

On earth peace, good will toward men

The Social Democrat

On earth peace, good will toward men

Vol. IV.

CHICAGO, ILL., THURSDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1897.

No. 32.

PROGRESS IN THE EAST.

At Hartford three meetings were held, the public meeting on the evening of the 29th being one of the best of the whole trip. At New Haven the mass meeting was a very large one and many Yale students were in attendance, a number of whom remained to shake hands with the speaker and express sentiments of approbation. The public meeting was followed by a meeting of members and resulted in the formation of a new branch. Still another is under way and will soon be in active operation.

The meeting at Brockton was a most satisfactory one. At the close a reception was given by the Central Labor Union at their hall which was a very pleasant affair. During my stay in Brockton I met a number of members of the Socialist Labor Party who treated me with cordiality and kindness.

Notwithstanding a heavy rain, the Haverhill meeting was an immense success. It was held under the auspices of the Central Labor Union and was preceded by a parade which the downpour of rain was not permitted to prevent. A pleasant reception was held the following morning by the Central Labor Union at their comfortable rooms. The members of the Socialist Labor Party did much to make the meeting a success and I feel under special obligations to them. In fact, at almost every point I visited, I was warmly greeted by members of the Socialist Labor Party and only in a few instances did they conduct themselves in an unbecoming manner, and then to their own disadvantage. Of course I freely forgive them, for they did not know better. After awhile they will learn that scientific socialism is not incompatible with good manners.

From Holyoke I went to Exeter, where a good meeting was held and the first branch in New Hampshire instituted. New Bedford, Portland, Holyoke and Fitchburg followed with good meetings. At Jersey City on the evening of the 9th 79 new members were enrolled. Eltweed Pomeroy, the widely renowned champion of direct legislation, and Comrade Strobell addressed this meeting and rendered valuable assistance.

Two enthusiastic meetings were held in Brooklyn and one in Paterson. At

the latter the Rev. Dr. Galloway, who is very popular with workmen, delivered an able address. The Baltimore meeting was largely attended. Comrade Joseph Baroness of New York made a stirring speech which was well received. The names of 57 new members were enrolled. A banquet was given by the local branch at which a number of toasts were proposed and responded to, Comrade Baroness acting as master of ceremonies.

From Baltimore I went to Cleveland where a well attended meeting was held under the auspices of the Central Labor Union. The meeting was presided over by the veteran Isaac Cowen who, with the assistance of such able comrades as Robt. Bandlow, Max Hayes and others, insured the success of the gathering. The Rev. Mrs. H. S. Lake, one of the noblest and most gifted women in the American movement, graced the occasion with her presence. The Central Labor Union of Cleveland is an admirably progressive body and its wise, honest and fearless leadership is blazing the way for the trades unionism of the future.

In closing I wish to emphasize the necessity of each union being prompt in the payment of dues. Is your union in good standing? If not, why not? Where it is necessary, collectors should be appointed and the dues from each member collected in advance, so that on or before the 5th day of the month the treasurer can promptly forward to headquarters a remittance covering the monthly dues of the entire membership as provided by law. The amount is small and the organization depends upon it.

Each member of each branch is earnestly requested to do his best to advance the movement. Get a new member, or a subscriber to the Social Democrat, or sell a copy of "Merrie England." Do something!

The work of the colonization department should also have the undivided attention of our membership. Each branch should have a collector for the colonization fund as provided in Sec. 10 of the constitution of the colonization department, and see to it that he does his duty.

We must all work with all our energy and the success of the Social Democracy is assured.

S. M. Jones, Mayor of Toledo, Expresses His Opinion on Late Ohio Elections.

The elections of yesterday plainly indicate that we are passing through a period of increasing unrest and growing discontent. It does not mean, as might be superficially inferred, that the people have thrown down the Republican and taken up the Democratic party to be their political savior. It means rather that the people feel they need to be saved from threatened destruction and they are eagerly looking for a relief that has not yet appeared.

With a patience that is infinite the great peoples have waited for relief from the increasing injustice of our present social situation only to see their burdens made heavier and every possible way of escape apparently hidden from their view. During the last dozen years the people of the United States have felt the need of a social order that would make it possible that every man who is willing to work might live, and live in such a way that he and his family were fit to be citizens of a free republic.

During all of this time and more this has been an impossibility for great masses of our people. Dissatisfied with, and seeing clearly the injustice of, a system that permits a few to grow inordinately rich, while denying the many the right to live at all, they have turned to the political leaders. These, in most instances, have been "blind leaders of the blind," proposing remedies that only added to the confusion and general distress, and the deluded people have sought relief in vain, turning from one set of leaders to the other, and this will continue until selfishness is dethroned and the real party of the people be set up which will recognize the need of a radical change in our industrial order that will take into account the rights of the man displaced by the machine, and be willing to apply the remedy, even though it be the adoption of a social and industrial order that our grandfathers knew nothing about. The remedy is not in the doctrine of "protection for a few of us," nor in making the United States government a market for the product of the silver mines of the West. These are only incidental questions, having little to do with the real cause of our distress.

Modern machinery has overthrown the old unrighteous and imperfect order, and a people great enough to devise the labor-saving machinery of our day are both great and good enough to do the more important thing, to wit:

Save the man who devised it from the impending destruction threatened by an unjust social and political system. This will be done; great and good men and women all over our land are proclaiming the day of deliverance, and the real reign of the people is about to begin. The tyrant and the boss, whether millionaire or pauper, must retire—both are an excrescence on the civilization that is to witness the deliverance of the people. We can and we will solve the problems, and one of the most encouraging signs of the times is to be seen in the repudiation of the rule of the dollar in Ohio. I predict that, should the Legislature be Democratic, the people will be equally ready to repudiate the rule of John R. McLean or "any other millionaire," for the rule and reign of bosses and boodles is to disappear and the reign of the people, the real people (and by that I mean all of the people), is to begin.

We are leaving behind us the old self that believes one-half of the people can live by destroying the other half, and we will devise a system that will prove "all men" have an equal right to the pursuit of life and liberty.

A fitting climax to sensational election returns came to me at 3 o'clock this morning. Loud and persistent ringing of the door-bell brought me out of bed, to find at the front door an officer, who served on me, as mayor of Toledo, an injunction of the United States Court restraining the city of Toledo from interfering in any manner with its own property recently appropriated by the Wheeling & Lake Erie Railroad, and so, we have right before us a sample of the kind of government the people have tired of, and that they tried to repudiate at the polls yesterday. The reign of dollars is past and the rule of millions is dawning—the millions are not dollars, but millions of men. Let us thank God and take courage.

Merrie England is the best work on practical Socialism ever published. You can get one hundred copies of our Social Democracy edition for \$3.50.

Horace Greeley, when he was the first president of the New York Typographical Union, is quoted as having said in an address to workmen:

"I stand here, friends, to urge that a new leaf be turned over—that the laboring classes, instead of idly and blindly waiting for better circumstances and better times, shall begin at once to consider and discuss the means of controlling circumstances and commanding times by study, calculation, foresight, union."

Truth.

(By James Shelden Ingalls.)

Aye, Truth's a gem of priceless worth,
With many delicate facets,
Reflecting oft the sun's pure light,
As by the wand of magic,
In colors rich and pure as gold,
In red, and green, and yellow,
In all the varied tints and shades
And all the lights and shadows
Of golden sunset's ruddy glow
Or rainbow's mystic splendor.

And oft we stand and view afar
One little face—one facet,
With its single ray of green or gold,
Or what the color chanceeth,
And in our folly vainly think
We've seen truth's radiant splendor,
And straight resolve for 'er to be
A true and staunch defender.

Has he less truth who sees the red
Than he who sees the yellow?
Should green declare that blue's not
Light?

Because of hue or shadow?
And shall we say our friend is wrong
While we're in equal error?
Let's not forget that Truth's white light
Is all tints bled together.

Margaret Halle's

Reasons for Joining the Social Democracy.

Now that there are two Socialist political parties in this country, many are asking why this should be, and new converts to Socialist principles are wondering which they should join. For the benefit of such inquirers, as well as to make my position clear to my old comrades, I wish to state some of the reasons why I have resigned from the S. L. P. and joined the Social Democracy.

Both parties stand for the same general principles, and have for their object the total abolition of the capitalist system and the institution of the co-operative commonwealth through the agency of political action on the part of the organized wage-earning class. But when it comes to party policy the difference begins. The S. L. P. unfortunately had its policy dictated to it, and fastened upon it immovably before it was big enough to think for itself or appreciate what it was doing. In the new party the mistakes of the old one will be avoided. For instance:

The S. L. P. expels, right and left, those who differ in opinion from its leaders ("drivers" would be more apt). "Whip him into line or whip him out of the party," was the brutal cry of one of these "leaders" in regard to Herbert N. Casson at the time of his expulsion from the party for the crime of criticizing De Leon's methods. Another member of the party, a devout De Leonite, who vibrates between the asylum and the jail, and in the intervals offers, in bar rooms, to make Socialist speeches for a drink, is excused for the same leader, as "our comrade who is sometimes ill and sometimes indiscreet!" (Isn't that rich?) The organizer of a Boston section, at a business meeting on the 4th inst., declared that "for those who don't like our tactics there is always the door! and if they won't get out, we'll put them out!"

Social Democracy says on the contrary, "We cannot afford to lose a man. If a man does not quite agree with you that is all the more reason why you should bear with him, reason with him, and teach him."

The S. L. P. antagonizes organized labor. Its leaders take no part in the actual manifestation of the class struggle, but stand off in a corner and call names. Its official organ calls all labor leaders fakirs, thieves, bunco-steerers, etc., ad nauseam—even Ben Tillett is a "bluffer, ignoramus and blatherskite." The official head and representative of the party, at a public lecture in Boston, classically designated organized labor as "the American Federation of Bedbugs" and "the Great American Tape-worm!" And still more effectually estranges it by starting a rival trades organization which uses a counterfeit of the duly patented union label.

Social Democracy says, "Granting that the present leaders of organized labor are blind leaders of the blind, let us get to the root of the matter and patiently and wisely teach the people who elect the leaders, so that they may hereafter choose worthy leaders and brave intelligence to see to it that those leaders lead them aright." The official head and representative of the Social Democracy goes among the workers, gives his personal aid in their struggles to better their condition (hopeless though he may believe them to be), gaining their confidence and respect, and establishing a bond of sympathy between himself and them, knowing well that when they have tried their own way and failed they will be more willing to listen to his.

The new convert naturally asks, "But why come out of the S. L. P. just because you don't like its tactics? Why not stay inside and help change them?" It has been tried, my child. I believed that way myself, with many other good Socialists for the last two or three years, but we have found the folly of it. The "leaders" of the S. L. P. will accept of no suggestions and brook no criticism. They have got the bit between their teeth. To make any change of tactics the members of the party ought to be reached through the official organ of the party, and its columns have never been open to free and fair discussion. The St. Louis Labor

endorsed at a former convention as a S. L. P. propaganda paper, opened its columns to a discussion of the wisdom of some of the party tactics. This was the signal for its downfall. A crusade against it was started. It was repudiated at the '96 convention, and by all the sections whose wires could be manipulated from New York to Boston. The life of a labor paper is precarious at best, and determined opposition soon tells. Publication of Labor was speedily suspended.

Next a propaganda paper was started in the Jewish language which permitted at least to those who understood that language the right of free speech upon party matters in its columns. That paper was not suspended—but its editors and hundreds of its supporters were. They were branded as anarchists, knaves and fools, and all because they dared to criticize De Leon's methods and suggest a wiser course. Sections of sympathizers in New York, Brooklyn and Philadelphia were "re-organized," of course with the sympathizers left out.

Again, at a Socialist meeting on the Common two weeks ago, the organizer of a Boston section assaulted a comrade who was circulating an unofficial publication, tore up his papers and laid down the law that no paper should be circulated at a Socialist meeting but the New York People! When the matter was reported to the section later, the section endorsed the action of the organizer!

So ended my hope of any change for the better in the S. L. P.

Now I don't believe the rank and file of the party throughout the country believe in such tactics, but we can't get away from the fact that a party's leaders, its principal speakers, organizers, editors and official representatives, in the big cities give their own stamp to the party, set the pace for the rest, and the rank and file shares in the disgrace. And you can't shake them off, any more than you can a bull dog when he has once got a good hold. The best thing you can do is to get off with your life and let them have the mouthful. Clearly the best thing for the Socialist movement in this country to do is to go ahead on the new and rational lines, and leave to the S. L. P. the mouthful it already has.

These are only a few of the facts, for all of which and a hundred others of a like nature I can vouch, which led me to resign from the S. L. P. and join the Social Democracy.—Margaret Halle in Coming Nation.

Our Danger from Fads.

The great significance of the election in Greater New York on Tuesday lies in the fact that it was a referendum. From this very fact the people of this country who are tact Socialists but primarily referendum worshippers should learn a much needed lesson. The reason Tammany hall, with its long record of political rascality and open promise of further corruption, was voted again into power was that the majority of the dwellers in Greater New York approve of political rascality and corruption. Tammany well represents the people. Not long ago some short-sighted "reformers" were loudly demanding that the "reform" parties drop their differences and unite on a one-plank platform calling for the initiative and referendum. In the light of the election just over in New York, such short-sighted fellows ought to be relegated to the rear. They may have wisdom sufficient to follow, but they certainly lack the wisdom necessary for leadership. The cause of the downtrodden is much too sacred and important to be at the mercy of superficial reasoners and hap-hazard leaders. It is a sad situation for the toiler, struggling for emancipation, when he submits to the leadership of ignorance. Where, in the name of goodness, can we find any reform from the referendum just taken in New York! Will the one-idea fellows please tell us?

The fact is that the referendum is a good or a bad measure accordingly as the people are good or bad. It simply reflects their condition of social morals. And if the people are not clear enough to provide themselves with good government by means of the referendum, what hope can we have for their properly using the initiative? Let us meet these questions with our eyes open and with freedom from prejudice or partisanship. This is no time for prejudice. It is the time for clear thinking.

We are led to these thoughts by reason of the fact that today Socialism—the struggle for the complete emancipation of the wage slave—is actually obstructed by groups of men, otherwise Socialistic, who have enlisted under one-idea banners and who have developed a partisanship for those things that leads them to divert as much as possible the thought of the people from the true issue of the present age. They are stumbling blocks in the road of revolutionary progress, much as they may disclaim that fact. The brain tissue they burn up might better be used for the Socialistic propaganda: indeed, the sordid condition of humanity today demands it. Socialists cer-

tainly approve of the referendum principle, but they are alive to the fact that a referendum can only reflect the state of the people morally, and that while it would be a good and even a necessary thing when the Socialistic state is once attained, it is of very doubtful value at the present time. So long as the competitive system and the wage system rules society, society can not help being commercial in the meanest sense, and a referendum will only reflect that commercial spirit of exploitation. The politician who exploits his position and the people he represents will not appear in his true colors to the average commercial citizen. He is not only looked on as a necessary evil, but he is envied by the many who would like the chance to get a suck at the public teat. Indeed, there are many otherwise upright citizens who will excuse the corrupt politician as justified by conditions and by the business atmosphere surrounding him, and who become very suspicious of the kid-gloved "reformer," feeling that the latter "is inexperienced in politics," and will take too long to be broken in. While the profit system exists, therefore, the referendum will merely exalt people who believe in it. The referendum as a fad is a sad thing to contemplate when we realize that one of the old parties may make a fake issue of it as a political trick.

Another thing that is in danger of developing into a fad is the Labor Exchange. If it were merely put forward as a means of present relief for people in hard luck, no one could object to it. But too often it is put forward as a complete remedy for wage slavery, while in point of historical development it cannot possibly be a remedy. Its only hope of being such would lie in a return to individual production. The great fact of modern development lies in its social form of production, and with this fact we must reckon. Fifty years ago a man could make a shoe and put it in the Labor Exchange. Today our shoemaker works in a factory under the laws of social production and in accordance with the modern division of labor. Perhaps he only tends a machine that burnishes a boot-heel, and more than that, he does not own the machine with which he works. What can such a man put in the Labor Exchange? Certainly not the burnished heel, for he does not own it when finished, let alone the material of which it is made and the machine used in producing it. Nor can he leave the factory and make shoes on his own account—he has only learned to burnish heels! It is high time, therefore, that the Labor Exchange ceased to be a fad and a cure-all. Otherwise scientific Socialism may cease to have patience with it.

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

Freedom and Its Opportunities.

Gov. John R. Rogers of Washington, in a paper in Arena for November, with the above title, presents some factors of the approaching transition in society.

He believes the honest recognition of them will produce a peaceful change and the suppression of them violence and bloodshed, whenever the many shall become conscious of the hopelessness of their condition under the present regime.

He points out that man is "the creature of his environment and of his thoughts." Thus he supplements the natural selection of Charles Darwin and the survival of the Fittest of Herbert Spencer, and puts sentient humanity above the chemical constituents of the physical body.

Thoughts are infectious and the thought of one soul can move a community and communities move the nation until the thought, the idea, becomes realized in action and the irrepressible conflict is born.

The conflict (it is now on rather than approaching) he styles one of mankind against Mammon—of the almighty dollar against almighty God.

He does not believe "there is yet sufficient agreement on principles among the champions of freedom." Effectual action must come on a base line of truth, on which all can agree, and that this truth must not be too fine-spun but self-evident to all. The essayist would lay this base line on natural laws.

Life and the means of life depend upon the normal workings of these natural laws. Nations who trifle with them perish. Brotherhood is such a natural law, humanity being related physically and spiritually.

The greatest need is freedom, and the second is opportunity to better one's condition. Man must seek happiness since it is the law of his being.

The right to the soil is our first and greatest need, but there is another necessary to it. This the essayist does not yet name but will discuss it in December's Arena. These are the chief propositions of the paper, and very general generalities they are.

When astronomers map the physical heavens they find no lines too finely

spun. When the navigator charts a path among the breakers he does not practice the rule of thumb and the impressionist style will not suffice for our guidance in the social world.

When we assume to chart the domain of man is it true that we can dispense with finely spun lines? Is it true that the lines on which we are to proceed can ever be "self-evident to all and as perceivable as the noon-day?"

The superficial social investigator is as such an anomaly as would be the superficial astronomer or navigator—more—in as much as social wrecks involve the very soul of things. Do not let the task that confronts our age be underestimated. The world has had but one La Place and but one Newton, in physical demonstration. We have had but one Marx in the demonstration of human affairs.

Surplus profit was by no means a self-evident truth. Does capital reveal the mechanism of the economic world as La Place revealed the mechanism of the heavens. No natural law lies on the surface to be picked up like a Klondike nugget. We cannot so easily arrive at the laws which control the well being of humanity. Neither is truth born of any discussion. No discussion revealed the theory of gravitation or the existence of an additional planet, but these great time-marking discoveries were the result of genius and conscientious research.

Karl Marx gave us the natural law in the economic world which is our base line of truth necessary for agreement in the administration of economic affairs. The revealing of the law of surplus profit rang the departure of human exploitation. This fact is entirely overlooked, in the Arena's essay on Freedom and Opportunity, though for fifty years millions have been massing on this base line in economics.

The communist manifesto defined it in 1848. The platform of The International defined it in the next decade and La Salle's Program defined it in 1862, the Socialist labor party in 1889 and the Social Democracy of America in 1897. Not a line of that work has been displaced, but a full generation has built upon it, and no other work yet appears to replace it. We may crave the fame of a discoverer in this field but until a second Columbus appears in economics we must be content to till the land already discovered.

The genius and devotion of Marx and his coadjutors flagged this territory fifty years ago, and their honors are not easily won from them.

Still it will be interesting to see what Gov. Rogers has in store for us in December's Arena of discoveries and combinations on the land question, which will hasten the coming of freedom and opportunity.

When our chief magistrates give themselves to economic research the people may well rejoice. In this quarter our chief rulers are still killing themselves by playing "Sweet pretty man" at dress receptions. M. G. Boston, Nov. 19, 1897.

Socialist Mottoes.

Suggestions to the practical teacher of penmanship.

Altruism is but the vehicle of Socialism.
Banks beget beggars.
Capitalism is the crematory of noble ambitions.

Degeneracy is the offspring of greed and want.
Egotism is the vehicle of capitalism.

Flags inspire, rags degrade.
Greed aspires to wealth, grace to fame.

Hypocrisy goes hand in hand with villainy.
Ignorance is the mother of prejudice.
Justice is on the stage, equality in death, only.

Knowledge is the bone, and kindness the marrow, of the ethical system.

Labor and love edify, luck and lust debase.
Mercy is not the password to the antechambers of capitalism.

Nature's law can not survive under a system of ruthless competition.

Outlaws are outlawed by capitalism.
Poverty is the fire of the modern Moloch.

Quill and paper are passively obedient to the forger, the plagiarist, and the judge issuing an injunction.

Revolutions are a part of the evolution of the ages.
Socialism provides for social wants, capitalism for individual wants.

Thrift makes thrift, a vice and a curse.
Unsolved is the system that can not be logically defended.

Verities, proclaimed without fear, are dangerous to a bad system.
Wealth is now produced by those that do not possess it.

Y follows X, Z follows Y; capitalism follows feudalism, socialism follows capitalism.

OARL PANKOPF.
Jersey City, Nov. 20, 1897.

Co-operative suggestion for branches: Raise \$30 and send for 1,000 copies of Merrie England for distribution.

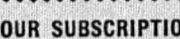
THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT

ISSUED EVERY THURSDAY BY THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY OF AMERICA.

TERMS: One year \$1.00 Six months .50 Three months .25 To foreign countries, per year 1.50

Remittances, exchanges, manuscripts and all correspondence should be addressed to THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT, 504 Trade Building, Chicago, Illinois.

Entered as Second-Class Matter at Chicago Postoffice.



CHICAGO, DEC. 2, 1897.

YOUR SUBSCRIPTION

Expires with Number on your Label.

32

NO PAPER SENT ON CREDIT.

Warning to the Public!

No one is authorized to solicit subscriptions for The Social Democrat except regularly appointed agents, whose names appear in this list.

LIST OF SOLICITORS.

James Osterling, Pullman, Ill. E. J. Mack, Station A, Los Angeles, Calif. E. H. Harris, West Superior, Wis. W. K. Gordon, St. Louis. James Sheldon Ingalls, Chicago, Ill.

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.

Don't forget your duty to your fellows, but work, work unceasingly to spread the light.

The Social Democrat should go into the hands of every wage-worker in the land. Members of branches should not forget this necessary part of their work.

Our edition of Merrie England makes propaganda material that is worth using.

Social Democracy is working for the entire human race. It seeks to abolish classes and inaugurate the reign of human brotherhood.

We are missionaries in the great cause of humanity, comrades of the Social Democracy, and each should let no day pass without something done to advance the cause of Socialism.

Don't stop at securing one new member or one subscriber for the paper; keep hammering away constantly and let each day add one or more jewels to the crown of your good deeds accomplished.

Send \$3.50 for 100 copies of Merrie England and distribute them as Christmas presents to your friends whom you wish to convert.

Brotherhood is not a dream; it is a fact. Social Democracy says that society must recognize that fact before peace and order can reign on earth.

To give loyal and earnest support to their organization is one of the main duties of Social Democrats, as in this age of capitalist development nothing can be accomplished without a compact and disciplined organization. One for all, all for one. The Social Democracy must be loyally supported.

Capitalism divides the workers and sets up antagonisms between them. Socialism unites and consolidates them and teaches them that their interests are mutual.

Six years in the penitentiary for stealing twenty chickens was the sentence recently passed by a judge of Kansas City, Kansas. But the cashier of a bank who stole \$84,000 of the people's money was given one year and the chances seem to favor his getting out of that.

The chickens were probably worth about \$5, so that the stealings of the banker amounted to about sixteen thousand eight hundred times those of the chicken thief, and had his sentence been as long in proportion as his less ambitious neighbor, his term would have been a matter of merely a hundred thousand years or so.

We suppose that the purpose of this judicial discrimination is to foster a spirit of enterprise to supply an incentive. The chicken thief got six years because he stole so little, the banker got one year because he didn't steal more. If he had stolen a railroad or organized a bond syndicate he would have been called a Napoleon of Finance, received the adulations of the daily press and been sent to the senate of the United States.

Money always wins the first battle against man, but never the last.—Brownson.

THE EDITOR'S ARENA

"I declare that the church has been destructive of joy. No tongue can speak, no pen can write half of the pain for which the preaching of the preachers is responsible. Millions of human lives have been darkened by the shadow of their baleful superstition. Millions of human hearts have been made unutterably sad by their spooks and bogies."

The above is not a quotation from one of Col. Ingersoll's lectures; it is taken from a sermon preached by the Rev. T. B. Gregory of Chicago on Sunday, Nov. 21. Mr. Gregory is pastor of the Church of the Redeemer, one of the prominent churches of the city, and he is regarded as one of the ablest pulpits orators in Chicago. Taken as a whole, the sermon from which the above quotation is made is one of the most terrific arraignment of organized religion ever promulgated from such a quarter, and as was to be expected the reverend gentleman has woked up a hornet's nest in the shape of a whole swarm of Chicago's orthodox clergy. He has been assailed with much caustic criticism by his brother preachers, one of whom suggests that Gregory had better resign from his pulpit at once. But Gregory gives no intimation of any intention to resign, and what is more to the point he refuses to retract or modify his utterances; in any particular. Evidence accumulates to show that the church, like the social system of which it is a part, is in the transition state to a new and more rational basis. The best minds in the church are speaking out plainly on the pressing problems of the day, and are flatly refusing to be governed by the time-worn traditions of a past age. These are hopeful signs. When the representatives of the church begin to move forward the bright dawning of the new day is near at hand.

It is as natural that people should not think alike as that they should not look alike. What seems to be truth to one is but half a truth to another and is wholly erroneous to a third. This is not because of any variableness in truth itself but, owing to its infinite proportions, even the wisest obtain but a partial view of it. These reflections ought to cause all reformers to be exceedingly tolerant of the opinions of others. But we see the wrongs of humanity in so intense a light, and become so indignant with those who, like leeches, fatten themselves on the life's blood of their fellows, that it is not always easy to be patient with those who, even unwillingly assist in perpetuating present conditions.

The trade unions of this country and of the world have fought a noble fight. Their struggle against capitalistic oppression has been a most heroic one and we cannot say too much of the self-sacrifice that has inspired them in many a contest. But, however deserving of success they may have been they have utterly failed in the accomplishment of the great purpose to which they have given so much energy and devotion. Their only weapons, the strike and the boycott, have been destroyed and like broken javelins lie at their feet and whether they know it or not, so long as they continue the unequal contest thus disarmed they are but playing into the hands of their oppressors and helping to rivet the chains of slavery upon the limbs of their own children. A time has come when the cohorts of labor should lay aside all petty bickerings and look the situation squarely in the face. They tell us that the unions have improved the condition and increased the wages of their members. Let it be admitted. Side by side with every one who has been so benefited we will place a tramp and side by side with each of these we will place another who seeks for work that he cannot find. Will trade unionism ever secure the means of sustenance to this army of the unemployed? Can it be expected that these disinherited millions will starve in order that the members of the unions may receive better pay? If they have gained a temporary advantage how long can they retain it? In view of past experience we do not hesitate to say that trade unionism as a means of alleviating the condition of even its own members is doomed. As against the unions the unemployed are compelled by their necessities to become the allies of capitalism and armed with the injunction and supported by federal troops the exploiters of labor are certain to prevail so long as the contest is conducted along trade union lines.

When the cohorts of labor have taken their stand upon this principle the unemployed millions will soon discover that they have not been forgotten, will recognize the eternal justice of the struggle and cease to be so alarming a source of weakness as they are at present, and as the beneficent results of a co-operative system become better understood it will become more and more difficult for plutocracy to hire one part of our people to shoot down the other part. The unemployed will recognize in us not only friends but advocates of a common cause who are asking for ourselves no other or greater privileges than we are demanding for them and strength will take the place of weakness.

A leading organ of the trade unions in a recent issue begins and ends a frantic appeal to the workers with "Grit your teeth and organize." "Organize, organize, organize," has been the cry for more than a score of years. It began when money and work were plenty; when the wage-earners were more independent than they have ever been before or since and when, armed with the strike and the boycott, they were confident of their strength and seemed certain of victory. But notwithstanding the favorable auspices of the earlier struggle, notwithstanding all subsequent efforts at unification today not five per cent of those engaged in gainful pursuits in the United States are to be found in the unions. If they have not been able to unify labor under former conditions how can it be accomplished now that they have been dispirited by defeat and overtaken by poverty? But suppose by some magic process every employe of America could be induced to join a union, what can be done with an unarmed host? The unions eschew political methods and there is no intimation that they have discovered other or better weapons than the strike and the boycott; and though the teeth have been extracted from the one and the other has been declared unlawful by the courts they talk of the "organization of labor in trade unions opening up a new era in the progress of the movement for justice to labor" and continue to thrust and parry with the same old weapons, wholly oblivious of the fact that they have been rendered worse than useless, and this it is that makes us sad and tries our patience. But we admire their valor even though we cannot commend their judgment.

We too say organize, organize, organize! But we want no unarmed host. The knight of the new crusade must be clad in armor of brotherhood, bear the shield, equality, and be armed with the sword of justice and on their banners will be inscribed "All for one and one for all."

Of all the sins and follies of man few have cost so much in blood and treasure as that of intolerance. It has burned thousands upon thousands at the stake; it has slaughtered unnumbered millions in the name of religion; it has drenched all lands with blood, and consumed uncounted millions of treasure. Had we not stoned our Garisons and our Philippses and slain our Lovejoys the war of the rebellion would not have been fought. Had we listened to reason, and to the promptings of conscience the slaves would have been emancipated without the shedding of blood. One-half of the treasure that was worse than wasted in that terrible conflict, would have been paid for every slave and left a handsome margin.

If history is not to repeat itself intolerance must stand aside; the questions of the hour must be discussed on their merits; justice must hold an even balance; the wage-slaves must and shall be free.

One hundred and seventy families according to the New York Herald own one-half of Manhattan Island. Of the 2,900,000 residents of New York, 1,800,000 or nine out of ten have no interest whatever in the soil except as renters—in other words they exist there by sufferance.

When our friends of the trade unions shall discover how completely they have been undone we doubt not they will join us on this broader platform and when thus united, shoulder to shoulder, in solid phalanx we shall march on to certain victory.

On such a platform the great army of the unemployed will no longer regard our friends, the trade unionists, as antagonists—as enemies who to prevent their own little boat from capsizing are ever ready to thrust aside drowning men. This is no time for little boats. The boat must become a ship and the ship must be big enough and staunch enough to bear upon its decks every willing son of man.

The time is past for palliatives, for half-way measures, for attempts to save a part of the people at the expense of the balance—if indeed such measures were ever justifiable.

Evade the matter as we may; temporize with it; postpone it; consider only our own puny selves or our own little class, but in the end we shall find that any plan of action that does not consider all and provide justice for all will fail—and it ought to fail!

When the cohorts of labor have taken their stand upon this principle the unemployed millions will soon discover that they have not been forgotten, will recognize the eternal justice of the struggle and cease to be so alarming a source of weakness as they are at present, and as the beneficent results of a co-operative system become better understood it will become more and more difficult for plutocracy to hire one part of our people to shoot down the other part. The unemployed will recognize in us not only friends but advocates of a common cause who are asking for ourselves no other or greater privileges than we are demanding for them and strength will take the place of weakness.

A leading organ of the trade unions in a recent issue begins and ends a frantic appeal to the workers with "Grit your teeth and organize." "Organize, organize, organize," has been the cry for more than a score of years. It began when money and work were plenty; when the wage-earners were more independent than they have ever been before or since and when, armed with the strike and the boycott, they were confident of their strength and seemed certain of victory. But notwithstanding the favorable auspices of the earlier struggle, notwithstanding all subsequent efforts at unification today not five per cent of those engaged in gainful pursuits in the United States are to be found in the unions. If they have not been able to unify labor under former conditions how can it be accomplished now that they have been dispirited by defeat and overtaken by poverty? But suppose by some magic process every employe of America could be induced to join a union, what can be done with an unarmed host? The unions eschew political methods and there is no intimation that they have discovered other or better weapons than the strike and the boycott; and though the teeth have been extracted from the one and the other has been declared unlawful by the courts they talk of the "organization of labor in trade unions opening up a new era in the progress of the movement for justice to labor" and continue to thrust and parry with the same old weapons, wholly oblivious of the fact that they have been rendered worse than useless, and this it is that makes us sad and tries our patience. But we admire their valor even though we cannot commend their judgment.

We too say organize, organize, organize! But we want no unarmed host. The knight of the new crusade must be clad in armor of brotherhood, bear the shield, equality, and be armed with the sword of justice and on their banners will be inscribed "All for one and one for all."

Of all the sins and follies of man few have cost so much in blood and treasure as that of intolerance. It has burned thousands upon thousands at the stake; it has slaughtered unnumbered millions in the name of religion; it has drenched all lands with blood, and consumed uncounted millions of treasure. Had we not stoned our Garisons and our Philippses and slain our Lovejoys the war of the rebellion would not have been fought. Had we listened to reason, and to the promptings of conscience the slaves would have been emancipated without the shedding of blood. One-half of the treasure that was worse than wasted in that terrible conflict, would have been paid for every slave and left a handsome margin.

If history is not to repeat itself intolerance must stand aside; the questions of the hour must be discussed on their merits; justice must hold an even balance; the wage-slaves must and shall be free.

One hundred and seventy families according to the New York Herald own one-half of Manhattan Island. Of the 2,900,000 residents of New York, 1,800,000 or nine out of ten have no interest whatever in the soil except as renters—in other words they exist there by sufferance.

The Plutocrat's Thanksgiving.

I thank thee, Lord, for all I'm worth, For all the bounties of the earth, For all my plenitude of mirth, For pocketbooks of mammoth girth, For travel, lands, and gems.

I thank thee for my bonds and stocks, For all my cargoes at the docks, For houses, yea, for rented blocks; Lord, thou hast saved me from the shocks Of corporation loss.

I thank thee, Lord, yea, Lord, I must For all the blessings of the "trust," Economy is surely just And all that keeps the yellow dust Within a narrow bound.

O Lord, have mercy on the poor! And keep all vagrants from my door; Thou mayest for them have much in store; They're not particular, I'm sure, They only plead to live.

There'll be a different state of things When Death the heaven-gate open flings, There, workmen mingle free with kings, And plutocrat with peasant sings— Lord, why can't heaven be here

Lord, ere I die I shall declare Some generous purpose to my heir, And bid him for the poor to care; Now, Lord, accept my grateful prayer, But—damn it!—there is Debs!

PUCKERBRUSH ALLIANCE

Puckerbrush, Ohio, Last Saturday. Mr. Debs and All the Rest of You: Fatty Schmidt said, "Somedimes you expect vot you don't got, and somedimes you got vot you don't expect," and I got the last part of it at the last meetin' of Puckerbrush Alliance. John Lederhim, Nancy's big, round, good-natured red Dutch cousin, dropped in on us at the meetin'. He's spent a good farm workin' fur finanshul reform, and is now livin' on the ragin' Maumee, livin' on cat fish and hogs, according to what he says, and kinder playin' hermit since the fusion business last year. As soon as I seen him cum into the school house I knowed the devil wud be to pay, fur nothin' kin keep his mouth shut when he wants to say sumthin', and you kin hear him a mile. When he gets a feler mad he just lafs at him, same as a big dog does with a little fiste. Golly, but he used to get them old mossback demokrats red hedded up where he used to live. He used to be a demokrat himself, too.

Well, we had just got started, when in he cum, and the president thout he was a sixteen-to-one'r, and kalled on him to say sumthin'. I judged Miss Smart, the school teacher, and sed, "Now look out, especially if John's got that tariff bone in his pocket." He took a new tak and started rite out by jumpin' on to me, and you auter seen preacher Gard smile—one of them give-it-to-him-on-the-cheek kind. John sed: "Jonas, your Social Democracy is no good. Debs is no better'n that bald-hed that sold out to the gold bugs or that slobberin' jawsmith that peddled for the silver bugs. The whole gang of 'em will down us in 1900—Bryan 16 to 1 humbug will carry the land with a hoop, just the same as Cleveland did in '92. Then there will be more organizin' and more bleedin' of the dupes of people. They always foller sum quack, same as you and I have done, and on, and on, it goes, only to be another fooler-traiter-fusion deal, and no relief. Honesty will never win only a pauper's grave. I used to believe humanity wud get sense enuf to relive itself from serfdom. I'm all over that now. Look at our fallen heroes—all gone to hell or democracy. Ignorance is bliss. Prostitute reformers always misled the common people. It has happened you and me three times already. How much longer will you stand it? I'm almost over my fool's business. I have made more enemies this last deal than ever before, tryin' to be honest with my friends. I want you to remember my words, that Debs and his crowd will join old shamocracy in less than seven years. Then where will you go? Save your wind and money and buy a Winchester. I don't go a cent on Debs, and I can't help it. Social Democracy sounds too much like the old, old fraud which I hate as the devil hates holy rain water."

Preacher Gard felt so good he clapped his hands, but the sixteen-to-ones was thinkin' sumthin' else by the way they looked. At first John took the wind out of me, but by the time he got thru I got a grip on myself and went back at him by sayin': "In one sense I do not blame you for sayin' what you do, fur when I look back into the seventies and see you beginnin' the fite fur greenbacks, rite in what was a nest of copperheads durin' the war, and how you kept rite at it until you had sakrafased your farm, I know it grinds to see all that dumped overboard by place huntin' demagogues. What you have sed has stirred up old memories. You and I first got hold of Pomeroy's Democrat, and pushed it while he hollered, 'Burn the bonds.' Then Bob Schilling got his paper goin' in Cleveland and Salem, and we hooped that along, and frum that all down along the line. We used to kull him Leather Lunged Bob them days, cause he cud talk down a brass band. Them was great days, and wasn't the old party fellers mean? We uster catch the devil—and then sum. It was wurser then 'em now. Let's see, you and me went to the Greenback National Convention, which was held in Chicago in 1880, didn't we? Oh, yea, of course we did. I remember how we put up at the Palmer house, doubled up for two dollars a day, but the dinin' room took our breth away, and you got scared and left. They was all kinds of people there, and

among 'em was a little bunch of Socialists led by a grey bearded old doctor from New York. We had a fight about lettin' 'em in, but done it after it was too late fur them to do anything. I remember when they marched in and down the hall with their red flag, it made the chills run up sum fellers' backs, cause they thout they was somethin' awful, and sum reformers, or people that has been goin' by that name, ain't got over feelin' that way yet about the name Socialism. Had we took time to study what them Socialists told us then, we wud be nearer out of the woods, but no, all we cud see or yell fur, was more money. We didn't study down into economic systems, we only rushed around on the surface of things, and I'll bet if I pin you up in the corner rite now that you can't give a decent answer to 'What is capital?' But you cud tell all about any kind of a dollar that was ever made. I was just beginnin' to widen out a little when the fusion last year gave me a chance to set down and quit yellin' fur more money and think things over, and now I feel like havin' sum feller to kick me good fur wastin' so much time on nothin', fur that's what it amounts to, fur no kind of money, or amount of money, will secure economic equality, and that's what we are after. Until you understand what Socialism is, you will not fully understand me, but as soon as you see it, you'll wonder why you didn't see it sooner. Now, don't go out and expect to pick it off of sum tree, fur you'll have to do sum readin' and thinkin'. Between us here, I'm glad of the fusion business, fur in the end I believe it is going to be the best for the masses, though I was madder'n the devil for six months afterwards. It has got a lot of good fellers down to bottom thinkin', just as it did me, and as fur landin' in the demokrate party—not muchee! That machine will be kept in the field just as it has been of late years, to ketch sukers with, and give the republikans a chance, and don't you think that they won't be drawin' the line between them and the S. D. of A. I like the name Social Democracy, for them two words tell just what we are after, and you can't pick out another two words that will do it so well, and then it is the name by which the workers of the world are gettin' into line with the same object in view. Can you show me where they have ever fused in any of the countries where they are in the field? No, and I guess you don't know how strong they are in other countries. Look it up, and you will learn somethin' to give you encouragement. You never seen Debs, did you? No, I thought not, or you wouldn't say what you do. You don't have to be with him long to see that he's a different make up from the breed of pups we have been follerin'. Just you watch and see!

"You talk about buyin' shootin' irons is only provin' you don't know where you're at. The fellows that talk that way is darned poor citizens. Socialists have got no use fur such machines. They believe in goin' to the ballot box and capturin' the machinery of government, and then whatever a majority wants done will be done, according to law, and if sum people kick up a racket agin the law, they may get just what youn's felters are sure to get if you kick up a racket agin the law, viz., namely, to-wit, get seven kinds of fertilizer blowed out of you. What do you expect to do with your shootin' machine? Shoot fifty dollars per capita into circulation; or kill off the population so that what there is will make fifty dollars per capita? Why, John, its rot to talk that way, and only shows a failure to grasp the situation. Shootin' the effects of a system is only gratifyin' the spirit of narrer minded revenge, while fittin' to change a wrong system through the balot box is showin' the spirit of intelligent patriotism, and the fellers who won't do this while they have the chance, as they have in this country, won't know what to do after they get thru shootin', that is, if they are any of 'em left."

"We have got the best kind of precedent for our position, too, and you know precedent counts fur more in law these days. Miss Smart, won't you read the first part of the Declaration of Independence? And she red: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just power from the consent of the governed. That when any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and institute a new government."

"Now, that's still holdin' good, and we are goin' to try a change of the form of government. You say the darn fool people won't do it, though. Well, maybe they will when they get started rite, and I'm goin' to keep rite on, fur I see they are beginnin' to katch on to the real cause of what's the matter, and when they do, there will be no side-trakin' or crawfishin'. All the political parties we have been associated with had no form of compact disciplined organization, and this was their weakness. The new movement is being built on different lines, as you will find out if you will investigate. We are going to be organized 365 days a year, and not rush together a few weeks before election and call it a party, and have a lot of skeeming cusses cum in and make the deals for you."

Of course John wanted to get back at me, but the president sed time was up, so we closed, but sum of us stayed and argued till the oil all burned out of the lamps, and then we went home. John wouldn't give in. I find it a darn sight harder to unlearn these fellers what is stuffed full of the money question, than it is to take a feller what don't pretend to know nothing about ekonomiks. This is a pretty long one, but as it is a question of personal privilege I hope you will let it go, fur my reputation may be hurt if you don't.

Yours to the end, JONAS HARRISON.

Proportional Representation No. 12.

Our descriptions of systems of proportional representation could not be complete without a brief mention of two other systems which have been adopted in some places, but which are very defective. These are the cumulative vote and the limited vote. Both of them are operated in districts returning several members.

THE CUMULATIVE VOTE.

Each elector is given as many votes as there are members to be elected. Suppose you are a voter, and seven members are to be elected, then you have seven votes; and you may distribute your seven votes around in any way you please. You may give all seven of them to one man, or four to one man and three to another, or give one to each of seven candidates. For instance, in some cities you now have four votes at a municipal election, but you must not cumulate them. If you want to "plump" for a man you can only give him one vote. Under the cumulative system you could give him all your four votes. This is a decided improvement on the present plan, but far behind the systems already described.

The two great objections to cumulative voting are: (1) That it causes a great waste of votes, and (2) that by careful and thorough organization a majority of the representatives in an electoral district can be got by a minority of the electors. This is done by arranging for certain divisions of voters to vote in such a way that each candidate of that side may have only enough votes to make his election safe. Without this careful and thorough organization the waste of votes is very great. A member requiring only a thousand votes to elect him may have nearly another thousand thrown away on him in order to make his election sure, because the electors do not know how many votes he is going to get.

THE LIMITED VOTE.

The single vote has all the merits of the cumulative vote, whilst it is simpler and more effective. Speaking generally, it is not well to give several votes to one elector. It really diminishes his voting power, instead of increasing it. Cumulative voting has been in operation for more than twenty years in England, in electing members of school boards. Alfred Cridge thinks that the cause of proportional representation would have made much greater headway in England if this imperfect method had not been in operation.

THE LIMITED VOTE.

The limited vote merely gives each elector a few votes less than the number of members to be elected. It was tried for a time in Toronto elections, by giving each elector two votes, whilst three members were to be elected. In New York, seven votes were given, there being twelve members to elect. The plan was abandoned in both places. I will waste no words on this sorry electoral make shift. Let it go into the limbo of forgotten failures.

WHICH SHALL WE HAVE?

What system shall we advocate? That is for each reader to decide. It is well to lay more stress on the adoption of the principle of proportional representation than on any specific system. Yet the advocacy or adoption of a really imperfect system may do great harm. In Illinois, for instance, the legislature is elected on the cumulative plan from districts returning only three members. Such a burlesque of proportional representation only retards progress.

The following conclusions are submitted: For congressional and legislative elections, the Gove system, or the Swiss free list simplified as already described by the use of the single vote. For large cities, the Gove system. For small cities, towns and villages, and for electing committees of council, boards of directors, and governing bodies of private associations, either the single vote or the Hare-Spence plan. The former will serve as a foundation on which to build the latter, as people recognize its merits and get less fear of its apparent complexity.

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

Plutocrat is defined as "one who exercises political power by virtue of his wealth." It fits like a glove and we see no reason for ruling it out of the vocabulary.—Civile Review.

Plutocrat is defined as "one who exercises political power by virtue of his wealth." It fits like a glove and we see no reason for ruling it out of the vocabulary.—Civile Review.

Plutocrat is defined as "one who exercises political power by virtue of his wealth." It fits like a glove and we see no reason for ruling it out of the vocabulary.—Civile Review.

Plutocrat is defined as "one who exercises political power by virtue of his wealth." It fits like a glove and we see no reason for ruling it out of the vocabulary.—Civile Review.

Plutocrat is defined as "one who exercises political power by virtue of his wealth." It fits like a glove and we see no reason for ruling it out of the vocabulary.—Civile Review.

Plutocrat is defined as "one who exercises political power by virtue of his wealth." It fits like a glove and we see no reason for ruling it out of the vocabulary.—Civile Review.

Plutocrat is defined as "one who exercises political power by virtue of his wealth." It fits like a glove and we see no reason for ruling it out of the vocabulary.—Civile Review.

Plutocrat is defined as "one who exercises political power by virtue of his wealth." It fits like a glove and we see no reason for ruling it out of the vocabulary.—Civile Review.

Plutocrat is defined as "one who exercises political power by virtue of his wealth." It fits like a glove and we see no reason for ruling it out of the vocabulary.—Civile Review.

Plutocrat is defined as "one who exercises political power by virtue of his wealth." It fits like a glove and we see no reason for ruling it out of the vocabulary.—Civile Review.

Plutocrat is defined as "one who exercises political power by virtue of his wealth." It fits like a glove and we see no reason for ruling it out of the vocabulary.—Civile Review.

Plutocrat is defined as "one who exercises political power by virtue of his wealth." It fits like a glove and we see no reason for ruling it out of the vocabulary.—Civile Review.

Plutocrat is defined as "one who exercises political power by virtue of his wealth." It fits like a glove and we see no reason for ruling it out of the vocabulary.—Civile Review.

Plutocrat is defined as "one who exercises political power by virtue of his wealth." It fits like a glove and we see no reason for ruling it out of the vocabulary.—Civile Review.

Plutocrat is defined as "one who exercises political power by virtue of his wealth." It fits like a glove and we see no reason for ruling it out of the vocabulary.—Civile Review.

Plutocrat is defined as "one who exercises political power by virtue of his wealth." It fits like a glove and we see no reason for ruling it out of the vocabulary.—Civile Review.

Plutocrat is defined as "one who exercises political power by virtue of his wealth." It fits like a glove and we see no reason for ruling it out of the vocabulary.—Civile Review.

Plutocrat is defined as "one who exercises political power by virtue of his wealth." It fits like a glove and we see no reason for ruling it out of the vocabulary.—Civile Review.

Plutocrat is defined as "one who exercises political power by virtue of his wealth." It fits like a glove and we see no reason for ruling it out of the vocabulary.—Civile Review.

Plutocrat is defined as "one who exercises political power by virtue of his wealth." It fits like a glove and we see no reason for ruling it out of the vocabulary.—Civile Review.

FROM OUR CONTRIBUTORS

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

Limited Co-Operation.

The aim of the capitalist, namely, production for profit, is the peculiar characteristic that stamps the modern mode of production as anarchistic in contradistinction to the production for consumption of the co-operative commonwealth.

A capitalist who will consider the interests of his employes as of prime importance, is as much of an anomaly or contradiction as a bird that will not or can not fly, or a co-operative commonwealth that will not make the mental and physical elevation of its members, the prime factor of its activity and existence.

A stronger rebuke could not be contained in any action or effected by any individual toward the present anarchistic mode of production than is expressed by a capitalist with his philanthropy. This very strong rebuke that publicly puts the system under which we live and labor into ignominy is used by the vulgar newspaperman and economist as an illustration of noble aspiration and as worthy of imitation.

Capitalist philanthropy is phenomenal and therefore not as hurtful a procrastinator as unsuccessful co-operative undertakings on a small scale; though both can not stem the tide that forever brings shoreward the co-operative commonwealth.

A co-operative commonwealth stationed on an island, the geographical position of which was favorable to a peaceful settlement, and the soil being productive of the larger part of man's necessities and some luxuries, may be successfully operated.

A co-operative community within the range of a capitalist society is irrational. Granted, for the sake of argument, that it be successful for any length of time; it certainly can be so only by virtue of its members' utmost perseverance, self-sacrifice and integrity. To venture upon such a course would of course not be justifiable unless the moral responsibility be made as mutual as the physical obligations.

To my mind this is irrational, because our present system is doomed on account of its making martyrs of the larger part of its membership. To imagine one of the states being successfully operated as a co-operative community, is to imagine that the rest of the states with their capitalistic anarchy would be non-influential, as to the success or non-success of that single state.

The single state with its limited production will not be capable of influencing the ups and down of the market price of the union products. It will have to bear the burdens of taxation, imposed upon it by national and state authority, transportation and communication corporations and the money-lender. To sum up; it will have to contend against more obstacles than the capitalist in a capitalist community, because it will be antagonized by those capitalistic forces, it will be hindered and hampered not only by natural forces but primarily by antagonism of individuals, the modern anarchist and his hirelings, the capitalist press.

CARL PANKOPF.

Jersey City, Nov. 17, 1897.

Thirty dollars a thousand copies for our edition of Merrie England is the cheapest propaganda material you can use. Get up a club at once.

Mr. Editor:

Social Democrats should be prudent and careful in presenting their arguments, giving that which is easiest understood; first, as for instance, the ownership of machinery. They should also be zealous in propagating their doctrine, but cannot afford to add those to their numbers who cannot be thoroughly converted to its fundamental principles. Half-way converts will bring only discord to our ranks. The man who objects because he has investments in land would, if he had a few dollars out on usury, also find fault with a non-interest money system. Yet free land and a free currency, as many can testify who have had experience in colonization work, are absolutely necessary to make Socialism a success.

It is our duty to convince, but not to persuade. Neither should we be discouraged, because we are not as numerous as the hosts of gold worshippers. First let us make sure that we have justice on our side and numbers will come when God sees fit. Duty is ours, but results belong to God.

Sincerity and courage is worth more than numbers. When Gideon wanted to battle with the Midianites God told him there were too many, so 22,000 men were sent home. There were still too many. The second test was applied and 9,700 more were sent home, so there were only 300 left. Let us also apply the test; give them the whole truth and enlist men and women who will not bow before the shrine of mammon every time an opportunity presents itself.

I do not believe the Lord ever yet wanted to convert the world. The creation is said to be the work of God's fingers, but in the reconstruction he is represented as going to work with "a bare arm," like a workman going to work which requires strength and determination.

You probably have passed a house where someone was sitting quietly doing work with his fingers. There was no

clang or clash of sound; and you went on supposing nothing was going on there. Somebody might have been carefully selecting the ingredients and mixing dynamite and you knew nothing about it; but if he should roll up his sleeves, take his sledge and bar and put the dynamite under rocks and stumps and touch it off you would know there was something going on; and how you would run and dodge to escape the flying missiles.

Perhaps during the long, dark ages God has been making something similar to dynamite, and when He comes forth with bare arm and puts it under the heaps of moral corruption and greed and pride and sets it off the social and political atmosphere will be too thick with flying missiles for the enemies of humanity to think of counteracting Socialism.

Man plants and waters; God gives the increase. If we take hold carelessly and tug as if we wanted to pull on a tight-fitting boot we may ruin the plant.

Samuel Poet.

What About the Farmers?

Before the Social Democracy goes much further on its course an effort must be made to free it from that bone of the S. L. P. and People's party movements—'one-sidedness' with respect to the class of people who make up its following. It must be made a more general movement; one that will interest and draw together all classes whose welfare its success will promote.

The Socialist Labor party, in this country as in England, is the outgrowth and political expression of trade-unionism, so has never made much headway beyond the towns of the manufacturing districts, north and east; while the People's party, springing as it did mainly from the Grange and Alliance movements in the west and south, has been largely a farmers' party and as such lacking in the elements necessary to general progress. Neither of these parties has ever made any special bid for the support of any other class than the one in which it originated. The farmers and wage-workers have for some reason been indifferent to a union with each other and both have been suspicious of the merchants and professional men, many of whom are as much interested in reform movements as any producer.

What is needed now is a party that will unite these different and heretofore conflicting elements, but more particularly the farmers and mechanics. The Social Democracy has for its chief end and purpose the establishment of a commonwealth wherein the co-operation of all useful classes will be a necessity, but the Social Labor party has this same object, remember, and it has not united even the wage-workers of the country. The Social Democracy, like the S. L. P., had its origin in trade-union circles, and it is going to be hard for its leaders to get beyond the wage-earning class to which they belong, but fortunately our colonization feature will, from the outset, require the active participation of farmers as well as mechanics, miners, etc., and to some extent business and professional men. To recruit the right sort of material for pioneering in these colonies it will be necessary to interest as many live people as possible in each of these different classes—men who have seen service in the Grange and Alliance, Stockmen's associations and mercantile and manufacturing combines, as well as labor leaders and politicians, but the farmers we must have, for, without wishing either to exalt them unduly or belittle other workers, they are the mainstay and foundation of all industry. Moreover, they comprise half the population of the country and their voting strength, as well as moral and financial support, are simply indispensable to any general reform movement.

I was pleased to note the formation of a "branch" of the Social Democracy among the farmers and stockmen of my county the same week the branch here in the city was organized. This part of the country (Texas) is ripe for work among the farmers, especially the tenant class, who are beginning now for the first time to feel the pinch of oppression—they are ready to think, now, and they can be brought over by the thousand if organizers of the right sort are sent among them; if, in other words, the same attention is paid to them that is being given now to the wage-workers of the north and east, and the same is true of the farmers in every state, for Texas has been among the last to succumb to the exactions of landlords and mortgage holders.

I noticed with regret while in attendance on the recent labor and reform convention in Chicago that there was not a single farmers' organization represented. It is to be hoped that the committee in charge of arrangements for the next convention, to be held in St. Louis next May, will make it their business to see that a copy of the call is sent to every Grange and Alliance in the country, and that representation from these be especially urged. Aside from the important business of this convention, finding ways and means for the betterment of the industrial classes, abatement of the "injunction evil," restoration of the rights of free speech and public assembly, etc., in which farmers' organizations are interested equally with other labor and reform

bodies. A yet higher purpose will be served in bringing together and making personally acquainted many of the leaders and workers who have never met and in the general broadening and uniting of aims and ideas that will follow such a meeting. There must come a warmer, more brotherly feeling between these different elements before there can be any real unity or harmony of action either in general relief movements like the one referred to or in the special province of our own cause and work. Let the Social Democracy be well and fully represented at this convention and let its delegates go prepared to make friends with every representative of a farmers' organization.

R. S. Price.

MERRIE ENGLAND: Six cents in stamps buys one copy.

Thanksgiving Musings.

To the Social Democrat:—In regard to the questions asked and answered by the Social Democrat concerning the admission fee to the colonies of the Social Democracy which appeared in the issue of Nov. 18, I felt buoyed up with the spirit of genuine socialism. The answer to the questions speaks in the true socialistic spirit and the feeling transmitted to the reader develops every fine sentiment in his being toward the noble cause. Although poor and a wage slave of the most degrading type, yet never has my soul become so corrupt from the beastly design of our fiendish system as not to understand the true meaning of Socialism. I hail the Social Democracy with its wisdom, its power, its great sense of justice, the magnitude of its spirit whose growth is as certain as the truth of the gospel upon which it is founded. It embodies everything that would make man a fit companion for himself, for through it we may study everything pertaining to higher studies of the soul. Oh what a noble study is freedom! What else is in the Social Democracy? Ah, yes, at its head the ever shining spirit of truth, whose developed love for the isolated victims of greed, whose truth and sincerity of purpose needs no other proof than that which transmits itself into the soul of one who sees and studies his soul peering through his eyes, who watches the humility of his actions toward the poor, who listens to his voice which heralds from the soul the noblest feelings of American manhood. Who ever saw the morning star of temporal justice and could describe him without feeling the poetic sentiments of his noble nature?

As yet unknown to him—his love is spoken of where he has never trod; His acts are sterling manhood's; and 'tis God That makes him noble from above.

I have heard E. V. Debs' name echo through the dismal coal mines. Some philosopher has said that silence is the only true appreciation of anything, or anyone which, or whom, we honestly admire, but to keep still about the Social Democracy and E. V. Debs and the other workers therein is too much of a joyous burden to keep buried in the breast; for at times we see manifestations of its glory that would draw from the dulllest heart some measure of praise. And why not? To-day is Thanksgiving. Hence I give thanks to the spirit of liberty that permeates the immediate and surrounding circle of the broadest and most far reaching organization on American soil—the Social Democracy. One year ago this month I became a member of the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth and I long for the time to come soon when these two bodies will affiliate. I would like to see all socialistic bodies affiliated, if for nothing else than to see the enemy tremble. What is the cause that keeps them separated? Anyone might answer the question—'tis a lack of genuine Socialism. Their aims upon the surface appear to be identical. What's wrong? The spirit is conceived with the pomp of competitive thought. Such musings in the being is detrimental to a higher plane of intellectual development. We cannot broaden our souls and have a grudge against our neighbor. Twelve years ago I entered the coal mines—not from choice, however, but from necessity to earn bread for myself. Out of that time I have been four years in total darkness—at least deprived of God's pure air. All that time I have toiled and suffered the stings and arrows of outrageous disappointment, and during that time having developed the bumps of causality and comparison I very naturally ask the question—when shall I be liberated? Or must the degrading task be perpetuated until the grave receives the dried up cover of a once juicy and promising life? Where has my toil gone? To the poor? Ah, no. If that were its receptacle I could toll on in silence. But as it is, gone to the already overfed vultures whose animal instincts would lay waste every fine fibre in the human family, and destroy the holy and scientific researches of the soul. Against these horrors so manifest in every day life do I raise my voice in protest, and hope therewith that every wage slave will make a like study of his life and that those antagonistic Socialistic bodies will combine in a true spirit of harmony, makes up the musings and hopes of my Thanksgiving labors for the day.

Do let's combine, my loving friends, 'Twas Christ who said "Love one another."

There's only one way to our ends; Why take a different road, my brother? 'Tis easy sailing to the grave, If we but still the tempest, brother, Within our souls—don't let us rave— But calmly pass that we may save The world's fate of one another.

—FREDERICK WILLIAM LENNON, Adger, Ala., Nov. 25, 1897.

COLONIZATION DEPARTMENT

CYRUS FIELD WILLARD, SECRETARY

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

Report of Receipts.

Owing to a typographical error the total reported last week was \$2.40 greater than it should have been. The amount should be \$1,063.12, instead of \$1,065.52, as reported.

Amount previously acknowledged.....\$1,063.12
Mrs. L. Smith..... 5.00
E. H. Doetcher..... 5.00
J. Roeschein..... 50
F. N. Baker..... 20
Geo. F. Styche..... 25
Francis Ficke..... 2.40
Wilhelm Grund..... 1.19
C. C. Janney..... 1.00
Ed Ehrlich..... 1.00
H. Ludford..... 1.00
Missouri Branch No. 4, per N. J. Nelson..... 40
Illinois Branch No. 14, per M. W. Grace..... 1.00

\$1,081.37

W. P. BORLAND,
Treasurer.

A Suggestion.

In response to the request of Secretary Willard that suggestions be offered, permit me to say: Contributions of money for the Col. enterprise are being called for and pledged, in amounts large or small. Now let contributions of material be also called for and pledged.

For instance: You who have a surplus of land, lumber, building material, machinery, implements, fence material, furniture, furnishings, non-perishable food stuffs, seeds, fruit trees and shrubs, printing outfit, stock, vehicles, fabrics, etc., etc., all who have this surplus and wish to endow this University of United Labor, are requested to pledge these things, in large or small quantities, subject to call of commission.

First call: Land, lumber, implements, horses, vehicles. Second call: Furniture, furnishings, non-perishable food stuffs, seeds, trees, machinery. Third call: Fabrics, stock, etc., the call thus unfolding, in the order of need, until all reasonable wants are provided for.

There are hundreds, yea, thousands of persons who have these things in abundance, and can spare them, when they cannot easily contribute money.

It is things that are needed. This is a thing world. Our bodies are things, requiring a thing environment. Ho, now, ye praters! who "love God and keep His commandments," let these surplus things come forth for the disinherited, who will, therewith, create more things that they may no longer tax sympathy and terrorize communities.

The pressure of poverty reduced at all points, over-crowded cities drained of surplus population, those remaining will have more room, more security, and more opportunities.

My suggestion is, therefore, to the interest of those who stay, and to the interest of those who go.

Let these contributions be pledged by cards of credit, redeemable on demand. I have drafted a form, and submit it to the department. I hope there will be many calls for them, and that they will rain into the Col. treasury along with the money pledges.

H. S. Geneva Lake.

About Transportation.

Mr. Editor:—Some of our good comrades are downhearted over the problem of transportation. Here in Philadelphia we often hear the question: "Don't you think Washington is too far away, however shall we folk who haven't got a penny for a cheap excursion ever get there?" (or something to that effect.)

Now if the state of Washington is selected I think that the fact of its being on the other side of the continent, far from causing us any uneasiness, may be actually turned to advantage, and that too without cost. I have discussed this matter with the members of our branch and many others who are interested in the movement, and the opinion seems to be unanimous that it would be successful.

The idea seems to be that when the land has been procured the farmers shall move out first and prepare the way by getting the soil in condition and by planting the various seeds that are to produce food crops for the sustenance of the army that is to follow. These pioneer farmers should be selected from the west, the nearer to the colony the better as they will thus be more likely to understand the conditions of climate and soil and able to instruct other farmers coming from various parts of the country with the grand army of co-operative pioneers. The farmers being at work in early spring the call should be sent out to the men selected from all over the country and these should start to march—beginning at the remotest parts—in, say, four sections by well mapped routes, taking in as many towns as possible and picking up the "called" men by the way.

They should have vehicles to carry the women and children, also wagons filled with all kinds of socialistic literature. The powerful and popular speakers of the cause should be with them, and every village and town and city through which the army passes should be thoroughly canvassed for the sale of literature, educated in socialism

and organized for the Social Democracy by the speakers, and inspired with enthusiasm for our grand ideal of a free and happy commonwealth by songs of the grand new time a coming sung by the whole army. This singing of songs ought to be made a special feature, its potency to arouse the workers from their apathy can hardly be estimated. The effect of a thousand men singing together such songs as William Morris' "March of the workers," to the tune of "John Brown," would be magical: "Hark the rolling of the thunder! Lo the sun! and lo thereunder Riseneth wrath, and hope, and wonder, And the host comes marching on." I think the men thus brought under the strong light of publicity would feel that they were on their honor, and would act like true gentlemen. They would show our friends the enemy that Socialists are not the fire and brimstone bringers of chaos they are represented to be by the capitalistic bread-and-butter journalists. I believe there would be sympathizers enough along the way to keep the marchers well supplied with food. And of this I feel sure, that the move would compel such an advertisement in the press of the country as Socialism has never received before.

When Eugene V. Debs and his associates were thrown into prison for daring to arouse the ire of the money-lords intelligent men in the ranks of the workers throughout the nation were outraged; but when these martyrs to the cause of labor formed and were elected to the head and guiding offices of the Social Democracy of America we felt that plutocracy had received its answer. When Coxey led the tattered outcasts of our hellish economic system to the halls of that government which was supposed to have been instituted to protect the weak and downtrodden, and found congregated there the money changers who had made of it a nest of vipers we were ashamed; but when our army of the emancipation shall turn its back upon that whitened sepulchre and with strong tread and steadfast mien advance upon the haven of peace where the dawn of our hope gilds the hills and invites us to a realization of those dreams for which we have been scorned so long, then shall the insults which were heaped upon that former army of the despised and forsaken be flung back in the teeth of those who perpetrated them. It is a consummation devoutly to be wished.

Fraternally yours,

ELI SHORE.

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

From California Branch No. 3.

Mr. Editor:—I write to express my approbation, delight and satisfaction in reading the articles in the colonization department of the issue of Nov. 18, especially those referring to "by-laws" and membership fees. I now feel assured that the commissioners know what they were chosen for, and presumably they have been chosen because they know, and have the courage to express their sentiments and stay by them.

I will take the liberty to enclose the manuscript of an article read before the Sunday meeting of Local Branch No. 6 by the secretary of Branch No. 5, who I see by Comrade Borland's report has been heard from in regard to the \$20 call for the colonization commission. The grand celebration of the birth of the Social Democracy of Am-

erica, and its accompanying entertainment and dance, was a very creditable affair, and the managers, all of No. 6, are entitled to all the credit. We learn from their report in the Social Democrat that they propose to give monthly entertainments in order to raise funds for the colonization commission, which will no doubt pan out as well as their initial attempt did. Number three's more modest program reads: This meeting is held in the interest and under the auspices of the members and friends of California Local Branch No. 3 of the Social Democracy of America, now numbering over thirty.

The primary object of holding these meetings is to inaugurate a sort of an "educational kindergarten" for the better education of our members in the fundamental bed-rock principles of "liberty," "equality" and "fraternity," as a fitting preparation for our future relation to the coming co-operative commonwealth; and, second, as furnishing instructive "object lessons" for prospective membership.

In our methods of conducting this educational kindergarten, all arbitrary authority imposed upon us from out the dead past in the shape of by-laws, rules and regulations will be entirely discarded, left for experts in running the political caucuses. Methods of suggestion, reasonable persuasion and attraction will take the place of arbitrary ruling and compulsion, whether by the use of parliamentary rules and other established precedents, or any other cast-iron device. Mutual criticism, by and with the consent of the criticized, for mutual improvement, will much better supply all the guidance and government that will be necessary. Any rules to promote order, system and dispatch, that may be found necessary, can be adopted or rejected as we proceed. There will be no "fees" for membership in this educational kindergarten, but voluntary contributions may be accepted to defray expenses. All who can cordially endorse the foregoing plan, and its methods for inaugurating an educational campaign, are as cordially invited to become members of the kindergarten and participate in our educational quest by permitting us to record their names hereunder.

The following from the secretary of Local Branch No. 3 was presented at our last meeting:

"More funds for the 'colonization commission' is absolutely necessary. It will be observed by referring to the last issue of the Social Democrat, Nov. 11, that Local Branch No. 3 of San Francisco is credited with \$20, the full amount assessed upon each and all the branches for the colonization commission. Three other branches of the six known to have been chartered in the state of California are collectively credited with \$14.15, No. 1 with \$2.65, No. 2 with \$6 and No. 5 with \$5.50. No. 4 and No. 6 not heard from. By the general summing up, it is evident that a much more liberal response will be absolutely necessary. I therefore call upon the members and friends of Branch No. 3 for such monthly contributions as they can afford, and will pledge at least \$1.

Next week I will forward what I can collect.

M. E. MORSE,
Sec. Branch No. 3.

Branches should get in their Merrie England orders early to insure prompt attention. Orders will be filled in the order of their receipt. First come first served.

The old maxim that "He who will not work, neither shall he eat," appears to be changed into "He that doeth no work shall live on the fat of the land; but he who labors and produces all wealth shall not taste of the fruits thereof, but in want and misery shall continue to labor, that others may enjoy."—Century.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY EDITION

Merrie England

Printed on good paper, from large, clear type. This is the best book for propaganda purposes ever issued. The plain, common-sense talks of the author to hard-headed John Smith are just what you want to place before your neighbors whom you wish to convert. Order a quantity and make Socialists. The price is within the reach of all.

1 copy.....	6 cents
2 ".....	10 " "
12 ".....	50 " "
25 ".....	\$1.00
100 ".....	3.50
1,000 ".....	30.00

Cash must accompany all orders.

BOOKS YOU SHOULD READ!

A Physician in the House

A new family medical work, by Dr. J. H. Groer. Price, \$2.75.

Civilization Civilized

A crushing arrangement of the present social order, by Stephen Maybell. Reduced to Ten Cents.

President John Smith

or THE STORY OF A PEACEFUL REVOLUTION, by Frederick Upham Adams. Sent postpaid to any address Ten Cents.

Man or Dollar, Which?

A story of the Co-operative Commonwealth in the United States. Paper, 190 pages, Twenty-Five Cents.

Send Orders and Make Remittances Payable to

SYLVESTER KELIHER

504 Trade Building

Chicago

OUR CLUBBING LIST

The New Time

One Year.....\$1.00

With The Social Democrat

One Year.....\$1.50

The Coming Nation

One Year.....\$0.50

With The Social Democrat

One Year.....\$1.20

Commonwealth

One Year.....\$1.00

With The Social Democrat

One Year.....\$1.25

The American Fabian

One Year.....\$.50

With The Social Democrat

One Year.....\$1.10

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 past week has been one of great activity in organizing. Our comrades in various parts of the country are taking hold with a will and are giving evidence that they realize the necessity for hard and persistent work.

Seven new branches is the record for the week. These are reported from Brooklyn, N. Y., Jersey City, N. J., Yale, Kansas, Port Angeles, Wash., Houston, Tex., Philadelphia, Pa., and Paterson, N. J.

Chairman Debs is still at his home in Terre Haute, but will shortly depart on another organizing campaign. He expects to go to St. Louis, to attend the grand demonstration to be held there on the 5th inst., after which he will return to headquarters for a few days before starting out on the extended trip now contemplated.

The French and Belgian glass workers at Arnold, Pa., will join the Social Democracy in a body. Each of them has a saving of from \$200 to \$2,000, and their intention is to remove to the colony in the spring and establish a co-operative glass plant.

Our Hartford, Conn., comrades are doing magnificent work. They realize the necessity that confronts them and have a proper conception of their duties, as the following paragraph from the "Enterprise" of Nov. 20 will show:

"Section No. 2 of the Social Democracy of America has been organized and holds weekly meetings at Central Labor hall every Sunday night. It is an English section, and the organizers are arranging to form clubs in each ward of the city, where weekly meetings can be had and the education of the masses secured.

The work of organizer Lloyd in Ohio has been productive of great good. An immense amount of work has been done in Cleveland, and four flourishing branches are now located there.

Comrade Lloyd held very successful meetings at Lima and there will soon be organized one or two branches in that city as a result of his campaign.

Comrade Steinhoff of our Columbus branch is an earnest worker, and as organizer of his branch is the right man in the right place.

One of the strongest workers in Ohio is Charles R. Martin of Tiffin. Comrade Martin was formerly one of the wheel-horses of the Populist movement in his state, but he is now devoting his splendid talents to the cause of Social Democracy.

ter to the editor of the "Advance Guard," a Populist paper, Comrade Martin says: "I think I have studied the money question for all there is in it, but when one gets a clear conception of the fundamentals of Socialism he wonders why he did not see it sooner, and regrets having wasted so much time on what are really only patchups."

Our Evansville comrades are taking steps to organize their city by wards and hold regular weekly meetings in each ward in the city. In a recent issue, "Coming Events" says: "In the near future discussions will be held in the different wards of the city. This is a move in the right direction, and every laboring man that is not party-hound should lay down his shovel and hoe and work for common humanity.

Our California comrades are wide awake and earnest. In San Francisco much good work is being done. Comrade Morse of Branch 3 sends a very interesting report of the work in San Francisco. In Los Angeles the comrades have inaugurated a series of regular Sunday meetings at which discussions of economic problems take place.

The Sunday meetings of Branch No. 1 are a very important feature of the work in Chicago, and much interest is manifested in the discussions which take place. Mrs. Lucinda B. Chandler delivered a stirring address on the New Commonwealth at the last meeting.

Rev. Frederick Millar, vice-chairman of Branch No. 6, has sent out cards announcing the Social Democracy meeting on Dec. 2, also Jesse Cox's lecture on Socialism which will be given on Dec. 6 at 8 p. m.

Those who have been attending the meetings of Branch 5 should note change in time of meeting. Throughout the winter meetings will be held on the second and fourth Tuesday of each month, at Social Hall, corner One Hundred and Thirtieth street and Michigan avenue.

A short time ago, when only about five of the local branches were advertised in your columns, I called attention to the importance of every branch availing itself of your generous terms (25 cents a month) for a standing notice of time and place of meeting.

I again say that there is no news you can give in your columns, no article you can write, no plea you can make, that would more effectively help our cause or demonstrate its growing power than "meetings of local branches."

Comrades of local branches, hide not your light under a bushel. Set it on the hill top of publicity in our magnificent tribune of the people, the Social Democrat. Old branches, to the front!

We also make the following specific DEMANDS FOR RELIEF: 1. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Send three 2-cent stamps for a copy of Merrie England.

The Social Democrat SUBSCRIPTION BLANK TO THE PUBLISHER, 504 Trude Bldg., Chicago: Find enclosed \$ for which send THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT for months To Full P. O. Address RATE: Twelve Months, \$1.00; Six Months, 50c; Three Months, 25c. 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 endowed with certain natural rights, among which are life, liberty and happiness.

MEETINGS OF LOCAL BRANCHES [Notices of meetings will be published under this head for 25c per month.] Branch No. 1 of Illinois meets every Sunday, 2:30 p. m., at 188 East Madison street.

MEETINGS OF LOCAL BRANCHES [Continued] Ohio Branch No. 2 meets every Monday evening at 8 o'clock, Stengel's Hall, cor. Pearl and Monroe streets, Cleveland, Ohio.

MEETINGS OF LOCAL BRANCHES [Continued] New Jersey Branch No. 1, meets every Tuesday. Club rooms are open for friends also on Thursday, Sunday and Sunday, 556 Pacific St., Paterson, N. J.

RAILWAY OFFICIALS & EMPLOYEES ACCIDENT ASSOCIATION W. K. BELLIS, SECY. INDIANAPOLIS, IND. Mothers! Mothers! Mothers! MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP has been used for over FIFTY YEARS by millions of mothers for their CHILDREN while SLEEPING with perfect success.

MEDICAL TREATMENT ON TRIAL To Any Reliable Man. Marvelous appliance and one month's remedies of rare power will be sent on trial, without any advance payment, by the foremost company in the world in the treatment of men, women and children.

Half-tone Portraits Free. A friend has got up an ingenious idea which requires the name and address of every member and every sympathizer who desires to assist the Co-operative Commonwealth, but who are prevented because they have very little money.

UNION MADE BRAND AND OVERALLS. Get your dealer to buy these goods—he'll do it for the asking and you'll help the UNION cause—or we'll send you tape measure, samples and self-measurement blank, with a dainty gilt edged Russia leather pocket memorandum book free.

"THE UNION FOREVER!" THE UNION-MADE OVERALLS ARE MADE BY Sweet, Orr & Co. THE LARGEST OVERALL MANUFACTURERS IN THE WORLD. GUARANTEED NEVER TO RIP. If you don't wear Overalls, you must wear Pants.

ARTIFICIAL ARMS AND LEGS PATENTS OF 1895. Marks' Improved Rubber Hands and Feet are Natural in Action, Noiseless in Motion, and the Most Durable in Construction. It is not unusual to see men of every vocation wearing one or two artificial legs of MARKS' Patents.

COMING NATION THINK OR STARVE THAT IS THE ALTERNATIVE. THE NEW TIME. Formerly NEW OCCASIONS. The Best Reform Magazine... Only One Dollar a Year in the World. 10 cents a number. Monthly—Eighty Pages.

Don't Stop Tobacco. ELGIN WATCH. GENUINE DUEBER CASES. Baco-curo. ERIE MEDICAL CO., BUFFALO, N.Y.

DANGER! A SECOND LOST IS THE TROUBLE. Just as DANGEROUS if Time is lost before using Pabst Malt Extract. The "Best" Tonic, Gives Nerve and Sinew to the ENGINEER, FIREMAN, & CONDUCTOR, and ALL RAILROAD MEN whose Nerve and Strength is daily taxed in running their trains.