

On earth peace,
good will
toward men

The Social Democrat

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Vol. IV.

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No. 31.

Civilized Society is Built on an Unnatural Basis The Primal Law of Life is Violated.

J. T. McCOLGAN SHOWS THAT PRESENT SOCIETY IS AN INTELLECTUAL ANIMALISM, VIOLATING THE LAW OF ORGANISMS AND DESTROYING THE HUMAN RACE.

We are not one of those "believe-as-we-do-or-the-devil-will-be-to-pay" reformers, we are not one of those political empirics who have a specific to cure all social ills; we are not a moody atrabilious pessimist who can only see the dark side of every picture, and whose colossal egotism regards the mass of humanity as groveling idiots, incapable of comprehending the sublime truths which dominate its own exalted powers of apprehension; but we are aware that many fail to exercise their grand prerogative of thought; that many fail to appreciate the relation between cause and effect, and many drift idly and aimlessly along in the current of events, never propounding to themselves the all-important question of "whither are we drifting?"

Did it ever occur to you, my thinking yet unthoughtful brother, that, despite our boast of having achieved the grandest civilization in the world's history, we are still socially under the animal regime of the "survival of the fittest"? That in all the centuries of our past endeavor we have utterly failed to evolve a complete social organism? That what we call civilized society is merely an intellectual animalism where each individual unit is arrayed against every other unit, and success of the individual is regarded as the real motive for the struggle, that of the race only a secondary consideration? That in this struggle, as thus maintained, we are not only at war with each other, but with the primal law of life, the eternal edict of nature, which makes the preservation of species paramount to the preservation of the individual? Do you ever think that the activities of the cosmos have their only reason for existence in forming organisms, that mother nature commencing with the organization of a single cell through countless ages toiled, multiplying her forms by combining this first simple organism into higher and higher forms, and that the unit in each case merged its selfish individuality into the collective individuality of the new-made organism; and that after she had progressed to the formation of that paragon of animals endowed with all the faculties for continuing her plan for universal harmony she stamped on him her divine edict of co-operative organization by placing the perpetuation of species under the mutual co-operation of two distinct individuals and made it the fundamental instinct of their organisms?

How are we obeying this law? By striving to construct an organism with all the essential elements of an organism left out; fabricating an endless rope of sand which falls to chaos almost as soon as constructed; striving to combine anarchy and order by metaphysical abstraction.

We know that this can never succeed; we know that this conflict with nature can bring no other result but a heritage of misery, blood and tears to our progeny; we know that as the race multiplies on the face of the earth under the present social disorganization, that all the evils of which we today complain will increase with a greater ratio than population.

For unnumbered centuries we have been experimenting with remedies for effects without removing the cause, and what is the result? A civilization which in all the essentials for human happiness is far worse than primitive barbarism.

Do you find happiness among the rich? Far from it. Their possessions are a constant source of discontent, and they have to stand armed cap a pied to preserve them from the marauding hands of their fellows. Not one of them can promise themselves with any degree of certainty that the wealth they have struggled a life time to accumulate will in the least benefit their immediate progeny; they hope it may, but they know by their own experiences in the game of grab that the chances are a hundred to one that it will not.

Do you find it in the middle classes? Not at all. Warring with those beneath them to capture their possessions, and at the same time fighting off those above them to prevent them from taking away by the same methods what they have taken from those below would not produce anything like a state of happiness, even to a savage; and we all know that it is not found among the poor.

We have experimented with Absolute Monarchy, Limited Monarchy, Representative Republics and Democracy as cure alls, but under every form of government humanity has experienced all the evils of which we today complain, because the fundamental law of organisms is not observed under any of these forms.

Allow me to call the attention of my conservative brother who is at

present engaged in some remunerative employment, and who scarcely gives a thought to the ever unfolding future or what it may have in store for him, to another fact. Are you aware that there are at present near three millions of people standing waiting to take your place when from even a temporary accident you have to relinquish it; do you know that this army is constantly increasing, and that every one of them, should he once get your place, would struggle ten times harder to hold it than you do now? And that when you shall start on the tramp to find a new place, you will find them all occupied and the chances are three millions to one against you getting a position?

Oh! but say you, "I have been thrifty and have laid up something for a rainy day. I have a house of my own and a little hoard in the savings bank, and I can go into business on my own account as my own employer."

Very well, but are you not aware that your whole life's experience has been to qualify you for an employe, and that this utterly disqualifies you for an employer? Just think for a moment! You may have heard a great deal of that abominable rot about the interests of labor and capital being identical, and swallowed it down without attempting to digest it, so let's investigate before you invest your little savings.

Under our system business is business and sentiment is sentiment. The object of business is to accumulate. The employer's interest is to get all he can, to pay the lowest wage that will procure the requisite service. Is not the interest of the employe to get all he can, to get the highest wage possible regardless of whether his services makes or breaks his employer? Now, your business training has been to make you subservient to others, to destroy all self reliance and aggressiveness; you look at a business transaction from the opposite side to that which is necessary for success; you are not a "hustler"; you were trained to be hustled, so your chances to fail are a hundred times better than to succeed.

Now, what do you see in the present capitalistic system so beautiful, so stable and so elevating, that it gives you a perfect fit of the horrors to hear any one even suggest a change? Only a few more years and your age will disqualify you to earn a profit for your employer, and he will be compelled by this system of individual survival to turn you adrift; all the years of faithful service counts for nothing; your employer may perhaps pity you, but it is just such pity as the butcher gives the lamb he is about to slay.

Capitalism is the mother of classes. Classes are the elements of strife. Strife produces discord, which is the exact antithesis of order. Without order there can be no harmony, without harmony no happiness. Man is a creature of heredity and environment; his intelligence is derived from his environment, and the intelligence of one age becomes the instincts of the next. We may preach virtue and morality for countless ages, and we will accomplish little while humanity has all the environment of greed, avarice and strife to mould the instincts of its progeny; an occasional genius may perhaps rise above heredity and startle the world by its novel audacity, but the mass will conform to the hereditary type until changed by the modifying influences of a different environment.

If the reformers of the age really desire to better humanity, let them cease to cavil over metaphysical abstractions and preach the eternal gospel of natural truths which appeal directly to the objective consciousness, and mankind will receive it with joy; for these truths are susceptible of but one construction, and the mind escapes from the complex labor of ascertaining and collating long stored up data to compare with the proposition in order to arrive at a conclusion satisfactory to itself.

A Chicago preacher yesterday devoted his efforts to showing what great disadvantages the sons of rich men labor under. It is not quite clear, however, whether he aimed to prevent rich fathers from having sons or to dissuade sons from having rich fathers. It seems to have escaped this preacher's attention when trying to thin what he would select for a subject, that a woman fell fainting in a Chicago street from hunger the day before—Milwaukee Daily News.

Note price list of our Social Democracy edition of Merrie England, and send for as many copies as you can afford.

No national crime passes unpunished in the long run.—Thomas Jefferson.

Am I My Brothers' Keeper?

By Rudolph Leonhart.

"Am I my brother's keeper?" asks, aglow with virtuous wrath, the righteous Pharisee, His lips prepared for an emphatic "NO!" Dictated by his rank hypocrisy. Does not his Bible many a verse contain, This egotistic answer to sustain? And does not e'er upon their literal text Depend his fate in this world and the next?

Oh, Pharisee, how can you thus forget The sage who spake with such authority, And whom, in days of yore, you often met In fair Jerusalem or Galilee? Did He not teach, in valley and on mount, The spirit does, and not the letter, count, Exhorting you, in charity and sooth, To seek the light IN SPIRIT and IN TRUTH?

Metaphysic, I hear Him, saying unto you: "Do always unto others as you would have them unto yourselves in fairness do, If they in your, you in their places, stood!" How simple this commandment, yet how grand! How suitable to every race and land! Pause, then, and ask, in all humility: "How does this golden rule apply to me?"

I am an orphan, friendless, helpless, frail; An exile banished from his native land; A shipwrecked mariner tossed by the gale, A wanderer captured by a robber band. A deadly fever rages in my veins; Insanity is torturing my brains; I am a cripple, cannot walk or crawl; Racked by disease, by poverty and thrall. My dearest love was swallowed by the grave, Or, worse, by foul persuasion led astray. I am, perhaps, of ardent drink the slave, Of lewd, immoral practices, the prey. I left, perchance, of honesty the path, Feel for some being an inveterate wrath, Or sank below the level of the beast, As usurer of Mammon's venal priest.

Would not the orphan for a guardian crave, The exile's hardships at the fireside cease? The sailor hail with joy his savior's brave? The pillaged traveler cry for the police? The patient clamor for the cooling draught? The madman for indulgence of his craft? The phantoms of his added brain to court? The cripple pray, his weakness to support? For consolation sighs the aching heart; The faltering foot for comfort and for cheer. New life, new strength, new energy impart. A cheering word, a sympathetic tear. A loving reprimand, a gentle check Have saved full many a soul from moral wreck, And prudent counsel ministered in time, Stilled many a storm, prevented many a crime.

And now, when I a second time inquire: "Are you your brother's keeper?" in your eye I gladly recognize, that you aspire To higher, holier ground, and thus reply: "I am the keeper of the walf which lost His parents dear, the shipwrecked sailor tossed By savage storm, the exiled foreigner Condemned, away from friends and home to die."

I am the keeper of the old and poor, The invalid in body or in mind, Whom foul diseases, baffling care or cure, Distract with sufferings of every kind. I am the keeper of all those whose grief Finds but in love and sympathy relief, Of those whom only tenderness can win To virtue from depravity and sin.

Oh would, that we, in this exalted sense Might e'er be the keepers of our brethren be; Then would the Earth, in grateful recompense, In times to come from wretchedness be free. Go, then, and preach, in charity and sooth, This golden rule IN SPIRIT and IN TRUTH. Do but respect your brother's liberty, And you may, with all heart, his keeper be.

Herbert Spencer Again.

In a recent issue we reprinted an extract from an article by Prof. Chas. Zueblin, of the Chicago university, in the American Journal of Sociology, containing a sharp criticism of Herbert Spencer's individualism. Our attention has been called to an even more sweeping critique of Spencer, which appears in the same journal, from the pen of Prof. Albion W. Small, also of the Chicago university. In reviewing Mr. Spencer's recently completed Synthetic Philosophy, Mr. Small says:

"Mr. Herbert Spencer has been a much mixed blessing. He is the most miscellaneous paradox in the history of thought. The species 'speculative positivist' doubtless culminates in him. The most contradictory metaphysics of this century will be found in his impenetrable metaphysics. His science is philosophy and his philosophy is mostly overdrifts on unauthorized assumption. He has probably done more than any man of recent times to set a fashion of semi-learned thought, but he has lived to hear himself pronounced an anachronism by men who were once his disciples. It is impossible to understand the terms of today's philosophic and ethical problems without knowing Spencer. At the same time the suspicion is afoot among the very men whom Spencer taught that the Synthetic Philosophy is a rope of sand.

Without presuming to pass specifically upon the Spencerian biology and psychology, I may speak with some confidence of the ethics and the sociology—figs from the same thistle. Mr. Spencer has pathetically confessed that the sap did not run in the root as he expected (Ethics, Vol. 11, preface). His effort to establish a positive basis for morals was gallant. Its incidental results entitle Mr. Spencer to lasting remembrance and gratitude. The impulse that he gave to further endeavor in the same direction will not soon lose its force. Nevertheless, Mr. Spencer's material contribution to a positive basis of ethics is a minus quantity. His "data of ethics" are no data at all. They are important considerations upon the methodology of ethical inquiry. They are notable reflections upon what to do with data after they are found. His own method, however, is neither proper induction nor legitimate deduction, but presumption fortified by illustration—a method more seductive than the cocaine habit after its fascinations have once been tried. Mr. Spencer fondly imagines that his "law of equal freedom" is a premise from which the various human "rights" may be deduced—the right of property, of exchange, of free belief, of free speech, etc. In point of fact, if the "rights" and prevalent belief in them did not exist, the "law of equal freedom" would no more reveal them than the law of gravitation reveals things that are subject to it in unknown planets. The "law of equal freedom" amounts simply to the formal principle that, whenever a human right is discovered, one man has the same natural title to its benefits as another. Spencer, is one of the goodly fellowship of the Apostles of humanity who have heralded the new truth. He has not enlarged the truth. The means of discovering what are human rights, what are human duties, and so what is the material of morality are not increased by anything that Spencer has written.

Of the sociology scattered through several volumes, beside those bearing the title, the judgment of sociologists would doubtless be more appreciative if Mr. Spencer's work had ended with the generation to which his thought belongs. It would be unflattering to repudiate the obligation which the younger sociologists owe to Herbert Spencer. It cannot be precisely characterized in a few words. Enough that it is distinct and large. Yet Mr. Spencer's sociology is of the past, not of the present. It has a permanent place in the development of sociological thought. Present sociology, however, is neither Spencerian nor is it dependent on anything Spencerian.

The principles of Sociology may be described as an attempt to arrange facts about society in such order that they may be made to divulge social and sociological principles. Disciples and opponents of Spencer may agree that his labors to this end are valuable beyond estimate. Possibly they will soon agree, if they cannot now, that the element of highest value in them is their inevitable demonstration that after all they only advertise the need of labors a thousandfold more abundant to accumulate sufficient material for induction to sociological principles. It cannot be said, as of the "data of ethics," that the "principles of sociology" are no "principles" at all; for Spencer has put generalizations in the form of principles. We must rather say that Spencer's "principles" of sociology are supposed principles of biology prematurely extended to cover social relations. But the decisive factors in social relations are understood by present sociologists to be psychological, not biological. Whether Spencer's biology will stand is a question by itself. Whether Spencer's biology is also a correct prevision of social psychology is a much more involved problem. The present presumption is altogether against it. I am not aware that there is a sociologist in the world who accepts Spencer's sociology at its author's appraisal. The volumes entitled Principles of Sociology contain an array of provokingly interesting details, classified under obvious and familiar categories, and interpreted by hypotheses that do not explain. In other words, Spencer has collected a vast amount of descriptive material which is not reduced to science, but is rather cumulative evidence that social science is yet to be developed.

Social Democracy is the battle cry from east to the west and north to the south, despite the harangue of the New York people for the sole purpose to retard the movement. Its Socialism is permeated with a principle that no wage-slave can or should be ashamed of. The doctrine is of brotherly love and is so constructed that whenever mortal man can cast aside his greed for wealth, that he was taught under the competitive system, and settled down to help his fellowman redeem the land and people of the earth out of the hands and from under the oppression of the selfish, all will be well in a Savior's love for them and future generations.—Coming Events.

Take up a subscription in your branch and send for 100 copies of Merrie England.

The "Man Without a Soul" Visits His Old Home Old Friends Not Open to Socialism.

MAN SUPPORTING A FAMILY OF SEVEN ON SIXTEEN CENTS A DAY AND THINKS IT ALL RIGHT, BECAUSE THE POOR SHOULD NOT EXPECT TO ENJOY LUXURIES OF LIFE.

The other day I visited the old country voting precinct where I was born and raised. The people were glad to see me, but they seemed so different from what I had pictured them in my mind. They seemed so changed, yet perhaps the change was in me more than in them.

The old subjects we used to discuss and which they were still discussing had lost all their old-time interest to me. The world had grown wider to me, and I was now interested in the industrial and political affairs of men beyond this one voting precinct and this one state.

These old friends of mine had never heard anything of Co-operative Socialism, except the notices published in their county papers, and in these articles Socialism was painted in all the blood-red colors of midnight murder and house-burning, and they shuddered at the mere mention of the name. They were terrified when I told them that I was a Socialist, and looked on me with pity in their eyes—pity and silent terror.

They thought the present competitive system was all right. Age had given it a pious respectability, and the best politicians of the world thought it too good for improvement, and were willing to live under it and serve God, and only the lazy, worthless fellows who wanted the rich to divide up their property talked Socialism.

Then I became warm and told them that the rich had no property to divide—that the property which they claimed as their own individual wealth belonged to the world. I attempted to show them that no one man could create wealth without the co-operation of others, and that which all created, surely belonged to all, if justice was done.

They headed me off by saying that we couldn't all be rich, and that Christ had said two thousand years ago: "The poor ye shall always have with you."

Then I asked them how the poor were going to live if times did not grow better soon and the hours of labor were not reduced so that every man could find work and wages to live by. They replied that everybody who wanted work could easily find work to do. They all had work—all they could do—could work every day if they wished to.

I asked them how much they could earn, providing they worked every day, and one man answered—the only one of the number who really did work every day—that he received \$300 a year working on a farm.

"And board?" I asked. "No, I board myself."

"How many hours do you work each day?" I asked.

"That depends on the season," he replied. "Sometimes I don't work more than eight hours, and sometimes I get up at 4 o'clock and work till 8."

"Sixteen hours," I said. "That is 64 cents an hour. How much of a family have you got, William?"

"A wife and five children," he said. "Seven of a family—well that means less than a penny an hour for each, when you are putting in full time, and less than sixteen cents a day for each to live on—working days, I mean, and nothing for Sundays. Now, how much better is this than chattel slavery? Of all the luxuries and comforts and pleasures this world can afford to all, you and your family get but a bare and skimp living."

"The poor man has no business to expect luxuries," he answered doggedly.

"Why not?" I asked. "Now tell me why a poor man has not an equal right to all the comforts and blessings of this world with the rich man?"

"Because we can't all be rich," he replied.

"And is this an excuse why so many of us should be so miserably poor and a few so damnably rich?" I asked.

"God has willed it so," chipped in an old codger who had some money out on interest and was perfectly contented with present conditions.

"Has God willed that the poor man should starve?" I asked. "They need not starve at all. There are laws compelling each community to take care of its poor," he replied with much satisfaction.

"And has God willed that the poor must live on the charity of thieves?" I asked.

"Who do you call thieves?" he demanded angrily. "I call all those people thieves and robbers who have fenced in the world and fenced the poor out—"

"The poor are not fenced out, as I can see," he snapped.

"Wal, now, they're very near fenced out," interrupted an old man who had remained silent up to this time. "Do you see that little old black house down there?"

I looked down the way he pointed and saw an old frame, unpainted house

that was black with age, and nodded my head in the affirmative.

"Wal, the overseers of the poor have rented that house for over ten years, at two dollars a month—"

"To keep the poor in," I said.

"To keep the poor out!" he replied bitterly.

"Why, how is that?" I inquired. They all remained silent and shamed-faced, but the old man continued:

"The poor overseers are afraid some poor family might move into the old place (because it isn't fit for anybody but some poor, God-forsaken family), and sometime become a charge on the township."

Brothers of the Social Democracy, this is not a story drawn from my imagination, but a real, horrible truth. It is not a story of city life, but that empty house stands in sight of the old county store where I used to go to poll my vote every fall and the poor board is composed of men whom I have always called friends, and who have always professed to be Christians.

Oh, this beautiful competitive system is a dandy! It encourages the sweet spirit of Christianity and God-like charity. Oh, do not attempt to destroy this darling system, you bloody Socialists and long-haired Anarchists.

The poor are all right—they have the poor overseers to look after them and run them out of the community when there is danger of them asking for aid.

I ought to be proud of my old home, and of my old Christian friends. They are so wise and innocent and full of charity towards the poor; so willing to help the plundering rich to outrage the miserable poor.

Oh, it is sickening to go back there and see my old friends wallowing in such a slimy pool of industrial and political ignorance.

They believe it is God's will that they are cursed with poverty and rags, and imagine that they have a perfect right to heap more burdens upon the heads of the poor who are still more unfortunate than they are themselves.

My old home! A place where the poor are fenced out by the men appointed to look after them; a place where most of my friends are slaves, and are satisfied to remain so; a place where Christianity shows no signs of Christ, and where a man is despised for showing sympathy for the poor! And yet it is no worse than any other part of this "greatest country on earth."

My old home! My own country! Great God of truth and reason, am I to be blamed for the shame and humiliation I feel towards them? And who is to blame for the ignorance and brutality of the people?

A Suggestion for Christmas.

The time for making Christmas presents will soon be at hand, and the Socialist, as well as other mortals, will no doubt have to follow the usual custom. This being so, why should he not make use of the opportunity to kill two birds with one stone? Why not select Socialistic books for his gifts?

Why not a volume of Ruskin or Bellamy or Morris? The books of Ruskin are especially cheap at the present time, his "Crown of Wild Olive" and his "Sesame and Lilies" being gotten out in editions as low as fifteen cents in cloth binding. Another book that makes excellent reading for the person who has never realized the truths of Socialism is Howell's "Traveler from Altruria," which may be had in either paper cover or cloth, and which is a book fit for any library and very absorbing reading.

Another book of much the same sort is William Morris' "News from Nowhere." It is more correct from a Socialistic standpoint than Bellamy's "Looking Backward," and charms all who reads it. Donnelly's "Caesar's Column," while not Socialistic, is a good story to wake up sluggards and even some of Carlyle's books, Emerson's essays, and the like, will do missionary work in the way indicated. Morris' "Signs of Change," a collection of powerful Socialistic lectures, deserves a prominent place in this list, and beside there are the many Socialistic text-books, so to speak, like "Merry England," the "Co-operative Commonwealth," and so on. Instead of cudgeling his wits as to what to give this friend or that friend, let our Socialist act on the above suggestion and he will feel doubly repaid.

While on this subject, we may as well call attention to the fact that Scribner's Magazine comes the nearest of any of the popular monthlies to being Socialistic, and for this reason if you take any take the one most favorable to your cause. "The Workers," a serial now running in its pages, is a story of true experience that no Socialist should miss. The account of bonanza wheat farming in the November number is worth keeping for reference.

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NOTICE.

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

Order 100 Merrie Englands and spread the light.

The Socialists polled more votes in the ten states in which elections were held on Nov. 2 than they cast in all of the forty-five states a year ago. Not bad for a starter! But watch us next time!

Commentary letters concerning the last issue of the Social Democrat are coming into the office from all parts of the country. "It is a jewel," seems to be the general verdict. It is our desire to issue a paper of that kind—only much better—every week. We intend to make the Social Democrat an eight-page paper, and fill it with live and interesting educational matter. We want to cut out all commercial advertising and add many special features of extreme value to the student of social questions. In short, we intend to make the paper what it ought to be—a true representative of the rapidly growing Socialist movement in America. To do this we must have the aid of every member of the Social Democracy. Hustle in the subscriptions, comrades, and numbers like that of last week will soon become regular instead of "special" occurrences.

That "Expose."

The People, Socialist organ of this city, asks us for information. It is waging a crusade against the colonization schemes of the Debs' "Social Democracy," and in a so-called expose of the proposed colony in Tennessee tells of an East Tennessee land company, from which purchases of land have been, it is said, made by the Debs colonizers. It wants to know if this is the company organized by Prohibitionists. That is certainly the name of the company organized by Prohibitionists, of which Clinton B. Fisk was first president. But the attorneys of the company resident in this city, Russell, Winslow & Co., declare that no land has been sold to the Debs people nor have any negotiations whatever been entered into on the subject. We guess The People's expose needs exposing.—The "Voice," New York.

Mazzini, the dreamer of Italian unity, whose dream is not all fulfilled until the nation becomes "A brotherhood, living individually and socially by the fruits of its own labor, seeking to realize the greatest possible amount of general well-being without violating the sacred right of individual responsibility"—even Mazzini, tolling forty years to realize his life's dream, was guided by the three potent words: Association, Education, Action. These he impressed on those who would be his followers.

That trio of words comprises our marching orders, comrades of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The results of the People's party contesting with the Democrats is made very plain by the recent state elections. In Ohio, for example, their vote this fall was about 47,000 less than two years ago. It forcibly reminds us of the familiar doggerel: "There was a young lady in Neger, Who went out to ride on a tiger. They returned from the ride with the lady inside. And a smile on the face of the tiger." But never mind. A new giant has been born. The Social Democracy will have no consort.

Get up a club and send \$30.00 for 1,000 copies of Merrie England.

THE EDITOR'S ARENA

Gen. Miles says all the big treasury buildings of the country and all government buildings in the different cities should be fortified. Against whom? Why, against the people, of course. This great land of the free has so far progressed that the government elected by the people and the military that exists by sufferance of the people want to guard the peoples' buildings against the people. But Gen. Miles means a good deal more than he says.

What he really wants is strategic positions from which to rain a leaden hail into the ranks of strikers or mobs of the people. A New York paper has interviewed a number of military men about the matter, and some of their remarks made significant reading. Col. Austin, formerly of the Thirteenth regiment, said that a return to the turret system of the Feudal ages was unnecessary. He felt able, with a handful of determined men, to quell any riot that might spring up. "Only let us shoot," he said, "and I will see that any mob of ordinary force is put to flight in a jiffy," and then he added, "We do not want turrets, but we should have the authority to shoot whenever necessary to protect property, public or private." Gen. Daniel Sickles said that if Gen. Miles wanted to put turrets on the federal building in Chicago there was no doubtless some good reason for it. The great trouble in dealing with a mob, he added, was the reluctance of the militia officers to give the command to fire. All this sort of talk comes with considerable force to the person interested in the problem of social regeneration.

Such talk as that quoted above should surprise no one. It is all we have a right to expect under the capitalistic system. That system of necessity places property above human life. The capitalists have the common people in a hole and they mean to keep them there. No matter how just the cause of revolt, no matter how great the grievance of the strikers, private property must be protected; no matter how many heads of homes are taken off, no matter how much added anguish is turned into the bitter cup of the proletariat.

Under our present form of society, of course, private property is entitled to the protection of the government. The proletariat himself, when some trifle of property is stolen from him or ruthlessly injured by another, hastens to the police authorities for redress. When the big owner of wealth finds his private holdings menaced he does not hesitate to demand that the constituted authorities, whom he claims he pays his share of taxes to support, shall render him all possible protection. Under the present system both are undoubtedly right. The trouble is that under guise of protecting his property from injury the capitalist is able to call to his aid the forces of the government as an intimidation to the men who are striking against his tyranny. More than this, the forces of the government, ruled by the capitalistic class, come upon the scene as allies of the employer rather than the employe. They do not come in a spirit of neutrality, and we have no right to expect anything else while the present system of master and servant continues to exist.

While a majority of the proletariat continue to vote for parties that stand for the present system, we must endure these things, for we are bound hand and foot. Plutocracy is instinctively a unit; the proletariat are divided and scattered. Those of the proletariat who have waked up to the fact that things are bad, often mistake the real situation and stray into little by-paths marked off by so-called "reformers," who have set up some gaudy panacea either from the habit of superficial reasoning or because the opportunity is presented of self-exaltation as the founder of something new. The proletariat can become an effective unit only when it is able to present a solid front at the ballot box to vote against a system of society that Carlyle has likened to a basket of vipers, each struggling to get to the top. Relief will only come when the producers of society consciously demand the collective ownership of the means by which production is carried on, i. e., the machinery.

The following letter was recently received by the editor of the Leander Times of Leander, Texas:

J. H. Faubion, Leander, Texas, Nov. 1.—Dear Sir: You are requested to publish the following notice: "Any merchant doing business in Leander, Texas, who after publication of this notice forecloses any chattel mortgages made by farmers on stock of any kind, who has failed to make enough to pay and are willing to secure the unpaid balance due on such notes or accounts, as the case may be, we will surely burn you out of business, burn your dwellings, barns, and poison your cisterns and watering places. God gave the poor life, and we are going to protect those who are trying to do right and destroy those who oppress us. All editors are notified not to fight our cause. If you fail to publish this notice in the Leander Times we will burn you out of business, then prove we mean what we say."

The war with capitalism is evidently becoming a serious matter in Texas as elsewhere. We cannot commend the means adopted by this debt-ridden people to free themselves. There is a far better way, but they have not yet discovered it. They do know, however, that they have done their best and apparently believe that he who does his best has a right to live, however poor that "best" may be. They may not consider that the merchant may be crowded by the wholesaler and the wholesaler by the manufacturer and the manufacturer by the banker. They do know that if the merchant closes in on them that it will be equivalent to crowding them off the earth, and in their desperation they threaten with the torch the one who seems to them to be their enemy.

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Their enemy is not the merchant, nor the wholesaler, nor the manufacturer, nor even the banker, but rather the present industrial system, under which, through jugglery of the profit system, the earnings of the many are transferred to the pockets of the few. If these tillers of the soil would right their wrongs let them assist in the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth, under which debt slavery will be forever abolished and service will be the only coin current in the marts of trade.

"The Plaindealer" of Reno, Nevada, has been exchanging courtesies with the Cleveland Citizen regarding the relative wisdom and merits of Populism and unadulterated Socialism.

The editor of the former regards the Omaha platform as the "grandest embodiment of principles ever written by the hand of man." Mr. Hayes, editor of the latter, is an able advocate of Socialism.

In a recent article, The Plaindealer, replying to a challenge in The Citizen to "raise some reasonable objections to our faith," among other things says:

In every Socialist I see a fellow, equally earnest and honest with myself, and perhaps far more able, striving to attain the same purpose, and I do not know but he is right and I am wrong, as neither system has ever been tested by trial. I do not believe that Debs will make his Social Democracy a success, and still I believe that the grandest man who makes a footprint in American soil is Eugene V. Debs, and I cannot but wish he had undertaken the colonization of the whole world instead of establishing colonies in the several states. When I know that Debs as an educator is doing a thousand times more than I can possibly achieve, why should I try to point out what I might think defective in Social Democracy, especially when I hope in 1900, if I cannot vote for Mr. Debs for the presidency, to vote with him and you, too, Mr. Hayes, for the overthrow of that band of villains who are now in control, and who for the past twenty-five years have administered the affairs of our government?

What we feel like especially commending in this is its spirit of toleration. "He does not believe that Debs will make his Social Democracy a success," and yet he is broad enough to recognize the real worth, the true nobility of the man—an attitude that is entirely too rare nowadays toward reformers whose views do not exactly coincide with our own.

We think the Populists undertake too little; they think we undertake too much. We suppose that nothing but an objective demonstration will convince some of these doubting Thomases, but we will supply it.

A gentleman of long experience in the wholesale tobacco trade recently informed us that in 1885 there were in the United States twelve thousand five hundred traveling salesmen representing the various wholesale tobacco houses of this country, while at the present time, owing to the centralization of the business in the hands of the trust, the same work is done by two thousand men. In other words, the trust has dispensed with the services of ten thousand five hundred salesmen, each one's annual salary, including expenses, averaging at least \$2,400, amounting in the aggregate to \$25,200,000. One-half of this vast sum annually went to pay hotel bills, railroad fare and other necessary expenses of travel and the balance to keep the wolf from the door of ten thousand five hundred families. Consider in how many other lines of industry this same process has been doing its work and then wonder if you can why there are half a dozen men waiting for every position, why this great army of unemployed, why hotel proprietors wait for customers that come not, why people have no money to buy with, why trade languishes! Some one who has plenty of time and is good in mathematics will confer a great favor by figuring out just how many thousand years will be required under the same system that has wrought this transformation in our trade and industries to restore us to our old-time prosperity. Please don't all speak at once.

It is reported that Charles T. Yerkes, the generous, has acquired a controlling interest in the Chicago Inter Ocean. At last the people may find in that paper a worthy champion. But don't look for any sudden changes—Yerkes may live for many years.

The New York Sun is, and for months has been, owned and controlled by J. Pierpont Morgan, the agent of the house of Rothschild. No wonder the light that emanates from that luminary is of so yellow a hue!

Don't delay your orders for Merrie England. We have got the price down to the lowest notch, and cash must accompany all orders.

To American Men.

Men! Front of the foremost race! In this day's fight For truth and right Show you deserve your place!

Lead! Lead! You have led the world so long! O shall it be said When we are dead That we could not meet this wrong!

Shame! Shame! Never shall this be told! That American men Were slaves again To the power of a purse of gold!

Rise! Rise! As you rose against the King! As once the crown You trampled down, Throw down the Trust and Ring!

Learn! Learn! The truth is plain to see! While the few can take While the many make The country is not free!

Vote! Vote! The world will understand! You need not kill To work your will— The Ballot is in your hand!

Now! Now! Now and ever again! You have the power— You know the hour— O strong American men! —Charlotte Perkins Stetson.

PUCKERBRUSH ALLIANCE

Puckerbrush, Ohio, Last Saturday. Mr. Debs and all the rest of you:— Somebody has said that it is always the unexpected that happens, and it proved to be true at the last meetin' of Puckerbrush Alliance. Abe Wilkins dun it. Nobody thout it was in him, but he's a dandy, and will give sum of the fellers in this part of the country all they want to take care of—and then sum. He made Preacher Gard's eyes stick out like nuts on a scrub oak. When the meetin' to-k up Abe got up and sed: "My father was one of the old Abolitionists, and when I used to hear him tell about how his neighbors used to abuse him fur his ideas, my blud used to boil, and I was glad such measly mean people had most all passed over to the devil, cause there is where I thout they surely went, even if they was a good many preachers and church people among 'em. I have been findin' out lately that there is a new crop of the same narrower-minded cusses fillin' the road of progress. You see, since Sam Johnson and me openly agreed to vote the Socialist ticket at the last election, I'm jumped on by my friends fur makin' a damned fool of myself and becomin' a crank. I have been takin' the Chicago Weekly Inter Ocean for years, and in the last issue was the account of the people of Alton, Ill., dedicatin' a monument to Lovejoy."

"Who's he?" bellered out John Jones, the feller that I rote you was afraid us Socialists was goin' to make him whack up what his father left him. He only takes one paper, the county organ of his party, which is made up of boiler plates and sheriff's sales and he is dummer'n my coon dog.

Abe answered him by sayin': "The dedication of this monument recalls events which many of our younger people know very little about, and as the question has been ast, I will try to explain. Elijah P. Lovejoy was born at Alton, Maine, in 1802. After studying theology at Princeton College he was ordained a Presbyterian minister in 1833, and became editor of the St. Louis Observer, a religious paper. While not an Abolitionist, he rote favorable to anti-slavery agitation, which was then beginnin'. This greatly offended many of the citizens, and the feelin' agin him increased in bitterness, until finally the office of the paper was destroyed by a mob. He then moved his paper to Alton, Ill., but as soon as his press was brought there a mob broke it into fragments. The town reimbursed him, and another press was bought and destroyed by the mob. He bought a third press, but it met the same fate. By this time the question had become serious. A convention was held at Upper Alton by some of the noblest men of Illinois. It supported him and bought another press, which arrived November 7, 1837. At midnight a mob came from the neighboring drink shops and begun throwin' stones at the warehouse, to fire shots, and at last attempted to burn it. The roof bein' set on fire, Mr. Lovejoy and several others stepped out and were fired upon by the rioters. One of the bullets struck Mr. Lovejoy, who only lived long enough to return to the warehouse. That was sixty years ago, and now the town is dedicatin' a monument to him as a martyr. Every age has its martyrs. We are makin' sum rite now, and who do you think they be, Grover Cleveland, Bill McKinley or Mark Hanner? The men of the last generation who we now look on as martyrs were the men who fought against certain property rights. Against the right of one man to claim another man as his property. The fight which is now comin' on is the same thing in a little different shape. Socialists are fightin' certain property rights. The right of one man or set of men to claim absolute control of those instruments of modern production which place other men in a more cruel form of slavery than was chattel slavery. The slave owner drove his slaves to work with a whip, but the modern capitalist don't need no driver, he just lets the slaves' bellies do the drivin'. The capitalist as well as the slave is debased by this system the same as under the other. We are makin' the martyrs of to-morrow rite now, and judged by the past, they are the people who are bein' called all kinds of names and chucked into jail. I feel the spirit of my old Abolition father boilin' up since I have got interested in this question of capital. Seein' the great wrong and injustice of

private control of capital and the means of production fires one to fight to the end."

Then Preacher Gard spoke up and sed: "I thout we was to talk on the machinery question?" And Abe came back at him by sayin': "Yes, I have let myself run from the point, but you have got to face the matter on which I have been talkin', and the machinery question is one of the main things to bring on the crisis. I'll give you somethin' on the machine question, and from good Republikan authority, too. You know Judge Albion W. Tourgee, don't you?" "Of course I do," says Preacher Gard; "he is the man who McKinley sent as council to some place in France, and who has been a staff writer on the Inter Ocean." "Correct," says Abe, "and I have in my hand a clipping from the Inter Ocean of April 13, 1897, containing an article from the pen of Tourgee, in which he answers a friend in Iowa who has written him taking exceptions to his asserting that machinery has had anything to do with reducing the prices of farm products." Abe red the whole thing, but it's too long for me to give it all, so I will just give some of the main points:

"It is not the invention of new and improved methods which enhances production, but the general application of them. It is probably true that no new great improvement in the methods of agricultural production has been made since 1870; but the fact is indisputable that the number of those who use such improved methods has increased immensely—probably ten times, perhaps, all told, even a hundred-fold.

"It is this extended application of economic inventions which has produced the amazing crops which have filled the world's garner to overflowing, and resulted in an overproduction which is not local, but well-nigh universal. (His correspondent took the ground that there was no great improvement in agricultural machinery since 1870.)

"If, then, he will go a little farther and note the introduction and extended use of such machinery and improved methods of cultivation in other countries—France, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Austria-Hungary, and Prussia, for instance—he will begin to understand why the production of food products has increased in these countries nearly as fast as in ours; why the proportion of farm laborers has steadily decreased, with them as well as with us, and why the market for our products instead of increasing proportionately with the supply has in many cases fallen off, and in others has remained either stationary or but little increased."

"A curious proof of the universality of this tendency is found in the proportionate increase of the urban over the rural population in all civilized countries during recent years.

"In the United States about 46 per cent of the whole population was engaged in agricultural production in 1880. In 1890 the proportion of agricultural laborers to the whole population had been reduced to about 36 per cent. In other words, it had suffered a relative loss of almost 25 per cent in a single decade. In Great Britain, Germany and Austria-Hungary there has been similar disparity of relation between urban and rural population. What does this relative increase of the city dwellers and comparative decrease of the farm workers mean? Taken in connection with the constantly increasing amount of almost every staple produced, it simply means that a greatly reduced amount of agricultural labor is required to supply the world's need and furnish a surplus above its need never before equaled. It seems that overproduction has become a permanent condition."

"Now there is somethin' for you to fiver out by sum other rout than Socialism, if you can. I will own I can see no other way out, and if you can, there are many who will call you blessed. Those who do not understand what Socialism is."

I was going to say some remarks, but the president cut me out, and sed it was time to close the meetin', but I will have my say sum time.

On the way home Miss Smart, the school teacher, said that Abe Wilkins was goin' to be a big help to us, and if we did not make this township more trouble to the wire-pullers than all the balance of the county it would be because we had furgot what we started out fur, and I think so neither. Some of 'em are gettin' awful ugly already. There is a chance for to say lots on what Abe red, and if we don't get a chance in the meetin' we will outside, and I will try to keep you posted.

Yours to the end, Jonas Harrison.

Proportional Representation No. 11.

The recent gigantic majority contest in Greater New York affords so pregnant an object lesson of the need for electoral reform that it is fitting to deal with it now in this series as illustrating a phase of the proportional representation idea. In former articles I have dealt only with the election of several members, and the distinction between the election of several members and the election of a single officer, such as a mayor, should be clearly realized. In the former case, the object is to represent all the voters, as nearly as you can come to it. In the second case, the only requisite is that the man elected should have a clear majority of the votes cast, and should not be elected by a minority.

Judge Van Wyck was elected mayor of New York by a minority of the voters. Taking round figures, he received something under fifty thousand votes less than the combined vote of Tracy, Low and George, Jr.

Surely no one will dispute that when a mayor is elected by a city, he ought to be in every case the choice of a clear majority. This principle is recognized in political conventions by the taking of several ballots until a clear majority is got. But it is not practicable to take more than one ballot in a majority election, and the plan is a poor one anyway.

Is modern inventive genius so feeble that a simple plan cannot be devised to ensure a majority with but one balloting? Of course not. Such a plan has been devised, tested, and proved successful. It is only the narrow views of the "practical" politician that delays its adoption. It must come when it becomes sufficiently well known. A description of the plan follows:

Each voter marks his ballot for all the candidates in the order of his choice. Take the case of a Republican, who was a strong party man, but wanted Henry George to be elected because of his strong views on public ownership of monopolies. This voter rather disliked Seth Low as a sort of party renegade, but he hated Tammany. He would mark his ballot thus:

- Henry George1 Seth Low3 General Tracy2 Judge VanWyck4

The names are in alphabetical order, and the figures indicate the voter's choice, namely, George first, Tracy second, Low third and Tammany fourth. A ballot is spoiled unless the voter marks at least three out of the four names. The voters must be told this distinctly before they vote.

At the close of the poll the votes are sorted out according to the "number one" votes for each candidate. Then the candidate who has the smallest number of these first choice votes is declared "out," and his votes are distributed amongst the other three, according to the marking of the ballots. Then the lowest of these three remaining candidates is declared "out," and his ballots are similarly transferred. Then whichever of the remaining two is found to have the greatest number of votes, transferred or original, is declared elected.

Besides giving a clear majority in every case, this plan promotes the freer and fuller choice of candidates, because you get just as satisfactory an election with two candidates as with half a dozen.

Unless himself elected, no man can spoil the chance of a friend by splitting his vote. Therefore a man is willing to be a candidate by way of seeing what he can do, and his friends will vote for him in the same way, knowing that they will have a chance at a stronger candidate if their favorite proves to be very weak in popular favor.

1. Distribute the ballot papers amongst the voters, with instructions that all the candidates are to be written or marked in order of the voter's choice, or the ballot will be spoiled; except when one name only is omitted. In that case the omitted name will be understood as being the man most objected to by the voter. Collect the ballots when all are marked.

2. Sort out the ballots into four piles, according to the number one or first choice votes, paying no attention to the other figures; call out the name on each ballot as you do so. Whilst this is being done, two tally clerks are keeping tally of the number of votes for each candidate. Reject spoiled ballots in accordance with paragraph 1.

The tally clerks name the candidate who has the smallest number of first choice votes (the only votes that so far have been counted). The scrutineer then dictates that candidate out, and distributes the whole of his ballots among the remaining candidates, according to the second choice on the ballots.

For instance, if Henry George were at the bottom of the poll of this first count, the illustrative ballot given above would be transferred to General Tracy, because Tracy is second choice upon it. That would count General Tracy one vote meanwhile.

4. Three candidates are now left on the board. The lowest of these is declared out, and his votes are transferred to the remaining two candidates, in the way already described. If, for instance, General Tracy was declared out, then the ballot above would be put on Seth Low's file, and would count one vote for Seth Low, so far, because Seth Low is third choice on the ballot, and both number one and number two are out and cannot be elected.

5. Only two candidates are now left, and the one found to have the greatest number of votes is declared to be elected. By means of the transfers he has a clear majority of the vote cast.

6. Ties can be disposed of by excluding the candidate having the least number of first choice votes; or, first choice votes being equal, by excluding the one having least second choice votes, and so on. Or, cast lots.

7. These directions relate specifically to an election with four candidates; but they will at once suggest the method to be pursued when three or five or more candidates are running.

345 FREE EXAMINATION of all our watches, and you can refuse to accept and return them at our expense if not equal in every respect to what we claim them to be. The watches other houses in the world can sell as cheaply as we can. The case of watch advertised, today is beautifully engraved, heavily 14 K. gold plated, finishing, stem wind standard. Will last a lifetime. Guaranteed in case of the best made and fully guaranteed, and the watch looks like a General's watch. Sold by Field, Wadsworth & Co. We send it by Express, C.O.D. to anyone, and if satisfactory, you pay agent \$6.00 and express charges, otherwise return it. If money is sent with order we pay shipping in price and our stock, may not change. Write whether you're a lady's. Order today, as watches are advancing in price and our stock, may not last long. ROYAL WATCH CO., 224 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

FROM OUR CONTRIBUTORS

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

Capitalism Versus Socialism.

Innovations which, like Socialism, assume a universal and evolutionary aspect, can not be made; they are purely spontaneous, and therefore can not be suppressed.

The more deep-rooted the first causes of such innovations are the stronger must the effects of such causes make themselves perceptible to the average mind.

The poor, the rich, the Socialist and the capitalist are alike products of the same circumstances; their interests as classes are in hostile opposition.

A Pathetic Letter.

Baltimore, Nov. 15, 1897. Dear Editor:—I am writing this to show you that even a fourteen-year-old girl like myself can appreciate the value of the Social Democratic idea to its fullest extent.

Although I can give no vote, I work in a factory, which is the case with about three-fifths of the girls of my age, while the rest are rolling in wealth and surrounded by luxuries.

I only finished seven grades of grammar school, although I have a thirst for knowledge, when necessity compelled me to leave school in order to earn something. Therefore I fully agree with Socialists.

A GIRL SOCIALIST.

Bible Teaching Up To Date.

"Ye, and why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right." Instead of following this sage advice of Jesus the Socialist, we, as a nation the richest in the world, with opportunities far surpassing any other in ancient or modern times, allow ourselves to be governed by nine individuals—we go through the farce of electing 365 men to represent the wishes of and to make the laws for 70,000,000; this appears not to be absurd enough, so eighty-eight senators are elected to confirm or veto the decisions of the 365; and yet the climax of absurdity is only reached by allowing the nine members of the Supreme Court (or five of them) to abrogate the laws passed by the eighty-eight (the income tax, to-wit).

The supreme point of wickedness and absurdity is thus reached, for if the money power fails to elect a majority of the 365 representatives, they have another chance over the election of the eighty-eight senators, and, failing in this, the money power is quite certain of its position, because it puts its men into the Supreme Court, without any reference whatever to the remaining 69,999,999 odd inhabitants of the United States!!!

Labor, which is the only part of a nation, that deserves a moment's consideration, certainly has the power and ability to judge what is right with regard to the wealth that it alone has created; surely it will occur to all who think ever so feebly that the creator has the right to enjoy what he has created.

The Social Democracy invites all who thus judge to co-operate and devise means that will carry this judgment into practical operation. We are quite willing to allow those who like to be robbed to still continue their journey down the Jericho road, but we are determined to take the straight, even if narrow, way that leads to the ideal state, the ascent of the governed—perfect liberty.

Jesus, the gentle Socialist, was only once, according to the records, so incensed that "he made a scourge of small cords," with which he whipped the money monopolists; they were the

chief curse in His time, before His time and ever since; the leaders of the Social Democracy fully realize this, and have decided that a righteous tool of exchange shall be the currency in their colonies, and thus we will whip the money monopolists by monetizing all the productions of labor. This, and this only, will insure perfect liberty.

Each election furnishes illustrations that the ballot-box-trap effectually fools labor, or why are there no labor representatives or labor senators? California just now is degraded by the release of Sternberg from the state prison, where he was consigned for frauds by which Mahoney was sent to the state senate!

The Social Democracy's indorsement of the righteous currency methods of the labor exchange will ensure to each member the full opportunity for self-government; thus all political action will be simple waste of thought, time and energy, because it will be unnecessary; if political action were dropped by the Social Democracy they would only drop the shadow, and enable them to take a still firmer grip on the substance, for this step would lead all true labor exchanges, as well as our esteemed friends, the philosophic Anarchists, to unite with us, and thus considerably accelerate this grand upward movement.

J. ALFRED KINGHORN-JONES. San Francisco.

Socialism and Christianity.

Socialism is applied Christianity. All the fundamental principles of Socialism were enunciated by the founders of the Christian religion centuries ago.

The first Christian church in Jerusalem attempted in a vague way to reduce the Socialistic teachings of Jesus to practice as regards property, but made a mistake, owing to their belief in the near end of the world, in not adopting some practical plan of production. Every true Socialist is a propagator of Christianity.

Socialism has been dissociated from Christianity in the thoughts of the people because the principles and aims of both have not been understood.

Owing to the fact that modern Christianity is a badly distorted affair many Socialists have not understood that their principles were in harmony with those of Jesus.

It will be found impossible to establish or maintain a Socialistic state of society without essential Christianity.

The brute force of other forms of government may be able to hold society together by coercion.

It cannot be so with the Social Democracy. It must then be the power of mutual attraction and cohesion.

There must be faith in the higher destiny of man. There must be mutual affection. Men must do each other no wrong. Men must be helpful and merciful. All this is Christianity—the very essence of what Jesus taught and insisted should be adopted.

The moment these principles are neglected that moment Socialistic society will begin to go to pieces. Nothing but the religion of Jesus as a governing principle in the life will hold it together.

Therefore the propagation of true Christianity is in the interests of Socialism and conversely the propagation of Socialism is in the interests of Christianity.

Christianity has not halted in its progress in this world, but it is retarded by existing conditions. Social organization as at present existing is against it. Christianity never will progress as it should until these restraining conditions are removed, therefore he who would see the kingdom of God extended among men should advocate Socialism.

Every Christian should be a Socialist and every minister of the gospel a propagator of Socialism.

Socialism is applied Christianity and Christianity is essentially Socialistic.

F. M. Cummings. Marlboro, Ohio.

Editor Social Democrat:

If Comrade Moellering would centre his attention on the single tax itself and not on the competitive ideals of a misguided portion of its advocates, he would probably arrive at a different conclusion from that of his communication of November 11, in which he declares that Socialism and the single tax are fundamentally antagonistic.

The single tax may be briefly and fully defined as an exclusive tax on land values. Among the chief immediate results of its application would be the following:

- 1. Abolition of all taxes on the material products of labor.
2. Socialization of land values through the public appropriation of rent by taxation.
3. Socialization of land as a necessary consequence of the socialization of land values.

In what way are these results antagonistic to Socialism? Would there be taxation on the material products of labor under Socialism? No; for all production would go to labor. Is Socialism opposed to the socialization of land values, that is, to their public ownership, and is it against the public ownership of land itself? Most decidedly not. These results of the single tax are fundamental and they are Socialistic. They are in harmony with collective co-operation, and can be against it only when yoked by force to a competitive system, just as the refer-

endum would be under our present system, as is proved by the recent elections. Link the single tax to co-operation and it is Socialistic; link it to competition and it is but a palliative.

The true Socialistic policy is not to oppose the single tax, because a lover of competition like Louis F. Post favors it, or because it might be put to a bad use. Many good things are favored by mistaken philosophers and directed against the common welfare. Railroads are essentially good things and yet they have been used in competition and have helped to build up monopolies. Must we therefore reject railroads? No; and for the plain reason that under Socialistic control railroads would be one of the most powerful agents to bring about and afterwards carry on collective co-operation. The same is true of the single tax. At one stroke it would make land common property without compensation to landlords and in an easy, legal, peaceful manner. It would provide a magnificent revenue that would enable Socialist administrations to purchase or construct railroads, telegraphs, telephones, stores, mills and factories and at the same time lessen their cost, since land would have no selling value, and products freed from taxation would be cheaper.

Under the Co-operative Commonwealth free individualist production could be allowed, with entire safety, if the single tax were in operation and levied on the land used in such production. Of course the land used in public production would be untaxed. This would be such an advantage to collective co-operation that competition therewith would speedily die and never have a resurrection. Thus the single tax would enable us to advocate the free Co-operative Commonwealth. Such advocacy would help materially, for it would knock the main prop from those who denounce Socialism as opposed to liberty.

We need to decrease, not to increase, the number of our enemies. Of single taxers there are many thousands in this country. They probably equal the number of Socialists. They are keen debaters, good writers, liberal givers and excellent propagandists. The majority of them agree with us in regard to the initiative, referendum, imperative mandate, proportional representation, public ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, street railways, water works and gas works. Let us not drive them into the individualist camp by our intolerance. They belong logically, and by reason of their deep and sincere sympathy with the despoiled workers, in our camp. Let us examine the single tax, then, in a scientific spirit, without passion or prejudice, going from its definition to its plain results. If we do this I feel confident that we will see that the single tax is Socialistic in its nature and should be made a plank in the Socialistic platform.

J. C. Frost. Philadelphia.

Mr. Editor:—I wish to say a few words about our miserable conditions. It is well known that millions are out of work and cannot be effective consumers, while most of those who are employed do not earn enough to enable them to perceptibly reduce "overproduction."

Merchants and bankers fail; manufacturers shut down; millions of dollars are lost to the people and accumulate in a few hands, the rich thus becoming richer and fewer in number, while the poor are increasing by millions. Our new inventions throw thousands out of employment and place life in danger. Is it not time to open our eyes?

Great Bourgeois Czar! Where have you put your middle class? Would-be aristocrats are compelled to take middle ranks, and the possibility is great that they will even have to step down lower and enter the ranks of the proletariat.

Comrades, have patience with our opponents, be they rich or poor, as events are bound to force them into Socialism in time, and our final success is certain. I am only an elementary scholar, not much acquainted with the English language, but take my advice; read and circulate Socialistic papers and books.

Until machinery, mines, railroads, etc., are put under public control we can never enjoy the blessings of prosperity and freedom which Socialism demands.

Socialism is the spirit of Christianity, and is the only remedy to again bring prosperity to the masses of our beloved country, as well as to the rest of the world. Comrade Debs and those who are working with him have my hearty sympathy and support, and I only pray for strength to work, in order that I may be more usefully employed.

Chicago will have at least 200,000 unemployed this winter, and no hope for decreasing this army of the unemployed is to be found in any other direction than Socialism.

C. G. SCHLICKENMAIER, Chicago, Ills.

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

There are two great truths in economic science which should be well understood by every workingman and woman. The first truth is this: Labor creates all wealth. The other great truth is even more simple and follows as a natural deduction from or corollary of the first. It is this: All wealth belongs to those who produce it.—Industrial Advocate.

COLONIZATION DEPARTMENT

CYRUS FIELD WILLARD, SECRETARY

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

Report of Receipts.

Table with 2 columns: Name, Amount. Includes entries for Illinois Branch No. 11, Illinois Branch No. 12, California Branch No. 1, Ohio Branch No. 5, North Dakota Branch No. 1, and various individuals like Robert Trainer, W. J. Deegan, John A. Kennedy, etc.

Total \$1,065.52 W. P. BORLAND, Treasurer.

We hope soon to announce the selection of a site and the establishment of a colony in either Washington or Idaho. Comrades Hinton and Willard are now in the Western country, and we had hoped to tell our readers of their arrival in Washington in this issue, but they have been delayed on their route longer than was expected when they left Chicago, and news of their arrival in Washington has not yet been received.

We are constantly receiving responses to the "One of a Thousand" proposition, and there seems good prospect that we shall be able to utilize this fund before March 1, but the immediate need of the commission for money is pressing, and those who are anxious to see this work pushed forward should put their shoulders to the wheel.

To Collectors.

Collectors should make an effort to get persons interested in the "One of a Thousand" proposition, and do their best to secure signatures to the agreement. Comrade Hall, collector of Missouri Branch No. 1, has sent for a number of these agreements, and expects to get them all signed. His example should be followed by others.

Labor Checks.

Labor checks issued by your first colony will, from the start, have the land at the back of them. Until you get the land confidence in Debs and his associates will be sufficient backing for all who earnestly wish to push forward this grand movement.

Those desiring the Co-operative Commonwealth are, as a rule, uncomfortably poor and cannot possibly spare any of the legal tender they manage to get hold of and yet live; but if they could spend a portion of the legal currency to help the colonies and receive in return "labor checks" which would pass current in their vicinity among other Social Democrats and labor exchanges for the ordinary needs of living and exchanging labor, hundreds of thousands would be willing to send you monthly or weekly amounts, and thus the circulating medium could be considerably increased.

You might limit the amount of "checks" thus issued by each colony, and, further, let them bear a date, before which they would not be redeemable by products of the colony, but would always be available for admitting members to the benefits of the colony. I think some of your managers can easily work out some such plan, and thus end your difficulties with regard to the legal tender cash you require.

There is no logical reason why a colony should not thus be started in each state, but every logical reason that there should be one in each state. Two powerful arguments for this step are the labor checks thus put in circulation would be near the basis of ultimate redemption, and the pilgrimage would not be so long, tedious and costly for those wishing to be active members, for our citizens will not, as a rule, be able to command much more in the way of locomotion than two strong legs. Pullman car passes will not be common with our friends.

The advice, "to go slow," is usually nothing but a wet rag given by some invertebrate animal suffering from indigestion, both of body and brain. We know we are right, and will go ahead as fast as we can to get out of the present intolerable hell.

For the sake of God, the all good, let us have a committee at once for each state, and eligible land will be offered us for "labor checks."

J. ALFRED KINGHORN-JONES. San Francisco.

A Good Plan.

Comrades: On receiving the daily fund contribution box from the commission, I thought it would be wise to suggest the plan that I have adopted in seeking funds for the colonization work.

Let every member who is interested in bringing about a colony do as I have done within two days after receiving the box. I have asked every wage worker whom I met and knew to contribute one penny, or more if they so desire, toward the colonization fund.

Now, then, if every member will take an active part we shall get the funds necessary for the commission to establish the colony.

Member of the Party.

Mr. Editor:—What is necessary to make a colony a success? First, the basis must be genuine Socialistic; second, the financial backing must be such that it can be relied upon. To accomplish that an organization must be formed which will collectively own and control the means of production, distribution and exchange. The organization must furnish the land, the machinery, the tools and raw material, and also, in the beginning, food, shelter, fuel and clothing where necessary.

When all the constant capital is supplied and paid for then apply labor to it and bring life into it.

This labor is to be recruited out of the members of the organization. They will be given the full use and benefit of said capital. They are to work according to ability and receive according to needs.

Whenever the colony is self-supporting then start another one, next to it if possible. The colonists to have the full management of said capital, the right to use it, but no right to exchange it. The organization is the capitalist; the laborer becomes a functionary, who has the right to quit any time he should be dissatisfied, and another man is put in his place. He will stand in the same relation as a wage-worker to his employer, with the difference that he receives the full equivalent of his labor, instead of only part of his product.

The organization should, if possible, be incorporated, so the government would be compelled to recognize the property rights of the association.

Now the funds! All members will be admitted free, but have to pay a monthly due of 25c, 50c or a dollar;

50 cents will be the best, and this money is to be used for no other purpose but to purchase the means of production, distribution and exchange.

This seems a small amount (50 cents), but let us see what the mite of working men and women amounts to. My own union spends in one year \$89,000, and it is one of the smallest trades unions, and all the years that I have been a member we paid dues, and all we have to show is a demoralized condition of the trade, thanks to capitalism and ignorance of our leaders.

Why should not we be able to build an organization of, say, ten thousand members at least, which will give us \$5,000 a month to build up the colony?

If parties are willing to donate more they are welcome, but we want to know how much we can reckon on, and thereby avoid financial embarrassment.

Although this is not a full explanation, it is enough to let every reader ponder over.

For to build a colony it takes money, and it takes money to back it as well, and as we spend our money in a thousand unnecessary ways, let us invest it in building up a home which shall be secure and at the same time enable the proletariat to join. For the object is not to build a labor caste, but to free as many as possible from the profit system. I would like to see the working class free themselves by their own exertion, although if a philanthropist is willing to help along it shall be gladly received, but it is our duty not to depend on accidents. I hope that the colonization movement will succeed, and therefore beg the members of Social Democracy to push it along vigorously. A WORKINGMAN.

Treasurer Colonization Commission:—

Dear Sir: The contribution box idea is a good one. Its success, though, will be lessened somewhat by the forgetfulness of the contributors and their disinclination to mail you small sums. Quite often the contributors will forget the duty of forwarding contents on the 15th of each month.

I have a plan to obviate these two difficulties, which I submit for your consideration. It is that each collector be given a number of these boxes. He is to place them with all the friends of colonization he can reach. On or before the 15th of each month he should go to the residences of the contributors and collect the contents of the boxes, giving receipts for the same and forwarding the total to you. This plan, if carried out persistently, would, I believe, add enormously to the receipts from the boxes. Branch No. 1 favors trying it and has instructed me to ask you to send fifty boxes. Fraternally,

J. C. Frost, 608 Wood Street, Philadelphia.

Mr. Editor:—Why would it not be well for those now at the colony to secure positions for teachers, farm hands, mill hands, etc., and then let those who fill these positions turn over their salaries to the common fund? In our "Minnesota Ruskin" we planned for four or five teachers to live in the colony, turn over all wages to the treasurer and live as did the other members. Eight months of every country school should bring \$300 and leave mornings and evenings and also the long summer vacation for farm or mill work. I will do this, and, no doubt, there are others. Let those now on the ground look after the securing of schools, etc., so that the newcomers can go to work at once. Personally, I have taken two years post graduate work, one at Yale university, and have taught in public and graded schools, and in academies and colleges. A few teachers at \$300 to \$800 a year will be quite a lift. W. H. KAUFMAN.

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SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

A RECORD OF THE WEEK'S PROPAGANDA AND PROGRESS.

Some Interesting Facts About The Movement From Various Parts of The United States.

Cheering reports of the movement in the East continue to roll into headquarters. The Massachusetts comrades are organizing at a tremendous rate and have taken steps to form a state union.

On November 17 a meeting was held at 174 Canal street, Boston, which resulted in the formation of a strong branch of Hebrew-speaking Socialists.

In his report of the meeting, Comrade Levy says of the speaker: "His arguments for the affirmative were clear and indisputable. Many questions were asked by members of the S. L. P., to which most satisfactory answers were given.

Comrade Debs is now at his home in Terre Haute, recuperating his energy after the immense strain of the Eastern trip. His trip wound up with an immense meeting in Cleveland, after which he had the misfortune to become drenched in a driving rain storm and contracted a severe cold, which compels him to remain quiet for a time.

In addition to the Boston branch branches have been formed at Exeter, N. H., and Wilkesbarre, Pa., since our last issue. Also, two Chicago branches are reported—one a new branch and one a reorganization of Branch No. 6.

Our St. Louis comrades are to give a grand demonstration and festival on the evening of December 5. This meeting will be under the auspices of the united branches of the Social Democracy in St. Louis, and it promises to be a grand success in every way.

Our Kansas comrades are rapidly swinging into line in response to the efficient work of Organizer Clemens. The Topeka Capitol of Nov. 7 gives Comrade Clemens over a column of space on its first page, in which the iniquities of the present system are shown up in glaring light and the truths of Social Democracy well presented.

Comrade Uzel writes very encouragingly from Evansville. The Evansville comrades officially endorsed Comrade Debs' open letter to the members of the Social Democracy of America as to their political course in the recent elections.

Boston, Nov. 15, 1897.

The splendid work done in our state by Comrade E. V. Debs prepared a field for organizing branches in all important cities in our state. We have already seven organized branches and four are ready to fall in line.

Send your approval at once! Find out details from organizer of Boston Branch No. 1 of Massachusetts.

Whereas, Resolutions have been adopted by Cigarmakers' Union, No. 97, and indorsed by the Central Labor Union of Boston, Mass., protesting against the recognition by members of the S. L. P. of scab printing offices,

Resolved, That we, Branch No. 1 of the Social Democracy of America, as Socialists, disclaim any responsibility for this treatment of organized labor and protest against the inference therefrom that all Socialists countenance such tactics.

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Executive Board, Branch No. 1 of Mass.

Editor Social Democrat:

Dear Sir: Locals 5 and 7 of Brooklyn held two rousing meetings Wednesday evening, November 10—one at Schelllem's Hall, East New York, the other at Winter's Hall, Williamsburg.

He made an address lasting two hours to a large and appreciative audience. The good points in his address were marked by frequent applause. He was followed by Comrades Frank and Baroness of City Central committee.

Push our new edition of Merrie England. It will make Socialists.

The Social Democrat SUBSCRIPTION BLANK TO THE PUBLISHER, 504 Trude Bldg., Chicago: Find enclosed \$ for which send THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT for months To Full P. O. Address RATE: Twelve Months, \$1.00; Six Months, 50c; Three Months, 25c. CUT THIS OUT AND SEND TO THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT.

MEETINGS OF LOCAL BRANCHES [Notices of meetings will be published under this head for 25c per month.] Branch No. 1 of Illinois meets every Sunday, 2:30 p. m., at 185 East Madison street.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF 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.

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

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