

'Capital is not a thing, but a social relation between persons, established by the instrumentality of things.'—Marx.

The Social Democrat

"ON EARTH PEACE, GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN."

"Democracy is not an experiment which can be abandoned but an evolution which must be fulfilled."—Bellaamy

Vol. V.

CHICAGO, ILL., THURSDAY, MARCH 31, 1898.

No. 13.

CURRENT COMMENT.

INTERESTING STATISTICS ON INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS.

A Pennsylvania Judge's Decision. Pitiful Exhibition of "Patriotism." A Good "Incentive" Argument.

A Pennsylvania judge has recently decided that a display of force by strikers, although none is actually used, constitutes intimidation, and is as unlawful as actual violence. This is strictly in line with the theory on which the courts have been acting in their decisions affecting the rights of workmen during the past few years, and in view of all the facts it is hard to understand the philosophy of those who advocate strikes as a means of bettering the condition of workmen. By a series of decisions designed to protect the rights of property, the courts have deprived the strike and the boycott of all the force they ever had, and have practically removed workmen from the protection of the laws in this "free" country! The effect of all this most ultimately be to compel workmen to abandon the crude strike and boycott as useless, and force the adoption of the scientific methods of Socialism. It is eminently fitting that this latest decision should proceed from a Pennsylvania court, a state where official hirelings suffer no penalty for shooting down unarmed strikers who are peacefully marching along the public highway.

In the manufacturing statistics of the eleventh census we find the value of all products reported as \$9,372,437,283

Cost of material \$5,162,044,076
Amount paid in wages 2,283,216,529
Miscellaneous expenses 631,225,035
Total \$8,076,485,640

Balance \$1,295,519,643
Miscellaneous expenses include rent, taxes, insurance, interest and all sundries not elsewhere reported.

In the wage account is included salaries paid managers, clerks and members of firms, as well as commissions paid drummers and middlemen. It will be noted that the value of the product is more than \$3,000,000,000, while those who have contributed to the labor and material embodied in the product have received but little more than \$8,000,000,000, and are consequently able to purchase but eight-ninths of their own product. There is a surplus of goods, valued at \$1,295,519,643 that cannot be consumed by the producers. These goods must be piled up. They constitute the "overproduction" we hear so much about. Making the most liberal allowance for the consumption of the capitalist owners of this surplus, we may say that at least one billion dollars' worth of goods remains unconsumed at the end of the year. Unless this remainder can be forced into "foreign markets" the factories must close down, as the producers are not able to buy, having entirely exhausted their consuming power on the other eight-ninths of the product. But all other "commercial nations" are in the same fix as we are, and are fighting as hard for the "control of foreign markets." Hence those markets are not to be relied on for the disposal of our "surplus," and thus it comes that we find millions out of work and starving in the midst of abundance of wealth of their own production. No mere change in monetary systems or tariff laws will remedy this condition. Nothing short of the utter destruction of the factor, profit, will enable the consuming power of the people to balance their producing power and save millions from starvation. Those who honestly oppose Socialism should begin to study up. The utter impossibility of the profit system can be mathematically demonstrated.

The above is an editorial from a Chicago daily, one of those papers who are always telling us about the beauties of competition, individual effort, incentive to industry, and all the rest of that rot that has become so nauseating to us. The wage earner who can find any "incentive" in the capitalist system is to be pitted.

The Chicago Tribune wants war, because it will "make business good." It argues that, with the immense demand for material and supplies of all kinds, and the absorption of workmen, both into the army and into industrial pursuits, would come a great business boom and an increase of wages. This would bring prosperity all around. The Tribune made this argument so as to convince the timid ones who are not in favor of its Jingo policy that the "business interests" of the nation would not suffer in the event of war, and therefore there was no reason to fear. The Tribune is slightly out of its reckoning. "Business" is good enough as it is for the ones who control it. They are not complaining. But isn't it a vivid commentary on the rottenness of our industrial system when a prominent mouthpiece of capitalism advocates the wanton destruction of life and property for the purpose of "making business good"? Any crime in the calendar is justifiable, according to capitalist ethics, if it will only boom "business!" We will get rid of this damnable "business" in the very near future.

Chicago grain dealers want the government to build a canal to tide water, so as to give them cheap freight rates and enable them to compete with Canadian shippers. They want the government to help them overcome competition and make the dire threat of removing their business from the country unless they get an appropriation for a canal. Said their representative before the congressional committee: "If you cannot give us an appropriation for this project then we submit that we will be compelled to send our business by way of Canada." By all means they must have the "appropriation," and the canal! We can't afford to let Canada take the "business" away from us. But isn't "business" away from us. But isn't this pleading for government aid a trifle of a concession to the bugaboo of "paternalism"? Why should the people be taxed to build a canal merely to allow a few grain dealers to get a cheap rate on grain, especially when these things are done so much better by "private enterprise," you know?

OUR LONDON LETTER.

NEWS OF WHAT COMRADES ARE DOING IN ENGLAND.

Quiet and Satisfactory Negotiations. County Council Election Shows Great Gains for Socialism.

(Special to the Social Democrat.)

London, March 12, 1898.—The capitalistic press is speaking very admiringly of the "quiet and satisfactory manner" in which the negotiations for the great dyeing and fine-cotton spinning combines are proceeding. The capitalistic press is always an admirer of "quietness" in industrial matters. Nothing vexes its honest soul so much as any interference from the workmen in these matters. It cannot bear to hear their ugly protestations, it would rather hear the melody of profits chinking into its coffers. It matters not to the capitalistic press that the money it earns is blood-money, and gained by supporting the foulest tyranny that ever besmirked the earth.

And when the "quiet and satisfactory" negotiations have been completed and the combinations stand firmly based on money and law, what then? Why, "economies" are to be introduced. Establishments are to be "cut down" and prices "regulated." What pretty words, to be sure, but what terrible meanings lurk behind them. They mean the breaking up of workmen's homes and the dispersal of bands of men and women over the land in search of the work and the bread reaped from their grasp. They mean the parting of husbands and wives and the eternal farewell of sweethearts. They mean fresh waters poured into the sea of human misery, whose volume is rising and threatening a deluge more fearful than any pictured in Hebrew myth.

The General Workers' union scheme gains in favor and expansion every day. Tom Mann is working day and night, practically on the organizing work, and is being ably helped by men, who, although as yet little known, are amongst those who will lead the labor movement of the coming years. The correspondence to hand is immense and at the meeting of the provisional committee last Wednesday considerable time was devoted to getting through the important sections of it. Small alterations in the draft rules were discussed and adopted. If the endorsement of the idea progresses at its present rate I should say that the union will start in May with over 100,000 members.

At the election of the London county council last week, 2,768 absolutely straight Socialist votes were cast, added to these there are 1,567 votes deposited for Frank Smith in North Lambeth, a London working-class constituency, and quite half of these must have been straight Socialist ballots. This gives a total of 3,546 against 1,403 cast in 1895, a gain of 105 per cent in three years. To all except those who expect the Socialist commonwealth to occur in the morning, this is a very encouraging gain.

The couple of Socialist colonies on the outskirts of the metropolis are keeping their heads up well. Slight additions to the membership are reported and crops and production are healthy. They are still very small, not including more than thirty members, but are full of hope and the sense of difficulties overcome. Bruce Wallace's Brotherhood Trust makes continual progress, several brotherhood stores being now open in London.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

THE PROFIT SYSTEM ANALYZED BY DR. J. T. McCOLGAN.

He shows the Iniquity of Profit, and gives an Interesting Lecture to the Agriculturalists.

John, you complain that we Socialists are going too far in the way of reform. Perhaps if you will think over the matter seriously you will find that you Populists have not gone far enough. You farmers are in theory ardent supporters of the competitive system, you pretend that free competition is the great equitable regulator of trade, but when this regulator hits your butter in the shape of oleomargarine, when it hits your wool with Australian products, when it hits your barley with Canadian imports, in fact when it touches anything you have to sell, you squawk worse than a pig under a fence! Yes, John, competition is a beautiful thing when it makes the "other fellow" sell cheap, but when it affects the price of your rancid butter, swarming with the microbes of putrefaction, you take a wonderful interest in the health of the community and petition congress to tax artificial butter out of existence because you say "it is not a wholesome food." With all your honesty and love of fair dealing, John, you are an arrant hypocrite.

New look carefully over the various economic laws which have been proposed for the last half century and you will find that everyone of them proposes to benefit one class of people at the expense of all other classes. The protective tariff would benefit the manufacturer at the expense of the consumer of manufactured articles. Free trade would benefit the consumer by forcing the manufacturers to work cheaper by reason of the competition of foreign products. The banking and currency laws are for the benefit of the money-lending class. The agitations against them have been solely in the interests of the money borrowing class. Your sub-treasury scheme, John, was a grand reform, when looked at from behind a corn shock or a cotton bale, but it was in the interest of a class. The wage earner wants laws to benefit himself, regardless of their effect on other people. The capitalist wants laws to benefit him, no matter how they might affect others. The manufacturer pleads sturdily for a congressional sucking bottle for his centenarian infant, even if other children have to cry for bread. The railroads are not too modest to ask for laws in their special interest, even if they are detrimental to everybody else. The merchants want laws to protect and extend their profits and they don't care a snap who pays the profit. The lawyers want, and generally succeed in getting, laws that will make their business better, even if they hang the "other fellow." The doctors too, have a host of laws they want passed, professionally in the interests of the public health, but really to benefit the profession. The preachers have numerous laws they want passed in the interest of good morals and a higher civilization, but when you pull the surplus aside and look at the naked proposition you find they

are to benefit the preachers as a class more than the people at large. Now what does it all mean? It means this, John, that all these classes intuitively know that the competitive system based on profit is a failure, so far as individual effort is concerned, and they want society, for government is only organized society, to help them rob society.

Now Farmer John, you have often in times past, but not much lately, chucked over the idea that you had made a "profit" on a certain crop, or steer, or pig. Did you ever ask yourself what profit is? I don't believe you ever did, or you wouldn't brag about making it. The dictionary, and it is still pretty good authority, says that the word profit means an "advantage." In commerce and trade, profit is an unearned tribute which the cupidity of one man levies on the necessities of another. If I expend one dollar's worth of labor and fifty cents' worth of leather, making a pair of boots, and sell you the boots for three dollars, one dollar and a half of this money is profit.

If a burglar expends one dollar's worth of labor and fifty cents' worth of powder in blowing open my safe and gets twenty dollars, eighteen dollars and fifty cents is profit, and the difference between the two transactions is only one of degree; they are both robbery, pure and simple; both getting something without returning an equivalent. Owing to your superficial way of looking at things, you might say that "in the first instance you voluntarily paid the profit, so there was no robbery in the transaction."

But you tell two lies when you say so. In the first place you would have much preferred to get the boots for one dollar and a half, but the exigencies of your necessities compelled you to pay the three dollars; and John, after all, you did not pay it yourself; you put it on your hired man, and his little children wore thin, ragged clothes and went barefoot until the last cent was paid.

An advantage pre-supposes an equivalent disadvantage, and somewhere, somehow, loses exactly what another gains as profit. It requires a superlative degree of that peculiar moral depravity called "gall" to rob a man while looking him in the eye, a less amount to rob him when he is asleep, a still less amount to rob him when he is not about. These three degrees of depravity are exemplified in the Highwayman, the Burglar and the Robber of a henroost, and the device for robbery called profit is like the latter. The robber is remote from his victim and does not recognize him when he meets him, though he sees him every hour.

You ask who are these victims of the profit robbers? Do you remember that ragged, dirty unshorn, unwashed and unshaven tramp your kind-hearted wife gave a left over corn pone and a cup of sour buttermilk last week, instead of setting the dog on him as is usually done when he asks for "cold vittles"?

He's one of them! Do you remember that pale, sallow woman with a bundle of shirts under her arm, which she had sat by the side of a sick babe and made for twelve cents a piece, who hurried by you in a thin calico wrapper that cold day you were in town?

She was another! Do you remember the pale little gutter salpeter; a compound of dirt, silt and rags, which you scare up when you drive your market wagon through the back streets in town?

They are others! And the hundreds of pale, stoop shouldered, dwarfed children, toiling out a miserable existence in factory and workshop, who never spent a happy day, who never ate a full meal in all their miserable lives, are what they are, because Interest, Rent and Profit rob industry of seven-tenths of what it earns.

To show you something in regard to the operations of profit robbery, here is a worsted suit of clothes which cost \$18. Let us weigh it, John, and estimate the cost of the material. We find that the coat, pants and vest weigh six pounds. The lining, the wadding and the chain are of cotton and are about two-thirds of its whole weight. This would be worth, at current quotations on cotton, five cents per pound, amounting to 30 cents; the wool is quoted at 27 cents per pound which would amount to 54 cents. The labor used in spinning, weaving and dying would not exceed 50 cents. The labor of cutting and making, with cost of buttons, thread, etc., would be about 65 cents. Freight on raw material and manufactured products, say, 10 cents. Wear on various machines used in manufacture, 10 cents more. Fuel and lights 10 cents and insurance 10 cents, making a total of \$2.29.

Now, John, the other \$15.71 is what Interest, Rent and Profit rob me and the laborers of in one suit of clothes! And this is not the worst, John. I will be compelled, by this system, to charge this to my clients, the well-to-do ones will charge it to their customers and finally the poor devil, who never had a decent suit in all his life, will in rags and tatters dig this profit out of the earth?

Say, John, don't you think all the fends in hell laugh when a dear, good Christian man boasts of "making a fair profit"?

Now, Farmer John, clean the chaff out of your eyes and let us look at things in a clear, common sense way. Suppose three big, fat loafers had the privilege of exacting each a fifth of what you raised and it took all of your two-fifths to feed your family! What difference would it make to you whether wheat and corn were high or low? Not the least in the world, for you would have none to sell. John, when a man gets 70 per cent of all you earn it makes no difference in your burden to call them dollars, or dollars

NEWS NOTES.

Showing the Trend of Events Throughout the World.

Portland (Ore.) retail merchants have organized and have issued an appeal to the people to boycott department stores.

Mark Hanna has succeeded in defeating the 500 shipbuilders who recently went on strike at his Globe Iron works, Cleveland.

Denver common council has passed an ordinance which, by means of high licenses, is expected to do away with the department stores.

The London Bankers' Clearing House was established 125 years ago, and last year nearly \$4,000,000,000 passed through it. London's daily bank business averages \$125,000,000.

Owing to the agrarian troubles in Hungary the Austrian government have forbidden all outside Socialist propagandists from entering the disturbed regions.

Dr. Varley, correspondent of the Belgian Board of Trade, reports that out of 1,000 middle class persons 454 arrive at 60 years of age, whilst out of 1,000 of the working class only 194 reach that age.

The organized drug-clerks of New York have introduced a bill in the assembly providing for a ten-hour work day, and prohibiting the lodging of drug-clerks in any pharmacy or drug-store.

A conference of labor unions will be held in Salt Lake City on May 10, when, it is expected, a Western Federation of Labor will be found, composed of unions in states west of the Mississippi river.

It is stated that in order to bring to an end the strike of the mill operatives in New England, the wholesale merchants refused to furnish supplies to the small dealers who insisted on selling to the strikers.

The county commissioners of Sedgwick county, Kansas, are talking of buying a plant and hiring a printer to do the county printing, claiming that they can thus save the county about \$3,000 per annum.

The town of Dorset, in Wurttemberg, has its funds so well invested that the inhabitants, instead of having to pay taxes, receive a bonus of \$25 each annually, besides free firewood and free use of land for raising vegetables.

During the last five years no less than 1,238 persons have been sentenced to 2,250 years of imprisonment for offending against his august majesty the Emperor of Germany; amongst these were seven children under the age of 15, and 48 between the age of 15 to 18.

The report of the secretary of the Interior shows that only a little more than one-half of the public domain of the United States is either reserved or appropriated. The area still remaining vacant amounts to 591,343,953 acres, without including Alaska, which is supposed to embrace nearly 400,000,000 acres more.

According to the Commercial Year Book there are now in the United States 200 trusts or similar combinations capitalized at an aggregate of \$3,665,000,000, which is 56 per cent of the total capital invested in industrial enterprises. The Journal of Commerce says: "If this goes on unabated it will not be long till all unskilled in the biggest part of our industry will cease."

The Socialist of Berlin still survives, in spite of the fact that, during its five and one half years' existence, it has "consumed," or rather the police have, not less than thirty-one responsible editors, all being wanted by the state to expiate some so-called crime or other committed by this incorrigible paper; but there have been no lack of comrades always ready to take the post. Long may it wave!

Cipriani, the fearless advocate of the people, has his house in a state of siege; a cordon of police surround it and take note of every person who enters or departs therefrom. Though elected no less than 14 times to the Italian parliament, Cipriani has never yet taken his seat, as under the constitution of that country a newly-elected member must be accepted by the whole of the house before he can take his seat.

Now that the Swiss people have nationalized the railroads, the Social Democratic Arbeiter-Stimme, of Zurich, is agitating for the state monopoly of the trade in grain and flour as the next great move in the direction of the socialization of industry and commerce. Switzerland is compelled to import millions of dollars' worth of grain and flour, and the trade in these staple articles of consumption has gradually slipped into the hands of a few monopolists who draw princely revenues from it at the expense of the people.

The Russian government has just added a new penalty to the possession of the writings of Michael Bakunin—that of death. For many years it has been a highly dangerous thing to be the owner of a copy of "God and the State," the last compilation of the various essays of this celebrated Russian thinker. It is now announced that, no matter who is found in Russia hereafter with a copy of any writings of Michael Bakunin's, that person must die.

Declaration of Principles Social Democracy of America.

Adopted at Chicago, Ill., June 21, 1897.

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

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can be plainly traced the existence of a class that corrupts the government, alienates public property, public franchises and public functions and holds this, the mightiest of nations, in abject dependence.

Labor, manual and mental, being the creator of all wealth and all civilization, it rightfully follows that those who perform all labor and create all wealth should enjoy the fruit of their efforts. But this is rendered impossible by the modern system of production. Since the discovery and application of steam and electric powers and the general introduction of machinery in all branches of industry, the industrial operations are carried on by such gigantic means that but few are now able to possess them, and thus the producer is separated from his products.

While in former times the individual worker labored on his own account, with his own tools, and was the master of his own products, now dozens, hundreds and thousands of men work together in shops, mines, factories, etc., co-operating according to the most efficient division of labor, but they are not the masters of their products. The fruits of this co-operative labor are, in a great measure, appropriated by the owners of the means of production, to-wit by the owners of machines, mines, land and the means of transportation.

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

Human power and natural forces are wasted by this system which makes profit the only object in business.

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

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

We, therefore, hold that in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other, will annihilate the middle class, the basis upon which this system rests, and thereby work out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon all honest citizens to unite under the banner of the Social Democracy of America, so that we may be ready to conquer capitalism by making use of our political liberty and by taking possession of the public power, so that we may put an end to the present barbarous struggle, by the abolition of capitalism, the restoration of the land, and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution, to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the co-operative commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder—a commonwealth, which, although it will not make every man equal physically or mentally, will give to every worker the free exercise and the full benefit of his faculties multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization and ultimately inaugurate the universal brotherhood of man. The Social Democracy of America will make democracy the rule of the people, a truth, by ending the economic subjugation of the overwhelming great majority of the people.

With a view to the immediate relief of the people, all our efforts shall be put forth to secure to the unemployed self-supporting employment, using all proper ways and means to that end. For such purpose one of the states of the Union, to be hereafter determined, shall be selected for the concentration of our supporters and the introduction of co-operative industry, and then gradually extending the sphere of our operations until the National Co-operative Commonwealth shall be established.

WE ALSO MAKE THE FOLLOWING SPECIFIC DEMANDS FOR RELIEF:

1. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.
2. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water works, gas and electric plants, and all other public utilities.
3. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, coal, iron and all other mines; also all oil and gas wells.
4. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.
5. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.
6. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.
7. The establishment of Postal Savings Banks.
8. The adoption of the Initiative and the Referendum, the Imperative Mandate and Proportional Representation.

are to benefit the preachers as a class more than the people at large.

Now what does it all mean? It means this, John, that all these classes intuitively know that the competitive system based on profit is a failure, so far as individual effort is concerned, and they want society, for government is only organized society, to help them rob society.

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If a burglar expends one dollar's worth of labor and fifty cents' worth of powder in blowing open my safe and gets twenty dollars, eighteen dollars and fifty cents is profit, and the difference between the two transactions is only one of degree; they are both robbery, pure and simple; both getting something without returning an equivalent. Owing to your superficial way of looking at things, you might say that "in the first instance you voluntarily paid the profit, so there was no robbery in the transaction."

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(Continued on page 2.)

SOCIAL FORUM

DIALOGUE BETWEEN AN EMPLOYER AND A LABORER.

By Carl Pankopf.

Laborer (addressing his employer): Sir, the strike has been lost, the Union has decided that each member, individually, shall see that he regains employment. I therefore request you to re-employ me on the merit of my work.

Employer: I have thought it very strange that you, who have been described to me as being an ardent Socialist, have not taken a more active and conspicuous part in the strike against this firm.

Laborer: It is not my custom to argue on economic questions with my economic masters. Expressing one's thoughts unreservedly and indiscriminately has proved to be to me at once futile and dangerous. You will, I hope, excuse me for not expressing my opinion on such questions.

Employer (coaxing and encouraging): A man of your qualities need not fear anything from being interrogated on a point of principle. Moreover, it would only be advantageous to yourself if you can successfully clear yourself of the reputation of being associated with a lot of revolutionary hot-heads, who are not willing to stop short of dividing honestly accumulated wealth, or thrusting modern peaceful trade and commerce into anarchical conditions.

Laborer: It is not your seeming flattery, with an allusion to my qualities, nor the advantage that may accrue to me from explaining away the false conception of the principles I advocate, which prompts me to make reply to you.

Employer (with acrimony): But you will understand that I can not afford to give preference to a man holding principles and opinions such as you are said to be addicted to.

Laborer (perceiving that he has no more to lose and everything to gain): If I shall vindicate myself before you, in an effective manner, I would have to assume, at the same time, the character of a teacher.

Employer: Let me assure you that I am far from imagining that you could not possess knowledge of something that I never have had time enough to give much thought to.

Laborer: Then, before all, let me tell you that in principle I am opposed to dividing with anyone. The economics of Socialism are essentially opposed to division, and men of no meaner reputation than Karl Marx and Frederick Engels have shown the working-class that it is the capitalist who engrosses his possessions by means of division. He divides with those who are working for him, by extracting surplus value from their labor power. The capitalist goes into the market and buys labor power as he buys raw material. The law of supply and demand fixes the price.

Employer: That you mean to say that workmen are things?

Laborer: Exactly. The freedom of contract that the laborer and capitalist are supposed to enjoy shows at the end of the first week of its existence to be nothing but a fancy, so far as the working man is concerned. The capitalist bought the labor power of the laborer with a view of realizing this power in the concrete, i. e., crystallized human labor power, and with a view to selling it in the market at a so-called profit, which is nothing else but unpaid labor power realized in hard cash. It will thus be clear to you that the laborer unless he abstain from enjoying even the little that is left him, is doomed to perpetual slavery.

Employer: But how are you going to remedy those evils? Do you mean to assert that by instigating the working-class to riot and plunder they will some day free themselves from what you call perpetual slavery?

Laborer: The greatest enemies to the cause of Socialism are those who advocate violence as a means of accomplishing economic freedom. Yes, indeed, all of those forces that invite to riot and murder—nay, even those of the waning middle-class, farmers, shopkeepers, artisans, who are all engaged in the vain attempt to maintain their indefensible position are put down by the Socialist as reactionary, and antagonistic elements toward his cause.

Employer: By what means, then, do you intend to establish your claim?

Laborer: A part of the task, and that is the most revolutionary in character, is performed by the present capitalist system itself. Permit me to quote an authority on this. Karl Marx says: "The transformation of scattered private property, arising from individual labor, into capitalist private property is, naturally, a process, incomparably more protracted, violent and difficult than the transformation of capitalist private property, already practically resting on socialized production, into socialized property. In the former case we had the expropriation of the mass of the people by a few usurpers; in the latter we have the expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people."

Employer: The expropriation of the few usurpers would then, in your opinion, be effected by peaceable means? Could that be possible?

Laborer: That would indeed depend upon the few usurpers; whether or not they will peaceably submit to the laws that the working-class will then see fit to enact to the benefit of all mankind.

Employer: You have given me a better knowledge of your cause than I have ever had a chance to acquire, and you, as well as your cause, have ceased to be an object of terrified apprehension to my mind.

THE LATEST WORD OF SCIENCE.

Some new danger has been discovered in Socialism, and this time by its advocates. It is stoutly and stridently maintained by some of them that the scientific brand is too dangerous for common use; that a wise Providence has deposited it at New York city in the care of a garrulous triumvirate of howling dervishes, to be ladled out by

PLUTOCRATIC GENEROSITY.

The church plutocracy of New York city exhibited its generosity on a recent Sunday by donating the sum of \$15,000 in fifteen minutes, to pay off a church debt.

Just think of it! Fifteen thousand dollars in fifteen minutes! And for what purpose?

Would these plutocrats have exhibited equal generosity if they had been told that \$15,000 was needed to help the poor who are without means of support, out of work, and without food to keep soul and body together? Would they, the church plutocrats, show the same enthusiasm and willingness to give \$15,000 in fifteen minutes for the poor?

Try them!

ISAAC KONECKY, Brooklyn, N. Y.

AN APOLOGY TO EUGENE V. DEBS.

Jersey City, March 25, 1898.

In the issue of March 13 of the "People" it was stated that E. V. Debs travels on passes and that his railroad fare costs him nothing.

In Jersey City Music hall I addressed E. V. Debs on this subject, after being introduced to him. For this, my conduct, which was a consequence of too much confidence on my part in that which was stated by the editor of the "People," I herewith apologize.

Before I determined upon this course, I demanded of the editor to either prove or retract the statement on the ground that E. V. Debs assured me that the statement was untrue. The answer I received was, "Whatever the 'People' states it states on good authority and is able to stand by. Of this, you among others, have ample proof in the past, and will have more than will suit any of you, in the future."

As a well disciplined member of the S. L. P. I thereupon appealed to the National Executive of the party, stating that if it (the N. E.) would not act upon this matter I shall progress upon individual lines. Two days before the session of that body, my communication was handed to them. In the next report of that body was no mention made nor did I receive any communication from that body, relative to my demand. Therefore, every member of the S. L. P. whose mind is not perverted should use his influence in prompting the officials of the party, who are soon to be elected, that they shall stop this pernicious mud-slinging, if the party shall not be entirely destroyed.

CARL PANKOPF.

SOCIALISM IN AUSTRIA.

Editor Social Democrat: Last issue of our paper contains an item about the strength of Socialism in Europe. I am sorry to say that the figures given for Austria are not correct. The Socialist vote in Austria was ten times larger than mentioned in the article. The Socialist vote in 1897 in Austria was \$47,456, not, as stated, \$9,000. Twenty Socialists have been elected to the Austrian parliament.

Latest advices from Vienna have it that the Socialist movement in Austria and also in Hungary is growing wonderfully. Yours in the cause,

CONSTANTINE GOLDZIER.

[It is evident that Comrade Goldzier did not read the article on strength of Socialism in Europe carefully. It does not purport to give the Socialist vote in Austria in 1897, but 1895; and instead of giving the 1895 vote at \$9,000 the figures are \$9,000. I have every reason to believe that the published figures are correct, but thank Comrade Goldzier for the later figures. They indicate wonderful progress.—Editor.]

Twelve cities in the United States now own their gas plants embrace—besides Philadelphia—five in Virginia, two in Ohio, two in Massachusetts, and one each in Kentucky and West Virginia. Virginia seems to be leading the Union in this form of municipal progress.

PUCKERBRUSH ALLIANCE

Puckerbrush, O., Last Saturday.

Mr. Debs and All the Rest of You: It's been quite a long time since I wrote you a letter, and as farm work will soon be kept up jumpin', I guess I better write and tell you'n's about our apple dumpling social. Miss Smart, the schoolteacher, Abe Wilkins and my wife, Nancy, skemed the thing up. Abe is one of the up-to-date farmers who had a nice lot of apples last year when all the rest of us had none. He sold to Miss Smart: "Let's get up an apple dumpling social. I'll furnish the apples to each of the wimin that will bake dumplings; then each of us can furnish a bowl of sugar and a can of milk. The dumplings can be baked in the afternoon and taken to the school-house and put in the hall upstairs. Then with a few gasoline stoves we can heat 'em up for them as wants 'em, and all have a genuine treat."

They went at it and worked it just too slick to mention. I wish you cud have seen the dumplings cum in that evening. The incentive for each workman was not more money, but to get the name of makin' the best dumplings. I sampled—well, I guess I'd better not tell how many, but I felt like a toad looks—and there was others. A crowd of them Socialists and there families from town was invited out, and I'll bet Abe feels better paid at seein' 'em eat dumplings 'em if he had sold his fine apple tree old Buggs, the banker, at ten cents each. It was the best thing for the cents money that I ever seen got up.

Miss Smart and some of the skolars give an entertainment in the skool room down stairs before we went up to eat dumplings. They give us all a surprise too. They were all made up to represent the characters they took, and I'll swear I cudn't tell who any of 'em was, 'cept preacher Gard's boy, and from the way his dad looked, I'll bet he got the hot end of a halter strap for playing politician. For sum hypocritical reason preachers boys is generally bricks. The piece they played was called "First Class in Sociology," an' they got it out of the American Fabian for January, 1897. It was writen by Charlotte Perkins Stetson, who still runs the class. Miss Smart is stuck on the thing. In order to understand the thing I will copy it out of the paper just as the kids and Miss Smart got it off at the apple dumpling social:

Teacher: "What is Socialism?" The Politician: "Anarchy." The Millionaire: "Robbery." The Manufacturer: "Laziness." The Average Man: "Why, it's what these low down foreigners want because they were so down-trodden at home. We don't want it. It's paternalism. We're Americans."

The Average Woman: "Oh, it's perfectly awful! It's free-love and the children brought up by the State, and everybody wear the same clothes, and no nice houses of our own, and all eat at a common table. I think it's immoral and disgusting."

Teacher: "That'll do. I cannot attend to any more answers this morning. It is quite evident that none of you have given the lesson any attention. I should have thought that your preceding studies would have left you better prepared."

Teacher (to the Politician): "What have you learned from the study of Government?" Politician: "How to take care of myself, of course."

Teacher (to the Millionaire): "What have you learned from the study of economics?" Millionaire: "How to take care of myself, of course."

Teacher (to the Manufacturer): "What have you learned from the study of industry?" Manufacturer: "How to take care of myself, of course."

Teacher (to the Average Man): "What have you learned from the study of business?" Average Man: "How to take care of myself, of course."

Teacher (to the Average Woman): "And you, my dear—your whose life is passed in the sacred precincts of the home—in the devoted service of the family—what have you learned from the study of—of—well, of your household duties?"

Average Woman: "How to get somebody to take care of me, of course."

Teacher: "Well, it appears that you have not found in the course of events any preparation for our present study. The course is obligatory, however, and no other preparation is sought in addition by most of our pupils."

"So I shall have to make these lessons very thorough or you will not be able to pass the final examination. I will devote this morning to answering your answers. If I find any of you giving these astonishing answers again I shall be obliged to repeat this lesson at greater length."

"Which of you said Socialism was anarchy?" Politician: "I, sir. It's all one."

Teacher: "Do not repeat that error again! You may differ in opinion as to the use and value of systems of human society, but to be misinformed as to the facts is not worthy of this advanced class. Let me explain. Anarchy, as you might easily have learned from your dictionaries, means no government. Socialism, to put it into clear opposition, means, all government. Can you remember that?"

Politician: "Yes, sir. But, sir—great Scott!—what a time we'd have! Politics everywhere! All business a part of government! Everybody a politician! Wouldn't we get rich?"

Teacher: "Excuse my checking your raptures. But may I ask from whom you get your money now—from fellow officials or business men outside?" Politician: "Why, from the men outside, of course—that's what we want to get in for!"

Teacher: "Where did you get your information as to this definition of Socialism?" Millionaire: "Why—why—from common report, sir. Everybody knows that's what they mean."

Teacher: "I am astonished that a man of your acumen and business training should form a judgment on so important a matter from such unreliable sources. I must correct each of these errors briefly, and leave you to substantiate my explanation from the reading I shall give you. Socialism, my child, does not mean the taking away from any man of anything that he has honestly earned. It is not all a question of the division of property, but of the multiplication of property. It is a system of organized industry which will increase wealth enormously, and in whose benefits all will share—you among them."

Millionaire (muttering to himself): "I don't want to share! I want it all!" Teacher: "What's that you say?" Millionaire: "I said, sir, that—that it wasn't fair to give a man what he hasn't earned."

Teacher: "Is that your honest opinion, sir?" (Millionaire considers.) Teacher: "Who said 'laziness'?" Manufacturer: "I, sir. Sheer, stark laziness. They won't work. You can't make 'em work. And they want the earth."

Teacher: "When you lose a 'hand' by any accident how do you arrange to get another?" Manufacturer: "Arrange! Well, I like that! Why, sir, there's always extra help standing around. Every man in the mill's got a dozen relatives. He wants to place—the foreman has a waiting list a yard long. I don't have to 'arrange' much."

Teacher: "You do not advertise, then?" Manufacturer: "Advertise! Well, I guess not! I did once, and I couldn't get into the yard the next morning for the crowd."

Teacher: "Then it would appear that there are still some men willing to work. Any Socialists among your hands?" Manufacturer: "Not one. I took great pains to find out and sacked 'em all. They won't get taken on in a hurry either—not in my trade!"

Teacher: "But they were willing to work as long as you would let them. Now, where is the laziness you mentioned?" Manufacturer: "Why, all these tramps and bums and loafers, sir, and walking delegates—the country's full of 'em."

Teacher: "But what have they to do with Socialism?" Manufacturer: "Why—why—it is these people, sir, who won't work and who want to be supported without work—by the State."

Teacher: "Your ideas are extremely vague. The State is the people, and the people must work or they would have nothing. Socialism means that every man and woman shall work—each according to his ability—and shall be provided for, each according to his need."

Manufacturer (muttering): "A man ought to have all he can earn himself—for himself!" Teacher: "Take away the 'hands' from your business and how much can you earn—yourself?"

"But this is enough on this point. Now, you little fellow here who has talked about the low down foreigners and paternalism. There is a little more sense in your remarks than in the others. You have at least read or heard or thought a little, and I will answer you more fully. The social movement of to-day is felt in each civilized country, but varies in form according to the local conditions. In Russia we have nihilism; in Italy and Spain, anarchism; in France, anarchism, communism and Socialism; in Germany Socialism, strict and strong; in England a more ethical and educational form of Socialism. In America what we call Populism is our indigenous movement in the same direction. (Social Democracy is the next step.)"

"What form this great social question will take in America will be modified, of course, by our special condition. You do not have to take your Socialism from any 'low down foreigner.' By the way, what did you say your name was?"

Average Man: "Mallory, sir." Teacher: "And you father's?" Average Man: "O'Mallory, sir." Teacher: "And your mother's?" Average Man: "Kaufmann, sir."

Teacher: "Yes, thank you. We won't press the matter further. As I was saying, we need not take our Socialism from any foreign country. America has her own form of this great fact, and it rests with the citizens of America to make it as free and democratic as they choose. Now, my little girl, who thinks Socialism immoral. Let me explain to you if I can. Where did you get your ideas of Socialism?"

Average Woman: "Why, from the papers and what the people say—and there was an article in the 'Babies' Home Journal' that was very convincing, and John says to let such things alone."

Teacher: "It is too late to-day for me to cover all the ground I should have to make this clear to you, but I will tell you some plain truths and you will have to read up about them afterward. Socialism is an economic theory and has no concern with marriage. But in the prosperity which Socialism brings marriage will be benefited, like everything else. People will be able to marry when they are fit. The children will not be separated from their mothers; nothing can ever do that. But no mother need ever see her children suffer for lack of food or care. There will be no compulsion whatever as to clothes and houses, but all will have these conveniences more generally than they now do. A common table is not in the Socialist program, whatever changes the evolution of household economies may bring about. When every citizen is well-born and well-reared, when there are no criminal procreation causes among us as now, the morality of the world will improve enormously. I am aware that these remarks do not dislodge the ideas in your head, but in time I hope to reach you. Now before your next lesson let me recommend one little book. It is a short, clear, simple work. It is

neither for nor against Socialism, but describes it. The author is not a Socialist. It is Schaeff's "Quintessence of Socialism." You can get it for fifteen cents."

I'd like to describe the comments on the actin' and the acters, but this letter is too-long now. There's more'n one way to kill a cat besides chokin' her to death with butter, and Harry Tompkins says, "What the devil won't them Socialists do to stick their ideas into a feller?" We had a bully good time just the same, and everybody went home full of dumplings.

If you don't hear from me again you may know I'm hard at work to produce some more overproduction and to keep the taxes paid so our dear officeholders won't starve. Yours to the end, JONAS HARRISON.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

(CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE)

dimmes, he gets the same proportion of what you make in either case. So, while interest, rent and profit, are absorbing three-fifths of what you produce, whether we have the gold standard, or free silver, or flat paper, your burdens will be none the lighter. Under high prices what you buy will equalize what you sell, just as they will under low prices, for raising prices by increasing the volume of currency raises everything alike. If you were in debt you might think it would help you, but John, ultimately labor pays all debts and while you are shifting off part of yours on somebody else, hundreds of others are shifting theirs off on you and in the windup you are no better off.

John, the bonded debt of the United States, which politicians use on you fellows to get your votes; if ever paid, will be paid, not in gold, silver, or greenbacks, but in beef, corn, cotton, tobacco, iron and coal, and these will be produced by sweat and muscle, and not by the jaw bone of politicians.

Farmer John, your scheme of government ownership of railroads is socialistic and good so far as it goes, but John, leave rent, interest and profit, at work and neither you nor anybody else would be benefitted a penny's worth by government ownership of railroads.

John, who owns all the coal and iron in this country? Capitalists, the same parties who own the railroads. Imagine now, the government taking charge of the roads either by purchase or confiscation. These fellows would say: "Uncl' Samuel, my dear fellow, how are you going to operate these roads? By wind, ay? Understand us, we own the coal and iron, when you get it from us we must have our 'pound of flesh' and you will have to raise it out of the hay seeds who produce what you haul, and we will adjust the price of coal to you, so you will be able to keep them from surfeting with wealth."

The government would be forced under this infernal competitive system to be as exacting on producers as are the present owners, and this would bring the government into disrepute. John, you cannot make the old, rotten, capitalist system either useful or respectable by plastering it with socialist patches. It is dying, let it die, with all its sins upon its head, unappointed and undeveloped.

what I say that I am in favor of the gold standard, or opposed to government ownership of railroads. I loathe the first as a part of the competitive system, and would gladly see the other established as a step toward more general nationalization of the means of production and distribution, but I don't care to raise a muss over a mosquito bite, when there is a cancer eating away at a vital point, nor do I desire the government to go into business of any kind on a competitive basis. Neither do I expect to see the Co-operative Commonwealth established at a hop, skip and a jump; the people must be socialized before the government or socialism in this country will be a dismal failure. So long as public sentiment regards the usurer as a respectable, honorable member of society we may make up our minds to suffer and to wait. As long as successful robbery is applauded and the successful robber lionized as a superior man, we must be content to bear our burdens as best we may. John, I would not give you the snap of my finger for a law that does not have an intelligent public sentiment behind it; reforming a people by statute is a chimera not born in the brain of a socialist; wise laws do not make a people honest, virtuous, or intelligent; it is honest, virtuous and intelligent people that make wise laws.

And, John, let me tell you something else: I would consider it a much easier task to convert Cornelius Vanderbilt, or J. Pierpont Morgan, to socialism, than

to convert the howling political dervish who desires to nationalize their possessions simply because he can never hope to obtain them, or a like accumulation himself; the one, the other, though chronic case of greed, is a mild, an inflammatory and malignant type.

"But," says you, "what is the reformer to do? Must he sit complacently down on his hind quarters and wait for natural evolution to ripen the cherry and drop it into his expectant lips?" Not on your life, John. There never has been a time so propitious for the earnest, persistent and systematic work of social reformers since "the morningstars came together in gladness over a new born world." We stand on the threshold of not only a new century, but a new epoch. We cannot hasten the coming of the one more than the other, but we can prepare our fellow men for its coming, so that when the new savior rides into Jerusalem on the ass' colt they will not crucify him because he did not make his grand entry in a golden chariot.

THE LABORER'S "ANTHEM." "And we shall be like him," Sang the great church choir, Vibrating through the arches And down the aisles of prayer; Hail the time that soon shall bring The truth of which these voices sing: A poor man, strayed from the frosty street, Sat in a hidden pew, Just to be warm and rested, Just to be lost from view; Knowing as only the poor man may How few ever care to glance his way.

The preacher spoke of this world, Of its noble-hearted men; He eloquently rambled up to the stars, Their back to the sacred floor; Once he spoke of the Nazarene— The poor man closed his eyes to dream.

"And is there one like him?" The poor man was heard to repeat: "I am cold and hungry to-day, Others are dying for meat; One like Christ would help the poor Who are suffering about the great church door."

Ah, is there one like him, Who for money was once betrayed? The monopolist counts his gold, His soul by its measure is weighed; The choir may sing 'till the rafters fall, The rich man holdeth fast—his all.

Oh, flesh and blood are the same In rags or robes of pride, If the Savior came to the church No rafter above shall smother it down As it echoes forth 'er city and town.

And there shall come a day When this nation fall will ring With a grander, holier anthem Than rich men's choirs can sing: No rafter above shall smother it down As it echoes forth 'er city and town.

And this is the anthem free, Sung by tongue or fire, "Down with the cursed monopoly The laborer is worthy his hire; And over this land of the brave and free Thousands shall join in jubilee." ANNA L. DEWEY.

A great number of dealers in and manufacturers of glass bottles are holding off or limiting their purchases owing to a probable formation of a trust. New York promoters will have a hand in the project, the object of which is to consolidate into one company 150 factories now engaged in the business. Representatives of the promoters and manufacturers have held several meetings, and it is said details of a consolidation have been nearly arranged. It is argued that an amalgamation and consequent small advance in present quotations will enable the trust to make 25 per cent on a capital of \$10,000,000.

EDITOR'S LETTER BOX.

Ex. Board Branch 12 of Mass.—If I would print all the resolutions that have been sent me within the past week there would be room in the paper for nothing else. Why not join with Branches 1 and 8 in the call for referendum? I will compile the principal proposals for amendment to the constitution which have been received from the various branches and publish them in next issue, so that they may be discussed by the branches before the convention.

Branch 1 of Illinois.—See answer to Branch 12 of Mass. J. B. D., San Francisco.—Section 23 of the constitution of local branches provides for the initiative and referendum. There is no ambiguity about the language used. A vote of the membership may be had on any question pertaining to the organization by following the method there outlined.

Geo. E. B., Girard, Kan.—I will comply with your request at the earliest possible moment. I am very much overworked and am compelled to neglect many things that ought to be attended to promptly. I find it impossible to write for the paper as much as I ought to, but am doing the best I can under the circumstances.

A friend in Rochester, N. Y.—"Thank you for the marked copies of 'Case and Comment.'" The marked articles are highly interesting.

APPLICATION FOR CHARTER

FOR A LOCAL BRANCH OF THE Social Democracy of America

TO THE EXECUTIVE BOARD: Dear Sirs—The undersigned respectfully petition for a Charter for a Local

Branch of the Social Democracy to be instituted at _____

County of _____ State of _____

Temporary Secretary, _____

NOTE.—Five or more persons may apply for a charter. The admission fee is 25 cents per member and the dues 15 cents per month, for which each member receives a copy of the official paper. Cut out this Application, and after filling out, send to SYLVESTER KELNER, SECRETARY SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, 504 TRUDE BUILDING, CHICAGO.

CHILDREN'S COLUMN.

Address Communications to ELLA REEVE WARE, 897 Decatur St., Brooklyn.

LETTERS FROM THE CHILDREN.

Last week I gave you something to guess in "A True Story." I told you of the life of a little boy who grew to be one of our greatest men. Here is a letter from one of our comrades in New York. Rebecca has guessed right, the boy's name was Abraham Lincoln. What a nice letter and story she has written about it!

Editor Children's Column.—Dear Madam: I am very much interested in the stories written in The Social Democrat. The story, or really the question in the Children's Column which we received today is named "A True Story." I have read it through, and I am sure it is picked out from the life of Abraham Lincoln.

I read The Social Democrat weekly, and I am not only interested in the stories of the Children's Column, but of all other subjects relating to Socialism. As I have read about the organization of a Children's Social Democratic Society, I hope I'll be among the first to join it.

If all the working people of this country would be as devoted to the new party as my parents the mode of living would be better. I will now begin my story of Abraham Lincoln: Abraham Lincoln was born in Kentucky February 12, 1809, and died in Washington April 15, 1865. His father was unable to read or write, and his own education consisted of one year's schooling. When nineteen years of age the future president of the United States hired out at \$10 per month as hand on a flat boat. He was in succession a flat-boat hand, clerk, captain of a company of volunteers in the Black Hawk war, country storekeeper, postmaster and surveyor. Yet he managed to get a knowledge of law by borrowing books at an office before it closed at night and at its opening in the morning. He was assassinated April 14 by John Wilkes Booth, who performed this dreadful crime in a theater at Washington. Yours respectfully,

REBECCA SUKENIK.

196 Clinton St., New York City.

This is a good little story, but Rebecca didn't tell us of Lincoln's greatest work—setting free all the slaves while he was president. I think some of the other boys and girls will write about this part of his life.

Now, children, read this good letter from a little boy who lives 'way out in California:

Dear Friend: This morning I felt a little sick and did not go to school. My mother gave me some numbers of the Children's Column of The Social Democrat to read. I saw that the other children write to you, so I thought I would, too. Well, I'm no Socialist yet, as I do not know what it means, and in the next number I wish you would take the trouble of explaining it so we children could understand it. You little friend,

MIKE C. GORDENKER.

Glen Ellen, California.

Isn't this a thoughtful letter? Mike has given me a pretty hard thing to do, to explain what Socialism really means, but I'll try to do it so you can all understand.

"WHAT SOCIALISM MEANS TO CHILDREN."

In the first letter I wrote you I told you about the little boy who sold papers in the streets of New York at midnight, but there are worse things going on all over our country. One of our comrades in New York visited a great many sweat-shops last week—dark, dirty, gloomy rooms, where the little children were sewing on buttons, pulling threads, doing all sorts of work on piles of clothing. Here they have to sit day after day, without any fresh air, without any play, and with very little food. At night they are so tired they can scarcely crawl to their heap of rags in the corner which they call their bed. You all know that hundreds of little boys and girls work in the big, noisy factories and mills; and have you heard about the little boys who work all day down in the deep, dark coal mines, almost never seeing the beautiful sunlight or the green fields? All this is called child-slavery. Mr. Debs says: "The father was discharged to make room for the wife; when machinery was perfected the wife was discharged to make room for the child, and the effect of it has been to reduce the men to beggary, the women to rags and the children to machine oil, for their little hands are mutilated by accidents, until many thousands of them have only stumps of fingers." Now, children, think and study about the cause of all the trouble. And the people who believe in Socialism are those who find that the rich men, who have millions of dollars, are getting richer all the time by selfishness, by getting all they can from the labor of the poor. They own the land, they own the mines, the machinery, the railroads, and, really, they own the bodies of the men, women and children who work for them. Now, Socialism means that the people, that is, all the people, ought to own the machinery and all these opportunities that really belong to them. Then everyone would receive the true value of his labor and there would be social order, instead of all this competition and disorder and distress. Can't you see how much better it would be for the children? So you will remember that Socialists are those who are trying to make this world a better place to live in; they are trying to drive out the suffering and poverty and to bring in a new order of life, where every man will love his neighbor. When I think of the word Socialism I always think of Love, Happiness and Unselfishness. Don't you think these are three good things to work for?

E. R. WARE.

Mrs. Pray—Have you said your prayers, my son?

Little Tommie

Paradise Found

RUDOLPH LEONHART, A. M.

Author of "THE WILD ROSE OF THE BEAVER," "TONQUA," "THROUGH BLOOD AND IRON," "THE CHILDREN OF THE OUTLAW," "THE TREASURE OF MONTEZUMA," "DOLORS," "EITHER, OR," "ATONEMENT," "BRIDGING THE CHASM," ETC.

(Continued.)

The mountains of Arcadia begin miles from its eastern border, and only the border tiers present such scenes as are usually found at high altitudes. These mountains, however, do not reach the height of the more southern states, and even the highest peaks do not rise over three thousand feet. Nevertheless the scenery was exceedingly picturesque, and the roads mostly steep and often rough, making the progress comparatively slow. Moreover, long stops were made at every ranch belonging to Sarah Jane Smith's estate, varying of course, in length according to their size and importance. At every ranch Hugh's old comrades received him with cheers and every other kind of manifestation of delight, and lamented, on the other hand, the unavoidable shortness of his stay with expressions of regret as profound as sincere.

Hugh found them all well housed, well clad and well fed, and the light, peace and comfort beaming on every face gave tokens of happiness and contentment too evident to be mistaken. These mountain ranches were principally devoted to stock raising. Here large herds of horses were visible in the securely fenced pastures, while there herds of cattle even more numerous met the gaze of the visitors. At other places sheep composed the herds, and where this was the case, their number rose to many thousands.

Paul gave Hugh much valuable information concerning these animals. He showed him valuable stock of every kind, kept for the purposes of breeding, and soon convinced his friend that the care of these herds was entrusted to parties as competent as reliable. "Our chief trouble," he continued, "is the bands of Indians, whose reservations are but a few miles east from here. They are the most expert thieves of the West, and many a valuable animal falls into their greedy clutches, in spite of the utmost vigilance exercised by our people."

"And what are the names of the tribes?" I wasn't aware that there are Indian reservations in Arcadia. "Right east of us the No Goods are located, and some fifty miles farther north the Goodfornoughs."

"And which are the worst?" "That is hard to say. They are both such experts in the art of annexation that the palm of superiority wavers uncertainly between them."

"Do you sell many of these animals, and which is the most profitable for raising purposes?" "Our business is still in its infancy, nevertheless we sell quite a number of horses, more cattle, and most of all, sheep. We find the sheep to yield more profit than the other animals, the horses occupying the tail-end."

"You shear the sheep, of course?" "We do, sir, and have a large number of bales of wool on hand. I would have shipped some of it east if I did not know that you contemplate the erection of factories at an early date."

"Yes, we must start them this winter; in fact, as soon as this trip of ours is ended. I shall be most happy to receive your valuable advice on this subject as on all others."

Hugh noticed with great pleasure the magnificent pine forests covering a large number of Sarah's estates. The telling of timber and its sawing into boards and beams of every kind had already begun on a small scale. Portable saw-mills did the work, furnishing the necessary lumber for the many new buildings in course of erection, as well as for the limited trade in these thinly settled regions. The many teams belonging to the estates hauled this lumber to lumber yards of the sparse villages found here and there, or sometimes to more remote towns situated on the railroads of the eastern portion of Arcadia.

When they arrived in the more northern counties Paul pointed to numerous black streaks visible in the hillsides. "This is coal, Hugh," he said. "As yet there is no demand for this precious staple, but when we get more railroads in these parts, and the supply of firewood becomes more scanty these coal beds will become mines of black jewels."

"Is the quality good, Paul?" "As good as that of any bituminous coal in Western America. What makes these beds even more valuable is the fact that inexhaustible deposits of excellent iron ore are found in close proximity to them. Just wait until we control the politics of Arcadia and we shall open both these deposits and make the rails needed for iron roads, and the locomotives needed to move our trains."

"God speed that happy day, Paul. Your accounts of these treasures stir me into fever heat, and sometimes I feel as if I could not wait for the natural development of things, and had to put my shoulder to the wheels of Time."

When they traveled south, in the second tier of counties, Paul halted at a wild-looking rocky gorge to their left, at whose bottom a small stream of crystal water was prattling gaily, now gliding between mosses and lichens, and now jumping with noisy capers over weather-beaten bowlders.

"Get out here a little while, Hugh," Paul requested. "Hans, tie the horses at you yapping, and come along if you wish. You, too, of course, Fry. I want to show you gentlemen one of the grandest opportunities for industrial pursuits ever created by Nature."

With these words he led the way into the gorge which, however, soon lost the character of a gorge, widening into an immense mountain valley, which, only a mile from the gorge, reached a width of fully two miles, extending and widening with every step eastward. "Now, listen, my friends," said Paul, stopping, as if he desired to make the coming communication more impres-

sive, "this valley extends fully ten miles eastward, and the gorge through which we passed is the only outlet, mind, the only one, from this date. Don't you see the grand possibilities in store without my shoving your noses onto them?"

"Dam," said Hans. "Oh, good for you, Hans!" cried Paul, slapping him on his shoulder. "Fact!" remarked Fry, rubbing his head wearily, as if angry with himself for not having thought of that before. Hugh alone did not utter a word. It seemed as if the magnitude of the prospect had deprived him of his speech. So Paul went on: "A good strong dam at the gorge will change this into a monster lake, monster in size, monster in depth, monster in power. The foothills are only fifteen miles from here. Lay pipes from here to the bottom below, and you gain sufficient force to lift the earth from its base. Don't you see, Hugh?"

"I do, I do, but pardon me, my friend. The thought is so overwhelming, so overpowering, that it weighs me down, as if a big burden were crushing my little self into fragments. Oh, Paul, what glorious opportunities for our comrades, nay, for the entire world."

And so it went on. As they came into the foothills and saw the fertile bottoms inviting the plow and the reaper, when they saw the gentle slopes bearing even then thousands of fruit trees, but inviting millions more. When they saw the flourishing settlement inhabited by their jolly comrades, gathering the first fruits from the apple, the pear and the peach trees, or thrashing the sheaves of wheat, barley and corn stacked in huge piles and awaiting impatiently the machine preparing to relieve them of their onerous burden, the joy, the satisfaction, the enthusiasm of Paul grew from minute to minute, and even Hans surprised his mates by expressing his approbation in phrases of fully two words.

But on they went, descending lower and lower into the plains, touching now and then places approaching in character the genuine swamp. "Now here, Hugh," said Paul, smiling, "is something you have probably never seen before, unless you visited the coast lines of South Wilhelmina."

"I was never there, but guess what you are driving at. Cultivate rice, eh?" "That's what we did, and with wonderful success, too. There are perhaps five hundred acres in this field, and I am glad. I forgot the exact number of cents we harvested, for I am positive you wouldn't have believed me."

"Ah, Mr. Smith, glad to meet you. Allow me to make you acquainted with my friend, Mr. Hugh Jean Teps, and his adjutants, Nathaniel Fry and Hans."

"Hans who?" the stranger inquired, with a smile. "That is all," cried Paul. "Ain't it enough? Fully six feet three, and circumference in proportion."

"Glad to meet you, Mr. Smith," Hugh now said with a sigh, and then continued: "Say, isn't there a Brown amongst you, or a Jones, or a Miller? A kingdom for a Brown!"

Paul laughed heartily, then said in explanation: "John, the general has met nothing but Smiths for four weeks by actual measurement, so you must excuse his surfeit."

"Not of the men, though, Mr. Smith, not of the men, who seem to be of the same excellent quality. Nor do I object to the name, but imagine the arrival of the Co-operative Commonwealth, imagine the access of all you fellows to office. How, tell me honestly, how in the world is a person to keep you aunder?"

"Give it up, general," cried the last Smith, prone to appreciate a joke like all the other Smiths Hugh had met on his journey. "Let us see, reader: Weren't there fully fifty? Nay? Well, it appeared so to me, anyhow, but as I am like Washington—chestnut, you say? Well, you are mighty particular, that is certain. I am sure I used that allusion just once before, and now—well, good night, sir, this chapter is long enough, anyhow."

CHAPTER X.

DEVELOPMENTS.

We have already stated that the influx of the Crusaders ceased in October, but if the reader imagines that those already in Arcadia limited the example of the marmot and slept during the winter season, he is slightly mistaken. It is true their activity became localized, but it assumed a truly feverish character. And right here we will suggest to the reader that the mere looking over our shoulder to detect little flaws and take us to account for them can hardly be called work, and therefore earnestly advise him to pitch in and help in the good work.

What shall it be, sir? The Germans say: "The Wall, die Qual," which Hans may translate for you at his leisure. What! carry the hod? No, sir, not if we know it. That is really a little too thin. Have all the fun, and the fellow at the top of the ladder to do the work! I suppose you heard of your Irish cousin who played that trick? Well, Pat is a privileged character, you know, and so may do lots of things that wouldn't be sanctioned in you. Won't do anything, then? Well, all right; but remember that you run a big risk. Didn't we tell you over and over again that idleness brutalizes? So, if you jump from our buggy, as we go from place to place, to see others work, and join a herd of

THE DESCENT OF MAN.

(With Apologies to Darwin.)

His father left him wealthy, with a million for a start. And as the boy had been well trained and smart that he was smart. No doubt was felt but what he'd work his way to higher fame. By leading on the "bulls" and "bears" in speculation's game.

At first he won and then he lost and then he was again. And then he "cornered" all the wheat from Mexico to Maine; Then all the people looked to him to fix the price of bread. Some thinking him a hero, others wishing he were dead.

But, somehow, prices took a drop below what he had paid. And thus, this bright young business man lost all that he had made; But he stood the shock and said he'd work his way Back to renown by working hard for ordinary pay.

He couldn't find a steady job and so he moved about. Until he had a lot of bills and all his clothes gave out. And what to do to rise again he really couldn't think; So, pretty soon, to drown his woe, he drifted down to drink.

From good to bad, from bad to worse, this bright young man slid down. Instead of rising up and up to riches of renown. Till his wife, he cannot earn enough to pay his rent. Thus, very briefly, I have told the tale of man's descent.

L'envoy.

But one in many millions rises up to the richest help; The many always sliding down to deeper straits and plights; Because the "rod" of capital, in whom we put our trust, Exalts the slickest swindlers and punishes the just.

—Phillip Jackson in Rochester Socialist.

VICTOR HUGO'S LETTER TO THE POOR.

Shall I now speak to the poor after in vain having implored the rich? Yes, it is fitting. This, then, have I to say to the disinherited: Keep a watch on your formidable law. There is one rule for the rich—to do nothing, and one for the poor—to say nothing. The poor have but one friend, silence. They should use but one monosyllable: Yes. To confess and to concede—this is all the "rights" they have. "Yes" to the judge. "Yes" to the king. The great, if it so please them, give us blows with a stick; I have had them; it is their prerogative, and they lose nothing of their greatness in cracking our bones. Let us worship the sceptre which is the first among sticks.

If a poor man is happy he is the pickpocket of happiness. Only the rich and noble are happy by right. The rich man is he who being young has the rights of old age; being old, the lucky chances of youth; vicious, the respect of good people; a coward, the command of the stout-hearted; doing nothing, the fruits of labor.

The people fight. Whose is the glory? The king's. They pay. Whose the magnificence? The king's. And the people, like to be rich in this fashion. Our ruler, king or croesus, receives from the poor a crown apiece and renders back to the poor a farthing.

How generous he is! The colossal pedestal looks up to the pignory superstructure. How tall the manikin! He is upon my back. A dwarf has an excellent method of being higher than his giant; it is to perch himself on the other's shoulders. But that the giant should let him do it, there's the odd part of it; and that he should honor the baseness of the dwarf, there's the stupidity. Human ingenuity.

The equestrian salute, reserved for kings alone, is an excellent type of royalty. Let us be frank with words. The capitalist who steals the reward of labor is a king as well as the man of blood. The king, mounts himself on the horse. The horse is the people. Sometimes this horse transforms himself by degrees. At the beginning he is an ass; at the end he is a lion. Then he throws his rider to the ground, and we have 1643 in England and 1789 in France; and sometimes he devours him, in which case we have in England 1649 and in France 1793.

That the lion can again become a jackass, this is surprising but a fact. What happiness to be again ridden and beaten and starved. What happiness to work forever for bread and water! What happiness to be free from the delusions that cake is good, and life other than misery! Was there anything more crazy than these ideas? Where should we be if every vagabond had his rights? Imagine everybody governing! Can you fancy a city directed by the men who built it? They are the team, not the coachman. What a godsend is a rich man who takes charge of everything? Surely he is generous to take this trouble for us. And then he was brought up to it; he knows what it is; it is his business. A guide is necessary for us. Being poor we are ignorant; being ignorant we are blind; we need a guide. But why are we ignorant? Because it must be so. Ignorance is the guardian of Virtue! He who is ignorant is innocent! It is not our duty to think, complain or reason.

Be reasonable, poor man. You were made to be a slave. Not to be a slave is to dare and do.

THE ONLY RELIGION.

That a man should determine to devote himself to the service of humanity, including intellectual and moral self-culture under that name, that this should be, in the proper sense of the word, his religion, is not only an intelligible, but I think a laudable, resolution. And I am greatly disposed to believe that it is the only religion which will prove itself to be unassailably acceptable so long as the human race endures.—Prof. Huxley.

A table has recently been printed showing that the amount of money left for charitable or benevolent purposes by testators throughout the United States during the year 1897 aggregated the enormous total of \$14,874,000, or \$1,000,000 in excess of similar bequests for the preceding year. Of the total, \$6,204,000 was designated to be used for charitable purposes, \$2,878,000 for missionary purposes and \$5,392,000 for the spread of education.

COLONIZATION DEPARTMENT

CYRUS FIELD WILLARD, EDITOR
COLONIZATION COMMISSION. COL. RICHARD J. HINTON, Chairman.
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REPORT OF RECEIPTS.

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COMING TO A FOCUS.

Owing to the absence of Secretary Willard, who has been editing the colonization department, there is a dearth of matter for this issue of the paper. This, however, is not a bad sign; on the contrary, it is a good one, as it means that our plans are coming rapidly to a focus, and will soon be in such condition as will cause our members unbounded satisfaction. We feel satisfied of this. Comrade Willard is at this writing in Washington, D. C., in consultation with Comrade Hinton and other parties with whom we are negotiating on colony matters. Before the next issue of the paper there will be held a joint meeting of the National Executive Board and colonization commission, at which meeting a final decision will be made on matters which are now being considered, and which involve the control, by the S. D. of A. of ample resources to make the colonization plans of the organization an entire success. It is to be regretted that our comrades throughout the country have been kept on the anxious seat so long, but we can assure them that they have suffered from anxiety and disappointment no more than we have ourselves. There is an old adage which says "better be sure than sorry." We have endeavored to be "sure," and when our plans are fully known and understood we feel that our comrades will not be "sorry."

SANGUINE OF SUCCESS.

The following interview with Comrade Debs, anent our colonization plans, appeared in the Washington Post of March 21:
Eugene V. Debs, the erstwhile leader of the American Railway Union, and now President of the Social Democracy of America, into which the former organization was merged, arrived in Washington last night, and is stopping at the Cochran. Mr. Debs comes to the city for the purpose of speaking at a meeting to-night at Odd-Fellows' Hall on Seventh street, and to look after the local interest of the big colonization scheme which he and his fellow-workers of the Social Democracy intend establishing. The wild dreams of Edward Bellamy, in his book, "Looking Backward," will be realized if the plan of co-operative colonization and final government outlined by Mr. Debs ever becomes an accomplished fact. Mr. Debs declares that his scheme is the most practicable thing in the world, and he is sanguine of the success of the movement.
On the 30th of the present month the colonization commission of the Social Democracy and its executive committee of that organization will be called together at Chicago for the purpose of considering offers and locations of sites for the inauguration of the first co-operative colony. Already on file in this city, Mr. Debs declares, are 10,000 applications from men who are sober, industrious hard workers, who will make good citizens, and who are just now anxious to join the first co-operative colony that is formed, assuring a successful beginning, at any rate. These men are ready to join together at a moment's notice and to work for the common good.

NEW SOCIAL ORDER INEVITABLE.

"We all realize that a new social order is inevitable in this country, and that the competitive system must go, and so we will start up our colonies, building together as we go and working for each other; will soon establish communities, towns, cities, and what not. The plan is a simple one and is very practicable, we think. Something must be done to relieve the congested conditions in the city. The men who are unable to obtain work on account of there being no work in their city must be put to work on the unoccupied lands of the country to labor for themselves and to build up their community and the country at large. At first the colony will be supported by contributions from the membership of the Social Democracy, which was formed last June and now has organizations in thirty-two of the states of the Union. We will not depend entirely upon the funds thus secured, but expect to receive donations from every organization and every individual interested in the work we are about to undertake—put the idle men to work tilling the soil and building.
"Take, for instance, the 10,000 men who have offered themselves for the formation of the first colony. When the site is finally selected—and we have one in view, but cannot yet give out anything about it—then these men will be gradually called together. When they get together the first thing we must do is to feed them. Thus, farmers will be asked to come and till the soil and plant crops, etc. The carpenters must build houses for the colonists. Then we must have clothes. A clothing factory for manufacturing suits can be established for \$50,000. Tails equipped and running and the people will be properly clothed in a short while. And so we expect to build, build, build, ever upward and onward. The colonists will engage in all business pursuits and labor as well,

SELL PRODUCTS AT COST.

"As we gradually grow and expand our products begin to grow in proportion and are too much for the colonists' consumption, these products will be sold to the members of the Social Democracy at the actual cost of manufacture, thus going away with the profit system, which is the thing we are fighting. While in former times the individual worker labored on his own account, with his own tools, and was the master of his products, now dozens, hundreds and thousands of men work together in shops, mines, factories, etc., co-operating according to the most efficient division of labor, but they are not the masters of their products. The fruits of this co-operative labor are, in a great measure, appropriated by the owners of the means of production, to wit: By the owners of machines, mines, land, and the means of transportation.
"This system, by gradually extinguishing the middle class, necessarily leaves but two classes in our country; the large class of workers and the small class of great employers and capitalists. Human power and natural forces are wasted by this system, which makes 'profit' the only object in business. Ignorance and misery, with all concomitant evils, are perpetuated by this system, which makes human labor ware to be bought in the open market, and places no real value on human life. "Science and invention are diverted from their humane purposes and made instruments for the enslavement of men and the starvation of women and children. We hold that, in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other, will annihilate the middle class, the basis upon which this system rests, and thereby work out its own downfall.
"By the exchange of products all will be benefited. The purchasers of the products will get their supplies at cost, and will not be called upon to support reapers of profits. At the same time they will be aiding in the colonization scheme. It is thoroughly co-operative and thoroughly practicable. We have just been traveling through New England, and have been meeting with the greatest encouragement everywhere. It will not be long now until the greatest social movement this country has ever known will be made. Other colonization efforts have failed. This was because they depended on themselves for support at the very beginning. This we do not do. The colonists will be supported by the Social Democracy organization through the subscription system, until they become self-sustaining and prosperous."

THE CREED TO BE.

By Ella Wheeler Wilcox.
Our thoughts are moulding unseen spheres.
And like a blessing or a curse
They thunder down their formless years,
And ring throughout the universe.
We build our futures by the shape
Of our desires, and not by acts.
There is no pathway of escape;
No priest-made creed can alter facts.
Salvation is not begged or bought;
Too long this cruel hope sufficed;
Too long man reeked with lawless thought,
And leaned upon a tortured Christ.
Like shriveled leaves, these worn-out creeds
Are dropping from religion's tree.
The world begins to know its needs,
And souls are crying to be free:
Free from the load of fear and grief
Man fashioned in an ignorant age;
Free from the ache of unbelief
He fled to in rebellious rage.
No church can bind him to the things
That fed the first crude souls evolved,
But mounting up on daring wings,
He questions mysteries long unsolved.
Above the chant of priests, above
The blatant tongue of braying doubt,
He hears the still small voice of Love,
Which sends its simple message out.
And dears, sweeter, day by day,
Its mandate echoes from the skies:
"Go roll the stone of self away,
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Kansas is the next state to be visited. Comrade Debs will visit Kansas at the close of the campaign in Milwaukee.
Toledo comrades are holding some interesting meetings, and are doing lots of active work. Toledo is well organized and will be heard from.

A splendid paper by Lawrence Grundland is a part of our new book, "Three in One." You should not fail to read it.
How can you get out such fine books for so little money? It is what our friends ask us. Well, we are not looking for profit.

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This is the 1st of April. Remember that your dues should be paid so as to permit the treasurer of your Branch to make his returns by the 5th of the month.
"The Red Flag" is the name of a new Socialist monthly which is soon to be issued at Girard, Kas., with Comrade George E. Boomer as editor. We wish the new publication abundant success.

Comrade C. S. Tisdale of Missouri Branch No. 5, located at Joplin, is a good speaker and an enthusiastic worker in the cause of Social Democracy. He will answer calls to the extent of his ability to lecture on Social Democracy in his vicinity.
On the night of the 21st inst. President Jordan of Stanford University lectured in San Francisco, under the auspices of Branch 1 of California. An audience of 1,000 people filled the hall, and listened with rapt attention to a splendid address. Many persons were unable to find seats.

At the last meeting of Branch 3 of Tennessee (Chattanooga), Rev. Marion How addressed the Branch on Socialism in relation to the church, and the reason why workingmen have no love for the church. His lecture was well received. The Chattanooga comrades are doing good work, and their Branch will give a good account of itself.

Comrade Debs was compelled to postpone his visit to Milwaukee owing to the serious illness of his wife. He will be into the thick of the Milwaukee campaign as soon as Mrs. Debs is sufficiently recovered to permit his departure from home. Comrade Kehler filled his date in Milwaukee on Saturday last, and remained over until Tuesday.

Comrades Debs and Kehler addressed a magnificent audience in Washington, D. C., on the 21st inst. Odd Fellows' hall, where the meeting was held, was filled to the doors long before the opening of the meeting, and the audience manifested appreciation of the principles of Social Democracy by frequent applause. Rev. Alexander Kent presided. The manifesto issued by members of the S. L. P. in Washington, to the effect that Comrade Debs did not represent them, was hardly necessary, as one would hardly make the mistake of supposing that Comrade Debs represented the S. L. P. The Washington meeting was an immense success and has been productive of good results.

The New Bedford strikers are out with an appeal for contributions to aid them in their battle against their inhuman employers. Every device that ingenuity can suggest is being used to defeat the strikers and force them to give up the struggle and many are on the verge of actual starvation.

Unless they are more generously supported than they have been by outside sympathizers the strikers will be compelled to weaken through sheer lack of food. There is a chance to win if they can hold out a little longer, and they hope for aid to permit them to do this. All money and communications should be addressed to William Cunnane, Box 332, New Bedford, Mass., checks and money orders to be made payable to Paul Watson.

Accompanying the appeal is a circular stating that an unauthorized person has been appealing for funds in behalf of the strikers, and warning the public to pay no money to delegates unless they carry credentials with the proper seals and bearing the signature of William Cunnane.

CALL FOR A JOINT MEETING IN BOSTON.

A joint meeting of the S. D. A. branches of Boston and vicinity is called for Sunday, April 3, at 2:30 p. m., at Homestead Hall, 724 Washington st., Boston. Matters of importance in regard to the work of the city committee, a more thorough organization during the summer, and out-door agitation during the summer, will come before the meeting. A full attendance of all members is requested. MARGARET HAILE, Secretary City Central Committee.

RESOLUTIONS OF N.Y. BRANCHES.

At a regular joint meeting of all the local branches of the S. D. A. in Greater New York, held on Saturday, March 18, the resolutions of Missouri Branch No. 1 were approved by a unanimous vote. The following resolution was also adopted: Any local branch has a right to be represented through a proxy delegate. I have been instructed to forward these resolutions to The Social Democrat for publication. J. BYCHOWER, Sec.

ANNOUNCEMENT.

Boston, Mass., March 24, 1898. Notice is hereby given to the members of Branch No. 1, of Boston, Mass., that our next regular meeting on April 21, will be the last one to be held before our state convention, and it is very important that all the members of this branch should be present and give some suggestions to our delegate to the state convention. Every member is also requested to read over our constitution carefully and suggest some amendments to it, our next meeting will be mainly devoted to that purpose. H. S. WHITE, Secretary.

N. B. Members of above branch are also notified that no more notices will be sent them for regular meetings, as our notice of same is in the Social Democrat every week.

FROM NEWBURYPORT.

Speaking of the work in his city, when sending in application for branch charter, Comrade Porter of Newburyport, Mass., says: "We shall grow. We mean business. We are educating and agitating by literature and speech, both private and public. I was asked to give a gospel talk last Sunday evening at Ring's Island, and I gave them twenty minutes of industrial gospel; in other words, Socialism. We are distributing and selling literature, including the Social Democracy edition of 'Merrie England,' and much interest is being manifested. There is a strong reform sentiment in Newburyport, and this movement to crystallize it is just what is needed to strengthen and bring it out. It looks as if we should pull a good-sized vote in the fall. We hope soon to do something to spread the interest to surrounding towns." Our comrades manifest the right spirit, and their work will soon make itself felt.

THE BALTIMORE MEETING.

Comrades Debs and Kehler spoke to an audience of 2,000 persons at Germania Maennerchor Hall in Baltimore on March 19, and to one of more than 2,000 at Ford's Grand Opera House on the 20th. The meetings were held under the auspices of the local branches of the S. D. A. in Baltimore, and were magnificent successes. C. E. Taylor called the meeting of the 19th to order and introduced Comrade Kehler, who spoke clearly and interestingly on the aims and extent of the Social Democracy movement. Comrade Kehler was followed by Comrade Hinton, chairman of the colonization commission, who interested the audience for nearly three-quarters of an hour on the colonization plan. Comrade Debs was the next speaker, and he was greeted with thunders of applause, continued at intervals throughout his speech. The vast audience was evidently in thorough sympathy with him in his remarks. The people are tired unto death of the stale stories of the paid pleaders for plutocracy, and are awakening to the truths of the new emancipation. The meeting on the 20th was even more of a success than the preceding one. All classes of citizens were represented in the audience, and a great quantity of Socialist literature was distributed, including 300 copies of 'Merrie England,' and numerous copies of the 'Appeal to Reason.' At this meeting each person on entering the hall received a card containing

a request for those in sympathy with the Social Democracy, or wishing to join it, to return the card with their name and address written thereon. Two hundred and sixty of these cards were filled out and returned, and there is no doubt but that these meetings will result in a vast increase in the membership of the Social Democracy in Baltimore.

One of the pleasantest features of the Baltimore meetings was the banquet tendered Comrades Debs and Kehler by members of the Social Democracy, on the night of the 19th inst. The banquet was attended by a large number of people, and was a thoroughly enjoyable affair. A number of addresses were made by prominent reformers of Baltimore, who were present, and the best of feeling was manifested all around. The Baltimore comrades have been greatly inspired by these meetings and have taken hold with a will to build up the organization. We will be heard from in a practical way in the great fight for human emancipation. C. E. TAYLOR, Chairman Committee.

THE PITTSBURG MEETING.

The Debs meeting held in Pittsburg on the evening of March 22, under the auspices of the Pittsburg and Allegheny branches of the Social Democracy of America was a success in every meaning of the term. Mr. Debs held his audience simply spellbound during the entire delivery of his address, covering a period of two hours. Not for an instant in the large audience was there anywhere an indication of mental weariness. When it is considered that Mr. Debs had not the intellectual mind to appeal to, but on the contrary, one that is not given to abstract thought and contemplation and also that the great speaker treated of fundamental truths and in the process of reasoning was compelled by the character of the subject to employ language that in the treatment of any other subject would have been incomprehensible, his effort was nothing less than marvelous. From the standpoint of effectiveness, which is the correct position from which to judge of an address, it is entirely safe to say this speech has never been equalled in Pittsburg. Applause was so great and frequent that it partook of the nature of an almost continuous interruption. From the stage the sight of the audience was a revelation. Glistening eyes riveted upon the speaker, up-turned faces, parted lips and bated breath, made an impression never to be forgotten.

With such an apostle the success of the Social Democracy is early assured. Great credit is also reflected upon the local branches in the achievement of conditions, making this meeting a possibility. CHAS. F. STEISS, JR., Chairman Branch No. 10, Allegheny, Pa.

THE ERIE MEETING.

A splendid meeting was held at Erie, Pa., on the 23d inst. The meeting was noteworthy as representing the harmony existing between the Social Democracy and the trades union movement. From the excellent report contained in the Erie "People" the following account of the meeting is condensed: "The mass meeting at St. Patrick's auditorium last Wednesday night was the most notable event in local and reform history. The large room was packed to the doors, and the space back of the seats including the stairs leading to the balcony, was filled with persons standing. Messrs. Debs and Kehler, the speakers of the evening, have left an impression in this city that is of lasting benefit to those who believe in the principles of socialism. The vice presidents of the meeting included the officers of the eighteen affiliated unions of the C. L. U., prominent members of the Social Democracy and the Reform Club, and local students of social and economic thought. The secretaries were chosen as representatives of the various daily union publications: Frank Weiss, Tagblatt; J. H. Callaghan, Journal; Reed Caughey, Dispatch and News; N. Waters, Times. Members of the joint committee: Central Labor Union—J. F. Ford, Jan. Harton, Nelson Hart, C. W. Gill, W. J. Christman. Social Democracy—John J. Heintz, Chas. Anderson. Reform Club—P. C. Heydrick, Walter H. Miller, F. L. Montgomery. A number of clergymen were present to hear Mr. Debs' address, among whom were noticed Rev. F. S. Spaulding, Rev. Mr. Montgomery, Rev. Mr. Van Cleave, Rev. Mr. Crosby, Rev. B. Canfield Jones and Father Cauley. There was a large number of women in the audience who occupied seats especially reserved for them directly in front of the platform. The German Workingmen's Singing society entertained the audience with several selections before the arrival of the principal speaker and were well received."

The addresses by Hon. J. R. Burns and J. B. Brooks were particularly good and were well received. President Hense, of the Central Labor Union, acted as chairman of the meeting, and filled the position with ability. The movement in Erie has been greatly strengthened, and the result of the meeting will be a large increase in membership. JOPLIN, MO.

All members of Equality (Joplin) branch, S. D. A. (No. 5 of Mo.), are hereby notified that, beginning on March 29, 1898, all meetings will be held on Tuesday evenings, at 8 p. m., in the courthouse until further notice. Members are requested to hand their April dues to the secretary on or before the 1st day of April. H. J. RAIBLE, Ch'm'n. C. S. TISDALE, Sec.

New occasions teach new duties; Time makes ancient good uncouth; They must upward still, and onward, Who would keep abreast of Truth; Lo, before us gleam our carriages! We ourselves must Pilgrims be; Launch our Mayflower and steer boldly Through the desperate winter sea; Nor attempt the Future's portal With the Past's blood-rusted key. —Lowell

MEETINGS OF LOCAL BRANCHES

CALIFORNIA. No. 1, San Francisco, meets every Sunday at 2 p. m., at 209 Market street. The general public is invited to attend.

ILLINOIS. Cook County Central Committee of the Social Democracy, meets 2d Saturday of each month at 128 E. Madison street, Chicago. Secretary, Wm. W. Steedman, room 504 Trade Building.

INDIANA. No. 1, Terre Haute, meets 1st and 3d Sundays of each month at 2 p. m., at Central Labor Union Hall, 623 1/2 Wabash ave. Ladies are invited. P. K. Reinbold, Chairman. Ed. Evinger, Secretary.

MISSOURI. No. 1, St. Louis, meets every Friday at 8 p. m., at 122 N. Broadway.

NEW JERSEY. No. 1, Newark, meets every Tuesday. Club rooms are open for friends also on Thursday, Saturday and Sunday, 266 Pacific street, Paterson.

NEW YORK. The Greater New York City Central Committee of the Social Democracy of America, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 115 E. 42d street, at the corner of Bushwick avenue and Hall street, at 8 o'clock. Open to the public. Business lectures every Wednesday evenings of each month, at same place.

OHIO. No. 1, Toledo, meets at Knopka Hall, cor. Vance and Division sts., every Friday evening, at 8 p. m. Secretary, C. E. Otkos, secretary, 115 Nebraska ave.

PENNSYLVANIA. No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Friday at 8 p. m., at 115 E. 42d street, at the corner of Bushwick avenue and Hall street, at 8 o'clock. Open to the public. Business lectures every Wednesday evenings of each month, at same place.

TENNESSEE. No. 1, Nashville, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m., at 824 Church st. First meeting in month for business only. All others for discussion and education. Visitors cordially invited.

TEXAS. No. 1, Houston, meets second and fourth Thursday of each month in Union Men's Hall, on Franklin street, between Main and Second streets, between Main and Second streets, between Main and Second streets.

WISCONSIN. No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every Sunday at 2 p. m., at People's Party Clubrooms, Old Court House, C street. Interesting program. Public cordially invited.

WISCONSIN. Central Conference, composed of the executive committees of the ten branches of the Social Democracy in Milwaukee. Meets first and third Monday evenings of each month at 62 Chestnut street, Milwaukee. Frederick P. Heath, Secretary.

WISCONSIN. No. 1, Sheboygan, meets on the 4th Thursday of each month at Burgard's Hall on Pennsylvania avenue.

WISCONSIN. No. 2, Business Meetings Friday, Nov. 12, 1897, and every fourth Friday thereafter. Open every Friday for discussion and education Friday, Dec. 2, 1897, and every fourth Friday thereafter, at Sigel's Hall, 8 E. Corner of 9th avenue and Orchard street, Milwaukee.

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RAILWAY OFFICIALS & EMPLOYEES ACCIDENT ASSOCIATION

FROM SAN DIEGO. Our Branch held a very interesting meeting on the night of the 15th inst. Our organizer, Mrs. Anna Perry Smith lectured on the "Ethics of Socialism." Her address teemed with logic, wit and pathos, and she was listened to with the closest attention. The subject was made so plain that "a wayfaring man, though a fool, could not err therein."

We are very fortunate in having so able and pleasing a leader as Mrs. Smith to get us started in this great industrial movement that will shake this old world from center to circumference. Mrs. Smith has had twenty years' experience in the work, and is competent to meet the opponents of Socialism with such an array of facts and arguments as will surely impress them with the weakness of their position. She should be constantly in the field as an organizer and teacher. One grand, noble soul like her can do much to change the current of thought, and thus aid greatly in emancipating the people from the slavery of old ideas.

Our Branch can hardly expect as large results here as may be obtained in other places, as the population of San Diego is largely made up of tourists and wealthy people who come here to enjoy the magnificent climate. Yet a few earnest souls are determined the branch shall live, and will put forth every effort to make it an active force in the community. We hold meetings weekly, and have a permanent committee on program to arrange for pleasing and instructive meetings.

Our members are all delighted with the Social Democrat. Our faith in humanity is revived when we read the thrilling words of our comrades. God Almighty has surely raised up Comrade Debs to strike the shackles from the limbs of the white slaves, as he did Lincoln to free the black ones. MRS. C. BLISS, Secretary Branch 11 of California.

Otto Fischer, walking delegate of the Milwaukee Building Trades Council, has been sentenced to prison for six months and to pay a fine of \$100 for requesting several workmen at Waukesha, Wis., to join the union.

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