

On earth peace,  
good will  
toward men

# The Social Democrat

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## A UNIVERSAL TRUST

### THE COMING OF A GIGANTIC COMBINATION FORESHADOWED.

The Re-investment of Profits of the Trusts. Views of Editor Edwards of The Coming Nation.

The message of the early Socialists was a true message. The universal trust is coming. By abuse, persecution and imprisonment, the powers of government, backed by the conservative propertied class, have sought to discredit the warning of the Socialists. But with irresistible energy, and in exact fulfillment of Socialist predictions, mighty combinations have been effected to control, within an ever-contracted circle, the earth's bounties and the people's opportunities and means of utilizing them. Following immediately upon the public announcement that J. Pierpont Morgan had gained control of 25,000 miles of trunk lines and the street railway systems of seven principal cities in the country, comes the news that the Standard Oil trust has obtained complete control of the lead, leather, tobacco and whiskey interests, also the prospect of a combination of gas interests. The universal trust is moving as rapidly to a consummation as the most optimistic Socialist could desire. The Standard magnates already had control of the business of the country in oil, iron ore and sugar; they are after the steel and coffee industries; they own much of the shipping of the lakes and most of the great tourist hotels in Florida; they are directly interested in several railroads and practically dictate freight rates to the entire transportation system of the country. The various Standard interests are yielding profits of about \$50,000,000 annually and for this their agents are constantly looking to find new investments. They can gobble two or three ordinary able-bodied trusts every year, and recent transactions show that they are improving their opportunities. Meanwhile the average American patriot is sitting around saying "The laws of our daddies are good enough for me!" and "What would we do without capitalists?" Provided the men who to-day manipulate the railroads and the Standard interests hang together for ten years, and keep up the process of absorbing wealth to the velocity it has recently attained, the country will be face to face with an issue, the most momentous known to civilization: Shall we now advance to a higher social order or take the plunge into permanent industrial slavery?

With fifty millions of surplus profits a year to extend his rule over the industrial domain, Mr. Rockefeller still believes in the policy of using an occasional million dollars to exploit the region of religion and education. But the difference in result is very marked and interesting. While Socialists contend and predict that the extension of his supremacy in the industrial world is, in its purely economic aspect, the forerunner and guarantee of a national trust including all the people as its beneficiaries, and therefore to be welcomed as an evolutionary phase of industrial development, they cannot but see that his exploitations in the sphere of the college and the church constitute an attempt to lull to sleep the awakening conscience of civilization, by setting up a limit line to thought and investigation. He must of course fail of attaining his ends in suppressing the thinker, just as he will unquestionably succeed in his efforts in behalf of the universal trust. But the spectacle of the most unconscionable commercial pirate of the century acting upon the theory that the material growth of a university is of more importance than independence of thought and expression on the part of its faculty, is most deplorable. It is calculated to open the eyes of every unprejudiced mind to the blighting influence of the cohorts of capitalism and arouse every latent but potential instinct of liberty which is incorporated in every human soul. In the estimation of commercial cormorants like Rockefeller, the intellectual life of the nation is to be measured and repressed by a certain number of dollars. He audaciously faces the student on the threshold of the college with a "take notice" the most deadly to progress and liberty it has ever been in the power of a single man to impose: "Young man, take warning! You are about to enter the precincts (of the Chicago or Brown university); an institution where learning is subordinate to lucre and thinking is allowed only within certain limitations. Here you will meet a president and teachers whose silence on certain subjects I have purchased. Here you will find in the class-room the professor who draws his salary subject, not to his ability and worth, but to keeping on good terms with me! Here you will be taught not to disturb the conscience of great financiers who furnish the duets to repress the growing sentiment of Social Democracy and defend men of wealth. You will be educated here—within certain limitations; you will be allowed to think—within certain limitations; you will have freedom of speech—within certain limitations; your sympathies with

progress and the common people will have free play—within certain limitations. In short, if you are prepared to bow to gold, scorn Socialism, be warped by prejudice, managed in mind, think as my purchased instructors shall tell you to think, and uphold slavery and the sanctity of private interests, enter; partake of my bounty and may the blessing of Him who careth for the sparrow abide with you always!"

As a movement in the economic and political world which proposes to deal radically and practically with the labor question, the Social Democracy is not only attracting a great deal of attention in America, but is actually exciting fear in some European circles. The London Standard, recognizing the new movement as "a native (American) collectivist party," says it is likely to exercise "considerable influence throughout the world sooner or later." It thinks a collision between the colonists and the trusts is sure to come and that the colonists will be backed by the western farmers who are the helpless victims of the trusts. In all of which thoughtful American Socialists will see much reason. It is not improbable that in 1900 every state west of the Mississippi will be in complete sympathy with the revolutionary demands of the Social Democrats. What way of escape there is for the people, except through the triumph of the social and economic ideas of the S. D., no man can say. Therefore, on with the work in every county and state—east as well as west—and let the miserably be lifted up by abolishing the causes of their misery, which inhere in a system of private

## GATHERING OF GIANTS

### THE NEW CRUSADE COMPARED WITH REVOLUTIONARY TIMES.

The Heroes of 1776 Compared With the Men of Today by "The Man Without a Soul."

I look upon the Social Democracy as a gathering of the giants who have broken away from oppressive restraint and political slavery; and who, like the heroes of the American revolution, have sworn down in the secret chambers of their heart that oppression upon American soil must cease.

When those old heroes of 1776—those giants whom King George III. had oppressed for long years—when those giants met in convention and drew up resolutions to wipe the foul footsteps of the tyrant and oppressor from American soil, did they have one-half the grievances against the government of the British throne that we American wage-slaves have to-day against the reign of the American plutocracy?

Were there any of King George's subjects starving in 1776? Did any of them search in vain for the most menial labor, and get locked up in foul prisons for the crime of begging for bread?

The little schoolboy knows better than this. Those old giants of 1776 would have upset this corrupt government of the states long before they reached our present condition of degra-

representation.

And while Thomas Paine was sowing the seeds of the great revolution—Paine, the infidel—the big guns in the churches were appealing to the people to be long-suffering and forgiving, and bow their necks humbly for the heavy yoke placed upon them.

All great reforms for the uplifting of the common people have their origin outside of church and state circles. The unsatisfied element is always found outside the railing that fences the miserable poor from God's earth.

The fat and well fed are always contented with present conditions, while the lean and hungry and starving find it against God's highest laws to be satisfied and contented.

The American revolutionists were tax payers and not tax consumers—they were the robbed and plundered and outraged and despised, and only the few who drew profit out of the British rule were opposed to rebellion.

Every man who joined the revolutionists had a grievance against the crown, and the great gathering of those unsatisfied giants was for the purpose of making their cause the one great public and political issue of the day.

And every man who joins the Social Democracy of America has a grievance against the destroyers of our country's prosperity, and is willing and anxious to make the fight a political and a public fight for individual right, for industrial freedom and an equal right and share in God's green earth.

And these men who have come forth to join the Social Democracy of America are just as heroic and patriotic as

## WORLD A FLOWERBED

### FULL OF OBNOXIOUS HUMAN WEEDS THAT NEED ATTENTION.

If the Weeds are Not Pulled Up, the Flowers Must Perish. Weeds Described by J. R. Armstrong.

I have been getting quite round shouldered of late pulling weeds. When my work was pointed out by an overseer, I was somewhat startled by the apparent difficulty of the task.

"There," said he, "is a bed of pinks, but you see, it has been long neglected, and the burdocks, thistles and castorbeans have almost choked them to death."

"Yes," I said, "it will be quite a feat to pull out the weeds without disturbing the frail and delicate plants."

"Put your feet down firmly," said my master, "with each big weed between them and then give a vigorous jerk and you will fetch them up without dragging half a bushel of soil along with each root."

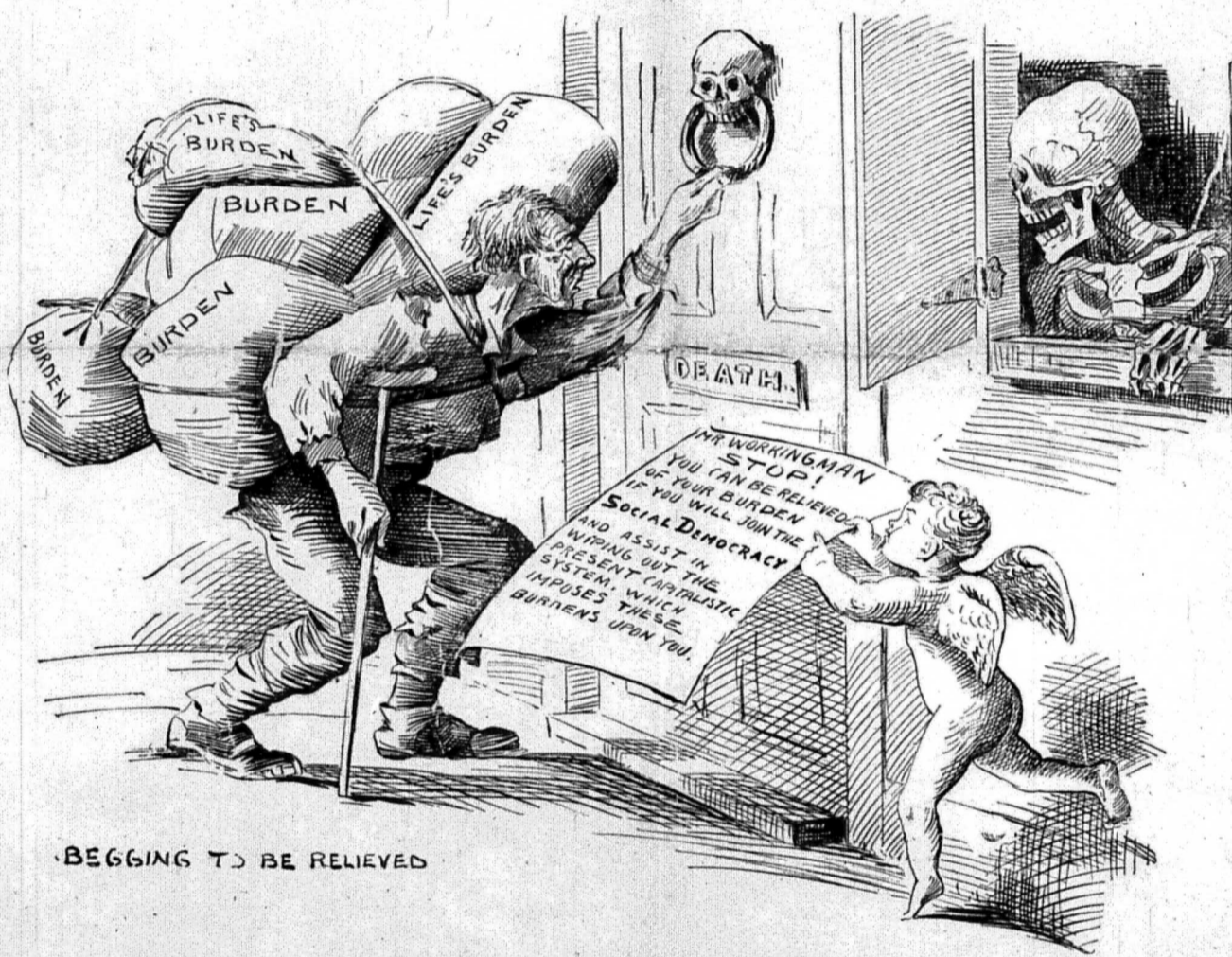
I tried the experiment and I was agreeably surprised to find how easily the obnoxious growth was overcome. After removing the weeds I loosened the soil about the sickly flowers with a hoe and watered them. The effect of the weeding, hoeing and watering is magical. This morning I thought I would take a peep at my work. Flower after flower is bursting into bloom, the

Pullman absorbing the substance that ought to go to thousands of other human entities; they, too are fruitful of the nature of the weeds. Rockefeller also represents a gigantic burdock spreading out in all directions, rooting, branching and drawing up to itself the substance intended, not for burdock, but for pink. He, too, will have to be kept within bounds or there will be only room in the world for a few of his kind and the rest of us will have to become extinct. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," and eternal weeding is the price humanity pays for its very life, but it has been seriously neglected of late. Burdocks are useful for medicine, so are castorbeans, but we do not want the whole earth covered with them. So with Carnegie, Rockefeller et al. They in the sphere that prudence, common-sense and experience points out, would doubtless yield a moiety of usefulness, but not in the capacity they occupy now. This world is plenty big enough for the present population without having tenement house sardine-boxes to pack people into.

All these human weeds must be dealt with firmly, without necessarily inflicting any pain; the anaesthetic of "popular approval" will obviate that to a certain extent. Every human being is entitled to a fair portion of this earth and if he is deprived of it, it is because some weed or weeds have taken his share as well as their own. One of my neighbors is a hard-working, saving and sober man, living with a big family of nine in two small, cramped rooms. At five o'clock in the morning he is out getting ready, with dinner can in hand, to go and bend his weary back in the scorching sun for perhaps 12 hours for barely enough to keep his family from starving to death.

Another neighbor of mine has a doll for a wife with no children, and a splendid ten-room house, well furnished, to live in. He never gets out of bed before nine or ten o'clock in the morning and the only work I have ever seen him do was to turn the water on the portable sprinkler in the front yard. In the hot afternoons I frequently see him snoozing in a fine hammock, under some evergreen trees or reading a book, etc. The first neighbor, like the pinks before "weeding" is stultified, suppressed and starved because he is not given an opportunity to grow physically, morally and intellectually and become perfected. The second neighbor is big, fat, lazy and useless because he has more of the good things of this life that he can utilize—in a word he is a weed and needs careful pruning.

Now suppose the ten-roomed house neighbor should exchange places with the two-roomed one and do one-half of his work what a grand improvement it would be for both. One instead of dying in middle-life with fatty degeneration of the heart and the other with starvation and over-work—both would live long, enjoy life and leave the world better than they found it. Socialism is really a system of weeding whereby the thin, stunted and over-worked may be given a proper share of this world's flower-beds and the great fat, bumptious absorptive ones kept within respectable bounds. If the flowers of generosity, kindness, intelligence, and liberty are worth preserving, certainly the weeds of private ownership monopoly, political corruption, free contract, class privilege, and competition must be torn up, root and branch and I believe the Social Democracy is in a fair way of doing it.



BEGGING TO BE RELIEVED

monopoly and gain at the expense of human life and happiness.

### Comment on our Leader.

Eugene V. Debs has demonstrated his ability as an organizer, and his powers as a leader of men, and it is almost certain that he will found a great company of people in the west, on the plans of modern socialism. While there are many obstacles to be overcome, there can be little doubt of its success, provided Mr. Debs exercises his usual good judgment as to location and arrangement.—Democrat, Lockport, Ill.

Laboring men will watch with all the interest possible, because of the hope held out that the co-operative commonwealth will eventually supersede the present wage system. Others will watch it from motives vastly different, and will not feel very much disappointed if it should not become successful in accomplishing that intended by its progenitors. That it will be successful in a measure we have no doubt, for we cannot well conceive how it can be otherwise, for success depends upon, first, the acquiring of favorable natural resources, and second, upon the labor necessary to make them productive. On the first proposition we presume great care will be exercised in making the selection of the location where the original beginning shall be effected, and in the second instance only those who are in perfect accord and in full sympathy with the movement will be selected or assigned to the work to be performed. Upon the proper beginning of the movement will depend much of the success.—United Mine Workers' Journal.

ation.

George Washington did not have one-tenth the grievances against his king that the most common laborer has against the rule of American monopoly; nor the one-thousandth as great as Eugene V. Debs and a hundred other men who have suffered imprisonment and abuse for daring to raise a hand against the damnable industrial condition which is dragging American labor down to a level with that of the barbarous ages.

And yet we hear the whimpering cowards on every hand objecting to carrying our just cause into politics. Do not these blind cowards know that through the channel of politics is the only road to peaceable reform? When you take a thing out of politics, you take it out of the hands of the common people. A political grievance is a public grievance, and a public grievance is a political grievance.

McKinley proposes to take the currency question out of politics and have a commission appointed, the members of which are to be the bankers who have caused all our financial disturbance—the same gang of robbers and financial murderers who elected their tool to the highest place in the gift of the American "voting kings."

And yet I hear some poor blinded human bats congratulating McKinley on this great patriotic measure.

Why, it was for this very reason the giants of 1776 rose up and declared themselves free from British rule. All the important measures had then been taken out of politics, and the colonies were taxed without their consent or

the Adamases, Ben Franklin, Charles Carrol of Carrolton, and John Hancock, who came forth to sign that other Declaration of Independence and let the world know which side they were on.

Every sane American to-day will acknowledge that the signers of the Declaration of Independence were the mental giants of their time and generation; men who would not suffer wrong and oppression even from the government they had sworn to support.

And are not these men of the Social Democracy as brave and patriotic and sincere as their fathers were? Are they not the mental giants of the political and industrial world?

I call this new movement the gathering of the giants—the strongest and the bravest and most sincere uniting their strength to battle with wrong and oppression and human greed. The best brains of the country are coming over to the side of right, and the brightest thought, and the deepest logic, and the honest hearts are sending off sparks of burning patriotism and human sympathy.

The good and the great are in this gathering of the giants; the good and the great, and the great God of right and justice are all in this gathering of the giants, and history will have a long story to tell of how right triumphed over wrong and plutocratic injustice.

Come and join us, men of thought and brain. Men who love justice and liberty; men who love humanity; men who love little children too well to see their young lives ground out of their

leaves are turning a deeper green, the scent is sweeter and in a very few days what once presented the appearance of a wild tangled mass of unsightliness, will be a paradise.

Now, human beings are not much unlike these flowers in many respects. They must have a proper environment to be perfect.

The world is after all a great flowerbed that must be kept free from weeds. The weed of selfishness that absorbs over 1,500,000 acres of land in the southern part of California under the name of Lux and Miller, ought not to be, because it deprives many human beings of the blessings of life. This is a sample weed of thousands of others quite as bad and perhaps worse! A man who takes, by the chicanery of law, more room on this earth and more substance than is requisite to develop his faculties, is surely a weed and ought to be restrained if not uprooted. Look at the millions of the fairest of humanity crowded into blackholes worse than that one of Calcutta mentioned in connection with the Indian hunting post because great ugly weeds like the upas tree absorb too much life-space.

The pinks did not need weeding any more than the human race needs a general overhauling and it must be attended to immediately or the best flowers of humanity will perish. The growth of a Mark Hanna weed means the stifling of a great many human lives because of his tremendous absorptiveness! Pruned and restrained within the bounds of reason, Mark Hanna would perhaps be useful instead of destructive. So with Phil Armour and

### Right of Free Speech.

Editor Social Democrat: The right to exercise the power of free speech, free thought and free citizenship is fast falling out of the hands of the common people of these United States. Time after time, within the history of the last few years, the people have been denied the right to exercise the basic and fundamental rights of a citizenship, as promulgated in the declaration of independence and constitution of the United States.

My reasons for making the above assertions are as follows: Several months ago Prof. Bemis, the well known authority on political economy, in the University of Chicago, was compelled to resign because he advocated certain doctrines which were harmful to the trusts and other monopolies which help support that aristocratic institution.

The case of Prof. Bemis had just passed out of the public mind, when President Andrews was compelled to resign or cease his advocacy of certain doctrines which he deemed for the best interests and welfare of his fellow-countrymen. Now, as a scandalous close to this chain of events, Eugene V. Debs has been enjoined from speaking to the miners in certain cities located in West Virginia. This state of affairs is a disgrace to the republic. It is an outrage committed in "the land of the free, and the home of the brave." As a humble citizen of the great and grand nation, I denounce the men that tried to stifle Bemis, Andrews and Debs.

N. J. WILLIAMS.  
Jamestown, N. Y., July 27, 1897.

Concluded on Fourth Page.

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No member of this organization shall accept an office, elective or appointive, from any political party until he first severs his connection with that party; 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.

The cardinal virtue of Socialism is nothing else than Common Sense.

The co-operative commonwealth is the insurance of the future—the guarantee of security for life.

Social order is built upon a properly cared for stomach. Can a man be free when he is half starved?

The judges who grant injunctions to oblige the mine owners should be indicted for malfeasance in office.

The right to live is the first and chief right of life. Society which does not organize for that end is a misnomer. It is simply disorder and oppression, plus the constable and the cannon.

When the old French Bastille was taken by storm there were seven prisoners in it. When the Bastille of these latter days, the competitive system, is demolished, there will be millions of prisoners liberated.

The twentieth century should dawn on a purified country, purged of political criminals and purchasable rascals, from venal alderman to ring-chosen governor. The proletariat can do this purification—if he will.

Crime, the twin sister of poverty, is rampant in these glorious days of prosperity and McKinleyism. Read the ghastly chronicle in the daily papers and you will see for yourself that the competitive system is the parent of the twins.

The peaceful march of a few bands of miners may be stopped by sheriffs and their hirelings with Winchester, but the march of this nation toward Socialism has begun and the beginning of the new century will witness the victory of the people.

All successful communities have been religious in character. Religion is not theology nor sectarianism. What loftier faith can there be than the religion of humanity—the salvation of the "divine fragment"? Faith in man is the worship of the true God.

Murphy O'Hea, dramatist and journalist, has written a Social Democracy play, entitled "Plutocracy, or American Degeneracy." A local production of the drama may be soon expected. Mr. O'Hea is author of Garry Owen, and other plays before the public.

While Dun and Bradstreet are proclaiming that "prosperous times are here," that "money is easier" and other sensational falsehoods the number of suicides is not lessened, nor the number of people who are being starved to death while the barns and elevators are bursting with grain.

After all perhaps Malthus was right. There are too many (poor) people in the world. We would respectfully suggest to our bosses, the trusts, the Yerkers, De Armits, Hannas, Rockefeller and other coal, oil and wheat "barons" that next winter when hunger, cold and destitution are at their worst that they call out the Pinkertons and the "fin soldiers" and shoot down the paupers. It will be a good way to prevent strikes and will save thousands from starving to death or committing suicide from despair.

One reason why there are not more Socialists is that there are so many moral cowards—men and women who will not dare to study the social question for fear it would lower them either financially or socially. As a matter of fact, Socialism, on the contrary, raises and ennobles all brought within its influence.

Comrade J. W. Arnold, 81 Adams st., Rochester, N. Y., has gotten out a colored chart showing the economic condition of the United States—how its wealth is held by the capitalists, middle and working class. The eye takes it all in at a glance. Great thing to paste upon the wall. He mails it for 25 cents.

There is little need of comrades and friends paying attention to the criticisms and diatribes of other and misguided socialists who choose to be disruntled because their leadership is not followed.

There is no quarrel to be had out of this movement. Some men there are who speak in several languages and with a forked tongue, but they seem also to think in none.

"I know you have often been told that competition, which is at present the rule of all production, is a good thing, and stimulates the progress of the race. But the people who tell you this should call competition by its shorter name of War if they wish to be honest, and you could then be free to consider whether or no war stimulates progress, otherwise than as a mad bull chasing you over your own garden may do."—William Morris.

According to the school census of 1895, there were in the United States, 20,328,147 children between 5 and 18 years of age. The number enrolled as attending school for the same year was 14,201,752; thus 6,126,395 went through the year without entering a school-house.

Think of it, over one-third of our children are not permitted to enjoy the advantages of a common school education! No wonder, American men and women are so easily enslaved. Ignorance has always been the slave of knowledge. Under Socialism such a condition of affairs would be impossible.

The American workman, if he will think and act for himself, outside of the decrees of politicians of the Democratic stripe, will do well to consider the advice given to British workmen by Professor Thorold Rogers, the well-known writer on work and wages. He says: "The (English) workman has his future now very largely in his own hands. He has only to remember that progress for him lies not in revolution, or even in general strikes, but in persistent insistence; not on paternal but on fraternal legislation, the people becoming the government and obtaining their rights through it."

Because a fake interview in a capitalist paper made Mr. Debs say that free silver was still an issue, a New York Socialist paper proceeds to "prove" that Debs is not a Socialist, and the Social Democracy not a socialistic party. The New York paper in question receives the Social Democrat and certainly ought to know where Debs stands, but it prefers to believe what a capitalist paper says, because "Mr. Debs has not repudiated the interview." Mr. Debs has made it a rule never to contradict a lie concerning him published in a capitalist paper. If he did not adhere to this rule, half of his time would be taken up in writing letters to the press. By the way, since when has it been customary for Socialist papers to believe the statements of the capitalist press in regard to Socialism and Socialists?

One of the bitterest criticisms directed by socialists against the present system refers to the use of money, in that, by such use of money, and through the influence of what Karl Marx calls "the fetishism of commodities," the exploitation of the worker is hidden from his view. By reducing his reward to the standard of a money payment the worker is completely divorced from his natural relations with the product of his industry, and his real relation to the capitalist who employs him is concealed. It is made to appear that the worker's wage is commensurate with the value of the labor he contributes to the productive process, and the fact that he is, by the mere exercise of his labor, contributing surplus-value for the benefit of the capitalist does not present itself to his view. The worker receives the price of his labor in money, and the fact that he may reproduce this price by the exercise of but five hours' labor, while he actually works during ten or more hours for the benefit of the capitalist, is concealed by the appearance of equivalents which the money form of value establishes between his labor-commodity and the price he receives for it. His real relation to social production, as a creator of products, does not appear. He appears to work for so much money, and the value he creates in exchange for that money does not enter into his calculations at all, because the basis for such calculation is destroyed by the operation of the money form of value, which form is but the natural expression of the evolution of a system of commodity production—capitalism.

The Social Democracy must get and keep together. Like the old abolition advocates, the comrades must be heard.

A Legal View of Brain Work.

The Michigan Supreme Court has rendered a decision in a labor case, the logic of which is to overthrow a very familiar capitalistic sophism concerning the value of brain labor.

Three men, an editor, reporter and proof reader, who were employed on a Michigan newspaper which was recently placed in the hands of trustees for the benefit of its creditors, advanced claims for salary due them, and petitioned to have their claims allowed as preferred labor claims. The circuit judge having jurisdiction in the matter granted the petition and ordered the claims paid. The trustees refused to accept the circuit judge's decision as conclusive and carried the case to the Supreme Court on appeal. There the decision of the lower court was reversed, the high court ruling that the work done by the trustees, being brain work, was not such as would properly come under the statute covering labor claims.

We are continually reminded by our capitalist friends that the man who works with his brain is just as truly a laborer as is the wageworker who works with his hands, and is therefore entitled to the same consideration as the wageworker in the distribution of the product of industry. This argument is advanced with the intention to establish an ethical basis for capitalist accumulation. We have it dinned into our ears to the point of monotony.

But here we have a high legal opinion that the argument is essentially unsound. If brain labor is a factor of such importance in the production of wealth as the capitalists say it is, if brain workers and hand workers have equal claims on the product of their joint exertions, then they certainly ought to receive equal recognition and consideration from the laws; the law which applies to one sort of labor ought to apply to the other. But this high court says that there is an essential difference between the two sorts of labor. It says, in effect, that the brain worker has not the same claim to the product of industry as has the hand worker, and that the principle on which society acts when it assumes to protect the latter in his rights does not apply to the former at all. We are not disposed to rejoice at this decision or consider it of much importance; nor is there any intention to disparage the importance and value of brain labor. We regard these men as the victims of a legal trick whereby the machinery of the courts has been used to rob them of wealth which is justly their due, and our only object in calling attention to the decision is to point out another palpable absurdity of capitalism and show how certainly the existing system is digging its own grave.

Trades Unionism and the Social Democracy.

The trades union in its modern form, as an association of employes to protect themselves against the exactions of employers, and to secure to themselves the largest possible portion of the product of their labor, had its origin contemporaneously with the rise of the capitalist system of production. Prior to the beginning of the eighteenth century, both the capitalist system and the trades union, as they now exist, were almost unknown. The manufacturing trades were carried on by men who owned both the tools with which they worked, and the whole product of their labor. The most extensive employers had but a few men in their employ, and these were mostly youths who always expected to become, and if they were honest and industrious, usually did become in their mature years, themselves employers of labor.

But about the year 1700 the efficacy of large bodies of men working together, over the same numbers working separately began to be perceived, and the consequence was, that the most far-seeing of those engaged in such production, and who could command the use of capital, gathered together the workmen in large and ever increasing bodies, and organized the beginnings of the factory system. This meant, of course, that the workmen no longer received the full product of their labor, as formerly, but only such part of it as the employers chose to give them; and this was usually but a small portion of their product. This condition immediately gave rise to associations of workmen formed with the object of obtaining from their employers a greater amount of the workers' product, and such conditions of the time of labor and others as were most desirable. Then immediately a conflict arose between these unions of workmen and their employers. As the interests of these two classes were conflicting, the friction between the two was immediate. The employers resorted to the courts, and had the trades union declared an illegal conspiracy; and the members of it were made criminals, and were forced to hold their meetings in caves or other secluded places. Pretty much the same state of things has continued ever since, except that the growing power of the working people, and the sympathy of those whose interest was not directly in conflict with them, softened the rigors of the law, and to some extent legalized the unions.

But with the growth and strengthening of the capitalist system, and its extension to nearly all lines of industry a new principle became apparent. This was that with the application of machinery to production, and the consequent throwing out of employment of many of the workmen, competition for employment became so strong that wages dropped to the point of subsistence and with some exceptions have remained at that point. The point of

subsistence meant that point at which men and their families could live according to an ever-lowering standard of life. This standard has for the last thirty years continually lowered, and the most strenuous and self-sacrificing efforts of the men have been unable to resist this tendency except perhaps in local trades. Instances of this are found in the coal and iron miners, the wood-workers, and in nearly every other trade. The Social Democracy perceiving this tendency of wages to an ever-decreasing standard has concluded that while history has demonstrated that the trades union is a necessity as long as the capitalist system exists, yet the capitalist system itself is not only not a necessity, but an obstacle to the welfare of the workmen and of every other class of the community, not excepting the capitalists themselves. Hence the Social Democracy has determined to use its efforts to supplant the capitalist system with the co-operative system. That is to say, that the system under which a few men own the land and the means of production must be abolished, and the public become the owner of these things, whereby men will no longer get but a portion of the product of their toil, but all of it. This object of the Social Democracy in no way conflicts with the efforts of the trades union. On the contrary, it aims to do what trades unionism can never do, guarantee to every worker not a part, but all of the product of his toil. The trades union is the economic class movement. The Social Democracy the political movement to abolish class, and place all men on economic equality. These two movements should work side by side.

Debs' Great Speech.

The greatest audience ever assembled in Columbus to listen to an address of a private citizen met in the new auditorium on Wednesday evening to hear from Eugene V. Debs the greatest speech ever delivered in this city.

Fully 4,500 persons greeted the orator as he came forward to address them. Tall slender and erect, his countenance beamed with benevolence as he stepped forward and down from the upper platform designed for speakers, to the level of the footlights, both nearer his hearers and not so high above them.

He announced no topic for the most remarkable discourse upon the rights and dignity of labor, and for equality and justice among men, that has ever been made in this country.

His entire speech of two hours was a fervent appeal to justice and a higher humanity. It combined all the learning of economists, all the sentiments of the poets, all the wisdom of philosophers, and all the ethics of moralists and divines.

Without a note or memorandum, he quoted without hesitation or confusion from Socrates, Shakespeare, Goldsmith, Lowell, Herron, Miller, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Jesus of Nazareth, and a score of other immortals whose names are in the pantheon of the world.

Not a word of abuse escaped his lips, as this great champion of the rights and dignity of labor appealed to mankind to be less greedy and more fraternal. Not a syllable of politics marred the lofty sentiment he sought to inculcate. Inspired by a morality and patriotism above the plane of caucus and convention, he did not descend to the lower atmosphere where strife is born and fostered.

Many citizens of all degrees of intelligence and prejudice were attracted to the meeting, filled with curiosity to hear what a man so maligned with unjust notoriety as Mr. Debs might have to say. Not one of these but was enchanted with the magical grace of his speech and the dignity and elevation of his sentiments. Not one of these was offended by a principle he espoused, nor by a sentence he uttered. Not one of them left the hall until the last echo of his peroration had ceased to ring in their ears. Astonishment and admiration were equally blended in the minds of all. They had listened to one of the greatest discourses ever inspired by courage, conviction and humanity in any age of the world. Eugene V. Debs is the inspired evangelist of labor; and not of labor alone, but of that broad humanity which embraces all men. While the immediate object of his speeches at this time is to create or evoke sympathy for the starving miners now striking for bread, his appeal for justice and the supremacy of the golden rule embraces the human family in its comprehensive range. From the discourse last night, ministers of the holy gospel might kindle anew their faith in God and their hope in humanity. Lawyers and judges might catch glimpses of a higher law than statutes procured by bribery, and merchants and capitalists of a better motive than the mere hope of gain.

The question of wages he regards as one of morality, and the morality that will suffer those to starve and perish who create the wealth of the world can hardly foster a civilization that will long endure. "Men," said he, "exist to lift each other up, not to drag each other down, or to go on in pursuit of selfish gain, heedless of each other." Much as this man has been abused, when the history of this generation is written, and the tragedies of want and despair that have broken the hearts of men and women and dwarfed the growth of childhood are depicted, the palm of praise for his unselfish courage and devotion in the cause of better humanity will be accorded to Eugene V. Debs, the evangel of fraternity in religion and in economic life.—Columbus Evening Press

Rosa's Notes to Prother John.

The fight is on, Brother John, more desperate than ever. The wage workers of the world are waking up and are preparing for the decisive battle.

I am pleased to learn that you are beginning to take less interest in base ball games and dog fights, and that you are determined to become a good scholar and brave soldier of Social Democracy.

The present conditions are most deplorable. Misery and despair show their grim faces everywhere. We have reached that stage of capitalist development where wage workers and middle class business men must fight for socialism or starve.

Brother John, during the last week I was in a somewhat discouraging mood. I was suffering with fever, my husband out of work, my children without bread! When the last number of the Social Democrat reached me I forgot all about my trouble. Fight, fight for Socialism! I said to myself. Socialism is our only salvation!

Our Jewish Socialist comrades that held their convention recently in New York are a clear-minded, brave set of people. They know what they are fighting for. I request you, Brother John, to read the proceedings of their convention once more; you find them on page 4 of last week's Social Democrat.

Some would-be scientific Socialists are harping the song of class struggle all year round, but when it comes to taking part in the class struggle they are not in it. Is there a more striking feature of the class struggle than the great miners' strike? And yet Comrade Debs and the other leaders of the strike movement are being vilified by the official organ of a so-called Socialist Labor Party. Brother John, those "scientific class strugglers" are nothing but first-class scientific jugglers and juggling sectarians.

Welcome! ye old brave war-horses. It made me feel good to read in last week's Social Democrat that among the new members of our Social Democracy there are such brave and experienced comrades as Britzius of Chicago, Cahlan, London, Zametkin, Winchevski, etc., of New York, Albert E. Sanderson, of St. Louis and others. A movement composed of such material cannot fail.

Comrade Herbert N. Casson, in a letter to the Coming Nation, says he is highly pleased with the Socialist outlook in England. He finds that the Socialists of England are a fine and warm-hearted lot of people who gave him a welcome that he will never forget. Indeed, the International Social Democracy is the grandest thing the world has ever seen. Proletarians of all countries, unite!—these words of Karl Marx re-echo from land to land, from sea to sea, and the ruling powers of all countries are trembling in view of the gigantic growth of the grand army of Socialists.

If I am not mistaken, it was the great German Socialist agitator Ferdinand Lassalle who said: "The working class is the rock upon which the church of the future will be built." Let the wage workers of this country understand the truth of these words and show them that Social Democracy will lead them out of the hell of capitalism and wage slavery to Socialism and economic freedom.

John, you regret that you are not a fluent speaker. Well, this does not pre-vent. You can secure subscribers for you from doing effective work for the noble cause of Social Democracy paper, can't you? You can sell Socialist pamphlets and books, can't you? If not, why not? Just try it. And in case you should fail, try, try again.

The noble principles of Social Democracy are legible to every intelligent man and woman. To understand them requires not the aid of many professors and doctors of national economy.

Prosperity is near at hand. Now, ye discontented wage slaves, you have no right to grumble. Be patient and do not disturb the "business confidence." Prosperity will come, the capitalist press says so. And after all you have to look out for your future life i. e., the life in the kingdom of God where milk and honey flows, and where you will exchange your old, dirty rags of clothes for the finest silk and satin dresses, and where you will be provided with a fine pair of wings—finer than those of the proud swan. Just keep quiet and never talk about Socialism. Don't you know that old Jay Gould is now in the midst of hell's furnace? Without poverty the world cannot exist. Blessed be the poor!

A western capitalist paper that was instrumental in bringing McKinley to Fort Prosperity, calls Comrade Debs a blatherskite. That same paper, during the great Pullman strike, said "Gatling guns are the best diet for the striking mob." The editor who wrote that gatling gun editorial, two years thereafter ended his own life by jumping out of a window of his residence. Now, Brother John, are these capitalist press editors who have to write such things—are they not to be pitied? I think they are.

Last week it was announced that six people were starved to death in New

York inside of three days. The same week the "Ev'ry Month" magazine for August furnishes several excellent pictures of the mammoth hotel which the Astors are building to accommodate the wealthy sojourners in New York, and which, combined with the Waldorf, represents an outlay of \$5,000,000. The provisions alone, exclusive of wines for one year, will cost over \$3,000,000. This is modern economic equality.

American wage workers, to the front! In all civilized countries your brethren are fighting the battle for economic freedom. You know your conditions. You are not "too low the grain to sow, but too low the bread to eat." Here is the banner of Social Democracy; see the brave army following it. There is the enemy—the forces of capitalism. Decide! One or the other of the armies you must follow: either Capitalism or Socialism.

When workers have nothing, and idlers have all. Law is a farce and a lie; When prices rise higher and wages grow small, Freedom means freedom to die.

Brother John, wherever you meet a wage worker, get him interested in our grand movement. Read to him the foregoing lines. Appeal to his heart and to his intelligence. I remain your beloved sister.

ROSA PROLETAIRE.

A Point of Information.

Mr. Editor: The "New Yorker Volkszeitung" is a publication run "on the European plan," which means that it generally cares for truthfulness and decency, as far as it goes. Eventually, however, it must bow to party dictates, and then the following appears on its editorial page:

"The capitalistic press prefers it as a special criminal charge against Debs that he stands on the Chicago platform. We quite understand it; but so long as this is the case, so long as Debs has not explicitly cut loose from the Chicago platform, he can not be our man."

The Chicago platform meant here is the platform of the Democratic party. The editor of the New Yorker Volkszeitung must certainly be familiar with still another "Chicago platform," which is the Declaration of Principles of the Social Democracy of America. Could it be that he commented upon it without having read it? I thought that the declaration of principles of the Social Democracy was in itself a repudiation of the Democratic Chicago platform. If that is not so, would the editor of the "N. Y. Volkszeitung" explain how the two "Chicago platforms" can, in his judgment, be reconciled? A "N. Y. Volkszeitung" Subscriber. New York, Aug. 6, 1897.

Charity.

Came two young children to their mother's shelf. (One was quite little and the other high). And each in freedom calmly helped himself. (One was a prig.)

The food was free and plenty for them both. But one was rather dull and very small. So the big, smarter brother, nothing loth, He took it all.

At which the little fellow raised a yell Which tired the other's more esthetic ears. He gave him here a crust and there a shell To stop his tears.

He gave with pride, in manner calm and bland. Finding the other's hunger a delight; He gave with piety—his full left hand Hid from his right.

He gave and gave—O blessed charity! How sweet and beautiful a thing it is! How fine to see that big boy giving free What is not his! —Charlotte Perkins Stetson.

Debs and his associates for the present think different as regards agitation than do the German Socialists, but they think thoroughly Socialistic, and that is the main point. To oppose them would be to arrest the moving ball, and as a Socialist, show gross misconception of its mission. If Debs kindles the flame of hope in the hearts of the innumerable unemployed that something practical can be done for them, while at the same time the uncompromising political labor party steps into action, one can think about it as he may; but it is certainly humanely felt and a well-thought-out plan of agitation. With the mere theoretical foundation of a labor party the masses would never have been roused up as Debs has been able to accomplish it.—Volks-Anwalt, Cleveland, Ohio.

The white ribbon emblem of the Woman's Christian Temperance union is protected by copyright, and the followers of Eugene Debs will be restrained from using same. There is no question as to the rights of the women in the matter—but in practicing the doctrine of humanity, brotherly love and consistent unselfishness of spirit, Mr. Debs is far ahead of the monumental hypocrites who compose the leadership of the W. C. T. U.—Chicago Federationist.

The Editor's Letter Box

Socialist Dayton:—We agree with you; the Middle of the Roaders will poll a very small vote; the fusionists who are after the loaves and fishes will support the Democratic ticket. We feel sorry for Coxy and his followers; they are honest, well-meaning reformers and should be with the Social Democracy. Give them a little time and they will all be with us. XYZ St. Louis:—You ask: "Why don't the Social Democrat answer the attacks made upon the Social Democracy by certain Socialist papers, who stoop to falsehoods and slander in their vain endeavor to kill the new party?" I put the same question to Debs a short time ago; his answer was: "Don't waste your powder on mosquitoes, there is bigger game in sight." I. P. San Francisco:—Declined with thanks; not suitable for the Social Democrat.

**FROM OUR CONTRIBUTORS**

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

**University for the Co-Operative Commonwealth.**

We are still agreed that education in its popular, untrammelled, moral sense is the greatest concern of society, but the world has not yet fully awakened to the realization of the chief aim of education. We scarcely need be told that a person may be fully equipped with knowledge and mental discipline and still remain a criminal. A good and wise parent will inevitably seek for a better result in his child than mere knowledge, intellectual ability and power. The clear and conscious aim of school education is moral character. This central thought now greatly permeates the educational world and is the only hope of a higher civilization.

The state or nation should be and is more concerned to see the growth of just and virtuous citizens than in seeing the prosperity of scholars, inventors, merchants and business men. It is clearly to be seen that our country may have vast resources and great opportunities, but that everything in the end depends upon the moral quality of its men and women.

Undermine and corrupt this and we all see there is nothing to hope for. The uncorruptible stock of true patriots in our land is firmly rooted in this conviction, and is worth more to the country than corn fields and iron mines. If we found our theory and practice upon the central doctrine of moral education, the perpetual enticement and blanchment of worldly success so universal in our time can not move us.

Until recently the great hue and cry has been "give us thinkers" from the public schools, and sure enough thinkers are with us to the great sorrow of common humanity and the end is not yet as to final results. The process has been solely a mental development and one which has taught the youth of our land a system of legalized robbery of honest toiling humanity, or otherwise a system which exploits labor in all industries for the lasting benefits of the highly educated thinkers and the few possessors of the wealth of our country.

Those great minds playfully twirl the English language and convince common people that black is white when it is to their interest to do so. They secure pretended statute law in printed English and formulate jury interrogatories, all of which they can turn to their own selfish gain in the twinkling of an eye. Hence I maintain that while the distribution of reform literature and discussions of economic questions by the adults of our land is a grand educational work, which can not be dispensed with for one moment, there is much need and a glorious opportunity for greater energy and forthright in planning the curriculum for true public education and a higher life.

As the public school of this country is a socialist institution it behooves every sympathizer of true socialism to lend his or her best energies in fostering the growth and development of an educational system which may play an important part in averting bloody revolution in order that the true brotherhood of man may prevail in our land.

There are great minds connected with state and private educational institutions of our land who have taken a bold stand for humanity, but they are ignominiously driven from such a humane fortress as they have erected and the institutions perverted for everlasting greed and avarice. Hence a great educational institution centrally located and planned and operated in the interests of a co-operative commonwealth and the brotherhood of man is one of the greatest needs of the time. Where are the true philanthropists who dare endow such an institution for common humanity, thus erecting a monument to themselves which would glorify them throughout the ages? I believe there are such, and let them think and ponder. I do not believe that all human kind who possess wealth are debased with utter selfishness.

Who will be the first donor of a desirable site for the University of Co-Operative Commonwealth, to be located in some one of the central states. Let a board of directors be selected and a university fund started at once. I believe all reform papers true to their colors will lend a hand and each one open a column for such purpose.

On to Washington with true Christian socialism!  
J. W. NEWBERN.  
Richmond, Ind.

**To a Skeptical Friend.**

Mr. Editor: The birth of the Social Democracy of America was heartily welcomed by the German socialist press of the country, with the exception of the New Yorker Volkszeitung, the semi-official organ of the Socialist Labor party. We therefore note with interest the editorial of the 4th inst., which reads in substance as follows:

"During the first years of the Populist middle class movement numerous socialists, particularly in the west, joined it, believing that the People's party could eventually develop into socialism, of which, however, not very much can be traced up to date. Now it seems the same is bound to come in the Debs movement, to which many among the friends of socialism are

lending their sympathies and their practical assistance, because they believe that out of the Debs movement a Social-Democratic labor party can easily develop in the United States.

"Now, whatever CAN develop out of the Debs movement remains to be seen. It is possible that Debs, after finally satisfying himself of the failure of the colonization idea, will with so much greater liveliness and energy take in hand the idea of organizing a socialist party, which already glimmers in his mind. Still at present Debs does not stand on the view-point of the class struggle, but is still laboring under the middle class socialistic universal happiness idea.

"When, however, Debs will have adopted the two cardinal points of the Socialist program—the collective ownership of ALL means of production as the paramount means to the end—and his adherents will follow him in that, then we may talk of it again. That Debs with 'his' party will have called into being a competitor to the Socialist Labor party, will little worry us. The Social Democracy of Germany had likewise consisted originally of two factions, which were at times at feud with each other, until they finally realized the necessity of uniting, from which time on they grew into a mighty united party such as German Social Democracy at present is.

"But, as said before, it is as yet a good way towards it in this country, because Debs has not as yet obtained a clear insight into the principles involved, as well as because he lacks a nucleus of unflinching, self-sacrificing champions, such as the Socialist Labor party possesses in the persons of the old wind and weather proof comrades from the Transatlantic movement. Should Debs develop in this direction as well, then the matter can be talked over again. Today we reserve towards it a very skeptical attitude."

The small phalanx of German Socialists, whose mouthpiece is the "N. Y. Volkszeitung," pride themselves on being the sole agents of scientific socialism for the United States and Canada. It is curious to know how the materialistic philosophy of history is to be reconciled with this personal criticism of "Debs and his party?" It looks as if in America history has "suspended the rules" so that a national movement may be the creation of one man, fully dependent for its future upon his accomplishments or his shortcomings. An unbiased observer could not help seeing that the Social Democracy is but the historically necessary outgrowth of the People's party. This fact does credit to the foresight of those socialists who by joining the People's party have exhibited in the past the ability, so truly characteristic of Marxists, to see things as they move, not merely as they are.

We need not despair, however, as the skeptical reserve of our friend may be broken before we know; all we need is, to prove to the satisfaction of the "N. Y. Volkszeitung," first, that the platform of the Social Democracy recognizes the class struggle, and second, that Comrade Debs will have no lack of "wind and weather proof" helpmates of transatlantic experience, "then the matter can be talked over again." Now, as to the class struggle, the declaration of principles reads:

"This system, by gradually extinguishing the middle class, necessarily leaves but two classes in our country; the large class of workers and the small class of great employers and capitalists. We, therefore, hold that in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other, will annihilate the middle class, the basis upon which this system rests, and thereby work out its own downfall."

If this is not expressive enough of the idea of the class struggle, no one is to blame but the Socialist Labor party, from whose platform it has been borrowed.

The technical lawyers unfavorably comment upon the omission of the parenthetical phrases in the concluding clause:

"We therefore call upon the wage workers of the United States and upon all other honest citizens to organize under the banner of the (Socialist Labor Party) Social Democracy of America (into a class-conscious body), etc."

To this a jester ventured the pertinent remark that the comment implied the assumption that "the wage workers" could not be classified under "honest citizens." Were we to be as technical as our critics, we might inquire into the meaning of the "class-conscious body," as applied to "the wage workers of the United States and all other honest citizens."

We shall not, however, split hairs over platforms, which, as we all know, are written in the hurry of conventions, amidst five minute speeches and "previous questions."

Coming to the subject of the co-operation of transatlantic Socialists, let us assure our esteemed critic that "Debs" has with "him" many a man whose "wind and weather proof" qualities stood the test of the police expert of the Czar.

The two prerequisites suggested by our skeptical friend being fulfilled, shall we now at once "talk it over again."

I. A. HOURWICH.

**A Colorado Sympathizer.**

I have been watching with interest for some time your operations in Chicago, that is, such reports as I could get of them, but still call myself far from posted as to what you hope to do and to all that you hope to attain. Ever since reading Bellamy some

years since I have always thought, as it seems to me every one must think, with a sigh, What a heavenly state to be in. Not striving a life time for that which is now so necessary, but which so few succeed in obtaining. No trying to outdo your neighbor in clothes, house furnishings or such like show. Dear, dear, what if there would be no object in getting up the greatest show in any direction whatever! What use would half the brains of this world be put to? What a time of ennui there would be till we get settled down to the fact that life really does hold more ennobling purposes for us than such as these!

But such a state is not attainable in a day or a week or a year. We will all have time to adapt ourselves to our surroundings. If such a state comes at all, it will come slowly, surely, steadily, displacing the darker, denser lines of thought by its clearer, brighter, purer rays. The truth must go onward, must prevail.

I saw mentioned in the first issue of your paper the objection some raise of the failure of other communities along this line. A co-operative commonwealth must have as its backbone men—every inch men. It all depends on these—true pioneers, honest, thorough, capable, far seeing, thoroughly moral, of course. For my part I think they should be followers of Christ in truth. Then the commonwealth will grow. No community can grow without a thoroughly grounded moral principle underlying it. Honest in all things, temperate in all things, a spirit of love cultivated, unselfish principles brought to their highest state of development. With these, what state would not grow? And, when fairly under way, what possibilities would not be open for the highest development of man, to make him perfect in the image of his maker?

This eternal grab, grab for money must smother down and rob man of all that is best in him. Work is necessary for the development of the body; study, for the brain. Underlying this

**The S. D. in Virginia.**

Cedar Creek Valley, Va., Aug. 19, 1897. Dear Comrades in Social Democracy:—Virginia Socialists are preparing a full state ticket for the fall campaign. Thus, Social Democratic schools are opened for the schooling of her people. She is sui generis. Once, "the mother of presidents," she has entered the path which leads to the rejection of a privileged governing class with all its high sounding and cumbersome paraphernalia. I gladly improved the opportunity the other day to attend—on an observation tour—the annual reunion of ex-confederate soldiers of the Valley of Virginia at Fisher's Hill on the north fork of the Shenandoah river, two miles from Strasburg. It was a strategic point in what is called historically, "Our Civil War"—a war as needless as family troubles usually are.

It was a struggle for the letter rather than the spirit of human emancipation. It was a physical struggle against slavery in a tangible form. It was child's play compared with the moral struggle for a pure Social Democracy. Thousands of Virginians, young, middle-aged and old were present.

The occasion was commemorative. The hottest war-time lingo was uttered by the several speakers without eliciting a single note of applause. We cannot grind with the water that is past. The occasion proved to me that Virginia is freed of dead issues and that her mental soil is ready for the new seed of Socialism. She has drunk the Lethian waters of time and looks backward no more. It is only her stale politicians who repeat echoes from the dead past.

I came to the state late in June, when the wheat was just ready for the harvesting. It is now ready for the market. The crop is phenomenal; the largest since 1891, if not of any time. The results are yet in the hands of the individual farmers—and so, subject to the schemes of the grain gamblers. From the mountains in West Virginia comes the clash of the moral struggle

**COLONIZATION DEPARTMENT**

CYRUS FIELD WILLARD, SECRETARY

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

**Now to Work.**

The colonization commission of the Social Democracy has been appointed. They consist of Col. Richard J. Hinton of Washington, D. C., W. P. Borland of Bay City, Mich., and Cyrus Field Willard of Chicago.

The wisdom of their selection can best be demonstrated by the work the commissioners do.

The commission will have Col. Hinton as chairman, Mr. Borland as treasurer and Mr. Willard as secretary.

All funds should be made payable to W. P. Borland, treasurer, 504 Trude Building, while all letters and communications should be addressed to C. F. Willard at the same address.

The attention of members of the local union is called to that part of sec. 10, page 18, of the constitution of the Social Democracy which reads:

"Each local branch shall elect a collector for the colonization fund who shall collect the monthly and other contributions and forward the same to the treasurer of the Commission on the first day of each month," etc.

The treasurer of the Commission is W. P. Borland, 504 Trude Building, Chicago. Please forward all moneys to him as soon as possible.

Those who have offered money can now send it in. Due receipt will be given.

**Some Fraternal Chat.**

Machinery has largely conquered labor in competition.

In co-operation let us conquer the machine. We will use, not obey it. But we must look out for the hand trades and tools; look out for employments and occupations where such machinery is not needed or capital required.

Let our young people learn light trades and employments. We shall need the handicrafts in our colony. Organize them into groups and sell their wares co-operatively.

Don't try to compete with other laborers; make and sell as occasion comes.

Let the children do things on the kindergarten plan. Have some one teach not only the doing, but the why and wherefore.

Keep accounts. Use results above costs for propaganda and colonization funds.

In all towns and cities, all factory centers, life can be made so much easier if comrades will co-operate. Every group, large or small, needs a "house of rest," where they can meet, read papers, confer, relax in harmless games, take counsel with each other.

A dozen comrades can keep some struggling woman who is with us, to stand up more steadily, by using a room and paying in equity therefor.

Mothers and sisters can help to make a living in the savagery called competition more endurable by organizing at co-operative rates to care for the needs of the struggling and lonely men.

There's food to be prepared, clothing needs repair, laundry work must be had, shirts want making, garments require mending; there's a hundred chances for small co-operative work.

Charge co-operative wages, rent, cost of materials used, add 5 per cent, and put that in the propaganda funds.

Men can help, too, by repairing household furniture and scores of other things for comrades.

These things can be done outside of the wage-earning hours needed for subsistence. Do honest work, as all real co-operators will. Charge only in equity.

Suggestions like these are designed to aid education into co-operation. Let's teach a new individualism; that of altruistic help.

Above all, while still living out in competition, make yourselves felt in every movement looking to co-operation and the commonwealth.

There are a million such steps to be taken. Don't scorn any one. Make those who go part of our way feel that they are right as far as they go, and so induce them to co-operate in trying to understand where we are going and to what purpose.

Above all, let us co-operate everywhere in making our influence felt at every turn.

We must get and hold the balance of power. That will lead to our having the power. We must co-operate to make everybody know and respect us.

Politicians want power, and they fear those they cannot control. Let's be fair but make them fear, if we must, whenever that's possible. Co-operate! Co-operate! On all lines and in every direction!

**The Way to Co-operate is to Co-operate.**

Let us all begin at home with our people and among our neighbors. Practically as citizens and voters, the Social Democracy demands that all must be actual and personal co-operators. There may be only two in a street, a ward or a village, out on a farm.

There can never be two earnest, honest men together without the ability to convince a third man.

Actually living out one's views convinces as much as words may do. Co-operate, then, by living opinions and by so proving them to be convictions that govern.

There is a practical side to all this. If ye are but two, sustain one another. Act together. Make yourselves felt in your community.

Help every movement, no matter who broaches it, that helps the struggle of life, that enlarges opportunity and strengthens economic equity and security.

While doing this, don't fall to firmly but kindly show where the ameliorations of half measures fall short of the Social Democratic standard.

Make that standard stand for Man—all men and women.

Don't dodge. Vote straight, and join with all in all altruism.

Above all, stand by every comrade.

If one is assailed the other must defend. If one has in the competitive disorder the power to employ, let it be a Social Democrat if possible.

In building political power for the new commonwealth we shall strive to mould and make. Every settlement, farm, village, town, city, every center, however small and however large, must be made a forum, a tribune for agitation.

Like the early English secularists under Holyoake, they must by fraternal consociation compel the abandonment of civic, personal or economic ostracism.

If men will not employ, see to it that comrades do not buy of them.

If a preacher assails, don't go to his church.

If an editor vilifies, ask the rival paper for space to reply. Don't advertise or subscribe.

Always insist upon your legal right to organize, educate, agitate.

Where there is a printer in a group, a very little cash will buy paper and secure the use of type, ink and hand press sufficient to strike off short manifestoes and vigorous retorts—distribution is easy.

Avoid language that can be construed against you.

"Evolutionary is as good a word" as "revolutionary." It can be made to carry as much meaning and it can't be misconstrued.

Let us as comrades and co-operators always insist that the arsenal of the law is filled with weapons forged in hopeful human struggles, as well as in greed and selfishness.

The weapons are our property and defense as well as instruments of torture used by those in possession.

For example, nowhere in the whole range of the world's jurisprudence is Land recognized as Property, in the sense that a man's personal belongings may be.

You may never under the Law do with Land as you please.

The miners stand on the same basis. Force the running and compel courts and legislatures to get back to primal legal principles.

Every time you fire the Law at an American you conquer or convert him. Let us do both.

The Law belongs to us as well as to those opposed, and we are not violating, but obeying it, when we Organize, Educate, Agitate for changes to a return to justice and freedom.

Above all keep together. Let the land know in every corner that we are on the deck of the commonwealth.

The time to build has arrived. The ground is ripe; fallow with heat and sunshine; with toll and skill.

Let's see to it that it grows something besides weeds.

The Social Democracy along its sociological and economic lines invites co-operation in constructive endeavors.

None of us know it all.

Human growths are the outcome of many failures.

Let's use the failures to fertilize with.

Let us get and keep together.

Help the colonization commission to understand and it will be better able to direct.

**Finances.**

Those who are desirous of joining the Colony or desire to see it succeed, will send in their money now to W. P. Borland, 504 Trude Building, Chicago. This means you who read this send in what you can afford, from 10 cents to \$10 or even \$100. We will take the last amount as quickly as the first. "Money makes the mare go" to Washington or anywhere else.

If you are anxious to escape from wage-slavery send in your money and show you mean business. We are receiving and have been promised large sums of money, but we need a great deal more later on. Even if you only send us 10 cents it is worth a ton of theory unapplied. Every union should appoint its collector in accordance with the constitution and he should try to collect all the money he can. As fast as the collectors are elected the headquarters should be notified of his name and address.

Many men are anxious to go with the first colony as shown by the reply to the advertisement. The unions should send in their money so they can go. Each union is invited to select some one to go out with the colony, and they are requested to send the name of the person selected. Each union is also invited to contribute to the colonization fund and the union contributing the largest amount in the next thirty days will have the right to select some suitable person, whose claims will be regarded favorably by the commission. As soon as possible let each individual member send in to the treasurer any sum he may feel he can spare. Do it as soon as you read this.

