good will toward men

On earth peace,

The Social Democrat

On earth peace, good will toward men

Vol. IV.

CHICAGO, ILL., THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1897.

No. 19.

A Labor Day is Coming

A Labor Day is coming, when a workingma

As free, as independent as any in the land. When he shall be rewarded for his work of brain and hand The right is marching on

A Labor Day is coming don't you hear the grand

Sweeping round the country, from the Golder Gate to Maine,

That workingmen are free, and have sundered every chain

The right is marching on.

A Labor Day is coming, when Truth shall have full sway;

When justice, full enthroned, like the noontide god of day,

Shall set no more, forever-for its coming le

The right is marching on.

A Labor Day is coming, when our starry flag

Above a land whose famine no longer digs grave; When money is not master, and a

The right is marching on.

-J. B. MAYNARD.

A LITTLE SERMON

Delivered to the Social Democrat Reade by Richard J. Hinton.

him that hath shall be given."
will deny that the age of materialism has its apotheosis in a jurisprudence which places property above

The world's history is reeking with the reckless worship of things made. golden calf destroyed the power

The Rabbis set up their Talmud and Prophets and Psalms were as naught Buddha taught men and women "to lead a virtuous life of love, righteousness, charity and truth for their emancipation from suffering and misery, and is forgotten in the whirr of the Lamian prayer-wheel.

The Christ who declared that "the oor ye have always with you," and led the Mediterranean world out of the brutality of that Hellenism which made the heads of the family the sons of God and denied all but inferiority to the others into a spiritualizing democ racy which found voice in the declara-tion that men are "children of one Father," is buried under the piled-up sneers of mammon worshipers. The prophet of the golden rule and the sacrificial Calvary—the emancipator of labor and the inspirer of equal com munity and brotherhood-became in name the supporter of the Byzantine emperor. The holiness of sacrifice was made the foundation of the state church, the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the sacerdotal infamies which for many centuries reddened Europe with flame and blood, until it filled life with horrors, making the artistic imagination therein so vivid, that a modern man once expressed and epitomized it after weeks of sight-seeing in the great art galleries of Italy by the remark: "What a frightful world it must have been. I have seen nothing but rapes crucifixions and the gambols of wantons, I am tired of it all, let's go.'

The coarse materialism of power, infecting institutions, bends all service to its blatant will. Let us see to it then, that what man makes shall serve man not master and oppress him. Propis the product of law, and law was designed, however rudely, for righteousness. Property as power to tures righteousness into oppression.

One-third of a million workers in darkness and misery digs the coal that makes the steam, sets wheels turning and warms the dwellings of those who can pay for it. Those who dig a material resource from the bosom of mother earth shiver in the cold and live in squalid misery while toil is made bestial to them. They see their loved ones in degraded conditions and find only suffering and despair in the wondrous ways of life and living. And the law oppresses when they murmur. The constable and the cannon that labor pays for and forges is used to defeat and subdue

These are the excrescences of systems; the sewerage of institutions. But the earth may be drained. Destruction wins no conquest over them. The streets may be cleaned. Blind force only breeds other bacteria to create new oppression and eat out of human ity the burning veins with the bloodthirst of would be Napoleons. Construction is our need as well as our our forebears did. Let us build our knowledge into action. What man kind knows should become the Providence of the race. Invention must be our handmaid, not our mistress of progress as it is the slave of irresponsible power. All things are open to those who have entered the school The gates of the laboratory; the mines of the earth; the waters thereof and the fertility of its breasts are all at their command. Darwin's and Huxley's observations show

The annual observance of Labor Day is an occasion for rejoicing. Of rejoicing that the young giant Labor is awakening to the full sense of his power and importance, that he begins to appreciate the strength which he could, ifhe wished, put forth.

Thoughts for Labor Day.

It is a cause for rejoicing when he considers the improvement in his social condition, an improvement which he has wrested from the exploiters, the corporated robbers of toil, the trusts and money kings.

It is a cause for rejoicing that the social conditions are being made the subject of thought and study by working men and women throughout the broad land, that they are learning to do their own thinking.

It is a day to be observed by the masses in honor of

Trades Unionism, the strongest weapon ever wielded by Labor since the decline of the medieval craftsmen's guilds. But while Labor's sons rejoice and congratulate them-

selves on what has been accomplished within the past two or three decades, the recollection of which gives them cause to "thank God and take courage," they have need to press forward and onward to a condition of which the present is The Social Democracy offers to all who will enlist under

its banners and join its organization economic freedom, an entire change of conditions for the better, the essentials of which, as regards the workingman, are t

REDUCTION OF THE HOURS OF LABOR IN PROPORTION TO THE PROGRESS OF PRODUCTION.

It believes that no man should be asked to "toil from sun to sun," but that leisure for recreation and study is as much his natural and moral right as it is that of the million-The man whose entire life is a toiling one is, whether he knows it and feels it or not, merely a slave. The Social Democracy also demands the inauguration

of a system of public works and improvements FOR THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE UNEMPLOYED. By this plan all who wish to work can do so and the struggle will be made easier for all.

Until these changes are effected, until Labor becomes the superior of capital instead of as at present its inferior, the rejoicing of Labor Day will be mixed with regrets.

Workingmen of America, "Come with us and we will Our interests are your welfare, our hopes are centered

CO-OPERATIVE in your freedom, our highest reward will come when you arise to claim your God-given birthright, that of being free! COMMONWE

land, by which in the marvelous chemistry of cosmic motion, has come the bread of the people.

AMERICA

Let us use the worm-dust of our past the brotherhood of man. It is a promaking prosperity thereby.

sight or smell. It is terrific in mo-tion; hideous in appearance. Yet the the upbuilding of others. mud cools. The winds blow. The sun

how the movement of uncountable made. The grain is golden and the worms made the fertile soils of Eng- purple grapes cluster and bloom be-

neath the sun rays. Shall we always permit the toil of the peasant to become the property of the plutocrat? Shall we serve always be made. to make the star-worlds of our future, as the bayonet-bearers for the en-Let us take the waste fertility and by placed brigands of the State? There organized industry create from unrelis no reason for either. We are the claimed wilds the living evidences of State, and if we will but act together for the commonwealth, the deeds and ess, perhaps, as unrelenting as that power of the exploiters will fade as which turns the worms of the world the growing grain does in the flery into smiling fields, building homes and breath of a Sirocco. Let us co-operate then for justice, for self-preservation; The mud volcano is not lovely to for the protection of all, so that each

We do not need to submit to op

Let us construct, not destroy; let us use, not overthrow; let us build up, not tear down. All that has been is ours. The human race needs for its steadfast emancipation all the wealth that can

Let us make a commonwealth indeed, so that all who make the wealth shall control in equity all the wealth they make. Let us co-operate and build a true

Democracy; the Democracy of righteousness, not robbery. This is the lesson alike of the coal mine and of Cuba; of Canovas and of Galli.

Let us co-operate. "Unto him that hath shall be given," and we have it all, if we only so will it and stand, "each for all and all for each."

A Man Must Live.

deau by Charlotte Perkins Stetso (Written for the Social Democrat.) A man must live. We justify
Low shift and trick to treason high,
A little vote for a little gold
For a whole senate bought and so
By this self-evident reply.

But is it so? Pray tell me why Life at such cost you have to buy? In what religion were you told A man must live?

There are times when a man must die, Imagine, for a battle cry,
From soldiers, with a sword to hold—
From soldiers with the flag unrolled;
This coward's whine, this liar's lie—
A man must live!

When in any country there are un-cultivated lands and unemployed poor, shines. The birds drop the seeds as pression; we are not compelled to they fly; and lo! the wild flowers bloom and the lush grasses shed their verdure over the black scoriae. Then the husbandman comes. Fields all

The "anarchist" whom we need to fear in these days is the man who tramples under foot the rights of his ellowmen, who by the power of wealth forces his will upon the people in spite of their protecting helplessness. Such a man, be he ever so high in church or state or scclety, is to be feared and dreaded and restrained. Such men and the ideas which they embody have been the primary cause of the downfall of the great nations of the past.-Chicago

Every man ought to stand in priworld, ought to do it himself, and not suffer the accident of his having a purse in his pocket, or his having been bred to some dishonorable craft, to sever him from those duties—and for this reason, that labor is God's education.-Ruskin.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY OF AMERICA.

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

The Hanna-McKinley "wave" makes the rich richer and the poor poorer.

Vice President Hobart caused the discharge of a railroad gatekeeper for doing his duty.

Questions for Mr. Lawson's News: What is the second article of the con-stitution of the United States and what does it mean?

The peculiarity of the Hanna-Mc-Kinley "wave" is that it increases the prosperity of the rich, and further impoverishes the poor.

The St. Louis Republic and the Chicago Tribune are the antipodes of politics, but they have an equator in their malice against Eugene V. Debs.

Under the reign of capitalism Labor day is simply a day when labor rattles its chains and dances to the music.—

That's all right about "law and or der." but when the other fellow has both the law and the order and won't give any of it up what are you going How are you going to keep something which you haven't got?

Mark Hanna says the Standard Oil Company is a great deal stronger than the government. Of course it is! We knew that all along; in fact, that's Socialism than such men as Pingree one of the main things we're kicking

The two Socialist parties of Great Britain, the Social Democratic Federation and the Independent Labor Party have buried the hatchet and will in the future work together harmonious-United action by these two bodies will likely result in the election of one or more Socialist members of the house of commons.

One of Jefferson's maxims was that one of Jeneison's mighty good thing, an insurrection is a mighty good thing, striving to accumulate property long and necessary every twenty years or so for the purpose of keeping govern ment in order. What a sorry figure he would cut among these modern apostles of "law and order" who prate so loudly about Jeffersonian principles

Altruism is born of self-interest. When men form society and come in close contact with each other, that which in ethics is called the altruistic principle must be made a virtue of by the selfish and put in practice of necessity. Altruism, then, means the high est good of the individual. This is the est good of the individual. This is the did wealth to knowledge, art, literatrue meaning of the sympathetic strike ture—all that is beautiful and elevat

What will the farmers do with all this money they are getting for their due to mere wealth no longer exists wheat? Why, they'll take it to the banks and pay their debts with it. higher channels. They will become That'll make their credit good again, and the banks will loan them back their money on a new set of mortgages, and then—prosperity will be here for sumes; when it is not employed sure, and "business" will boom like a house afire!

What's all this howling about the sweater for? Isn't he a business man? Of course he does. All busi ness is sweating, and there is no dif-

slaves with greater severity—that's all the difference there is between him and deacon Rockefeller; their objects and principles are the same.

Some of the readers of the Social Democrat seem to have ignored the notice under the caption of "From Our Contributors," in which it is distinctly stated: "The editors are not responsible for the opinions of correspondents." This rule or reservation is as old as journalism and it is, therefore, absurd to call the paper to account for the opinions of its volunteer correspondents.

Under the present system man is the slave of machinery. There is some-thing terribly tragic in the fact that as soon as man had invented a machine he began to starve. This is due to capitalism and our system of compe tition. Machinery now competes against man. Under Socialism machin-ery will serve man. Man was made for something better than to be the mere tool of a machine. We can only realize the immense benefits of machinery when our machines are owned by al and operated for the good of all.

The "human nature" objection to Socialism is equivalent to saying that it is natural for men to lie, cheat and steal; to plunder and murder each other whenever they get the opportuni-ty to do so. Socialists have more faith in mankind than to believe such rot as this, but even from the standpoint "human nature" objectors Socialism is desirable, because it wil remove most of the opportunities for the exhibition of these undesirable

The sun of prosperity is now shining with resplendent effulgence upon that noble and heroic sovereign and free man-the American working Thus, since the election of McKinley and the passage of his divine taxation law, "prices have increased while wages are going down and strikes are everywhere. Thus:

Shoes, increase25 per cent Rubber boots, increase....10 per cent Clothing, increase20 per cent Oatmeal, increase10 per cent Beef, increase20 per cent Pork, increase10 per cent. Mutton, increase25 per cent Wages, decrease10 per cent

The preachers who spend so much time in teaching the poor that it is their duty to remain contentedly is that station in life "to which it has pleased God to call them" would do well to explain how they became so familiar with God's intentions. How do they know that God called John Rockefeller to be president of the Standard Oil trust and John Doe to be the miserable inmate of a sweater's den? And if God has gone into the business of "calling" his children to their several stations in life, aren't the preachers expending a great deal of superfluous energy in endeavoring to lead men and women from paths of evil into ways of grace?

Just as the worst slave owners were the St. Clairs, not the Legrees-those who were kind to their slaves, and so prevented the horror of the system from being realized by those who suf-fered from it, and understood by those who contemplated it-so the worst capitalists are the Pingrees, not the De Armits or Pullmans. Pullman and De Armit have done more, a thousand times more to unmask the hideousness

could ever do. Many good people try to solve the problem of poverty by feeding the poor, by giving them soup. That is not the way; it is merely an aggravtion of the difficulty. The proper way is to reconstruct society on such a basis that poverty will be impossible. Socialism will

In a society where the possession of distinction social position, honor, respect and other pleasant things, man will go on after he has got far more than he can use or enjoy. It becomes a burden and a curse to him. He becomes afflicted with a sort of insanity and frequently kills himself by overwork in order to obtain something which he does not Under Socialism man will first and property or wealth will be re human beings to live happy and fullrounded lives. Man will be honored and respected for what he is, not for what he has, and the incentive to hu man effort will be changed from sor ing in life. Men always strive to ob tain what is most respected by their fellows at large, and when the respec men, not mere counting machines.

When labor is employed, labor con sumes; when it is not employed, it can

There is all the difference in the world between the selfishness of a capitalist and the selfishness of a labo Doesn't he live up to the rules of the organization. The one means an increase of selfish luxury for one man or a single family. The other means ference in principle between the hated sweater and the president of the comfort and self-respect, more ease for Standard Oil Company. The sweater the aged, more schooling for the has to put up with the fag ends of 'business," and has to exploit his families.—John Morley.

To the Hosts of the Social **Democracy of America**

There are periods of time in the course of human events when every senti There are periods of time in the course or numan events when every some ment of fealty to humanity prompts men to make declarations involving new departures from the old beaten pathways in which men have tramped and wrought and starved and died, and left as an inheritance to their children the same deplorable condition—a condition in which hopes are strangled as soon as they are born—lives in which the agony of trial, beginning in the cradle, pursues its victim until death closes the scene; a condition in which high aspirations and noble ambitions live for a time to allure their possessors and then

"Like Dead Sea fruits that tempt the eye, Turn to ashes on the lip."

a condition which tells by the wounds and bruises which afflict the victims how deep has penetrated the steel of oppression when selfishness and greed directed

I would not, if I could, exaggerate conditions. I know of no words in the lexicons of our language which, though they were pigment and brush in the hand of a Raphael, could be made to paint a darker picture than the unadorned facts present for our contemplation. Nor could words, though wielded by the matchless imagination of a Dante or a Milton, whether describing hell or Paradise Lost, be made to exaggerate the distress of the poor in the United States of America.

of America.

It is told of Parrhasius, an Athenian painter, that his ambition was to "paint a groan," and for the purpose subjected a slave to torture. If groans extorted by torture in the United States could be painted and hung in the corridors of Inferno Satan could appoint a jubilee day for the delectation of his hosts, and if Heaven could but catch a glimpse of them the saints would rend their white robes and tear off their crowns and all the harps in the Celestial City would be tuneless and silent.

robes and tear off their crowns and all the harps in the Celestial City would be tuncless and silent.

Labor Day has come again and the sons and daughters of toil are to celebrate its coming. Is it to be an old time celebration, with music and dancing and feasting, a day of revelry? When the rising sun that ushers in Labor Day sends forth his avant couriers of streaming light and gilds all the horizon in ineffable glory, had he, like a monster of mythology, fifty ears, or, like a fabled Argus, a hundred eyes, what would he see and hear as in his sublime march he mounts to the meridian? Shedding his light on the fairest and most fruitful land from orient to occident and once the freest he would see an army of 150,000 coal miners, who with their wives and children swell the number to a million, struggling for bread, and his ears would be saluted with prayers, imprecations and wails, blending in one long agonizing lament over conditions forced upon them by an accursed wage system that has reduced them to peons and pariahs, for which under that system there is no relief but in death.

One hundred and fifty thousand begrimed men coming up out of the bowels of the earth to assert their right to live is enough to make the "dry bones" Ezekiel saw in his vision stand up and swing their skeleton arms in approval of the crusade—a crusade not like that of Peter the Hermit for the sacred shrines of Palestine, but to wrench from the grasp of a soulless plutocracy the sacred shrines of homes despoiled by pirates who build palaces of poor men's skulls and cement them with workingmen's life blood.

I do not care at this time to discuss strikes as a means of securing better conditions for working people. To a limited extent, in some instances, strikes have succeeded, but in almost every instance the victory won has been ephemeral. Defeated capitalism has found a way to regain its lost ground and make another strike a necessity, and in practically every effort upon a large scale in industrial enterprises involving public interest

enterprises involving public interests failure has been written with an "iron pen and lead in a rock forever."

Why is this fact woven into strikes which involve public convenience? It is because the public will not be inconvenienced for any length of time, though every toiler is found dead in his hut and wives and children become the victims of conditions in the description of which all language is meaningless.

Nevertheless, those whose blood is not warmed in seeing Americans strike against tyranny of any and of every description would have been, had they lived when Washington and his compatriots were leading and fighting forlorn hopes, on the side of the enemies of liberty and independence—traitors to country and humanity.

humanity.

I know it is the old, old story, the old song, the old refrain, but God pity us

I know it is the old, old story, the old song, the old refrain, but God pity us I know it is the old, old story, the old song, the old refrain, out God phy as all when the old story of the struggle for liberty and independence no longer inspires us to deeds of valor and sacrifice; when Patrick Henry's defiant words, "Give me liberty or give me death" cease to thrill the American heart; for when that time comes, and its ominous shadows, black as plutonian darkness, are even now lying athwart our pathway, the republic will have been divided into two classes—brigands and beggars, masters and slaves—and the glory of the region will have departed to return no more forever.

antion will have departed to return no more forever.

Present conditions startle the most apathetic. If there are those who can discern emancipation from spoliation by nursing into a more vigorous life the schemes of robbery now rife and growing in strength and ferocity, the theory must be that poverty is a crime to be denounced and punished while wealth is a virtue to be protected and applauded. That this is the view taken by the federal judiciarry has long since passed beyond the realm of debate and no longer admits of controversy.

of controversy.

To arraign federal judges, the pampered menials of corporations, trusts and every other combine, separately or in the aggregate known as the "money power," has become an American duty as sacred as was ever imposed upon sons whose sires, in the days that "tried men's souls," placed in peril "life, liberty and sacred

sires, in the days that "tried men's souls," placed in peril "life, liberty and sacred honor" for the priceless boon of liberty.

I need not recite the malign decrees of judicial caitiffs in the recent past, the Woodses, Jenkinses, Tafts, et al., who, to placate corporations, perpetrated crimes in the name of law which, had they been committed in Czar-cursed Russia, would have multiplied Nihilists, though they knew that every rod of the road from St. Petersburg to the penal mines in Siberia would be adorned by their skeletons, monumental of the glory of dying in the pangs of a struggle for emancipation. But Russia, with its absolute ruler, is as free as the United States under the sway of judges, who, having a lease of office running parallel with their lives, are growing more violent and virulent as the months go by.

Here we have a written constitution, ordained by "We the people," in which certain invaluable rights are guaranteed, but which the judges of the federal judiciary treat with contempt, and issue their injunctions with an abandon which discloses the most flagrant usurpations of power known to any land or nation, and in almost every instance for the protection of capitalism and the spoliation of workingmen.

and in almost every instance for the protection of capitalism and the spoliation of workingmen.

The coal miners were adjured to "keep the peace." to perpetrate no "act of violence." Betrayed, robbed, degraded and enslaved by corporate capital, half fed and half clothed, feeling the deep damnation of their wrongs—women wailing and children crying, but still obedient to law, they simply exercised the right of free speech. Wielding but one weapon, that of persuasion to call out men to join the army fighting for bread, they found themselves confronted by injunctions issued by judicial fleas rioting in the hair of corporation dogs, striking down the right to march and hushing to silence, as if by a mandate of Jehovah, every voice that had been pleading for the suffering poor. The judicial satraps, Jackson, Mason, Collier, Goff, et al., as if ambitious to win an immortality of ignominy, hesitated at nothing. No constitutional barrier impeded their despotic career. Relentless as pirates and with the tenacity of sleuth hounds they pursued the miners through every lane and avenue of high and holy endeavor to obtain living wages until drums ceased to beat and flags were furled. The miners were scattered, and once more so-called freemen by the thousands were reduced to slavery and must begin anew their life work of starvation and death.

In my own state of Indiana there recently occurred an instance of the exercise of judicial power which I mention to show to what lengths and heights and depths of infamy a federal judge will go to aid a corporation to rob the people.

The capital city of Indiana has a corporation known as the "Citizens' Street"

people.

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The capital city of Indiana has a corporation known as the "Citizens' Street has a corporation known as \$2,000,000, upon which it has by exorbitant charges of transportation compelled

the people to pay dividends.

The legislature of Indiana enacted a law requiring the corporation to charge The legislature of Indiana enacted a law requiring the corporation to charge 3 instead of 5 cents fare, and the Supreme court of the state decided the act constitutional. In this emergency the corporation took its case into the federal court before one Showalter, a despot of regulation make and mind, who issued an injunction forbidding the governor from executing the 'aws of the state, and he promptly obeyed. Disrobed and degraded, the governor of a ones osvereign state, without a word of protest, pockets the insult without a. effort to meet the obligations imposed by the sanctity of his oath of office that he would execute the laws of the state. Surely if the governor of a state can stand such a humiliation it is not surprising that coal miners should yield to the mandates of a judge. In view of such facts what will there be in connection with the annual holiday of labor to rejoice over? What one fact looms aloft which presages for labor better conditions in the immediate or the remote future?

On the deck of the storm-tossed ship of Labor millions of eyes are seeking to penetrate the surrounding gloom. Millions of voices, listening to what the billows say, would, if they could, interpret their message and point to a haven of safety and repose.

In this supreme hour, when hope is giving way to despair, and stout-hearted

billows say, would, it they could, interpret their measurements and repose.

In this supreme hour, when hope is giving way to despair, and steut-hearted men are yielding to what they term the "decree of fate," the star of the Social Democracy, like that which the wise men saw when Christ was born, blazes above the horizon and hope revives and again is heard by ears attuned to the minstrelsy of humanity "Peace on earth, good will toward men."

Once more comes into view the "brotherhood of man," and the old time shibboleth "Each for all and all for each" is vital with new significance and

er. It is no utopian dream, not an ignis fatuus, not the product of imagination, a mirage of the desert to allure and vanish, but a theory of life and labor in ch the humblest individual owns himself and by his labor secures life, liberty

which the humblest individual owns himself and by his labor secures life, liberty and happiness.

The Social Democracy deals with the possible, with the practical, with axiomatic propositions in the every-day affairs of life. It lays hold upon fundamental principles with unrelaxing grasp and challenges criticism. It makes humanity the focal, converging and animating idea and proposes to lift it above chicanery into the clear, serene and unbeforged realm of common sense. It beholds Labor a mendicant, half-fed and half-clothed, inhabiting hovels, forever doomed to play its part in the tragedy of toil, to die at last unknelled and uncoffined, destined to a hole in the Potters' field, and proposes to lift it up and out of its degrading environments, not by pathways decked with the flowers of fancy, but along the lines of practical endeavor, where mind, muscle, skill, humanity and home, in holy alliance, in well-adjusted, co-operative effort liberates the enslaved, gives a new birth to hope, aspiration and ambition and makes the desert blossom and the waste places glad—a condition in which, when a man earns a dollar he is not compelled to divide it with a capitalist, who, as now, scourges him to his task as if he were a galley slave, but takes to himself all the fruits of his labor, and thus emancipated by industrial and economic laws which elevate, bless and adorn humanity, the devotee of Social Democracy advances by

degrees until the fangs and pangs of poverty disappear, until in his own home fears of eviction no longer breed despair, until wife and children, the recipients of the benedictions of co-operative prosperity, enjoy the fruitions of peace and prosperity, and under their own vine and fig tree live as free from carking care as the song birds of the woodlands.

Here is a theme for Labor Day worthy of the genius of orator and poet. Fancy may plume its wings for flights to where the "universe spreads its flaming walls," but will find no object more worthy of its powers than a home where love and contentment reign supreme—a home beyond the reach of an injunction—a home amidst pathways of peace and prosperity—a home where the call to labor has no note of degradation, but is attuned to life and liberty and joy, as when a Switzer salutes the rising sun with his Alpine horn, and from peak to peak and from crag to crag the shout is heard "Praise God."

In writing this message to Labor and to the Social Democracy of America, I would emphasize the fact that a new departure has been inaugurated in response to a demand voiced by conditions in which calamities are forever treading upon the heels of pecceding disasters and like the tracks of animals to slaughter pens no footprint indicates the escape of the doomed victims. It is a new departure based upon the immutable laws of love for the emancipation of humanity from degradation. The principle, ancient as creation, lives for the purpose of being applied whenever and wherever humanity lifts its bowed head and wails forth its cry for help. This it is now doing. The winds are burdened with moans, and the Social Democracy, with hope and help in alliance, comes to the front with an invitation to all who would escape from the grinding curse of wage slavery, who would place themselves beyond the reach of the jaws and pows of plutocratic tigers, to break loose from their degrading environments and come within the ramparts which the Social Democracy is building for the safety of those

Men of England, wherefore plough For the lords who lay ye low? Wherefore weave with toil and care. The rich robes your tyrants wear?

Wherefore feed, and clothe and save, From the cradle to the grave, Those ungrateful drones who would Drain your sweat—nay, drink your blood?

Wherefore, bees of England, forge Many a weapon, chain and scourge That these stingless drones may spoil The forced produce of your toil?

Have ye leisure, comfort, calm, Shelter, food, love's gentle balm? Or what is it ye buy so dear With your pain and with your fear?

The seed ye sow another reaps; The wealth ye find another keeps; The robes ye weave another wears, The arms ye forge another bears.

Sow seed—but let no tyrant reap; Find wealth—let no impostor-keep, Weave robes—let not the idle wear; Forge arms—in your defense to bear

Shrink to your cellars, holes and cells; In hails ye deck, another dwells; Why shake the chains ye wrought? Ye see The steel ye tempered glance on ye.

With plough and spade, and hoe and loom. Trace your grave, and build your tomb, And weave your winding sheet, till fair England be your sepulchre.

Eugene F. DElz

TERRE HAUTE, IND., August 30, 1897.

Business Principles in Politics

Those persons who imagine that there is some peculiar virtue in "business principles," who are continually howling for a "business administration" of political affairs, would do well to take a few kindergarten lessons in statecraft. Business and patriotism are not synonymous terms. The business man is not necessarily the friend, he is more likely to be the enemy of the state; indeed, the closer he adheres to business principles the more likely are the people to suffer injury through his connection with public af-fairs. The sugar scandal in the senate is a case in point. The antagonism between business interests and public welfare was there plainly exhibited. Our law-makers delivered over the people to be plucked by the sugar trust, they robbed their constituents of millions of dollars in order that they, as individuals and business men, might make fortunes on the stock market. It was purely a matter of "business" with them; they were following "business principles." In his speech to the bankers at their recent convention in Detroit Comptroller Eckels made an admission which is full of food for thought. Speaking of the raids on the gold re-serve, he said: "It possibly may be a bad thing, from the patriot's stand-point, to present for redemption the currency demand obligations which the treasury under the mandate of the law sends forth, at a time when the government is financially embarrassed, but

erned by business reasons. sion is an important one. Eckels belongs to a crowd which arrogates to itself all patriotism, all civic virtue. This crowd boldly and insolently declares that the honor and welfare of the nation rests wholly in its hands; it wants the government run on "business principles." This is the same crowd that raided the gold reserve and saddled a debt of more than two hundred and fifty millions on the people at large. And Eckels tells us plainly that patriots would not have taken advantage of the government in that way. "business one." Business and patriotism don't agree, and ousiness will always come out on top in an administration conducted by busness men. It is impossible to estimate the misery and suffering which business principles" have entailed on the world, and when we carry those principles into government completely we have reached the highest point of national insanity and crime. Only as we depart from business principles, both in public and private affairs, can we regain our freedom and enjoy rational and happy lives. Business is an unmitigated curse.

the act is a business one and is gov-

President McKinley congratulates the American people on the return of prosperity, due in a great measure to the large crops and high prices caused by the failure of crops in other coun-tries." The failure of crops in other countries brings prosperity to the United States! There is deep damnation in such a philosophy as that; yet it is the philosophy of the present sys-

tem, and it is literally true that capitalist prosperity is built on just such events as that. A famine over the whole of Europe would cause a great boom here. Prices would go sky-high, and dealers in food products would realize fortunes. What if thousands of human beings perish of starvation through inability to pay the high prices charged for food, that does not matter. Our dealers would still be prosperous. They would have a market for their wares, and a market, however obtained, is the one thing needed to keep the system on its legs. There can come only misery and pain out of such a theory as this. Neither individuals nor nations can build any prosperity worth the hav-ing on the misfortunes of mankind. Riches so gained are covered with blood. And in spite of the boom which is causing such great rejoicing there is no diminution in the accounts of destitution and starvation among our people. High prices bring no joy to the poor. Workingmen are still striking against starvation wages, and the destitution during the coming winter is likely to be as great as ever in the past. The sooner workingmen awake to the fact that it is impossible for them to realize prosperity under the wage system the better it will be for them. When they unite solidly under the banner of the Social Democracy to bring about a condition where all citizens of the republic shall be assured of the opportunity to live really hu-man lives, then they will realize the only true prosperity—it will not be built on the misfortunes of their fellows either in foreign lands or at home

0000000000000 The Editor's Letter Box icececeooooo

NEW YORK SOCIALIST: You write:
"To my knowledge the attitude of the Social Democracy of America towards the existing Socialist Labor party has been one of fully ignoring the latter."

'Question: Is this "ignoring policy" resorted to in consequence of some essential difference of principles between the two Socialistic parties?

It is not; there is no essential difference between the principles of the two parties, the only difference is one of methods of propaganda. We ignore the attacks made upon the Social Democracy because we have no desire to waste our energy fighting Socialists. We prefer to train our guns upon the enemy.

I GENY, BOSTON: Regarding the paragraph printed at the head of the editorial column in The Social Democrat, beginning "No member of this organization shall accept an office, etc.," you desire an explanation,

1st. Whether a member of the S. D. A. may belong to another political party not holding any office there.

2d. Whether the National Executive Board has the power to grant fusion with other political parties, and,

3d. What is meant by the last words "except in States already under control of the order?"

Answer to No. I A member of the Social Democracy cannot be a member of any other political party.

No. 2 The Social Democracy will under no circumstances fuse with any other party, and the National Executive Board has no power to sanction fusion of any kind.

No. 3. In States where the Social Democracy has obtained political control the

No. 3. In States where the Social Dem

racy has obtained political control the rule that a member of this party shall not hold political office would ee ipse become obsolete.

A Socialistic governor would, of course, appoint only members of this party to office.

FROM OUR CONTRIBUTORS

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

A Criticism.

To the Editor. To the Editor. In your paper of Aug. 12 appears this statement from the pen of F. R. Hayes:

"The day of the religious fakir is nearly over. His stock in trade consisted of an imaginary Hell and a phantom Devil, together with an omnipotent despot who rewarded his slaves with a chance to eternally loaf.'

Is that Social Democracy? If so, I'll none of it. I have no objection to Atheist Hayes entertaining his views, and willingly leave him to the tender mercies of the "omnipotent despot" and the pleasures (?) of the, to him, "imaginary Hell," but I must protest against his insulting those of us who see in the universe the footprints of Omnipotence, the handiwork of Infinite Wisdom. And in the evolution of the ages, the labor of Infinite Love, Justice and Mercy. And in him and the workings of capitalists and their coadjutors, whether they profess to serve God or Mammon, evidences of a real "Devil" or King of evil.

I do not desire a controversy with Mr. Hayes, but, if you permit him or any one else, to insult me through your columns, I shall, as I believe thousands of others will, have nothing to do with Social Democracy. You cannot expect men who believe in God to give their money and time to the propagation of Atheism. As well might we expect Atheist Hayes to devote his time and means to the promulgation of the Gospel.

I admit there is much hypocrisy among professed Christians, and be-lieve it and the abuses practiced by many of its adherents are largely responsible for the frame of mind in which Mr. Hayes finds himself, yet that is no more an evidence of the falseness of the teachings of Christ, nor does it any more militate against the doctrine of the existence of God than does the injustice practiced in the world prove the non-existence of justice. I ask the publication of this, not because I am anxious to get into print, but because I believe the slander implied in Mr. Hayes' article should be wiped from the Social Democracy.

Socialism, as I understand it, is practical Christianity, or a realization of the doctrine of Jesus Christ in the world's society. Respectfully, J. R. FISHER.

Warrensburg, Mo., Aug. 15, '97.

The Farmer's Plight. Dear Sir and Brother:-

Your favor received. I will try to make good use of papers and constitu-tion, but I am much afraid of forming a branch here in my neighborhood among the farmers.

I expect to get some help of Brother -, a good orator and agitator, but the greatest obstacle at present is the dues and fees. I speak from experience, for if I had to pay 25 cents per month regular, I could not do it. gave up my post-office box because it cost 30 cents legal tender every three months.

Now, I have 150 acres of land, which I offered to the B. of C. C. W. I have got about eighteen hogs, two horses, three wagons, plows, etc., but no money. Why? Because anything raised will not return value in cash of what the cost of raising amounted

I raised over one acre of watermel ons, expecting \$25 for them at least; the crop is fine, but now when I bring them to town I find that they send them from south Georgia and sell them from the cars for one cent apiece, and I have to turn loose 32 nice melons which I have on the wagon for 75 cents and go home weary and disgusted with the competitive system, after wearing horse and wagon out on a fourteenmile trip coming and going to Atlanta: the whole day is gone, horse got to eat, wagon should be kept in repair, and here is 75 cents. Count capital invested, time spent, and I ask you where is the 25 cents monthly dues left for the farmer to join and help the S. D. of A. The only way for you to get help from the farmer is, if you will let us turn lock, stock and barrel over to you and raise watermelons, corn, potatoes, hogs, etc., for those poor outcasts of society called tramps, and let them in return supply us with clothing, plows, etc., and we will soon be on

Excuse my long letter, but I imagined that if I wrote something of how it is among the farmers, you might not be so much disappointed in them, but have more pity.

I am corresponding with a party in Georgia and wrote him about the S. D. of A. He will probably communicate with you, with a view to starting a branch. Yours fraternallly,

Christianity and Socialism. Can the liberal in religion, who is also a Socialist, express his views upon Socialism without offending Christian people who are tired of things as they are and are looking for some way of escape from the economic despotism under which we now live?

Does the atheistic fanatic who desires the success of the Social Democracy think its propaganda would be helped by antagonizing Christians?

Have the Christian churches any intelligence, any wealth, any influence, be no government, and no leading any votes the Social Democracy would class, and nothing to preserve.—U. S. take to enlist on their side? If so, is Grant.

that object likely to be accomplished by admitting to the columns of its official organ such abuse of religion as would exclude it from Christian families?

Jesus has been called the great So cialist because the doctrines He taught expressed in concrete form in politics and the civil law would create the con-dition desired by Socialists; and his being so wherever is the wisdom in abusing those who profess to be His followers even though they often fall short in bringing their lives up to the great Pattern? Would it not be better to kindly point out to them the otherthe neglected side-the social side of the religion taught by the great Nazarene?

There are two ways of running the Social Democracy propaganda; the one will gather a handful of the proletariat in some little hall in an obscure part of the city; the other will fill the theaters and largest churches with an interested and sympathetic audience. If we desire the latter instead of the former are we likely to gain it by wholesale denunciation of all religion;

I will briefly explain my reasons for asking these questions. For several years I have been deeply interested in social problems-was identified with single tax movement, then the populist, and now I see in the radical doctrine and novel but practical plans of the Social Democracy a Moses and an Exodus from the Egypt in which we are now living. I feel much concern Christian people generally know so little and seem to care even less for the mighty issues now before us. This ignorance and indifference is to say the least, no credit to them, but the contrary, and as I am a member of one of them, the Quakers, and I have a deep desire that those who profess to be the followers of the greatest radical reformer that ever lived, should to day be in the front ranks of the socia reformers. A young man in whom I am deeply interested, a Methodist minister, and who is beginning to take some interest in the live questions of the day, had heard of the movemen inaugurated by E. V. Debs and sympathized with his altruistic ideas, and when I gave him a copy of The Socia Democrat he was willing to read it But when he found in the paper an article that was atheistic and intoler ant, both he and his wife declared that a paper that published such matter was not fit for a Christian family to read And the same decision, I feel quite sure, would be reached by the great body of Christian people even though some of them are interested in the so lution of our social problems.

Now, what shall we do with this live ssue, an issue of great moment, for upon the way it is decided will largely depend whether we will be able to reach the classes we all greatly desire to enlist in our cause. I am fully satisfied that there is no other way by which radical reform ideas can be so quickly popularized as will be accom-plished by getting Christian people generally deeply interested in the prob lems of to-day and their probable so

lution. I am a lover of liberty and want all to have the right of full and free discussion, but at the same time must remember that liberty must not run into license, and that my liberty ends where my brother's rights begin.

A. HARVEY.

Socialistic Aphorisms. Some men earn money, other men

get hold of money. The man who gets hold of money

says to the man who earns money Commerce is well regulated." Does the liberty of the birds,

much talked of, require that the ninety-nine labor for the one?

Socialism would require you to do as much work for others as others do for you. Our present industrial system requires you to work for others not work for you.

Of course we have a good government. The common people are well worked, the Goulds, Vanderbilts and Rockefellers are well paid, gress is well pleased. What more could we ask?

The constitution gives congress the power to regulate commerce and John D. Rockefeller would tell you it has been well regulated. Socialism mean a regulation of commerce by which producers would save the wealth now going to speculators or toll-takers.

The speculator who has just re-turned from a pleasure trip around the world and is boarding at a five dollar per day hotel, says to the producer in rags, "You should not spend your money for a buggy to push the baby in, or for an easy chair for your that is extravagance. You must

practice economy." The nonproducer living in a palace that cost more than the public school fund of a state, says to the producer living in a rented cabin: "Work a little harder, live a little more economically, stay out of socialism and vote with u and maybe, before you die, things will begin to come your way.

H. D. WINNIFORD.

Whatever there is of greatness in the United States, or, indeed, in any other country, is due to labor. The laborer is the author of all greatness and wealth. Without labor there would

The Four Travelers.

By Charlotte Perkins Stetson (Written for the Social Democrat.)
She had found it dull in her city,
So had they, in a different mob;
She traveled to look for a musement,
They traveled to look for a job.

She was loaded with fruit and candy, And her section piled with flowers, With magazine, novels, and papers To shorten the weary hours.

Her friends came down in a body With farewells merry and sweet, And left her with laughter and kisse On the broad plush-cushioned seat

She was bored before she started, And the journey was dull and far. "Traveling's hardly a pleasure!" Said the girl in the palace car,

Then they skulked out in the darkness And crawled in under the cars, To ride on the trucks as best they might To hang by the chains and bars.

None came to see their starting, And their friendliest look that day Was that of a green young brakemar Who looked the other way.

They were hungry before they started, With the hunger that turns to pain "Traveling's hardly a pleasure," Said the three men under the train.

She complained of the smoke and cinders She complained of the noise and heat, She complained of the table service, She complained of the things to eat.

She said it was so expensive, In spite of one's utmost care; That feeing the porters and waiters Cost as much as a third-class fare. That the seats were dirty and stuffy, That the berths were worse by far-"Traveling's hardly a pleasure!" Said the girl in the palace car.

They hung on in desperate silence, For a word was a telltale shout; Their foul hats low on their bloodsh

To keep the cinders out. The dirt beat hard on their faces, The noise beat hard on their ears, And a moment's rest to a straining limb Meant the worst of human fears.

They clutched and clung in the darknes While the stiffness turned to pain— "Traveling's hardly a pleasure," Said the three men under the train,

She stepped airily out in the morning.
When the porter had brushed her awnite.
She gave him a silver dollar,
He gave her an ivory smile. She complained to her friend that more

ing
Of a most distressing dream—
I thought I heard in the darkness
A sort of a jolting scream! 'I thought I felt in the darkness The great wheels joggle and swing; Traveling's hardly a pleasure When you dream such a horrible thing!'

They crept shuddering out in the morn ing, Red spots with the coal's black stain-Traveling's hardly a pleasure!" Said the two men under the train.

Rosa's Notes to Brother John.

Brother John, I assure you that St Louis conference was a very important affair. Whether the miners' strike will be won or lost the conference will be chronicled as a historical event.

The conference in itself was a proof of the fact that the feeling of solidarity among the American proletariat is rapidly growing. It is but the question of a short time when the leading elements sent to such conferences will consist of staunch Social Democrats When that comes, Brother John, you will be astonished to see the great number of Patrick Henrys who will raise their voice for Socialism and de-clare: "As for us, give us liberty or give us death!" . . .

There are two classes of tramps growing in the nursery of capitalism: First, the millionaire tramps that ex-ploit the American people, but prefer to live in the European pleasure re sorts where they admire the kings and princes' crowns and sell their daughters for a princely title, and second, the proletarian tramps that are starving by the thousands on the high ways and byways of our wealthy land

Don't get impatient, John, when some poor wage worker opposes So-cial Democracy. He does not know better. Tell him in plain words what Socialism means, send him the "Social Democrat" for three months, give him some good books on Socialism, and he will finally triumph over prejudice and ignorance.

There was a time in England when every poor man found tramping was low-beings that he was a vagabond. It might be a good thing if our capitalist rulers would introduce the same old English system of "marking" tramps. Within five years about half of our "free" American wage workers would enjoy the distinction bearing the indelible V.

Prepare for the campaign of 1900! Ye millions of wage workers of this country, it will be for you to decide the question whether Social Democ racy or Plutocracy shall govern our country. Remember that 90 per cent of the American people will become enthusiastic Social Democrats the very moment they know what Social Democracy means. Educate them!

Labor-power-the only capital of the wage worker-is a commodity. It is bought and sold like old rags. It is subject to the same laws of supply and demand as old rags. When rags are plentiful in the market, rags cheap. So it is with labor. But when I must sell my labor-power it means that I sell my own person, my health my liberty, my life. In order to live I must sell my labor-power. This the capitalist is aware of. He buys my labor-power for the sole purpose of making profit, the purpose of accumulating capital.

All wage slaves are born equal and endowed with the capitalist burden of misery, serfdom and pursuit of starvation. All capitalists are born with on the golden spoons in their mouths and en-kin.

dowed with the mammon-given right of enjoying excessive luxury, unlimited freedom of exploiting the toiling wage workers, and the pursuit of making this world a hell to live in for the working people.

. . . "Debs a Disaster!" Under this caption a Democratic newspaper of St. Louis published a long editorial in which a mercenary inkspiller attempt ed to show that such men as Comrade Debs were responsible for the serious situation brought about by the great miners' strike, and that they actually frightening away beloved Prosperity that was now knocking at the door of American commercialism. Great Senator Mark Hanna, help us!

The most contemptible anarchist in this country is Col. Benedict Arnold Rend, the millionaire coal mine oper-Under the pretext of defending law and order that capitalist anarchist is murdering thousands of men, women and children. Brother John, I should be pleased to see the time when that man would be compelled to earn a liv-ing by working for 45 cents a day in the dark deep-sunk mine.

. . . Ah! this society is false, says Victor Hugo. One day, and soon, the true society will come. Then there will be no more lords; there will be free, living men. There will be no more wealth, there will be abundance for the poor, for all. There will be no more masters, but there will be brochers. They that toil shall have. the future. No more prostration, no more abasement, no more ignorance, no more wealth, no more beasts of burden.

Shame upon every man and woman who, seeing the millions of human beings pressed into the cesspool of poverty, will not help us to bring about better conditions—a social system that will be the realization of the principles laid down in our Declaration of Independence.

Brother John, in the far-off horizon I see behind the high mountains of class interests, through the clouds of the serious class struggle, the dawn of better days. I see the aurora of a new social order, the day when people will hardly believe that the richest, the most fertile country on earth, in spite of all the gigantic productive forces. a country rich enough to support 200. 000,000 people, could not guarantee a decent living to the great majority of her 70,000,000 inhabitants.

Permit me, Brother John, to conclude with the words of the great German poet, H. Heine:

"This social system has been long since tried and found guilty. Let justice take its course. Let this old systice take its course. tem be shattered in which innocence suffers, selfishness prospers, and man is exploited by man. Let that whitened sepulchre in which falsehood and iniquity reside, be torn up branch and root!

Labor day next Monday, John. Don't fail to do a little hard work for our cause. Secure new subscribers to our 'Social Democrat" and infuce your fellow union man to join the Social Democracy of America. Please do this, Brother John, and I shall remain

Your beloved sister ROSA PROLETAIRE.

Life's Possibilities.

Observe. A man and a woman with their children properly trained are able easily to cultivate as much ground as will feed them, to build as much wall and roof as will lodge them, and to spin and weave as much cloth as will clothe them. They can all be perfectly happy and healthy in doing this. Supposing that they invent machinery which will build, plow, thresh cook and weave, and that they have none of these things any more to do, sentenced to have a V burned on his I believe myself that they will neither forehead in order to show to his felthe machines. But I waive my belief in this matter for the time. I will assume that they become more refined and moral persons, and that idleness is in the future to be the mother of all good. But observe, I repeat, the powe of your machine is only in enabling them to be idle. It will not enable them to live better than they did before, no to live in greater numbers.

Get your heads quite clear on this matter. Out of so much ground only so much living is to be got, with or without machinery.

You may set a million of steam plows to work on an acre, if you likeout of that acre only a given number of grains of corn will grow, scratch or scorch it as you will. So that the question is not at all whether, by having more machines more of you can No machines will increase the possibilities of life. They only recrease the possibilities of idleness. Suppose, for instance, you could get the oxen in your plow driven by a goblin, who would ask no pay, not even a cream bowl-(you have nearly managed to get it driven by an iron goblin as it is). Well, your furrow will take no more seeds than if you held stilts yourself. But, instead of holding them, you sit, I presume, on a bank beside the field, under an eglantinewatch the goblin at its work and read poetry. Meantime your wife in the house has also got a goblin to weave and wash for her. And she is lying on the sofa reading poetry.-John Rus-

COLONIZATION DEPARTMENT CYRUS FIELD WILLARD, SECRETARY

[Nore.—The editor is not responsible for the opinions of corres

Official Circular No. 1.

Social Democracy of America and all Friends and Well Wishers of Cooperative Commonwealth Colonization, Greeting:

Comrades:-The colonization com ission appointed by the National Executive Board Social Democracy of America, in assuming control of its department, fraternally issues this appeal and asks prompt attention there

Funds are imperatively necessary Laborious and important duties are in our hands. They are matters of high est trust, fiduciary in character. Such duties are practically unpaid for, the bare cost of time and expenses only can be covered or will be required.

It is good then to be able to enter on this work upon such lines, and to feel that with the aid asked we may carry it so far forward that our suc-cessors will find the ways blazed for them, foundations firmly laid, and main-travelled paths to co-operate homes and social economic security, made along true lines for further de velopment. We believe it to be within our power to indicate the ways to a truce commonwealth and to insure the methods of scientific co-operation therein. (Full details as to the membership in the colony can be obtained by addressing the secretary of the colonization committee.) At this early stage of our great work

it would be unwise to announce the plans formed. Purposes are clearly understood. But it may be said that land in areas sufficient for early establishment of large colonies can be obtained, and that, too, under legal conditions that insure trust character, and collective control with co-opera-tive ownership; thus giving opportunity for full industrial security, social freedom and democratic development. These lands are available in more than one Western state. Public opinion is also favorable and state officials will be found responsive to just considerations and demands. Water will also be found accessible and available at moderate cost for irrigation and works, thus insuring crops when land is under cultivation. Timber and stone can be a good one. People will see you are in earnest with the colonization obtained. Pastoral lands will be abun- plan and you will get plenty of names dantly accessible, mining locations can be secured, also other mineral indus-tries may be economically organized. Opening evidences of future success are all auspicious, while the assurance of our safeguard-collective control-will be made positive.

The colonization department needs funds. The commission must pay its way and for its needed work. Large details are before it. Surveys must be made, and they cost; plans, maps, et al have all to be created. Legal opinons are essential from time to time. Expert reports on soils, water, timber, mineral products, climate, must be obtained in order to build securely and plan correctly, and all these will cost. The journeys and examinations to be made by your commission, which is fortunate enough to embrace an extensive and practical knowledge of physical and economic conditions, will cover weeks of time and thousands of miles in travel. This will cost, and obligations or debts must not be incurred. Office work, already laborious, though needed and increasing rapidly in volume, must be done. It is labor that must be paid for under present conditions.

We earnestly therefore call attention to the necessity of the immediate esablishment in all local branches and affiliated bodies of the colonization und called for the following provision of the constitution of the colonization department of the Social Democracy of America. It reads:

of America. It reads:

"Sec. 10. The revenue for the support of the Colonization Department shall be derived from voluntary monthly contributions of members and voluntary contributions from other sources. Each local branch shall elect a Collector for the Colonization fund, who shall collect the monthly and other contributions and forward the same to the treasurer of the Commission on the first day of each commission on the first day ommission on the first day of each onth, or as soon as practicable there-Prompt attention is requested. Im-

mediate correspondence is desirable,

and local organizers, secretaries and collectors herein provided for should address the Secretary-Commissioner at once. Blanks will be provided, record books should be kept. All contributions must be sent to the commissioner-treasurer, W. P. Borland, 504 Trude building, Randolph street and Wabash avenue, Chicago. Due acknowledgment will be promptly made. Without waiting for the organization of the regular monthly fund (which will be at once set in operation), the commission ers suggest the immediate taking of collections, the pledging of subscriptions and the giving of entertainments, etc., in aid of funds for the immediate fund. It also appeals to all friends of co-operative commonwealth, whether members or not of the Social Democ racy. There are a million men in the land willing and able to give five cents each if appealed to. That will make With that sum in hand the foundations can be firmly laid. There are thousands who can give more and will do so if properly reached. There are scores who can and will give largely for the wise and broad inauguration of a great movement which peaceably looks to the establishment of secure homes, freedom of life, attractive industry, economic equity, the best edubuild the commonwealth library.

cation, true civic equality and the or-To all Comrades and Branches of the ganization collectively of toil and ownership.

Thus alone can be made fair the righteous way of human opportunity. Thus only may we and they aid the growth of a true individualism, which while building the personal will always serve the community. We direct then this duty and present this ap-

peal. By the Colonization Commission, RICHARD J. HINTON, Ch'm'n. W. P. BORLAND, Treasurer. CYRUS FIELD WILLARD, Sec Approved, National Executive Board

> EUGENE V. DEBS. Chairman. SYLVESTER KELIHER.

Secretary Secretary will please read to branch neeting.

small.

ocial Democracy of America.

Please have published in friendly pa pers. Send any amount, no matter how

Taking the Field.

Chairman Richard J. Hinton will speedily take the work up for which he has been chosen by the national board of directors. He writes that all his energies and experience will be de-voted to the arduous work before him, and in doing so declares only that for the present the past services of his life must be the guarantee for the unremitting labor he will give to the future.

One Way to Get Members.

Referring to your kind invitation to suggest anything useful for the colonization scheme, I beg to suggest the following:

Insert in the big daily papers of the country your advertisement:" Wanted: Farmers, wood-choppers, saw-mill and lumbermen, etc." at least once a weekperhaps in more condensed form—un-der the headline: Male Help Wanted.

Some of the newspapers, I am sure, will give a special rate; some, if properly approached, may give a number of "ads" free. The result will doubtof prospective members for the S. D.

With sincere wishes for success Yours truly, CONSTANTINE GOLDZIER.

A Co-operative Library.

The colonization commissioners acknowledge with many thanks the fraternal gift of the Ruskin Colony through the Coming Nation office to Chairman R. J. Hinton, of a complete file of that valuable socialist-commonwealth paper, and of a number of publications handled or published by the famous co-operative colony. glad to recognize this gift as the foundation of what we hope to make unique-the Co-operative Commonwealth University library. We want other gifts, and ask for pamphlets, scrap books, all odd reports and volumes relating to collective ownership, colony life and effort, labor struggles; in short, all sociological and socialistic matter which will make our library complete and enable us to become students of the work done before. Encyclopedias and works of reference are needed. Such a library will not only be of great value in the development and direction of the vast work but it can be made, if all will co-operate with us, the foundation of as valuable a collection such as the world's bibliography has not yet seen. We ask the publishers and editors of papers affiliated with our purposes, to send us their journals, and where they are able complete copies of such volumes as they can spare. All of these will be preserved and properly arranged as time goes on fo

COMMONWEALTH UNIVERSITY LI-BRARY.

When intelligently done, the making of scrap books will be useful. Arrange them under different headings; labor, organized, etc., sociology, co-operation colony, commonwealth, Social Democracy, organization, politics, agitation meetings, etc., etc., industries, credit money, labor checks, personal, local, etc. There is nothing too unimportant to save. Every handbill, placard, meeting call, advertisement, report, should be preserved. Every local body should keep duplicate set books, one to be forwarded to the colony department. Odd books, not otherwise of value, if large and strongly bound, such as octavo sized government documents, trade reports, old ledgers, etc., make good scrap books. Take out every third leaf or pageleave a margin of an inch all round the page and save or insert number of use of the colonization department blank pages for indexing. Search your collections for books, pamphlets and reports, and send them numbers of papers. Watch the magazines, et al., and send or notify us of articles. Co-operate with us in laying the foundation of this library.

Foreign friends and comrades will aid us greatly by sending on all similar literature in other languages. They will help us by sending places and names of publications so we can have them properly examined. The colonization commissioners will be grateful for all such gifts, many of which may

THE REASON WHY HIS DETROIT SHOEMAKERS STRUCK.

A Traveling Man Gives Them Some Good Advice on the Subject of the Social Democracy.

The Shoemakers of Detroit Now Or Strike at Pingree & Smith's Factory and What They Might Do.

A man who travels much sees som

strange sights. I was on the wing recently and stop ped for a few hours in Detroit. I was

desirous of seeing the secretary of the local branch of the Social Democracy and to do so I had to go down among the shoemakers, who were on strike in the factory of Pingree & Smith. The head of the firm is Hazen S. Pin-

gree, formerly idol of the wage workers, now Republican governor of Michi gan, and referred to in our last issue as the man who welcomed the national bankers to Detroit and urged them to bring about prosperity by making big loans to small manufacturers on mod erate interest.

Pingree has 600 wage slaves work ing for him. If they are not satisfied they cannot go to work for themselves, as they do not own the machines to make shoes with. All they can do is to quit work and starve. The Hindoo who is wronged by a European is just as sensible and more effective. He camps down on the European's door-He step and there starves to death persistently and stubbornly, unless the European relents and makes restitu-

Our American workmen are more considerate. They don't go up on Pingree's doorstep. Some do not even know, where he lives. No; the American shoemakers are too considerate by far. When they start in to quit work starve themselves, they hide in boarding houses and the places they call "home" instead of acting as sensi bly as the Hindoo.

I found that Pingree employed 606

men and women, boys and girls. They turn out 2,000 pairs of shoes, men's and women's, principally the latter. These shoes average to sell from the factory at \$2 per pair, or \$4,000 worth of finished product per day turned out by the 600 wage slaves. This. means a product by each of the boys and girls (of whom there are many) as well as the men and women of \$6.66 per day. Do they get it? Not much! from this 66 cents for the leather material and wear of the machinery used by each of the 600 and we have \$6 net product. If every boy and girl, man and woman gets \$1 every day they are lucky. This leaves \$5 to go to the Still manufacturing doesn't

The cause of the strike is due to an old trick in the shoe trade. The firm starts in a "third quality" shoe and the help "agree to make it cheaper than the 'second quality.'" Then the firm improves the quality until they are turning out a second quality shoe but the workers are only being paid for the third quality.

It is possible that Pingree will settle with his men, as he has a holy horror of the boycott. We hope he will, and when the union men are back to work again we also hope they will discuss economic questions in their union and find out when they get tired of bluffs and cut-downs why it is they cannot go to work for themselves instead of being obliged to remain idle till they starve or be supported in idleness until they get work by a "strike fund." This is not said by one who has any feeling against trade unions, but one who is himself a trades unionist as well as a socialist.

Speaking of boycotts, W. L. Douglas, the \$3 shoe man, once said to the writer that three years after the boycott was lifted from his shoes he used to get letters asking him if the boycott was still on, and for one he didn't want any more boycotts. Bouve of Bouve, Crawford Co., also said to the writer once that he would never settle with the lasters as long as a breath remained in his body. But he settled. He is like the little boy who fooled around the rear end of a mule. He isn't as pretty as he was, but he knows more We would commend their cases to Mr. Pingree's distinguished consideration. Likewise E. & N. H. Batcheller Co. who failed for \$1,500,000 as the result of a boycott.

If our comrades among the shoe makers would apply the same rule to Pingree that he applies to them they would have but little consideration for him. They would take the union label away from him and not strike. They would then notify the other unions that Pingree's goods did not bear the label and they would do the rest. They could stay right at work and have M Pingree dancing around crying, "For God's sake, settle this thing up quick No one will buy my goods." The men would be drawing their wages getting enough to eat, while Mr. Pingree would do the sweating.

This is what is meant by studying economics. A man is never injured by having too much knowledge. If the shoemakers of Detroit would discuss economics on their unions and join the Social Democracy and study socialism they would know how to handle Mr Pingree or others. like him. They would meet in the Social Democracy men from other trades who are seeking the emancipation of the worker and the abolition of capitalism and they would be benefited mentally and financially by the increase in their store of knowledge.

Why I am a Socialist.

Because I am a Christian Because I am opposed to human ty ranny.

Because I believe in God. Because Christ was a Socialist, and consequently as he proved the highest, holiest and noblest type of humanity that ever existed.

Because as a consistent Christian to deny the principles of Socialism would be to deny Christ himself.

Because I am my brother's keeper. Because the essence of Christianity-"Do unto others as you would like to be done by"—is the soul of Socialism. Because the material of life is not what we live for-humanity is God, not

Because I love virtue, truth know that the development of the divine spark in man is only evolved by the actualities of Socialism.

Because under all other systems man degenerates and feudalism survives. Because hypocrisy, selfishness, avarice, social and political degradation are abnormal conditions fostered by

corruption and antagonistic to So-

nalism—the word of God. Because under Socialism wage-slavery is abolished and man is re-deemed by the grace of God—the knowledge that he is of God.

Because it is only by the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man that human happiness is possible, and class legislation abolished.

Because the scaffold, the brand and faggot, prison bars, bastile, strikes, impurity and injunction laws emanate from the present corrupt industria. systems.

Because to be of Christ I must neces sarily be a consistent Socialist.

Last, though, not least, because the highest development of the God-like spirit that is in us can only expand for the common good by its love of self-sacrifice for the many-the disinherited as opposed to the few, or in other words, a government of the people, for the people, and by the people Believing in these God-given truths.

thank God that I, a born American am a Socialist.

MURPHY O'HEA.

Plutocratic Ideas.

Plutoeracy, a form of government in which the supreme power is lodged in the hands of the wealthy class: government of the rich: also a controlling or influential class of rich men.-Web

There is too much freedom in this country rather than too little .-- Indianapolis Journal (Rep.).

The capital of the country is organzed at last, and we shall see whether congress will dare to fly in its face

New York Tribune (Rep.). If the working men had no vote hey might be more amenable to the eachings of hard times.-Indianapolis News (Rep.).

The best meal that can be given to a regular tramp is a leaden one.-New York Herald (Dem.).

The American laborer must make up his mind henceforth not to be so much better off than the European laborer. Men must be content to work for less wages .- New York World.

There seems to be but one remedy and it has come-a change of ownership of land owners on one hand and of tenant farmers on the other, some-thing similar to what has existed in old countries of Europe.-New York Times.

I say come on with your scheme of confiscation, and graduated income taxes, and irredeemable currency under universal suffrage, and to proclaiming the doctrine of the ringlead ers, then under military necessity, and even here in the United States must get rid of universal suffrage, and we shall. Rather than allow these things we will have one of the flercest civil wars.—Rev. Joseph Cook, Boston.

We must have a stronger govern-The wealth of the country de mands protection. Its rights are as sacred as the rights of the paupers who are continually prattling of the encroachments of capital. Without blood, and rivers of it, there will be no political change. To avert 'earful bloodshed a strong central govern-ment should be established as soon as possible. - Senator Sharon, deceased

millionaire. The time is near when they (the banks) will feel themselves compelled strongly; meanwhile a very good thing has been done; the ma-chinery is now furnished by which, in any emergency, the financial corpora-tions of the east can act together at a single day's notice with such power that no act of congress can overcom or successfully resist them .- New York Tribune (Rep.).

The Social Democracy cannot fail to be a most potent factor in the education of the people on economic questions, and will thus pave the way for the organization of equitable exchange, which will leave the tribute that is now paid in the shape of interest, profit and rent in the hands of its producers. The agitation of thought is the beginning of wisdom, and wisdom must culminate in business organization.-The New Woman, Topeka, Kas

A correspondent of the News objects the use of cannon for fence posts in Monument Place. He claims that it is andignified to put cannon to such uses. If all the cannon in the land were to be used for hitching posts we might have less "dignity," but in losing our dignity we would make one step toward a for more opiates and stronger opiates, higher civilization.—The Union, In-

CHEESE VS. SILVER

SPEECH OF GEO. PECK OF WISCON SIN ON LEGAL TENDER.

Delivered Before the Farmers' Alliance of Puckerbush, and Chronicled by our Correspondent.

Mr. Debs, and all the rest of you:-My boy, Alexander, who works in the countyseat, gave me one of your papers, and I thought you might like to hear how we are getting along. Maybe you never herd of our Alliance. Well, we had a very notorious reputation when the Alliance was on the boom in this state, and we have kept ours a goin' when most of them have been We used to be the most progressivist kind of a body untill we begin to push the idea of "free silver" to catch the fellers who was driftin' that way, and who was afraid of our other ideas. We got to hoopin' it up for "free silver" till it got most of our fellers daffy, ås Alexander said.

I never cud see how free silver was agoin' to be of any real good to the fellers what produces things that is needful to human mankind. I used to be one of your old Andy Jackson Democrats, then my reading' and thinkin' got me to be a Populist, and I thought that was the party to bring justice, but I was a delegate to the last nashunal convenshun, and what I seen and herd there knocked all that out of me, an I come home so darn mad that I cud not talk to a feller decent for six months.

I am glad to say that I was one of the eight in the Ohio delegation who voted for you, Mr. Debs, to be president. I voted the Socialist ticket last year, the only one in my township, but there will be more this year, for I have been doin' lots of talkin' and put tin' out books. I found out that our school-teacher is a Socialist, and she has got the statistics down fine, and me and her is goin' to try and turn our Alliance into the Social Democracy I hain't said so to her, but I know she will help me. I opened the ball at our last meetin'. Our president is one of them red-hot one-thing-at-atime free silver fellers who thinks that because some Democrats calls them-selves "new," that they has changed their natures. But I live amongst 'em and know better.

George Peck from Wisconsin is visitin' some of his folks here and he attended our last meeting. The president thinking he was a free silver howler, called on him for a speech and he give us one. Our school-teacher rote it down, and here it is:

"In calling upon me on this occas ion to enlighten you upon a subject that is dear to the hearts of all Americans you have got the right man in the right place. It makes me proud to come to my old home and unfold truths that have been folded up so long. It has been said in my hearing that I didn't know enuff to milk a cow. If anybody will lend me a clothes-wringer, and furnish me a cow I'll show you if : can't.

"I was brought up on a farm. That is, I come up with the cows. There is no farmer present here who has done more real sitting around than I have. It was my practice when a boy to set on the fence and see the hired man work. I never held a plow much because the one we had was gentle it wud stand without being held.

"There is more cheese raised in this country than there is silver, and it is more valuable. Suppose you hadn't eaten a mouthful for thirty days and you shud have placed before you ten dollars stamped out of silver on one plate, and nine dollars stamped out of cheese bullion on another plate; which would you take first? You would take the chances on the cheese. You would use it to better advantage in your business. Hence I say that cheese is more valuable than silver, and it should be made a legal tender for all debts, public and private, except pew rent.

"It may be asked, how this currency av be redeemed? I would have an interconvertible bond, made out of limburger cheese, which is stronger and more durable; when this is done, you can tell the rich man from the poor man by the smell of his money. Nowa-days many of us do not even get to smell money. I say it without fear of successful contradiction, and say it boldly, that a poor man with, say two hundred cows, if he understands his bizzuess, can make more cheese than rich man who owns three hundred oxen. Now that I am on the subject it may be asked what is the best breed of cows. My opinion is devided be tween the Southdown and the Cochinchina Some like one the best and some like the other, but for me, give me liberty or give me death.'

Maybe that didn't bring down the ouse, but the president didn't know how to take it, but our teacher whispered to me that he must be tryin' to rub it in on some of the farmers here who are cheese-makers, just to show em how foolish this hollerin' for free

I took the flor and I said: "It looks to me as though the people of this country is awful sick, and they had called in different docters to tell us how to get well, and as it looks to me we can take our choice between a free silver cathartic, which may give you a temporary relief, only to leave you in a worse shape than before; or a tariff opiate, which kinder deadens the direst pain, but which keeps calling untill you break down a total wreck.

there is another set of doctors in the field, and they say that the only way to be healthy is to get the polsons out of your system, and build up a new body, and they propose to do it by giving a good hot Turkish bath, and if you ever tried one of them you will know it does the business. These doctors calls theirselves Social Demo-These and from this on I give notice I'm going to push for their idea, and you don't need to get scared, for its going to come to be the thing!"

We had a hot time firin' across the room, but we will go at it right at our next meetin', and if you want me to I will keep you posted.

Yours to the end, JONAS HARRISON.

Resolutions of Sympathy. At a regular meeting of Local

Branch No. 4, of Texas, of the Social Democracy of America, at their hall in Bruceville, Texas, Aug. 14, 1897, the following preamble and resolutions were nanimously adopted: Whereas, It has come to our knowl-

edge through the press and otherwise that about 200,000 coal miners are now out on a strike for living wages, their present sad condition being, through the avarice, greed and inhumanity of their employers, worse than was that of the Russian serf or the peons of Mexico and a hundredfold worse than the condition of our negro slaves be fore the war, whose living or fare would be feasting to the miner's family, thus believing the miners' cause a just one, deserving the sympathy of every lover of justice and right; thereore be it

Resolved, That we tender said miners our heartfelt sympathy in their struggle for living wages and pledge ourselves to do our utmost, financially and otherwise, to aid them to achieve

Resolved, That we believe it to be the duty of all labor organizations to use all honorable means to aid said miners to success, if they have to stop every wheel of commerce to do so, be ieving that the iron heel of plutocracy s now on the throat of the producing class and their failure to make a strike of such magnitude and justice as the present one a success will render all future efforts of organized labor both puerile and futile.

Resolved. That the puny efforts of that corporation tool, the Mayor of Pocahontas, W. Va., to stop free speech and peaceable assemblage and in his actions towards Mr. Sovereign, G. M. W. of the K. of L., deserve the meers, scorn and contempt of every liberty-loving American.

Resolved, That the infamous injune tions issued by other plutocratic tools are neither authorized by law or the constitution of the United States and deserve not only the scorn and conempt, but resentment of all true merican citizens.

Resolved. That the producing class have always had a reverence and respect for law and order, but that very respect has tempted corrupt judges to manipulate the laws in the interest of the capitalist class and we believe that submission to those arbitrary injunctions and restraints on personal free dom would brand the masses with owardice.

Resolved, That while President Mc Kinley seemingly holds out the olive branch to the laboring class, his hasty or premature action in sending arms and munitions of war to Virginia for the suppression of the strikers has at least a significance of double-dealing which it would be well for the producing class to note.

Resolved, That a copy of this pre amble and resolutions be sent to the Dallas News, the K. of L. Journal and The Social Democrat for publication also that a copy be sent to M. D. Ratchford M. W. and president of the United Mine Workers of America

BY THE COMMITTEE.

Question of The Age.

This question of Socialism is the most important and imperative question of the age. It will divide, is now dividing, society into two camps. In which camp will you elect to stand? On the one side there are individualism and competition—leading to a "great trade" and great miseries. On the other side is justice, without which can come no good, from which can come no evil. On the one hand are ranged all the sages, all the saints, all the martyrs, all the noble manhood and pure womanhood of the world; on the other hand are the tyrant, the robber, the manslayer, the libertine, the usur er, the slave-driver, the drunkard and he sweater. Choose your party, then my friend, and let us get to the fightng.-Robert Blatchford.

Greed, as represented by the capitalst class, will stop at no crime to perpetuate its damnable existence. It will see the people rot and starve amid the abundance their labor has created with same indifference that kings slaughtered the working people in battle. There is not a redeeming trait to capitalism. It is wholly pernicious Socialism would change all this, but people are taught by the press, pulpit and politicians that there can be no other system better than this. thus the world is full of woe and sadness.—Appeal to Reason.

Two hours and fifteen minutes daily work by each able bodied man, if systematically applied, would produce all the food, clothing and shelter the people need .- C. A. Wright, United "Some of you don't know it, but States Commissioner of Labor.

"THE DIVINE RIGHT"

HAS BEEN THE EXCUSE OF THE PLUTOLRACY AND ROYALTY

For the Oppression and Misery Suffered by the Masses in Ancient and Modern Times.

DIVINE AND SACRED RIGHTS. From the birth of the human race to the present time mankind has been divided into two classes-those work and those who live off the work of others. To stop this, to give every one the full benefits of his work and to end the scheme of one class living and waxing fat off the toil of the other class is the end all economists should seek. Nothing less will do. The hard times of today are caused by one class despoiling the other. The suffering of the poor in all countries in all ages of the world had the same cause. The methods of spoliation have changed, but the results are the same.

In the olden time the robbers swooped down upon the workers and by brute force took what they wanted. Now the robbers organize sugar trusts and do the same. The infamous doctrine of the divine right of kings and nobles to rule and rob the workers same.

Through treachery, robbery and assassination men have been crowned kings and then set up the villainous doctrine that they ruled by divine right granted to them by the Great Jehovah. The people believed this awful claim and gave up the largest part of all they produced to the king who squandered it upon his favorite nobles and in riotous living. Now men through bribing legislators and corrupting courts of justice acquire the natural resources, the means of production and distribution and then plead "the sacred rights of property." The people believe in this humbug and, as of old, give up to the thieves the fruits of their toil.

The rapacity of kings and nobles in the long ago produced insurrections and revolutions through which empires have fallen and dynasties perished. The rapacity of the mortgage kings and lords of trusts of today will produce, if not soon stopped, a revolution through which the present form of government will perish and the mortgage kings and trust lords be swept from the earth.

The attempts of the robbed and oppressed to better their conditions is ot new, but through all the long centuries since the Jews objected to making bricks without straw the plundered workers have tried to throw off the yoke of bondage. For thousands of years there have been labor agitators. Such were Moses, the Roman Grachii and Jesus of Nazareth. Failure was the usual portion of those who tried to help their fellows, but sometimes the agitators were in a measure successful and the human tigers were driven into the jungle, but they always returned again. From the embryo of the human race till the present the fight-beween the two classes has been waged. It has never ceased; the great question of today is, Will it ever cease? Certainly not until a system of government is devised and inaugurated which will give equal and exact justice to all with special privileges to none. This the world has never yet known.

Probably the best effort ever made in the interests of the common people was made by the founders of the American Republic, but how far short of success they were we now know full well. The men of '76 were bright and brave and after a long and bitter strug-gle against "the divine right" of being robbed by king and nobles they were successful in overthrowing the tyrants and founded a commonwealth in which these worthless leaches had no place. They fondly and honestly believed that they had made a govern-They fondly and honestly ment as nearly perfect as the frailties of humanity would admit of. Did they do it? If they did, then civilization is a failure, humanity a blistering the long the Greater and man was into mercy an appeal. ment as nearly perfect as the frailties libel on the Creator and man was indeed "made to mourn."

On the seventh of next September 110 years will have elapsed since the adoption of the constitution and the last condition of the people is worse than the first. Taxation without representation, spoliation and robbery are practiced upon a helpless people today to a far greater extent than ever done by King George and his minions, and it is all constitutional. The people of this republic have no more voice in making, interpreting and executing the laws than had the serfs under the laws of Russia. The constitution is fatally defective. The appointing by the president of the federal judges for life has given us the Dred Scott and the income tax decisions, the denial of speedy trial by jury and "government by injunction;" system of election has given us congresses which have sold the living and mortgaged the unborn to the money changers; the power taken from the people and given to the president, congress and the federal courts has given the land, the heritage of the people, to corporations, enacted laws which many for the benefit of the few, builded up trusts and syndicates which are reducing the people to beggary.

And all is constitutional!

Our government is no improvement on those of old, the two classes are arrayed against each other, with the fight always on the side with the heaviest treasure box. The workers are as remorselessly despoiled today in this dell Phillips.

ernment in the world's history. The Declaration of Independence solemnly declares that whenever a system of governmemnt becomes oppressive it is the duty of the people to alter or abolish it. This government was always oppressive. In the beginning and for more than half a century it gave the black man no rights which any one was bound to respect. The oppression has grown from the beginning and has now become unbearable. William Lloyd Garrison said: "The constitution of the United States is a covenant with Death and a league with Hell." was strong language, but our system of government gave us in the year 1896 5,000,000 unemployed; 500,000 fallen girls; 180,000 insane; 10,600 murders; over 6,000 suicides; 3,000,000 child toilers and over 3,000,000 relieved by charity. In the light of this is it not time we had a new declaration of independence and a new constitution or the present one radically amended?

Lincoln said a government could not stand half slave and half free; neither can it stand five per cent plutocratic and ninety-five per cent proletariat. The new or amended constitution must guarantee equal rights to all, special privileges to none and forever stop the ancient scheme of one class living off the toil of the other. This is the kind of government the Social has been largely superseded by the Democracy proposes to inaugurate, and sacred rights of property to do the every friend of justice and equality, every man who loves his fellow man and all who wish to better the awful condition of the toiling poor should help it along.

H. L. GANT.

Ogden, Utah.

Ode to Justice.

Oh, Justice, thou the fairest, Alas, but also rarest, Of Virtue's glorious band; O say, why hast thou vanished Hast thou indeed been banished From this once happy land?

The marble halls erected, In reverence to thee, Still hold their wonted pla Like false deceitful faces, In cruel mockery.

But thou thyself hast left us Hast 'gainst thy will bereft us Of thy ennobling sight, And shop, and cot, and mansion Lack through our vast expansion, Lack through our vast exp. Thy guidance and thy light.

But while the church is preaching This grand and noble theme The Pharisees and jobbers And speculating robbers Work out their crafty scheme

With vervet hands they holder
The multitude and gobble
With greed the Nation's lands,
A gang of vile abettors
Who forge their brethren's fetters
With sacrilegious hands.

With velvet hands they hobble

They are forever warping.
This term to mimicry;
And while on freedom ranting.
They are in truth but panting.
To murder liberty. Our land, the fairest regions Enough to nurture legions, Of good and sturdy med; They partly stole and partly Secured by bribing smartly

Our legislative den. They surely will enslave us, O Justice, if to save us, Phou dost not soon return fo teach this gang of robber These Pharisees and Jobbers, The lesson they need learn.

E'en then we would draw near Nor need the righteous fear thee, Didst thou return alone, For only harsh oppressors And thy commands transgressors Would then have to aton

But lo! What specters follow, An awe-inspiring host A rabble most repelling, An army hoarsely yelling A rabble as repelling As any hell can boast.

There's vengeance breathing ire,

In vain wilt thou endeavor, O Justice, then to sever The guilty from the just. From reason will be taken The reins, and all be shaken To chaos and to dust.

Such frightful scene, the Muses Shrink back—my pen refuses To paint the fearful sight; And whilst my pulses quicken, My senses sink and sicken With horror and with fright.

O Justice, then take pity On village, farm and city, Come ere it be too late; And save an erring nation From utter devastation And an appalling fate.

Teach them that all are brothers, And that the rights of others Are sacred as their own;

Teach them to pay their neighbors As they would for their labors, If in their place they stood; And change the entire nation, To thy giorification, Into a brotherhood.

RUDOLF LEONHART.

My friends, unless our children have more patience and courage than saved this country from slavery, republican institutions will go down moneyed corporations. Rich men die, but banks and corporations are immortal. They are never afflicted with disease. In the long run they are bound to win with legislation.-Wen-

MEETING OF LEADERS

FULL REPORT OF THE ST. LOUIS LAROR CONFERENCE.

Vigorous Protest Against Government by Injunction--Speeches by Prominent Labor Men and Reformers. 2

The national conference of labor leaders, held in Masonic hall, St. Louis on Monday and Tuesday of this week accomplished the purposes for which it was called, viz., to aid the striking coal miners and to protect against government by injunction.

The capitalistic dailies of St. Louis and other cities pretend that the convention was a case of "much ado about but the fact is otherwise. In no other manner could the shocking condition of the miners have been more vividly brought to the attention of their fellow citizens throughout the country, and as for the deadly injunccertainly received a very decided 'black eye.'

Another useful purpose served by this convention was to show the interest which the Social Democracy of America takes in all that concerns the welfare of the proletariate. The worker can learn that he has in the S. D. a steadfast friend and champion.

And not least among the good things resulting from the convention is the sociological reading supplied to that careless, unthinking mass known as "the general public." It means much that the plutocratic press could give three and four columns each daily to the report of the convention it pretended to belittle and despise.

Chairman H. W. Steinbiss of the local committee of arrangements called the meeting to order in Masonic hall at 10 a. m. on Mc day, and, on motion, adjournment was had to 11 a. m.

the International Typographical union, of Indianapolis, was chosen temporary chairman and A. M. Pearce of Columbus temporary secretary. Mr. Prescott then appointed the following as a committee on credentials:

ization, J. R. Sovereign and W. D. Ma-

The convention adjourned until 2 p. m, to allow the committee time to re-

At 2:25 p. m. the convention was again called to order. About 600 persons were present. On motion the temporary chairman and secretary were made permanent.

David Kreytling of St. Louis Cigarmakers' Union No. 44 moved that the meeting of the convention be open to This met with enthusiastic reception and was at once adopted.

William A. Koeneman of the Electrical Workers was appointed sergeant-

Chairman Prescott read the call for the convention, which was greeted with

On motion of Mr. Mahone a committee of five delegates was appointed by the chair to adopt resolutions and evolve a plan of action. It was composed of William C. Pearce, W. D. Mahone, Victor L. Berger, J. R. Sovereign and S. G. Clements.

Mr Ratchford then addressed the meeting. He said he hoped some action would be taken to forever set at rest the question of federal injunctions as applied to the inalienable rights of free citizens. The mine workers, he have committed is that of meeting

decisive action, and I hope it will be hovels. He said he had heard that the as conservative as the nature of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, a case will permit. We are not in favor of milk-and-water resolutions, nor of fered its sympathy to the striking minextreme measures. What we do must meet the approval of the great middle Mr. Lloyd. They burned it when they class, without which nothing can be shoveled it in their furnaces in hauling accomplished

'We believe the immediate convening of congress is absolutely necessary to define the powers of federal courts and judges, and secure the rights of all ism, not because of what it accomplishcitizens. In the event of a refusal on the part of the president of the United through natural evolution, causing its States to call such special session with- adherents to think and become more in a reasonable time, I believe in a complete paralysis of industry-a sympathetic strike. Many of you are ready to do it now, but it is unwise at this give the striking miners just two days' juncture. Conservatism is always the best and we should exhaust every means to end the miners' strike before resorting to the last"

Pat O'Neil of Rich Hill said he had been an American citizen for 63 years. He could remember when there were no such things as federal injunctions. Mr. Ratchford, he said, wanted to appeal to congress. Congress had known of the present situation for years. "Suppose a special session were called and a law enacted to meet public requirements; it would go to the bigwigs of the supreme court and be declared unconstitutional.

'Mr. Ratchford says he is not a revolutionist. I tell you frankly I am. went into the United States army to abolish property rights, in the shape Today the American flag floats only over banks and soup-houses I am a revolutionist to the extent of wanting to see every man equal before the law and under the American

Mr. O'Nell set the delegates in roars of laughter and cheers.

if he thought congress could be called and something accomplished in twenty days he would favor it.

"I take it for granted," he said, "that this is the last convention we can hold, and the question is now whether we should tear down the courts to uphold the flag, or tear down the flag to maintain the courts. We must do something today for the 70,000,000 American people.'

call on congress, and thought a revolution was the thing.

James M. Carson, president of the Illinois Mine Workers, said that the 36,000 miners in his state were revolutionists already, and if the convention said the word they were ready to go out with arms on their shoulders and fight for their rights at any time. But if the convention didn't do something the Illinois miners would have to give up the fight within two weeks.

President Ratchford objected to this statement, saying that the Illinois miners would not give up, and that talk of rifles and Winchesters had no place in the convention.

President Ratchford was appointed chairman of the committee on resolu-

tions. The meeting adjourned at 5 p. m. to 9 a. m. Tuesday.

THE MASS MEETING.

Masonic hall was crowded on Monday night at the mass meeting. A goodorchestra lent the charm of music, and with one exception the people had an enjoyable time. The exception was the absence of Mr. Debs, who was assisting the committee on resolutions, and so could not attend.

Mr. Sovereign, G. M. W. of the K. of L., was the first speaker.

Mr. Sovereign said that civilization was at last face to face with the final great problem of human nature, the After the convention was again called question of human liberty, the ento order, W. B. Prescott, president of croachments of capital had so guided the construction of the law that the laboring man had at last become nothing but a small wheel in the machinery of the body politic, with no volition of his own. The time had come when ornittee on credentials:

Mr. Ratchford, James O'Connell of ize to fight combined capital, which machinists, Chicago; Grant Luce had so tightened its grasp on the counof the St. Louis Central Labor organ- try that it was ruling the people by means of court injunctions. This trend of capital had first been noticeable when that knight errant of social industry. Eugene V. Debs. had been deprived of his liberty for fighting for the rights of his fellow-men.

He believed in taking the supreme and of placing it in the hands of the people, where it belonged,

At the close of his address Mr. Sovcase he was in the hall to come upon hear him speak. This brought out applause and cries of "Debs! Debs! Debs!

At this point Mr. Sylvester Kellher, the national secretary of the Social Democracy, stated that Eugene V. Debs, being busy with the committee on resolutions and on other business, would be unable to appear, but that when theresolutions were presented next day he would address the people. In the meantime he had deputized John F. Lloyd to speak for him.

Mr. Lloyd said there was only one man in the United States able to represent Eugene V. Debs. and that was Eugene V. Debs himself.

He then made a vigorous attack on government by injunction in the forcible and "plain English" style in which declared, have been conducting the he excels. His address was closely folfiercest conflict ever begun by any in- lowed and heartily applauded by the dustry, and that all the crime they large audience. One of Lloyd's points was that jackasses and mules have the upon public streets to discuss their af- liberty of the fields and streets, but the courts of what is called justice con-"We are not here," he said, "to take fine free-born Americans to stifling "so-called labor organization," had ofnon-union coal away from the mines.

W. D. Mahen, president of the street railway workers, was the next speaker. He had always defended trade unioned in itself, but in what it led to radical. The remedy for the present trouble was government ownership. The practical side of the fight was to pay out of each worker's wages. That would amount to \$4,000,000, he said, and would be a more effective way of aiding the miners than through the ballot-box or congress, either.

M. J. Ratchford, president of the United Mine Workers of America, was next introduced as one of the greatest generals that ever marshaled forces of labor together. Labor unions were not successful, he said, because the people had not embraced them. All the combinations of wealth could not defeat the strikers if they were all organized under one standard, but the trouble was that labor unions always met defeat at the hands of fellow workmen. There should be a common interest among miners and among all workingmen, and in that way would the unemployed be given work, and the children sent to school.

J. R. Sovereign introduced Frank Stephens, of Philadelphia, one of the single taxers, he said, who had been imprisoned in Delaware for speaking

Mr. Sovereign spoke in support of he thought, was in the application of Mr. Ratchford's proposition. He said the single tax theory, which, he said, if he thought congress could be called was not so far away as it might seem, as it was already almost accomplished in Washington state.

Mrs. Mary Jones of Chicago was the last speaker. "Fellow-slaves," she be-gan, and then for fifteen minutes she kept her hearers in a roar of merriment by her pointed remarks. She related her experiences as a factory hand in the southern cotton mills, working side by side with hundreds of little chil-W. D. Mahon thought it frivolous to dren, who got 30 cents a week as The men were the cause of that condition of affairs, she declared, and all they did was to cover the high ways with resolutions from New York Francisco, and to spend money for halls and officers to run their unwomen a chance to bring about the necessary reforms by giving her the right to vote.

A collection was taken during the exercises amounting to \$44, for the benefit of the strikers.

TUESDAY'S SESSION.

The morning session of the labor convention Tuesday was called to order at 9:45 and the first business was the reading of the report of the committee on resolutions. The resolutions were submitted by Victor L. Berger, The resolutions secretary of the committee, and were as follows:

The fear of the more watchful fathers of the republic has been justified. The judiciary has become supreme. We witness a poltical phenomnon absolutely new in the history of the world-a republic prostrate at the feet of judges appointed to administer its laws. They acknowledge no superior on earth, and their despotic deeds recall Milton's warning to his countrymen: 'Who bids a man rule over him above law may bid as well a savbeast.' Under the cunning form of injunctions courts have assumed to enact criminal laws, and after thus drawing to themselves the power of legislation have repealed their bill rights, and for violations of these court-made laws have denied the accused the right of trial by jury.

commones "The exercise of the rights of freemen-the right of assembly, the right of free speech, the right of traveling the public highways -has, by legislation, under the form of injunctions, been made a crime, and armed forces disperse as mobs people daring, in company, to exercise these At its last term the Supreme rights. court of the United States decided that the thirteenth amendment forbidding 'involuntary servitude' is not violated by arresting a seaman, imprisoning power out of the hands of the courts him until his vessel is ready to leave port and then forcibly putting him on aboard to serve out the term of his contract—a decision under which the ereign called for Eugene V. Debs in old fugitive slave laws may yet be revived and striking laborers be seized the platform, as the people wanted to and returned to the service of their masters.

"Having drawn to themselves all the powers of the federal government until congress and presidents may act only by judicial permission, the eral judges have begun the subjugation of sovereign states, so that, unless a check is soon put upon the progress of usurpation, in a short time no government but the absolute despotism of federal judges will exist anywhere over any portion of American soil. The pending strike of coal miners, starved to feebleness by their scant wages, by arduous and danger-ous toil, the pending strike for the right to be fed enough to make labor possible, has been prolific of judicial usurpation, showing the willingness of judicial despots to resort to the most shameless defiance of decency, as well as of law and humanity, in order to enable heartless avarice to drive its hungry serfs back to the mines to faint and die at their drudgery; and there remains today not one guaranteed right of American citizens the exercise of which an injunction has not somewhere made a crime, started by these subversions of constitutional liberty. We have met to counsel together, and have come to the following

Whereas, The present strike of the coal miners has again demonstrated the fact that our so-called liberty is not freedom, but is a stupendous sham, under which millions are degenerating, while hundreds of thousands-men women and children-are starving in hovels and on the public highways;

Whereas, This condition has come permanent for a large and everincreasing number of our population, so long as we permit a comparatively small class of legalized exploiters monopolize the means of production and distribution for their private bene fit-a fact again obvious in the case

"Whereas, Appeals to congress and to the courts for relief are fruitless, since the legislative as well as the executive's judicial powers are under trol of the capitalistic class, so that it has come to pass in this 'free country that while cattle and swine have right to the public highways Americans, so-called freemen, have not.

"Whereas, Our capitalistic class, as is again shown in the present strike, is and has not only policemen, marshals, sheriff and deputies, but also a regular army and militia in order to enforce government by injunction, suppressing lawful assemblage, free speech and the right to the public highway, while on the other hand the laboring men of the country are unwords and spirit of the constitution of the United States; therefore, be it FRIDAY, SEPT. 3, 1897.

in the interests of the single tax theory. Mr. Stephens said that the remedy, Friday, Sept. 3, 1897, as a 'Good Fri-

in America, and contribute the earnings of that day to the support of our struggling brothers, the miners, and appeal to every union man and every friend of labor throughout the country

to do likewise.
"Resolved, If the strike of the miners is not settled by the 20th day of September, 1897, and announcement made to that effect by the president of the United Mine-Workers a general convention be held at Chicago on Mon-day, Sept. 27, 1897, by the representatives of all unions, sections, branches, lodges and kindred organizations, of laboring men and friends of their cause for the purpose of considering further measures in behalf of the industrial masses.

"Resolved, That we consider the use of the ballot as the best and safest means for the amelioration of the hardships under which the laboring class

"Resolved, That the collective ownership of all mines and railways is one of the most necessary reforms for our oody politic.

"Resolved, That we most emphatically protest against government by injunction which plays havoc with even such political liberty as workingmen have saved from the steady encroachment of capitalism, and be it finally

"Resolved, That no nation in which the people are totally disarmed can long remain a free nation, and, therefore, we urge upon all liberty-loving citizens to remember and obey article 2 of the constitution of the United States, which reads as follows:

"The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.' A long discussion followed the read-ing of the resolutions.

J. B. Osborne proposed as an amendment that the striking miners should apply for admission into the county poor houses in order that they might be supported by the same authorities which were sustaining the injunction system.

President Ratchford stated that the miners were working people, and they were not yet ready to admit that they were paupers. The convention had come to fight government by injunction, and if the convention wished to go a step further and raise a fund for their aid by setting aside next Friday's wages, it was all right, but the fight in which all were interested must not be forgotten.

H. W. Steinbiss moved to lay the amendment on the table.

Frank Stephens urged that if nothing was done but to raise money for the miners, the people would go back whipped just the same. He said the only way to get at the root of the evil and kill it was by the single tax system.

G. C. Clemons, of Kansas, said he had come 700 miles to speak to the convention and that he must say that it had proved to be the tamest aggregation of wild animals be had ever seen. In his closing

Pat O'Neill said that it had been reported that there were factions in the convention, but there were not.

W. D. Mahen followed in the same strain, saying that, however much the single taxers, the socialists, the Social Democrats, the labor unions and other organizations might be divided on theories, they were a united brotherhood in fighting government by in-

Mr. Ratchford said that though labor organizations might differ on points in their platforms they were a unit in opposing injunctions. He believed the land belonged to the people, but asked what in the name of heaven was the

use of discussing something so far off. H. Martin Williams, a single taxer, said he was willing to vote for "Good Friday's wages to be paid out for striking miners, but that even if the fight against injunctions was won, what good would it do, anyhow? He thought system of government needed changing

The poorhouse amendment was lost. H. H. Clayburn spcke on the second part of the resolution, calling for the of the United States are directed convention in Chicago September 27. He said if nothing could be done here nothing could be done in Chicago. He moved to strike out the second resolution and to take decided action now. T.P.Quinn criticized President Ratch-

ford's call, and said he believed Mr. Ratchford had not read it closely himself, or he would not be urging such conservative measures as calling congress together. He favored the second convention on Sept. 27.

H. W. Steinbiss urged prompt action After several more talks the convention adjourned until 2 p. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The afternoon session was called to order at 2:10 p. m. Chairman Prescott stated that the motion before the house was on the call for a second conven-

Pat O'Neill rose to speak on the motion. His right to speak was challenged by W. D. Mahen, who asked why the miners of Missouri and Kanwhom Mr. O'Neill represented, had not thrown down their tools when the other miners struck. Mr. O'Neill replied that it was the fault of the state organizers, and wished to apologize for

President Ratchford stated in reply

that if the miners of Missouri and Kansas had been anxious to join in the strike they would have done so, and that no organizer could have prevent-Mr. O'Neill said the organizers had

represented that it was useless to join the strike, but they awaited the orders of this convention.

should, if his statements were true, at once send a telegram calling out the miners of Missouri and Kansas, He also urged the calling of the second convention at Chicago.

W. D. Mahen said that Mr. O'Neill had come here as a representative of what he claimed to be miners who were now at work, and he wanted now to give advice to the miners who had en out on a strike since July 3.

Mr. Mahen proceeded to pour hot shot into the miners of Missouri. He urged the calling of the second convention in Chicago on Sept. 27.

calling another convention until it was

Victor L. Berger, of the committee on resolutions, said that a movement that ceased to move ceased to be a movement; for that reason he favored ought to be in Chicago, because Chicago was the Paris of America. "What is the matter with Milwaukee?" called some one.

The next section, amended to read government ownership of all necessary means of production and distribution, was next discussed. Frank Stephens offered a substitute on this from the single tax standpoint. The previous question was called for. Stephens' amendments were lost and the original section of the committee's report adopted.

On motion of Mr. Clemons the next two sections, one referring to the right of citizens to carry arms, and the other that government by injunction is subversive of free institutions, were put by the chairman. Sheridan Webster opposed both sections, if adopting them meant that this was the end and the miners were to be left to themselves to fight single handed against the forces of combined capital.

J. R. Sovereign said that an appeal to congress would do no good. courts would declare their acts unconstitutional and the effort would do no good. He believed in Americans standing up for their rights. If a thousand men were incarcerated, like Eugene V. Debs had been, 2,000 should be ready to take their places until the damnable outrages against a free people had been ended.

MR. DEBS' SPEECH. At the close of Mr. Sovereign's speech

the people clamored for Eugene V. Debs, who finally addressed the convention. He spoke as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention and Ladies-I believe the gravity of the industrial situation is fully understood by every delegate here, and you gentlemen are aware that liberty is dead on American soil.

"I wish to state, in support of what I say, that I have appealed to all the courts in this country from the lowest to the highest and have failed to get justice. I shall appeal no more. federal judges of this country are but the creatures of plutocracy.

"The American Railway Union raised \$40,000 to test this question, only to be told in the end that we had no rights in this country which corporate wealth is bound to respect.

"There have been combinations of wealth for a long time, and the time has now come, my friends, for a combination of the common people to rise up in their might and beat back to their native hell the allied forces of

"It will not be long before Labor day and it is a sad thing to think that on and misery its color should be as that day, when labor should celebrate black as the raven's wing." its independence, we should still see labor rattling its chains to the music of its own groans.

"Labor is the cheapest commodity on God's earth, and yet there are those who would have it at a lower price. Only the other day the united voice of labor was raised against the appointment of Mr. Powderly to a federal position, and I notice that he was promptly put into the place. (Mingled cheers and hisses.) From justice of the peace to justice of the supreme court of the United States all the judicial powers against labor. All the organized nst labor and if labor expects to emancipate itself labor itself must do it."

"In my own state there are today almost 8,000 men and their families. Think of it! Do you realize what I mean when I say starving? In the presence of the awful facts and ghastly misery in the mining districts description sits down podraw pictures of the scene. down powerless to

"The time has not yet quite come to incite the populace to arise in its might but I want to serve notice to the plutocracy that we are to hold a meeting next month in Chicago to keep these questions alive, and one meeting shall ollow another to keep these questions alive till there shall be such an uprising as the world has never seen.

"I have been called a demagogue by the newspapers, and I accept the title, if being a demagogue means a man who stood in the front ranks with his colleagues in Chicago in 1894 and braved the dangers of that hour.

"I did not come here for the purpose of furthering the Social Democracy or any other movement. "There is no division among us. If

your heart is touched with the scene of human suffering, I care not what you are, we can stand shoulder to shoulder in this fight. I am myself a unionist and a socialist, and I am ready at all times to fight their battles,

'I am no pessimist. I do not stand with those who cannot see a single star of hope in the heavens. I am not a prophet, either, but I can see the be-

ginning of the end.
"Another meeting is to follow this.

other meeting will follow that, and another, until there is an uprising that will sweep away the Supreme Court our congress, and when that time shall come American freemen shall have their rights. We will then suppress the injunction, and the issuer of the injunction with it.

"The last quarter of a century has so degraded American workingmen that there is hardly any spirit left in them. I have read that we are reaching a point where all trouble in civilized countries will be settled without the Sheridan Webster was opposed to aid of the sword or the bullet, but I want to say, should it be necessary in seen what this convention was going to defense of American liberty, I shall be found in the time of trouble, not in the rear, saying 'go,' but in the lead, calling on you to come. It may in the course of human events become necessary that blood shall be shed, and I the second convention at Chicago. It may go down to my grave a slave, but at the resurrection I do not want to hear the clanking of chains on my children.

"What little brain I may have is not for sale. It is not on the market, and the plutocracy has not money enough to buy it. They may exile me and those I love, but, in the language of the revolutionary patriot, I will part with my manhood. The judiciary has put a padlock on my lips and has forbidden me to walk on the highway, but it is of no avail; the liberties of a free people cry aloud for protection, and my voice shall not be still. I am doing is not for humanity, but to still the cry of my own conscience. The duty we owe is first to ourselves. Let me say to you that with unity of purpose there is power enough in this convention to revolutionize the country in twelve months.

"Not long ago I was with Mr. Martin in the mining districts of West Virginia. Everything there is owned by corporations, and the miners have become so fearful of their power that they do not know whether they own their own souls. A miner started to tell me of the misery I could see they were suffering, and when I asked him his name he looked frightened and slipped away. He was afraid.

"The mining companies employ preachers by the year to preach to the miners, and in their sermons to tell chance visitors of how fatherly the care of the company for the miner is. Fatherly care in paying him off in checks on the truck store which belongs to the company, where the miner is swindled in the prices he pays and always kept in debt to the company. They have a school house there, too. A school house where there have been no children across its threshold for five years. And it is right that there should be none. In the name of God, why do they want to educate the children in order to make the realities of their life more horrible to them than it is now, The more ignorant they are the better it is for them while condemned to such abject misery.

"Did you ever notice that whenever the plutceracy have any really dirty work to do they always employ a preacher to do it for them, and preacher never finds a case so bad but what he is able to excuse it on some text built from the life of the Man of Sorrows who was acquainted with grief. I saw a procession of hungry children in West Virginia, and at their head was an American flag, and I said if the American flag typified such "This movement has attained tre-

mendous impetus, and will go ahead with a rush. When the people are ready, and that day is not far off, my friends, there will be a spontaneous uprising, the supreme court will abolished, congress dispersed and the sacred rights of American citizens and American freedmen will be enthroned. (Great applause.)

"I plead guilty to the charge of being radical. I only wish you would allow me to be more radical still. Support us, gentlemen of the convention, and I promise you we will support the attempt to abolish government by inthem.

"On bearing arms: I hope in the march of common intelligence we will reach a point where we will be able to settle these questions without appealing to the sword or bullet. I cannot tell. Certain it is there are thousands of our fellow-citizens suffering, and certain it is this cannot last. The time will come to incite the populace. When this time comes you can depend on me. (Cheers.) I will not stand in the rear and ask you to go ahead. I will be in front and say to you: 'Come on' (Renewed cheering)

"I shrink from that bloodshed (Mr. Debs paused impressively), but if this is necessary to preserve liberty and our rights in that event I will shed the last drop of blood that courses through my veins. (Outbreak of cheering.)

"Plutocracy cannot buy me; they may send me to jail; may ostracize me, or hang me; but, in the language of the revolutionary heroes, I do not propose to part company with self-respect, independence and manhood. We no longer have a republic; there is not a vestige of it left.

The people are ripe for a great change. All they lack is direction and leadership. Let this conference supply it. Let this conference set the pace. Announce to the world that it will temporarily adjourn for three weeks to renew preparations. Ask every man to pledge himself to be there.'

Robert Askew of Michigan immediately demanded that Mr. O'Neill's It is called for in the resolutions. An-followed the conclusion of Mr. Debs' A scene of extraordinary enthusiasm address, which, from first to last, had been punctuated with applause and cheers, and for nearly ten minutes peo ple shouted and cheered and crowded to congratulate the eloquent speaker.

After a great deal of discussion one of the sections of the resolutions reported by the committee was amended to read as follows:

'Resolved No. 2, That a general con vention to be composed of representa-tives of all unions, sections, branches, lodges and kindred organizations of laboring men and their cause for the purpose of considering further measures in their interests, in the interests of the striking miners and labor in general, to be held in the city of Chicago, Sept. 27; 1897, and to promote the unification of all labor organizations in matters of common interest.

A supplementary resolution to the foregoing was adopted, deciding that delegates for the Chicago convention should be selected, one for each local union, and two in addition for each congressional district, and also, that a committee consisting of one from each central or general body represented in the St. Louis convention should be at once selected to issue a call for the convention.

In pursuance of this resolution President Prescott selected the following as the committee to issue the call: F. J. Donnel, W. D. Mahen, James O'Connell, J. R. Sovereign and Eugene V.

The resolution calling on other miners to come out was as follows:

Whereas, It has been learned by the members of this convention that coal miners are now at work in Missouri, Kentucky and other Iowa, Kansas, fields; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That this convention denounces such working miners as enemies of human liberty so long as they continue their present course, and we demand that they lay down their tools immediately and join with the forces now engaged in the struggle to emancipate the workingmen of America.'

The last resolution adopted was the one suggested by President Ratchford, which President McKinley was urged to call an extra session of congress to define the rights of the courts and the people. Chairman Prescott and Secretary Pearce were requested to draw up the petition to the president.

A resolution was also adopted proclaiming a boycott on the product of the Armour Packing Company of Kansas City, Kan,

The convention adjourned sine die at 6:30 p. m.

To Our Leader.

"The cowardly, brutal and wholly un-American reign of injunctional govern-ment has got to end.

Let us now meet it as it would have been met by the patriots of 1776."

EUGENE V. DEBS.

Yes, Eugene, we'll meet it bravely, meet it like the sons of men,
For the wrongs of many years shall waken us again;
We'll meet it though we're crushed by laws nefarious and mean.
And swear by God's eternal law to restore what might have been.
Have hopes, our country's not yet lost—there's brave manhood born yet
To avenge the wrongs of silent years we

To avenge the wrongs of silent years we never can forget,

The curse and sufferings of the poor de-nied their lawful right. The disinherited of earth—the victims of foul might.

foul might.

Lead on, Eugene, we're with you, for the memory of the past.

Recalls to us base treachery, no longer now to last;

We're coming, Brother Eugene, coming upfrom hill and glen

American men.

Lead on for we are with you fighting for

American men.

Lead on, for we are with you fighting for the cause of right,

And will meet it as our fathers did,

Crushing unholy might.

MURPHY O'HEA.

Co-operative Hatters.

Some time ago the secretary of the ommission noticed the work that the labor exchange of Orange, N. J., was doing in placing its idle members, principally hatters, at work. They are cooperating, and doing quite a business.

He wrote to the manager of the fac-tory, Mr. Arrowsmith, for information as to hats, and also as to the rabbit fur from which hats are made, as it seemed as though a thriving industry might be started in the colony. In rehe received the following characteristic letter, which is self explana-

tory:
"Your kind response to suggestion in Coming Nation at hand. Have delayed answering because I wanted to send therewith catalogue of styles and prices. Fill out your order again as per directions and send with part payment sufficient to cover purchase of crude stock. Perhaps you may see an other style you like better.

"As to agents; bless you! We wan them at once. Try to see what can be done in Chicago or elsewhere, if you will. But since we have no capital agents will have to advance one-half the price for samples needed.

"What can be done in the S. D. branches? Perhaps you may be able to send some poor A. R. U. man out among the new S. D. members and in that way help him to earn a livelihood.

"All fur from which hats are made is imported, mainly from Russia and Australia. It costs from 30 cents to \$3 per pound, and up, according to

"Now, help us along, and write me what you think of the Social Democracy hat. You know it is fashioned after the English Socialist's (William

Morris) hat. "Much hope and great appreciation of your big-heartedness toward us of the effete east, I am, always, yours

"J. W. ARROWSMITH." Labor Exchange, Orange, N. J.

sincerely.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

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

Notes from Boston, Milwaukee, Etc. Our Leader's Doings. Fourteen New Branches Organized.

A large number of visitors to headquarters indicates that there is a constant growth of interest from the out-

Secretary-Commissioner Willard has been hard at it all the week, of which the colonization department in this issue gives some evidence.

Director W. E. Burns, who has been on the sick list during the early part of the week, has recovered and is billed to make an address at Davenport, Ia., on Labor day.

Roy M. Goodwin will deliver an adat the Labor day demonstration in Milwaukee and Organizer John F. Lloyd will speak the same day at Terre Haute, Ind., under the auspices of the Central Labor Union.

During the past week the executive officers have been busy not only with routine of the organization but also in helping to make the St. Louis conference a success. Chairman E. V. Debs. Secretary Sylvester Keliher and Director Hogan were in St. Louis, as was also National Organizer J. F. Lloyd. Their sayings and doings will be found in another column.

One of the signs of the times as re ported by Organizer Burns is shown in the fact that Dr. J. W. Morgan, of Mo line, Ill., a prominent physician, and noted in that section as an orator in advocacy of the rights of humanity, has recently come out flat-footed in endorsement of the principles of the Social Democracy.

Since the last issue of The Social Democrat local branches have been organized as follows: Two in Columbus, O., and one each in Bay City, Mich. Milwaukee, Wis .: Ontario, Cal.; Cleveland, O.; Gun Marsh, Mich.; Seattle Wash .: Fairmount, W. Va.; Los Angeles, Cal.; Montgomery, Ala.; Philadelphia; Leechburg, Pa.; Denison, Tex-as, fourteen in all, a very healthy growth for an organization which "our friends the enemy", claim is a failure.

The central agitation committee of the Social Democracy in its meeting Sunday, Aug. 22, passed the following resolution:

Resolved, that the Social Democracy of Milwaukee through its central organization congratulates itself upon having had the invaluable services of such true workers as Messrs. John F. Lloyd and Roy M. Goodwin, in the task of establishing branches in the various wards, and that we extend to Messrs. Lloyd and Goodwin our hearty thanks for the work they have done in our be-

The first public meeting of the Boston branch of the Social Democracy was held on Boston Common Aug. 22, and was addressed by Mr. Theo. W. Curtis and Mr. J. Carty. The meeting was a success in numbers and enthusiasm. Quite a spirit of inquiry was shown, and many names were given in for membership. One hundred copies of the Social Democrat were sold. The petition for free speech was read and indorsed by the large gathering and appeared in the next morning's papers. Mr. Curtis, the chairman of the Boston branch, has been several times fined and imprisoned for asserting the right of free speech on Boston Common and other squares of the city, until he finally won the recognition of his right. The members of the Socialist Labor party have since followed him in the exercise of this larger privilege, till one of their number, Mrs. lice about two weeks ago.

Make Meetings Interesting.

Editor Democrat: In order to have the meetings interesting it has been suggested to that we follow the same plan as they did in the old People's party of Milwaukee. It resulted in getting their party to 12,000 and it kept them together solid.

This was to have a good solid lecture of from twenty to thirty minutes, not longer at any time than thirty Then leave out three or four points for debate and encourage and even ask the members to take part.

Music, both vocal and instrumental should be provided and interspersed with the exercise, having it at the beginning and closing of the meeting. ONLOOKER.

A wise Frenchman once said: 'Monarchies are destroyed by poverty, and republics by wealth."

> MEETINGS OF LOCAL BRANCHES

[Notices of meetings will be publish-under this head for 25c per month.]

Illinois Branch No. 10 meets every Thursday at 138 N. Clark street, Chicago. Illinois Branch No. 2 meets every Sun-day at 8 p. m., Nathan's Hall, corner Milwaukee and Western avenues, Chi-

Pennsylvania Branch No. 1 meets every Sunday 8 p. m., Co-operative Hall, 1125 Poplar street, Philadelphia.

The Social Democrat

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DECLARATIONS 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. 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 politically 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 labor is robbed of the wealth it produces. By the development of this system it is denied the means of self-employment, and by enforced, didness through lack of employment, is even deprived of the necessaries of life.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can be plainly traced the existence of a commence of the existence of the existence of a commence of the existence of a commence of the existence of the exi

products. The fruits of this co-operative labor are, in a great measure, appropriated by the owners of the means of production, 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 the small class of great employers and capitalists.

The system of the small class of great employers and capitalists.

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The system of the small class of great employers and capitalists.

The system of the system of the small class of great employers and capitalists.

The system of this system, which makes many the system of the system of the 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 enslavement of men and the starvation of women and children.

We, therefore, hold that in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and therefore call upon all honest cities of the system of the sais upon which this system rests, and thereby work out its own downfall.

We therefore call upon all honest cities of the system of the basis upon which this system rests, and thereby work out its own downfall.

We therefore call upon all honest cities and the sunger of the special point of the production of the stars of which we may be ready to conduct 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 production, transportation and distribution, to the people warrance of civilization and ultimately in augurate the universal brotherhood of man. The Social Democracy of America will make democracy "the rule of the present state of planless production, transportation and united in

DEMANDS FOR RELIEF:

i. The public ownership of all industries introlled by monopolies, trusts and com-

1. The public ownership or all railroads, controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

2. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water works, gas and electric plants, and all other public telephone, copper, lead, coal, iron and all other min telephone, copper, lead, coal, iron and all other min telephone, copper, lead, coal, iron and all other min telephone, copper, lead, coal, iron and all other min telephone, and control to the new soft of the employment of the unemployed, 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. public.
7. The establishment of Postal Savings

8. The adoption of the Initiative and the Referendum, the Imperative Mandate and Proportional Representation.

Socialism does not wish to abolish private property, or accumulation of wealth; but aims to replace the present system of private capital by a sys-tem of collective capital, which would introduce a unified organization of national labor.-Prof. Schaeffle.

Official Gazette of the Social Democracy الدودودوم

Sylvester Keliher, National Secretary.

In this column will be found all offiial notices and reports. The executive board of each local branch should see to it that all matter requiring the action of local branches should be presented

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

NOTICE

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

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 informatica required on various re-ports, and your full address in each

At the close of each meeting the treasurer 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 for warded.

HOW TO ORGANIZE.

Local branches should be organized at every available point. Five or more reputable persons who

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 Constitution; have the board meet and elect a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer and organizer. The new officer should take charge of meeting 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 Counci 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 officers, all members who have paid the required fee, and correct ad dress in each case, so that paper can be promptly forwarded. Only the names 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 monthly 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 sup-plies 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 Postal card receipts, per hundred. 1.50

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

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I placed myself under your care. Your reputation is
the most competent in the land had so impressed me
that, from the first, I felt that I was soon to realize
the most that skill and ingenuity could possibly do for
me. In this I have not been disappointed, for your labors have
restored me to my feet, and I am,
for all practical purposes, myself
again. I well remember how
proud I was when your genius
placed me in a position in which
I could indulge in youthful sports,
how I availed myself of every advantage, playing ball, boating,
fishing and hanting in summer,
and skating in winter. I even
went so far as to swing my partner on several occasions in rural
dances. I have always felt that
your artificial legs were wonders,
and ought to be known throughout the land. My latest fad is
riding a bicycle. I found the
task difficult at first, but after repeated attempts I ride w
Respectfully you BOTH LEGS AMPUTATED BELOW THE KNEES.

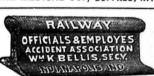
eated attempts I ride well and enjoy it.
Respectfully yours. JAMES A. McDONALD, P. M.

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