

On earth peace,
good will
toward men

The Social Democrat

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Vol. IV.

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ADVICE TO POPULISTS

FROM MAX S. HAYES, OF THE CLEVELAND CITIZEN.

Pops are wasting their time in trying to help the doomed middle-class. Socialism is the only panacea.

There has been so much printed about Eugene V. Debs and the Social Democracy of America that it is misleading and untrue that it is a pleasure to receive assurance from Mr. Debs himself that the new order has become popular despite all obstacles. President Debs writes as follows:

Most of what has been printed about the Social Democracy is fiction. There has also been a great deal of misrepresentation, some from ignorance and some from malice. This you understand, of course, without explanation. The organization is spreading as if by magic. We have already more than three hundred applications for charters, and each mail increases the number. We are moving our headquarters to Chicago, and as soon as we get the offices settled we will plunge into the campaign of organization. The organization is not an experiment, but a realization. Watch it! I am to begin at Milwaukee on the 15th.

I know you are too wise to be misled by the absurd reports that we are going to follow in the wake of isolated colony planters. We do expect to take possession of a state, but this will be incidental and simply as the beginning of a campaign which will end only when we have them all.

The declaration of principles of the Social Democracy goes to the root of economic injustice as only socialistic students are capable of doing, and the platform, by demanding a "reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production," and "the public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines," as well as other progressive planks, is one that will satisfy advanced workmen.

The machinery of the order is constructed in this manner: Local branches limited to 500 members each; state unions composed of one representative from each local branch; a national council composed of one representative from each state and territory; an executive board composed of five members.

On August 1 the executive board will choose three competent persons to select a state where unemployed and other members will gradually concentrate and acquire political and industrial control.

No organization since the sudden rise of the K. of L., a dozen years ago, has created such wide discussion as the Social Democracy. If all agitation on the part of its founders and organizers stopped today it would nevertheless have accomplished great good for the cause of socialism.

The time is ripe for another great popular revolutionary movement—one that will spread to every corner of the country and prepare the working class for a new system. We said before, and we repeat it now, that there are many hundreds of workmen in this country who would follow Eugene V. Debs to the jaws of hell. He is a genius, combining the unusual qualities of being a superb organizer, an eloquent orator and a brilliant writer. He has attracted about himself more strong, devoted and sincere men than any individual since Lincoln—men who admire and love their chosen leader, who would sacrifice all they possess for him, and who have but awaited the word to go among the masses and proselyte for the cause that he has undertaken.

Though there may be differences of opinion as to tactics, every Socialist ought to wish Debs and the Social Democracy Godspeed. Capitalism's piteous grip will be the sooner overthrown that the masses are educated to the real conditions that prevail in this country. Let the awakening continue!

The Populists of Ohio will hold a convention at Columbus on August 10 and 11. At present the party has no official standing in this state, and from every section comes authentic information that there is hopeless division in its ranks. The great reform organization was split on the rock of fusion, and it is impossible to repair the injury and save the ship from sinking into political oblivion.

This fact must be admitted by every clear-sighted Populist who has watched political development during the past eight months. The fight between the national committee on the one side and the party press on the other; the action of the Nashville conference this week in practically repudiating the fusion wing and forming a dual party organization; the formal split in Iowa two weeks ago, and the wrangle of the factions in every state in the Union are signs that final dissolution of the once promising young giant is inevitable. Many of the party papers have ceased to exist, not a few of the leaders have gone into the old parties, and the rank and file is melting away like snow in a July sun. That is the condition; it is not a theory.

In the forthcoming state convention there will probably be three factions. The fusionists will fight for the endorsement of the Democratic ticket; the middle-of-the-roads will strenuously demand a reorganization and an independent ticket. Between these

two factions it will be war to the knife, with the advantage in favor of the former. Already the fusionists are writing letters and pledging support in newspaper interviews to McLean's silver ticket, while the "roaders," judging from the tone of their two remaining organs, are becoming more bitter than ever against the new Democracy.

The indications now are that there will be a small faction of radical Populists in the convention prepared to steer a large slice of the organization into the Socialist labor party when the break comes. These men have been Socialists at heart for several years, and thought they were on the right road toward the co-operative commonwealth while identified with the People's party; but now they are convinced they were on the wrong track and believe the time is at hand to strike an effective blow for the cause of socialism.

If the fusionists capture the convention, which they probably will, the "roaders" will assuredly bolt if present threats mean anything. Or even if by some fluke the latter secure control of the silverites, if they do not bolt openly, will desert to the Democracy during the campaign. Therefore the "roaders," who are a minority, will in either case lead but a forlorn hope if they nominate a ticket.

We believe the middle-of-the-road men of this state are honest reformers, who hold principles above offices, and who detest, compromising with monopoly or its agents, but they lack sound judgment in attempting to run counter to cold facts. Many of them claim to be socialists; none of them would object to socialism if it were introduced next week. Then why should they putter away their time and money in resurrecting their crippled party when there is at present a real, uncompromising labor party in the field, with a strong ticket and a model system of organization, with which they may become affiliated? Why should they make targets of themselves for the hee-lers of one or the other old party to throw mud at?

It is to be hoped that the Ohio middle-of-the-roads will not begin wangling another dozen years trying to bring relief to a conscienceless and bankrupt middle class, but will join the only labor party in the political arena, the party that rejects all peace offers from its enemies—the Socialist Labor party.

In his so-called pulpit editorial last Sunday the Rev. Louis Banks betrayed his capitalistic instincts. In criticizing Debs' colonization scheme, Mr. Banks referred to the former as a man who is "in spirit an anarchist," and that "he (Debs) has had one term in jail for lawlessness, and he does not seem to have learned wisdom by it." From a casual perusal of the alleged editorial, one is convinced that in Mr. Banks' opinion Debs is an outlaw and criminal.

While we cannot endorse the colonization plan proposed by Debs, nevertheless we have the highest admiration and respect for the man. In the eyes of a vast majority of the organized wageworkers of this country Debs stands today as the greatest labor champion of our time. No man can question his ability or his sincerity, and none of his cowardly defamers and detractors dare meet him or any of his friends in public and debate the question of his imprisonment or the causes that led thereto.

If Debs "had one term in jail for lawlessness," it is because a debauched scoundrel upon the bench, who did not dare grant a jury trial, sent him there; and under similar circumstances and for the same noble cause Debs would not hesitate to serve a second term. Moreover, the organized working people of this land testified as to their loyalty and faith in him upon his release from Woodstock jail by organizing and taking part in the greatest demonstration that ever greeted the freeing of any prisoner. That mammoth celebration was in fact the serving of notice upon plutocracy and its subsidized press and pulpit, its courts and militia, that its persecutions would be met by greater solidarity and class-consciousness, and that labor is learning to distinguish between its friends and foes.

The conspiracy to blacken the character of Debs and ruin him has failed. The working people do not regard him as a criminal, though he has served "one term in jail," and though prostituted newspaper scribblers and pulpit sensational mongers have studiously attempted to destroy his usefulness. Here in Cleveland the labor agitators have evidence within reach that lays bare all the foul conspiracies from the Pullman lockout to the Woodstock jail doors, and they challenge Debs' slanderers to come out in the open like men, upon a free forum, and discuss the famous labor agitator's actions during the Pullman and A. R. U. strikes.

Let the editorial and pulpitorial agitators take notice!

Says an exchange: "The law cannot be too severe on doctors who advertise medicines to improve the appetite. It is hard enough these times for a man to satisfy the appetite he already has, much less a greater one."

THE COMING NATION

WHAT THE CO-OPERATORS SAY OF THE NEW MOVEMENT.

The formation of the Social Democracy places Socialism on a sure footing in the United States.

The constitution of man is such that for a long time after he has discovered the incorrectness of the ideas prevailing around him, he shrinks from openly emancipating himself from their domination; and, constrained by the force of circumstances, he becomes a hypocrite, publicly applauding what his private judgment condemns.

When the people who have been taught to think what the capitalists and the capitalist press think, and not how to think for themselves; when they have learned not to pause longer on the understanding of others, but to exercise their own understanding, they will be no longer appalled by the magnitude of the Social Democratic program, but rather perceive in it a beneficent agency for emancipation from wage slavery and the monstrous humbug of the ruling and defrauding classes. When the carping, comfortable critics, drunk with their own verbosity, quit raving and begin to reflect, they will discover that Socialism is no longer a matter of theory, but a profound and burning question, before which the doubt and indecision of the people will vanish as mists dissolve before the morning sun.

"Socialism in America is impracticable and impossible," says one leading daily; "it is opposed to the genius of American institutions," says another. But some how, to the poorly concealed dismay of the class which defrauds and the apologists who hoodwink the people, it strikes its root deeper into American soil and the American conscience, and this latest form of it, organized at Chicago, is not devoid of interest and much concern to the hypocritical hosts of mammon who realize what the success of the "Debs movement" means.

Of course it is met with sneers and gibes; of course it is called chimerical

and impracticable; of course it is "opposed to the genius of American institutions," in the estimation of beneficiaries of the spurious Americanism now prevailing. But it can easily become the initiative of the most important chapter in the history of the Western world—an epoch-making movement. It is an effort to do something to relieve human suffering, enlarge human liberty and secure human happiness. This is its recommendation, and will constitute its strength with the people. The critics who offer no better plan, or no plan at all, in such times as we are living in, will do well to abuse sparingly the sincere men and women who, under a two-fold movement, industrial and political, appreciate the need of somebody doing something besides sneering and lying and preaching content to human beings who have been driven from their birthright and enslaved by the cormorants of capitalism. Whether the privileged in this dear America like it or not the people are rapidly approaching that stage where they will prefer the commune to the cormorant and economic freedom to a political fetich. Millions are in actual need, victims of enforced idleness; homes gone, families divided; sincere, honest and useful men, heart-broken and famishing, tramp the city streets and the country roads in their native land, where one set of "patriot" scoundrels make the laws for their own benefit and another set administer them for a share in the plunder.

Other millions are losing their small savings and smaller opportunities; general bankruptcy confronts the individual merchant or manufacturer who is ignorant of the economic law which is breaking him; the professions are overcrowded in every community—lawyers and doctors are starving—all classes being driven to become parasites or paupers, common thieves or "respectable" thugs, skimmers or suicides.

Folly and absurdity and the insanity of indifference can go no farther. The man-starving, woman-ravishing, child-murdering system must itself be destroyed and banished, with all its horrible powers to create inequality, promote human wretchedness, strangle the blessings of liberty and reduce the world to a vast commune of pigmy slaves dependent on a handful of cap-

italist gluttons for life. Amid the deepening gloom of such conditions re-deeming the human family from universal imbecility, now comes this movement of the Social Democracy, to unlearn a new order of things, and with a pure motive and peaceful method, to form "a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." It is the culminating movement of certain allied forces in the struggle for labor with a record of honesty and sacrifice, and in it centers the hopes and heart-yearnings of millions of as loyal and true Americans as ever loved in peace or hated in war.

It is an American movement—a natural and inevitable growth, illustrative of our national spirit and enterprise, sympathetic to American genius, harmonizing with the oldest and the truest American ideas—the soul of democracy and 1776 rekindled and reconsecrated to liberty—a movement for America and humanity, for America and Americans. Let all Americans understand it and support it. The main question is, What are its strong and practicable points? These being determined, the times demand union of forces to carry them out.

At this dividing line between insanity and reason it would ill become one to forget the faithful. When E. V. Debs, the matchless organizer of the century, stood before 500 intelligent and determined men in Chicago and unfurled the banner of American socialism—when his words borrowed the wings of lightning to penetrate every obscure hamlet and fill every city, then Disrepute passed away and respectability was born. And are you not well repaid, my friends of humble station, for these years of quiet and constant agitation? Do you feel no sense of reward for your persistent efforts? I do, and you should—for without the work and sacrifice of these unseen, unsung heroes of the cities, crowded streets and the country's shady lanes, the Social Democracy would be a word of

Who will Subscribe for President McKinley?

Men prominent in public life (like others who are not) are ignorant of the principles of Socialism because they have never had the opportunity of reading about those great truths.

We propose to send THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT to the leading officials of the government, commencing with the President.

Who will be the first of our readers to subscribe one dollar for a year's subscription for President McKinley? All subscriptions received will be acknowledged in our next issue.

strange men and full of terrors. Instead the bow of promise hangs low in the sky and encourages those by reason of whose labors it is there to renewed and persistent activity.

The formation of the Social Democracy at Chicago places Socialism in the United States beyond the power of its enemies to throttle. The organization is officered by honest and capable men—men who have passed through the fires of trial and came out unscathed. It starts with a platform that includes every demand needed to bring peace and plenty to the toil (and idle) American millions. It starts with the active opposition of the plutocratic press in whose eyes the idea is wild and visionary. As usual, the dear, good dailies fear the poor, beloved workingman is to be deceived.

The beloved workmen—part of them at least—may take no stock in the dailies, and should a majority do so the McKinley prosperity, which these same papers advocated, will be continued on a more distressing scale.

The old parties have fed you on continually decreasing wages for years, and now tell you that you must come to the European level. The populists are fused to death. The Social Democracy comes to you with a new and enlarged program and asks your investigation—not blind belief. If you are a reasoning being, capable of forming intelligent conclusions, and the plan of Social Democracy will benefit you, you should know it. If it will not, there is no harm in knowing the reason why.

On another page will be found the advertisement of "The New Time," a magazine of social progress, edited by B. O. Flower, founder of and late editor of "The Arena," and Frederick Upham Adams, well known as the author of that capital novel with a purpose, "President John Smith." We cannot say too much in favor of "The New Time." Every page is readable, every article is food for thought. We heartily commend "The New Time" to our readers and hope and believe that the enterprise of Messrs. Charles H. Kerr & Co., its publishers, will meet with the substantial support of all friends of progress. "The New Time" and the Social Democrat together for

\$1.50.

APPEAL TO REASON

THE "ONE HOSS PHILOSOPHER" INTRODUCED TO OUR READERS.

Gems of thought collected for the benefit of the new Social Democrats. Clever sayings of a clever man.

The money question is a back number with students of political economy. It is to be used to play on the credulity of the people, as the tariff was for a hundred years. Get down to bottom facts.

Seventy children out of each 100 employed in the glass works of Indiana die before they reach 19 years. Did you ever hear about the horrors of Siberia? or the great palaces of the Vanderbilts and Webbs? Did you ever—but no matter, children are cheap. The laboring people produce them spontaneously and the supply exceeds the demand so if some are wasted it makes no difference. Say, brother, have you any eyes or ears or sense?

The people of the United States built all her railroads, telegraphs, factories, farms and homes, and foreigners never furnished either labor or material, gold or silver. How, then, pray tell me, does it come that any foreign ownership of American securities can be honest? We have sent to foreigners in the past 36 years 2,278 millions of dollars more in merchandise, gold and silver than they have sent us, and there could be no balance due them to exchange for American property. Who is being buncoed?

"The process of unifying the interests of the Northern Pacific and Great Northern systems of railway has been going on for the last three months in conferences in London, Berlin and New York."

So says a dispatch. See how and by whom "American" railroads are operated? America for Americans, eh? Why, this pauper nation is too poor to own anything. It is only a dependency of London and Berlin and all the people would starve if the foreign lords and ladies did not pour their wealth on us. They have fed and clothed and sheltered us and built these railroads for us! Yes, indeed. And "our" railroads and banks and industries generally belong to foreigners, who meet in foreign cities and regulate our use of "our" great institutions! And we are proud of being Americans!

The U. S. district judge from Illinois went to Indianapolis and told the people there that they must pay the street car company five cents fare, their state senate, house and governor to the contrary notwithstanding. Now the Supreme Court of Indiana has decided that the law reducing the fare to three cents is legal, and the people have a right to ride for three cents. Here we find two courts, each claiming its right in the premises, in antagonism. Feeling is getting bitter, and the fool people still refuse to see that all the robbery and bribery grows out of the city granting franchises instead of operating street cars herself. One of these judges must eat his decision. Both can't stand. If the U. S. judge's order stands then the people of a state or city have no right to make or enforce any laws. Then it will be time to have states disorganized and pass the sole control of all people and property under the despotism of judges who are not elected. Let it come. Fools are unfit to play at government.

If we expunge from the pay roll of society all those who are non-productive, or produce nothing useful, there will be such an abundance for the useful workers that it would be inconsumable if they worked eight hours daily. Take out all lawyers, preachers, most of the medical fraternity, all speculators, gamblers, three-fourths of the merchants, all the saloons, all traders, all idle people or people living on interest, rent or profit, all public officials who produce nothing, all those engaged in producing useless or vicious books, papers, pictures or teachings, all those engaged in producing advertising, war equipments, adulterations for cheating and swindling, all engaged in producing unnecessary mills, factories, machines, roads, etc., when there are already more than are needed to produce all we can use. Then if you add to this all the labor that is engaged at production of useful articles with crude and obsolete implements, and take only as many of these as are needed to produce with the best scientific appliances, and you will have a faint idea of the awful, criminal waste of this system, and the enormous loss of wealth it entails. If all people were organized by the collective will for their benefit as a superintendence of a great industry organizes the employees for his benefit, two hours a day would supply the human family with all the food, clothing, shelter, instruction and entertainment it could consume, and unless each member of the human society has all these five things, great progress and development are impossible. Which would you prefer?

"Every noble work seems at first impossible," said Carlyle. There are many Socialists who thus regard "the noble work" in which the Social Democracy is engaged. The success of the work will justify the means.

"The end of the government is the good of mankind," is John Locke's formula. Democracy was not much of a factor in human affairs in Locke's day. Locke talked for kings, priests and nobles. It remained for Democracy to improve on Locke's formula. The descendants of the heroes of '76 have evolved a formula more consistent with enlightened progress: "The end of government is the good of the trusts."

The plutocratic papers are awfully afraid Debs will make a living out of the new Social Democracy! They would like to see him starve while giving his life and abilities to lessen the woes of the laboring masses. But it's all right when McKinley draws \$50,000 a year and \$200,000 for white house expenses for delivering the laboring Samsons into the lap of the capitalistic Delilahs. That's different, you know. Debs is one of the greatest organizers of men in modern history and a man whom capitalists would gladly pay many thousands a year to get him to advise the laboring people to be contented to be robbed by them. Debs gets \$1,200 a year as the head of the greatest industrial movement to help the masses of the century—a mean salary to what his abilities would command if applied to selfish ends. The "Appeal" will give him a greater salary to take the field for it—and make money by it. What the capitalists are frightened at is the fear that he will put several thousand workers in a way to largely escape the tribute exacted by the monopolists. Debs is honest; if he were not monopoly money would soon bribe him as it has bribed so many men who have gained the confidence of the laboring people—look at Powderly. Debs has an energy that challenges admiration. Debs has ideas and knows how to express them. No man in so short a time ever gained the love and confidence of so many people or the hate and fear of so many capitalists. That capitalists hate Debs is the best evidence of his faithfulness to labor. He is a true friend of labor.

Equal opportunities for everybody in this country eh? Believe that because it has been crammed down your throat from childhood eh? I notice that young Vanderbilt at college has nine body servants. Your son has the same opportunities eh? The money for young Vanderbilt is worked out of the masses of the people—you among the number—why don't you do likewise? Why don't you give your boy the advantage of Yale or Harvard with luxurious surroundings and servants? You have the same opportunity. You can bribe congress and legislators and build railroads out of public funds just like these nabobs. Why don't you do it? Haven't you the brains? Well, if you haven't the brains to see and take advantage of these "equal opportunities," how do you know they are equal? How do you know something about what you don't know anything about. I'll bet you don't know what the words "equal opportunity" mean. If you did you would not assert there is equal opportunity for men in this or any other country on earth. Every one can't be millionaires—if there is, many must be poor, for there is no opportunity for them to be otherwise. There can be one king—but there cannot be opportunity for millions of a nation to be kings with power over their fellows. The same is true of property—there is only a limited amount. If a few get it all there are no opportunities for others to get any. I used to think every one could get along just as slick as I did by doing as I did. If every one had tried it we'd all have starved, for I did not produce anything. We are all entitled to the exercise and development of our individual capacities, and that, too, without paying tribute to other men. This is impossible with private ownership of the earth and the machinery of production and distribution. I got property that others created because I cunningly possessed myself of the opportunities that other men must have and made them pay no tribute. All fortunes are so gained. I notice that O'Donohue has just died in New York. He got a great write up and his picture in the papers because he had robbed the American people of millions by selling them coffee at more than it should have been sold for. Great man. He took the "opportunity" of fleecing his fellows who could not all go into the coffee trade—except by the government importation and distribution—and that they refuse to do because trained by the O'Donohues not to do so—that such as he would have the "opportunity" to get rich at their expense. A child born today will have the same opportunity of getting a home or a farm as the children of 50 years ago, who had the opportunity of getting it for \$1.25 an acre! These older children have the opportunity of leaving their children of today a farm. See the "equal opportunity?" Go study up.

"The end of the government is the good of mankind," is John Locke's formula. Democracy was not much of a factor in human affairs in Locke's day. Locke talked for kings, priests and nobles. It remained for Democracy to improve on Locke's formula. The descendants of the heroes of '76 have evolved a formula more consistent with enlightened progress: "The end of government is the good of the trusts."

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT

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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. George Koop, Chicago.

The liberation of the people must come through the masses, and not through the classes.

After you have read the Social Democrat, hand it to your neighbor. Reading socialistic papers will make socialists.

A place of honor awaits the first branch that reaches the limit of membership—500. Now let's see where the best hustlers are.

The "glorious" Fourth of July reminded some of us that there are four million men out of work in this country at the present time.

Reform through the Republican or Democratic parties is impossible as long as you co-operate with them. Remember, parties are made up of individuals.

Wealth, the product of labor, must become the servant of its producer and not its master, as at present. The Social Democrats have as their mission this reconstruction.

Mankind is congregated for mutual benefits, or for general "cussedness." We have experienced the latter phase; let us make a radical change and inaugurate the former.

Christianity (as Christ taught it) is good enough socialism. "Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfill the law of Christ." That is inter-dependence—not independence.

Earnest friends of the cause predict that there will be two hundred thousand members enrolled under the banners of the Social Democracy by the end of the present year.

In organizing branches of the Social Democracy in cities it is advisable to organize them by wards. This will be of great advantage later on when these branches can form the nucleus of the political organization.

The "Glorious Fourth," with its noise and smoke, its spread-eagle bluff and bluster, has come and gone, but the grand army of the unemployed, the poor and despondent citizens of the richest country on earth are marching on.

The Social Democracy asks for evolution and not for revolution; for equity and not equality; for employment and not for charity; for one law and not for class legislation; for state government for every citizen and not for the plutocratic rule of the bribegiving capitalist.

The real question to be solved today is, How shall the producer become the owner of the whole product of his toil? And this question can be answered only by the people in their collective capacity becoming the owners of the means of industrial production and distribution.—Jesse Cox.

We demand that "the common interests of the people," such as pure air and water, land, light, power, transportation and ownership of all highways on land and water, sanitation, education, entertainment, production and distribution be owned by the people and for their benefit.

The only busy place in Chicago is the office of the Social Democracy. The whole clerical force was at work last Sunday trying to catch up with the enormous correspondence coming in with every mail. Maybe McKinley had in mind the Social Democracy when he predicted a revival of business.

Correspondents of the Social Democrat are reminded that "brevity is the soul of wit." We are always glad to receive contributions to the paper but prefer those that are short and to the point. People shrink from a two column article, especially when the same thing can be said in a few lines.

"No member of this organization shall accept an office, elective or appointive, from any political party until he first severs his connection with this body; and no local or state branch shall go into politics through fusion or otherwise, without the consent of the national executive board, except in states already under control of the order."—(Adopted by the National convention June 21.)

Take from men their rights (which should be inalienable) in the bounties of nature and their freedom and independence is torn from them. They are no longer freemen but slaves or worse, mere machines. In that case even Shylock spoke the truth. "You take away my house when you do take the prop that doth sustain my house; you take away my life, when you do take away the means whereby I live."

One of the common mistakes about socialism is that it involves the division or "sharing up" of property. This idea is, of course, erroneous and absurd, yet nine out of ten of the men who talk without thinking will tell you that their chief objection to socialism is, "that a man is entitled to what he earns." Of course he is, and the socialist not only believes in that principle, but goes farther, and aims to give the man who labors the full product of his labor.

The faculty with which men pursue phantoms is one of the mysteries of human existence. It has long been a demonstrated fact that 97 per cent of the persons who engage in business are inevitably doomed to ultimate failure. The system is such that it permits only three persons in a hundred to win out and escape whole. Is it not strange that men should continue to so energetically support a system which demonstrably condemns 97 per cent of them to ruin? The average "business" man is as ignorant as Thompson's colt—he swam a river of pure water in order to drink out of a mudhole on the other shore.

One who is inclined to philosophize a bit on the events of this life cannot fail to perceive the utter incongruity and inharmoniousness of prevalent social teaching. "The Discontent of the Masses" is a mighty theme which furnishes many of our high-priced divines with material for flowery sermons almost without end; college professors, economists and statesmen promulgate learned essays on this subject, and occupy themselves almost incessantly with devising schemes to allay the discontent of the masses and induce men to remain quietly in that station of life "to which it has pleased God to call them." And yet the very bottom principle of our whole social theory is discontent. Eliminate the philosophy which teaches men to rise in the world, to advance from the station in life in which they were born to a higher one, to refuse to remain contentedly in that station in life "to which it has pleased God to call them," and the prevalent social theory is deprived of its vital force—it remains a mere husk, a body without a soul. What must we think of a theory which continually leads men to repudiate their own teachings?

How to Organize a Branch.

For the benefit of hundreds of correspondents who are anxious to organize a branch of the Social Democracy the following information is given:

Five members can start a local branch. The admission fee which must be remitted to the National Council, is 25 cents for each member. No extra charge made for the charter. The monthly dues, payable to the National Council, are 15 cents for every member, for which they will receive free a copy of the Social Democrat. Membership cards are furnished free. Local dues may be fixed by the local branch. Secretaries should send in only the names of those members who have paid their initiation fee and dues.

Members joining before the 15th of the month must pay dues for that month; those joining after the 15th, begin to pay dues on the 1st of the following month. Constitutions, blanks, etc., furnished by Secretary S. Keliher upon application. Remember, every reputable person is eligible for membership and neither sex, race nor color operate as a bar.

The Social Democracy.

Beginning with the next issue the Social Democrat will appear as a weekly. The size of the paper will be increased from four to eight pages, just as soon as the increase in membership warrants the additional expense.

Among the permanent features of the Social Democrat will be extracts from the leading reform papers of the world. We begin in this issue with the reproduction of the best editorials from three of the leading socialistic papers of America—The Cleveland Citizen, The Coming Nation and The Appeal to Reason. This list will be increased from time to time in order that the Social Democrat may place before its readers the best thoughts of the reform press of the world.

The staff of contributors to the Social Democrat comprises most of the prominent writers on economics of America, and arrangements are now under way to secure the services of first-class correspondents in England, Germany, France, Italy and every other country where Socialism is a factor in political or economic life.

The Social Democrat will be full of interest to all reformers, and you cannot afford to be without it.

The Miners' Strike.

The men engaged in the great strike of the miners of bituminous coal are entitled to the sympathy and assistance of the whole people. The condition of these men is miserable almost beyond belief, their wages, even when they are working, are so small that the miner, especially if he has a family, is always on the verge of starvation. But even these wages are diminished by long periods of enforced idleness, which amount in some cases to half the time. The miner of bituminous coal is a mere slave whose lot, even when times are good, is so hard that it would seem that death is preferable to it.

The conditions under which these miners now work are totally unnecessary. If sufficient labor should be expended upon mining, and the right sort of appliances were used, both the danger and the hardships under which the work is now performed would be almost totally removed. But competition forces down the price of coal, and the capitalist mine owners recoup themselves from their loss of profits due to competition, by cutting the pay of their employes, and economizing in such a way that they do not use the means which they might use for making the miners' conditions bearable.

The time was, not so very long ago, when the miner earned in some cases, as high as one hundred and fifty dollars to two hundred dollars per month. But these times appear to have gone forever; or at least for so long as the mines are owned by private capitalists. Wages have been cut year after year, until now the wages paid scarcely enable a miner to live at all; and this has happened notwithstanding the strong unions existing among miners, and the many strikes which have occurred.

The union and the strike are necessities. Let no man decry them. Without them, the miner's lot would be even worse than it is. But it is perfectly clear that the union and the strike, cannot prevent the continued fall of wages, nor permanently better the lot of the miner. Not until the people, by their government, shall own and operate the mines, can the miners hope for any improvement in their condition. With government ownership of mines, the price of coal could be regulated so as to enable the miners to get their old time wages; the condition of the miners could and would be improved in every way; the best appliances would be used, the mines kept so as to be safe, and the work carried on under the best conditions possible. Let the miners join the Social Democracy of America, and unite with other workmen to acquire the political power by means of the ballot. Until this is accomplished the miners cannot hope for any permanent improvement in their condition.

A Word to Critics.

As the official organ of the Social Democracy of America, a movement that was organized not for mere discussion, but for vigorous action along lines calculated to bring "On Earth Peace, Good Will Toward Men," the Social Democrat has neither the space nor the inclination to enter into a polemical contest with the numerous critics, great and small, wise and otherwise, who have sprung from the earth like the warriors of Cadmus, armed capable, and with lances couched to do the Social Democracy to death. The Social Democrat has more important work on hand, and life is altogether too short to waste any more of it than is absolutely necessary in discussing ways and means to bring about a desired result. However, a few words to critics will not be out of place at this time.

The movement, social, political, moral or religious, which is able to establish itself in this age of the world without evoking criticism cannot amount to much, and, as a general proposition, the extent of the criticism evoked is a pretty fair criterion by which to judge of the importance of the movement. Measured by this rule, the Social Democracy is certainly some pumpkins.

The promoters of the Social Democracy expected criticism, and it is a source of infinite satisfaction to them to perceive that, amid the avalanche of criticism which has been showered upon the movement from all sources, they have so far been absolutely unable to pick out a single original thought, they have encountered not a single objection that had not been anticipated beforehand.

This applies not only to the openly-avowed enemies of the movement in all its details, but also to those self-constituted high priests of socialism who profess sympathy with the ends of the Social Democracy, but quarrel with the means employed for the attainment of those ends. For present purposes, the critics of the Social Democracy may properly be classified under two general heads:

1st. Those who criticize from a purely historical standpoint and predict failure simply and solely because other co-operative movements have failed in the past; and

2. Those who criticize on ultra-scientific grounds, holding that the end sought can only be attained by the completion of a process of evolution which is now going on inside the present system and it is the duty of all true socialists to remain in the system and conquer political power, with which they will be able to conquer the economic power which shall appear as the ultimate form of advanced evolutionary process.

To the first class of objectors it is not necessary to say much. The promoters of the Social Democracy have

access to the same sources of historical information as have the critics, and it is not too much to say they are much better informed concerning the practical bearing of those historical failures on the present experiment than are the glib writers who compile their learned essays from the encyclopedias and furnish them to the newspapers at space rates. The promoters of the Social Democracy are fairly well posted in the history of co-operative experiment; they have studied it analytically in order that the causes of failure might be detected and eliminated from the present experiment. There is no parallel between the Social Democracy and the co-operative failures of the past. The movement which approaches nearest to the present one, so far as conception of ends goes, is the Fourieristic movement which swept over this country in the decade between 1840-50. This movement had for its supporters such men as Horace Greeley, George William Curtis, Charles A. Dana, Albert Brisbane, William Ellery Channing, and a host of others equally able and noted. The movement took the form of a National association which had for its object, in the language of an address issued by Channing, who was the idealist par excellence of the movement: "To indoctrinate the whole people of the United States with the principles of associate unity. To prepare for the time when the nation, like one man, shall reorganize its townships on the basis of perfect justice."

Beginning with the township as its unit of operations, this movement was expected to spread until it revolutionized the states and finally converted the United States into a vast associative, or, what we of the present day would call co-operative commonwealth.

It maintained a national association, and sent forth national lecturers, of whom Charles A. Dana was one, to indoctrinate the people with this idea; and during the period of its existence it had a vast number of local associations in all parts of the country north of Mason and Dixon's

DEBS ON THE MINERS' STRIKE.

The strike of the coal miners is without a parallel in the annals of labor struggles. It is a strike of both employes and employers, the former against starvation and the latter against bankruptcy and ruin.

Froy the black mouth of the mine issues the wail of the famishing miner and from his hovel habitation comes in accents sad and clear the refrain from the despairing wife and suffering child.

The mine is no longer profitable to the operator, nor yields up a living wage for the miner, and so the mine, once the source of untold wealth to the owner and of high wages to the miner, is abandoned by both until in some mysterious way the pall is lifted and some measure of the former prosperity comes back again.

Will it come? Let time answer. In this sad struggle to save his child from the wolf of want, the miner has the sympathy, the tears of the country, but these will not help him. He is battling against cruel conditions which are as inexorable as fate and all we can do is to stand by him as best we can and hope for the best.

In contemplating this strange and tragic struggle, but one conclusion is possible. The competitive commercial system has done its worst, and in the mining industry, the rock bottom has been reached. The trust alone is triumphant.

In the competitive war which raged long and fiercely, profits have been reduced to nil and wages to starvation. Both employer and employe are exhausted. Under the system that leveled them down to ruin and starvation they can never build up again.

What is the remedy? There is but one. It is the collective ownership of mines, so that instead of being operated for "profit" in the interest of the individual they shall be operated by the whole people for their common welfare.

line and east of the Mississippi. But the movement failed. And why? The present day student of sociology does not need to be told that Fourier's system, which formed the ultimate ideal toward which the associationists tended, although its practical details were never put completely into operation, was essentially unsound. Scientific investigation within the past half century has corrected the mistakes of Fourierism, and has proved that even if the people of the United States had been induced to accept the doctrines of the associationists completely they would have been disappointed, as it was impossible for the system to work out its ideal results.

Coupled with this nonsense which characterized the movement; itself, there was an economic factor of immense importance standing in its way which would have rendered it futile independently of its scientific character. Capitalism proper had not fairly got on its feet in the United States at that time, and there was probably not one person in a million who understood its true nature. Opportunities for individual advancement within the competitive system were still numerous; there was no permanent class of unemployed—although wages were not high, there was still employment for all who sought it, at wages sufficient to supply the recipients with such fare as was demanded by their standard of living; there were no millionaires and no involuntary paupers who were able bodied; the best resources of the country were still undeveloped, and practically free land might be had on almost all sides. In short, men had not yet been disciplined up to the necessity for a change of system, and such strength as the Associationist movement developed came almost wholly from sentiment—a mighty weak bond of union in such cases, and one that cannot be depended on when unsupported by material interests. When the gold excitement of that period fell in to dazzle men's minds with visions of wealth and divert their minds from dreams of associative unity the Associationist movement quickly fell to pieces. It is unnecessary to point out wherein the Social Democracy, both in its scientific bases and in the economic environment in which it finds itself differs from the Fourieristic movement, the only co-operative movement which may properly be regarded as its prototype.

With regard to the second class of critics, admitting the general soundness of their evolutionary hypothesis, is it not possible that they are pushing it to excess? Gentlemen, are you quite sure that there are no neglected elements in the problem which you have reasoned out so nicely, a disregarded factor which might enter into your formula and vitiate the result you so confidently and scientifically (sic) predict? The human mind is so constituted that it can generalize much more readily than it can particularize; that is, men can perceive the general results of known facts when many of the important details which go to make up those results, namely, other facts equally well known, but not sufficiently considered, almost entirely escape their notice. They thus become slaves to hard and fast theories, and devote their lives to the working out of results which, when attained, prove to be something quite different than their cherished theories had promised them. This is especially true in the domain of sociology. We are constantly running up against the results of imperfect generalization in politics and governments, through failure to properly predict all the movements of Alexander Hamilton's "Great Beast," the people.

Nothing can be clearer than Karl Marx's summing up of the historical tendency of capitalist accumulation: "One capitalist always kills many. Hand in hand with this centralization, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop, on an ever increasing scale, the co-operative form of the labor process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labor into instruments of labor only usable in common, the economizing of all means of production by their use as the means of production of combined, socialized labor, the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world-market, and with this, the international character of the capitalist regime. Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this, too, grows the revolt of the working-class, a class which increases in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter on the mode of produc-

tion itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter on the mode of production which has sprung up and flourished along with and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated.

This is a generalization of facts which we can see with wonderful distinctness, being worked out under our very eyes. There can be no doubt about the ultimate of the process; the expropriators will be expropriated. But does this admirable generalization take account of all the elements which enter into the process it describes and does it, therefore, justify the hard and fast theory of the followers of its author?

Were it possible to unerringly predict the movements of that mass of "misery, oppression, degradation, exploitation," created by the machinery of capitalist production, we might safely bank on a theory which rests on so sound a basis and content ourselves with waiting for the evolutionary process to work out its final results. But, unfortunately, or rather, fortunately, as some think, that is just what we are unable to do. The movements of that mass of misery and degradation are wholly unpredictable. It is not certain that the mass will consent to accommodate itself to the necessities of a scientific theory. It may do something entirely different than it is expected to do, and so kick all the evolutionary fat into the fire. The class-consciousness, the discipline and organization which result from the development of the capitalist labor process is potential to act in a number of different directions; it may assist and hasten the progress of human emancipation, and it may set back the hands of the clock of human progress and plunge humanity into a cataclysm of terror from which it will take ages to recover. Wisdom would seem to dictate some provisions for the control of this mess, so that its potentialities may be directed into proper channels. Now, this is the mission of the Social Democracy. Its promoters are not foolish enough to believe that they have power to interfere with any process of social evolution that is now going on, to the extent, at least, of arresting that process or holding it back; but they feel that we have arrived at a point in the evolutionary process where the unconscious, blind forces which are forcing the human

race in its forward march may be assisted by those who have a knowledge of the conditions of the problem and by directing otherwise uncontrollable elements, the final consummation may not only be assured, but brought that much nearer—the period of struggle may be both eased and considerably shortened. In the words of Prof. Ritchie, "What is effected by conscious effort is not necessarily in antagonism to what is going on in the unconscious stage. More often it is a continuation, an extension, an acceleration of a process already begun."

It is very easy for the historian to show how much service has been rendered to mankind by fierce struggles, by war, civil dissensions, economic competition. But does it therefore follow that equally good ends can never be attained at less cost? To argue thus is to proceed like certain Indians who are said to cut down the fruit tree when they wish to pluck the fruit, or like Charles Lamb's Chinaman, who burnt down his house every time he wanted to enjoy the luxury of roast pig. Are we to have so much faith in the blind passions of human nature than in what can be done by conscious effort?

We have, at the present time a vast army of workers who have been utterly cast off from the present system rendered superfluous by the machinery of production, and deprived of all chance of regaining economic status except by a radical change in the system of production. This army, the industrial reserves, is created and continually being extended by the machinery of capitalism. Its members are being degraded to the lowest depths of animality, deprived of their independence, their best attributes of manhood and womanhood, and subjected to a process of slow starvation that is horrible to contemplate. To hold that this is a necessity, to say that these people must continue to suffer, must continue to sacrifice themselves for the assumed good of the race, must continue to die like rotten sheep in order that they may be used to fertilize the soil from which shall grow the tree of human liberty and human rights—this is a contemptible theory, unworthy the intelligence of rational human beings, fit only to be placed beside the fatalistic conceptions of the followers of Mahomet. A science which has nothing better than this to offer the human race is not worthy the name of "science." To pick up these people and show them that there is hope, to still the terrible promptings of desperation in their breasts, to remove them entirely from their environment of misery and place them in training in an environment of independence and true humanity thus making them competent to properly administer their inheritance when they shall enter into it—this is surely a desirable thing to do, and it is not beyond the intelligence nor the resources of those who look for the regeneration of society.

We have reached a point in the evolution of our industrial system where it is absolutely necessary that something of this kind should be done for the outcasts if we expect to escape the explosion of forces which we cannot control. Political power naturally follows, it does not precede economic power. To depend on the conquest of political power solely to attain the ends of socialism is to subject the human race to a great mass of wholly avoidable miseries. It is also to degrade your political material and render it so entirely slavish in instinct that it will be entirely unable to appreciate or know the face of freedom when it has it in its grasp. There is danger from this source that mankind will finally, if left to follow the dreary course that has been outlined for it, merely exchange one form of slavery for another. The economic and political movements may well proceed on parallel lines and supplement instead of antagonizing each other.

The Social Democrat will devote its energies to building up the Social Democracy of America, confident in the belief that the movement is in the best interests of humanity and of rational socialism. It expects criticism, but cannot devote space which must be used for more important work to a consideration of objections offered, unless, perchance, among the mass of puerilities directed against the Social Democracy it shall sometimes be able to discover an original thought. The Social Democracy will proceed in confidence until it is either a demonstrated failure or sees the consummation of its hopes—"On Earth Peace, Good Will Toward Men."

The American Railway union has been merged into the Social Democracy of America, and it is proposed to establish a commonwealth, which, "although it will not make all men equal, physically or mentally, will give to every worker the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization, and ultimately inaugurate the universal brotherhood of men." Eugene V. Debs, the author of the plan, believes the time is ripe for such a movement, and points to the constantly increasing army of unemployed as evidence that other measures of relief have proven unavailing. While the dream of establishing a co-operative commonwealth may never be realized, there are undoubtedly thousands who believe that to be the solution of the industrial problem, and they have a perfect right to make the experiment. The progress of the co-operative commonwealth will be watched with interest.—Typographical Journal.

Let Debs work unmolested—even in spite of the fear that his Social Democracy of America should swallow up the Socialist Labor party.—St. Louis Tageblatt.

LYNN LABOR CHURCH.

[HERBERT N. CASSON, Speaker]
Text:
"The individual withers, and the world is more and more."
Tennyson.
As this is the last address I shall make in America for several months, I desire to say a few things, not to the general public, but to all who are engaged in social reform work of any kind.

and hellish assaults on little girls. How could anarchy be worse?
Surely, then, this is no time for private squabbles, and dislikes, and huffs, and pouts, and sulks, and moral laziness.
When a man is drowning, what does it matter whether he is saved with a manilla rope or a dish cloth?
If you have suffered a personal wrong, think of the nation's wrong and forget your own; if you have a private affliction, sink it in the sorrow of the race.

at no profit and has given the men the benefit in wages.
"A few days ago his men decided to go out with the others, and this employer said to them:
"Boys, I don't blame you! I advise you to quit! I would pay you more if I could, but I can't! I have sympathy for you, but I can't help you. I am powerless."
In the coal mining business rock bottom has been reached, and there is, in my opinion, but one escape from the heart rending conditions which now prevail in this business. That is collective ownership of the coal mines and co-operative operation.

is a reactionary sentiment, a desire to hang back and to curb the free mind and strong limbs of the new humanity with the childish superstitions and senile tyrannies of a worn-out tottering despotism.
Fraternalism and competition are thus brought face to face, and their contest is one which can be neither postponed nor palliated in any manner whatever: it is a fight to the death, with no truce nor amnesty to soften the rigor of its deadly force.
The competitive system relies upon one argument for its justification; it asserts that only through its strife and hatreds, its tricks and schemes, its punishments to the unfortunate and rewards to the successful—that only through the stress of brute war can the vigor of human life be maintained, and that whatever hampers this competition interferes with human liberty, and saps the strength and manhood of the race.

desires opportunity for physical effort and recognition of his muscular prowess. The two cannot possibly compete, because they cannot measure or express their native gifts in terms of each other. They have different standards, and strive for different ideals.
The treasures of the musical world would be worthless to the hewer of wood, and the inactivity of a musical career would be torment to the physical energy that craves outlet. Yet both contribute to each other's good; they need each other's sympathy, and depend upon each other's innate talents. What holds good in this case is universally true. A Shakespeare cannot compete with an Edison, and the latter cannot compete with a Lincoln, because their talents are different, have to be exercised in different fields and have different modes of expression.
In all human occupation we see the operation of this law of individuality expressed in work. The farmer, the builder, the miner, the mechanic—all have their special dispositions and talents, their personal peculiarities, their loves and hopes and passions, making them different, yet helpful to each other, their peculiarities serving as the foundation of that unity and harmony of human existence which is at once the crown and glory of the race of men. Thus we see in an aggregate of individualities a union of diversities, a symphony of the world's universal life, a collective life that continually calls forth and inspires the higher gifts of men.

must have as their basis common and equal ownership of the material product of collective effort, for only in such ownership can there be complete liberty of growth and development.
Private fortunes indicate not the individuality of their possessors, but the amounts for which they have sold their manhood and sacrificed their God-given liberty to follow the diviner impulses of their nature. There is but one real wealth, but one thing worthy to struggle for—the all-pervading eternal life, the life that pulsates in the atom and glows in the sun; that inspires the wild bird's song or seeks expression in the compositions of a Mozart. This highest treasure makes of man a brother to the slumbering soil, akin to the humble grass, at one with all the countless manifestations of living energy that inhabit space and time.
It is this wealth and liberty that Social Democracy contends for, and thus we see before us now, even as in the past, the unending struggle between freedom and tyranny, between the rights of man and the rights of property in man.
F. R. HAYS.

THE A. R. U.
Dedicated to the sterling manhood of the American Railway Union, that resisted tyranny, "Woodism" in the Constitution, and bore the curse of foul "Injunction Laws"—down to the "American Bastille."
BY MURPHY O'HEA.
Oh, Labor remember the A. R. U.
That arose for thy glory so fair and true,
And flung to the breeze the banner of fame,
Inscribed with humanity's sweet holy name.
At its birth-foul oppression well arm'd
To resist
Its gospel of duty and planned to insist
That none should know of it or help its fair cause.
Except as its foes and the victim of laws
Made well for thy sadness and dark misdeeds.
The curse of our manhood and sweet liberty
It was the grandest of unions ever was seen.
The noblest and holiest ever had been.
A rising for justice—the glories of the sea—
To crush in its purities foul tyrannies.
Its mission the holiest of human plans—
To raise up the lowly and the Rights of Man.
Fair Soul of Humanity, grand holy cause.
The Voice of the Silence that spoke heaven's laws.
Famed crusade of glory, and love for the poor
Of Pullman's base tyranny, and doomed to endure
The fate of the suffering by treacherous laws.
With liberty strangled 'mid demons' applause
Oh, Labor, forget not the days that are gone,
But smile full thy sweetest be no more forlorn,
For the Voice of that Union shall ever endure.
Awakening the dormant with hope for the poor,
Arousing to action by fair lustrous name,
To live and embody the glories of fame.
It arose not for self, but fought for a Brother.
Proving its mission to love one another.
It fell but with glory forever to be
In the annals of Labor—the soul of the free.
Who fought base corruption and dark treachery,
Till the laws of the land with foul cruelty
Were trampled upon to crush its young head.
And crucified Right whilst Liberty bled.
It gave to thy cause a fair heritage grand,
That man is man's brother on God's holy land.
Well it suffered and bled to prove love of right.
Whilst its brave captains endured the Bastille's might.
Farewell to its name, to be never forgot.
Sweet essence of unity—no hollow lot.
But though the name's gone it has risen anew.
To lead the unemployed on holy and true,
So bless its fair name tho' it's faded from view
In "Social Democracy"—The A. R. U.

APPLICATION FOR CHARTER
FOR A LOCAL BRANCH OF THE
Social Democracy of America
TO THE EXECUTIVE BOARD:
Dear Sirs—The undersigned respectfully petition for a Charter for a Local Branch of the Social Democracy to be instituted at
County of _____ State of _____
Temporary Secretary, _____
NOTE.—Five or more persons may apply for a charter. The admission fee is 25 cents per member and the dues 15 cents per month, for which each member receives a copy of the official paper.
Cut out this Application, and after filling out, send to SYLVESTER KELNER, SECRETARY SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, 504 TRUDE BUILDING, CHICAGO.

wrong, and would never be satisfied under it again under any circumstances.
"I have a firm, unwavering faith that right is eternal, that truth must triumph, and I believe no man who has self respect should ever despair. He dare not despair. He is bound by every atom of nobility in his nature to fight to the death for the truth, and to never, never surrender.
"Men may betray. I have been betrayed by my supposed friends, persecuted, blacklisted, maligned, misrepresented and abandoned. But the knowledge of my own uprightness of purpose and the serene faith in the power of truth has so far upheld me, and I believe always will.
"I have faith in the right. I have faith that the principles of Social Democracy are right. I have faith that the people are awakening to the truth. Victory will come."
Socialism, Individuality and Liberty.
We are at the threshold of a new era.
Humanity has arrived at the age of maturity, and is claiming as its inheritance, the wealth of knowledge and power that has been evolving ever since light and order began to conquer night and chaos. If there is one fact that has been proven beyond dispute it is the solidarity of the human race, the unity of man; and this great vital truth as to human brotherhood, hitherto a mere conjecture, a doctrine of religion, rather than a fact of science, has become the central controlling influence of modern civilization. That this human relationship, under a false and vicious code of religious and political ethics, is a curse to the majority of human beings, rather than a blessing, does not alter the fact itself. The brand of Cain cannot make him the less a brother to his victim.
But with the sense of oneness in the minds of men there has come a feeling of responsibility, a collective conscience that will not allow the weak or unfortunate to suffer unaided of the strong and prosperous.
The socialistic movement is the outcome of this public sense of justice. Confronting these finer humane feelings of the more advanced and progressive portion of the human family

The genius of a Milton or the scientific powers of a Newton would wither and die without their necessary social atmosphere, and this collective life of which the individual spiritual existence is the offspring, is the outcome and crown of all the evolutionary progress of the infinite past.
The real wealth of mankind is not mere material plenty. The brute creation develops stronger muscles, better organs and sounder health out of the uncultivated products of the earth than men obtain with all their knowledge and mechanical appliances.
The real wealth of the human race is the science and art and literature that every generation has contributed since time began to register the events of the world in human consciousness. To this collective wealth that the ages have accumulated every human being is an heir, and his title to it is registered by that invisible court of justice which sooner or later restores to human affairs their equilibrium and proper position, setting at naught the instabilities and impositions of craft and greed.
But while all this social wealth is necessary to the higher life of man, spiritual life itself consists in that human love and sympathy which is at once the source and incentive of all achievement and all happiness. Human appreciation and sympathy have called forth every divine impulse and noble effort whose record adorns the pages of history.
Could mere material reward have inspired the patriotism of a Joan of Arc or the philanthropy of Jesus? Can Mammon point to a single effort in the annals of the world, inspired by itself, which the world has seen fit to honor and remember?
In this we see the condemnation of competition. It completely ignores the higher, spiritual gifts of man, and appeals entirely to the brute within him. Competition is the striving of two or more for the same object, but no two men want the same object for any legitimate purpose.
"Whatever is one man's meat, is another man's poison." This is a rather emphatic assertion of the fact that no two men are alike, and therefore do not need nor want the same things; in other words, men have individuality.
The musical genius wants the means of cultivating his talents and gaining the appreciation of the world. The man of active muscular temperament

Other well-known members of the S. D. will also speak.
In addition there will be the regular attractions of the park which include a brilliant vaudeville performance, afternoon and evening, splendid music and the great and only Ferris wheel.
Tickets of admission, 25 cents each, will admit to all these and (in the afternoon) to a free ride on the greatest wheel in the world.
Funds realized from the sale of tickets will be used for helping forward the work of the organization.
Come early, you that can, bring all your friends and let us make this a day long to be remembered!
The colonization idea is undoubtedly popular among American workmen and will be an excellent means of agitation against individualism. That workingmen, especially if not without some means, will be worse off in Utah or Washington than in New York or Chicago, we doubt very much. It can, if started in the right way, serve as a means to the end in view, and can do much for the unemployed. We do not at present favor an amalgamation with the Socialist Labor party, but expect, at least, some friendliness from the thinking element of the Socialist Labor party toward the new movement. As far as Debs is concerned, to him applies Goethe's words:—"In the beginning was the deed!"—Milwaukee Vorwaerts.
At last, then, we have a party which has not been brought to life by foreign, but by American, workingmen and which, under the leadership of capable and principled men will inflame the hearts of the American proletariat with new hope. The aim is the highest and noblest and will be accomplished, if all who wish it to be do their part.—Sheboygan Volksblatt.

Social Democracy Day.
Saturday next, 17th inst., will be a red-letter day in the history of our healthy young giant, the Social Democracy. On that day the organization will take possession—as it were—of Ferris Wheel Park and will, with their friends, their wives and sweethearts, have a royal good time.
The chief will be there, Eugene V. Debs will make two addresses, one in the afternoon and the other in the evening.
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SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

GROWTH OF THE NEW MOVEMENT DURING THE PAST WEEK.

Branches organized at many points. Debs speaks. Encouraging letters from Swinton and others.

The Social Democracy of America is no longer an experiment. It is an assured success and it is only a question from now on of being able to handle the mighty forces that are gathering under the banner of the new organization.

A branch has been formed at New York city by a number of prominent reformers, who exert great influence among the wage-workers in the eastern metropolis.

On Wednesday evening July 7, an immense audience that completely filled West Side Turner Hall assembled to hear Eugene V. Debs expound the gospel of the Social Democracy.

There were two different systems of economics in the world which had been in conflict ever since creation. The exponents of one system—the individualists—claimed they had the right to live upon the toil of others, while the others—the collectivists—believed that "the earth and the fulness thereof" belonged to the people.

Then followed a pathetic description of the tramp and the conditions that had produced him. For those who were at work—the great American workingman—Mr. Debs said he was reduced to the grade of serfdom and his family, wife and children shared in the slavery.

42 West 93d st., New York, June 30th, 1897.

Dear Friend Debs: The strength of your faith, the liveliness of your hopes, the persistency of your value, the breadth of your thought and the energy of your genius, fill me with admiration.

Laurence Gronlund, the author of the "Co-operative Commonwealth," writes as follows:

Good Friend and Comrade: Perhaps it is news to you that I at present am a resident of this city and state, and that I have been so for some time.

What particularly induces me to write you this note is that your morning paper today had lengthy telegrams from Milwaukee to the effect that your "co-operative commonwealth" plan had been definitely abandoned.

that they object to such colonies as the one started in Tennessee by "the Coming Nation," but the fact that, as I am informed, you propose to capture one of our sovereign commonwealths, politically, and after that another one, and so on, distinguished your plan so favorably from the many ordinary voluntary experiments that have been made—that, as it seems to me, all Socialists should applaud and encourage you.

It further pleased me when the rumor reached us that you most likely would select Washington as the state for your first colonies, since there can be no doubt that politically you could not make a better choice.

Fraternally, LAURENCE GRONLUND.

MILWAUKEE ENTHUSED. Debs Speaks to Tremendous Meetings in the Cream City.

On Wednesday evening July 7, an immense audience that completely filled West Side Turner Hall assembled to hear Eugene V. Debs expound the gospel of the Social Democracy.

William Beimdecke, organizer of the Milwaukee Trades Council, presided, and in a few appropriate remarks introduced Mr. Debs as the representative of the newly organized Social Democracy.

Mr. Debs was greeted with a thunder of cheers, renewed again and again. When silence was obtained he made one of those earnest, impressive addresses which carry conviction to the mind and touch the heart.

In a striking arraignment of the trusts the speaker said that when the mines of Pennsylvania were owned by individuals miners earned \$4 a day, but that owing to the greed of the corporations which had absorbed the small mine-owners either by taking them into the trusts or by ruining them financially, the miners' wages had been reduced to forty-five cents a day—starvation wages.

The competitive system was, Mr. Debs said, an abnormal one in this respect, that it produced millionaires and millions of mendicants, and it was also abnormal in that he who worked the hardest and did the most earned the least.

Competition makes it necessary for the successful man to destroy his competitor in self-defense. It was not "the survival of the fittest," but "the survival of the most unscrupulous," and as a natural result an honest business man was an anomaly nowadays.

It was absurd to talk about "the ethics of commerce." In a cut-throat system there could be no ethics.

The colony scheme, said Mr. Debs, is a feature much misunderstood. Some think isolated colonies are to be established. The plan is to go to some state sparsely settled, which has been favored by nature, and there mass sufficient people to get control of the state government.

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willing to aid the plan. It is easier to get control of a state than of the United States. If we wait for the latter men may become so degraded as to be unable to recognize the co-operative commonwealth when it comes.

In conclusion, Mr. Debs said that what was needed was education. There was no slavery, but ignorance.

At the close of his address there was renewed and vociferous applause, which was followed by resolutions endorsing the programme of the Social Democracy.

Milwaukee's First Fruits. On Friday evening, 9th inst., there was a well-attended meeting of those who were candidates for membership in Branch No. 1, S. D. Howard Tuttle presided, and introduced Chairman E. V. Debs, of the Social Democracy, who made an address on the subject of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

On Friday evening Mr. Debs addressed another large audience in Ethical hall, Milwaukee, under the auspices of the Fabian society. At the close of his address speeches were made by some of the prominent members of that organization, after which the Fabian society, as a whole, organized as a branch of the Social Democracy.

Great Crowd at Sheboygan. Saturday found Mr. Debs on his way to Sheboygan, Wis. On his arrival there he was greeted by a tremendous crowd at the railroad station.

Saturday found Mr. Debs on his way to Sheboygan, Wis. On his arrival there he was greeted by a tremendous crowd at the railroad station. The crush of people at the hotel, anxious to see him, was so great that the hotel proprietor had to clear the corridors by force.

Debs Speaks Again. Sunday afternoon Mr. Debs was again at Milwaukee, holding a conference with the leading trades unionists and reformers of that city. Two more branches of the Social Democracy (making four in all) were organized.

Back at Chicago. Wednesday Mr. Debs spent in the general offices at Chicago clearing up long-neglected correspondence. That evening he left for Terre Haute, and thence started for Columbus, O., at the request of President Hatchford, to aid in the fight of the coal miners.

The American Railway union has taught its lesson, fulfilled its mission and gone out of existence. From its ashes has arisen the Social Democracy of America. It is too soon to criticize the new organization, as only a mere skeleton of the scheme has developed as yet.

Socialists on Top. They Secure Control of the Political Labor Convention at Denver, Colo.

The convention of workmen called by the legislative committees of the Colorado State Federation of Labor to organize a new political party was held in Denver on July 4. There were present a large number of delegates representing most of the trade unions of Denver, Pueblo and other Colorado cities.

The convention decided to organize under the banner of the Social Democracy. James Hogan, vice-president of that organization, was present and made an address which was well received. Colorado will soon be in line for the Social Democracy.

The Hope of the Country. Socialism to be the Issue in the Campaign of Nineteen Hundred. Carthage, Mo., July 8.—Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Lease, who is here as a lecturer at the Chautauqua assembly, said in an interview today:

"The silver question is an issue of the past and will never again serve as the leading issue for the reform elements in politics. If Mr. Bryan is to make the silver question the dominant issue in the next campaign here is one woman who is against him.

"Socialism is the hope of the country, and in the next campaign the fight must be made for the industrial emancipation of the people."

The Colonization Commission. The election of members of the colonization commission has not yet been held. Several names, among them Henry D. Lloyd and Laurence Gronlund, were suggested at the last meeting of the directors, but no selection has so far been made.

The Machinists' Journal. The American Railway union has taught its lesson, fulfilled its mission and gone out of existence. From its ashes has arisen the Social Democracy of America. It is too soon to criticize the new organization, as only a mere skeleton of the scheme has developed as yet.

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