BEHIND THE WALLS

OF PREJUDICE AND SUPERSTITION

THE LABORER THINKS.

The Man Without a Soul" Suggests

That They Be Torn Down and

the Prisoners Released.

Too many laboring people do their thinking inside of the strong walls of

CHICAGO, ILL., THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1897.

No. 20.

ALTGELD'S VIEWS

ON PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND CON-TROL OF MINES AND RAILWAYS.

Extracts from the Masterly Address of the Ex-Governor at Philadelphia on Labor Day.

On the afternoon of Labor Day ex-Governor John P. Altgeld of Illinois delivered an address at Washington Park, Philadelphia. There was an audience of thousands, which tendered the famous speaker a grand ovation when he arose to speak and who followed his oration with intense appreciation, often interrupting him with cheers and

hand-clapping.
It was one of the greatest addresse ever made by this distinguished man and one which will have a great in-

fluence on public opinion.

Mr. Altgeld made a strong plea for government ownership of the railroads, telegraphs and mines, showing that these demands were not necessarily so-cialistic. He proceeded to show what had been accomplished by municipal ownership in Great Britain in the way of ownership of street railways, gas and electric lighting and of the improvement in the homes of the poor.

After denunciation of monopoly and trusts and their corrupting effects on our government and courts, he thus re-

THE MINERS' TROUBLE. "During the strike of 1 31 one of the largest operators in Illinois stated that he had some excellent men in his em ploy, who had families to support, who were sober and industrious, and who had not been able to make over \$8 a month for a year past. The majority of the operators were not to blame they had to compete in the market in order to sell their coal; they had their money invested in mines and in mining machinery; they found that a few unscrupulous and conscienceless men had taken advantage of the hunger of the miners and got them to go to work at starvation wages, and were thus able to put their coal upon the market at greatly reduced prices. This forced the honest, humane, honorable men engaged in the mining business to sell their coal at a similar price or go out of the business, and the result was they likewise had to reduce wages. So that it was the unscrupulous and con-scienceless men who fixed the wages.

"Already in 1894 the mining population had been reduced to a state of misery and degradation. The miner could not educate his children, he could not respectably clothe his wife and, in many cases, he could not furnish bread, and he struck. He felt that his condition was already so bad that it could not be made much worse, and that he had nothing to lose by striking; but, although the struggle was pro-tracted and bitter, no substantial good

LATEST STRUGGLE OF THE MIN

ERS. been getting steadily worse, and finally in a spirit of desperation, only three years after the last destructive strike the miners of this country struck again-struck against hunger and struck, against nakedness-and they have again made an honorable and he roic struggle to improve their condi-

Considering the great poverty to which they were reduced, the fact that there was no hope for themselves or their children, that they were slowly passing into slavery that was worse than chattel slavery, for the new masters refused to feed, or clothe, or bury them, as the old masters of negro slavery had done considering these things the conduct of the miners in main taining the law, in keeping the peace has been of a character to arouse the admiration of mankind. No assembly of millionaires or of corporation agents ever submitted to such suffering, or ever displayed such high patriotism or nobility of character.

SYMPATHY AMONG OPERATORS. 'The great majority of operators this time actually sympathized with the miners who had struck, and they wished them success. They complained of the fact that a few great corporations owned by some of the wealthiest men of the country were pursuing a course that must not only lower the social status of the miner and his chil dren for all time, but that was calculated to bankrupt all those operators employes. Among other companies of this character which they named was the New York and Cleveland Gas and Coal company, managed by Mr. De Armit, and chiefly owned, it was said, by Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Rockefeller and a few other gentlemen of great wealth; that this corporation had used its great protesting that the government dare among its laborers and had so crushed the spirit of its employes that it could mine its coal more cheaply than the other companies and could force the others to cut wages or get out of the

"This strike has interfered with the regular operations of the country upon which the welfare of society depends.

definitely nor to furnish protection to are owned and operated exclusively by road stocks were ruined, which would not have happened had the government ances of this character. True, the miners have lost nothing, for they had nothing to lose, and should the strug-gle go against them at the end of it they will be just as well off as they were at the beginning.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF "Now, suppose that the United States government should say:

"'The constant recurrence of these dis urbances of industrial and economic conditions of the country growing out of disputes between the mine-owner and the miners cannot longer be en-dured; neither can I permit a large portion of the most industrious of my people to be reduced to such a low condition that they will be unfit to maintain free institutions. These people should have living wages, so that by industry, economy and prudence they can support their families and ed-ucate their children. On the other hand, the owners of the coal mines should have a reasonable income from

their property. I will take these mines myself. I will buy them where I can, and where I cannot I will have their value ascertained by fair trial and pay the owner, so that every man will get a good, fair compensation for his property. I will issue bonds bearing a low rate of interest for these mines, and I

"Governor Larrabee of Iowa, after careful research, estimated that the average cost of construction and equipment of the railroads of this country was only from \$25,000 to \$30,000 a mile, vhereas they are bonded and stocked for more than double that sum, and a constant effort is made to compel the American people to pay interest on this large amount, over half of which is

that the people of this country have been compelled to pay interest at the rate of 18 per cent on the amount which the railroads and their equipments have actually cost, or are now

HIGH SALARIED OFFICERS.

"It appears that there are now about six hundred railroad presidents with their staffs in this country that are expenses growing out of contests between the roads themselves run far up into the millions, so that several of the ablest statisticians of this country hold that if the railroads were all consolidated there would be so many large items of saving that it would amount to several hundred millions a year and vould soon pay for the roads

"One of the large items in the present expenses of railroad companies is

SYSTEM OF FAVORITISM. "3. A system of favoritism has grown up and is practiced by all the roads by which rebates and special rates are given to some shippers and not to others. Under this the favored business man or manufacturer or other shipper gets an advantage which enables him to crush his rival who does not get the same favor. Especially is this true of certain large dealers, who from handling large quantities, are able sum they shall pay, and are able, by this assistance which they receive from the railroads, utterly to crush out the smaller dealer. Many of the large es-tablishments of this country, whether in pork packing, iron manufacturing or other industry, owe their greatness almost entirely to this species of favordrawing high salaries, while the legal itism. Railroad service is in a sense public service, and it is the duty of the government to see that all of its citizens enjoy equal privileges in so far as relates to public service. The business man with limited means gets his letters carrad by the government for the has to pay, but here the parallel ends. In almost all other respects he is dis-

criminated against, not only to his in-

jury, but to his destruction. This would not be so if the government

have been traveling in a lane that has run in the same direction for thirty years, and we are approaching a turn Yea, my friends, do not despair. A turn in the road is already in sight, and if the American people are but true to their nobler instincts they will soon be restored to their inheritance, while justice and liberty, equal rights and equal privileges will cover our land with a halo of glory and give our peo ple a new century of prosperity and

"But if they do not rise in their man-

"This is Labor Day throughout the United States, and many beautiful things will be said about the dignity of labor, but I want to say to you that if our government is not rescued from corruption and if the snaky form of government by injunction is not crushed, then it would have been better for your children if they had never been

A Question Answered.

Democratic and Republican politicians have been saving the country for thirty years on the tariff plan. In the meantime labor every year is worse paid, our farmers got poorer every year our merchants fail in larger numbers each year, while Bankers, Trust Magwill operate these mines as I now run the corruption fund; that is the fund the postoffice. I will fix a scale of wages which will give every man a fair wage for his work, as I now pay other government employes. I will fix a paparent that the railroads of this railroads pays enormous salaries to the

hood and stand for the principles of eternal justice, then all is lost.

prejudice and superstition.

These walls have been built up carefully during the natural growth of the man, beginning away back in his tender childhood, the builders always keeping the walls a little higher than the prisoner's head, and allowing him to look out upon the world through but one narrow window—so narrow and safely screened and covered with colored glass that there is not the slightest danger of the prisoner seeing too much, or seeing it too clearly.

And what a sickening sight to see the toiling millions of this country going to the polls to vote, carrying these strong walls of prejudice and superstition along with them; and in the rush and jumble their prison walls clash and crash with the prison walls of their neighbor, each prisoner looking out through his window of colored glass and denouncing his neighbor for being

blind and a traitor.
It is not because they have so many man-made gods that this world has been made a living hell, but because no two of these gods agree—not be-cause so many people look out over the world through glass, but because no two of these glasses are of the same color or pattern.

The wall builders have been careful

in placing the colored glass in the mental windows of the toiling slaves. The great scheme of the scholars has been to keep the uneducated walled in from imaginary dangers, and to exact pay for keeping these walls in re-

If the common people could see plainly for one moment the horrible condition of their blind-gazing intelects-could see for one single moment out over the industrial world without this damnable colored glass before their eyes, the demand for a change would come in the thundering tones of liberated giants demanding justice from a vanquished mob of dwarfs.

But so long as these walls of preju-d'es and superstition stand, just so long will the tolling slaves cower be-hird them, and buy the right of existence from the wall-builders and the manufacturers of colored glass.

The work of the reformer is to tear down these strong walls of prejudice, and break the windows of colored glass. The common people seek these walls and lie trembling behind them like scared mice, and the reformer is obliged to dig them out against their will and set them absolutely free in the broad, open field of untrammeled thought, and show them the hell of hunger around them.

These walls must Prejudice and superstition must go, before perfect mental freedom can be possible. And without mental freedom the reformer might as well butt his head against the Rocky mountains, as to attempt the reform of the industrial and social world.

The religion of civilization must put numan happiness ahead of everything else. Men must be inspired to work for humanity with as much zeal as they now employ in their work for church-

All the world for all the people! must be the cry of the Social Demccracy; for when the last unsightly rock of prejudice is torn down and broken under the hammer of common sense, there will be no sections, no private kingloms, no republics, no empires, no monarchies, no kings, no subjects, no masters, no slaves, no prince, no pauper -nothing left but a world of brothers. in the religion of humanity, and a perfect trust in nature's God.

My brother, the walls of prejudice are many, and strongly built and even the prisoners we are attempting o liberate will fight us until the walls begin to crumble, and the colored glass s broken and destroyed.

We need fighters who will be willing to keep on with the work of liberating slaves, even while those very slaves spit in their faces.

It is a thankless job. The people love the very walls that shut them in while their oppressors crush their limbs and

Wendell Phillips received the kicks and curses of the world while trying to tear down the walls of prejudice and break the chains of chattel slavery; William Lloyd Garrison was mobbed; Lincoln was assassinated, and mcre than a quarter million poor, blinded soldiers were butchered in the battle to batter down the walls and set the black slaves free.

Jesus Christ was arrested for tear ing down the walls of Hebrew prejufice, and crucified because he insisted hat he was right, and would continue o do so.

Continued on Third Page.



fix this price so low that all the people of America can get their fuel at the dition as will pay the low interest and in the course of years reimburse the purchase price, so that the mines will

"For years I was opposed to rail
"For years I was opposed to railpurchase price, so that the mines will "For years I was opposed to railcost the public nothing. I will in the
same manner take the anthracite coal
that private enterprise could manage
fields, which are now operated as a them better than the public, and, it capable of earning money had their

or America nave been periodically get their money? The answer can b
road ownership by government. I felt der the pretense of economy, the lashorters who operated the line and made
clothes of ten thousand tolling mechar
its apable of earning money had their
ics, in the sallow cheeks of ten thou duction, with slight addition for the payment of interest and the ultimate enabling the people to get anthracite it. This will give stability to the coal ulation that now depends on mining for a living; make of it a higher grade of citizens; it will reduce the cost of living to every American citizen, and will be a blessing to the country. WHICH VOICE SHALL PREVAIL?

"Having heard the government thus express itself, what would be the response of the country? I imagine that who wished to act honorably by their I hear coming from the great laboring masses, and from the manufacturers love their country and want it to reach thusiastic voice of approval

of the monopolists and their followers not do anything except furnish courts. which to crush the miner and silence manity has rights.

"My friends, these are the two

OWNERSHIP OF RAILROADS.
"Fifty-four of the governments of the

the price of coal so that every man country must charge higher rates than few at top, there is a constant tendency labor into the hands of a privilege will know what it will cost him. I will would be necessary if they were operated by the government, and it is bottom, whereas, if the government trious or thrifty, could honestly earn found that on the average they are just owned the roads it would reduce the year's income of John D. Rockefelle

monopoly, the price for such coal being further, that the addition of such an arbitrarily fixed without reference to army of men to the patronage of the have happened if the government had competition. I will sell that coal to government would be giving a dangerthe American people at the cost of pro- ous power to any federal administra-This last objection has been partially removed by the application of tled that a system of railroad management could be established which would not interfere in politics-certainly not so much as the present syslast compaign millions of dollars were collected from the railroads with which interruntion of this service causes into debauch the public, and the employes of almost every railroad in this if long continued. Yet, owing to disbut in many cases to vote against their will. But in recent years the question of railroad ownership in this country tie-up. has changed and now presents entirely new problems.

"1. The colossal overcapitalization of American railways and the persistent attempt to pay dividends on watered stock places a burden on the American people which they cannot and should not bear, and would not need to bear if the government owned

"2. The roads have been used by unscrupulous men as a convenience in great stock-jobbing operations, sometimes managed on purpose to force them into bankruptcy in order to revoices heard in this land to-day. Which duce the value of stocks, and some-shall prevail? honest for the purpose of raising the value of stocks, with the result that

wages reduced. All of which would not

"5. If there were municipal and govlarge a number of men out of the comness and a more healthy condition to

"6. The business and even the social tems interfere in politics. During the justed with reference to the regular country were forced not only to march putes between the railroads and their employes, this country is at all times in danger of suffering from a strike or a

> But the fact which overshadows all others is that of corruption. With the concentration of capital have come the interest and the money to debauch and control government."

> Mr. Altgeld proceeded in vigorous language to show how the railroad corporations compelled the people to pay ribute, controlled legislation, and had the support of the judiciary in nullifying the effects of legislation. He then passed to a review of the infamous junction rule," in which he claimed that the judges so offending violated the Constitution, and should be im-

Mr. Alteeld concluded as follows: "Providence has ordained that noth The struggle has been protracted, and earth own and operate their steam raildoes not promise to settle anything roads. In the United States the roads invested their little fortunes in railsaid that every lane had a turn. We Journal of Labor, Nashville.

sand factory girls and boys, and in th mortgages on a million farms an homes! "How long, oh Lord, hov long," will beings in the image of thei s'aves?-Journal of Labor, Nashville

It Flourishes by Abuse. The strongest argument in favor of

the Social Democracy movement is th slurs, inuendoes, villifications and de nunciation of the plutocratic presi Many people who have never had th time or opportunity to study the grea social and economic questions on which this movement is based have been fo years suffering from the lash of capi talistic taskmasters, while these sam papers have been preaching to then that they were free, happy, prosperou and that the near future had in storfor them all the transcendent bliss of another Eden, while all the time th patches grew broader on the seat of their pants and the struggle becam harder to keep the wolf from the door Such people will regard any movemen which meets with such hearty unanimous disapprobation by the plu tocratic press as worth looking into and Social Democracy will bear the closest scrutiny. Pitch into it, ye hire ling scribes; abuse Debs to the utmos extent of your ability, misrepresent a he says and does, lie without stint and utter all dire and fearful prediction you can invent. You are only aiding the cause you think you are opposing.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY OF AMERICA.

TERMS:

Remittances, exchanges, manuscripts and all correspondence should be addressed to THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT,
504 Trude Building, - Chicago, Illinois
Entered as Socond-Class Matter at
Chicago Postofice.



CHICAGO, SEPT. 10, 1897.

····· YOUR SUBSCRIPTION

Expires with Number on your Label.
This number is

20 NO PAPER SENT ON CREDIT.

Warning to the Public!

"No one is authorized to solicit subscriptions or The Social Democrar except regularly ap-pointed agents, whos mames appear in this lit.

LIST OF SOLICITORS.

James Ost	terling			Pullm	n III
E. J. Maci	C			Lans American	4 Sulif
Fred D. II	"BIOU.			Minneau die	Minn
E. B. Harr	18	•• ••		West Saperio	r. W1s.
Marrie Fo	don			Boston,	Louis
			********	Buston,	mass.

"No member of this organization shall accept an office, elective or appointive, from any political party un-til 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.)

Harvard college students have formed a socialist club.

George M. Pullman should come into court and "arbitrate" his assessment.

An exchange states that "there is talk that the Iowa middle-of-the-roaders are becoming socialistic."

All the signs are cheering and the hosts of the Social Democracy are keeping step to the stirring drum-beats of progress.

"The solidarity of labor" is the order of the day, and as our friend Berger says, "We want the earth and the full-

The Social Democracy stands for the strength of united heads, hearts and hands, to relieve Labor of its rags, misery and hunger pangs.

The great social question is not to be solved in a day. It never will be solved if those who take it by the beard are not given an unbiased hearing.

Queer, isn't it, that while the prole tariat has a holiday, Labor Day, capital has none-unless it is all the rest of the year.

It is the battle that makes the soldier, and old Mars just dances the highland fling as he sees the veterans of the press. It destroys individual liblabor lining up in the Social Democ

When the plutes own all the land what will workingmen and their chil-dren own? An exchange says "the right to pay rent." Yes! and the right to wear fetters.

One of the Chlcago dallies is booming Postal Savings Banks, which is No.
7 of the specific demands of the Social Democracy of America. They are all coming our way!

Every local branch of the Social Democracy stands an eternal protest against all forms of slavery, and we will build them broad-based," high and strong, until the last chain falls from the limbs of Labor.

One of the signs of the times, or of Hanna and McKinley's "wave of prosperity" is the increasing number of suicides caused by "despondency," "out of work," "poverty." Isn't it time to change these conditions?

If the Supreme court could enjoin men from thinking, the corporation masters would hold a jubilee. eternal truth is still at large and is finding expression through the Social Democracy in a manner that causes plutocracy to tremble.

or otherwise, will be election day. There will be no paid bands of music, but there will be the grandest chorus ever heard in this country-that of the emancipation of the wage-workers.

vine services on Sunday. The Goverbeen enjoined as well as 150,000 min- of the results of their toil. Why so ers. Who wouldn't have that common much effort to send useful things out and contagious disease—"Contempt of of the country when people are stary-Court." Such courts as we are cursed ing and freezing at home? with in this "land of the free and home

The prison and the poor house are he only sorts of paternalism the old parties believe in. They drive the people to want and crime and then build prisons and poor houses where they may be incarcerated. The Social Dethey mocracy idea is to make such places unnecessary.

prices are bad for workingmen. When flour goes up to seven dollars a barrel while wages remain at 90 cents a ceive the evil of high prices. But why all this goldbug rejoicing over the boom in the price of wheat?

Land, air, sunshine and water, com bined and utilized by labor, constitute the wealth of the world. Labor, the force that made these elements useful to man, has the least share. Those who add nothing to the world's wealth enjoy all the luxuries and claim the best and freezing for want of the things seats before the heavenly throne. Have that cannot be disposed of! you ever thought why this is so?

The American Bar Association has pledged itself to enter into a vigorous crusade against the evils of political bribery, and it began operations by electing McKinley to membership. This, of course, was for the purpose of bringing pressure to bear on such bribers as Hanna and Alger, and it must be construed as an evidence of the association's sincerity.

Correspondents of The Social Democrat will please remember the old adage, "Brevity is the soul of wit." We always glad to hear from those who have something of interest to impart for the general good, but our space is limited and, unless on special top-ics, letters to the editor and contributions should not exceed 500 wordsand the fewer the better.

Bishop Worthington, of Nebraska, who achieved such an unenviable notoriety during the presidential campaign for saying the farmers' children were over-educated, some time ago received a present from Phil Armour of a bishop's ring costing two thousand dollars. The connection is obvious. But imagine the poor and lowly Nazarene, whose ethics are supposed to be taught by this man Worthington, himself wearing a ring worth \$2,000. Comment is unnecessary. Worthington's motive is apparent.

Following is an excerpt from the cur-rent issue of "The American Catholic," edited by Rev. Father Tomlins, priest of St. Mary's, East St. Louis; Entirely aside from dealers and any colonization plan, the "Social Democracy," lately brought into existence, would seem to be a great movement around which all kinds of reformers might gather, and ultimately give a practical demonstration of what De-mocracy and the Declaration of Independence means. "The Social Democrat," a weekly paper, published in Chicago, gives the principles, and is a verinteresting paper, which is to be made a daily before long.

What well-read lawyers think about government by injunction" can be learned from one of their leading In the Chicago Law Journal of August 20 is the following sharp criticism: This government by injunction is the most absolute despotism and the most flagrant usurpation known to organized society. The power of the federal judges, as construed by themselves, is greater than the Constitution or the fundamental rights of man. It suspends the freedom of speech and of erty. It exceeds in pretensions and in performance the exploded doctrine of the divine right of kings. No greater menace to our liberties could be devised than the federal judges' arbitrary assumption of omnipotence and in fallibility.

Political economy teaches men that there is a peculiar virtue in buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest; that is, buying for two that selling for three that which is worth but two: and t takes no account whatever of the influences which have made commodi-

ties either cheap or dear. The unholy practices of the sweater may unduly cheapen products, and the monopolization of natural opportunities, legislative favors, and trade secrets protected by law may make them dearer than they are worth. The evil in all this is obvious, yet the trader is taught to accept the condition as it exists, taking no account of its causes or consequences, and turn it to his own profit. To take full and complete advantage of such conditions is the scientific method par excellence of getting rich by commerce. It is taught by economists as a fundamental proposi tion of their science; and it is all the more strange that this should be so since they accept and build upon the proposition that all wealth is the pro-The "labor day" which will be of duct of labor, and they ought to be the greatest interest to labor, organized able to perceive that any cheapening or wealth by artificial means, so as to render commercial profit to traders, is death and destruction to society.

All this straining and striving after The latest style in injunctions is one foreign markets comes about by rea-enjoining a minister from holding di- son of the surplus of commodities which remains in the hands of capitalnors of Indiana and Kansas have also ists because laborers have been robbed

Because the home people have been bor, and I will say it compelled to deliver up to the capital- so ordained."—Volney.

ists things for which they have not received an equivalent in exchange. They are thus prevented from buying back their own product, and in order that there may be a continuar co of the consuming profit capitalists must look for customers elsewhere. The excess of exports over imports is generally taken

to indicate the measure of success in Yes, the goldbugs were right. High this operation, and as long as a suffices are bad for workingmen. When ciency of the surplus can be carted away to foreign countries to enable the capitalists to meet maturing obligaday it is easy for workingmen to per- tions the machine of profit production keeps on going somehow, and the workers are kept busy. But the for-eign market itself finally falls, and then there comes a crash; there is said to be an overproduction. Overproduction! Because there is a surplus which the workers cannot buy because they have been robbed of their due. How strange that there should be overproduction when producers are starving

Idlocy could go no further. There can be no surplus of wealth in any normal society, which is not at all times subject to be drawn down to zero by the means lying within the possession of the producers themselves. Any other sort of a surplus is a sure indication of the robbery of the producer, the laborer.

Surplus of Commodities.

As long as our law-makers confine their energies to the regulation of petty details of governmental administration, the spoils of office, the giving away of the people's money through grants of bounties, subsidies lands and franchises to syndicates corporations and trusts, there is noth ing said about constitutionalism or lack of authority, and the laws are not called in question. But let a law be passed that is clearly in the interest of the masses, one which interferes with vested rights and cuts down the privileges of the rich and powerful. and there is at once a howl about the unconstitutionality of such legislation and the incompetence of the people's representatives to pass such laws The host of privilege mongers hasten to bring the matter to the attention of our sapient and all but omnipotent supreme judges for the purpose of secur-ing their opinion as to what George Washington and his compatriots would think about the matter if they were alive, and it very rarely happens that these sapient authorities do not come to the conclusion that it was never the intention of our revolutionary fathers to invest the people's representatives with power to make such laws-when, absurd spectacle! the law at once becomes as ineffective as though it had never been enacted.

These Dogberrys on our supreme bench pretend to tell us the intention of our constitution makers concerning the solution of questions about which they could have had no more ception than the average man has of the attributes of the Delty; and once they have delivered their opinion, we, moved by the same superstitious reverence for the unknowable and absurd as animated our idol-worshiping ancestors, bow our necks to the voke in humble reverence at the words of our idol, saying: "It is kismet; our god has spoken his mind to his children; let us not disobey the will of our god." The Greeks had their Delphic Oracle which, for a consideration, interpreted the wishes of the gods concerning the temporal affairs of men. The Americans have their supreme court which, for a consideration, interprets the wishes of their god concerning the conduct of temporal af-We ridicule the absurd idea fairs. of the Greeks, but wherein is our own idea any the less ridiculous? You pays. your money and you takes your

Great Men.

"Who are the so-called great men of the world which we hold up as models for our children? Look at their school text-books; for every one who bas been of real service to his race, who has left the impress of genius and swaggering cut-throats, the impersonation of rapine and murder, miscalled disfranchised and unrepresented. heroes! And yet you will tell your boys on Sunday 'that it is wicked to fight,' and 'awfully awful wrong to take that which belongs to another.' You will strain your credit to the utmost to deck your wife and family out in jewels and furs, and take them to a fifty thousand dollar church to hear a ten thousand dollar parson in broadcloth and fine linen talk learnedly about 'Christian Humility,' and you never have a qualm about the eternal fitness of things. If a poor devil steals a loaf of bread to satisfy his hunger you will condemn him to a year's hard labor, but when by living beyond your means you become unable to pay your creditors for the thousands you have gotten from them, you appoint a reeiver and settle at ten cents on the dollar like an 'honest man.' You lie, cheat and steal in business, fill your callous heart with envy of your neigh bor, oppress the poor by your selfish extortion, minister to your inordinate vanity to outshine your fellows-then lump a few shekels of your ill-gotten wealth in the contribution box on Sunday and go through the lip service of a perfunctory prayer, and call your-self a Christian! Can't you see that your status is too obvious for us to waste time in calling you a hypocrite?" -The Euroclydon.

Avarice says: "I will oppress the weak and devour the fruits of their la-bor, and I will say it is fate that has

Comrades Awake. Written for The Social Democrat by Mrs. H. S. Genevra Lake.

Wake from slavery, oh, ye toilers!
Waken! ere it is too late;
God, the Infinite, is in you,
Ye are not "the tools of fate."

Wake from forge, from mine, from me gow, Spring from out the sordid mart; What we need is bone and sinew Warmed and quickened by a heart.

Gods! we've languished, toiled, and doubted
"Till the heavens themselves are black;
We have borne our burden bravely
On a bleeding, bended back.

Now, arouse! we need no mansions Glittring with a thous ni g ms; What we need is homes and gardens Which no law of right condemns.

What we need "is breath," drawn freely, While we look up to the sky; What we need is strength and courage That to live be not to die. Broken hearts and nerveless tissue, Days of blankness, shorn of good These we reap whene'er firgetting God's great law of brotherho.d.

Viewless chains our limbs are binding, Daggers of distrust and doubt, O'er our heads, by hairs suspended, Put our better selves to rout,

No! we bear these things no longer; We behold the lighted way; We have birthed the S cial Savior,— A Democracy to stay.

Proportional Representation. First of a Series of Articles on this Subject by Robert Tyson.

In paragraph eight of its specific 'Demands for Relief," the Social Democracy asks for the initiative and referendum, the imperative mandate, and proportional representation. Of these three reforms the first and last are most important. Perhaps, also the initiative and referendum is most easily understood; at any rate, it lies in smaller compass and has been more frequently explained. Proportional representation is not so generally or so thoroughly understood.

Yet, of all men, of all women, the Socialist is the one who ought to know proportional representation from top to bottom. He proposes to largely increase the functions of government. His government must necessarily be a popular government and a representative government. The persons who are elected to frame and execute our laws must in a real sense represent the people. They do not now. They would under proportional representation.

In congress, legislatures, and municipal councils alike the people are misrepresented and unrepresented, simply cause of a wrongheaded and unsci entific method of voting at elections And as elections and voting are the foundation of popular government, it is a fundamental thing to get them right.

Therefore, my reader, let you and l study this question together in these columns. "Knowledge is Power." Let us know as much as we can on this vital question that is one of the taproots of good government.

To begin with, the worst feature of the present system is the one-member electoral district.

A few words will show the foolish

ness of this. The whole of your state is cut up into little arbitrary districts, and in each of these districts the voters elect one member to congress or the state legislature. A voter in one district cannot, of course, vote for any candidate who is running in any other district. In each of these little districts or constituencies there are, say, from six to eight political ideas that desire expression and representation on the floor of the legislature; as, for instance, the Republican idea, the Silver Democrat idea, the Gold Democrat idea, the Social Democracy, Prohibition, Populist Single Tax, and so on.

Some of these may not be numerically strong enough to entitle them to representation, in any event; but others certainly are. Yet all these varying and often conflicting ideas have either to find expression and representation in the one solitary member sent up from that district, or not to be represented at all. Is not absurdity stamped plainly on the face of such a system?

Of course the result is practically that has left the impress of genius and only one, or possibly two, of the lead-learning on his age, you will find ten ing ideas are represented, and the vot-lated individual production. Co-operaers who hold the other ideas are all tive industry-Socialism-became not a

Now for the remedy. What does Proportional Representation mean? It means large districts returning from six to ten members, instead of small districts returning one or two members. It means that those six to ten members are voted for in such a way as to give a real representation to all the parties, large or small, in the district, in proportion to strength. It means the abolition of the ward system in municipalities. The best plans require that each elector should have only one vote, and that there should be some way, direct or indirect, of transferring votes from candidates who have too many votes to candidates who have too few, in accordance with the wishes of the voters themselves.

Next week we shall state in brief fashion the particular political evils which are cursing this people, and how Proportional Representation would emedy them. In subsequent numbers we shall show Why, as well as How describe various systems, and mention other countries in which Proportional Representation is being tried with much success.

Miners working and risking their pay for cigars every day. But the duly colored by any opinion or enthussmokers are necessary to keep the sam of my own.

wheels of industry whirling. Whirl, wheels! Starve, miners!—Coming Na
written more than half a century ago.

Socialism in Peru.

Socialism is not, as many of its critics would imply, an untried theory. On the contrary, it antedates all governmental systems of the present day. Before ancient Greece had reached its splendor or Rome its power Socialism was an accomplished fact. Its footprints are found on every page of history, whether the record be of king-doms, empires or republics, whether the ruling power be the will of a single despot or the voice of the people.

When mankind first gathered them-selves together in families, tribes or little bands and applied themselves to the accomplishment of a common purpose either to supply themselves with food or shelter, or for protection against a common enemy, there Socialism had its humble beginning. Every government of all the ages, every conquer-ing host that has gone forth to battle, every church and every society that has ever been organized to instruct or alleviate the condition of man has been Socialistic in its make-up. Without the Socialistic principle — co-operation— they could not have existed for an

Socialism is, in fact, the very cement and support of organized society. Remove what there is of it from our present institutions and they would crum ble and decay, and a few short generations would obliterate the last vestige of our boasted civilization.

Co-operative effort may be directed by a single person, as in an absolute despotism, when it is Socialism for the benefit of the despot; by the concurrence of a privileged few, as under a plutocracy, when it is Socialism for the benefit of the few; or by the equal action of all the co-operators, as under a pure democracy, when it becomes So-cialism for the benefit of all. Of Socialism for the benefit of the

despot the world has had an abundance, but it was, like childhood, a stage of development that must of necessity ecede the full fruits of co-operation Under the law of evolution we have advanced to the second stage; Socialism for the benefit of a few-a plane of development often occupied before by man in his tortuous growth. But here we can no more remain than the boy of twelve can refuse to grow. Law silent, swift, thrusts us on. Already the present system approaches its final dissolution, the rattle is in the throat, the death frost upon the cheek-it is doomed. All that now remains of the competitive system is fast disappearing within the hungry maw of a few great trusts, monopolies or combinations of capital.

When this process, now far advance ed, has been completed "Socialism for the benefit of a few" will end. To discern this needs not the prophetic vision. But what is to follow?

Is there enough of real brotherhood in the world, are we so far ready to follow the teachings of the great Galilean who taught us to "bear one another's burdens," that on the ruins of the old we may rear a new Socialism that shall not withhold its benefits from any willing soul? Or, as mankind has so often done before, must we again plunge backward into barbarism, to begin again the upward growth until, under the inspiration of the God within, we shall recognize in each and all a brother soul and supersede the reign of force with that of love?

Most of the Socialism of the past has been quite limited in its scope, has been applied largely to the administrative affairs of government, the collection of taxes, operations of offense and defense and in later times to postal systems, public schools and other institutions

In former ages, before the introduction of modern machinery, the socialization of production and distribution was not an absolute necessity. Through the power of taxation, even where resort was not had to chattel slavery, the despots or the privileged few were to appropriate the lion's share of all that was produced, if not with the same neatness and dispatch, yet quite as effectually as under the modern system. But the introduction of the modern facmere convenience, but an absolute necessity, so that to-day the tendency is in the direction of larger and larger combinations, more and more co-operation in production and in industries of all kinds, but it is a Socialism for the benefit of a few, not of the many.

While few of the nations of the past have embarked on the wider Socialism toward which we are tending, there is one at least in which almost the entire Socialistic programme of day has been tested, with this important difference—the co-operative energies of that nation were directed by a despot, absolute in his authority, instead of by the collective will of all. While no thoughtful person could expect the best results from co-operation thus administered, it is not too much to say that there is no chapter in all history at once so instructive and so interesting as that of

PERU UNDER THE INCAS. In describing so much of the country, its people, institutions and industries as may be necessary to fairly bring out the lessons to be learned from their experience, I trust I may be pardoned if I freely quote the language of some of the most reliable authors who have written on the subject, not only for the reason that they have told lives for a pairry sum, less than half the story better than I could hope to what thousands who do no work at all do, but that the picture may not be un-

lasm of my own.

Prescott, in his "Conquest of Peru,"
written more than half a century ago,
says "The empire of Peru, at the period

of the Spanish invasion, stretched along the Pacific from about the sec ond degree north to the thirty-seventh degree south latitude (a distance of about 2,500 miles). Its breadth cannot so easily be determined. . . .

"The face of the country would appear to be peculiarly unfavorable to the purposes both of agriculture and of internal communication. The sandy strip along the coast, where rain rarely falls, is fed only by a few scanty streams, that furnish a remarkable contrast to the vast volumes of water which roll down the eastern sides of the Cordilleras into the Atlantic

"The precipitous steeps of the Sierra and the higher regions wrapped in snows that never melt under the fierce sun of the equator, might seem equally unpropitious to the labors of the husbandman. And all communication between the parts of the long-extended territory might be thought to be precluded by the savage character of the region, broken up by precipices, furious torrents and impassable chasms. Yet the industry, we might almost say the genius, of the Indian was sufficient to overcome all these inpediments of Na-ture. JAMES S. INGALIS.

(To be Continued.)

Definitions of Socialism.

A theory of society which advocates more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed.-Webster's Dictionary.

. . . The science of reconstructing society on an entirely new basis by substituting the principle of association for that of competition in every branch of human industry.-Worcester's Dictionary.

. . . A theory of civil polity that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor hrough the public collective ownership of land and capital (as distinguished from property) and the public collective management of all industries. Its motto is, "Every one according deeds."—Standard Dictionary. "Every one according to his

The abolition of that individual action on which modern societies depend, and the substitution of a regulated sys tem of co-operative action.-Imperial Dictionary.

The ethics of Socialism are identical with the ethics of Christianity.-The Encyclopedia Britannica.

. . . Any theory or system of social organization which would abolish entirely, or in great part, the individual effort nd competition on which modern society rests, and substitute co-operation: would introduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products of labor, and would make land and capital as the instruments of production, the joint possession of the community .-Century Dictionary.

A Cowardly People.

The popular church dare not cry out against certain public abuses for fear some rich brother will discontinue his contributions. The newspaper must trim and hedge and overlook grave public robberies, or an interested advertiser will neglect to renew his contract. The professional man might lose a client; the business man a cuscomer; the politician a vote. Even a labor organization must keep silence in the face of official corruption, or it will incur the additional hostility of another public plunderer. Is it any wonder that the ward populace is robbed an d oppressed, while, outside of the robbers, the pessimist is the only one in the community who gets any satisfaction out of life?-Labor World.

Low Wages in the United States.

Labor Commissioner Wright is quoted as saying that "the average wages per year paid in the United States is laborer is valued at \$1,888. This leaves the American laborer but 17 per cent of his product. In Italy the laborer receives 40 per cent and in Great Britain he receives 20 per cent of what he produces," It is time to stop talking about the well-paid American workman. The only reason he ever gets high wages, apparently, is because he does more work, and measured by what he produces he gets less than the Englishman and not half as much as the Italian. This accounts for American manufacturers underselling foreigners in their own markets for the last twenty-five years. But what an enormous price the consumer has to pay-83 per cent—for distribution and profit. Typographical Journal.

Trades-Unionism. Trade unions are denounced by some

for being tyrannical, and scoffed at by others because they are powerless. But, how can an institution, without power, be tyrannical? What is meant is evidently that when they do acquire power they become tyrannical. Probably so, but how about the industrial tyranny they are organized to overthrow? Admitting for argument's sake that unions are tyrannical, the issue then is between the despotism of a few, and the tyranny of the many, the purpose of the many being to enforce a fair wage for a fair day's work, and to prewent the making of profits at the ex-pense of human lives. It is a case of tyranny all around, choose ye which is preferable.—Garment Worker.

FROM OUR CONTRIBUTORS

[Note.-The editors are not responsible for the opinious of correspondents.]

Capitalistic Beggars.

The great capitalists, who were beggars in the beginning, have had special privileges conferred upon them, and through these have succeeded in monopolizing the land and the tools of labor. They have amply proved their mendicant origin by smiting the hands

The question for the people to decide is whether these pampered beggars shall continue to usurp the authority they so impudently claim; whether the people shall proclaim and enforce the laws, or whether courts shall take upor themselves to promulgate decrees and direct mercenaries to execute them.

Labor should not stir one step from the soil it occupies, but should frame new Declaration of Independence, and proceed to emancipate itself by assum ing the supreme political authority through the medium of the ballot box. When this authority has been once gained the present exploiting system should be entirely abol'shed and the co operative commonwealth settled firmly in its stead.

Let us then turn to the work of or ganization for political action. In the meantime let us not forget our brethren who are sick, unemployed and hungry. Let us contribute in a regu lar and rational manner from our own scanty resources, and when that falls or before that fails, let us ask of thos who have.

Let us press to the only real democ racy, a democracy in which every man shall have a voice in property as well as in government, a democracy which shall give every man an equal oppor tunity to provide from the great store house of nature for himself and his THEO. BERNINE. family.

Not All a Dream.

I had a dream, maybe a vision. saw a human being arrayed in purple and fine linen, wearing a crown of gold, who appeared in a room where some poor men had assembled to discuss means of bettering their condition. He addressed them as follows:

"If you go to the prairies or the forwithout my consent, or if you go to the hills, the valleys, the shops or the factories, they are mine; you can't work there without my permission. If you take the wings of the morning to search for a place where you may work without my consent you will fail, for I

am lord of the earth.
"Know, s'unid laborers, that you cannot work without my consent, and to get it you must give me a part of your earnings. I defy you to better your condition, without bettering mine, or

feed your family without enriching me. "Go work in the dark bowels of the earth, the city's dreary shops, on the sunny glades or in the damp and shadforest, but know you, I can and will have a part of your earnings.

I am the possessor of all the means of production, you are men without must work for me or

for work will soon enable me to buy labor with bread and water. Competition in labor is my friend; it makes me your master and will soon make rou a slave.

"I want to say to you producers who wear cotton breeches and dress your unaccomplished daughters in calico, I know you are organized into many and that the object is to make me give them more of what they produce. I know that these bodies are working for the elevation of workingmen, and that they are in sympathy with and love each other. I know, too, that they love their calico-dressed daughters and would give all, but life itself, to have their talents cultivated.

While I don't blame you for what you want, you must understand that my name is Capital, while yours is that while you serve me you must not complain, or I will have the courts teach you a lesson.

"Remember, before you molest me again, that I have money, property, the press, courts and congress, while you have nothing. So don't be surprised when I use the power I have gained

and am gaining.
"Yes, and I will say further that I leave free the ax, or to oppress the ax and leave free the plow, without regard to trade or profession. I mean to extend my power to every class of workers with hand or brain. Beware of the deadly Injunction!

H. D. WINNIFORD.

The Colonization Feature.

To the Editor:-I look upon the colonization plan of the Social Democracy as upon the sick benefit funds of almost every trade union. The sick benefit fund with the unions, as the colonization plan with us, is a matter of importance. can participate in the other benefits of the union unless he subscribes to the preamble and constitution of the organization and is in good standing with his dues. And so it is with the Social Democracy. Every one has declare himself in harmony with the declaration of principles and constitu-tion, the main object of which is to government by forming a "class-conscious political narty." and having paid his dues regularly to this main fund This being the case, I cannot see

where the Utopia comes in. We admit that the plan in itself is a good and de-The only thing they are afraid of is that if the colonization plan falls through the organization will suffer and that people will lose faith in it as a whole. Yet the history of the trades unions show that the sick benefit and other funds were a success with he or she can join the colonization department if they choose.

some organizations, while they proved a failure with others, as for instance the Wood Workers' union (a card of which I hold), and still the trade union movement did not suffer on account of these failures, but, on the contrary, profited by the success that the sick enefit funds proved in some cases. The Cigar Makers' union holds its own mainly because it has so many other benefits attached to it. So with the S. D. of A.'s colonization plan. We make no promises, give no guarantee of its ccess, neither can anyone say that it will fail. It depends upon the faith the masses. Those who have faith in it will join-who have none will.

But we must not throw cold water pon the enthusiasm of those with whom we disagree in details.

Therefore I say, let the commission go ahead with its work, adopt plans and make the best out of it. The Social Democracy has nothing to lose by its fallure, but everything to gain if the colonizing of a state proves a success J. FRIEDLAND.

Boston, Mass.

Direct Exchange.

Abolish money and there will be plenty of work. We are suffering from the usage of getting paid for work with money. This money will always inevitably drift into the hands of the few. This usage gives to money the power of life and death. Life if it is spent; death if it is not.

The remedy is to abandon it, and make a direct exchange of one person's work for that of another. This exchange of product for product is what is now done by all buying and selling. ests to labor, you can't work there The farmer can exchange his products for those of others without using meney; and so can you. Of course to do this you must be associated-the bond consisting in supplying each other's wants. These wants are the market; all business consists of supplying these necessities or wishes. When you ascclate you take this market away from outsiders and conduct it your selves.

When making direct exchange the work can never stop, because each one receives his pay in another's product; hence there is no poverty.

Until your numbers increase ciently to keep each member busy, you will have to deal more or les with outsiders; therefore use what money you can get in buying materials to be made into finished articles by your members; as cloth, leather, tinplate, lumber, etc. Lease ground and buy a team and tools to work land for "Your hungry brothers competing food. All the money you get must be a common fund; not to be kept a week or perhaps a single day, but at once be put into materials to be finished by

To make this direct exchange rent a room and elect a storekeeper. Also elect three or five members a commission on prices, supply and denfand, and having done so, do not quarrel about prices. It is work that is everything. Prices may be more in the beginning. but you will soon find that a good living is easier to obtain by direct exchange than otherwise. As your num-ber increases, you will have your own land and factories. Labor-saving machines and powers decrease the price of their products, and consequently more of them (products) are consumed. When you own the factory you supply that want with the least labor, thus leaving time and effort to ress. supply a higher want. It is undoubtedly a fact that two-thirds of the workers can supply the common necessaries of good citizens." Had Washington and leaving one-third idle. These must be employed at something; and that is the supplying the wants of a high civilization. A low civilization does not require enough work, therefore you must have not come to oppress the pick and agree to live well. Some of the wants of a high civilization are music, education, good buildings and roads, orna ments of various kinds, free libraries, parks, etc. Even the lowest priced work must contribute its share to these improvements.

Your constitution (the people's law) must contain certain fundamental provisions (to be changed at any time by a three-fourths majority). First, it must be treason to give work (life) to outsiders. Second, the character of members; they cannot be lazy; they must have what you would require in a partner—sobriety, industry, faithfulness, peaceableness, submission to the be free from fear of any man. You cannot admit members would be controlled by any man or organization. Third, every member must be a subject to banishment by a three-fifths vote of all the members, without trial. A member once dis-missed must find it difficult to be reinstated. Fourth, you must have the initiative, whereby you can vote a law into existence without waiting for your lawmakers; also the referendum, by

which you can veto any law.

Every officer must serve on the basis of other states.

of being voted out of office without rial before his term expires if the peo-le choose. Follow no leaders; do your wn thinking; you never will be a man ntil you do.

Preserve the home. Every family in separate house and lot. You not'c hat money is abandoned because it is transferable and in small compass, herefore no order on the genera store (exchange) must be transferable. Shun gold and silver for the same rea-

To begin with a book could be used to make the exchanges. The work of each member must be exchanged for another's in a few days or weeks at most, for otherwise work would stop, as it does now when money is not spent.

There must be no stocks or bonds Everything is cash. Before a house, bridge, etc., is begun to be built, the tax products to pay the workmen must be in sight.

Every member must obligate himself to vote; then it cannot be known how he voted.

Six months' probation should be required of new members. By this partership plan of working, you will keep all the values you create by work, and also those you create by living near each other, for the houses and land will be common property, rented to those who occupy it.

In voting out members the majority vote should be increased as the number of members is reduced. In general, you will learn to do by doing.

Vote for every law by itself, never in a batch. Beware of the one man or ring power. PROGRESS. Cultural and other industrial associa-

COLONIZATION DEPARTMENT CYRUS FIELD WILLARD, SECRETARY
[Nors.—The editor is not responsible for the opinious of corresponsible for the opinious o

Information Wanted. Information and suggestions are asked, for the Commission has no preudices or foregone conclusions.

It has undertaken a great business pperation and it proposes to go at the same in a systematic and business-like

To that end, therefore, it invites all co-operation, and especially wishes to hear fully from co-operative settle ments, colonies and associations of whatever form.

It will be grateful for practical statements of their operations, the founding of movements, steps taken, obstacles encountered, difficulties and difwithin, opposition without, capital, how raised and expended, results obtained, locations, industries, etc., etc.

We may learn wisdom from both failure and success.

Give Us Your Facts.

The Colonization Commission wants data. It therefore invites state officers and associations—agricultural, hor icultural, commercial ticultural, commercial emigration boards, etc., to forward to this office addressed to the secretary, such reports, maps, documents and laws, as well as any suggestions that may in their judgment be of service.

It asks the same favor of state agri-

The keynote of our new order is brotherhood. Our colonies will be organized and conducted on that basis. They will furnish a type, a prefiguration of the future commonwealth, of the state that is to be. This involves many radical departures from the methods of the present system.

As To Work.

There are many great men who have glorified what is known as "the beneficent private war" of economic com-petition. They have considered it, in the words of the great jurist, Sir Henry Maine, "the only alternative to the daily task enforced by the prison or the scourge." the scourge." "So far as we have any experience to teach us," says Maine, we are driven to the conclusion that every society of men must adopt one system or the other, or it will pass through penury to starvation." In other words, men must be kept in slavery by some means or they will not This slavery may be that of men's necessities, enforced by economic competition, or it may be the slavery of the strong arm, enforced by the prison or the scourge; but one or the other it must be. This idea is funda-mental to the present system. It is the antithesis of brotherhood. Let us admit that, from their standpoint, such men as Maine and Spencer are right. Is it not possible to give men a new "experience?"

In the words of Emerson, "the power of love, as the basis of a state, has never been tried." We propose to try it, because it is the greatest power in the whole world.

In my last letter I referred briefly to the constructive work of the great Sir Thomas More. The inhabitants of his Utopia-"Place of Wellbeing"-worked but six hours per day. Concerning this arrangement, he said:

"The time appointed for labor is to

be narrowly examined, otherwise you may imagine that, since there are only six hours appointed for work, they may fall under a scarcity of necessary provisions; but so far is it from being true that this time is not sufficient for supplying them with plenty of things, either necessary or convenient, that it is rather too much; and this you will ly apprehend if you con-r how great a part of other nations is quite idle. easily sider First, women generally do little, who are the half of mankind; and, if some women are diligent, their husbands are idle. Then, consider the great company of idle priests, and of those who are called religious men; add to these, all rich men, chiefly those who have estates in land, who are called noblemen and gentlemen, together with their families made up of idle persons, that are kept more for show than use: add to these all those strong and lusty beggars that go about, pretending some disease in excuse for their begging; and, upon the whole account, you will find that the number of those by whose labors mankind is supplied is much less than you, perhaps, imagined. Then consider how few of those that work are employed in labors that are of real service! For we, who measure all things by money, give rise to many trades that are both vain and superfluous, and serve only to support riot and luxury; for if those who work were employed only in such things as the conveniences of life require, there would be such an abundance of them that the prices of them would so sink that the tradesmen could not be maintained by their gains.'

Now, remember that these words were penned nearly four hundred years ago. None of those wonderful appliances which so vastly increase the efficiency of man's labor was even thought of in More's time. It has been shown by the figures of our best statisticians that here in the United States four men, working 300 days with the latest improved machinery will deliver to the baker, ready to be turned into bread, flour enough to feed a thousand men a year. This is a condition that More could have had no conception of. He made his calculation on the basis of conditions as they existed four centuries ago: and if it was true at that time that six hours of useful labor daily from each competent person was sufficient to supply all social needs how much truer it must be to-day There can be no doubt that, were our whole society to-day organized on the basis of brotherhood, one or two hours useful labor daily from each able person would be sufficient to produce abundance for all. With such a possibility before us, is there any need to accept the dreary alternative of such men as Spencer and Maine? Have we any need for slavery, either that of economic competition or of the prison and scourge? Assuredly not. We have need only to exercise common sense. We will accept brotherhood as a fact in nature, and organize ourselves so as to enjoy its possibilities. This will lead us, feeling that we are all mem-These are Arisona, Montana, Nebrasrado, Idaho, Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota,
a, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota,
Texas, Utah, Washington and Wyoming. Let us hear from our friends and
comrades and from our opponents also. hers of one great family, and that our cost and price and profit are factors which must be taken into consideration. We are to break away from the habits and traditions of the market sltogether. We have the natural re-sources and the labor. We are to co-operatively apply that labor to the nat-

ural resources for the purpose of producing useful and necessary things for our own consumption. The product of our collective labor will be for collective use, not for sale.

All will understand this, and the effort will be to reduce labor as effi-ciently as possible, so that each individual may have the more time to devote to purely individual concerns, or to pursue investigations and experiments which are to eventuate in material forms that will be for the comm good. On this higher plane of individualism men and women will compete with each other in the fields of science, invention, art, aesthetics; they will delve into the hidden secrets of nature and lay bare the occult forces of that wonderful thing we call life to the eyes of their fellow mer. And their reward will be the approbation and applause of their fellows. It will be so much greater than the dross and glitter of the reward that is measured by our present standards that there can comparison between them. Under brotherhood work will become play; men and women will move onward and upward; they will become veritable gods and goddesses; individualish will express itself in all its beauty.

The Check System Favored.

Seeing your call for suggestions on colonization, I wish to offer a few ideas. The Social Democracy met with the approval of thousands of people and all were enthusiastic from the start, not because they wanted an opportunity to vote for the principles laid down in the platform of the organization, but because of the proposition to concentrate our voting strength in one state and also for the establishment of co-operative industries. We have had an opportunity to vote for these same principles in both the People's party and the Socialist Labor party, but for the fact that our strength has been scattered we have been unable to accomplish anything by our votes. The idea of concentrating in one state for effective political work was received by the people with gladness, and I believe that as soon as the state is permanently settled on many will find their way there, since it is about as easy to live at one place as another. Knowing that the state of Washington has already honored itself by some good practical legislation, it follows that that would be the proper state in which to colonize. We could choose a state and let all who can go to it, and gain a residence and establish themselves in a manner to be self-sustain-

ing.

Let the Social Democracy proceed to collect funds and procure land and ma-chinery for the production of all necessary articles possible. Let men do farm work and gardening as individuals. They may co-operate sufficiently for the economic use of tools and in any way they see fit. Then let a system of checks be adopted by the society for the purpose of employing members in factories and other industries, operated by the organization. For example: If after we have procured sufficient funds to do so we establish a packing house, a tannery, a shoe factory, a woolen mill, a clothing factory and as many other necessary indus tries as we are able, and procure suf-ficient funds to purchase material we proceed to give employment to as many as possible, we will then be able to go on without any further collection of funds. Let us adopt the system of giving to each worker a receipt for day's labor (not in dollars, but in days' labor): estimate the cost (in days' labor) of production and then receive these labor cheeks for any and all lapor product, and we will be able to purchase with checks all the material, machinery and land necessary to constantly employ ourselves. We will have to be careful not to issue too many checks for land and machinery that we may have salable articles enough to redeem the checks as fast as they return to us for the purchase of finished products. By starting a number of industries we will be able to furnish an op-portunity for those laboring in one labor for that of other men, thereby supplying all their wants. It is necessary to do this for the reason that we will be compelled to exchange with the outside world for many articles, and under such a system all outside purchases would be simply an exchange of labor products.

We can thus succeed in establishing State Socialism to a very great extent, even though we be not successful politically, since all persons may become members of the Social Democracy, all wealth of the organization will be the property of the public.

Socialism must come by providing

opportunity for all who wish to work at production, carried on by the public or by individuals, just as they choose. On this ground all Socialists and individualists can agree, and on no other. The colonization proposition has given the Social Democracy all the strength that it has and unless the feature be pushed the organization must fail. J. L. TALBOTT.

908 Choteau ave., St. Louis, Mo.

A Correction.

Some people who don't understand the idea of publishing extracts from ment in the extract from the "Brauer Zeltung," published in this paper, last week, that the colonization plan had been pushed aside by Debs, as mean-ing that we had pushed it aside.

The blessed work of helping the world forward does not wait to be done by perfect men.—George Eliot.

APPLICATION FOR CHARTER FOR A LOCAL BRANCH OF THE

Social Democracy of America

TO THE EXECUTIVE BOARD:

Dear Sirs-The undersigned respectfully petion for a Charter for a Local

Branch of the Social Democracy to be instituted at Temporary Secretary.

NOTE. -Five or more parsons 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 filing out, send to SYLVESTER KELIHER, SECRETARY SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, 501 TRUDE BUILDING, CHICAGO.

BEHIND THE WALLS

Continued from First Page.

The reformer does a thankless work. lugene V. Debs went to prison, beause he nad carried on the battle for justice and right inside the strong walls of plutocrat'c injustice, and yet thousands of the poor slaves for whom he was fighting hooted at the idea of calling him their friend.

As for myself, I have suffered nothing more than personal insults for the part I have taken in the fight. Men, for whose rights I am fighting, and over whose wrongs I have poured the gold of my outraged sympathies, have ed down the vengeance of their narrow, man-made god upon my head, and accused me of being an enemy of

Good government! And these fools believe that "obedience to law makes these old revolutionists believed in th's dcc:rine we would still be under the British yoke; the negroes would still be slaves; the Jewish church would still be the only religion; pagan Rome would still rule the world; Paris and France would still hold plutocratic carnivals while the peasants starved, and wrong everywhere would grind the poor and weak in the dust.

He is not a patriot nor good citizen who sits down in some quiet corner and starves in passive humiliation believing it to be patriotism, and that God loves the willing martyr who dies without raising a hand to defend the

And the man who is well fed and clothed, and sits down passively and sees others starve in the midst of plenty, and does not raise his voice or arm to save them, because some manmade law forbids it, is worse than a coward-he is a murderer and thief. as well as a coward.

These walls of Up, my brothers! prejudice must come down. The job is a thankless one, but, to save children from absolute slavery, slavery, the work must be done, and done now.

Wisconsin's Prison Label law, quiring goods made in prisons of other states and sold in Wisconsin to be in-beled "convict made," has been declared void by Judge Seaman, who holds that it discriminates against the commerce

tions, boards of trade, chambers of commerce, irrigation, land, mining and other development companies or par-

In the work before it the Colonization Commission, while adhering with sincere convictions to its principles. will find no room for quarrels with representatives of the old order. work will aid them to emancipation. as we trust that it will lift us all to a genuine freedom and therefore a true ndividual independence.

The Colonization Commission hope o set in speedy operation the energizing methods which will make early way for the settling of thousands of American citizens, now homeless and laborless, and therefore now in an economic bondage worse than the old chattel slavery.

A negro slave had a money value for his master. He was fed and cared for

The white laborer out of work or driven by the competition of others unemployed, is of less consequence to noney than a sheep is to its owner.

The unemployed man has no wool to be sheared; no fiesh to sell or food; no bones to grind for manure; no hides to be tanned into leather and use. He has no commercial value.

We enter on the task of proving it possible that nothing in the cosmos of value but human life itself. Help us to do it, and you will help yourself. Send on all data and information. Advise us of every movement possible. Co-operators and citizens are invited to correspond

We propose to be practical and there fore ask for practical facts and suggestions. But send in all the documents.

of information relating to the resources and conditions of the vast Trans-Missouri region and all the states and territories within its bor-

se are Arizona, California, Colo

The Colonization Commission will ake the field at an early day for the purpose of examining in detail several states and locations therein which have already been named or which may be presented to the Commission.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

A RECORD OF THE WEEK'S PROP-AGANDA AND PROGRESS.

Chairman Debs and Organizer Lloyd at Terre Haute-Uther Notes of Interest.

The Social Democrat.

The Social Democrat deserves well of the Social Democracy, whose right it champions, and as fearlessly denounces the wrongs it suffers from the

hands of despots.

In the fierce battle now in progress for truth, justice and liberty, in which all humanity is involved, the Social Democrat makes no concessions and no compromises.

It voices the truth, that the country is being Russianized by autocratic decrees of a servile court, and the time has come for a change.

To make the Social Democrat a mighty force in the great struggle for emancipation, it should be in the hands and homes of every workingman in

Each local branch should make a special effort to extend the subscription list of the Social Democrat. Let the work begin and go forward persist-

Courage on dress parade is for kindergarten soldiers, for Social Democrats in the battle and the storm.

Roy M. Goodwin made a splendid talk to the Milwaukeeans on Labor Day. Director Hogan is doing missionwork in Colorado. Wm. E. Burns spoke on Labor Day at Dubuque, Iowa, and organized a branch of the Social Democracy the following evening. He returned to headquarters yesterday.

At Terre Haute, Ind.

The Chicago Chronicle printed the following special in its issue of yes-

Eugene Debs held his first meeting for the Social Democracy in his home town to-night, and after John F. Lloyd of Chicago had spoken at length Debs told how the Social Democracy would bring relief from the evils of the competitive system. He was enthusiastically applauded when he said he intended to devote himself to the task of relieving the workingmen from the oppression of the present industrial sys-

Debs referred to the miners' strike, and said: "Suppose the miners do win this strike. It will not be three months until the same conditions exist which brought on the strike. Some operators will not enter into the agreement and they will undersell those operators who are parties to the agreement. The latter will be compelled to compete with them, and to do so will have to reduce wages. The only alternative will be the cessation of mining operations."

The branch fires of the Social Democracy are blazing the way through the wilderness of wrong, and will light the way to labor's emancipation.

Secretaries of local branches throughout the country are invited to send the Social Democrat a postal card at least once a month, or oftener, if convenient, giving brief mention of what 's happening.

Notice the adv't of Socialist books in this page and send for them. They will make good campaign documents.

Althought he is speaking occasionally at meetings Chairman Debs has not recovered from the attack of sunstroke which he received down in West Virginia a few weeks ago. This will delay his active work in the field for a week or two longer. In the meantime the chief keeps his pen busy attending to a very large and important correspondence.

Earnest, substantial work is what is now wanted on the part of every member-a proper understanding of the duties of membership and the courage and manliness to perform them.

Editor J. H. Schwerzgen has been obliged to temporarily retire from his duties as chief pencil pusher of the Social Democrat owing to a severe attack of a chronic complaint brought on, in a great measure, by his strenuous efforts to do the paper justice while otherwise earning his living. He will probably be under the doctor's care for

"We are coming," says a voice from New York, "several thousand strong." The sweep of the Social Democracy is as resistless as the sea.

We have received a copy of "The Labor Annual," the year book of social, economic and political reform edited by Joseph Edwards of Wallasey, Liverpool, England. It is a neatly printed book of some 300 pages, full of inter-esting information and illustrated with portraits of prominent British and German socialists, etc.

When the working poor are paid in return for their labor only as much money as will buy them the necessities of life, their condition is ident'cal with that of the slave who receives those necessities at first hand; the former we cill "free men" and the latter "slaves," but the difference is imaginary only .-

Chicago Labor Parade, 1897.

By Cyrus Fleid Willard. I stood on the curb and watched them pass, those weary sons of toil, And my heart waxed sore as I scanned Workers from shop and soil.

In grim and somber ranks this mass of tollers swung their way And 'rattled their chains to music's stra.ns''

On this, their festal day.

By toil mis-shaped and haggard their face, with clothing poor and vile, They tirid to Le gay with a feeble display Of hag, and badge, and smile.

"Oh. God!" I cried, "how long shall this race of man by men be cursed, By the judge-made laws, rent's cunning And usury, the worst?

"Yet worse than all is that system red, that putrid, rotting state That curse of the age to get back as wage A tithe as we create."

"Peace? Do you not see?" a voice then said, "of Labor's mighty host That here is but shown for the freeman's groan, Ten thousand slaves at most.

"If it comes by ballot or by force, Freedom will surely be,
It will come to stay, on that Labor Day,
When all mankind is free."

The Hope of the Future.

Following is the gist of an eloquent address made by Comrade Fitzgerald Murphy, chairman of Branch No. 1, at the meeting last Sunday:

"Socialism is the science of society and the Social Democracy is the heaven of hope for humanity.

"Since the first spark of consciousness was implanted in the mind of man he has unsuccessfully experimented with different forms of government. He nas changed dictators for despots, theocracies for democracies in his struggle for social perfection, but the fundamentals have always remained the same, hence his failure. The social cooperative commonwealth is his only economic salvation. The majestic high way of human history is strewn with the wrecks of civilization that have been consumed by the fires of selfishness. Their flames should light our pathway of the future. We must profit by the experience of history.

Socialism is the logical outcome of the present transitory phase of our industrial development. Its ultimate success is as fixed as fate. It will come independently of our efforts. It will come in spite of its opponents. In fact those who oppose it furnish the grandest lessons of its efficacy. The corporation and the trust contain the germs of Socialism. Enlarge these combinations so that they will embrace hu manity and universal co-operation-Socialism becomes an economic actuality

Man was never made to mourn. He was born under skies of beauty to be happy and enjoy life. Bounteous nature surrounds him with inspiring scenes of beauty and plenty and yet he is damned, degraded and starved in a hell of ghastly poverty.

"The competitive system is an insult to Divinity! It circumvents its purpose and thwarts the plans of destiny It is based upon selfishness and must fall by the weight of its own corruption. Poverty is doomed and the white banner of the Social Democracy is the beautiful banner of the dawn.'

A School for Socialists.

While, in the classic days of handicraft, each individual produced a whole article himself, capitalist industry is based upon co-operative labor. Here the individual workers can do nothing without their fellow-workers. If they start to work united and planfully, the capacity of each is doubled and trebled. Thus their labor itself brings home to them the power of union, and develops among them the sense of voluntary and gladsome discipline-both of which are the conditions precedent for Socialist production, and are likewise the successful struggle of the proletariat against the system of exploitation that prevails under capitalist production. And thus it happens that capitalism itself trains the proletarians in the meth-ods requisite for its own overthrow, and educates them in the system of labor that will be required of them in Socialist society.—Brauer Zeitung.

The Providence Journal agrees with Carroll D. Wright that, while the rich are getting richer, the poor are improving their condition. In summing up the evidence of the increasing wealth of the rich it cites the greater munificence of their gifts to charity. If the poor are not getting poorer what is this growing charity all about?-The Beacon, Johnston, R. I.

Bonds and banks I never approved. · Our whole banking system ever abhorred, I continue to abhor and shall die abhorring.—John Adams

MEETINGS OF LOCAL BRANCHES

Illinois Branch No. 10 meets every Thursday at 13 N. Clark street, Chicago. Illinois Branch No. 9 meets 2d. 3d and 4th Mondays at 5 p m, 63d street and Centre avenue, t hicago. Business meeting for members only ist Sunday of each mouth at 10 a.m.

Missouri Branch No. 3 meets every 2d and 4th Thursday at 13th and Wyoming sts., St. Louis, Mo. Illinois Branch No. 1 meets every Sunday at 1 Washinston street, Chicago, at 2 p. m., Members please attend.

Pennsylvania Branch No. 1 meets every and statutory wages.—Coast Seamen's Sunday 8 p. m., Co-one ative Hall, 1125 Poplar street, Philadelphia.

The Social Democrat

SUBSCRIPTION BLANK

TO THE PUBLISHER, 504 Trude Bldg., Chicago:

S	for which send THE		
for	months		
dress			
1 1 2 2	2		
	for		

RATE: Twelve Months, \$1.00; Six Months, 50c; Three Months, 25c.

NOTE-CUT THIS OUT AND SEND TO THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY ADOPTED \$ AT CHICAGO, JUNE 21, 1897.

We hold that all men are born free, and are endowed with certain natural rights, among which are life, liberty and happiness. In the light of experience we find that while all citizens are equal in theory, they are not so in fact. While all citizens have the same rights politically, this political equality is useless under the present system of economic inequality, which is essentially destructive of life, liberty and happiness. In spite of our political equality lator is robbed of the wealth it produces. By the development of this system it is denied the means of self-employment, and by enforced, titeness through lack of employment, is even deprived of the necessaries of life.

To the obvious fact that our despotic street of the obvious fact that our despotic can be plainly traced the result of the control of the control of the property public fauchies and public functions and holds this, the mightlest of nations, in abject dependence. Labor, manusi and mental, being the creator of all wealth and all civilization, it rightfully follows that those who perform all labor and create all wealth should enjoy the fruit of their efforts. But this is rendered impossible by the modern system of production. Since the discovery and application of steam and electric powers and the general introduction of machinery in all branches of industry, the industrial operations are carried on by such gigantic means that but few are now able to possess them, and thus the producer is separated from his products. While in former times the individual worker labored on his own account, with his own tools, and was the master of their products. The fruits of this co-operative altories, etc. co-operating according to the most efficient division of labor, but they are not the masters of their products. The fruits of this co-operative altor, to-wit by the owners of the means of transportation.

iahor are, in a great measure, appropriated by the owners of the means of promittion, to-wit by the owners of machines, mines, land and the means of transportation.

This system, by gradually extinguishing the middle class, necessarily leaves but two classes in our country; the large class of workers and capitalists.

Human power and natural forces are strong of the middle class of capitalists.

Human power and capitalists.

Human power and natural forces are with the consumers of the consumers of the consumers.

Ignorance and misery, with all concomitant evids, are perpetuated by this system, which makes human labor a ware to be bought in the open market, and places no real value on human life.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purposes and made instruments for the ensiavement of men and the starvation of women and children.

We, therefore, hold that in the natural course of soc al evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one-hand, and thereby work out its own downfall, and thereby work out its own downfall in the man of the social down while the middle class, the base and the social downfall interty and by taking possession of the public power. So that we may put an end to the present barbarous struggle by the abolition of capitalism, the restoration of the land, and of all the means of produ

DEMANDS FOR RELIEF:

1. The public ownership of all industries ontrolled by monopolies, trusts and com-

The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water works, gas and electric plants, and all other public utilities.

3. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, coal, iron and all other mines; also all oil and gas wells.

4. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.

5. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

6. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

7. The establishment of Postal Savings

public.
The establishment of Postal Savings
Banks.
R The adoption of the Initiative and the
Referendum, the Imperative Mandate and
Proportional Representation.

The issuance of injunctions and the Members please attend.

Iilinois Branch No. 2 meets every Sunday at 8 p. m., Nathan's Hall, corner Milwaukee and Western avenues, Chicago at the movement, which unless the movement, which unless the movement, which unless the movement of in a condition of settlement, poor law

Official Gazette of the Social Democracy

Sylvester Keliher, National Secretary,

In this column will be found all official notices and reports. The executive board of each local branch should see to it that all matter requiring the uction of local branches should be pre-

Make all remittances payable to Sylvester Keliher, Nat'l Secretary, Chicago, Ill.

NOTICE.

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

No papers will be sent on credit and the monthly dues must invariably be paid in advance. The correspondence and other business at headquarters is enormous, and to save time, trouble and delay, don't fail to carefully give all information required on various rets, and your full address in each

case. At the close of each meeting the treas urer shall make a report of members admitted and forward, together with the admission fee of twenty-five cents; and if admitted before the 15th of the month, fifteen cents dues for the current month. If admitted after the fifteenth only the admission fee is forwarded.

HOW TO ORGANIZE.

Local branches should be organized it every available point. Five or more reputable persons will subscribe to the declaration of

principles can organize a local branch First procure a constitution and blank application for charter, secure the signatures of the proposed members, arrange meeting at some suitable place and elect an executive board of five members as provided by the Con-stitution; have the board meet and elect a chairman, vice-chairman, sec retary, treasurer and organizer. Th new officer should take charge of meet ing at once, and all who have signed the application should pay the admission fee of 25 cents, and if organized before the 15th of the month, 15 cents monthly dues to the National Council for the current month; if after the 15th the National dues will commence

on the first of the following month. At the close of the meeting the treas-urer shall forward to National Secretary a report giving names of perma pent officers, all members who hav paid the required fee, and correct address in each case, so that paper can be promptly forwarded. Only the name of members who have paid shall be included in this report.

No extra charge is made for char ter or cards of membership and the Social Democrat is forwarded to every member on the payment of 15 cents

menthly dues.

All moneys for admission fees and dues should be paid to and forwarded by the treasurer.

PRICE LIST OF SUPPLIES

The following is price list of supplies furnished by the National Council. Each local branch should order in such quantities as will avoid the loss of time, trouble and expense in sending out in small quantities:

Applications for membership per hundred\$.25

Transfer cards, per hundred.... .50 Withdrawal cards, per hundred.. .50 Letter heads, per hundred..... Envelopes.small size, per hundred. .50 Envelopes, large size, per hundred. .70 Meeting reports, per hundred.... 1.00 Monthly reports, per hundred 1.00

No supplies will be shipped on credit. Cash must accompany each order. Charges for supplies shipped by ex press must be paid by local branch.

"THE UNION FOREVER!"

THE UNION-MADE OVERALLS ARE MADE BY

Sweet, Orr&Co.

THE LARGEST OVERALL MANUFACTURERS IN THE WORLD.

GUARANTEED NEVER TO RIP.

If you don't wear Overalls, you must wear Pants. You should wear Shirts and you should wear Sack Coats. They are all the Best that can be made.

Our Brand is on all. INSIST upon our goods. If your local dealer don't keep them, then write to

SWEET, ORR & CO.

New York City.

Chicago, III.

Newburgh, N. Y.

ARTIFICIAL ARMS AND LEGS

PATENTS OF 1895

Marks' Improved Rubber Hands and Feet are Natural in Action, Noiseless in Motion, and the Most Durable in Construction. It is not unusual to see men of every vocation wearing one or we arrificial legs, of MARKS' Patents, performing as much as seen in possession of all their natural members, and experiencing BOTH LEGS AMPUTATED BELOW THE KNEES.



Over 19,000 scattered in all parts of the world. Eminent surgeons and competent judges commend the Rubber Foot and Hand. At the World's Columbian Exposition they received the sinkers award. They are endorsed and purchased by the United States and foreign governments. A treatile, containing 544 ages, with tuilings rations, sent free also a formula for taking measurements, by which himbs can be made and sent to all parts of the world with it guaranteed. Address

ESTABLISHED A. A. MARKS, 701 BROADWAY, NEW YORK CITY



ERIE MEDICAL CO., 64 NIAGARA ST.



Mothers! Mothers! MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRI P has been used for over FIFIY YEARS by mil-lines of muthers for their CHILDREN while TER HINU with perfect success. It soothes the The HIM with perfect success. It soothers the child, sectors the gums, sileys all pain, CU-ES Wind COuld, and is the best remedy for DIAR-RHGEA. rold by druggests in every part of the world. Be sure and ask for "Mrs. Winsiow's Soothine Syrup" and take no other kind. Twenty-five cents a bottle.

VçlksAnwalt Officielles National Organ

Erideint jeben Samftag.

Der "Bolfe-Anwalt" bringt alle offigiellen Wib-theilungen und einen reichhaltigen illubritten beienoff, politifche Beichnungen etc.

BOOKS YOU SHOULD READ!

Merrie England

A plain exposition of SOCIALISM, by Robert Blatchford. A popular paper edi-tion Ten Cents.

Civilization Civilized

President John Smith

Man or Dollar, Which?

SYLVESTER KELIHER **504 Trude Building**

Order Extra Copies

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT will be furnished for ONE CENT PER COPY ss than 100 copies, Two Cents each. No will be accepted unless accompanied by

Clubbing Rates

The Coming Nation and The Social Democratic year \$1.20.

34 SELZER AVE. - - - Cleveland, Q.

Demotratie befrens empfohlen.

STRICTURE A CURE guaranteed by a new method; no cutting; no instrument. Formula sent free. Eudorsed by eminent physicians. Address CENTURY CHEMICAL CO., St. Lonis. Mc.

Do not longer be deceived by well-worded lies. Read the truth. It will pay you dividends.

A crushing arraignment of the presen social order, by Stephen Maybell. Reduc ed to Ten Cents.

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

A story of the Co-operative Commonwealth in the United States. Paper, 199 pages Twenty-Five Cents.

Send Orders and make Remittances Payable to Chicago

of. Frank Parsons.
mry D. Lloyd.
nator Butler.
tiweed Pomeroy.
amlin Gariand.
stice Walter Clark.
agene V. Debs.
rv. H. S. Pingree.
dilian Whiting.
H. Lewis. Prof. Richard T. Ely. Senator Tillman. Herbert N. Catton. Frances E. Willard. Pres. George A. Gates. Mary A. Livermore. Abby Rorton Disa. John P. Aligeld. Helen Campbell. Senator Pettigrew.

harles H. Kerr & Company, Publishers 56 Fifth Avenue, CHICAGO.

Eogial-Demofratie von Amerita. Breis, vierteljährlich 50 Den beutidlefenben Mitgliedern ber Sogial-

THINK OR STARVE



Formerly NEW OCCASIONS.

eform Magazine... Sone Dollar a Year in the World.

Monthly-Eighty Pages.

B. O. Flower, Founder of the Arena Fred'k U. Adams, Ed. New Occasio

EW TINE is the fearless advocate of the Initiative and REFERENDUM, Majority Rule, Eclentific Government, Monetary Reform and Physical and Ethical Culture.

mong hundreds of brilliant writers wil vill regalarly contribute to its pages ar