

On earth peace, good will toward men

The Social Democrat

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THE COMING CONFLICT

PROGRESS NO LONGER POSSIBLE ALONG COMPETITIVE LINES.

Every Man and Woman Who Believes in Freedom Should Join the Ranks of Those Working for a Higher Civilization.

That well-known and earnest worker in the cause of humanity, Imogene C. Fales, sends us the following article. The necessity for educating people up to the point of perceiving the inevitable tendencies of the present system is one which Social Democrats should practice and act upon. It is well brought out by Comrade Fales:—

The philosophy or science of the evolutionary social crisis that is agitating the civilized world and centering its forces in the United States should be generally understood.

It can be demonstrated that the prevailing competitive monopolistic order, known as "the struggle for existence," is in its death throes, and that a new and immeasurably higher social order, and one that is diametrically opposed to the present one, is in the first stages of development.

It is greatly to be deplored that those who guide and shape public opinion, namely, the clergy, have so little knowledge of sociological laws and questions, and still less knowledge of the relation that sociology bears to the ethics of Christianity. The reason of this ignorance of matters that are vital to the welfare of the race is not difficult to find. Immersed in theological disquisitions, and with little regard to the practical expression of the vital principles of religion, living on traditional knowledge, but dead to the knowledge of the present. Seeing God in parchments, but not in the unfolding powers of the human soul, the church has stood, and still stands, with its face towards the part incapable of seeing the advancing spirit of life and truth as it expresses itself in the mighty march of human events.

Hence when the whole civilized world, but more especially the United States, have reached a crisis; when development is no longer possible on lines prevailing, when the old order of selfishness, struggle and conflict—the order that allies men to the animal creation—has gone as far as it can go, and has virtually come to an end, when new forces indicative of the higher qualities of humanity are coming into play, and new methods and conditions of life are demanded; when the social system urged by the all compelling powers of advancing civilization is, through strain and stress and difficulty, preparing to adjust itself to the Golden Rule of Love, and make the interests of men identical, then the church, the educator of the people, plants itself on the side of the enemies of progress, reinforces the baser elements of humanity, that ever tend to drag the race downward, and lends its strength to buttress the wrong, and prevents the dawning of an era of peace, good will and fraternity. Immovable itself in the midst of progress, it tries to prevent the progress that is inevitable.

The social system is an organism made up of constantly changing human units. Embodying the advancing thoughts of humanity, it has moved from its infantile state of ignorance and savagery to one of increasing knowledge and enlightenment. It has undergone modification after modification, throwing off coarser and cruder forms of slavery, militarism, and despotic institutions—whatever, in fact, that impairs the progress of humanity—until now it stands on the verge of an entire and radical change that will sweep away every form of oppression and raise the level of the race.

Co-operation is about to take the place of competition. This change in the social system is practically analogous to those that have taken place in the natural world. The same slow evolutionary processes that have characterized inanimate and animate life upon the globe in the production of higher types from lower ones are now being expressed in the realm of human activities.

Thousands, perchance millions, of years have been consumed in bringing the race up to this crucial epoch—when out of old conditions a new order will develop. The past has done its work—now the blossoming period of humanity has come.

Competition in giving birth to monopoly has signed its own death warrant and prepared the way for the change from the old order to the new. The child will destroy its parent, and will in its turn be destroyed. Back of the whole movement we discern a war of principles. Monopoly, the culmination of all that is evil in organized society, is arousing the higher and antagonistic elements of human nature. Those elements are uncongenial, because they are the expressions of the infinite truth and justice that the ages have been evolving.

Monopoly stands as the connecting link between the old competitive order and a new co-operative civilization. It will be absorbed and its energies transmuted into other channels.

The combined action of the people expressed politically is the Titan force

that will annihilate this modern monster of destruction that threatens to carry the race back to barbarism.

What I desire to carry home to the minds of men is that this change from a competitive to a co-operative civilization MUST COME. It is rooted in LAW. It is the outcome of all the interlinked activities of the past, and it is the fruitage of the present.

All the vitality, all the momentum of the ages is pressing this new movement forward to the birth; all the sophistry and all the anodynes of those who would smooth things over and keep them as they are will prove to be ineffectual.

The hour has come, and the change will be made.

The reconstructive measures for a new and higher social order must first become part of the general education of the people before they can be successfully expressed politically. This great work the Social Democracy of America is engaged in; it is forming branches throughout the country, and sending out able teachers, who are educating the people in the basic principles of sociology.

The appeal is made to every man and woman who believes in freedom, truth and justice to join the ranks of those who are engaged in the Herculean task of effecting a change from a lower to a higher civilization—a change that will finally result in the enfranchisement and elevation of the race.

A Holiday Incident.

Union Tailors of Buffalo Give Debs a Christmas Present. Complete Suit of Clothes Turned Out in Six Hours and Forty Minutes.

The employees of Mehlretter Bros., leading merchant tailors of Buffalo, N. Y., are all union workmen. The establishment, which is one of the largest between New York and Chicago, has been unionized in every department, and is the first of its kind in Buffalo to hoist the union colors. A few days ago Comrade Debs reached Buffalo to deliver an address in the interest of the Social Democracy. Upon his arrival he was waited on by John Conschafter in the name of the employers of Mehlretter Bros., and invited to visit their establishment. On reaching there he was received by a committee representing the Union of Journeymen Tailors, and informed that it was their desire that he wear a suit of clothes and overcoat of their own making as a testimonial of their appreciation of his services to trades unionism and to the cause of labor generally. His measure was then taken, and the committee assured him that the suit would be ready before he left the city. Then all hands pitched in to break the record. In exactly six hours and forty minutes after the measure was taken the suit and overcoat were finished, and presented to Comrade Debs in a very neat address by Wallace B. Bowers, chairman of the committee representing the employees. The clothes were a perfect fit, and the recipient was delighted. Aside from the usefulness and value of the Christmas present, the incident is cause for congratulation in that it is most gratifying to note the appreciation of workmen of the services of one who has tried to make their lot a happier one. Comrade Debs is justly proud of the attachment of the Union tailors of Buffalo, of which such substantial proof was given by the kindness of the employees of Mehlretter Bros.' great establishment.

The Labor Problem.

The Civilization that Renders Man Savage is Not to be Desired or Encouraged. By H. S., Geneva Lake.

The labor problem is the great and overpowering one. It lies at the base of all righteousness. How the needs of body and mind shall be secured for all, by all, is the enigma we are set to solving.

How well we shall perform our task remains to be seen. There are some things which are very apparent, to even the casual observer; one is: many desire much which is neither wholesome nor necessary; to minister to their desires, some one is put to service, that labor acting injuriously upon his or her whole nature. Quite often the person enslaves himself as well as another, and, while we advance towards the new social order, and shout for Social Democracy, it appears to me that it is essential that those among us who are of philosophic turn should set ourselves against the revamping of an old system, in which demoralizing desires harness our powers to continuously devitalizing states. From the plains of the nether world issue plaints of such pathos, uttered by the defeated and degraded as should arrest our thought, and compel us to readjust our labor-base. The "civilization" which renders man savage is neither to be desired nor encouraged; and if we set ourselves to the task involved in the formation of a new state do not eliminate the demons which dwell within, its failure is only a question of time. Arrogance, undue pride, self-glory, lust, unbridled appetite, and a hundred other shadows, stalk about our hurrying footsteps. Fewer wants and purer purposes must be our ever present thought, as we cast a backward glance upon the groaning multitude, now ground beneath the wheels of commerce and caprice.

PERUVIAN SOCIALISM

ITS STRENGTH LAY IN ITS CO-OPERATIVE METHODS.

James Sheldon Ingalls Replies to the Critics and Presents Some Interesting Conclusions Concerning Ancient Peru.

The critics of Socialism will say with Prescott that the Peruvian institutions were inimical to the progress of the individual. "As he was born so he was to die. He could not add a rood to his own possessions nor advance himself one hair's breadth in the social scale." But under what despotism has this not been true in almost equal measure? It was the despotism of Peru and not its socialism that prevented the highest real development of the individual—and real development does not consist either in an accumulation of riches or in being elevated above our brethren.

Co-operation is one of the most helpful and necessary of all the conditions for true growth. What man of science, for example, has not profited far more by the wisdom of others than by his own? He begins his labors, as it were, where theirs have ended and so shares in what the wise men of all the ages have bequeathed to the world.

Despotism has always in greater or less degree not only denied to the individual the right to participate in this wealth of the ages, but has stood between him and the God-given bounties of nature, and in the degree in which this has been done growth and development have been arrested and the real man has become a dwarf.

It is despotism and not co-operative industry or socialism that is the great enemy of mankind.

But many good men believe that socialism and despotism are inseparable. For this, however, there is no greater justification than there is for the belief of the anarchist that government and despotism are inseparable.

If we do not object to government because of the force incident thereto, we can not consistently object to socialism on the ground of force unless we can show that the force in the latter would exceed that in the former. But so far is this from the truth that, because of the reduction of poverty, vice and crime under socialism, the force required would be greatly reduced and would be confined to much narrower limits than at present.

To-day tyranny touches man at every point, on all planes of activity—spiritual, mental and physical. It dominates politics and industry, invades the realms of thought and too often assumes to dictate how man shall worship the Infinite One. Under socialism the force required would be almost wholly confined to industry—the supplying of our physical wants—while in the higher realms of mind and spirit man would soon be free.

Tyranny could not then be employed to acquire wealth, and without wealth at his disposal the would-be tyrant would find it almost impossible to acquire power or to retain it if once possessed. So that by securing to each and all an equality of possessions we remove the incentive for tyranny in the realm of thought and when man can no longer profit by it tyranny will disappear.

But without co-operative industries an absolute despotism now seems inevitable, whatever the form of government. A few persons are rapidly demonstrating their ability to control our industries, and by so doing control the government. If the control of the government is to be vested in those who control the industries then it must follow that if we would preserve a "government of the people, by the people and for the people" our industries must be of the people, by the people and for the people—in other words, all of the people instead of a part of the people—must control them.

So long as there must be government in some form it were a thousand times preferable that it should proceed from the will of all rather than from that of a few, and this without reference to the wisdom of the few or the ignorance of the many. For if the will of all controls, then as all develop the government itself will respond and express in outward form that development. But if one or a few control, as all develop, owing to greed of gain or thirst for power, the government will not be permitted to take on a higher or better form and in this it will resemble the wooden shoe which refuses to grow as the foot expands.

The revolutions of the past have, in most instances, been merely the efforts of growing humanity to burst the shoe, only to be succeeded by another however, perhaps a little larger but no less unyielding than the former one.

There are abundant reasons for saying that the evils of despotism in Peru were mitigated in large measure by the co-operative system of industry, and since all authorities substantially agree with a writer in the Encyclopedia Britannica to the effect that the growth of their civilization and institutions began about five centuries prior to the conquest, it is manifest that there had been a very substantial and even surprising general growth of all the people, even though under their system

no individual was able to very greatly out-run his companions.

It will not be easy for our critics to point out any other instance in history where a people have emerged from barbarism and made so great progress in a like period of time.

It is manifest that in a race in which all are free to run untrammelled the contestants will not be so far separated at the close as they would be were a part free, a part compelled to carry a weight of ten pounds, a part twenty, a part fifty, a part a hundred, and a part so loaded down that they could not run at all. Socialism, controlled and directed by the will of all would come nearer realizing the former condition than could be hoped for under any other system. The conditions last named are realized under our present system, except that no one now is wholly free. No one can do his best who to win a prize must pass over his brother's prostrate form.

In Peru neither of these conditions obtained. There all were weighted alike—their burden was despotism. But that their growth was nearer a natural and healthy growth than is elsewhere recorded is demonstrated beyond cavil by the fact that they were "free from vice; there was little insanity and no poverty, and crime was almost unknown," for these things are infallible symptoms of disease in the body politic.

But say our critics, "Socialism may have been a very fine thing in Peru, but times and conditions have changed. Socialism is opposed to the genius of our modern institutions." Yes, conditions have indeed changed. Those were the days of hand production. Their tools were few and simple, and they had no machinery; in these days the machine has invaded every industry and comparatively little hand production remains; those were the days of individual production. Each workman mastered an entire trade and himself produced an entire article. Now production in many lines is carried on in great factories, owned by a few rich men, where the finished product must pass through many hands and no one workman learns more than his own part. As machinery increases in efficiency the demand for manual labor rapidly decreases. The result is that there are millions of men to-day who are literally without an occupation—the machine has taken their places.

Three or four centuries ago no one man or combination of men could monopolize an entire industry as can be done now. But steam and electricity have "annihilated space" and what John Stuart Mill only a few short years ago declared to be an impossibility is already an accomplished fact. In former days no one in the western hemisphere, at least, stood between any man and the soil. If no one would employ him he could go to Mother Earth for sustenance. But now the avenues of production have been monopolized by a comparatively few and to these the toiling millions must sue for the privilege of earning their daily bread and falling to find favor must eat the bread of charity or starve. Yes, conditions have changed indeed!

Even in those days of isolated individual production co-operation was far superior to competitive production, as the history of Peru abundantly testifies; now co-operation is not simply superior—it has become a supreme economic necessity.

The brotherhood of man and our obligation to bear one another's burdens have always been facts in nature and were taught both by precept and example by the great Nazarene, but the world has turned a deaf ear. Now, however, "a new commandment" has appeared in the form of labor-saving machinery, commanding the toiling millions in trumpet tones to recognize those eternal principles or perish from off the earth.

Yes, Socialism is opposed to the genius of modern institutions—it is eternally and unalterably opposed to any system or institution whose fruit is poverty, hunger, rags, prostitution and death.

The express companies charge the large daily papers one-half cent a pound for carrying their papers. Our Postmaster General wants the postage rates for newspapers raised to eight cents a pound. It would be cruel to suggest that this is a scheme to assist the strong in oppressing the weak. It does not seem to have occurred to the "servants of the people" that an act of Congress requiring all common carriers to give the government as favorable rates as they do any private shippers would not only be just and reasonable, but would render an increase of postal rates entirely unnecessary.

In 1894 the department of the interior paid the Bell Telephone Co. an average (including salary of woman operator) of \$75 to each "phone. The department put in a system of its own, 140 lines connecting scattered buildings in Washington, and the cost to the department now (including extra electrician and help) is only \$10.25 per "phone. Still the capitalists tell us there is no economy in public ownership.

Place a Merrie England in the hands of every one of your neighbors. Only \$3.50 per hundred copies.

BUSINESS METHODS

ARE SIMPLY IMPROVEMENTS ON OLD FORMS OF PLUNDER.

Transfer of Equivalents is the Only Plan by Which Exchange Can be Carried On Successfully and Justly.

"Business is business" is an expression we often hear now-a-days from men of affairs by way of apology for modern methods generally or for insisting on the fulfillment of the harsh or cruel terms of some contract. Yes, "business is business," and its principal business, as now conducted, is to get money or wealth without the trouble of either producing it or rendering an equivalent service therefor.

This method of obtaining wealth is not especially novel, on the contrary it has been in use from the remotest ages of antiquity, but it has not always been dignified by being called "business." In former ages they were simple-minded enough to call the process by its true name—robbery!

There was a time in the evolution of man when robbery was regarded as quite the proper thing and was considered in every way as legitimate as stealing a railroad, cornering the coal market, loaning money at interest or selling goods at a profit is now. In that age, as in every succeeding one, the "prominent and respectable citizens" have regarded it as derogatory to their dignity to live by their own labor. "The world owed them a living," and inasmuch as those who produced the wealth were so thoughtless as to fail to voluntarily offer it to them they proceeded to take it by force whenever and wherever found. In "those good old days" the only title any man had to property of any kind was his ability to defend it. If that failed his title failed. The result was every man was a warrior and was compelled to spend the greater part of his time under arms. The cultivation of the fields and the care of the flocks and herds were left principally to women, boys, and old men.

The "leading citizens" were lovers of the chase and of all deeds of valor and sport, and much of their time following the deer, the bear or the wild boar, or in other favorite pastime, but always with an eye on the ripening fields or growing flocks of their less ambitious neighbors, who were content when unmolested to till the fields and support themselves by their own labor. But these prosaic people were always sure of an occasional call from the members of the aristocracy, which, strangely enough, generally occurred after the crops had been harvested or the flocks and herds fattened for slaughter. If they did not always give their visitors a "warm reception," it was because they were not always appraised in advance of their coming.

Sometimes the visitors got only broken heads for their pains, but more often they looted the premises and carried away everything of value that struck their fancy, even though it chanced to be a comely maiden.

But at length there arose a class of "agitators," who taught that all wealth of right belongs to those who produce it, and they advocated the organization of a co-operative society or government to carry that principle into effect. How preposterous! What incentive would remain for enterprising men to rise in the world! But, strange to say, this new doctrine found favor in the eyes of the people; the society was organized, laws were passed prohibiting robbery, and after a time these laws were enforced, and then, and not till then, did robbery cease to be "respectable."

Did the leading citizens thereafter live by their own labor? Oh, no! They had recourse to chattel slavery. It was a little more trouble. They were now compelled to watch and care for their slaves. But, after all, it served their purpose, and enabled them to live from the toil of others. For thousands of years this form of robbery was in vogue and was considered as eminently respectable, and not until our own day has the civilized world so far recognized the innate injustice of it as to abolish it by law.

But do all men now render an equivalent for what they receive? By no means. Never was there so much levying of tribute, never so much spoliation, never so much robbery, never was slavery so nearly universal, as now, but it is carried on under the more euphonic title of "business."

The motto of the business world seems to be "get wealth—honestly if you can—but get it." There is hardly a branch of business that has not become rotten to the core. Falsehood and misrepresentation are its almost inseparable companions. Adulterations of foods and medicines are all but universal, and highway robbery has by the modern trust or monopoly been reduced to a fine art. What is the difference in principle whether you are waylaid and a dollar is taken from you by force or whether through the monopoly on coal you are compelled to pay one dollar per ton more than the real value of the service rendered? If

one is robbery the other is, and one is no more immoral than the other.

What is needed today is to quicken and clarify the moral perceptions of the people and enable them to penetrate all shams and detect injustice whatever its disguise.

It is not the manner of taking that constitutes the moral iniquity of robbery; it is the fact of the taking without the rendition of equivalent service. It is wholly immaterial how that taking occurs, whether it be barter or trade or in the name of rent, interest or profit, or whether the law would call it larceny. Stripped of all sophistry and all disguises all alike are robbery. In the eye of eternal justice every coin is dishonest coin that does not represent an equal service.

Musings of a Mossback.

Don't distrust a man just because he wears a broadcloth coat. In these piping times of peace and prosperity, it is just as apt to shield an honest heart as it is to cover a full stomach.

And now we have a bread trust. It wouldn't be so bad, but the bread trust is controlled by the meat trust, and it will be rather slim living without either.

And now Seattle comes to the front with employment for the unemployed. Prove to the satisfaction of the municipal judge that you are a hobo or a sneak thief and he'll give you a job. No honest man need apply.

"Woman martyrs of Mammon worship" is the title a gold "bug organ" gives to women whose husbands are on the Klondike. As it has always upheld the "Mammon worship," don't those "martyrs" disturb its conscience any? "Competition is death to monopoly." Nay, friend, if you were running a hand cart you would be sure to get the cart before the donkey. Monopoly is death to competition. If you don't believe it, run up against the Standard Oil Company.

It is too bad that those who think alike cannot get together, but not so bad as that those who don't think alike do sometimes get together for spoils only. Did it ever occur to you that those who think alike are together?

I like this religion of love idea. It is a labor of love to knock the stuffing out of people and conditions who are a menace to improvement and stumbling blocks in the way of progress. I dearly love to give it to them in the neck. Your humble servant is strong on love.

I saw a man on the street corner deliberately kick a dog because it was well fed and fat while he was neither. Yet, it was the fault of this man, and others like him, not the fault of the dog at all.

Men who admit they have been working for reform along a single line for twenty years without any progress want us to stay back and help them. Why, that isn't a question of time, friend, but of eternity.

Some claim their "single planks" are a step towards Socialism; but if their aim is the destruction of the competitive "system," why not say so? I cannot see anything so lovable, enticing and sacred about the present chaotic condition of things that would stay me from lifting my hand against it.

The Topeka Advocate says Socialism could only be placed in operation beyond the pearly gates. Well, I haven't run across any authority that pretends our present system would work even in heaven.

A great many people are making a living furnishing quack nostrums for the diseased body politic. They are afraid its cure would throw them out of a job. So they are opposed to radical remedies.

Understand me, I am not defending Socialism. It has never been attacked. (The firing of blank cartridges, beating of tom-toms and explosion of bombs filled with mud does not constitute an attack.) Socialism may, with some need explanation; it does not require any defense. Its campaign is an aggressive, not a defensive, one. We propose to "move" immediately upon the enemy's works, and never to lay down our arms until the flag of unconditional surrender floats from the battlements of competition. BIGE EDDY. With West Coast Populist, Seattle, Washington.

The railroad companies charge the government sixty-four times as much as they do the express companies for the same service. The government pays eight cents a pound for carrying the mail; the express companies pay one-eighth of a cent a pound for carrying express. This helps to explain why highway robbery is no longer "respectable." The people can be relieved of their spare change in a far more artistic and gentlemanly manner and with less personal danger. The railroad officials and the politicians call it "business." We may be somewhat old-fashioned in our notions, but we think that "robbery" is the only word that fits the case.

How much worse would it be for the government (the people) to buy the railroads and operate them than for the people (the government) to buy them every few years in excessive tolls and still have no claim to them?—Appeal to Reason.

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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."

Subscribe for the Social Democrat and induce your friends to subscribe.

In ordinary competition one man's gain is another's loss.

Capitalism is one of the processes of evolution destined to bring a higher order of government. It is rapidly nearing its end.

Socialism is the necessary and inevitable result of the historical evolution of society. It cannot be stopped by calling it Utopian.

Charity degrades and debases its recipients; it is inhuman and unjust. Men want not charity, but justice, and the opportunity to labor for their bread.

Private property and competition creates classes. Socialism, as expressed through Social Democracy, will destroy classes and unite all humanity in the bonds of common interest.

So long as all our productive industries are in the hands of a few hungry sharks the people must expect to be devoured. Those who vote to continue such conditions deserve their fate.

Slavery cannot long continue except it be by and with the consent of the slaves. When with one voice they demand their freedom, no power can withhold it from them.

The delay in filling our orders for Merrie England has been very annoying, but it has been impossible for us to avoid it. We have at last received the books from the press in sufficient quantity to fill all orders, and the books will be sent out as rapidly as possible. Send in your orders and they will be promptly attended to.

One of the grandest institutions in the city of Chicago, if not in the whole country, is the socialistic public library. This magnificent institution is an eloquent object lesson of the freedom and thoroughness of the educational methods that would be universal under socialism.

The greater the power of production the smaller is the share of the wage-worker. The wage-worker in the United States, where machinery is more highly developed than anywhere else in the world, gets on the average about 18 per cent of his net product. The share of the English worker is about 20 per cent; of the French worker 25 per cent, while the worker of Italy gets about 40 per cent of his net product.

Beginning with the next issue, improvements will be inaugurated in the Social Democrat which we are sure will be appreciated by our readers. Prof. Leonhart's new story will be a very interesting feature which none of our comrades can afford to miss, and which they should take an interest in circulating as widely as possible. Let all the comrades take hold and do their best to push the circulation of the Social Democrat.

Buy 100 copies of Merrie England and distribute them among 100 of your acquaintances who are on the fence.

Blessed are the righteous minority, for they are the forerunners of every reform.—The Pointer.

"Labor is not a commodity any more than human souls are a commodity; labor is life."—Rev. George D. Herron.

THE EDITOR'S ARENA

If workmen are still under the impression that they have any political influence in the nation the recent appointment of Judge Paxson to the Interstate Commerce Commission ought to undeceive them and convince them of the folly of attempting to gain any political recognition of their interests by means of "independent political action."

Paxson is one of the most inveterate enemies of labor in the whole country, and his appointment at the dictation of the railroads, and against the protest of the labor organizations, has more significance than appears on the surface. As is well known, there is now sleeping in a committee of the senate an arbitration bill which has received the endorsement of the railway labor organizations of the country. This bill passed the lower house of the last congress and only escaped becoming law by the action of one senator in holding it up to the senate on a technicality, and delaying action so that adjournment took place before the bill could be properly reported from committee.

This bill, no doubt, be taken up and passed by the present congress. Under its terms the chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission has wide powers of discretion as to the administration of the law; in fact, whether the law shall be effective or non-effective virtually depends on him. With their own map as chairman of the commission the railroads have nothing to fear from the passage of the bill, but may rather gain considerable favor for themselves among the middle-class, goo-goo reformers who are deploring "the conflict between capital and labor," by insisting on its passage, while the railway labor organizations, whose members are vitally affected by the terms of the bill, are in no position to protest against its passage, as they have already endorsed it. Thus do the poor dupes of workingmen continue to gather the legitimate fruits of "independent political action."

For naive arguments against measures calculated to reduce the power of capitalism, that eminently capitalistic sheet, the Chicago Tribune, stands in a class by itself.

In a recent editorial captioned "The Streets Belong to the People," the Tribune argues against the folly of municipal ownership of street railways from a rather novel standpoint. It says: "If the city of Chicago were to own and operate the local street car lines and charge the same rate of fare as the present owners do, the city would not get more than a small fraction of the profits these owners get. The operating expenses would swell enormously. Wages would be advanced and more men employed."

This is the very argument that gives strength to the working class demand for municipal ownership, and the admission of its truth by a capitalist journal is rather significant. The Tribune's position in this instance is all the more significant from the fact that in the same connection it admits that "the streets belong to the people," and the fact that the people are robbed by the corporate manipulators of public franchises under the present system is greatly deplored. The Tribune demands a change, and the only argument it brings against municipal ownership is that the people would not get the benefit of taking possession of their own, because "wages would be advanced and more men employed."

As an alternative to this dire calamity of more wages and more employment for workingmen, the Tribune suggests that "if the corporations which want to get the use of the people's streets will pay a fair price and subject themselves to the reasonable control of the authorities, those corporations will make money if their affairs are managed with ordinary business ability, and the city will get a large revenue. Then the people will be satisfied and will not be in a state of constant irritation over monopolies that are making millions out of the unpaid-for use of the people's streets."

The Tribune is fighting against the inevitable. Its remedy is chimerical. The corporations will neither "pay a fair price" for the use of the streets nor submit to "reasonable control." The streets belong to the people, and the people will be satisfied with nothing less than the ownership and operation of the railways which use the streets, even though, or rather, because this involves the very thing the Tribune dreads, namely, "wages would be advanced and more men employed."

The beauties of competition are just now being illustrated by Armour, who is using it to break down a boycott placed upon him by the trade unionists of Marion, Ind. The boycott was the result of the trouble between Armour and the workingmen of Kansas City, and was enforced so effectually as to seriously interfere with the business of Armour's distributing plant at Marion. This was, of course, a victory for the trade unionists; the boycott accomplished its purpose, and Armour acknowledged the injury to his business by petitioning the trades' council of Marion to remove the ban. The petition was not favorably considered, after which Armour proceeds to raise the boycott in his own way—he is competing it out of

existence. Opening up retail markets and selling meat for about half the regular price. Armour gets all the business. People crowd to Armour's markets in such numbers that the police are called into requisition to keep the sidewalks clear in front of them, and the business of the other retailers is practically ruined. The trade unionists are making heroic efforts to prevent people from patronizing the cheap markets, but their efforts are apparently without avail. Evidently the retailers who have been assisting the trades' council to maintain the Armour boycott are not going to stand quietly by and see their business ruined by this sort of warfare, in which they are at so great a disadvantage, and if the council expects to continue the boycott it must meet Armour on his own ground. It must find a way to sell meat and groceries to the people (for Armour is preparing to open retail grocery stores as well as meat markets) as cheap as Armour sells them. This is manifestly impossible. In the game of competition Armour has the best of the situation and is bound to come out ahead.

This is but another proof of the fact that strikes and boycotts can no longer aid workingmen in their struggle for humane conditions of existence. There was a time when these weapons were of some use, but the march of industry has deprived them of all potency, and today our great captains of industry have absolutely no fear of either strike or boycott. Boycotts will be tolerated as long as they do no harm to the industries at which they are aimed, but just as soon as they become effective they will be crushed, either by competing them out of existence or by invoking the law against them. There is absolutely no hope for workingmen except by making use of the weapons of socialism.

It is singular that there is so much credence given to the common arguments against socialism when there is so much evidence in the experience of everyday life to refute them. For instance, the argument that socialism would destroy incentive and remove all stimulus to production is a very common one, and it is one that carries considerable weight, yet it is refuted continually by the daily experiences and familiar tendencies of industry. It is a well authenticated fact that at the present time the distribution of a very small share of the profits arising from associated labor acts as a tremendous stimulus to each individual producer, and the most stable and successful businesses of the present day are conducted on the profit-sharing basis; indeed, many optimistic capitalists, kind of heart, but not posted as to the tendencies of the profit system, are inclined to regard profit-sharing as the complete solution of the industrial problem which is so greatly perplexing the world.

It has been proved that firms which set aside a portion of their profits for division among their employes find the plan a very profitable one for themselves. The men take a greater interest in their work and strive eagerly to increase the common product, knowing that each individual will be the gainer as the common product is larger. They take better care of machinery; they guard against waste in production; they save fuel, light, oil, material, and in all possible ways seek to lessen the cost of production, because each saving means a gain to them.

It has been proved by the experiments of Leclair and Godin that inventiveness also is stimulated by a share in the common product. The workers in these businesses are ever seeking to discover and apply better methods of production, and to make improvements in their machinery so as to increase the efficiency of their labor.

Now, these facts are beyond dispute, and if the distribution of a small share of the profits of industry above ordinary wages will produce such results, how can it be argued that the distribution of all the profits of industry will produce the opposite results? Can it be argued that men will be industrious, careful and inventive when they get but a fraction of the result of their associated labor, but will immediately plunge into sloth, recklessness and stagnation when they get the whole of it? The argument is preposterous in its absurdity.

A writer in a recent number of the Arena, in attempting to prove the fallacy of Socialism, makes this characteristic observation: "The state, as representing the people, becomes the sole and universal owner of labor and its products; but don't you see that you, as an individual, become relatively the servant of everybody else but yourself? . . . the state becomes the taskmaster and you become a slave. Human nature revolts against such a drastic form of altruism." He laments that Socialism would abolish the interdependence of individuals. Peter would cease to depend on John for his breadstuffs, and John would cease to depend on Thomas for his clothing, etc. Well, what of it?

Who in the world's history do we revere the most? Is it not those who have consecrated their best efforts to the service of their fellow men? Where, indeed, do we find a more beautiful type of this than in Her-

bert Spencer himself, whom the writer of the above undoubtedly accepts as final authority on all sociological subjects? Hasn't he been the willing slave of his fellowmen in his efforts to construct a philosophy for their guidance? As a matter of fact it is impossible for any sympathetic and sane man to avoid being the servant of others, unless he be cast on a desert island. And more and more is this true as we grow to realize our relation to society. Every day we realize a growing accountability to society and the necessity for improving social conditions. Truly, altruism makes slaves of us, but it is a very noble and humane form of slavery. The man who succors the weak and defenseless may be a servant of the weak, but he does not feel less liberty from that fact. Thus in the coming socialistic state of society, so far as we are able to guess at its organization, there would be a broadened sense of accountability on the part of the individual. He would feel that he owed it to society to be noble and high minded, realizing that to be otherwise would be to lower the state of social perfection to just that degree. By the disappearance of the competitive system the necessity for selfish struggle for the means of subsistence would be gone and the individual could thus allow his natural altruistic nature to dominate his conduct. Man is a social animal, but our present system of commercial piracy and vampirism distorts that natural bent and makes of life a never ceasing war between individuals. With the implements of production common property, so that each worker would have the full return of his labor, the productive work of the world would be so systematized that we would have plenty of time to develop our better natures—our true individuality. Laziness would not displace thrift, man never works harder than when at some self appointed task, as the Socialist of today has good reason to know. If from atomism some member of society chose to loaf, his doing so would be of injury only to himself, in a sense, for he would be loafing at the expense of no one but himself and he would be unable to eat unless he performed enough labor to provide himself with food. We work today in order to get food and shelter and it would be the same under Socialism, for as incentive went. All these hints at a coming paternalism need scarce no one. Paternalism might have been possible in the ignorant past. We are a reading people today, and people who have knowledge cannot long submit to oppression.

As to the interdependence of individuals, where is the advantage of bread and clothes made under private auspices over the same things made under public auspices, all other things being equal? We know that a good deal of the bread turned out of private bakeries today is not fit for food, and the greater part of the clothing is made by sweaters. Publicly baked bread would be clean and wholesome and of proper materials. Publicly made clothing would be of honest materials and free from the germs of diseased sweaters' tenement dens.

The claim so often heard that under Socialism inventive genius would decline, is the worst sort of nonsense. The supposition is that inventors are spurred on to their work by the idea of personal advancement. Such is not the case, with the possible exception of petty contrivances made by men in establishments. As a matter of fact the genuine inventor centers his whole mind on the work in hand and has no brain tissue left to burn on the commercial altar. This may account for the fact that an inventor is rarely a good business man. His mind is centered on something else. If a list of the notable inventors of the modern world could be had with full particulars as to their business affairs the result would surely show that they were almost without exception unthrifty and even improvident. In fact it has come to be a by-word that inventors never get rich on their own inventions, however, those inventions may have increased the sum of human knowledge or the wealth of society. It seems as if the inventive faculty destroys all business caution and makes the inventor singularly trusting in others and even childlike.

Years ago a farmer in Michigan named Samuel Faries constructed a gun on an entirely new principle. He got a lawyer to get his patent for him and in the meantime a neighboring farmer named Colt called on him and he showed his model and guilelessly explained its whole working principle. The patent office burned down, fruitless efforts were made to get the delayed patent and shortly afterward the Colt revolver, built on the principle of the Faries firearm made its appearance, well protected by patent papers. Take another case. John Bachelder was a prosperous member of an important firm in New York city. He was a shrewd and successful business man. One day he saw the model of Howe's sewing machine on exhibition in a show window. The thing was crude and really worthless except as a curiosity. The cloth had to be laboriously placed on a hoop and the machine sewed round the hoop. It sewed, it was true, but the work it performed was utterly worthless from a commercial standpoint. Mr. Bachelder became fired with an ambition to make a sewing machine that would do valuable work and bring relief to the people who sewed by hand. He became so engrossed in his inventing that he lost the business faculty and withdrew from the firm. Fitting up a little machine shop he gave himself wholly to the work in hand. When-

ever he overcame a knotty point he told everybody he knew. A man named Baker began to drop in and was very curious as to the progress of the work. Others also began to frequent the shop, taking about the same interest in it that a fox would in the establishment of a chicken coop. A man named Grover came disguised and shortly afterward the Grover & Baker machine was put on the market, made up almost entirely of the Bachelder inventions. Howe, Singer and others visited the shop. Bachelder finally patented his most notable inventions that made up his machine, the horizontal table, continuous feed and vertical straight needle, but ways were found to prove that his patent did not fully cover these points. He had sunk the money realized when he sold out his interest in the importing firm, five years of his life had been wasted as had been also several thousand dollars he had borrowed. Being in a hole he finally sold out his rights to an agent of the Singer people in disguise for a few thousand dollars and was thus able to pay back what he had borrowed. Once out of the inventive mood and thrown on his own resources, Mr. Bachelder's business powers came back to him and in subsequent years he made two separate fortunes as a manufacturer of woolen and cotton goods, finally losing the greater part of his fortune in a panic that swept the Pacific coast. In Mr. Bachelder's case it is very clearly shown that the inventive spirit does not really spring from hope of financial reward, so much as from a desire to accomplish something.

It is admitted by the English press that the United States is, and will remain, the cheapest steel producing country in the world. In view of this fact does a tariff on steel "protect American industry," or merely assist Mr. Carnegie and his friends in plundering the people and acquiring title to the earth? Our American voters are on the whole an intelligent lot of fools! What would you think of the business men of the country if they were to voluntarily assist some noted burglar in cracking their own safes? The robbery of the trusts will cease when their victims stop assisting them in their acts of plunder.

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Proportional Representation No. 15.

We continue our criticism of the method of election known as the "multiple vote," as usually employed in the election of committees, etc. We refer throughout to the specific case of an election of a committee of five.

A grave objection to the multiple vote is that it mixes and muddles things, and brings in a large element of chance. It is sometimes like throwing dice. There is no telling which side will come to the top. Many curious combinations of the five-fold vote take place. Monopolization of all the representatives by a mere majority of the voters may result from the inherent cussedness of the method itself, and not from a deliberate or organized attempt on the part of the majority.

Then, instead of your being represented in a clear and definite way by one distinct delegate on the committee, you have, so to speak, only a one-fifth interest in five different delegates, men necessarily of diverse views and opinion on some subjects that you are interested in. Which idea of representation is most in accord with common sense?

Some persons have the idea that a man's voting power is lessened by giving him only one vote instead of five. This is a fallacy. When everybody else has five votes as well as you, your additional votes are swamped and neutralized by the additional votes of the other fellows; so that you get all the disadvantages of the multiple vote without any increase of your voting power.

MAJORITY AND MINORITY. It is sometimes said: "Oh, the majority must govern." But to apply that remark to an election is to suffer from confusion of thought. Representation is one thing; government and legislation is another. First, get a fair representation of the voters in your committee, then let a majority of the representatives decide when it comes to a decision, Yes or No, on any measure. And there is much to be done in any governing or executive body besides the mere Yes and No vote. An intelligent minority of representatives has great weight and influence; its voice can be heard; it can fully and fairly present the views of the voters whom it represents; and it can watch the majority and keep them straight if need be. These things are the clear rights of the minority, and they are denied by the use of the multiple vote.

THE GOLDEN RULE. Take another illustration. Six or seven voters out of the thirty are particularly desirous to have a certain man—say Mr. Smith—on that committee. The other twenty-three or twenty-four voters are indifferent or hostile to Smith, or prefer somebody else. These six or seven men are one-fifth of the committee, and therefore they are entitled by right to one-fifth of the representation; that is, one committeeman out of the five. Under the multiple vote they are deprived of that right; that is, they are disfranchised—deprived of their voting power. Under proportional representation any candidates having six votes would be elected.

no difference in principle between the two actions. If it is right to disfranchise the six men in the meeting, it is also right to disfranchise the six thousand in the larger election. In each case it is a tyrannous usurpation by the majority. Perhaps it never struck you in that way?

THE UNIT OF REPRESENTATION. It may be asked, Why have not one-sixth of the voters a right to independent representation, as well as one-fifth? Because only five members are being elected, and the right of such representation is limited by the number of members. If six members were being elected, then one-sixth of the voters would have the right to independently elect one member. They would then be what is called "the Unit of Representation."

The case we are talking is an election in which the unit of representation is one-fifth of the electors. Although in this case a smaller number cannot elect their own particular man, yet the proportional representation single vote gives them considerable latitude of choice.

The trust is doing more to spread the gospel of Socialism than all other teachers of the present day. By demonstrating on a large scale in actual business affairs, the infinite superiority of co-operative methods over competition, this most efficient teacher has performed a lasting service to mankind.

Liberty and civilization are only fragments of rights wrung from the strong hands of wealth and book learning; almost all the great truths relating to society were not the result of scholarly meditation, but have been first heard in the solemn protests of martyred patriotism and the loud cries of crushed and struggling labor.—Wendell Phillips.

THE OTHER SIDE. It may be easy for those with wealth to sing of the pleasures of life. For wealth means pleasure and comfort and ease and others to carry you through; But, given a life with mouths to feed and the means to be wrung from a strife. With every man's hand against you, and the weight to be carried beside Of the parasites hanging above you, and the best that you could do, To endlessly labor—for what?—for the leave to labor on, till you died, Would you feel that such a life would be a meed of endless delight? But there is a pleasure and this it is, to labor on for the right.

The world is raving, "keep still," to us; It has ever raved the same; But thought is free and the ways to be cleared, so we're going to work it through. Whoever a coward and faint-heart is, let him cower to the world and—shame! But whoever has manhood, a warm heart and strength, whose nature is all true, blue, Come on, we will go where the way is rough and try what good we can do. We will go our way cheerily, boys, and laugh at the world's cold spite; For there is a pleasure and this it is, to labor on for the right.

Man never began on the path of progress to stop when he got this far. We have but started; we're going ahead in spite of the piping voice Of each poor, old croaker, who wheezes and whines, to whom every straw is a bar. That he cannot get over. Away with such. We will seize the banner, boys, And go on mounting the hill of Hope, where a voice is crying, "Rejoice. The morn is breaking, the world is waking." Cheerily send the cry The world around to the farthest bound, till it pierces the farthest sky. Onward, on! Never let up, while a tyrant is left in sight; For there is a pleasure and this it is, to labor on for the right.

J. A. EDGERTON.

TWO. DANA—PULLMAN. The croupier pale rakes the counters in, At the game where Death does forever win; He gathers them all, by their great or small— The bravny brain that served a braggart greed. The money-man that made all workers' bleed, Their hands he calls as in his bag they fall; What matters now the place they held so proud, For power and help are lost within the shroud. The millions remain, get winnow'd of grain, Both false and foul stands the work of the train. For lives that are gone were written in smoke, From the pyres of gain all heavy with pain, Prest out the thews of man who loaded the twain. While the lives of misery o'er them broke, Oct. 29, 1897. —Richard J. Hinton.

Every man ought to stand in primary relations with the work of the world, ought to do it himself, and not suffer the accident of his having a purse in his pocket, or his having been bred to some dishonorable craft, to sever him from those duties—and for this reason, that labor is God's education.—Ruskin.

Agitation is the marshaling of the conscience of a nation to mould its laws.—Sir R. Peel.

You can't afford to miss our new edition of Merrie England; 10 cents will buy two copies.

Advertisement for a watch featuring the text: 'FREE EXAMINATION of all our Watches, and you can refuse to accept and return them at our expense if not equal in every respect to what we claim them to be. No other house in the world can sell as cheaply as we can. The case of watch advertised here is beautifully engraved, heavily 14 K. gold plated, hunting, stem wind and set. Will last a lifetime. Movement is one of the best made and fully guaranteed, and the watch looks like a genuine \$40 Solid Gold Watch. We send it by Express, C. O. D., to anyone and if satisfactory, you pay agent \$5.45 and express charges. Otherwise return it. If money is sent with order we pay all express charges and give a beautiful Chain Free. Write whether gent's or lady's. Order to-day, as watches are advancing in price and our stock may not last long. ROYAL WATCH CO., 234 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.'

FROM OUR CONTRIBUTORS

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

Bible Teaching Up to Date.

By J. Alfred Kingborn-Jones. "Surely in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird."

With this proverb of Solomon before us, we can not admit that we are inferior in sagacity and intelligence to the feathered tribe, for the net is spread with brazen boldness in our full sight, before every election, and we, Labor, are caught in the meshes and the plucking goes on; the power that spreads the net and manipulates the strings is the money monopoly, and the vast majority of reformers do not realize the fact that there is only one way to escape from these foul fowls.

To prove this statement, take our latest reform magazine, the New Time, for November, with articles "Representative Government a Failure," "Street Railways," "Direct Legislation," "Ethical Aspect of the Labor Problem."

The reason our government is not representative and that we do not own the street railways, or enjoy direct legislation, is because it is against the interests of the money power that we should, and they see to it that we shall not so long as they hold the reins, and further, they will not hand over the guiding lines to the people except by actual compulsion.

Rev. J. Stitt Wilson's sermon, "Ethical Aspect of the Labor Problem," is, like all the other articles without a single practical suggestion of means by which to escape from our "mutual antagonism, selfishness and distrust of man with his fellow," as he rightly describes our present mode of existence.

His teaching, to in all things as ye would that men should do unto you do ye even so unto them, could not apply to any other state or condition in this life than Socialism.

The apostles, His chosen followers to spread His system in earth, commenced at once to form Socialistic communities, in which the law was established "that he that would not work should not eat."

Now to the law laid down by our comrade and his assertion regarding the conditions of society in the days of Christ I am compelled to radically differ: First, as to his law that Socialism can only have a material foundation when capitalism is the parent or producer.

Wilson goes on: "Impatiently we pray and weep and think and Labor (?) for the kingdom of social justice to come upon the earth."

the doctrine inculcated by the carpenter's Son, and this can be adopted at once. It is in use in almost every state, and then in vain will the false "shepherds, political or ecclesiastical" (see Wilson's sermon) spread the net of ballots or churches in the sight of any of the scientific labor exchanges.

The Social Democracy colonies will illustrate the true "ethical aspect of the Labor problem."

Christ a Socialist.

By J. S. Powers, M. D.

In reply to the article of Comrade Joseph Whitehorn of New York, which seems to have been written in a friendly spirit of inquiry, and not of criticism, I would say we believe Christ was a Socialist because His life and teachings can have no other logical conclusion.

His life was spent in the cause of humanity. To rescue the perishing and relieve the suffering, whether of body or mind, was His meat and drink.

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Wilson goes on: "Impatiently we pray and weep and think and Labor (?) for the kingdom of social justice to come upon the earth."

In fact, if we except Peru, of whose etiological factors we can know nothing, religion has been the vital force of all practical Socialism, and my dear comrade, if you will think a moment, you will discover that many noble men are active in this movement not because of capitalism, for its baneful influence are not reaching them at present, but because Christ's loving spirit for humanity is prompting them to lay their all on the altar of Socialism that others may be benefited.

Now I will notice the assertion made that no such conditions existed in the days of Christ as now. Let the pages of history decide. Turn to 1st Caesar, chapter 2, paragraph 6, and read this language: "The farms were bought up by the Roman capitalists and the small holdings were merged into vast estates. Besides this, the public lands were leased by the senate on easy terms to persons of political influence, who by lapse of time came to regard these lands as their own by right of occupation."

Again: "The effect of this absorbing of land into great estates, worked by slaves, was to crowd free labor into the large towns, and into Rome above all. There they found every trade and occupation filled with slaves, whose labor only increased the wealth of the capitalists."—1st Caesar, 2d chapter, 8th paragraph. Many similar quotations might be given, but these are enough to show that capitalism existed in the days of Christ.

Washington.

By G. A. Hubbell.

In a previous letter I spoke about the importance, as it appeared to me, of placing a plank in the political platform of the Social Democracy that is in no other political platform, viz.: The abolition of all taxation save that upon land values. This destroys the selling value of vast areas of land, and from land in private hands that has value it takes ground rent; a revenue with which upon this free land the Social Democracy can build its productive enterprises.

As Washington, the great general, demonstrated upon the field of action his fitness to be the first president of our nation, so Washington, the great state of natural resources, has proved by its actions in the last few years its fitness and willingness to become the first co-operative commonwealth of our nation, and of the world. The people of that state recently came to the conclusion that the common habit of unnecessarily fining and attempting to fine people because they produced something was all a mistake.

time an exemption of \$500 was made of the improvements made by the users of land. This so scared special privilege, and especially gamblers in vacant land, that an appeal was made to, as a rule, the devil's last resort, the supreme court. The supreme court held the law to be unconstitutional. The people were shrewd enough not to depend upon the supreme court. They passed a law at the same legislature submitting to the people an amendment to the constitution, to be voted upon in November, 1898. This amendment, if carried, will allow local option in matters of taxation. Then, if one county sees fit to gradually eliminate one vicious tax after another from her domain, all other counties in self defense must follow suit until every county in the state has rendered unto its citizens a simpler and a juster form of government. So must follow every state in the Union.

Great fear is already upon those of Washington who wax fat by the monopolization and non-use of land, the common storehouse of us all. Land is now, on this account, comparatively cheap there.

Social Democracy men will not have gained residence soon enough to vote upon the amendment. They can console themselves with much else to do.

The single tax men of Washington, who are coming our way, are calling upon their brethren of all the United States for help. The Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth has taken its stand for freedom in the state of Washington and is calling upon its brothers of all the United States for help.

So why not call out with a ring that can be heard from Washington to Washington: Attention! Social Democracy! Onward to the state of Washington, and there let us all stand up together, brothers all, and fight it out with the common enemy, if it takes more than "all summer!"

Symbols and Fusion.

Mr. Editor:—I trust that those true and earnest comrades who sincerely seek the betterment of humanity will not advocate anything in regard to symbols, emblems or mottoes which will not be strictly non-sectarian, non-political and free from all bias and prejudice.

If anything is adopted it should be purely significant of man's universal brotherhood, without any religion, nationality or country. This, it seems to me, is very essential, in order to draw all kinds of people towards our movement.

In this connection allow me to mention a complaint which I frequently hear from those who are favorably disposed towards Social Democracy, but who yet stand aloof and outside. These people say: "I am afraid Debs will fuse with one or the other of the old parties. If Debs would forbid fusing," etc.

Now, if Mr. Debs would declare himself as unalterably opposed to fusion with either of the old parties under any and all circumstances it would give confidence and backbone to the movement so far as these doubters are concerned. Fusion with either of the old parties has an unsavory smell, and is the death knell of any party or movement which tries it. It is worse than leprosy. If there is ever an attempt made to fuse, or any evidence that the leaders of the movement are engaged in any trading scheme with either of the old parties, that moment confidence is destroyed in the minds of the intelligent rank and file, and all prospect to unite the reform element is gone.

E. P. HASSINGER.

Brodhead, Wis.

[With regard to the question of a symbol for the Social Democracy, it is one which will properly come before the National Council for solution at the convention next June. There is no doubt but something of this sort will be adopted at the proper time, and it will be in line with ideas of universal brotherhood, and not calculated to cater to ideas of sectarian prejudice. It is impossible to understand why any person should hold aloof from the movement through fear of fusion with the old parties, as expressions on this point have been sufficiently explicit and forcible not to be misunderstood. There will be no fusion. On every possible occasion Comrade Debs has taken the opportunity to express himself in opposition to any fusion or compromise.

In his letter published in the Social Democrat of Oct. 21st, he said: "We stand for the complete overthrow of capitalism, the abolition of the wage system, and the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution; and the Social Democracy of America, as a national and international political and economic organization, will fight along that line without a shade of fusion or compromise, either as to principles or candidates (excepting in case of an honorable alliance with another Socialist organization), until victory is achieved and the Co-operative Commonwealth is established." This language is sufficiently plain, and those who are afraid of Debs advocating fusion with the old parties may possess their souls in peace. It should be understood that the Social Democracy is much broader than Comrade Debs, and even if he desired fusion—which he does not—it is very doubtful if he could accomplish it.—Ed.]

The exports from the United States during the last fiscal year were the greatest of any year in the history of the country, as was also the excess of exports over imports. Thus, according to the protective tariff theory, the last year must have been the most prosperous one in the entire history of the country. What say the people?

COLONIZATION DEPARTMENT

CYRUS FIELD WILLARD, SECRETARY

[NOTE.—The editor is not responsible for the opinions of correspondents.]

Report of Receipts.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Includes John Hayland, Eli Shore, A. Tillotson, Wilhelm Grund, Maurice Walsh, Axel Molin, Branch 9 of Illinois, L. Zakshesky, Friend, C. C. Janney, Harry Ludford, Ed. Ehrlich, Wm. S. Tuescher, W. Oehlert.

Total \$1,207.45 W. P. BORLAND, Treasurer.

The Time For Action.

Before another sixty days are over it is expected that the colonization commission will have their band of selected pioneers on their way rejoicing, hewing down trees, making lumber, building houses, sowing fields, making roads and performing all the manifold duties required in breaking ground for the new commonwealth.

If you who read this have not yet enrolled yourself or are not doing something in the way of contributing funds or in other ways, you had better get about it.

There is a very expressive phrase now extant, which describes how people climb into the band wagon as it passes by and if you are too slow you may not be able to do even that.

People nowadays talk about the heroes of the abolition movement and erect statues to them. The heroes of the abolition movement to abolish wage slavery are now with us and perhaps if you hurry up and get a move on your children may go around proud in the fact that their father had a statue erected to him for heroism.

Stranger things that this happen. When the aristocratic mob pulled Garrison through the streets of Boston who thought then that his statue would be adorning the aristocratic part of Boston in less than thirty years and his son would be addressing public meetings as a somebody, principally because he is the son of his father.

You also can be a hero or a clod. Which will you be? If you intend to be something more than a clod you will have to do something. Words are nice things but the man who performs is of more account than he who does nothing.

Money not only talks but it makes people perform. If you cannot do anything yourself, send in your money. It will do something or provide with eatables the man who can do something and is willing to do something and will do something.

Success is Certain.

Our comrades want to know everything that is going on. That is perfectly natural and yet we can only say "wait a little."

Events are occurring of great importance which will be made known to our membership as soon as it is practicable.

Bear in mind that the members of the colonization commission have not been asleep but have been hard at work. Much has been done and much accomplished and even yet more remains to be done.

In this great work of building the foundation for a new system a vast amount of routine work is absolutely essential. Our members can do a great deal towards assisting us by doing their share and helping in the branches, in arousing interest and seeing that the collector does his work. The secretary of the commission will be pleased to answer any questions that it is possible to answer.

One thing should be steadily remembered. The members of this commission were charged with the duty of establishing a co-operative colony and one will be established.

The slanders of open or concealed enemies will not prevent it, neither will the apathy of those who think they know better than the founders of this organization what is best to be done.

The constitution of the Social Democracy of America calls for the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth through colonization and the constitution will be lived up to. Those who do not care to live up to the constitution will have to stand out of the road when the forces in favor of the colonization commence to move.

These forces are immense, grand, and have the whole organization behind them. As was stated in the last issue, the whole force of the entire organization is to be concentrated on making the colonization movement a success. Success will be ours. Comrades close up ranks and march forward with confidence to the ultimate and certain victory.

Competition and Books.

Many good Socialists would like to see the colonization ideas of the Social Democracy prevail but they say that they cannot for the reason that the competitive system will not permit them to succeed.

Their criticism is based on the presumption that the colonies of the Social Democracy are to compete with the outside capitalistic system.

That is the 'oubt with most of the critics of the Social Democracy. Their criticism is usually based on what they imagine we will do and not on any de-

clared policy enunciated by Comrade Debs or any others competent to speak for the Social Democracy.

It is just as well for the outside world to bear in mind that the Social Democracy is not to engage in competition with the present capitalistic system.

We propose to cut away from the competitive system and establish a co-operative system where production will be carried on for use and not for profit.

As rapidly as possible it is our purpose to establish various industries and produce the various articles needed for the benefit of our various members and not to produce as cheaply as possible for markets where the products will be sold for money by means of which the various products can be bought.

We are not establishing a system by means of which we can make profits. Our purpose is to establish a system by means of which men can be guaranteed a livelihood. To do this it is necessary to establish as many varied industries as quickly as possible so that the skeleton framework of a new society can be put into operation immediately.

Agriculture is the primal occupation as it provides the wherewithal to provide food. When food is assured in large quantities then it is possible to start many different industries. Shelter is one of the things needed almost as quickly as food and then comes clothing of various kinds.

The writer asked an old member of the Topolobampo colony what he found the most lack of in that colony and the answer came quickly:

"Books. We got enough to eat and enough clothing but what I missed more than anything was books."

Herein is a lesson for our colonists. When our colony gets started one thing needed more than another is a paper mill and a good printing outfit so that all the standard and classical English works whose copyrights have run out may be duplicated. A public library should be one of the first things established so that the intellectual hunger of the colonists may be provided for as well as their physical hunger.

One in a Thousand.

Every branch should take up the idea expressed in the words "One in a Thousand."

This is an effort to secure 1,000 persons in this broad land of America who will give \$100 each when the full number of donors has been reached.

It means that 1,000 persons pledge themselves to contribute \$100 each or \$100,000 to make our colony movement a success.

We have at the present time all the labor and all the varieties of labor needed to make our colony a success.

What we need at the present time is the money to move and to furnish with machinery the available labor.

In days gone by a person desiring to join a colony had to possess labor and capital combined. In other words he had to have so much money else he could not join the colony. He had to be a capitalist and laborer too and a money price was put on admission to a colony and made a prerequisite for membership.

This is not scientific. A man may have just the skill needed to make a colony a success and be perfectly willing to furnish the skilled and trained labor so much needed by the colony and yet be without a cent. A money price of admission to the colony prevents the colony getting the kind of labor it needs.

The only really scientific plan is to separate the two functions and not insist that the laborer shall be capitalist.

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also in the sense that he must furnish both.

That is the reason why it has been suggested that 1,000 persons contribute \$100 each, making a fund of \$100,000. If each branch would take hold of the idea, as it should, we can soon raise the number.

If from now on the collector in each branch will send in the names of persons whom he thinks could be induced to contribute that amount, the secretary of the commission will correspond with the persons named and endeavor to secure their pledge of that amount.

If each and every one will work together from now on enthusiastically and unitedly we can soon get the 1,000 names. There are not only 10,000 persons in America who will contribute that amount but there are ten times that number if we can only reach them.

It is for us now to do our whole duty and the doubting Thomases will quickly fall in line and help us to reach still others. To work!

An Interview With Bellamy.

It was my good fortune while in Denver to have two long interviews with Edward Bellamy.

It was with pleasure I noted his eye was clear, and although somewhat emaciated, he was in much better physical condition than the newspaper accounts had led me to expect.

He was very much pleased to see me, as it was years since we had met, and many of our mutual friends were dead and gone.

He was very anxious to hear about the Social Democracy and its plans, and he made use of a very significant expression when one takes into account the published statements that he was opposed to the Social Democracy.

"I consider," he said, deliberately, "that the Social Democracy is the hope of America's future."

The next day Col. Hinton and myself had a long chat with him, and he expressed the ideas of American Socialism in a most charming and graceful manner. He expressed in singularly apt phrases his conviction that while man was to a large extent influenced by his environments, yet man himself determined and fashioned those environments; that economic revolution was proceeding rapidly, and yet it was the unfolding and evolving mind of man that preceded and caused the economic evolution.

He expressed the liveliest hope that the Social Democracy would succeed, and while he knew but little of our plans, he also expressed hearty wishes for the success of the colonization department. C. F. W.

Which is the Next Branch.

I think now without doubt our local branch here will be able to furnish one of the \$100 pledges, or if not our branch, a number of the members associated together and presume it matters not so we get the pledge from reliable sources. Is the number of \$100 pledges sufficiently encouraging to assure success in the spring even though you should not secure the financial aid you were expecting some time ago? If any questions are too pertinent do not answer them. I ask such only because of my deep concern.

After the \$100,000 or some large amount is secured, cannot several thousand members be enrolled in the colonization department who are able and can be depended upon to pay a monthly dues of say 50 cents or \$1 to serve as a permanent base of supplies for the first year or two? I am of the opinion that such a plan might succeed especially when once demonstrated to such members that by the operation of such a plan success is assured beyond any doubt. J. W. NEWBERN.

Richmond Ind.

Who killed competition? The trust killed competition.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

A RECORD OF THE WEEK'S PROPAGANDA AND PROGRESS.

Some Interesting Facts About The Movement From Various Parts of The American Continent.

Oregon contains some very earnest workers, under whose direction the Social Democracy is rapidly becoming a power in the State.

New Hampshire is rapidly falling in line under the banner of Social Democracy. A strong branch, composed of thorough Socialists and earnest workers, was recently organized at Nashua, N. H., and other branches are in process of formation at other points in the state.

Comrade Debs has left Chicago on another extended organizing trip. He is now in Indiana, where he will spend a few days in organizing the larger cities.

The mass-meeting held by our New York comrades on Dec. 12th was a grand success. John Swinton presided, and the war horses of the labor movement in New York were strongly in evidence.

The recent short trip of Comrade Debs through Canada was productive of much good for the cause of Socialism. Good meetings were held at St. Thomas, London, Hamilton and Toronto.

At Toronto afternoon and evening meetings were held in the auditorium, a large hall which was exceedingly well filled. The afternoon meeting was presided over by Rev. Morgan Wood, the celebrated divine, who made a very happy address of introduction.

The evening meeting was presided over by A. W. Holmes, president of the Toronto Trade and Labor Council. These meetings have resulted in great good to our cause, and the movement among our Canadian comrades has been greatly strengthened.

The Buffalo meeting was held in the large Turn hall, which was packed to the doors by an appreciative audience which listened eagerly to the doctrine of Social Democracy. The meeting was presided over by Mr. Taggart, business agent of the Buffalo Central Labor Union, who is an able and efficient representative of the labor interests of Buffalo.

The Toledo meeting was held at Memorial hall, a vast auditorium,

where a magnificent audience assembled to hear the gospel of Social Democracy.

Dr. Maguire, one of our most active comrades, presided, and introduced his honor, S. M. Jones, mayor of the city, who, in a very happy speech, introduced Comrade Debs as the speaker of the evening.

The most unique representation appeared upon the stage. It was a truly socialistic scene. The sexes were equally represented and each labor union had its delegates, as also social and civic societies. Our colored comrades were well represented on the stage, so that the combination of social elements was complete, and when the mayor introduced the speaker the vast audience evinced its appreciation by demonstrations of unbounded enthusiasm.

The movement in Toledo has been greatly strengthened as a result of this meeting. A large number of new members have joined and an impetus has been given the organization sentiment which will result in the formation of several new branches.

The Jewish-speaking Socialists of New York City are thoroughly organized under the banner of the Social Democracy, and are doing good work for the cause. They have daily and weekly papers, which are ably conducted, and which have a large circulation in New York and vicinity. They have arranged for a grand masquerade ball, to be given on Jan. 29, for the purpose of raising funds to carry on the work. Tickets have been placed at the low price of 25 cents each. There will no doubt be a large turnout, and the financial expectations of our comrades will be fully realized.

The Chicago branches are all working hard, and their membership is increasing steadily and surely. The newly formed central committee is doing good work in bringing the branches in close touch with each other, and systematizing the work of propaganda.

On the night of Dec. 27 a grand meeting was held at Uhlhorn's hall, corner Sixty-third street and Center avenue, Chicago. This meeting was under the auspices of Branch 9 of Illinois, and was addressed by National Organizer John F. Lloyd. It was well attended and enthusiastic, and will result in a large increase in the membership of Branch 9.

On account of failure to secure a proper hall the regular meeting of Branch No. 6 will be postponed for one week. Arrangements for obtaining a large hall are about completed, and the next meeting will be held on Jan. 5. The meeting will be well advertised, and members will be notified of the location two or three days in advance.

Comrade F. E. Thunberg of 1758 North Clark street, Chicago, is anxious to help the colony work, but like many other comrades, he finds himself unable to do much for lack of means. Comrade Thunberg is an excellent tailor, and he makes the following offer in aid of the cause: "If members of the Social Democracy who can afford to have their clothes made to order will give me their address I will donate ten per cent of the price of all such work to the Colony fund of the Social Democracy." Here is a chance for many of our comrades to aid the cause in a very practical way.

Comrade Paul Raphaely of Baltimore suggests that it would be a good idea for the Social Democracy to start a great national school, or better still, a school in each state in the union, "where logic, elocution, political economy and journalism should be taught." The comrade says: "Only then can we hope to be successful, when we have an intelligently trained corps of agitators." The comrade has not over-estimated the value of education, and the Social Democracy realizes the need of it fully. One of the first moves of our colony organization after it has become established will be to inaugurate a comprehensive and systematic system of education. The course will be much broader than the one suggested by Comrade Raphaely. It will embrace a complete course of scientific and technical education.

Mayor Jones of Toledo, whose fame is rapidly spreading over the United

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States as one who is in thorough sympathy with the ideas of Social revolution as expressed by Social Democracy, is a true and earnest friend of the exploited masses, and is devoting his splendid talents to the uplifting of his fellows and the inauguration of the Golden Rule. In these days of corruption and political degeneracy it is truly refreshing to find one in authority who takes a bold stand in favor of the downtrodden.

Recognizing the vast importance of education as a factor in the movement for human emancipation, the comrades of Massachusetts Branch, No. 7, of Boston, Mass., have opened a free library at their headquarters, No. 9 Willard street.

The comrades aim to collect in this library the very best books on social revolutionary lines, and in furtherance of their laudable educational purpose they appeal to all those who are interested in the establishment of a new social order to aid them by contributing books or loaning books for a stated time. This is an important work, and it is to be hoped that the comrades will not lack aid and encouragement.

Communications regarding the work, or donations of books, should be sent to I. Levin, temporary librarian, No. 10 Minot street, Boston, Mass.

From a Young Socialist. Mr. Editor:—I am a boy of twelve years. In school I am very smart, and in the sixth grade, and my teacher says that I will skip the fifth grade and get promoted in the fourth. I have two sisters and four brothers, four of whom are not able to work, and only one of the other two is working. My father is a poor workman, and cannot earn enough money to support the whole family. My smaller sister, who is thirteen years of age, had to stop going to school and go to work, and I think the same thing will happen to me. I hope that every good citizen and workman will join the Social Democracy, and it will be in a better condition, and every child that is able to learn ought to go to school as long as he can, and learn some trade.

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