetic beasts of profit and rent and interest devour the weak, and not raise a voice or hand against them?

How long can the manhood that still remains in the obscure corners of civilization endure the sight of these outrages and terrible wrongs against their fellow man?

Can manhood, cowed and suppressed, continue to be true manhood?

And is there not enough of that quality in civilization to bar the way to further encroachments from plutocracy and the bribed and seduced governments that now aid the plunderers of God's miserable poor everywhere?

There must come a halt and a change soon. Times cannot continue growing worse much longer. True manhood cannot stand idle and see men, women and children starve; and the evolution of Socialism and co-operation must come soon, or the unrelenting ghosts of revolution will rise up from Bunker Hill and Lexington and Yorktown, and blood will wash out these bitter wrongs against which people now cry for vengeance, but cry in vain.

Socialism is peace and prosperity and the natural evolution of thoughtful minds.

Which shall it be—evolution, or revolution?

The encroachments of the rich must cease.

The Present Carnival of Crime.

Herbert N. Casson.
In spite of cumbersome and expensive municipal governments, many of our cities are as lawless as Klondike. Government is a failure because it has neglected its true function—the regulation and control of business.

So long as business is a Kilkenny Fair of competition, law and order are impracticable dreams.

So long as we legalize one kind of robbery, we can never stop the other kinds.

To maintain perfect order in this chaotic system, would require a regiment of U. S. cavalry in every ward; a sentry-box at every street corner; and a draw-bridge and portcullis in front of every store.

If the burglary of a few stores creates such alarm, how much more should we be aroused over the depredations of the wholesale burglars who have been stealing railroads and states?

Rockefeller alone, in the last ten years, has taken more of other men's property than all the burglars in America put together.

Very often judge and prisoner should change places. Landlords and users sit on the bench and condemn workers to prison. A judge will cash a check for \$500, received from the profits of a brewery and then proceed to sentence a batch of "drunks" to sixty days each in jail.

Few men are criminals from deliberate choice.

No man is clubbed and imprisoned and hung for fun, or for his health, but the fact is that a criminal life is becoming as desirable as an honest life. All large factories are being practically turned into jails, with their iron system of brass tags, and fines, and bolts, and watchmen and overseers and rigid discipline.

Work is becoming more and more disreputable and unprofitable. The only way to stop crime is to stop making criminals. Every burglar is a good citizen spoiled. Just as the wolf was educated until he became a sheep-dog, so every criminal might be made a blessing to the society he now terrorizes and plunders.

Burglary is as unnatural a social disease as small-pox, and quite as preventible.

There have only been two cases of theft in the history of Iceland. The original Indians of America had no locks upon their wigwams. The Mormons have had little or no crime among their members. The colony of Ruskin has no jail and no criminals.

Criminals are the manufactured products of monopolies, and every despotic trust-maker should build and endow a jail of his own.

The honest masses of America came here from Europe to work and not to steal, and nothing but an unjust industrial system could create the present standing army of criminals.

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NOTICE.

TO ALL LOCAL BRANCHES: Your attention is called to the following section of the constitution: "On or before the 5th day of each month the treasurer shall remit by postal money order the monthly dues for current month to the National Council, and each local branch shall remit the full amount due for the entire membership."

Spread the light by securing a subscriber for The Social Democrat.

Each member must be a missionary in our emancipating movement.

Take hold, comrades, with all the energy at your command, to make your branch a success.

The spread of Socialism since the organization of the Social Democracy is in the nature of a revelation.

The Banner Number, to be issued on the 18th, is something you want to circulate. Don't forget to order extra copies.

Branches should get in their orders for copies of our Banner number as early as possible. This number will contain matter which you can't afford to miss.

Organize! educate! agitate! Remember that Socialism has got to become a living force in the minds of the masses before it can be realized as a rule of life. It depends on you, members of the Social Democracy, to bring this great social change about. Your responsibility is great.

Important Announcement.

It is not necessary for us to waste any space in telling our readers what sort of a book Merrie England is; hundreds of thousands of copies have been sold in America at ten cents each, and the great value of the book as an agent of propaganda is well known to Socialists.

We have long realized the need for a cheaper edition of this admirable work, and we have at last completed arrangements to publish an edition which we can furnish at about half the cost which the book has heretofore sold for.

This will be known as the Social Democracy edition, and will contain a short preface by Eugene V. Debs; it will come from the press about Dec. 7th. Nothing better than this work for spreading the seeds of Socialism can be circulated, and we should have as many advance orders as possible. Tell us how many you want. Price list will appear in next issue.

A dispatch from Battle Creek, Mich., appeared in the papers recently stating that the Rev. A. E. Craig of Albion College read a paper before the "civil philanthropic conference" at that place in which he denounced socialistic doctrines; declared that the ethical idea of socialism is not a lofty one; that it would destroy incentive and aspiration and break up the home.

This is the hardest left-handed cut at Christianity that we have seen of late, for who is there who does not know that "the ethics of socialism are identical with the ethics of Christianity?" The reverend gentleman was born nineteen hundred years too late. He ought to have lived at the beginning of the Christian era, so that Christ might have profited by his wisdom. But since the Rev. Mr. Craig was not there and Christ fell into so monstrous an error as to preach and practice socialism, and by so doing "corrupt morals and religion, destroy incentive and aspiration and break up the home," it can hardly be expected that Christians of the present enlightened age should consider themselves bound by his teachings. It is becoming very evident that the church has repudiated Christ.

THE EDITOR'S ARENA

Referring to Mr. Debs' advice to his followers to vote the Socialist Labor ticket in the recent state elections, the Chicago Democrat says: "It would have been wiser in Mr. Debs to advise his followers to aid all those real friends of reform that are fighting the money power. We do hate to see intelligent men throwing their votes away."

It is indeed a sad spectacle and one that has troubled our souls not a little. In fact, at the very time our eyes fell upon the above paragraph we had been saying, "Too bad, too bad! Will the real friends of reform forever attempt the impossible! Will they continue indefinitely fighting the money power without considering the origin, resources and strength of their adversary?"

We feel like reminding the "real friends of reform" of the old story of Achilles, the hero of Homer's Iliad—how his goddess-mother dipped him in the river Styx while an infant and so rendered him invulnerable except at the heel by which she held him during the process; how, during the siege of Troy, neither the noble Hector nor all the Trojan hosts were able to slay him, but after Troy had fallen, Paris, who had learned the secret of Achilles' power, aimed a shaft at the vulnerable heel with fatal effect.

The money power is in like manner invulnerable except to one line of attack. So long as it can remain entrenched behind the profit system all the shafts that can be hurled against it by the "real friends of reform" will be as harmless as paper wads thrown at the rock of Gibraltar. The only way to destroy the money power, or to even check its growth, is to strike down the profit system. When the "real friends of reform" have perceived this truth they will decline to waste their time and energy and "throw away their votes" to secure so-called reforms that at best could only prolong our misery, and could by no possibility avert the inevitable—the accumulation of all wealth in few hands with the millions in abject poverty.

There can be no doubt that the manipulations of the currency have had much to do with the rapid concentration of wealth during recent years, but to remonetize silver and authorize its free coinage or make any other change in our monetary system after the mischief has been done is a little like locking the barn door after the horse has been stolen. It would probably relieve the pressure temporarily, but it would not decentralize wealth nor even prevent its further centralization.

The truth is that this centralizing process would have gone on from year to year and from generation to generation under any conceivable monetary system. In the absence of class legislation a much longer period would have been required to reach the present condition of affairs, but the final result would not have been in the least altered.

The unparalleled rapidity with which wealth has been centralized in recent years has undoubtedly caused untold misery to millions of this generation, but in the end it will prove of fastening benefit to humanity. In former ages the concentration of wealth was a much slower process than at present, and to gather it all into few hands required so many generations that the causes of its concentration received comparatively little consideration. But owing to the increased profits of machine production, aided by class legislation, the centralization of wealth has reached a stage of development during the past thirty-five years that would have required several centuries of time to bring about in any former period of the world's history. The result is that thousands of thoughtful persons everywhere are searching for the causes that over and over again in the history of the world have gathered practically all wealth into few hands, and the effect must be to bring into bold relief the inherent fatal defect of the profit system and of any civilization based thereon.

It is said that Napoleon Bonaparte, after spending some time in a careful study of a compound interest table, expressed his surprise that the cumulative power of interest had not long before conquered the world.

That principle has conquered the world again and again, and is now engaged in its reconquest. Sometimes the work of subjugation goes on under the name of "rent," sometimes they call it "profit," and sometimes "interest," but whatever the name they give it the underlying principle is the same. One person or class of persons acquires the power of levying upon others at intervals toll or tribute, and for which no equivalent in service is rendered. At first the process seems harmless enough—it certainly seems quite natural, since rent, interest and profit have been so long sanctioned by both law and custom that to question their wisdom or justice is a good deal like assailing an established religion, but from the first the final result is inevitable. Under the cumulative power of wealth disclosed by a compound interest table it is only a question of time before practically all the wealth of the country will be gathered in few

hands, and those who have produced it will be slaves or dead!

The period of time required to complete the conquest depends upon the size of the toll or rate of profit and the regularity with which it can be exacted. It required many centuries for the wealth of ancient Egypt or Babylon or Rome to be thus concentrated, but it was at length accomplished. When Egypt went down 2 per cent of her people owned 97 per cent of her wealth. At the fall of Babylon 2 per cent of the people owned all the wealth, and when imperial Rome was overthrown 1,800 persons owned practically all the known world.

In the United States at the present time 1 per cent of the people own more than three-fifths of the wealth, and should the present rate of toll or profit continue, within a quarter of a century 1 per cent of our people will own 95 per cent of the total wealth.

If slow death is to be preferred to a rapid dissolution, perhaps there may be some justification for the frantic efforts of the "real friends of reform," but we want them and all the world to understand that the measures which they advocate will not change the final result by so much as a hair's breadth. You may possibly postpone it for a brief time, but you can not change it. It is "profit," "profit," "profit" that is devouring our substance and consuming the nation. The "money power" can now fix the rate of toll at its own pleasure, and whether we have the gold standard or bimetalism; high tariff or low tariff; anti-trust laws or no anti-trust laws, it will collect its increase and absorb all the wealth of this country as surely as production for profit continues.

We are not satisfied with any so-called reform that, at best, will do no more than prolong the struggle. We are not seeking a milder form of slavery nor for fewer stripes from our masters. We strike for justice and for liberty—for all the inalienable rights of man. The despotism of the dollar must be overthrown, and to us it seems that he who contends for less wastes his energies in a most deplorable manner.

In the American Journal of Sociology of March last, Prof. Charles Zueblin of the Chicago University has the following to say of Herbert Spencer, the great prophet of individualism, in the course of an article on "Socialistic Thought in England:"

"Herbert Spencer has enjoyed the distinction and suffered the misfortune of completing recently a system of philosophy. It has been carried out with remarkable faithfulness to the original plan. Since the prospectus of the Synthetic philosophy was issued, the whole tenor of philosophic thought has changed, some of the most important practical applications of the growing body of knowledge have been made, but the Synthetic philosophy has proceeded, serenely indifferent to the progress of the world. One can not but admire the man whose physical disabilities for thirty-six years permitted at the most not more than three hours' work a day. In the face of that fact the completion of this great system is a marvel, but one can hardly be expected to accept the latter results of this plucky invalid, who for years has been out of touch with the actual affairs of life. The man who could boast in his latest volume that in the middle of this century (especially in England) a degree of individual freedom had been reached 'greater than ever before effected since nations began to form, is alluding to a period, the memory of which brings the blush to the cheek of every lover of his kind.'

Continuing, the same writer says: "It is difficult for the Americans who are still reading Spencer, to realize what a negligible quantity he has become in England. Perhaps it will suffice to illustrate this estimate of Spencer by saying that the most intellectual woman among the collectivists was a personal student of Spencer for years."

Prof. Zueblin quotes Sydney Webb as saying: "The turning point in the history of Socialism in England may be taken to be 1880. Prior to that time unsystematic individualism reigned supreme. Twenty years ago the typical young politician was an individualist quoting Herbert Spencer. Today he is an empirical collectivist of a practical kind."

While some Socialists may know this already, it is well for the main body to be posted, as Socialism meets with its most formidable opponents in those who quote Spencer as if it were final. Herbert Spencer was wise in his day; his day has gone by. The spirit of the times has changed.

Said Abraham Lincoln in 1860: "There are two principles that have stood face to face since the beginning of time. The one is the common right of humanity, the other the divine right of kings. It is the principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, 'you work and I will eat,' and 'I'll eat it.' No matter in what shape it comes—it is the same tyrannical principle." Exchange.

A Poetical Warning.

A little less—for you are so great— A little halt—it is hard to hate— Some good of things from our coupled task. May we share it with you? Is it much to ask? Hark ye! Mark ye! Give us a chance! Remember once in the land of France. We will fetch and carry, and you shall And stirve our stomach and bleed our brain. Masters and mastered—the fools we are To doubt God's wisdom—Don't go too far! Hark ye! Mark ye! Give us a chance! Remember once in the land of France. We are willing to feed on the crumbs, the sop, You throw from your table, but let some drop: It may dull or deaden our pride and pluck, But doubtless God ordered we should be much. Hark ye! Mark ye! Give us a chance! Remember once in the land of France. We have been patient—the Lord knows how— We will be patient—the Lord allow! Should we fly at your throat with a deadly clutch, God be our witness—we have suffered much. Hark ye! Mark ye! Give us a chance! Remember once in the land of France. —H. C. F. in N. Y. Journal.

PUCKERBRUSH ALLIANCE

Puckerbrush, Ohio, Last Saturday. Mr. Debs and all the rest of you— Well, the election has come and gone, but the effects will remain with us just as they have been doin'. Them sixteen-to-one-ers that was willin' to vote for the devil to beat Hanner, got it where the chicken got the ax. The raise in wheat, together with old Hanner's stuff, was too much for 'em, but that wasn't the wurst of it. They had to fall back on John R. McClain and his tools, and this was too much fur lots of honest Democrats who swallered Henry B. Payne and Cal Brice, and they was afraid of the third dose. Old Hanner just pulled thru by the skin of his pocket book. If I had a dollar a hed for all the disgusted demmies and reps what stayed to home I cud give the Social Democracy a big boost. The socialists is the only party in Ohio that made a gain over the vote of last year. Why, they cast more votes in Cuyahoga county (Cleveland) this year than was cast in the whole state last fall. Our county doubled its vote, an' when we hear from all the state, it's goin' to show a nice increase. As fur the People's party—you know they have been flin' contractin' the money of the country, but no currency was ever contracted as they have contracted their vote. It's simply awful. There ain't enuf left fur a good sized grease spot. In Starke county, the home of their candidate for governor, the socialist candidate got two votes to his one. We have got a future, and they have got a past. Them that wants somethin' more than better prices will take a step ahead, like I did, and swear to vote for no person fur political office who is not an out open socialist. You know I sed in my last letter that the free-sixteen-to-one-ers was has-beens, and I see it plainer every day. Why, here is the Farmer's Voice, which has been a strong silver paper, and in an editorial telling of the result of the bimetallic commission in England, they say: "The gold monopolist is but a small part of the vast army of monopolists whose fatal hand is upon every line of transportation and which seeks Therefore we believe that monopoly to control production in all lines, being crushed, we have solved not only the currency problem, but the whole great question of the rights of all the people."

"Monopoly is the issue, the only issue worthy of discussion. We trust that people will refuse to be led aside from the main path for any other less weighty." That shows the ritin' on the fence. When they tackle the monopoly question in the interest of all the people, they will have to be gettin' in the neighborhood of socialism.

The reps, demmies and pops are feeling anythin' but jolly, for they all see that they have tough sleddin' ahead of them, so us socialists have decided not to pleg 'em too bad in Puckerbrush Alliance, not fur the present, anyhow. They are all cussin' the stay at home fellers.

At our last meetin' the president didn't ast fur to discuss the free-sixteen-to-one silver question, so we soon got down to business.

I sed: "At our last meetin' we was talkin' about machinery knockin' out men from getting work, and we can see it plainer every day. Last week I was to town with sum wood. Where I was takin' it there was an old man sawin' it twice in too and puttin' it in the cellar fur a dollar a cord. I ast him how long it took him to saw a cord, as he was pretty old, and he said about a day and a half. I ast him how he cud live on that, and he sed he cudent, but he used to be a soldier and gets a little pensum which helps him out. He sed he didn't get much wood to saw because the fellers that had a machine done it quicker and cheaper. On the way home I cum across three fellers with a small boiler and engine on a wagon rigged up with a circular saw, and the way they cut up wood was a caution. Then when I drove round the corner where they are diggin' the cellar fur the new block I sed that they had a steam drill at work in the rock. I got off and seen it work, and I ast the feller what was takin' care of the boiler, how much more the machine cud do in a day than a man. He lafed at me and said: 'Why, old feller, it can do more in a hour than the best man cud do in a week.' Goin' home I tried to figger out how free silver or tariff cud meet the question of improved machinery, but give it up."

JONAS HARRISON.

"Yes, but I don't admit what you make out of it," says Preacher Gard, "because it takes men to make new machines, and they create new industries." I sed: "I see it is pretty hard to tell about that without the figers to show, but I have been doin' some figerin' of my own. I may not be rite, but it looks clear to me. Now, lets take a sewin' machine. It is stated that the real cost of one is ten or twelve dollars. Lets say twelve dollars. This includes everything from the man who chopped the tree, the miner who dug the iron, to the feller who put on the varnish. That is done by the division of labor. Now lets say that the material costs nothin' and the twelve dollars is the labor cost. That wud be one day's work for twleve people at a dollar a day. Now a machine will do more work in one day than a dozen people cud do by hand. It takes their place. It takes twelve people one day to make the machine. The one we have at the house has been in use fifteen years, and does good work yet, but suppose it was run only one year. What are you goin' to do with the people whom it threw out for as long as it wud last, and who, or an equal number, made the machine in a day?"

"By golly, thats a corker!" says Abe Wilkins, "and I'd like to see sum feller figer it out and show if its wrong. It looks like a ground hog case to me."

Miss Smart, the school teacher, sed: "I have the Boys buy me a copy of the Cleveland Leader every Sunday. This is the leadin' gold bug, high tariff paper of Ohio, and one of Mark Hanner's organs. I have been makin' some clippings out of this paper on the question of labor saving machinery. The issue of August 29 contained an illustrated article describing the making of tin fruit cans by machines. I will read you some extracts: 'Tin cans are made by machinery. Over 400,000,000 a year are produced in this country. Out of the 7,000,000 boxes of tin plate (120 sheets to the box) used yearly only 2,000,000 boxes go for general use. The remaining 5,000,000 boxes of tin (600,000,000 sheets), are made into cans. Common fruit cans represent two-thirds of the entire products. Twenty years ago a fruit can factory consisted of several dozen men and as many boy helpers, who made the cans all by hand. With twenty men and their helpers, the most that could be produced in those days was 16,000 a day. The same number of employes, most of them boys, are now able, by means of automatic machinery, to turn out over 200,000 a day.'

"Then here is the issue of Sept. 19, containing cut and description of an improved car-dumping, coal-loading machine, which picks up and empties thirty cars of coal an hour. They are used in loading boats on the lakes, and throw hundreds of shovelers out of work. The machine illustrated is rite in Mark Hanner's town, but I guess you did not hear him tell anything about it during the campaign, did you?"

John Jones said he seen one of them last summer when he was up to Sandusky on an excursion, and that his cousin told him that the city had built coal docks and leased 'em to the railroads fur almost nothin' so as to give men work loadin' and unloadin' boats, but now they can look at the machine do it. He said that the machines auter be smashed.

Miss Smart continued by sayin': "Here is another copy of the same paper, dated Oct. 31, and it contains a full page article describin' the wonderful new discovery of Edison fur minin' iron, and shows the factory down in New Jersey where it is in operation. Just listen to what is, not what is proposed: 'From the time the ore is blasted with its native rock out of the mountain side until it is loaded in the form of briquettes in the cars, it is not touched by human hands. The never-ending and never-resting stream of material constantly circulates through the various buildings, crushed by the stored momentum of gigantic rolls; hoisted skyward by steam; pulled earthward by gravity; deflected by magnetism; dried, sifted, weighed, gauged, conveyed; changed from rock into dust, and from dust into comprehensive lumps, mixed with due proportion of adhesive material; churned, baked, counted and sent flying to the furnace by fast freight; and not once in its course is it arrested or jogged onward by human agency.'

"Only 145 attendants are required to operate the plant, and these men are after all merely watchers to see that the machinery does not get out of order. The crushing capacity of the Edison plant is more than 20 per cent greater than the combined crushing capacity of all the stamp mills of California."

"These papers are printing this matter as news, but it is something more, as they will discover at no distant day. The people must own the machines or be ground to fertilizer by them."

The fellers switched the talk off onto sum farm matters till the meetin' closed, but I'll try and keep you posted. Yours to the end.

Proportional Representation No. 10.

Switzerland, the home of a brave and liberty-loving people, leads the world in the matter of electoral justice. Its form of government is that of a Republic, consisting of 22 Federated states, which are called "Cantons"—like the Federated states of the American Union. All the Cantons except Freiburg have the referendum, and fourteen of the Cantons have the initiative.

The initiative and referendum have proved to be potent instruments in bringing about proportional representation. Nine at least of the Cantons—Ticino, Neuchatel, Zug, Geneva, Freiburg, Tessin, Neuremburg, Luzern and Solothurn—have adopted a system of proportional representation, which is known as the Swiss Free List. The city of Berne has also adopted the same system in the election of its municipal councillors. Berne is a large and important city, and is the capital of Switzerland. The system has worked well in the Cantons in which it has been tried, and its adoption is being advocated in other Cantons.

Ticino, an Italian speaking Canton, was the first to adopt this great reform, and she did so under significant circumstances. The Ultramontanes and the Radicals were about equally divided, in the number of voters, yet the old system of election permitted the Ultramontanes to return 77 members against only 35 of the Radicals. This glaring injustice brought about insurrection and bloodshed. The Federal authorities of Switzerland thereupon suggested proportional representation as a solution of the difficulty. The suggestion was adopted; both parties got a fair representation; they were satisfied, and peace prevails in Ticino.

Next week I will give a full description of the Swiss Free List. There is not room this week; but I will occupy the rest of my space with a suggestive article written by the editor of a Canadian labor paper, because it applies very well to this country. He writes in the Industrial Banner of London, Ontario, Canada, and says:

"It goes without saying that the reform known as the proportional representation system of holding elections is rapidly growing in favor, more especially among labor and social reform organizations. Strange as it may seem, there are societies in existence today the majority of whose members believe in proportional representation but still stick to the old and cumbersome electoral methods; and it is, perhaps, stranger still that in a number of those societies, who count among their membership many of the most advanced and persistent agitators in pushing the reform, that no attempt of any kind has ever been made to carry into practical effect the doctrines they proclaim. If labor organizations believe that proportional representation is worthy of advocacy as a genuine reform why not adopt it at once and practice what they preach? In how many trades and labor councils has there ever been an attempt made to effect a change? Social reformers, who believe that the old system should be supplanted by a better one, should go to work at once.

"If the advocates of proportional representation in the various trades and labor councils would only get down to work they would soon be surprised at the result. There is no reason why every trades council in the Dominion should not fall into line and conduct all their elections under the new system; and this result can be accomplished inside of six months if the friends of proportional representation are true to their principles and push their views to the front. Let the trades councils take the initiative and it is only a question of time when the local unions will follow suit. We trust that this matter will be taken up at once. While it is advisable to talk it is likewise necessary to act. We feel certain that in every trades council in the country there is at least one persistent advocate of the reform who has the action sufficiently at heart to move a motion that all future elections be held under the proportional representation system.

"Brothers, let us get down to hard pan; push on this agitation for all it is worth, and, as we have already said, inside of six months we will have every trades and labor council in Canada in line. To use a scriptural phrase, when Christianity was propagated it was to be preached first in Jerusalem. And so with all reforms—they must be started by those who believe in them, and right at home. Before we go out and ask the government to adopt proportional representation, and the people to accept it, let us at least be consistent, put our own house in order and show by example that we really take some stock in the reforms we advocate. The time is ripe, push on the work."

If through necessity or fear of a worse evil, the workman accepts harder conditions because an employer or contractor will give him no better, he is the victim of force and injustice.—Pope Leo III.

Advertisement for a watch, featuring an image of a pocket watch and text describing its quality and price.

FROM OUR CONTRIBUTORS

[NOTE.—The editors are not responsible for the opinions of correspondents.]

Single Tax and Socialism.

To the Editor:—I do hate to see Socialists and Single Taxers pulling different ways...

If either the Socialists or Single Taxers were few in number, this divergence would not matter so much...

How the supporters of plutocracy and monopoly must chuckle to see us arguing and disputing and calling one another names...

If Socialists and Single Taxers differed in opinion on every point, I could understand their not co-operating...

For instance: Most Single Taxers are in favor of the government ownership of gas, electric lights, street cars, railroads, telegraphs, and things of that sort...

Again, there is the initiative and referendum, and proportional representation. Many Single Taxers are just as much interested in these as the Socialists are...

I fully admit that my fellow Single Taxers are often very provoking in the way they talk about Socialists...

Now, it is time to stop this foolishness. What is the good of provoking one another to anger by discussing questions? I do not advocate any miserable compromise...

SINGLE TAXER.

Socialism or Single Tax.

How far can Socialists adopt the single tax as an article of their program? Can they take it up as something which may be a direct means toward the accomplishment of the Socialistic ideal...

If single tax has an ideal essentially different from that of Socialism, if its object is to perpetuate the competitive industrial system, if its immediate aim is not the substitution of industrial co-operation for industrial competition...

Now, we all know that the abolition of land monopoly on the single tax plan, would not prevent industrial monopoly for the simple reason that it would not prevent industrial competition—monopoly is the next step after competition...

only a question of a few years till they will yield completely to the tendency toward co-operation of the corporation style and name. And the Socialist program is that the public become the corporation, and not to make it possible for other sets of individuals to exploit the people by the duplication of concerns answering all the requirements except the one of justice...

Louis F. Post, one of the apostles of the movement, in his outline of single tax, prints the following—a question by an imaginary investigator to which Mr. Post makes the answer:

"Question: Is there no danger that under the single tax men of great intellect would be able to take advantage of their less intelligent brethren, and by the competitive system corral everything as they do now?"

"Answer: If they did, it would not be by the competitive system, but because the competitive system was still imperfectly developed. Competition is freedom, and such a thing as you suggest could not be done where freedom prevailed. I believe that the single tax would perfect competition."

Here is the point exactly. We don't want any more industrial competition, and we don't want any "single taxes" that are going to "perfect (?) competition." All the forces are tending in the main toward co-operation, and anything which means to continue competition is, in the Socialistic program, without a place...

H. H. MOELLERLING.

Popular Delusions.

An old legend tells us that when mankind was created the first generation was made into two batches of clay. The first batch, as soon as they could lift one foot after the other, did not wait for the finishing touches in the endowment of necessary brain power, but walked off, scattering it to every point of the compass...

dupe; then the king and his subject, until, as stated in Mr. Bellamy's book, "royalty passed the scepter behind its back to capitalism."

Where's the "spirit of '76" we hear so much about? Are our people exercising a more alert intelligence than those of former epochs? A child of ordinary smartness, whose sense of propriety or fitness of things is usually acute, would, on perceiving for the first time, the manner in which the majority of a city's population are housed, quickly realize a bad, and, to him, unaccountable arrangement, and would have many questions to put to older heads...

The "wage fund" theory is another delusion the people have tenaciously hugged. All employment, they imagine, is determined by the capital set apart to employ laborers, and as such capital is limited in amount, there is not always enough work to go around! Therefore, before a wheel can be turned, a hammer lifted or a public improvement made, a capitalist, or a set of capitalists, must first be hunted up, or placated, who are willing to "give out work!"

Why wonder at the hallucination under which the people have so long labored? With every avenue of intelligence controlled by the ruling class, to befuddle the public mind, what else can be expected? There's the church telling the poor that they're where God placed them, and that, through some sort of hocus pokus, "God takes care of the rich, and the rich takes care of the poor!"

Richmond, Indiana. M. RITCHIE.

Singing.

Every meeting of the Social Democracy should be opened and closed with a rousing song. Raise your voice, comrades, in a loud and hearty song, Music is the enemy of tyranny and wrong, Melody will help us to be resolute and strong...

Herbert N. Casson. 40 Blossom street, Boston, Mass.

The man who owns the machine owns the man who runs the machine. Let the man who runs the machine own the machine, and the man who now owns both the machine and the man who runs the machine will have to go to running a machine, too. See!—Advance Guard.

Rome banished those who had been found to be public enemies by forbidding every one to give them fire and water. That was done by all to a few. In America it is done by a few to all.—Henry D. Lloyd.

COLONIZATION DEPARTMENT

CYRUS FIELD WILLARD, SECRETARY [NOTE.—The editor is not responsible for the opinions of correspondents.]

Report of Receipts.

Table listing various branches and their contributions, including Illinois Branch No. 1, Illinois Branch No. 5, Illinois Branch No. 11, Illinois Branch No. 9, Illinois Branch No. 1, Illinois Branch No. 16, Illinois Branch No. 19, Illinois Branch No. 1, Illinois Branch No. 12, Missouri Branch No. 1, Missouri Branch No. 2, Missouri Branch No. 3, Missouri Branch No. 4, Missouri Branch No. 5, Missouri Branch No. 6, Missouri Branch No. 7, Missouri Branch No. 8, Missouri Branch No. 9, Missouri Branch No. 10, Missouri Branch No. 11, Missouri Branch No. 12, Missouri Branch No. 13, Missouri Branch No. 14, Missouri Branch No. 15, Missouri Branch No. 16, Missouri Branch No. 17, Missouri Branch No. 18, Missouri Branch No. 19, Missouri Branch No. 20, Missouri Branch No. 21, Missouri Branch No. 22, Missouri Branch No. 23, Missouri Branch No. 24, Missouri Branch No. 25, Missouri Branch No. 26, Missouri Branch No. 27, Missouri Branch No. 28, Missouri Branch No. 29, Missouri Branch No. 30, Missouri Branch No. 31, Missouri Branch No. 32, Missouri Branch No. 33, Missouri Branch No. 34, Missouri Branch No. 35, Missouri Branch No. 36, Missouri Branch No. 37, Missouri Branch No. 38, Missouri Branch No. 39, Missouri Branch No. 40, Missouri Branch No. 41, Missouri Branch No. 42, Missouri Branch No. 43, Missouri Branch No. 44, Missouri Branch No. 45, Missouri Branch No. 46, Missouri Branch No. 47, Missouri Branch No. 48, Missouri Branch No. 49, Missouri Branch No. 50, Missouri Branch No. 51, Missouri Branch No. 52, Missouri Branch No. 53, Missouri Branch No. 54, Missouri Branch No. 55, Missouri Branch No. 56, Missouri Branch No. 57, Missouri Branch No. 58, Missouri Branch No. 59, Missouri Branch No. 60, Missouri Branch No. 61, Missouri Branch No. 62, Missouri Branch No. 63, Missouri Branch No. 64, Missouri Branch No. 65, Missouri Branch No. 66, Missouri Branch No. 67, Missouri Branch No. 68, Missouri Branch No. 69, Missouri Branch No. 70, Missouri Branch No. 71, Missouri Branch No. 72, Missouri Branch No. 73, Missouri Branch No. 74, Missouri Branch No. 75, Missouri Branch No. 76, Missouri Branch No. 77, Missouri Branch No. 78, Missouri Branch No. 79, Missouri Branch No. 80, Missouri Branch No. 81, Missouri Branch No. 82, Missouri Branch No. 83, Missouri Branch No. 84, Missouri Branch No. 85, Missouri Branch No. 86, Missouri Branch No. 87, Missouri Branch No. 88, Missouri Branch No. 89, Missouri Branch No. 90, Missouri Branch No. 91, Missouri Branch No. 92, Missouri Branch No. 93, Missouri Branch No. 94, Missouri Branch No. 95, Missouri Branch No. 96, Missouri Branch No. 97, Missouri Branch No. 98, Missouri Branch No. 99, Missouri Branch No. 100.

Friend

Friend 5.00 Total from individuals..... 587.75 Grand total \$933.15 Two of our branches, No. 11 of Illinois and No. 4 of Colorado, have completed payment of the \$20 assessment since this report was made up. Acknowledgment will be made in next week's issue. I wish to call the attention of all the branches to the necessity which exists for money to enable the commissioners to carry out their work. Comrades Hinton and Willard are now in the west for the purpose of selecting the most desirable site among the many which have been offered us for the establishment of a colony. Active operations will soon begin. We shall soon make a call for pioneers, and we must look to the branches for the necessary financial support to carry our operations through. W. P. BORLAND, Treasurer.

One of a Thousand.

Responses to the one of a thousand propositions are coming in at a very gratifying rate. This is a matter which should be taken up in the branches. When the fund is rendered available we shall be in possession of capital sufficient to put us far on the road to success, and the members everywhere should go to work with a will to aid in securing the necessary 1,000 names as soon as possible, realizing that the necessity is urgent and the benefit is for themselves. Send for blank agreements and do not rest until you have them signed. This is your work.

The Tennessee Matter.

Many unauthorized statements have been made concerning the purchase of a tract of land in Tennessee, and the intention of this commission to establish a colony there. This commission has purchased no land in Tennessee as yet. A large body of land in that state has been offered us, but no definite arrangements as to its purchase have yet been made, nor will definite arrangements be made until after a thorough investigation of all matters connected with the land has been completed.

Transportation Fund.

Mr. Editor:—I am happy to know that there is a reasonable prospect of an early establishment of a colony in Washington for many reasons. I hope Washington will be the place. I would fear any of the old states. I have been at the head of large and small individual business enterprises all of my life. I have had experience in traffic, manufacturing, agriculture, stock, public works, etc. Truly Mr. Bellamy says "Competition has destroyed the individual." Competition is dead, or dying. The fondest hope that I cherish is that the commission now west will be able to secure a suitable body of land and begin at an early day to locate settlers of the right type on it. I firmly believe that if this can be done along the lines laid down by our Texas friend, Mr. Price, in the last issue of the Social Democrat, that then

will really be the beginning of the spread of the Social Democracy on all lines, both political and co-operative.

I think that when the beginning is made, and our people on the ground begin to write individual letters to their friends all over the country, and to local newspapers, then in place of people coming with from nothing to \$50, they will come with everything, from the family cow to thousands of dollars in cash.

I believe right now if the land was located, that in six months 1,000 people, with \$1,000 each, would go to the colony. The people are crazed and distracted from unequal conditions and competition; they crave peace and the pursuit of happiness.

No member of the Mayflower party was more determined in his devotion to the ends sought than I to the Social Democracy and industrial co-operation. I shall be proud to answer when called. M. T. BRUCE, Dallas, Texas.

Confidence Needed.

It is necessary for members to have confidence in the commission and to realize that E. V. Debs and his associates on the National Executive Board did not select them without careful consideration. If they do not tell their plans to the general public, our members should realize that it is because it is unwise to do so through the columns of the press. In so far as it has been possible the members have been informed by letters as to what is contemplated, but it is impossible to tell all on account of the vast correspondence coming into this office.

There is one thing essential, and that is that the members of the Social Democracy of America should pay no attention to what they read in the daily papers. The capitalistic press have time and time again since this commission was organized fabricated interviews without seeing any member of the commission. It does no good to make complaint, or to try to make explanations, for the more explanations that are made the more misrepresentations are also made. The only way for our members to do is to absolutely disbelieve everything that they see printed in the capitalistic press in relation to the colonization commission or any other officials of the Social Democracy.

Transportation Fund.

Mr. Editor:—We have members everywhere who are desirous of joining the colony at as early a date as possible, but have not the means wherewith they can secure passage for themselves and families. In view of this fact I wish to suggest that each organized branch of the S. D. of A. create a fund for the purpose of aiding their members in obtaining transportation to the colony, that no one of our members in good standing, no matter how poor, shall be deprived of the privilege to view the promised land. Each branch could create a fund to aid their own members, or deposit the money with the colonization commission, to be used by them as indicated. Respectfully yours, RALPH PETERSON, Grand Forks, N. D.

What Do You Think of this Great Premium Offer?

JOHN HARVEY

Anon Moore's Inspired Book

JOHN HARVEY is, to begin with, a story of no common merit. Its literary style is graceful, its incidents are rapid, its conversations short and to the point, and its characters are worth knowing, especially the heroine. But the book is more than a story. The author pictures a community in the Missouri valley forty years hence, where every social wrong has been righted, and every individual has the chance to make his life what it ought to be. The picture does not seem too good to be true; it is simply a definite dream of what the nation is vaguely dreaming, and it will help to bring its own fulfillment.

JOHN HARVEY will be a guiding force for the efforts of the Social Democracy and its allies to build up an economic structure which shall insure the welfare of its members and point out the way for the future.

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SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

A RECORD OF THE WEEK'S PROPAGANDA AND PROGRESS.

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

The progress of the work during the past week has been very gratifying. Interest in the movement is on the increase and our members throughout the country are taking hold with a will which is bound to place the Social Democracy on an enduring basis.

Another branch has been organized in the Pittsburg district—Allegheny City reports a strong branch. This section of our capitalist-cursed country is rapidly organizing under the banner of the movement for emancipation from wage slavery.

Chelsea, Mass., comes to the front with a strong branch of earnest workers. The reports from Boston and vicinity are all very encouraging. The character of our support from this quarter is evidence that the movement will not be allowed to lag.

New York city reports another branch, with twenty-eight charter members. This branch is composed mainly of cloak-makers, a class of workers who have felt the pressure of the wage system to its full extent, and who have been educated to a full knowledge of socialism.

Another from the wooden nutmeg state. New Haven, Conn., reports a branch of earnest workers. Yankee ingenuity knows a good thing when it sees it, and as it is true that the pushing Yankee spirit is largely responsible for the rapid spread and development of capitalism in this country, so it is also true that this same Yankee spirit will prove to be a factor of immense importance in the spread of Socialism when the truth is once perceived that capitalism is no longer possible.

Debs' works in the east is beginning to make itself manifest on the records at National headquarters. Our comrades are falling rapidly into line. As an indication of the spread of the movement National headquarters received 103 applications for membership on Tuesday last. These applications came largely from the east, and they are in addition to the members reported by newly organized branches. Keep up this rate of progress, comrades, and we will soon be able to make the Social Democrat an eight-page paper and introduce specially interesting features which we have long had in mind.

Our Ohio comrades are by no means idle. Organizer Lloyd is doing good work in Cleveland, and the membership of our various Ohio branches is steadily increasing. Springfield, Ohio, reports a new branch, and other branches are in the course of formation at many other points in the state. We have Mark Hanna to thank for much of the interest in Social Democracy in Ohio. There is a general revolt against Hanna methods, and the real reformers are beginning to see that their only hope of escape from the conditions which Hanna typifies is through Socialism. Note what Jonas Harrison, our Puckerbrush correspondent, says of the recent political contest in Ohio. The Socialists are the only party which made a gain over the vote of last year; in Cuyahoga county alone more Socialist votes were cast this year than were cast in the whole state last fall. It's coming, comrades!

The best and most earnest members of the Populist party are rapidly coming over to Socialism. As an instance of the trend of thought among the Populists who really want reform, and not merely political power, the case of Comrade M. W. Wilkins, of the San Francisco New Charter, may be cited. Comrade Wilkins, a writer and worker of rare power, was formerly a shining light in the Populist ranks, and his paper was one of the most effective agents of propaganda for the party. But the New Charter is now a straight

out Socialist paper, and Comrade Wilkins is devoting all his energy to the spread of Socialism.

Another instance among many which might be given is the case of Mrs. Annie L. Diggs, one of the strongest orators in the whole Populist movement. Mrs. Diggs recently joined one of our branches at Topeka, Kan., and from this time on we may expect her rare talents to be devoted to the cause of Social Democracy.

Branch 5 of Illinois sends us the following: "The meeting held Tuesday evening, Oct. 26, was well attended by the members of No. 5, and also of other branches. The members of Branch 5 desire to thank Comrade Cox for the excellent address he delivered on that occasion, and promise him a larger hall the next time he visits them."

Branch 5 has an entertainment advertised for Saturday evening, Nov. 13, at Social hall, corner 113th street and Michigan avenue. Good speakers and good music are parts of the program. Everybody is cordially invited to attend. An admission fee of 10 cents will be charged.

Branch No. 15 of Illinois will meet at Oakley hall, corner Twenty-fourth street and Oakley avenue, on Friday, Nov. 12. This will be an important meeting, and all members of the branch are requested to be present, each member to bring as many non-members as possible. Comrade Seymour Stedman will be the speaker of the day, which fact insures an interesting meeting. Comrade James Heron, the efficient organizer of Branch 15, should note that the notice for this meeting was received too late for insertion in our last issue.

Editor Social Democrat:—Knowing that the many readers of the Democrat will be pleased to hear from San Francisco, I send you the following program of an entertainment to be given by the Social Democracy of America, under the auspices of Branch No. 6, and is as follows:

GRAND CELEBRATION BIRTH OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY OF AMERICA.

Under the auspices of Branch No. 6. In the new and beautiful Assembly Hall, Red Mens' Building, 320 Post Street, Nov. 12, 1897. Tickets (Procurement) Ten Cents. Program.

Overture Mocker's Band
Opening Remarks G. A. Hubbell
"Battle Hymn of the Republic" The Audience
..... H. C. B. Cowell, Palo Alto
Guitar Duet
..... Prof. Mansfield and Prof. Ross
Remarks Mrs. Irene Smith
Vocal solo, "Rocked in the Cradle of the Deep" Miss Severance
Soprano solo (Selected)
..... Miss Annetta George
(Kind Permission of J. W. McKenzie.)
Skirt Dance, "Coming Thro' the Rye" Miss Mabel Knight
Tenor solo J. C. Flood
Spanish Dance
..... Misses Eva and Ethel Pries
Guitar solo Miss Winetta Marlow
Then follows the order of dances.

The floor committee consisted of Mr. Dave Morris, Miss Severance, Mr. James M. Custer, Mrs. Irene Smith. On the reverse side of the card upon which this program is printed are the objects of the Social Democracy of America. Branch No. 6 has gotten out lots of these and are putting them out about town, giving the Social Democracy a good advertising. We hope to have a large crowd out that evening and gain membership.

No. 6 hopes to have regular monthly socials and by so doing to raise money for the colonization commission.

It is not so arranged this time, but it is expected to be so hereafter that those who perform service at the socials that must be paid for, such payment is to remain in the common fund as a contribution of the individual to the colonization commission.

We have made the initiation fee for men 50 cents, women 10 cents, dues 25 cents per month.

We hope to so arrange that those who are so disposed may sell tickets for socials, and thereby earn their monthly dues. Yours for the Social Democracy of America,

G. A. HUBBELL,
1145 Mission street, San Francisco.

The Social Democrat

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NOTE—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, this political equality is useless in the present system of economic inequality, which is essentially destructive of life, liberty and happiness. In spite of our equality of labor is robbed of the wealth it produces. By the development of this system it is denied the means of self-employment and by enforced idleness through lack of employment, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economic inequality, which is the basis of our democratic system of politics, can be plainly traced to the existence of a class that corrupts the government, alienates public property, monopolizes public functions and holds this, the mightiest of nations, in abject dependence. Labor, manhood and intellect, the creator of all wealth and all civilization, is rightfully fellow to those who perform all labor and create all wealth should enjoy the fruit of their efforts, but this is rendered impossible by the modern system of production. Since the discovery and application of steam and electric power and the invention of machinery in all branches of industry, the industrial operations are carried on by the few, and the means of production are now able to possess them, and thus the producer is separated from his products. While in former times the individual worker labored on his own account, with his own tools, and was the master of his products, now dozens, hundreds and thousands of men work together in shops, mines, and factories, co-operating according to the most efficient division of labor, but they are not the masters of their products. The fruits of this co-operative labor are, in a great measure, appropriated by the owners of the means of production, to-wit by the owners of machines, land and the means of transportation.

This system, by gradually extinguishing the middle class, necessarily leaves but two classes in the country: the large class of workers and the small class of great employers and capitalists. Human, material and natural forces are wasted by this system which makes "profit" the only object in business. Ignorance and misery, with all concomitants, are the inevitable result of this system, which makes human labor a ware to be bought in the open market, and places no real value on human life.

Science and invention, which have converted their humane purposes and made instruments for the enslavement of men and the starvation of women and children.

We, therefore, hold that in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures of civilization, its trusts and its constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the basis upon which this system rests, and thereby work out its own downfall.

We therefore call upon all honest citizens to unite under the banner of the Social Democracy of America, so that we may be ready to conquer capitalism by making use of our political liberty and by human possession of the means of production, so that we may put an end to the present barbarous struggle, by the abolition of capitalism, the restoration of the land, and all the means of production, to the people and distribution, to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of a co-operative commonwealth for the present state of capitalist production, industrial war and social disorder—a commonwealth, which, although it will not make any man a millionaire, will, nevertheless, will give to every worker the free exercise and the full benefit of his faculties multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization, and which will, in addition, will guarantee the universal brotherhood of man. The Social Democracy of America will make democracy "the rule of the people," a truth, by ending the economic subjugation of the overwhelming great majority of the people.

With a view to the immediate relief of the people, all our efforts shall be put forth to secure to the unemployed self-supporting employment, using all proper ways and means to that end, for the purpose one of the states of the Union, to be hereafter determined, shall be selected for the concentration of our supporters and the introduction of co-operative industry, and then gradually extending the sphere of our operations until the National Co-operative Commonwealth shall be established.

1. We also make the following specific DEMANDS FOR RELIEF:
1. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combinations.
2. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water works, gas and electric plants, and all other public utilities.
3. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, coal, iron and all other mines; also all oil and gas wells.
4. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.
5. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.
6. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.
7. The establishment of Postal Savings Banks.
8. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, the Imperative Mandate and Proportional Representation.

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 113th street and Michigan Avenue.
Illinois Branch No. 9, meets 2d, 3d and 4th Mondays at 8 p. m., 624 1/2 street and Centre avenue, 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 29, at 8 p. m., at 1000 Olive St.
Missouri Branch No. 3, meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday at 13th and Wyoming sts., St. Louis, Mo. M. Dorn, Sec'y, 1838 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., Philadelphia 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, 446 Tremont street, Room 11, Boston, Mass.

Illinois Branch No. 11, meets every Friday evening, Social Hall, corner 113th 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 frictee also on Thursday, Saturday and Sunday, 306 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 212 East Broadway, Nicholas Aleinick Secretary, 87 Nassau street, New York City.

New Jersey Branch No. 4, meets every Thursday at Progressive Labor Hall, corner Barclay and Montgomery streets, Newark, N. J.

Washington Branch No. 2, Tacoma, Wash., meets at 8 p. m., at Armory Hall, corner 15th and C streets. Interesting programme. Public cordially invited.

Pennsylvania Branch No. 10, Allegheny, Pa. Business meeting 1st Sunday of each month. Educational meeting every other Sunday evening at 7:30. Address, 174 Manhattan street.

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