CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, THURSDAY, MAY 26, 1898.

NO: 21

CURRENT NOTES.

IMPORTANCE OF THE COMING SOCIAL DEMOCRACY CONVENTION.

Delegates Will Have Questions of World lide Interest to Consider, and They Must Act Wisely.

European capitalist circles have re-cently been treated to something of a sensation, according to press dispatches from across the water by the attitude of Vorwaerts (Berlin), the principal organ of the German Social Democracy concerning the pending war between the United States and Spain. Vor-waerts openly favors the United States, and looks with favor on American interference in the affairs of Europe. The

utterance which has evoked capitalist comment is as follows:
Into the putrid swamp of European politics has been cast a stone and the turbid, simp waters spout up. The great republic on yonder side of the ocean, without castles, nobles, or standing army, has suddenly sprung out of her position of neutrality to Europe and one European state which has slaughtered myriads of men wrestling for freedom is undone. Old Europe in consequence is shaken to Its foundations by a new power—no militarism, no huge fleet-yet a mighty, overwhelmingly mighty elemental power. In Asia the same phenomenon occurred, The new power became the tongue of the scales. Even if the talk of alliance with England comes to nothing the new Amer-

given public expression to sentiments distinctly favorable to the United

ocratic party in the German empire is considered it may well be imagined that its position on this question has considerable interest for the capitalist masters of Europe, and especially of Germany. The existing German government is notoriously inimical to the United States and looks with extreme disfavor on the American conquest of the Philippines, considering this a menace to German commercial interests in the east; and it would undoubtinterfere in the existing contest, to the extent, at least, of preventing American occupation of the Philippines if it dared to do so. Several consider-ations enter into the question of German intervention, not the least import ant of which is the attitude of the extremely powerful and united German Socialist party, and the feeling that the army, saturated as it is with Socialism might not be depended on to carry out the behests of capitalism. When the Social Democratic party, then, officially voices sentiments favorable to the United States, it comes in the nature of a warning to the German government to keep its hands off, and is well calculated to create consternation in the ranks of capitalism.

And why should not our German comrades, why should not all Socialists throughout the world favor the United States in the pending contest and hope for her speedy success in the task she has set out to accomplish?

From the evolutionary standpoint the success of American arms, and the active extension of American commercial interests in the far east which will follow as a consequence—and this is undoubtedly the real motive for the war-is much to be desired by Socialists everywhere. This merely repre-sents another step in the development of the international character of capitalism, out of which Socialism is evolved, and it unerringly indicates a step in advance towards that condition of Socialist peace and brotherhood that is one day to dawn upon the world, when "men shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears in o pruning hooks, and the nations shall

In all its outlines the present war is a capitalist expedient for the conquest of markets, and incidentally to in-crease the burdens of taxation and aded indebtedness now resting on the American people, and more certainly divert the results of industry into apitalist coffers

Under the hypocritical pretense of "Christianizing" and "civilizing" the beathen capitalist England has advanced her flag into all quarters of the globe and unmercifully exploited the workers of every race and clime. She has thus established the world-embrac ing character of the capitalist principle and placed in clear outline its developmental tendencies. By means of her world exploiting activity England has tion to the breaking down of race prej dices and the advancement international solidarity among the workers which is a cond tion of Socialism. She has thus con-tributed more than any other nation so far to bring about Socialism—to make Socialism possible. It was no ac cident which enabled Karl Marx to establish the scientific character of mod-ern Socialism out of his analysis of the development of English capital

Under the hypocritical pretense o relieving the sufferings of the outraged and starving Cubans, with the battlecry of "A war for humanity" soundin from the lips of its infamous and men dacious capitalist masters, capitalist America has riven the bonds of her America has riven the bonds of he continental integument and evolved, al most in a day, a colonial policy for the expansion of her markets and the agessive extension of her commerci interests throughout the world. Car it be doubted that America's su will contribute to ripen the fruit o capitalism, to hasten the downfall of the economic system which is now enslaving the workers of the world? Can bitration bill.

it be doubted that American success will hasten the coming of the day when Socialism will dawn upon the world? Wholly apart from any al stract notions of the iniquity and use-lessness of war, wholly apart from any question of the position of Socialism as to war in general, the Socialist is bound to take note of the developmen-tal aspect of the inevitable world event which is now taking place and pray for the speedy success of the American arms, as such success brings the realization of his dreams one step nearer And this should be done without in any way failing to emphasize the distinctively capitalist character of th contest. We do not need to favor America from the naive standpoint of American patriotism. We can favor the success of our own country-thank heaven that it is so!-because we are

An event which is fraught with fully as important consequences to the fu-ture of American Socialism as the pending war is the convention of the Social Democracy of America, which is to assemble on the 7th of next month. This is the first annual gathering of the representatives of a movement the first of its kind-which announces itself as distinctively an American So-cialist movement, and on the wisdom of those representatives in framing measures for the future guidance of the organization will depend its future success. They will have it in their power to immeasurably advance or to woefully retard the progress of Socialism on American soil. If they are wise they will formulate an AMERICAN policy for "American Socialism." This question of war is one of the things which, of necessity, will have to be considered. It will be necessary for the Social Democracy to make a dec-laration of its position, to show the world where it stands on this question. Let it be American in this, as in all other of its declarations. Let it place itself in the straight line of evolution of American Socialism, and while hold-ing fast to principle and sacrificing nothing from the interests of the general Socialist movement, let it an-nounce to the world that there is wisdom and statesmanship enough among its leaders to enable them to work in harmony with the evolutionary forces that are working out American destiny, to recognize the logic of events and to utilize American developmental tendencies for the good of the cause they represent. Either vapid or stormy utterances are easy to make. A wise strong, deliberate and statesmanlike declaration that exhibts a complete understanding of the situation in all its aspects is not so easy—but the latter is what is desired.

The war is not the only thing the

convention will have to deal with.

There are many important matters of internal policy to consider, and radi-cal changes are needed in our constitu-tion. The present plan of monthly dues is very unsatisfactory and entails a great deal of useless work and ex-pense upon the general office. Dues should be paid annually or semi-annually, or at least quarterly. Extensive changes should be made in the management of the Social Democrat, and it should be improved in many ways. The paper is not now truly representative of the organization, nor can it be under present arrangements. Neither is it properly edited. No person recog-nizes the deficiencies of the paper bet-ter than its present editor, but he has been placed in a position where it is impossible for him to correct them. The convention will need to provide facilities for the publication of a paper that will be in every way representative of this grand movement. There are many other things which might be mentioned, but they are matters of detail which will come up and be disposed of in due course in the regular routine of convention busi-ness. The really important thing for delegates to consider is the formulation nderstood. political and economic policy for the The fear that the Soorganization. cial Democracy will fuse with any capitalist political party, or any reaction-ary reform party, for the purpose of gaining political preferment for its leaders must be forever removed frum the minds of those who are inclined to unite with us. This can only be done by means of adequate constitutional provision, placing it absolutely beyond to control the organization or dictate its policy in the interests of any political party whatever. It has been more than hinted that certain professional politicians were working to con-trol various state organizations of the Social Democracy in their own inter ests and regardless of the aims and principles of the organization as a whole. Such a thing as this must be rendered forever impossible. The whole theory of the organization of the state unions placed on such a basis as will render it impossible for state is not completely in harmony with the course of the organization as a national body. There are other matters of importance which might be mentioned, but space forbids at this time. The but space forbids at this time. The main thing to be considered is that, if the Social Democracy is to be a true representative of the American Social-ist movement, it must formulate and execute a policy which will harmonize with American conditions and keep in

of the situation.

touch with American peculiarities and

aspirations. Let us have faith that the delegates will rise to the requirements

HERE'S SLAVERY.

NOT ON THE ISLAND OF CUBA, BUT IN A CHICAGO PRINTING HOUSE.

Rules Which Indicate the Desperate Condition of Slavery of the Workers Who Submit to Them.

The attention of those who are afraid of the "slavery of socialism" is called to the following code of rules, now in actual force in the job printing establishment of A. L. Swift & Co., Chicago. This capitalist slavery is more complete than anything that has yet been suggested as a consequence of Socialism. The code should be carefully read by our "free and independent American workingmen:

Every person employed by us is cau-ioned to read carefully the following tioned to read caretiniy the ionowing rules bearing upon their pay:

1. Immediately upon securing employ-ment a key will be assigned him, and the number of this key printed by him on the tape in the clock will thereafter be con-sidered as the signature of the employe

sidered as the signature of the employe using it.

II. Upon starting work each time, the employe will use the key and the time or egistered will be considered as the time of starting to work. If he does not register in, he will not be considered at work and will not be paid for it. No one must use your key for you, and no signature will be considered present if it is made before 15 minutes of time to start work. That is, if at noon-you register out and in at the same time, you will not be considered as registering in for one o'clock but must do so within 15 minutes of one o'clock.

III. Upon stopping work he will register out with his key, and if he does not so register out it will be understood to mean that he laid off immediately after registering in, and he will not be paid for the half day.

half day.

1V. Any one not registering in, previous to 7 a. m. and 1 p. m. will not start to work until 8 a. m. or 2 p. m., as his time will not start till then.

will not start till then.

V. If late in this matter four times without excuse satisfactory at the time to A. L. Swift, the employee will be forced to lay off one day. Record of the times late will be kept, and if employe does not want to have a time late charged against him, he must arrange at the time by giving a valid and satisfactory excuse to A. L. Swift.

VI. Any employe may leave our employ

ling a valid and satisfactory excuse to A. L. Swift.

VI. Any employe may leave our employ at any time, but notice must be given us during or at the end of the day, that we may not be depending upon his services and thus entail loss. Failure to do this will be taken care of as follows:

In case of employe of composing room, if he leaves our employ without notice, he agrees that his time will not be turned in by the foreman till the following week.

In case of an employe of the pressroom who leaves without notice, he will be charged for standing press till his place is filled and will also be charged with any extra expense incurred in filling his place.

any extra expense incurred in filling his place.

VII. Overtime.—When directed to work, overtime, which will be paid for according to scale, the employe will before starting to work secure an overtime ticket from his foreman, which must be properly filled out and handed by the employe to A. L. Swift immediately on starting to work next time. If this is not done it is understood the employe agrees to make no charge for his overtime, and no payment will be made for same under any circumstances.

VIII. Any employe failing to report for duty without at once notifying his foreman will be considered as having jumped his situation, and, if desiring re-employment here, must secure it through A. L. Swift.

Swift.

IX. Each employe is cautioned to have a written order, O. K. or record left in job ticket for anything done. In event of an error the responsibility will be located solely by the record shown in the ticket. If you have an O. K. letting you out, that settles it; if not, you pay for the job, no matter how you claim you were verbally instructed. TO PROTECT YOURSELF, GET AN O. K.

X. Everybody will have to stand the

were verhally instructed. TO PROTECT YOURSELF, GET AN O. K.

X. Everybody will have to stand the cost of his own mistakes; no exception will be made; therefore get an O. K. always. We don't ask you to take the slightest responsibility.

XI. It will rest with the employe who takes in the job to see that all instructions and necessary data are written on the ticket. However, any one going ahead with any part of a job without specific instructions in writing on each detail does so at his or her own risk.

XII. Any loss, such as standing press, e.c., occasioned by an employe refusing to proceed with a job on account of absence of detailed instructions (like color of ink, etc.), will be charged to the employe who took in the job and failed to get on record full instructions.

XIII. No employe is authorized to receive a job without a deposit.

XIV. No employe is authorized to extend a credit.

XV. No employe is authorized to make a settlement in dispute.

XVI. No employe is authorized to make a collection, or to make a contract, or to place an order with any one for goods.

XVI. No employe is authorized to make a collection, or to make a contract, or to place an order with any one for goods of any nature.

XVII. Everything of this nature must be referred to Mr. Etten, treasurer, who may, however, instruct any employe what to do in any specific case. This instruction will not, however, apply to any other case than the single one at that time mentioned.

delivery of goods until inquiring of Mr Etten if it is proper to do so. Have his O. K. on the stub of receipt book on every delivery made, and before the goods are

XIX. Any one taking the responsibility, under any circumstances, of using their best judgment in taking any action under paragraphs XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII and XVIII, will do so, knowing that they will be held for any loss or expense incurred by this operation.

XX. Put an imprint on all jobs that will permit of it. Failure to do so will cause the job to be run through again for imprint at the joint expense of the proofreader, the foreman and the compositor.

XXI. Every employe is instructed

having been put in by the employe will be withheld.

XXII. No one is authorized, under any circhmstances, to give orders for making a correction of an error or spoilage. In all cases these matters must simply be reported to A. L. Swift, who will have the correction made if he so decides.

XXIII. Our business office force is now of sufficient size to in all cases have a ticket made before a job is started. Therefore, if the head of any department starts any one to work on a job without

will be deducted from such head of de-partment. This is a severe rule, but no hardship need result to you from it if you simply take refuge behind it and in all cases do not start a job through your department till ticket is made, which shows you the job is entered upon our books.

shows you the job is entered upon our books.

XXIV. Any one who may do any work upon a job that is necessary to correct an error made by an employe must use extra care in seeing that he has a new tleket for the correction. Never feest or run over again a job to correct an error or spoilage unless you have a new ticket for the error or spoilage. If you do, it will appear that you are assisting in keeping the for the additional work done and discharged.

XXV. The pressroom should have on each form an O. K. sheet from the composing room or proofroom specifying the following points in addition to the O. K.; color of ink, and whether to work and turn, work and back, etc., etc. If you run it without this on each form, you do so at your own risk.

turn, work and back, etc., etc. If you run it without this on each form, you do so at your own risk.

XXVI. As a matter of securing proper discipline, announcements is made that first in authority in all mechanical departments is A. L. Swift, and in the absence and at all times considered as representing him. Frank Stephenson.

James Winship for his successor) is foreman of the composing room, and in addition will assume general supervision in securing the best results in the turning out of work in the bindery, Gordon room, the shipping and delivery of work and the planning of work for the cylinder room, but the control of the employes in the bindery and entire press room lies with their respective heads, to whom Winship will make complaint, and in case of getting no satisfaction, lay the matter before A. L. Swift. All employes will obey Winship unless his orders conflict with their immediate foremen, which of course it is not contemplated they will do.

George Wade (or his successor) is fore-

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do.

George Wade (or his successor) is foreman of the pressroom, having charge of the employes, hiring and discharging same. A Gordon pressman is considered as being under Wade's supervision.

Joyee Gordon (or her successor) is forelady in the bindery, having charge of the employes, hiring and discharging them.

XXVII. No head of department will add to or diminish the force in his department until having consulted A. L. Swift.

XXVIII. It is agreed and understood that this agreement is a basis of contract between A. L. Swift.

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CXVIII. It is agreed and understood that the sagreement is a basis of contract between A. L. Swift.

CXVIII. It is agreed and understood that the service of the same of the sum of twenty-five cents is hereby whom of twenty-five cents is hereby acknowledged in full settlement of any and all deductions, charges and allowances claimed under the terms of this contract, and that both parties agree to all of these provisions, and that the signature of each party hereto, as well as their daily signature on the clock-tape, is an evidence that these articles have been read, are understood and are agreed to.

A. L. SWIFT & CO.

"DISSOLUTION" OF THE A. R. U Some time ago the editor of the So cial Democrat received the following

letter:

lerstood and are agree A. L. SWIFT & CO.

New York, April 18, 1898.
Editor Social Democrat:
It is stated in official quarters of the S. L. P. that our Comrade Debs rides on "passes." "Why," they say, "Debs dissolved the American Rallway Union, and this action of his was surely in the interests of the rallway magnates." Why shall we not believe fact he doe. I thus the state of the rallway magnates which was the control of the state publicly (in the Social Democrat if he chooses) the reasons that caused the dissolution of the A. R. U.

This communication was unsigned.

This communication was unsigned and there was nothing received in connection with it to indicate its author ship. It has been stated many times that we could pay no attention anonymous communications, and above letter was disregarded for that reason. It would not be published now but for the fact that an inquiry from Comrade Jos. Whitehorn, ceived a few days ago, appears in the same handwriting, and evidently refers to the communication printed above Comrade Whitehorn's card of inquiry

Dear Comrade:—Please notify me in your letter box of the Social Demerat why my communication mailed to you some four weeks ago was refused publication. Fraternally yours.

20.8. WHITEHORN.

67-73 Rivington st.
As the letter of April 18th is in the same handwriting as the one of May 15th, and is the only thing we have in hand to which the latter can possibly refer, we assume that Comrade White horn is its author. If this assumption is correct, Comrade Whitehorn will know why his previous communication

was refused publication."
As to the A. R. U., it was not dissolved at all. It was merged into Social Democracy of America, and the organization was never more alive than today. The change was made. nct by Comrade Debs, but by a unani mous voic of delegates representing the A. R. U., at a convention held in Chicago in June, 1897. Comrade Debs fav ored this change, but he had no vote in making it, as only the regular delegates

had votes. . The A. R. U. was not disbanded, bu more progressive movement and ever friend of labor should applaud the a The A. R. U. stood for a little wages, and its members were blacklisted and hounded into starva tion and suicide The S. D. of A. is organized to secure, not merely mor wages, but the railroads entire, and will never rest till it gets them. A. R. U. was the most persecuted rail-road organization in existence, and Debs the most hated leader. It was no torious that the railroads did all the could to send Debs to the penitentiary and the intimation that he is now th recipient of their favors would seem to emanate from some institute for the feeble-minded. The persons back of this charge, had Debs falled to favor the advance of the A. R. U. to Socialism, would now be denouncing him as ism, would now be denouncing him as a "fakir." There is not a sane person in the country who believes that Debs is riding on passes, and if he were, the fact could be very easily proven. It is a silly, malicious falsehood, and no one knows this better than the persons who conceived it. Their capitalistic methods of lying and misrepresentation will recoil upon themselves, and the Social Democracy will go marching on.

starts any one to work on a job without first receiving a ticket for same, the cost of the arount of work done on the job and get the big war atlas free.

CLASS STRUGGLE.

TAKING PART IN IT DOES NOT MAKE ONE "CLASS-CONSCIOUS."

To Be "Class Conscious" Is to Be Con us That the Interests of the Producers Are Identical.

The following very able article, bear ing particularly on a point which must receive consideration at the coming convention, is contributed by Victor L. Berger, Editor Daily Vorwaerts, Mil-

The term "class consciousness" a modern phrase and denotes a modern formula for the modern class struggle. But the class struggle itself is not a product of modern times: the history of civilization is full of it. We find it recorded among the ancien Greeks and Romans; we read about it all through the middle ages, among Germanic and Romanic nations; we see a great outburst of it in the French

Revolution of 1789, and we feel its working to-day. True, the class struggle has changed its aspect. The institution of slavery has disappeared from civilized na-tions. Feudalism and its institutions, which for many centuries greatly assisted in marking the differences berobbed of most of its power in Europe and it never had any in America. But the inward differences between the classes have remained, although the classes themselves have changed. Political democracy has proved to be in-adequate to remove the inward differ-

During all history we find an upward tendency in the highest layers of the oppressed classes, an uplifting tendency often causing upheavals and revo-lutions.

Students and close observers feel that

The productive forces that have developed in the present society have become irreconcilable with the very system of property upon which the system is built. Formerly hand labor and individual effort produced the necessi-ties of mankind. At that time production was carried on in small shops and the tools were owned by the work-ers. Private ownership of tools and of land was necessary then. The period of small industries was followed by a chines were introduced, but not on a scale as great as today. In most in-dustries today machine labor of the most advanced kind, and social or associated effort form entirely the mode of production.
"Private ownership of the instru

ments of production—once the means of insuring to the producer the ownership of his product—has now become the means of expropriating not only the wage worker, but the farmer, the artisan, and the small trader as well, and has been the means also of placing the non-producer-the capitalist and the landlord—in possession of the products of labor."—(Engels.)

An ever-growing class of artisans farmers and small traders find that their means of livelihood have already slipped, or are fast slipping, out of their control-are disappearing, so to say-and that they themselves are doomed to become wage workers, "proletarians," dependents upon the capitalist class.

Naturally those classes resist the degradation; and in that sense every organized struggle of the classes of modern society who own no modern means of production ought to be viewed with delight by every true friend of humanity.

It is the class struggle of the present day and tends to the cause of human

But this class struggle takes very different forms. It may be only a useless and unavailing struggle against progress, like the fight of the farmers against corporations and trusts, or like the reaction of the small shopkeepers against the department stores. But it may also be a strike of wage workers for higher wages, an agitation for a shorter work day, a movement for the abolition of child labor or for labor legislation, or a movement for an inde-

endent political party. But it is a class struggle all the same The question is only: Which is ra tional? Which is the most effective? For reasons peculiar to our demo gle has proved itself the most effectiv in every European country; and it cer-tainly is the most important in our democratic America.

democratic America.

But taking part in such a political struggle does not make one necessarily "class conscious." Nor does the fact that one believes in Socialism make

final outcome of the present system, i civilization is to survive, is now pretty generally conceded by most every economist of high standing in the world even by such as are not friendcialism, Herbert Spencer, for

But such a concession is not the re sult of class consciousness. Nor are strikes and boycotts the result of class

Strikes and boycotts are always clas struggles, but the participants car tle or nothing for the laboring in general as long as they win their

The only strike in this country that eve came near being "class conscious," the great railway strike of 1894.

And that was rather the result of un R. U. boys went on a strike to help the

By their action they practically demon strated an instinctive feeling of the unity of interests of all wage workers.

And here we come to the explana tion of the much-abused term "class consciousness." Any workman who understands that the present economic system is creating two classes (i. e., the small class that owns all property and the large class that owns none). and who is conscious of the unity of the interests of the producers, is class

While I personally do believe that the political movement is the most ef-fective, a class conscious Socialist need not necessarily believe in the political movement. And he surely need not be long to any particular political sect, He must understand the working of the capitalist system and the unity of the interests of the proletariat, and of all the producers, broadly speaking-

that is all. Kautsky, in his "Erfurter Programme" (pages 199-200), defines clasconsciousness as follows:

consciousness as follows:

It is fortunate for the progressive development of human society that sooner or later a time is reached by most of the layers of the proletariat, when the uplifting tendencies obtain a decided mastery. These uplifting tendencies are effective enough to awaken in some section or other of the proletariat, a consciousness of self, a consciousness of its class distinction, a consciousness of the solidarity of all its members and of the whole working class, a consciousness of power that is born of their close union. And its influence is bound to pervade the whole class, as soon as any portion of the proletariat has reached the understanding of the fact that its class is an indispensable economic element in so standing of the fact that its class is ai indispensable economic element in so-ciety. As soon as the sense of self-re-spect is kindled in its ranks. As soon as it arrives at the conviction that is brighter future is in store for its clas-and that its emanicipation depends upon itself. As soon as any portion of proletariat has risen high enough in understanding of its situation and mission. Then it becomes difficult push it back to the level of that push it back to the level of that unass of ruined existences, able to hate but not to hold out together in a prolonged struggle; despairing of its future and seeking to forget its misery in vulgar debauchery—a mass which from its distress does not draw the impulse for revolt, but for cowardly subjection.

So Kautsky in his eulogy of class onsciousness.

But the doctrine of class conscious ness has not been preached that way

in this country.

The wage-working class—the prole tariat-is not a fixed class in any country, much less in America. In every civilized country there is a constant flux from and to the proletariat. Entire layers of the middle class are driven to it by the concentration of pro-duction, by the invention of new ma-chinery, or by the effect of competition. On the other hand, many wage workers tramps or criminals.

But in our country there was and is to a certain degree still another reason for the instability of the proletariat. On account of the comparatively thin population, the great natural resources combined with the tremendous "elbow room," the proletarians until lately had a chance to become independent and leave their class.
Such chances exist even now in

limited degree, and instead of trying to organize the resistance of the laboring class, energetic individuals often try to get away from their oppressed class Those who become fanatics of the doc trine of class consciousness will please take this fact into consideration.

Furthermore, the feeling of class distinction in America, at least among native workingmen, has not the same historic foundation that it has in Ger many or England, for instance. Ours has been a democratic country from the start, and the fact that formerly anybody could escape tyranny of every de-scription by moving a little further out into the woods, has made it so. And in the western part of our country a great deal of that spirit has remained.

The capitalists there are mostly of recent origin and have not lost touch with the

working people.

And while they are capitalists and exploiters, neverthelesss their democratic manners tend to hide to a great exists.

To my own knowledge six or seven years ago, the present United States senator, John L. Mitchell, then reputed to be one of the richest capitalists in the Northwest, and to be worth \$25,000,000, took a drink at a well-known bar in my city with a crowd of laboring men in overalls, who all knew him per sonally and addressed him by his first name. You may call it demagogism on his part, but such a thing could not happened in Germany or Eng-

As a matter of fact in the Western states the class distinction between rich and poor, between capitalist and wage worker, is outwardly not as marked as in Europe or in the East. This has also to be taken into consideration when one preaches class con sciousness in America.

Even the manifestation of the class consciousness of the British wage work ers cannot compare with that of the Socialists of Germany, as has been shown during the late strike of British machinists. This finds its explanation in the ethical side of the Socialist propaganda in Germany. The work-ingmen of Germany, so far as they belong to the Social Democracy—and that means nearly all workmen who live in They are literally afraid of neither God nor devil.

But the place of religion has been taken up entirely by Socialism and the idea of solidarity of the workingmen of all nations. Socialism has become a religion with the great mass of the industrial wage

workers of Germany. It has accomplished wonders. Class conscious there has an ethical meaning. It is inded on a deeply religious trait of

(Continued on page 2.)

LAWLESS POLICE

ARREST ORGANIZERS LLOYD AND OS-

Mayor's Permit Did Not Protect the Comrades from Police Outrage Trades Unionists Take Action

"American freedom" is a phrase that is no longer possessed of meaning. It is a body without a soul, an empty sentiment for tyrants to conjure with. The assaults of the minions of capitalism on the constitutionally guaran-teed rights of the American people have become so flagrant, so notorious and open: their outrageous usurpations of authority and criminal disregard for laws enacted for the preservation of individual rights, have become so glaringly wicked, and have been tamely endured by the people for so long a time, that liberty in America is today so dead that it stinks. It has been slaughtered by the guardians of "law and order," and only its festering, putrid carcass remains to cumber Ameri-

By judicial writs of injunction, turn-ing their lawful combinations for protection against capitalistic rape of their means of life into conspiracy; by mili-tary force arrayed against their lawful assemblages, and the cold-blooded and legally sanctioned murder of their peaceful and unarmed members, by arrest and imprisonment of their leaders on trumped up charges; by the prostitution of all the forces of government for the perpetuation of their bondage, American workmen have been deprived of every safeguard of democratic government and the only right which is theirs today is the right of submission

to slavery.

Knowing the situation as it actually exists, the leaders and organizers of the Social Democracy did not expect, while conducting their propaganda for Socialism to escape conflict with the authorities, and when Comrades Lloyd and Osborne began organizing in St. Louis recently they took the precaution to secure from the mayor of the city a permit to hold public meetings. Think of that, ye "free born" American citizens! A PERMIT from your lawfully constituted servant, the creature of your suffrages and the executor of your will a PERMIT authorization of your will a PERMIT authorization of your will a PERMIT authorization of your will a PERMIT authorization. tor of your will, a PERMIT authorizing you to exercise your constitutional right of free speech! Truly, American liberty is entitled to become the proudest boast of all the ages when the educators of the people are placed on the same footing as street fakirs and patent medicine swindlers!

But even permits are no safeguard against outrage from the slavish servi-tors of capitalism clothed in blue suits, brass buttons, "a little brief authority and a luxuriant exuberance of ignor-ance. Even a permit from the high and mighty ruler of St. Louis did not suffice to protect Comrades Lloyd and Osborne from arrest and imprisonment on the grave charge of blocking the sidewalk and expressing sentiments of

an incendiary nature.

The arrest took place as the comrades were addressing a monster meetrades were addressing a monster meeting at the Broadway entrance of the courthouse on the night of the 16th inst. Three patrolmen, significantly and respectively named Condon, McCormack and Flanigan, perpetrated the outrage, confiscating the mayor's permit and incorporating the speakers mit and incarcerating the speakers. Comrades Lloyd and Osborne remained in jail overnight, being released early on the morning of the 17th on a \$4,000 bond furnished by St. Louis comrades

Why were they arrested? The St. Louis Republic, a capitalist sheet, says that "Osborne opened with an argu-ment in favor of government control of corporations and monopolies." When did this become a crime in America? "At the conclusion of Osborne's remarks," says the Republic, "Lloyd began a general analysis of the tariff." It was while Comrade Lloyd was speaking that the arrest took place. is it a crime to talk about the tariff? We admit that a man who talks about the tariff may be deserving of some punishment, but the thing is not yet letined as a crime, and according to the evidence of the capitalist papers hemselves Comrade Lloyd was engaged in a perfectly lawful proceeding. The Milesian censors of public morals, however, did not like the tenor of Comrade Lloyd's tariff talk, and they ordered him to desist. Comrade Lloyd very properly refused to do so, exhib-iting the mayor's permit as his authority to speak, whereupon the permit was confiscated, and both Lloyd and Osborne were marched off to jail. The result of their trial on the charge of making incendiary speeches is told in the following press dispatch from St.

John Lloyd and James Osborn, charged with making incendiary speeches in front of the Court house Monday night, were acquitted in Judge Peabody's court Wednesday.

New Marked in Judge Peabouy's con-wide and Caborne came here recently Lioyd and Osborne came here recently from Chicago as the exponents of ad-vanced ideas of government. The police say that their utterances bordered closely upon anarchy; but the speakers had a permit from the Mayor and the testimony of several spectators was to the effect that the defendants said nothing out of the ordinary.

We are pleased to note that the trades unionists of St. Louis are awake to the grayity of the situation, and have taken vigorous action in regard to the outrage on Comrades Lloyd and Osborne. The Central Trades and Laoor Union unanimously adopted a resolution strongly denouncing the action of the officers who made the arrest, and have made formal complaint to the police commissioners against them.

There are no truer lovers of their country than Socialists. They love it too well to wish to see it ruined by a horde of dollar-hungry capitalists.

SOCIAL FORUM ***************

MR. BARR'S "BROADNESS."

"Stalwart," Worcester, Mass.—The ellppings from your city on Mr. Barr, who recently left the Worcester section S. L. P., on the allegation of "tyranny" and "personal dislikes," se the question right. His now expres ing himself opposed to the views of the speakers at your May day celebration as "too radical" shows what the mat ter is with him.

He, so intimate a friend of Carey's as to have a son called after such a bag of moral turpiture as Carey is. Who speaks of the convicted swindler Gor-don as a "good man," was bound to put himself sooner or later upon the "broad" lines of these two "broad nesses." His present declaration proves that Section Worcester is rie of an N. G., for which it is to be gratulated.-New York People, May 15

The above, clipped from the People contains the usual amount of falsehood slang, slander and insinuation which that paper usually depends upon to make its rhetorical gyrations seeming ly effective. I reproduce herewith the written statement given by me to the press at the time of my withdrawal from the S. L. P. It will bear compar-

Statement which appeared in the Worcester Telegram and the Worceste Spy, April 10, '98:

Yes, I have resigned my member ship in the branch and the party.'
This was the wording of my written resignation, which was accepted by Branch 1 of Worcester Section S. L. P. Tuesday, April 5.
"I have no grievances, no visions o

colonies nor dreams of ready-made So cialism have turned me from the straight and narrow path.

"I know as well as anyone that the only kind of Socialism that can ever succeed is the scientific kind, which is the only kind there is in immediate contemplation.

"I have not blackslid, nor have lost my ardor. When the fight is hot test you may look for me, wherever a threatened weakness appears.

"You may rest assured that no op ortunity to speak on the subject wil

'As for the press, my writings ar limited only by the patience of the edi-

"After three years of constant ac tivity and responsibility I feel the need of relaxation from the discipline which is deemed essential to the best inter

ests of the party. "It is of no particular importance 1 I may happen to hold opinions at variance with those of the Socialist Labor party. The party certainly has a right to manage itself, and a man's opinions

are his own. "I have chosen a time when my with drawal need create no confusion and reflect no discredit upon either party to the transaction, and entertain only the kindliest feelings and best wishes for the party. My service it is free to

"As to my future course I have at present no announcements to make, but shall be governed by circumstances and work for the cause in the way which may seem most opportune.

Contrast the sentiments portraye and the expressions employed in the two foregoing articles and it will not be difficult to find justification for my action. In relation to the People, how ever, it is not so apparent.

Supplementary to the clipping from

Worcester papers and in relation to the article in the People of May 15, I beg to state that while I have not heretofor considered that my action in leaving the S. L. P. was based upon "allegations of tyranny" and . "personal dislikes," still since it has been suggested I will heartily concur with the editor of the People that tyranny is his forte and that personal dislikes are the princi achievements of his tyrannica

I have not expressed myself as being opposed to the views of the speaker at the May day celebration (which speaker was the same tyranny editor of the organ of personal dislikes, i. c., the People), as being too radical, but have however, expressed myself as being op posed to some of his statements, which ere utterly false, and to a line of reasoning, or rather of argument, de void of truth and with nothing more substantial to support it than the pre-viously uttered falsehoods.

In short, I said to a S. L. P. man

"I disliked to see a Socialis speaker make himself out a liar and go into a long argument to try to prove something which is not true, and in any case throw no light upon Social-

Lest I be charged with making ran dom statements I will cite an example The speaker said "that the cables con necting New York with the coast sig nal stations were for the express pur pose of alding in the capture of prizes." Inasmuch as Spanish merchantmen had thirty days in which to clear from our ports unmelested, and as the Jer oast is not on the course of oceatravel to or from any important por except New York, this statement proves itself false.

That assertion of mine showed that

what the matter with me was that I don't like liars in general and more particularly despise them when they pretend to be Socialists and aspire to see all Socialists created in their im

Moral turpitude is a good word when properly applied. It is frequently found in the People, and seems to harmonize with its surroundings, which leads me to believe that the editor may have contracted a taste for turpitude in general and moral turpitude in partic-

I freely confess the charge of being an intimate friend of Carey's, and it is so that my child is honored with his This would not have been had I not found in Carey a character so noble as to command the respect of all honest men, whether friends or enemies. An integrity so staunch as to emerge unsullied from past associa-tions with men whose very presence

exhales deceit, a courage so sublim as to allow no ogre to turn him from the path of duty, moral turpitude no excepted

As for Gordon: The records of Section Manchester and of the N. H. state committee S. L P. are a record of his honor. The col umns of the People are in themselves a record of dishonor for the man who bands himself Ananias and slanderer by introducing falsities and villifica-tions that would not be suffered at the hands of a responsible publicatio

I say Gordon is a "good man" be

cause he possesses the elements of energy, ability and devotion to the cause of Socialism in a degree which would give the People a circulation and make it of great value to the movement if they could but displace the "tyranny," "personal dislikes" and "moral turpitude" which renders alindistinguishable to any but competent reviewer the instructive an alysis contained in that organ. I have to thank the People for voluntarily giving me a place in their gallery of "broadnesses." It is the highest honor in their power to confer, and I am cor respondingly appreciative. I at leas am not ashamed of the company I keep and am not forced to falsehood to de

fend my position.

Finally "N. G." is nice. I quite agrewith the moral turpitude editor as to that. They have got rid of NO GUD-GEON and the funny little despot who imagines that he holds the whole fate cial evolution in the hollow of his hand is to be congratulated. As fo the S. L. P. it still has my best wishes May it shake off the incubus that op-presses it, and becoming worthy of the cause it represents, assume its proper place in the march of progress ADDISON W. BARR. Worcester, Mass.

THE ENGINEERS.

Mr. Editor: The Brotherhood of En gineers is supposed to be a labor or ganization and Mr. Arthur is alleged to be a labor leader. The brotherhood now in session in this city. Railroad managers and officials seem to be the ruling spirits of the organization and are conspicuous on all occasions. delegates and their families are enter tained handsomely by railroad and oth-er corporations. Is there not some-thing suggestive of freight trains of thought in this?
"Federation" was knocked in the

head by a big majority, and it is an open secret that this was done because railroad officials don't take to "federa tion," and they are the gentlemen who through his highness, the grand chief

ontrol the policy of the engineers.

The brotherhood is the "creme de la creme," and will have nothing to de with such common truck as firemen, brakemen and switchmen. Of course not. They are coddled by the officials and can't afford to mix with the com-

non herd. Will the periodical "federation of all the railway employes" continue to be made in the newspapers?

The question is: Is the brotherhood a trades union? and if so, why does it not affiliate with other trades unions Perhaps President Gompers of the A F. of I., who always opposed the A. R U., can answer.

A delegate to the engineers' conven-tion (and it must be said there are good men among them) said to me: "The en gineers have been playing aristocrats for a long time for the benefit of railroad corporations, and some of thes days they will be hit so hard that they will realize that they are only common clay like all other workingmen. When railroad companies have goth through with them, the brotherhood will come down with a thud and engineers' wages will be cut down to those of mottormen on street railroads.

The delegate is right. For the pres ent free trains, passes and the smile of officials will serve the scheming cor-After a while the curtain will rise on another PAUL TEMPLETON.

St. Louis, Mo.

THE WAGON MISSION.

Editor Social Democrat: In connec tion with the propaganda fund which we have started, I wish to state a fev kin colony, with his three companions, have been here four days, and spoke from the rear end of the wagon, which they are traveling in, and to my mind it is the most effective plan to reach the masses that could be conceived of Bro. Edwards is a logical and fluent speaker, and held the rapt attention of the audience from the beginning to the end of his meeting. They also have vocal and instrumental music and sing Socialist songs, which always attract :

But the point I wish to make is this From what I have learned from Bro. Edwards and the wagon mission and also from personal experience here in the city. I deem it the most available method that the Social Democracy could adopt to put a wagon mission in every state in the union, the expense to be raised by members who can afford pledging a dollar a month or more

Now for an illustration of the re

sults obtained from outdoor and indoor meetings I will mention one in-stance which happened while the comrades were here. We had it an nounced every evening that we would hold an afternoon meeting at the Cen-tral Labor Union Hall under the auspices of the Social Democracy. Com rade Edwards was announced to speak on the "Ethical Basis of Socialism." We had it advertised in the daily press also, but it was a failure when pared to the street meetings. Now, would like to see the Social Democracy take this matter up and push it along and I firmly believe that if this plan was adopted it would not be long be-fore the results would be seen in the coming elections.

JAMES O'NEAL Terre Haute, Ind.

Read over the book list and order

CLASS STRUGGLE

(Continued from first page.)

the Teutonic race, which has not, so far as I can see, been awakened in the Anglo-Saxon on this subject. The French, Italian, and especially the Irish, have as a rule too much of the

Irish, have as a rule too much of the old religion to need a new one, and where that is not the case there is no longing for any religion at all.

Even in Germany though, the present limited conception of class interest and class consciousness will have to broaden if the Social Democracy is to make any further headway. The present conception has reached the limit of its usefulness, when all, or nearly all, the industrial workers are under Social Democracy's banner. order to gain the peasantry and large layers of the still existing middle class, the meaning of the terms "class interest" and "class consciousness" will have to expand. And one need only look at the literature of German Socialism and at the public discussion of the question to see that such is the case. In America, as in every other coun

try, the laboring class-or strictly speaking, the proletariat-forms the most favorable recruiting ground for an advance guard of progress. The wage workers are the class of which Marx has said: it has nothing to lose but its chains. This class must naturally furnish most of the soldiers for the cause of Socialism. But not all of the soldiers. And in no country has it furnished all of the leaders. That fact is easily explained. The surrounding circumstances of a wage worker's life are such that in only exceptional cases is he able to get the knowledge, the education, and the training indispensable in a leader.

Marx and Engels, the scientific counders of internationalism Socialism, were neither of them proletarians. Nor was Ferdinand Lassalle, the founder o he German Social Democracy.

Of the present German leaders, Lieb-

knecht Schoenlank Bebel and others came from the middle strata; Singe even originally belonging to the capitalist class.

Of the French Socialist leaders, the nost famous, Jauries, Lafargue, and Guesde, are not proletarians. Of the most noted leaders in Italy

are mostly university professors, writers. etc. cialism in Italy originally started in the middle class and its main hold is there now, although, naturally enough, it is spreading rapidly among

turing is comparatively little developed in Italy: it is mainly an agricul ural country.
In England, Kier Hardy and John Burns are proletarians; the "spiritual leaders," Hyndman, Bax, Bernard Shaw, the two Webbs, etc., are not.

Nor was William Morris. In no civilized country can the proletariat very well do without the intelli-gence and the power of resistance which to a large extent still remains in the middle class, even though it is crumbling.

In America especially it would be simple waste of energy to base a Socialist movement upon the fact that a middle class does not exist, or that it will not exist within a short timeespecially if it be a part also of the Sc cialist "tactics" to ignore the farmers or to treat them as enemies of the cla conscious proletariat. For the middle class still exists in quite respectable

numbers.

According to Chas. B. Spahr's "Th Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States" (based upon the census bulletins), the present situation stands as follows:

4 8 8 8 8

125,000 , \$423,000,000,000 1,375,000	Estates. N	No. of Families.	Aggregate Wealth, Average Wealth	Average	Wealt
1,475,000 22,000,000,000 6,500,000 8,200,000,000 6,500,000 800,000,000	Wealthy classes, \$50,000 and over		\$33,000,000,000		264,00
5,500,000 8,300,000,000 5,500,000 800,000,000	Well-to-do classes, \$50,000 to \$5,000		22,000,000,000		16,00
6,500,000	Lower middle class, \$5,000 to \$50		8,200,000,000		1,50
	Poor class under \$500	5,500,000	800,000,000		15

The conclusion reached, therefore, is that less than half of the families in America are propertyless; yet seven eighths hold but one-eighth of the na tional wealth, while 1 per cent of the families hold more than the entire 99 per cent? This shows that Socialism is

per cent? This shows that Socialism is necessary, and that it will come.

The table, furthermore, proves that at least the lower middle class, numbering five and a half million families, ought to be favorable to Socialism, if the matter is broached to them in the right way. This correspond to the social series that the right way. This lower middle class contains most of the farmers of the country, only one-eighth of the farms being worth more than \$5,000. It also contains most of the small shopkeep-ers, tradesmen and even some of the better paid wage workers. Combined with the poor class, which

is about equally strong in numbers and is made up mainly of wage workers some farmers and some shopkeepers, but also of slum-dwellers, "submerged proletarians," etc., the number of al-most eleven million families should be decidedly in favor of a change of the

They would be irresistible if united. But these numbers also show that it is false "class consciousness" to ignore

a very large class of people, who, although "property holders," are yet ex-ploited and fighting a desperate fight. This class of people has a greater force of resistance than hes the proletariat

We must not forget that from the five and a half million "poor" families of the lowest strata who own less property than \$500 must be deducted larg layers that are useless in the fight against capitalism; the tramps, for instance; furthermore others who do no selves part of the prole tariat, such as agents, boarding-hous keepers, etc.; and still others, who are at any time at the service of the capitalist class, as long as that class ha money and power—I mean the slums of our great cities, those whom we call

the "lumpen proletarier" in German.
As a matter of fact, the slums are no really exploited by the present society, neither are prostitutes nor beggars, for that matter. Shame has no consideration with them, and they have no rea son to wish the overthrow of the pre-ent system, as have the wage worker or the lower middle class, including the farmers.

The slums will always be the capital-ists' recruiting ground for Pinkerton detectives, deputy sheriffs, and later

on even for soldiers.

I cannot see why it should be prope to include people from that rank in the class consci onscious army—as some revolu-y Socialists do—but necessary to exclude the exploited farmers, because they are "property owners."

It is not necessary to take away the farms from the farmers to introduce Social

Socialist production is the result o development, of concentration in in dustry, and it is based solely upon large production (grossbetrieb). But there was no such concentration

erceptible in our agriculture during the last twenty years.

In spite of a few big bonanza farms in California and Dakota, the average value of a farm in South Dakota is \$1, 846, while in South Carolina it is \$1,

Virginia's average farm is valued a \$2,747.

Michigan figures in the census list with an average of \$2,768 per farm Wisconsin's average farm is worth \$3,005; Connecticut's, \$3,115.

The average price for the farn (Kansas is \$3,029; in Massachusetts, \$3, 158: in Illinois, \$4,062. The average size of a farm in the

United States is 138 acres.

Therefore to talk about collectivism in land in this country at the present time, or for a long time to come, is the height of folly.

The transformation of the present system into the Socialist system does not require collectivism in all the means of production It requires it only in such industrie

where Socialist production is possible and necessary.

And collectivism is the final aim of

Socialism and not its beginning.
Collectivism is now possible and necessary in very many branches especially in those that have reached the form of a monopoly or a trust, and have thereby proved that they have

outgrown the competitive system. Furthermore, collectivism is nov possible and necessary in mining o every description, and in the ownership and management of all the means of transportation and in the various pub lic utilities.

But in land in our country collec tivism is not possible now and will no be for a long time to come.

This is a fact, and we as Socialists ought not to ignore facts, because they do not suit our fancy.

The question then is, what are we to do? Are we to wait until the concen

tration has taken place in agriculture For reasons not necessary to explain here, the effect of new inventions in agricultural machinery has only tended to strengthen the middle-sized farm and, therefore, we might have to wait too long for concentration. The city proletariat, even if it should unite to the very last man, will surely never be able to take away these farms by force individual owners. But again I say we do not have to take them, nor the mall industries of any description, in order to introduce Socialism.

Says Kautsky (Erfurter Programme

It is the large production (grossbetrieb) which makes the Socialist system necessary. Social production requires social ownership of the means of production. But for exactly the same reason that private ownership in the implements by But for exactly the same reason that private ownership in the implements by the individual is repugnant to social production by the many, as now carried on in large production-likewise, would common or social ownership in the instruments of labor be repugnant to production on an individual scale (kleinbetrieb). Individual production requires, private ownership of the means of production. The expropriation of these would be the more senseless, since it is the aim of Socialism to place into the hands of workers the necessary means of production. In small industries- and farms the expropriation of the means of production

sensical.

The transition into the Co-operative Commonwealth does not, therefore, require the expropriation of the small tradesmen and farmers. The transition would not only take nothing from them, but would give them positive advantages.

Thus writes Kautsky in his excellent reatise on the platform of the Social Democracy of Germany. The platforms of the Socialists of

The agriculturist programme of the Socialist labor party of France positively guaranteeing to the farmers their land under Socialism." (Congress of Marseilles, 1892, and Nantes And the Socialists can very well af-

ford to do this. For as a matter of fact the real expropriators of the small producers and farmers are the capital-Socialist society will make an

end to this expropriation.

But, as Kautsky very justly remarks, the course of economic evolution will not be stopped by Socialism. As in the present society, so under the socialist system, large production will develop more and more and constantly. velop more and more and constantly absorb small industries.

What we want to explain to the people before all things, is, therefore, that we do not expect this society to jump abruptly into another system.

Says Edward Bernstein, one of the

best writers on Socialism in the Ger-

The Social Democracy has neither to expect nor to wish a near approaching downfall of the existing economic system, if such is thought to be the product of a great devastating crisis. I openly declare I have not much concern nor use for what is commonly understood as the "ultimate aim of Socialism." This aim, whatever it may be, is of no importance at present—the movement is of all importance to me. And by the term movement, I understand not only the general movement of society, i. e., social

nomic agitation for effecting this progress.

If the Social Democracy would is the present state of society, actually obtain possession of the political power, it would at once be confronted by an unsolvable problem. It could not decree away capitalism, indeed, not even dispense with it, and also, it could not guarantee capitalism the security Which it must needs have in order to perform its functions. Thus the question is raised whether this state of things would not postpone the realization of Socialism to a never-to-come day or at least postpone it for generations to come! If under realization of Socialism is understood the establishment of a strictly regulated communistic state of society, then I have little doubt that such seems as yet very distic state of society, then I have little doubt that such seems as yet very distant to me. On the other hand, it is my firm belief that the present generation will see the realization of much Socialism, if not in the patented form, then certainly in a material way. (Neue Ziet, No. 18, Jan. 29, 1898.)

Berstein is only supplementing what Cautsky said, as we have seen. Both of them represent the true school of Marx, seen at its best. This view of things we ought also to consider when we speak of "class consciousness."

We cannot reasonably expect any hing but fight and resistance from the capitalist class, although even this class suffers from the ills and contra-dictions that are typical of the present system. While some of its members are spoiled by idleness and over-plenty thers wear themselves out in their in sane chase after more wealth and more profit. Even of that class some philan thropists may help us by and by, as some individual capitalists have done in England and Germany, although we do not and cannot feel sure that such vill be the case.

But the wage workers, artisans and farmers—in short, the producers of the nations—those who work and produce with their hands and brain, have vir tually the same interests in the end.

It is foolish to think that the work ers of the factory, who have lost con trol over their implements, should an tagonize the workers of the field because they still retain control over theirs. Any momentary advantage any of these two classes gains over the other-for instance, by higher prices o food products—is sure to come home by a smaller consumption.

What the farmers and small trades nen need in that connection is proper information about the inner working of the present system and the class struggle in a broad sense.

The right kind of expression for this class consciousness will then come by The lower middle class has a hard

time of it fighting capitalism.

Thus far the members of that class have been the easy prey of every quack who promised relief, whether by high tariff, by free trade, by the free age of silver, or by any other humbug The one thing of which the farmers in stinctively have a clear understanding is the absolute necessity of owning their implements of labor if they want to preserve their system of production If we can make them understand that it is not Socialism, but that it is the development of capitalistic produc tion that is taking the implements from the middle class; furthermore, that Socialism will not take their instruments of production away so long is in their particular branch produc tion is individual-we will be then their natural allies.

But we must come as class-conscious

riends, not as class-conscious enemies. And before all things, let us drop the squabble about words. Socialism must cease to be dogmatic. It must step down from the lofty but barren heights of the doctrine. It must cease to be negative only. It must become positive and conduct the everyday fight for the practical revolution every day. It must not fight for the phrases, catch-words or formulas of this school or the other. Socialism after all does not even represent the aims and objects of one class only It represents the aims of humanity of least of the best part of humanity And while the wage workers natural ly take the front rank in this fight for humanity we must be "class con-scious" enough to permit those to fight with us whose interests are identical with ours.

The army contractors are reaping a harvest out of the war. Private own-ership is a good thing for them.

TO THE EXECUTIVE BOARD:

a copy of the official paper.

Branch of the Social Democracy to be Instituted at_

Temporary Secretary.

APPLICATION FOR CHARTER

FOR A LOCAL BRANCH OF THE

Social Democracy of America

NOTE.—Five or more persons may apply for a charter. The admission fee is 25 is per member and the dues 15 cents per month, for which each member receives

Cut out this Application, and after filling out, send to SYLVESTER KELIHER, SECRETARY SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, 504 TRUDE BUILDING, CHICAGO.

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

SOCIALIST SIMILES.

WAR AND WORSE Why talk of war in distant lands, When civil conflict rages near? Why dread the sword in foreign hands, When scourges deadlier are here?

The crash of banks works fouler harm Than crashing cannon ever wrough Than crashing cannon ever wrought; And factory cuts give more alarm Than sword-cuts in all battles fought

The floating debt shall sink us more Than any foreign fleet that floats; And bonds that issue from the shore Slay more than balls from Spanis boats.

The pricks of Mammon's pen-points kil More than the bayonets of Spain; The scourge of poverty shall fill More graves than bullets' leaden rain

Seven money-kings behind our guns Kill more than all the troops in from The wolf of want more deadly runs Than dogs of war in hellish hunt.

A legal writ can wreck more homes Than all the shells of foreign foes; The traitors under State House domes Can work more ill than warfare' woes.

The truest patriot is he
Who smites the traitor at his side,
And sees both Spanish tyranny
And our own Social Fratricide.

INGALLS' PLAIN TALK. The tendency to the consolidation of industry and the crushing out of the

small traders has been persistently pointed out by Socialists for years. For agitators and demagogues, and their statements have been denied. But the when it suits their purpose to do so the capitalists do not hesitate to point. it out. At the annual convention of the railroad commissioners, held in Washington recently, Mr. M. E. Ingalls, president of the Big Four, in pleading for greater privileges for the railroads of the country, made a hypocritical argument in favor of the small traders, in which he said that "unless ome such changes are made (changes advocated by Ingalls) the small shippers of the country will be extin-guished and a few men of large capital will control the entire merchandise They have such facilities commissions, agencies and ownership of private cars for evading the law that no moderate shipper can for a moment compete with them. The railways themselves, in their insane competition, will at last get so low that they will be seized upon by large capi-talists and combined into one great company. Already, since the interstate commerce law was passed, there have been more consolidations of rival and competing lines than in the previous twenty-five years. Ingalls' plea for the small trad-

ers will deceive no one who knows the man and the character of the interests he represents. But will the capi-talist class him as a "dangerous agitator" for pointing out the inevitable? Hardly.

FAVORABLE TO DEBS.

The Lincoln (Ill.) Daily Courier of Wednesday, May 18, has this to say of Eugene V. Debs, who delivered speech in that city on May 17: At t conclusion the speaker was cheered and personally complimented. Instead cial devil, which reports pictured Mr. Debs from unfriendly sources, Lincoln ound a law-abiding citizen, a gentleman, a scholar, a profound thinker and a distinguished humanitarian, whose views will meet the approval of all fair-minded individuals. He told a Lincoln audience the plain unvarnished truth without political partiality or prejudice. If Mr. Debs comes to Lincoln again he can have the town, and all parties, classes and creeds will extend him an ovation. He is the largest, the best and most conspicuous daisy in the vast industrial garden of the United States."

spoiled my little joke in my report of the Massachusetts state convention in your last issue. You make me say that our candidate for governor, Comrade Porter, "is scientific enough enough to reach the people and yet remain a Socialist." Naturally Comrade Porter will wonder what on earth this statement means. What test of his devotion to the principles of Socialism, was that he is "scientific Until it is settled right." E. R. WARE. enough to be able to read the People (the New York People, you understand) and still remain a Socialist"not be repelled from and disgusted with Socialism; and this I consider with Socialis

MARGARET HAILE Boston

close now. Yours truly,
LILLIE DENNETT. New York, May 15th.

Mrs. Ware:—I am eleven years old and am a Social Democrat. My father is dead. I would not have been a Social Democrat vet only for my uncle. When I was a young fellow ab years old my mother used to take me to church to pray, but this thing came a little funny to my mother, so she didn't go any more. I think Debs is a good man, for he tells the people what he did when he was locked up six months in prison for beginning the railroad strike: He had a right to do so for he did not get his right wages. I read the Social Democrat every week and I think it is a very nice paper, too. I read the stories every Saturday. When Saturday comes I am only glad when the letter carrier comes, for then he brings me the Social Democrat. I take it up in the house and read it. The stories about the Trixies made me very happy and such funny stories they are; they made me and all of the fam ily laugh. If I could only find the ily laugh. If I could only find the fairles like little Billy in the woods I

would be very glad. Yours truly, 328 E. 88th street, F. GLANZ. It makes the editors of this paper glad to receive such letters as these two, for if the young people like to read the Socialist papers, we feel sure an earnest band of Socialists will grow up ready to "do and dare" for the cause

who read this column feel sorry about the war, I know. They think that grown-up men ought to know how to eep people from starving in Cuba and in all countries without shooting and killing each other; but they are not

good many of the boys and girls.

manne

Children's Column

Address Communications to Ella Reeve Ware, 597 Decaux St. Brooklyn.

WAR TIMES.

quite grown enough yet to know a bet-ter way, and they have begun to fight. Here in New York harbor there are many signs of war. I took a boat ride one morning this week and I'll tell you some of the things I saw on the bea tiful river.

If you haven't seen a real warship you don't know how wicked and nely they look coming down the river all painted black. When you see all the places for the guns to belch out the terrible shells you feel that it is like a death boat, and you would be sorry to have your papa or brother on such a ship. Then you look down the river and see the large Statue of Liberty.

Now suppose this was a real woman standing there looking at all the black warships and torpedo boats sailing by her. Don't you think she would want her name to be changed? They call her now, "Liberty Enlightening the World.

Right opposite this statue is the fort on Governor's Island, and we know that there are many soldiers and guns in this fort waiting for a chance to fight.

On our passenger boat we had a company of young men soldiers starting off for a camp in New Jersey. They didn't seem to feel that they were going off on serious business at all. They acted like boys off on a picnic, but I knew that for every soldier boy on the boat there was a sad woman's heart waiting at home

There are other signs of war times around New York. In front of the newspaper offices an ever waiting throng of people watch the bulletin boards from morning until night, and we wonder how it is the men can stand there all day. This is part of our vast army of United States workmen out of work. Their little children are working hard, how-ever, little boys and girls, some of them only 6 years old, shouting, "Extral Extra!" from 3 o'clock in the morning until midnight.

Then there are other signs. We goto the store to buy our groceries, and while we have less money to buy while we have less money to buy with, because the war has made "business bad," we find that we have to nav more for everything. In a short time we will have to go without bread and sugar entirely, for in this beautiful country of ours, with its vast acres of waving wheat fields, the price of flour is too high for the poor to pay!

Wherever we go, on the river, down the streets, we see the beautiful starspangled banner waving-waving because our soldiers and sailors are fighting another nation. But somehow it doesn't stir our hearts as we see the beautiful stars and stripes, for we have only to scan the faces of the multitude passing along the streets, under its folds, to know that this flag of ours does not wave over the "homes of the free," but over thousands and thou-sands of homeless slaves—slaves of poverty-slaves and victims of a crush-

ing war called Competition.

And we think as we pass along under the flags and note all the other signs of these war times,of these words of Ella Wheeler Wilcox:

'However the battle is ended, Though proudly the victor comes With fluttering flags and prancing nags, And echoing roll of drums, Still truth proclaims this motto In letters of living light— No question is ever settled Until it is settled right.

A CORRECTION.

Mr. Editor:—Please allow me to make a little correction. You entirely spoiled my little joke in my report of the Massachusetts state convention in to question is ever settle.
Until it is settled right.

> "Let those who have failed to take cour-Tho' the enemy seems to have won, Tho' his ranks are strong, if he be in the

wrong,
The battle is not yet done;
For, sure as the morning fol
The darkest hour of night

LETTERS FROM THE CHILDREN. Middleboro, Mass.

Dear Mrs. Ware:—I read the Children's Column in the Social Democrat.

and other pieces most every week. I like Socialism. I told papa that I could hardly wait for it to come. Papa takes the New Time and the Socal Demorat. I read out of the New Time, too, hung a May basket last night to mamma. We had a lot of fun. I must

Paradise Found

RUDOLPH LEONHART, A. M.

Author of "The Wild Rose of the Beaver," "Tononqua," Through Blood and Iron." The Children of the Outlaw," "The Treasure of Montezuma," Dolores," "Either, Or," "Atonement," "Bridging the Chash," Etc.

gliding from his pony, approached the place where the white men stood. "How do, Polo?" Pry inquired, shak-

in the Reservation."
"No Reservation," Polo said eager

Shilo in woods. Polo knows.

as there is on the ranch."

Polo looked offended. "No want horse; like white chief heap much.

the rigs were standing, took their seats.

Pry merely saying: "Now, Polo, show

They traveled southeast as fast as

had to be avandoned.

resistance let him have it."

reached an open spot, allowing the view upon a large sheet of water.

What do you say, Hans?"
Hans nodded affirmatively; but the

attention of Prv and the sheriff was

now aroused by a considerable increase

surrounding country with great vigilance. Suddenly he came to a stop, and turning to Pry and pointing to the

top of a gently rising ledge, said half

To understand what follows we must

give a somewhat minute description of the region. The ledge mentioned runs

almost due east and west, sloping to-

wards the east at an angle of about

twenty degrees. Looking westward, as our friends did, we see the lake fully

a hundred feet below, the descent being

almost perpendicular, although in two ledges of almost equal height.

On our left, another vertical bank

looks up, a part of the rocks even over-

hanging the ledge on which we stand.
In front, perhaps two hundred and fifty feet away, the ledge comes to a

sudden halt, high and steep rocks barring all further progress. These rocks

overhang to such a degree that they

form a kind of roof fully fifteen feet

deep, i. e., extending from east to west, and about the same distance north and

The ledge on which we stand is of

the same width, while the one below is fully five feet narrower, disappear-

Pry and the sheriff looked in the di-

rection Polo pointed out and discovered the upper half of a human figure

standing near the upper end of the

ledge. The circumstance that the low-er part of the figure was invisible proved that the terminus of the ledge

must be horizontal. There seemed to

be a fire on that platform, for the approaching party saw a thin column of

smoke rising to and escaping over the

rocky roof. Perhaps the man was pre-

paring a meal; for he seemed to be too occupied with his doings to pay atten-

"Get ready, boys," the sheriff now in-structed his posse. "Look out for bul-

lets, too, for from what I have heard of

yon rascal he'd just as lief shoot as

chances of hitting, and now forward."

The men slowly, steadily advanced,

and might perhaps have taken the her-

dog at the top had not burst into a

turning quickly eastward perceived the

men and with them, of course, his

peril. With one rapid spring he grasped a rifle and was taking aim

when a second thought changed his no-

for ever remain a mystery. At all

events the expected report announcing

Our friends stopped a moment to dis-

cover the reason of the unexpected ac-

tion of the man above, but his move-

following events explained them. They

saw him make two or three hasty

jumps. Next they saw him turning something looking like a lever, after

which he ran to the edge of the plat-

ing his men to a further advance, when startling noises and still more startling motion amongst the rocks above caused a new halt. They opened their

eyes to their fullest extent when they

with a thundering crash upon the ledge on which they were standing. The rock must have fallen on sloping ground, and was circular in shape, for

ents were quite mysterious until the

The man started,

tion to the party on the ledge

ing altogether a hundred feet

from our standpoint. Now we may proceed.

south.

of caution in Polo's movements.

stepped stealthily, peering into

loud: "There Shilo."

"I'll be hanged if that ain't our lake.

ing the lad's hand.

NEMESIS.

When Hugh awoke in the morning he rubbed his eyes dubiously, uncer-tain whether yesterday's adventure was reality or merely an ugly dream. No sooner, however, did he feel sure about the matter, than he rose, dressed, took a hasty breakfast, and then sent

When this worthy entered his room, sent for you to communicate to you a startling discovery I made yesterday, and then consult with you concerning the steps which this discovery de-

"You make me curious, General. On whole, you ain't given to long

When you learn the news you will consider my preface reasonably short, my boy. I found out yesterday where Sneak is hiding."

Pry sprang to his feet like a jump-ing jack of prime quality.

"The deuce you did!" he gasped.
Then, half ashamed of his excitement, he sat down again and said with forced "Tell me all about it, Gen-

Hugh complied, and when he had ended Pry sat in a brown study full five minutes before he said: have to capture him, General, that is certain. From what you tell me, he means new mischief to you, and now I think of it the visit of those Plutos to the Reservation has probably some thing to do with it. We have to be wary, however, and cautious, or he'll again give us the slip. These redkinned imps will surely give him all the aid in their power. I wonder he didn't blow your brains out when he discovered you. The Goodfornaughts and well named they be!—would cheerfully have covered up his tracks. We can't do it alone, General; we can't

"Of course not. Prv. It is the business of the sheriff of this county, and to him we'll have to report at once."

"You're right, General; but this child must have a finger in the pie to make sure of the thing. The sheriff is a good enough man, but, good graclous, he is as awkward in such matters as a new-born babe. I want to be in it, General, and what's more, I want to have Hans at my side when it comes to holding on—he can't be beat this side of the Atlantic. Shall you be one of the party, General?"

"That depends. I have my hands pretty full, you know, but if I can spare the time-

"Well, General, I wouldn't bother if I were you. There ain't much fun in it at best, that's certain. But," he continued with alacrity, "I must hunt Hans; hitch up and drive to Fairville to notify the sheriff. I'm almost sorry I can't do the thing on my own hook. We could easily get up a gang amongst our men, you know, and——" "Better not, Pry. We must be care-

ful in all we do to avoid criticism. you fellows need me come and let me

A few minutes later Pry and Hans departed for Fairville, where they succeeded in finding the sheriff in his office. When he learned that the culprit so long and tenaciously hunted by the police of the entire state was with the Indians he became somewhat excited, and at once took measures to secure a posse of sufficient size. He gladly accepted the services of Prv and Hans. and a little after noon the expedition placed on board of two comfortable spring wagons started for the Reservation. It'numbered ten men in afl, well armed and equipped for the purpose. The sheriff shared Pry's buggy, and when they came within a mile of the Indian village Pry drew reins and said

'Well, sheriff, have you formed a

fot exactly, sir. I didn't think there would be any need for it. . This Sneak, or what his name may be, don't to do is to drive in and grab him. You do not think the Indians will give

but they'll spirit him away it mit entirely by surprise if suddenly a we give them any chance.

What would you propose to do, furious bark, en, Mr. Pry?" turning quick 'Skirmish before we attack, sheriff.

Did I tell you about the lad, Polo? You mean the boy that warned Mr.

"Exactly. To tell the truth, he is about the only Goodfornaught I would ever believe on his oath. It is my opin-ion that we should hide here and see whether we can't get to speak to Polo the coming of a leaden messenger was not forthcoming. without the rest knowing it."

Well, have your way. Boys, drive into the underbrush while we reconneiter. Now, Mr. Pry, I am at your

'All right. Let's go then." Cautiously the pair wended their way

towards the village, keeping as well concealed as the nature of the ground would permit, until they reached the end of the forest. Here they halted ind scrutinized the Indians in sight. Now a squaw would walk from one hut to another, now a warrior would loiter under some shade tree, smoking his be-loved killikanick. Children romped about the commons and for half an hour nothing appeared to reward the vigilance of the officers in hiding. Sud-denly, however, Pry nudged his mate, pointing to a lad on horseback riding

towards them at an easy canter.
"That's Polo by jingo!" said he in an undertone. "Now we'll soon know where we're at, sheriff.

few minutes later the horseman

whistled in a low key, at the time showing his face.
e reader has seen more than once would certainly be crushed into atoms The reader has seen more than once that the Indian lad was more than ordi-

were perfectly perpendicular. The immense rock, moreover, was nearly as wide as the ledge, and the men were in vain looking for a safe-retreat when suddenly an unusual activity displayed by Hans attracted their attention.

as the wall above and the ledge below

At the foot of the upper ledge, right at the place where our friends were gazing with helpless despair at the coming Juggernaut, a huge log could be seen lying. It had probably fallen from the top of the ledge many years age for the branches had all moldered ago, for the branches had all moldered away. The main roots, however, were still there, probably protected by the masses of tenacious clay still covering them

ing them.

But back to Hans and his doing.

With a presence of mind truly wonderful, and a rapidity of motion hardly less astonishing in one so laconical, Hans sprang to the lower, and of "Heap well. White brother, too? Come see Indian friends?" "Not exactly, Polo. I come to catch the rascal that wanted to kill your friend, the chief." course thinner, end of the log, and "Ugh! My brother mean Shilo?"
"I mean the red-headed rogue hiding putting his arms around it and lifting it up, carried it to the outer edge of the passage. The log is fully two feet in diameter at this end, and only the prodigious strength of our stoic, of which we have had proofs before this "And will Polo take us there? The general has fine horses, you know, and if you lead us to Shilo's hiding place enabled him to carry out his plan. To ask the assistance of the others would have been too late; for hardly had he I shall see that you get as fine a one

the rock came thundering along. Fortunately the ground was smooth and level, else the rock would have Shilo bad, heap bad; want shoot chief, so Polo show. Come."

They walked back to the place where made one bound after another and probably crushed the obstacle in its way with the greatest ease. As it was it struck the butt end of the log first, the impetus of the shock diverting it the steep road would permit. When five or six miles had been traversed the region became so wild that the wagons it to a northeastern one. Our friends had scarcely realized their almost marvelous escape of a ruly terrible peril when they saw the rock disappearing

risen from his enormous exertion when

"Is it far yet, Polo?" Pry inquired.
"Heap near, boss; throw stone at over the edge. The reader cannot fail to under-stand that the sudden check had great-"Whew!" said the sheriff: "in that ly lessened the rapidity of its progress case get ready, boys. Hold your shooting irons in readiness, and if he shows In fact, when it fell upon the ledge be-low it would undoubtedly have obeyed the law of inertia if the westward slope of that ledge had not been even The road now ceased, nothing but a steeper than the upper one, causing the block to begin its westward run with a faint footpath leading up the declivity which became more pronounced at greater impetus than the first one. every step.

After a few minutes' walk they

The men now stepped to the edge curious to see how all this would end However, they were by no means pre-pared for the terrible tragedy destined o take place on the weird stage in the

next few seconds. Even as they stepped to the edge of the passage they saw a canoe emerg-ing from the shade of the cliffs, and in that canoe they recognized the red headed ruffian they had designed to His progress is slow, how ever, and now his eye is attracted by a thunder above his head. He look

Don't you see the rock has reached a place where the base is too narrow to sustain it? Don't you see that with one mighty bounce it begins its down

ward career to the water's edge. Now one cry of despair, chilling us and, in fact, all the spectators to the marrow, is heard then a terrible crash and no rock, no canoe, no man is visi-

The crew on the roadway stands hor rified. It takes them quite a while to comprehend, to realize the horrible tragedy they have witnessed.

Pry is the first to recover. "Nemesi has forestalled us," he says solemnly "Perhaps it is just as well; but now sheriff, let us see how and where the fellow descended to the surface of the water.'

The officer acquiesces, and the party if possible, the path by means of which the mysterious descent was effected.

After awhile the "UGH" of Polo draws the others near the spot where he had conducted his researches.

The ruse was as simple as effective A couple of dense bushes growing at the edge hid a narrow cleft in the rocks, winding hither and thither the lake. On these natural stairways they now descended, and just as they step upon the shore the ghastly crushed form of Sneak rises to the sur

We abstain from describing the return trip of the posse to Fairville, the excitement of the public, the emotions of High and his associates, the burial of the body in the potter's field, because—well, isn't this chapter long enough without further sensational

(To Be Continued.)

McKinley is afraid that the number inadequate, and there is talk of an other call. When the avowed object ments up to date are somewhat sur-prising. The number of troops alprising. ready enlisted is out of all proportion to any results so far sought to be at-tained by them, and it seems strange that, in a war undertaken solely to free Cuba, the first departure of troops from the shores of the United What this second thought was will States should be an army of occupation for the Philippine Islands. troops have yet been sent to Cuba, and starving reconcentrados whose pitiful condition so roused the sympathies of American statesmen a few If accounts are true the condition of these people has been rendered much worse than it was before the war began. They are dying like rotten sheep, and by the time the United States gets its war "in the interests of humanity" around to the point of re-lieving them there won't be any of them left to relieve—they will all be dead. But then, by that time the United States will have acquired many other good and valuable consideracentrados, notably, the Philippine Islands, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and Cuba itself. There will also be a very good sized standing army to maintain the honor of the nation, and the capital-ists will have secured bonds in plenty no sooner had it descended upon the ledge when it commenced its down-ward career. First its motion was slow; but after half a dozen revoluon which to draw interest. For thes latter considerations we can afford to

The forty-fifth thousand edition of 'Merrie England" has just come from

COLONIZATION DEPARTMENT

CYRUS FIELD WILLARD, EDITOR
COLONIZATION COMMISSION — COL. RICHARD J. HINTON, Chai
W. P. BORLAND, Transarer. Cyrus Field Willard, Secretary.

en mill that will enable us to convert our own wool into cloth and that into clothing, all by our own labor, give us a tannery and boot and shoe fac-

tory that will enable us to convert

our own hides into boots and shoes give us a saw mill and suitable wood-

working machinery to manufacture our

own lumber and make our own furni-ture, add to these an abundance of coal

and iron, and who can doubt that we

shall produce wealth much more rapidly than any American farmer or

How much wealth could we reason

to apply on the principal the entire

seems evident that the increased

productiveness of our labor which

would result from the possession of the

would result from the possession of the tools, machinery and natural resources which the \$2,500,000 would supply would far more than offset the interest

charge, and with such resources at our command we could soon colonize from

5,000 to 10,000 co-operators, and so re-

duce the interest charge for each to a

very low figure.

Another view of the matter is worthy

Suppose we were to begin by pur-chasing 10,000 acres of land at \$4 per

acre. We go on to this and begin operations in a small way. By in-dustry, good management and fru-

gality we succeed, and from time to

time buy adjoining land. But as soon

as it is evident that we will succeed the price on all adjoining land would

go up to double or treble its its present

price, for it will be evident to all that contiguous land would be far more de-

sirable to us than to other enterprises,

and the owners would make use of our

necessities to get a good price. Suppose the price of the additional land

were to average \$10 per acre. Then

the 400,000 acres of land that can now be had for \$1,600,000 would in the end cost us \$3,940,000. If we are quite

certain that we want the land it would

seem the part of wisdom to take it now

even if we do pay interest. And be-

sides it seems the more advisable when

it is stated that we can easily market from the land itself hardwood lumber

enough to pay both principal and in-

The issuing of bonds will of neces

sity compel the placing of the affairs of the company in the hands of trus-tees during the continuance of the debt.

This at first may seem to many to be

convince those who have any real con-ception of the difficulties to be over-

come in establishing our colony that it

is not without its compensating advan-tages. Our co-operators will of neces-

sity be strangers to each other at the

beginning. Each will have his or her own idea of what ought to be done and naturally each will think that his

or her way is the best. Add to this the

fact that few if any will have any ex-

perience in co-operative industry and

it will be readily perceived that if com-plete democratic administration of the

affairs of the company were to prevail

from the first we could not be certain

ed and adhered to until results could be secured.

The trustees will help us over the

day of small things and will furnish

the opportunity for all co-operators to

gain that experience in co-operative in-dustry necessary to wise and intelli-

gent action. The debt must be paid at

maturity and cannot by the terms of

its payment terminates the trust

whereupon all the co-operators, both

male and female, will determine by bal-

managed and controlled. By that time

the natural leaders of industry will ap

complete democratic methods, to their proper places, and we may with confi-dence predict that any action they may

Whether this would be the case in ad-

vance of this preparatory experience, is, to say the least, doubtful.

IN ANSWER TO QUESTIONS.

A comrade from Kansas propounds the following questions:

1. I cannot understand the stock

and bond question, will you explain?

Answer.—We have issued the capital stock of The Co-operative Commonwealth Co. to the amount of \$2,500,000 exactly as any corporation doing business for profit might have done. If we were to issue this stock to our mem-

we were to issue this stock to our mem-bers we would be simply copying the present profit system and would have

simply individual ownership of the

land and tools of production, since those who owned the stock would own all the assets of the company and could

sell and assign their stock or convey it by will to whoever they pleased, and we should soon have in our colony a propertyless class.

Our ideal is collective ownership,

pear and will be assigned, by the n

then take will be prudent and

the trust be extended or increased, an

unfortunate, but a little thought will

each day of service.

of comment.

small manufacturer has ever done?

REPORT OF RECEIPTS. Amount previously acknowl-John Frieth Massachusetts

.....\$2,415.32

Jos. M. Jacob

INTEREST BEARING BONDS.

The question has been asked by a thoughtful comrade: "Is it safe to start a colony on the basis of interest-bearing bonds?"

It is not at all strange that at this time, when we are begining to realize how insidious and deadly a foe is in-terest, that there should be those among us who feel that in issuing bonds we are putting our head into the lion's mouth. It must not be forgotten, however.

that the capitalistic lion already has us completely in his power, and whether we buy sugar or salt, beef or bacon, oil or onions, coal or coffins, a part only of what we pay is in return for an equal service rendered, and the balance is without consideration. This tribute which is paid to the vendor is called "profit," and averages not less than 20 per cent.

It is no worse to pay "interest" than it is to pay "profit" or "rent." Each of these terms is but another name for tribute, and all are alike iniquitous

So long as we adhere to the profit system we cannot escape this tribute, and the real question for present day Socialists is how can we reduce to a minimum and finally prevent the taking of tribute in any form?

Statistics show that each day of labo in the United States produces on an average \$10 worth of wealth and that the worker receives less than \$1.28. This being true, it needs no argument to convince Socialists that the worker is exploited by the present system to the amount of \$8.72 per day, since we all agree that each producer is entitled to his total product. Nor does the ex-ploitation end here. When the worker goes to the merchant to procure food or clothing he must pay the retailer's profit of 20 per cent or more, the whole-saler's profit of 10 or 15 per cent, and the manufacturer's profit of as much more. It is not too much to say that of the \$1.28 which he pays over the counter one-half 'or sixty-four cents, represents profits pure and simple, and, since the average workman uses all his wages in living expenses, his daily tribute to the capitalist system is sixty-four cents, to say nothing of the fact that seven-eighths of what his labors have produced have been denied hiln at the outset.

If we were to start a small colony without much land, with little machinery and practically no capital, we should be unable to supply more than a very small part of our own wants from our own associated labor, and, lacking the improved machinery of to-day, the productiveness of our labor would fall far short of what it ought

to be in order to assure success.

To supply those wants which could not be supplied by the products of our own labor we should be compelled to buy in the capitalistic market and pay the tribute there demanded, so that we are confronted with the problem whether it is safer to submit to these limitations with the larger tribute to the profit system or pay 5 per cent on money with which to purchase land, tools, and the most improved machinery which will enable us to produce wealth with much greater rapidity than we otherwise could, and, through the greater diversification of our industries, supply far more of our own wants from our own labor and correwe should be compelled to make to the | that any definite policy would be adoptprofit system

We have seen above that the aver age workman in the United States is exploited by the profit system out of at least one-half of his earnings, aver-

aging about sixty-four cents a day.

If we negotiate \$2,500,000 in bonds and pay 5 per cent the annual interest charge will be \$125,000. This will be equivalent to about \$400 for each workof ing day in the year. With 1,000 cooperators this would be equivalent to forty cents each. With 5,000 co-operators it would be equivalent to eight cents each. With 10,000 co-operators it would be equivalent to four cents each, and with 40,000 co-operators it would be equivalent to one cent each. If we natural resources, in a favorable climate, and make a wise selection of tools and machinery, we can have 10, 000 co-operators in three years as eas ily as we could have a few hundred if we were to adopt the primitive meth-ods that have helped to slaughter so many colonies in the past, and a couple of years later we can easily have 40,000 or more. Even forty cents, the largest daily interest charge above mentioned, is less by twenty-four cent than the daily tribute of the ave workman to the profit system, while the smallest daily interest charge, one cent, is so small that it could hardly

frighten the most timid.

Each day of labor, they tell us, pro duces on an average \$10 worth of wealth in the United States. But we cannot hope for any such productiveness for some years to come, for the reason that we cannot carry the diver-sification of industry far enough nor procure machinery enough to make it

But equip us with an abundance of well-wooded and well-watered land on which nearly all the necessary food

of the company into the hands of trus-tees, to be held for the benefit of not be born and reared among us or may join us later.

We issue our bonds, as a farmer might issue his promissory notes, to ob tain money to supply us with the land, tools and machinery necessary for our purposes. When these are paid all the assets of the company will be held collectively by all co-operators. The stock of the company would, probably, continue to be held by trustees to be elected by the co-operators unless leg-islation shall in the meantime be secured that will enable us to maintain collective ownership in some better way.

2. How much money will it take to

make a membership?

Answer.-It is not our purpose to charge a membership fee. To do so would prevent many most worthy and ably hope to produce? It would hardly seem extravagant to say that our industrious persons joining us. Those labor ought to-vield the equivalent of who have means to contribute we be-lieve will gladly do so. Some may also \$2 a day—only one-fifth as much as the general average for the United take a small amount of bonds and in States. Many farmers do this, and no the event of their withdrawal they factory could live and pay its help that does not do as well or better. But the farmer and the manufacturer must maturity.

The deed of trust and contract with constantly pay tribute to the profit system and if they make ends meet they do well. the individual co-operators will no doubt soon be published in full, when many details will appear that, until If we produce \$2 worth of wealth a then, may seem obscure.

The other questions asked by this

day, even with 1,000 co-operators, there would remain, after paying the forty cents of daily interest charges, \$1.60. comrade do not need a direct answer since all assume that there is to be a Another forty cents could be set aside daily to pay the principal at its maturity and still leave \$1.20 a day for a mistaken conception of the stock and the bonds to be issued. each co-operator, which, under co-op-

IS READY TO ORGANIZE.

erative methods, would not only buy the necessaries but far more of the comforts and luxuries of life than the Dear Comrade:—At last your com-mission has made a bold dash in the right and only direction. The bond average American citizen has ever dared to dream of. With 10,000 co-operators, after payplan was always my idea, and I hope ing four cents of daily interest charges that nothing will interfere to raise the there would remain \$1.96, and by set-ting aside forty cents more each day I am a member of the Social Reform

Club here in New York. I have ex-plained the purpose of the commission, and many of our clergymen are in debt could be paid in two years, waile each co-operator would in the mean-time have had to his credit \$1.56 for sympathy with the plan.

New York: in fact I am preparing matters and will be ready to start with a body of representative people of good standing with the community.

Old Leiter holds the land, Young Leiter holds the wheat; Phil Armour has the hand, That holds both bread and meat,

Amen chorus:
God bless the millionaires,
God bless the trusts we say:
God bless their sons and heirs,
Long live their rightful sway.

Don't allow the war to divert your attention from the serious business of

More lives were lost in the bread riots at Milan than have been lost in the whole Spanish-American war so

and to secure this we put all the stock BOOKS....

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The Red Light.

The Juggernaut of the Moderns.

Our Destiny. The very moment that your plans are complete I will organize a local here in The Co-Operative Commonwealth. President John Smith.

A great amount of work and expense will be necessary to establish locals as I have outlined. First, we must not establish too many, for it is better to start one A1 local of say 200 or 300 members; second, all labor associations must be addressed by able and representative people; third, the colony plan must be complete before we begin to talk; fourth, all the wealthy people should receive pamphlet explaining object and requested to buy the bonds; fifth, advertisements in the daily pa-pers for all tradesmen to join the lo-

cals. The above will give you an idea o the plan. The people who we desire are not yet members of the S. D. of A. However, they are ready, but they seem to feel that they have been abused by the Socialist parties in the past, and I assure you that the Social Reform Club here is doing excellent work for emancipation and has at pres-ent 400 members such as Dr. Rainsford, Bishop Potter, Rev. Oakes, Rev. Williams, Rev. Frank, and all the labo soon as matters are shaped sufficiently give me particulars and I will arrange organization.

FRANCIS FICKE.

THE PEOPLE'S PSALM.

Give us this day our daily bread, And raise the price from day to Make labor harder and instead Of greater wages smaller pay.

Amen chorus: Increase our debts, add ten per cent, And into gold bonds make them swell. Hold them that we fear not torment That surely waits the rich in Hell.

Amen chorus: Into temptation lead us not, Give us no homes, nor food, nor cash; Deliver us from evil thought Of hope and joy lest we be rash.

Amen chorus:
Evolve ye Suns, evolve through space!
Swing on, swing on, oh Milky Way!
Ere fades your light perhaps our race
Some sense itself will gain some day.
A. W. Thomas.

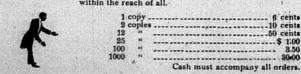
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The reader has seen more than once that the Indian lad was more than ordinarily quick-witted and shrewd. He at once recognized the detective, and,

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY OF

ntries, per year ... ittances, exchanges, manuscripts and all co respondence should be addressed to THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT, Entered as Second-Class Matter at Chicago Postoffice.



CHICAGO, MAY 26, 1898

****************** YOUR SUBSCRIPTION with Number on your Label. This number is

NO PAPER SENT ON CREDIT.

LIST OF SOLICITORS

Two hundred contributions of ten dollars each are called for under this Lead, for the purpose of putting organ-izers in the field, and distributing literature, to extend the scope and in fluence of the work of the Social De-

PROPAGANDA FUND

Amount previously reported....\$166.10 Branch 2 of Oregon, Portland ...

The war excitement is not able to retard the organization of the Socia Democracy. During the past week, in addition to the branches organized by Comrades Debs and Goodwin, and reported elsewhere, new branches have been organized at South Chicago and Ill., Milwaukee, Wis., and

The newly formed central commit of the Social Democracy of St. Louis will meet the first Sunday in June at National Hall, corner of Allen and Dollman streets, at 2 p. m. A full representation is desired, and those branches which have not already electrons. ed their three delegates to the central mittee should do so at once

Notwithstanding the war excitement. it should not be forgotten that printers, pressmen, bookbinders and stereotypers are still fighting Donohue & Hen neberry, of Chicago. Like all other opponents of labor, this firm thought the printing trades would be starved into submission. The reconcentra policy must follow Weyler-and go. The reconcentrado

What now! Our prison system is to be abandoned and the Philippines are to be erected into an American penal colony. Such is the latest proposition proceeding from our "representative men," and it is regarded with favor by the powers that be. Truly, the American republic is moving!

CONVENTION ARRANGEMENTS.

Arrangements have been completed by the national executive board for holding the convention which will meet on June 7th, and for the accommodation of delegates while they are in the city. The convention will meet in Ulich's hall at 27 North Clark street. This is a historic place. It has been the scene of many world-stirring and epoch-making events, and it is an eminently appropriate meeting place for the representatives of this new move ment, which is destined to lead the hosts of labor out of the bondage of oppression which now enthralls them. In Ulich's hall the A. R. U. was born. Here also was held the memorable convention of the A. R. U. at which the great strike of 1894 was declared. as held the last convention of the A. R. U. Here the Social Democracy was born, on June 21st, 1897, and here, on June 7, 1898, will meet its first doubtedly be taken to accentuate the scope and grandeur of the movement and enable it to sweep the country with a force as resistless as the onward rush of a mountain avalanche. Under the inspiration to be derived from their environment the delegates can not fail to act with wisdom; they can not fail to place the Social Democracy of Amerian on a basis as impregnable as the eternal hills.

accommodation of delegates special rates have been secured at the Revere House, corner of Clark and in a block of the convention hall, and is first-class in all its appointments. Every effort will be made to insure

cents per day.

Let the army of delegates advance in force, and historic Ulich's Hall will

all haste to elect their delegates, and each delegate's name and address should be reported to the National which, you must bear in

eral. Branches should instruct their representatives on such matters as they desire to have brought before the convention, and should at once make all necessary arrangements to properly equip them for the great work they have in hand. Comrades, the solution of momentous and world-embracing problems will be entrusted to our conhearts attuned to the grand harmonies of the principles we represent, to ful-fill the mission entrusted to our hands

THE ILLINOIS CAMPAIGN

In every part of the state, of Illinois Social Democracy is throwing its banner to the breeze. The campaign of Debs and Goodwin from Spring Valley in the north to Du Quoin in the south is without parallel in the annals of organization.
In our last issue we reported briefly

the result of meetings held at Spring Valley, La Salle, Streator and Coal

On May 16 a tremendous meeting was held in the Lyceum theater at Bloomington under the auspices of the Trades and Labor assembly. On the 17th an immense meeting was held at the opera house at Lincoln. One hundred and eighty copies of "Merrie England" were sold. On the 19th a packed meeting was held at Girard and arrangements were made to organize branches at Girard and Auburn. On the 20th the opera house at Litchfield was packed to the doors and all the literature on hand was disposed of. The Belleville meeting on the 21st was a wonder. A meeting on the 21st was a wonder. A magnificent audience thronged the op-era house. The meeting was held un-der the auspices of the Trades and Labor Assembly and was a signal success One hundred and fifty copies of "Mer-rie England" were sold.

On the 22d, being Sunday, the meet-

was held in the court house park at Murphysboro in the afternoor it was a mass meeting in the fullest sense of the term. Debs spoke two hours and fifteen minutes, and the great crowd drank in the last word of the cospel of economic democracy. At the close there was a grand rush for liter-ature, and in less than ten minutes the 200 copies of "Merrie England" on hand were sold out and the crowd clamoring for more. There was another package of 100 at the express office, but this was At least 200 more could easily have been sold. A large number en-rolled their names for a local branch and the branch, comprised of miners and railroad men, will soon be in work-ing order. The miners and railroad employes were out in full force and applauded every telling point in the

We close this report before hearing from Du Quoin, but may hear from

there before going to press.

The trip of Debs and Goodwin, cov ering twelve days, was a wonderfu success. At every point the houses and parks were crowded with immense audiences of men and women eager to hear the emancipating gospel of the Social Democracy. The future of the movement glows with promise, and every member has abundant cause for lope and good cheer.

SHALL WE REDUCE OUR DUES? One of the most important things

about any organization is the financing

the financing of the Social Democracy we must keep in view not only the general form of organization, but also the whole field of action and the object to be attained. With the United States for our field, and for our object its transformation into a national co operative commonwealth, we mus plan to financially equip the Social Democracy so that it may be the most effective means to that end.

Our constitution already provides for local, state and national organizations In addition to these we need city or ganizations. Not one of these four bod ies can be dispenses with. The local branch attends to propaganda work in its own district. The city committee looks after districts where there are no branches, holds agitation meetings and organizes every part of the city. The state committee is necessary to supervise the agitation throughout the state and to see that no city, town or village within its borders is left un-visited and unorganized. Then the Na-tional Executive holds the reins of all the states, knows the strength and the weakness, the needs and the capabili-ties of each, sees where help is most needed and where there is an overplu of strength that can be spared to help a weaker state—and in general sees to it that all the states are coming do their part when the time is ripe. The various states must as quickly as

squad or seeing that his soldirs use the proper amount of pipe clay. Comrade O'Hea says truly that we the comfort of delegates during their stay, and they will be accommodated either on the American or European plan, as they may prefer. On the former plan a rate of \$1.50 and \$1.75 per day has been secured, and on the latter plan the rate will be 50 and 75 transitions are the stay of the same plan as they may be seen secured. The same plan are the same plan as they may be seen secured and on the latter plan the rate will be 50 and 75 transitions are the same plan as the same pla

each delegate's name and address Begining with our national treasury, should be reported to the National Council at once. Local branches, to from the whole organization, while the the entitled to representation, must have at least five members in good standing, with their monthly dues paid for June. Each branch should collect and forward all the available dues before the convention meets, so as to make as membership the work of the commit-

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT creditable a showing as possible for ittainly be very largely increased during the coming very ing the coming year, thus increasing the income. This would leave eighty cents more per member in the local branch treasury than it now has. Of this I should propose giving sixty cents a year to the state treasury and the re-maining twenty to the city committee, leaving the amount remaining in the branch treasury the same as at pres-ent. The city committee gets the smallest share for the reason that it fill the mission entrusted to our hands is in a better position than any of the —the foundation of the American Socialist movement on a rock as enduring of entertainments, picnics, excursions, etc. Different cities could, of course arrange this according to their respec-tive needs. Our Boston city committee voted to adopt this plan, providing the reduction is made in the national dues. It would give our city committee an income of some \$50, which would pay running expenses. Further amounts could be raised by means of entertainments, etc., and subscription

As for the state committee, it is more necessary that it should have a regula guaranteed income. The five cents a onth proposed would give us, taking members, \$360 a year for agitation in our own state, and this is needed very sorely. There are sixteen places in Massachusetts which I can name to you that are at the present moment waiting for us to send an organizer. They have several people who would join a branch if one were started, and if we could send an organizer and pay the expenses of a well-advertised agitation meeting, we could start strong branch neeting, we could state along of accessing every one of them, and sixteen new branches with, say thirty members each (that is our average in Massachusetts), would exactly cover the loss to the national treasury from our state occasioned by the reduction. And this is saying nothing of the hun-And this is saving nothing of the hundreds of other branches that we can organize in New England, if our plan carries, and we have a New England organizer in the field all the time.

I realize that this plan leaves the local branches as poorly off as they are now. The ten cents per member left them barely pays rent; but I have al-ways found the comrades more willing to subscribe additional sums for the direct work of their own branch than

I believe that some such plan this, which will give to each of the four treasuries a certain guaranteed income, will commend itself to our members rather than the haphazzard way of getting up balls and excursions, and sometimes coming out "in the hole," or of continually passing sub scription papers. Of course we will have to do a certain amount of this anyway, but we will know what we have to depend upon, and how much needed to supplement it. One word in regard to reducing the

subscription to the Social Democrat. Any comrade who has tried to get subscribers for it knows how difficult it is in the face of the fact that the Coming Nation and the N. Y. People are only fifty cents a year and the Appeal to Reason twenty-five, and surely such magazines as the Cosmopolitan Munsey's and the New Time would not have been reduced to ten cents and The Arena to half its former price if the increased circulation gained there by did not compensate for the in creased labor and cost of handling the larger edition. I must say, too, that I regard it as more important for us to make Socialists than to make money Even from the low point of view of a business proposition, I don't see any other way of getting money to make

more Socialists than by making more Socialists to get more

Boston.

FROM INDIANAPOLIS.

As the readers of the Social Demo crat have not yet heard much concerning the movement in Indianapolis, they may have thought that there is not much of a movement in this city. Such, however, is not the case, but on the contrary Branch No. 6 is very to tive and is steadily increasing in membership. The branch is composed of the very best material and its meetings are always interesting and well attend-ed. We held an entertainment on the 19th of March in honor of the martyrs of 1848. We also celebrated the 1st of May. Both affairs were successful, both financially and socially. We shall

much interest. J. ZORN. Secretary Branch No. 6. Indianapolis, Ind.

NEW JERSEY STATE COMMITTEE.

The comrades of New Jersey are along pretty well in line and ready to waiting patiently for the result of the

That the question of Socialism is rife possible take a lot of the detail work in the minds of the people is shown off the hands of the National Executive Committee. A general must not inquiring about the Social Democracy. accommodation of delegates es have been secured at the close corner of Clark and This hotel is situated with and the convention hall, and the convention hall, and the number amount of pipe clay.

The number amount of pipe clay.

The number amount of pipe clay.

Main street, Paterson. This will be an accommodation of delegates and the number amount of the National Execution in quiring about the Social Democracy. The next meeting of the state committee of New Jersey will be held on Sunday. The number amount of pipe clay. important meeting, and all delegates to the state committee are urgently re-quested to be present. Urgent business in relation to our delegate to the convention will be transacted. The state committee has two candidates for the different branches to vote on, and we treasuries to be supplied out of the want a final vote at the next meeting Let the army of delegates advance dues paid into the organization by its in force, and historic Ulich's Hall will be the scene of another epochal event this \$3 per member among the four Hopkins is the nominee of Branch 4, in the history of the movement for human emancipation.

As to delegates! All branches treasuries to the best advantage is the question. I will give you my idea, and then Comrade O'Hea, as well as the son. The delegates should also be pre-As to delegates! All branches where ceived a copy of the official circular giving notice of the result of the referendum vote on the question of amending the constitution. The amendment carried, and under the new law each local branch is entitled to one representative. Branches should make all hasts to sleet their delegates should also be prevented to see that the assessment of 35 cents per member for the support of our national delegate is met. We would like to be able to send more other plans submitted, and I shall be only too glad to see a more feasible only too glad to see that the assessment of 35 cents per member for the support of our national delegate is met. We would like to be able to see that the assessment of 35 cents per member for the support of our national delegate is met. We would like to be able to see that the assessment of 35 cents per pared to see that the assessment of 35 cents per pared to see that the assessment of 35 cents per pared to see that the assessment of 35 cents per pared to see that the assessment of 35 cents per pared to see that the assessment of 35 cents per pared to see that the assessment of 35 cents per pared to see that the assessment of 35 cents per detail the see that the assessment of 35 cents per comrades, pay attention to this notice and attend the meeting in full force. For information about organizing new branches address the undersigned

THOMAS A. JONES, Secretary State Committee 403 North Fifth street, Harrison, N. J.

Do not fail to send your best talent to represent you at the convention.

NO MORE BONDS

No more bonds! is the cry from the people. No further increase in our interest-bearing debt! The action of the senate in holding out against the bond proposition of the house has been commended, and there are who have flattered themselves that the senatorial opposition was really honest, and the bond scheme would eventually be defeated. How little these people knew of the ways of capitalist lawmakers is indicated by the information which comes from Washington, to the effect that the bureau of engraving and printing is working night and day on a big order for bank notes for New York banks, to be issued on the security of these bonds which are not yet authorized by law! Comptroller of the Currency Dawes paid a visit to New York a few days ago as the agent of President McKinley to as sure the bankers that notwithstanding the threats of the Democrats and Populists in the senate to kill the bond issue the section of the bill authorizing the bonds would eventually pass the senate substantially as it had come from the house.

At a conference in New York sever al weeks ago between Secretary Gage and a number of leading financiers, Mr. Gage guaranteed to the banks an issue of at least \$200,000,000 3 per cent bonds, and when the "financiers" began to get restive over the delay caused by the action of patched to New York to reassure them that everything was all right and they would get their bonds according to promise. The result of his visit was a \$150,000,000 order for bank notes, and this order the bureau of engraving and printing is now industriously engaged

The moral of all this is obvious. The going to have them irrespective of protests from the people, who fondly imagine themselves the rulers of this great country. And it is perfectly logical that this should be so. As long as the capitalist system exists the govern-ment will be run in the interests of capitalism, one of the results being a capitalist financial system. A public debt is merely one form of capitalist exploitation, and if the people expect to escape bonds they must kill capi-

talism—they must vote for Socialism.
The action of our "public servants" in defying the voice of the people is a significant commentary on the decad-ence of American democracy. Even in autocratic Russia the Czar would not dare to defy the law in so palpable a manner as McKinley, Gage and Dawes have done.

With all our republican cant, the poor man is nobody. With our national greatness palaver, the poor man is no-body. With all our babble about freedom, the poor man is a slave. With all our "equal justice for all," the rich man only can procure justice, and he gets what he pays for .- Coming Na-

State Secretary and Treasurer W. D. Ryan of the United Mine Workers of Illinois has joined the Social Democ racy and is one of its most earnest and enthusiastic supporters.

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MEETINGS OF LOCAL BRANCHES

*************************** under this head for 25c per month.]

CALIFORNIA No. 5, San Francisco, meets every Sunday at 2 p. m., at 505 Market street. The general public is invited to attend. No. 8, Hakersfield, meets the first Sunday of each mouth, on or before the full the moon, at 2 p. m., in Mattson's

COLORADO No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 3 p. m., at 1715 California st.

month at 8 p. m., sharp, at headquarters, 1443 Michigan ave, near lifsh st., Chicago, E. A. Weeks, 235 W. 116th St., Secretary, Note change of hall. No. 7. Chicago, meuts Friday, Feb. 4, showed the control of the con

a. m. No. 10 meets third Wednesday at 251 N. Clark street, Chicago, at 8 p. m. No. 21 meets every first and teird Monday, 7t 8 p. m. at Social Turner Hail, Belb... at avenue and Paulina street, Chicago, 12 Rep. 12 avenue and Paulina street, Chicago 12 avenue and Paulina street. Cago.

No. 2, meets second and last Sunday of each month at 4 p. m., at Tressett's Hall, N. W. Cor. Armitage and Nebraska aves.,

No. 24 meets every Sunday at 3 p. m. at 11 Ayer's Court, Chicago. Public in-

at It Ayer's Court, Chicago, Public invited.

No. 25 meets every Friday evening, southeast corner Sedgwick and Siegel streets, Chicago.

INDIANA.

No. 1, Terre Haute, meets 1st and 3d Sunduys of each month at 2 p. m., at Centrul Labor Union Hall, 6254 Wabash ave. Ladies are invited. P. K. Reinbold, Chairman. Ed. Evinger, Secretary,

No. 3, Richmond, meets 2d and 4th Wednesday evenings, hall of German Benevolent Society, corner 5th and Main streets. solutely unfailing H C. O. D. or other co by a firm of high st No. 2. Baltimore, English Branch, meets every Wednesday at 8 p. m., at 1005 East Baltimore street.

No. 1 meets 3d Thursday evening for usiness, and every second Sunday for ceture and discussion, at 724 Washington t., Boston. Secretary's address 1943

st., Boston. Secretary's address 1943 Washington st.
No. 5, Lynn, meets every Friday at 8 p. m., in Woman's Christian Temperance Hall, cor. Oxford and Washington sts. Business last meeting in month. All other meetings educational.
No. 8, Roxbury, meets every Thursday at 8 p. m., at 64 Warren street, Room No. 1, for business and education.
No. 11, Maiden, meets at Templar Hall, Pleasanj street, every Sunday evening at 7:39, for business and discussion. Secretary's address, cor. Pierce and Knollin

MISSOURI.

No. 1, St. Louis. Meets every Friday
at 8 p. m., at 123 N. Broadway.

Ko. 3 meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday
at 18th and Wyoming sts., St. Louis. M.
Dorn, secretary, 1933 Lami street.

NEW JERBEY.

No. 1, meets every Tuesday. Club rooms
are open for for friends also on Thursday, Saturday and Sunday, 365 Pacific
stheet, Paterson.

No. 2 meets every Wednesday evening
at 8 p. m., sharp, at No. 5 Clinton ave.,
Newark. Good program. Visitors welcomeky

comeb.

No. \ meets every Tuesday at Progressive\Labor Hail, corner Barciay and Montgomery streets. Newark.

No. 6, Paterson, meets 2d and 4th Friday of each month at 8 p. m. Club meeting every last Monday in the month, Club room is open every evening at 268 Main street, room 11.

greet, room 11.

No. 7, Paterson, meets 1st and 3d Thursday of each month at 8 p. m. Club meeting last Monday in the month at 255 Main street, room 11. Club room open every

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

No. 1, Exeter, meets every Thursday evening at 8 o'clock, in room of Rockingham Socialist Club No. 4. Merrill's block, up one flight. Manfred Tebbetts, Secretary. The club rooms are open every night and Sundays and the public is cordially invited to call and see us, and all workingmen will be welcomed to our branch meetings.

branch meetings.

NEW YORK.

The Greater New York City Central Committee of the Social Demogracy of America, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at its permanent headquarters, 85 E. ith st., St. Paul Wilzig Hall. Nicholas Aleinikoff, secretary, 87 Nassau street, New York City.

Combined Lectures of Branches 7 and 12, Brooklyn, held every Sunday evening.

Combined Lectures of Branches 7 and 12 Brooklyn, held every Sunday evening at Erie Hall, 435 Broadway, at 8 o'clock, sharp. Musical program.

No. 1, New York City, meets every Friday at 8 p. m. sharp at 209 E. Broadway. Lectures before business meetings. No. 2, New York City. Meetings and third Wednesdays of each month, at 347 E. Forty-mint street at 8 p. m. S. Hepuer, chairman, 337 E. 43th st. No. 5 meets first and third friday evenings. Lectures and discussion at each meeting. and third Wednesdays we at 34 E. Forty-ninth stried at 8 p. m. S. Hepuer, chairman, 37 E. 49th st. No. 5 meets first and third Friday evenings. Lectures and discussion at each meeting. Lectures and discussion at each meets every Friday at 8 p. m. at American Star, No. 112 Clinton street, New York City, Alexander Kahn, 115 Broome St., Secretary.

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No. 10, Buffalo, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m., Council Hall, 35 E. Huron St. All workingmen cordially invited to attend meetings. Secretary, H. Y. Brown, 1840 Fillmore Ave.
No. 11, New York City, meets 2d and 4th Sundays at 8 p. m. at Bohemian National Hall, 321-325 E. 73s st. J. Austein, Secretary, 1508 Avenue "A."
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No. 16, 32d Assembly District, meets every Friday evening at 8 p. m., at 117 E. Sth street, New York City, Secretary, Bernard Sacks, 209 E. 38th street, No. 21, New York City, Karl Marx Branch, meets every Friday evening at Congress Hall, 155 Avenue C. Henry Lang, 368 E. 10th St., Secretary.

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No. 3 meets every Monday evening at 8 o'clock, Stengel's Hall, cor. Pearl and Monroe streets, Cleveland.
No. 9, Bucyrus, meets 2d and 4th Sundays of each month, at Fisher's Hall, cor. Main and Renssalaer streets.
No. 16, Toledo, meets at Knopka Hall, cor. Vance and Division sis, every Friday evening. C. H. Otken, secretary, 1103 Nebraska ave.

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No. 1 meets every Sunday and Tuesday at 8 p. m., Co-operative Hall, 1125 Poplar street, Philadelphia.

No. 7. Pittsburg, headquarters room 6, Moorhead building, 194-196 Grant street. Open every afternoon and evening. Public addresses every 4th Sunday afternoon in Moorhead Hall, third floor, same building.

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No. 10, Allegheny, meets every Tuesday
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No. 1, Nashville, meets every Tuesday at 7:30 p. m., at 602% Church st. First meeting in month for business only. All others for discussion and education. Visi-

tors cordially invited TEXAS. No. 1, Heuston, meets second and fourth Thursday of each month in Union Men's Hall, on Franklin street, between Main and Travis streets. No. 3, Dalias, meets every Sunday at 3 p, m, at Social Democracy Hall, 528 Main street.

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No. 1, Palouse, meets in the Council Chamber at 8 p. m., on the 2d and 4th Tuesdays of each month. D. W. Foster,

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