

Convention 1898

"The expropriation of the mass of the people from the soil forms the basis of the capitalist mode of production."—Marx.

# The Social Democrat

"ON EARTH PEACE, GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN."

"A State may be very miserable, even though a few individuals gather colossal fortunes."—Bismond.

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## THE CONVENTION.

A NOTABLE GATHERING OF THE PEOPLE REPRESENTING SOCIALISM.

Stirring Events in Which Those Who Stood for Political Action Exclusively Were Defeated—They Bolt.

Never has there been a convention of the people more pregnant of future good than that of the Social Democracy of America.

It was held in Chicago in Ulrich's hall, where the American Railway Union was born in 1893 and where the great Pullman strike was declared in 1894. Greater yet will be the results of this convention of '98.

The convention began Tuesday morning, June 7, at 9 o'clock, and lasted until Saturday evening, June 11, at 6 o'clock, when Wm. E. Burns, the vice-chairman, after a ringing speech pointing out that all the old A. R. U. strikers and blacklisted men remained loyal to the S. D. of A., let his gavel fall and declared the first annual convention adjourned.

It was the greatest Socialist convention ever held in this country. The average of ability was very high.

Representatives came all the way from San Francisco and San Diego on the west and from New Hampshire on the east, while all sections, including the south, sent delegates. Ninety-four branches were represented by about 70 delegates.

There was a large element that favored political action and colonization, while a smaller number favored political action only.

The contest between these two ideas began as soon as Chairman Debs dropped his gavel to call the convention to order. Delegate Cook of Chicago moved in the interest of true democracy that a committee of three on credentials be elected by the body, and this was carried.

J. Finan of Illinois, J. C. De Armond of Colorado and W. L. A. Johnson of Kansas were elected.

The committee on credentials went to the headquarters of the organization and reported on those credentials who had paid their dues and were entitled to seats.

National Secretary Kellher threw a firebrand into the convention by declaring there were eight branches organized recently in Chicago, and that he had refused to sign and issue charters to them, as he believed they were organized for the purpose of packing the convention.

Chairman Burns, National Treasurer James Hogan and National Organizer R. M. Goodwin and J. S. Ingalls protested at the accusation.

The debate on the report of the committee on credentials waxed warm and began to be a debate on the merits of political action and colonization. The debate lasted all day, and when adjournment came the question was still undecided.

That evening the national executive board met and ordered the secretary to issue these charters, and it was done.

The next morning the committee on credentials reported the fact and delegates were seated without further protest. Then came the election of the committee on rules and order of business.

C. F. Willard of Colorado, I. Frank of New York and F. F. Heath of Wisconsin were elected and presented the rules, which governed the convention, with some additional changes.

The forces in favor of the dual idea of political action and colonization were led by James Hogan of Utah, while Victor Berger of Wisconsin led the men who believed in political action only.

The committees were elected on roll call, each representative announcing his vote as he voted.

The committee on resolutions was composed of F. F. Heath of Wisconsin, A. S. Edwards of Tennessee and J. S. Ingalls of Illinois; committee on constitution, Isiah Frank of New York, L. L. Hopkins of New Jersey and W. P. Boyland of Michigan; committee on ways and means, F. G. R. Gordon of New Hampshire, George Koop of Illinois and Jacob Hunger of Wisconsin; committee on organized labor, G. A. Hoehn of Missouri, Hugo Miller of Indiana and Joseph Baroness of New York.

The great fight occurred over the committee on platform, and on account of magnanimity and generosity, the minority elected the majority of the committee in the persons of Victor Berger of Wisconsin and Margaret Halle of Massachusetts, while the other member of the committee was John F. Lloyd of Illinois, who represented the majority of the convention.

The great fight of the convention came on the report of the committee on platform. Margaret Halle read her report, and J. S. Ingalls read the report of J. F. Lloyd. The minority report was the main issue discussed. That day the convention began its session at 9 o'clock Friday morning, and lasted until 3 o'clock the next morning.

On Thursday afternoon Chairman Debs made his report as chairman of the national executive board in a speech lasting over an hour, in which he declared in favor of political action and colonization. Friday forenoon James Hogan made his report as vice-chairman and treasurer, and in the course of his report he attacked Secretary Kellher, alleging incompetency or dishonesty, and saying that the convention could take choice of either horn of the dilemma.

After Hogan's statement, which lasted over two hours, the result of the convention was never in doubt.

The colonization commission reported through its secretary in a type-

written report of some length, in which the Colorado mining operation was favorably reported. The full report will be published in the Social Democrat, and need not be given here.

Then began the debate on the platform. The best speeches in favor of the platform were those of John F. Lloyd, James Taylor Rodgers of San Francisco, former Populist candidate for congress, J. B. Osborn of Atlanta, Ga., and Thomas Grundy of Pittsburg, Pa. The best speeches of the opposition were those of J. F. Carey of Haverhill, Mass., and Seymour Stedman. Speeches against the platform were made by Isaac Hourwich, V. Wincheko, Isaac Phillips, Victor Berger, J. Baroness, Louis Miller and G. A. Hoehn.

John F. Lloyd made the closing speech. It was after 1 o'clock in the morning. The hall was crowded with strangers, all sessions being open and public. They remained until the close of the great debate.

Stedman had spoken for the opposition, and in his speech he predicted failure for all colonies and attacked the judgment and integrity of the commissioners. Lloyd arose to answer him and to close. Emphasis had been laid on the necessity of a platform and methods which would conform to American conditions and lines of thought. This was really the point at issue. Should the old German Socialist methods, with its "class-consciousness" club tactics, continue, or should American Socialist methods prevail.

American Socialist methods won. Lloyd made a magnificent speech, showing the fallacy of their position, and pointing out that his side stood for both political action and colonization, while the other side stood only for political action. In slow, measured tones he analyzed the arguments of the preceding speakers, and when he finally warmed up he swept away their arguments and contentions like cobwebs.

It was nearly 3 o'clock, and the big audience, which comprised many of the noted people of Chicago, were listening spell bound. Suddenly a delegate from Cleveland arose and said, "Mr. Chairman—I want to go home. I want to be allowed to have my vote recorded."

Vice Chairman Burns was in the chair and said, "How do you vote?" "Aye," was the response. Then there was a storm of protests, points of order, etc., amid which arose cries of "Roll call." Representative Frank of New York moved the previous question. The roll was called and showed 52 in favor of Lloyd's platform and 37 against. When the vote was announced Hourwich of New York jumped on a chair and shouted, "All those who are opposed to this will meet in parlor A, Revere House, at 8 o'clock."

J. B. Osborn of Atlanta shouted something about those who favored the resolution. The writer got the attention of the chair and demanded that the music which had been started should stop. The music stopped and the chairman declared the meeting adjourned, so there was no walkout of those who afterward bolted the convention.

Saturday morning the convention was called to order, and a number of the delegates were absent. Business proceeded as usual, however. The committee on constitution reported, and the constitution was adopted. It provides for a national executive council of nine members, three of whom shall be a political committee, three an economic committee, and three an educational committee. The dues were reduced to \$1 per year. The officers elected are: James Hogan of Utah, chairman; W. P. Boyland of Michigan, secretary-treasurer; and seven others. They are as follows: Economic committee, Col. Richard J. Hinton of District of Columbia, C. F. Willard of Colorado, W. P. Boyland of Michigan. Political committee, James Hogan, Utah; G. C. Clemens, Kansas, and R. M. Goodwin, Illinois. Educational committee: John F. Lloyd, Illinois; L. L. Hopkins, New Jersey, and Dr. Isiah Frank of New York.

On Sunday the national executive council met and organized as above related, and on Monday issued a proclamation to the American people. On Monday a number of those who were on their way to the People's party national committee visited the headquarters, including such old veteran Socialists as Joseph R. Buchanan of New York and George P. Keeney of California. They expressed their desire to assist the Social Democracy of America.

The bolters who refused to abide by the will of the majority met and organized, calling themselves the Social Democratic party of America. As it occupies practically the same position as to methods and principles as the Socialist Labor party, it is doubtful if both will continue as separate parties.

The Social Democracy has practically the same officers as last year, with the exception of Debs and Burns, who both refused to stand for re-election. The organizers will now push it with all their energy. It will grow. It has hope, energy and vitality. It has democratic government. The referendum and initiative has been adopted in the organization, and an officer can be removed if the membership so desire.

With economic conditions making Socialists with tremendous rapidity, all that is needed in this country is an organization built on American lines, following American Socialist methods, and having an American Socialist platform, to grow to great magnitude and power.

All these the Social Democracy now has, and it will grow to command attention and respect.

## OUR PLATFORM

NEW DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE JUST MADE AT CHICAGO.

Document Which Caused Great Debate Lasting Until Three O'clock in the Morning—Was Finally Adopted.

All men have sprung from a common source and are hastening to a common destiny. Every man has the natural and inalienable right of access to the storehouse of nature, from which may be produced in abundance all the necessities and luxuries of life, and an infringement of this right as regards any, even the humblest man, with or without his consent, is a menace to the liberty of all.

While, in nearly every part of the civilized world, the old forms of slavery have passed away, a new form of servitude has arisen more cruel and relentless than the old. Formerly some of the toilers owned the tools of production and were free to produce wealth at pleasure, and the slave was the property of a personal master who, through self-interest, cared for him in sickness and provided for his physical necessities in health.

Under the present system, brought about by the evolution of labor-saving machinery, the worker no longer owns the tools of production—cannot create wealth at his own pleasure—and therefore is not a freeman.

The tolling millions have become slaves to a system—an impersonal master. The toiler today sells his labor power to any one who will buy, and having found employment, he is driven on in his task by the knowledge that a portion of the great army of the disinherited who have been thrust aside by the privately owned machine are constantly imploring his master that they may become slaves in his stead.

Nearly all our industries are today controlled or monopolized by a few great combinations of capitalists, who, because they own the tools of production, and the agencies of distribution, are able to dictate, not only who may work and what he shall receive for his labor, but also the price the consumer shall pay for the product. These monopolies or trusts are the natural product of the existing industrial system, and can never be suppressed or destroyed so long as wage-labor and the privately-owned machine are the two factors in the production and distribution of wealth; and since we should not destroy the machine and return to primitive methods of production, the hour is at hand when the tolling millions of the world must choose between a monopoly for the benefit of a few and a monopoly for the benefit of all.

The profit system is approaching the final stage of its evolution. The wealth of the country is being gathered into the hands of a few with frightful rapidity. This appropriation of all wealth by the few, through the power of the trusts and monopolies to extort regularly exorbitant profits from nearly all our industries, is progressing with irresistible force. No change in the financial policy of this country, nor of the world, no readjustment of tariffs, no policy of territorial or trade extension, nor any other change in our governmental policy that does not destroy rent, interest and profit can alter nor long defer the inevitable final result.

Some of these palliatives might for a brief time lessen the profits of the capitalists and so require a longer time for the few to draw all wealth into their own hands. In view of these facts, the truth of which we challenge the world to deny, we demand the collective ownership and administration of all the means of production and distribution to the end that justice may be done to all, that there may be guaranteed to every child born into the world an equality of opportunity, that no one shall be permitted to levy tribute on his fellows through any system of rendering less than a full equivalent for what he receives, and that by recognizing the natural law of human brotherhood, we may banish pauperism and crime from the earth and usher in a grander civilization than the world has ever known.

For the accomplishment of this purpose, we recognize the efficacy of two independent, though intimately related methods of action, which conform to conditions now existing in America—political action and economic action.

In the method of political action, we call attention to the construction of our American form of government as a matter to be considered with especial care.

We call attention, in the method of economic action, to the undeveloped natural resources of our country. These resources present to the disinherited proletariat unrivaled opportunities for securing the means of life, thus placing the people in possession of that economic power which is the basis and means of control, not only of political conditions, but of all other conditions of social life. Those resources which are possible of control by the workers of this country are non-existent in European countries, or, if they do exist, have been monopolized under private ownership and methods of land tenure such as render the hope of their acquisition by the European workers completely futile except through the methods of political action and revolution.

But Socialism can never be attained in this country by merely conjuring with words. Acts, not mere phrases, are required, and the first act essential is the overthrow of the power of fed-

eral courts to strike down the laws of a sovereign people.

While the power of judicial veto remains in the hands of judges in whose selection the people have no choice, over whose acts the people have no control, against whose usurpations the people have no adequate redress, legislation in the interest of men against property can not hope to live. Were they free of the irresponsible domination of the federal courts, the people of any state could become a co-operative commonwealth when they chose. Under the American system of government the states are the natural instruments of inaugurating Socialism. The federal constitution can not be amended. As Patrick Henry declared in opposing its adoption, "The way of amendment is shut." But twice in its history has the constitution been amended in any important particular. The first ten amendments were added under a threat of armed revolt before the new government could get upon its feet; the last three were added as the result of civil war and even then were forced upon the southern states.

Peaceable amendment of the federal constitution with a view of making federal Socialism possible is a hopeless dream. But the power of the federal courts is at the mercy of a majority of Congress, and can be destroyed in a day.

The federal courts, except the Supreme Court, are merely creatures of statutes which any Congress can repeal. The power of the Supreme Court to sit in judgment upon the decisions of state courts is also derived from a repealable act of Congress.

Were all these statutes repealed, then when a majority of any state could elect a socialistic executive, legislature and judiciary, Socialism would be supreme in that state. The Co-operative Commonwealth could there immediately become an established fact, and no power but successful capitalistic armed rebellion could for a moment retard its beneficial effects.

The existence of the acts of Congress from which the inferior federal courts draw their vitality, and from which the federal Supreme Court gets its power to override the decisions of state judges, elected by the people, is today the great barrier across the highway upon which but for this obstacle the hosts of Socialism might march to victory.

Until the federal courts shall be as prostrate before the American people as the American people are today prostrate before the federal courts, the repeal of these acts of Congress should be the exclusive aim of Socialists in all congressional and presidential elections.

We, therefore, formulate and make the following specific demands:

1. The collective ownership and administration of the means of production and distribution.

2. The abolition of all inferior federal courts and the abrogation of the power of the federal Supreme Court to reverse the decisions of state tribunals.

3. Direct legislation.

**CONVENTION NOTES.**  
A significant feature of the result is that the old A. R. U. men who made the magnificent fight of 1894, with the single exception of Kellher, stand solid for the organization.

The best speech, by long odds, in defense of the bolter's platform was made by Comrade Louis Miller of New York city. It was a magnificent effort.

Delegates Wincheko, Hourwich, Baroness, Levin, Kuhn, Hunger, Moerschell and Berger were among the bolters. Comment is superfluous.

It is quite evident that those who compose the opposition are in favor of majority rule when they are in the majority.

The bolters were nearly all of them seceders from the S. L. P. If they organize at all it can only be with the object and result of dividing the political field with the S. L. P. The aim of this organization is somewhat higher than that. We recognize the fact that there are at least 70,000,000 people in this country who have yet to be converted to socialism, and our energies shall be devoted to the work of bringing them to see the dawning light of the coming new era. We have no time to waste in dividing political honors with existing socialist parties.

The bolters were very fond of using the term "anarchist" to designate those who stood in opposition to them as representatives of the majority sentiment of the convention. Their conception of the term anarchy seems to be much perverted.

Laurenée Gronlund, the famous author of the Co-operative Commonwealth, was a familiar figure at the convention, and stood firmly with the organization. Before the adjournment of the convention he addressed the delegates, stating that he was very sorry to observe the action of the bolters and considered that they had taken a very foolish course. "I am heart and soul with your organization," he said, "and I will do everything in my power to assist it. You can call on me at any time and I will be happy to aid your movement." Comrade Gronlund has completed arrangements for the publication of his new book, and he will remain in Chicago for some time to come. It is probable that he will be one of the editorial writers on the Social Democrat.

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## CONSTITUTION.

ADOPTED AT RECENT CONVENTION BY PRACTICALLY A UNANIMOUS VOTE.

As It Will Not Be Printed in Pamphlet Form for Some Time Members Are Urged to Preserve This Paper.

The Social Democracy of America, being organized for the purpose of placing the people collectively in control of all the means of production and distribution, and desiring to use the most effective means to that end, formulates the following constitution for the accomplishment of its object:

**ARTICLE I.**  
Section 1. The organization constituted under this constitution shall be known as the Social Democracy of America.  
Sec. 2. It shall consist of local branches, county committees, state unions and a national executive council.

**ARTICLE II.**  
Section 1. A majority vote shall determine on all occasions.

**ARTICLE III.**  
Section 1. Local branches shall consist of at least five members.  
Sec. 2. Any reputable person subscribing to the principles of this organization, shall be eligible to membership.  
Sec. 3. A member may be transferred from one local branch to another.  
Sec. 4. Each member shall be entitled to a card of membership, such cards to be furnished by the National Council and issued to the members by the treasurer of the local branch.

**ARTICLE IV.**  
Section 1. The local branches shall pay 25 cents per member quarterly in advance to the National Executive Council. Ten cents per member quarterly in advance to the County Committee and seven cents per member quarterly in advance to the State Union. Said dues to be forwarded before the 10th day of January, April, July and October to the respective headquarters. Branches shall forward a full quarter's dues for each member admitted before the 10th day of February, May, August and November. Dues for members admitted after such date shall begin the 1st day of next quarter.  
Sec. 2. Branches shall be organized by the election of a Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer.

**ARTICLE V.**  
Section 1. County Committees shall be composed of two members elected annually from each local branch in the county; provided that two or more county committees may unite to form one committee if so determined by a referendum vote of the members in the counties involved.  
Sec. 2. Each local branch shall be entitled to one vote.  
Sec. 3. The county committee shall order a referendum in its jurisdiction on any question upon application of any two local branches represented in said committee.  
Sec. 4. County committees may adopt any by-laws consistent with this constitution.  
Sec. 5. The county committee shall have jurisdiction on all matters affecting the county.

**ARTICLE VI.**  
Section 1. The National Convention shall be composed of three delegates elected annually from each state in the ratio of one delegate to each state, to be elected at large by a referendum vote of the state.  
Sec. 2. Each delegate shall have one vote.  
Sec. 3. The expenses of delegates shall be paid by the state to which they are elected.  
Sec. 4. The National Convention shall meet the first Monday in June of each year at such place as may be selected by a referendum vote of at least sixty days prior to the convening of the convention. The place securing the highest number of votes shall be selected.  
Sec. 5. The National Convention shall have jurisdiction over all matters affecting the purposes and principles of this organization.  
Sec. 6. The conclusions of the National Convention shall be imperative until approved by a referendum vote of the membership.

**ARTICLE VII.**  
Section 1. The National Executive Council shall consist of nine members elected annually by the National Convention.  
Sec. 2. When the National Convention is not in session and it is necessary to fill vacancies, or for any other reason to select members of the National Executive Council, the state unions shall nominate candidates for such office, which shall be filled by general referendum vote.  
Sec. 3. The National Executive Council shall exercise general jurisdiction over all matters of a national character.  
Sec. 4. The National Executive Council shall submit any question to a general referendum upon application of any state union.  
Sec. 5. The National Executive Council shall elect three of its members who shall compose an economic commission, whose duties shall be directed to the end of placing members of the organization in position of economic security. To this end, they shall acquire property which shall be held in trust for the benefit of the whole membership and shall use all proper means to establish co-operative industries for their support.  
Sec. 6. The National Executive Council shall elect three of its members who shall compose a political commission, whose duty it shall be to further the general political work of the organization.  
Sec. 7. The National Executive Council shall elect three of its members who shall compose an educational commission, whose duty it shall be to formulate and execute plans to educate the masses along the line of the principles of this organization.  
Sec. 8. A member of the Executive Council may serve on but one commission.  
Sec. 9. The National Executive Council shall publish one or more papers, which shall be the official organ of the organization. The business and editorial management of such paper or papers shall be vested in three persons, one of whom shall be elected by each commission.  
Sec. 10. Each member shall receive a copy of one of the official organs.  
Sec. 11. This organization shall, under no circumstances, amalgamate, fuse or form an alliance with any other political party.  
Sec. 12. The treasurer of each commission shall mail to each local branch a quarterly financial report in detail.  
Sec. 13. The National Executive Council shall determine where its headquarters shall be for the ensuing year.  
Sec. 14. No money shall be paid from the fund derived from membership dues for the expenses of either of the three commissions.  
Sec. 15. Each commission shall have entire charge of any monies it may secure.  
Sec. 16. The membership dues shall be used exclusively to maintain national headquarters and pay the expenses incidental thereto, including the publication of the official organ or organs.

## PROCLAMATION!

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY OF AMERICA TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

We entertain no such unphilosophic notion as that the past may become the future without an intervening present. We are aware that even so radical a change as Socialism can be nothing else than the existing social order transformed. We seek no abrupt break with a state of things hoary with the passing of sixty centuries. We seek only the climax to which all history has tended. We come to proclaim the sublime hope of the world; to proclaim it to all classes; to proclaim it, not in hatred, but in love. By holding up a lofty ideal we shall seek to win our fellow-countrymen to a nobler and happier life. While fully aware of the international character of the Socialist movement, and while in the fullest accord with the Socialist organizations of other lands, we are Americans, and we shall adopt methods consonant with American habits of thought and of action, and with the genius of American institutions.

The Social Democracy of America will proceed by three routes to a common destination. It will work for Socialism along economic, educational and political lines, thus using all the means of progress at once.

By the introduction of labor saving machinery the existing industrial system renders millions of men superfluous and denies them all opportunity to earn their bread, and then turns them over to the care of the penitentiaries or of over-burdened private charity. We shall begin with the unemployed and shall seek by colonization to build the new social order within the old, and help the present to glide naturally and imperceptibly into the future while we lessen the misery of multitudes whose eyes must close in death before greeting the dawn of the glad new day.

At the same time, we shall vigorously prosecute the work of education, to the end that the people may understand Socialism and yearn to see it prevail. This work will be prosecuted on the principle that no noble aspiration deserves the assistance of the loftiest efforts of eloquence and of literature. We shall not degrade our ideal by advocating it repulsively or coarsely; but speakers will be sent forth whose utterances shall be worthy their mission, and from the splendid literature in which genius has placed its heaven-sent gifts upon the altar of Socialism, we shall cull the choicest gems to put within the reach of the millions.

In politics we shall keep ever in mind that all political organizations, including our own, are but means which deserve and should receive neither loyal devotion nor hostile criticism on their own account.

We shall not engage in conflicts for spoils; we are not wedded to party names, and we care not by whom nor in what name good may be done, but where in any state or locality no leading party shows an honest purpose to take practicable steps toward Socialism, we shall enter the field as a distinct political party. In short, we propose to use for the noblest of purposes the same sagacity politicians employ for evil ends.

We shall be the friend and ally, not the antagonist, of organized labor. We recognize that the present transition period is one of industrial war, and that for its immediate protection against oppression labor cannot wait for the ballot, but must rest on the instant the oppressor's threatened blow. We recognize that multitudes of wage-workers are disfranchised by being compelled to be distant from their homes on election days and that many for other reasons cannot vote. It is not true that by their own votes alone workmen can overthrow the existing industrial order; and to tell the laborer, threatened with starvation in midsummer, to be patient till fall and then vote against his master, is cruel mockery. The worker must resort to such means as he can use today, hoping for a time when he need use them no longer.

"We cannot bring Utopia by force; But better, almost, be at work in sin Than in a brute inaction browse and sleep."

While a proud monument glorifies as heroes embattled farmers who fell at Bunker Hill, how can any American with true American impulses, urge men trampled beneath the brutal hoofs of power to be patient and submit to die in cowardly silence? "They have rights who dare maintain them!" and when haughty wealth, backed by judges and executives who are strangers to the love of liberty, wages unjust and merciless war upon men for demanding but the right to work and to receive in exchange sufficient to make them physically able to work, we refuse to say that in the conflict the dead should be coffined beneath humble roofs alone. Till the change we hope and strive for shall have come, organized labor must use organized labor's weapons—the boycott and the strike; and their use will be blamable only when those who use them treat the present state of industrial war as normal and eternal, and refuse to devote their energies to the hastening of the happy era of industrial peace to bring about which we are pledged to work and to attain which all events and all agencies of these times inevitably tend.

While a federal judge may, at his capricious and biased will strike down every department of the government of a sovereign state, farmers and laborers alike must seek in vain to secure relief from oppression by enacting laws. Not a single state law in the interest of farmers or laborers is permitted by the federal courts to live an hour, while, at the same time, these same allies of capitalism declare that, because of its limited powers, Congress can grant no effective relief. Were the inferior federal courts abolished by the repeal of the acts of Congress, under which alone they exist, and were the Federal Supreme Court denied the power to override the decisions of the state courts, whose members are elected by the people and are amenable to them, then when farmers and laborers secure control of a State Government they would be the masters of those against whose oppression they now struggle in vain, and capitalism would be compelled to obey the law or to court the consequences of armed revolt against a sovereign people's will. Recognizing the utter impossibility of radical social or political changes of any kind until this now invincible barrier—the federal judiciary—shall have been removed, we shall make its removal our single political aim in national politics until the federal courts shall have been destroyed and the power of each state to regulate its own internal affairs shall have been thereby restored. Abolition of the federal judiciary will be the exclusive political demand of the Social Democracy of America in all congressional and presidential campaigns, and we shall refuse to divert our energies from the achievement of this first indispensable reform.

On this national issue, we ask the co-operation of all enemies of oppression, all foes to a despotism in judicial guise, and all lovers of American liberty, regardless of their views concerning our ultimate aim.

James Hogan, Utah.  
W. P. Boyland, Michigan.  
R. M. Goodwin, Illinois.  
John F. Lloyd, Illinois.  
L. L. Hopkins, New Jersey.  
I. Frank, New York.  
C. F. Willard, Colorado.  
R. J. Hinton, District of Columbia.  
G. C. Clemens, Kansas.  
National Executive Council Social Democracy of America.

Section 17. All referendum votes shall be printed in the national organ or organs, stating local branches' number and state opposite the vote for and against the measure.  
Section 18. Officers of the organization may be removed by a majority vote of members who are entitled to elect their successors.  
Section 19. The columns of any national organ shall at all times be open for the presentation of charges against officers and their defense.

**ARTICLE VIII.**  
Section 1. All constitutions or by-laws heretofore adopted are hereby repealed, providing, however, that local branches now existing shall be deemed to exist under this constitution.  
Sec. 2. This constitution may be altered or amended at the National Convention, or by a general referendum vote.  
Sec. 3. This constitution shall take effect immediately.

The People's Party "middle-of-the-roads" in several states have expressed through their leaders a desire to come into the Social Democracy in a body.

The will of the majority should prevail in Socialist organizations. A minority should not bolt, but should remain in the party and attempt to convert the majority.

The work of the Colonization Commission has been hampered in the past by being subordinated to the political side. It stands now as a co-ordinate and equal branch of the organization and will be directed by the Economic Committee, which consists of the same

persons as those who constituted the Colonization Commission.

This organization stands firmly for the collective ownership and administration of the means of production and distribution and does not stand for half-way measures. This also means democratic administration.

The feeling in Chicago, where the Social Democracy was organized, is one of hope and confidence in the future. The members of the Chicago branches have known for some time, the condition of affairs and doubts were prevalent as to the continuance of the organization.

The Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth, through its national secretary, N. W. Leonard, made a proposition looking toward amalgamation. His letter was read by F. G. R. Gordon and was turned over to the chairman of the committee on resolutions, F. F. Heath, of Wisconsin, and has not yet been returned.

The Commissioners were en route to Washington and Idaho in November and would have gone from Denver to those states if the funds contributed for that purpose had been in the hands of the treasurer of the Commission. As he did not get control of these funds until December, the Commissioners were obliged to return from Denver.

SOCIAL FORUM

AMERICAN SOCIALISM.

Editor Social Democrat—I congratulate you on the last issue of your growing journal. Especially so as I recognize the significance and intellectual breadth of the article on "Class Struggle," from the pen of Comrade Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee. It is the best statement I have read and the clearest analysis yet penned of what is the animating purpose of true Socialism.

I read with great interest the bond article in your colonization department. It was clear, clean and strong. It could have been made stronger, because it did not, perhaps, lay stress enough on the wage spoliation of labor which our collective and co-operative life will destroy.

Profit from labor consumers, 50 per cent  
Profit on labor itself, at low-  
est estimated rate, 47 per cent

Total 97 per cent

Competitive balance for la-  
bor 3 per cent

Now, let us take, say, 400,000 acres of land favorably located, with fair soil, good climate, pure water, abundant timber, large coal deposits and other minerals, stones, sands, clays, etc., obtainable at a price within the amount named in the article I refer to, \$2,500,000. This, too, to cover means of starting. Under competitive methods it would need an outlay of \$5,000,000 on the part of capitalistic owners to put such an area into working and profitable condition; that is, to make it the home of 40,000 persons. Under a collective ownership and a wise co-operation it can be put under way with less than a million dollars. The bond, as debt, would be, say, \$2,500,000. The interest at 5 per cent for ten-twenty years—averaging, say, sixteen, would be \$2,000,000, a total of \$4,500,000.

Two years from date of occupancy, 2,000 colonists at least could be located. The cost per acre of property, debt, interest and all, would be \$112.50 per acre. With 2,000 workers on the land its market value would be at least double that amount. When the debt was wiped out the primary or money cost to each of 2,000 co-operators would be \$2,250. If at the end of sixteen years there were 40,000 colonists, or 8,000 families, living in complete security on the land, the cost would be per capita but \$112.50. Per family of five the cost would be but \$562.50, and it is to be remembered, also, that this cost would be all met by and through labor alone. While being earned out of the soil, timber, coal, etc., all who earned would be amply supported, fed, clothed, housed, educated in collective security and co-operative freedom. At the end of sixteen years the marketable value, in the present way of stating, could hardly be put in dollar units. But it would be fair to say, and it is a low estimate, that the whole acreage of such a domain—fields, farms, mines, tanneries, mills, quarries, roads, schools, villages, manufactories, etc., etc., would reach a valuation, one part with the other, equal to at least \$200 per acre, or a total wealth-earning of \$80,000,000. And every one would have lived while earning. Put this estimate as against the 3 per cent above given as all that under the most favorable conditions, over and above absolute needs of bare life, can now fall to the lot of the wage-earner. And this is all possible and may yet be an actuality. Beyond and above, far and clear, is the over-rising and all-absorbing values created by the Equities to be established; by the Ethics that will bloom into Love, Order, Justice, Brotherhood. Over all the inspiring spectacle of a true Commonwealth life, in miniature, perhaps, but sure to bring its lesson of intellect teaching and organizing; of love and fraternity developing and inspiring; of industry constructing and securing. The spectacle of a true Social Democracy which shall realize Walt Whitman's shout:

"I speak the password primeval, Democracy, By God! I will have nothing all cannot have on equal terms."  
May I not also say to Comrade Berger, a word in conclusion as to one statement in his admirable paper: "But in land in our country collectivism is not possible now, and will not be for a long time to come."

National collectivism in land and by wholesale acceptance may not be possible at this time. But in no other country in the world, organized in and under the present conditions of civilization, so-called, is it possible to introduce, and successfully, too, collectivist efforts and movements, upon a scale which alone can justify the toll, mental, moral and industrial effort demanded. I know of at least three states in this union wherein land collectivity may readily be made successful by peaceful and legal efforts. I

know a vast area, at least two-fifths (excluding Alaska) of this continental union, where the proper defense of the collective principles of an existing Law of Water can readily be made to reward beneficially the ideas of land control that now prevail. Water in arid and semi-arid America is of more value than land. The legal principle that water is natural wealth, not property, public or private, and must therefore be under collective control for the benefit of all industrial life and its security, is even now writ, in more or less positiveness, upon the constitutions and statutes of seventeen states and territories. We have therein a Socialism which is of the most transcendent importance, when once and fully understood. There are obtainable, also, vast areas of land upon which the collective principle of consolidated industries on such a scale as Comrade Berger holds and I believe, with him, to be essential, can be most fully worked out. The Colonization Commission of the Social Democracy can point, for example, to low-priced tracts of 800,000 and 1,000,000 acres each, in different states, accessible by railroads and not far out of the busied life of men, that, possessing water, soil, climate, minerals, grasses, timber, building materials, etc., are capable of being, under co-operative methods, turned into marvelous hives of collective life, security, equity and fraternity! American Socialism, political and co-operative, offers as no other land can and no other people may, at present, the occasion for the organization and creation of a vast and voluntary system of collective and synchronous co-operative industry, whose effects from the first of its successful beginnings upon the acceleration of our political struggle can be counted only by the heart beats of Hope that will be transformed into ballots, as Utopian possibilities are translated into living and reasonable achievement, pointing with the unquestioned and superb rigidity of Truth to the golden way that will lead out of our throat-struggle. The colony effort will not detract from the political agitation. It will be as an ordinance to voice and vote, pen and effort.

ELECTORAL REFORM.

Steady Progress in a British Colony.

The readers of the Social Democrat have heard something about the plans and principles of proportional representation. This reform is making great headway in the British colony of South Australia, where it is known as Effective Voting.

The following circular to members and friends of the Effective Voting League of South Australia has been issued by Miss Catharine Helen Spence of Adelaide:

"The year 1897 has been an important era in the history of electoral reform. On Jan. 20 the elections for the legislative assembly in Hobart and Launceston gave the English speaking world the first practical test of the simplicity and the equity of the Hare method of voting, with the additional safeguard of a scientific distribution of surplus votes.

On Jan. 21 an extraordinary meeting of the Effective Voting League was held in Albert Hall, followed on Jan. 22 by a deputation to the acting premier to request that the proportional system and the single transferable vote should be used instead of the multiple vote for electing the ten Australian delegates to the federal convention.

"This was refused; and the subsequent election by multiple vote showed the defects of that method. Miss Spence, the president of the Effective Voting League, stood as a candidate especially on the principle of proportional representation, and on March 6, election day, received 7,500 votes, though kept out of both party lists.

"On July 9 the annual meeting of the League was held, at which a public scrutiny of 3,283 votes was conducted, and the contrast was shown between Effective Voting and Defective Voting. With six to elect, out of twelve candidates, there is a difference of one-third, or two candidates out of six. The details and result of the scrutiny were printed in a leaflet and widely circulated throughout Australia.

"During the year twenty-six lectures were given on the subject of Proportional Representation, chiefly to literary societies, with blackboard illustrations; and an active propaganda has been carried on. At the request of his excellency, Sir Fowell Buxton, a demonstration of the scrutiny and its results was given at the government house.

"On July 28, Mr. Glynn moved a resolution in the South Australian legislative assembly for the use of the Hare method in all South Australian elections in both houses of parliament; and he will do so every year, so long as he is in parliament.

"Jan. 20, 1898, a petition was presented on the opening of the federal convention in Melbourne for the use of the Hare method in federal elections, especially for the senate, signed by 1,653 electors of South Australia.

"In the United States and Canada the reform makes a steady progress. In Switzerland eight cantons have adopted Proportional Representation, and it is a matter of time for it to reach the whole federation. In Brazil, the municipality of Rio Janeiro, and one of the provinces have adopted it, and it is a live issue in Japan.

The report is signed by C. H. Spence, president, and Jeanne Young, secretary. In sending the report Miss Spence writes: "I am 72 years old now, and pretty well in health, in spite of the longest and hottest summer I have experienced since 1839, when I arrived in South Australia. And I can still work."

REPORT OF TREASURER OF THE COLONIZATION COMMISSION.

The treasurer's report to the convention showed that there had been received from all sources during the period between Aug. 20, 1897, and June 1, 1898, a total of \$2,421.42. Of this amount \$1,724.65 was received from individuals, and \$696.77 was received from branches. Disbursements amounted to \$2,388.19, and cash on hand was \$33.23.

The following is the tabulated result: Receipts \$2,421.42 Disbursements \$2,388.19 Cash on hand 33.23

The disbursements were for the following purposes: Printing and supplies \$142.88 Office expense 63.40 Postage 92.41 Colony expense account 534.75 Co-operative Commonwealth Co. 144.06 R. J. Hinton (personal acct.) 266.00 C. F. Willard (personal acct.) 197.17 W. P. Borland (personal acct.) 213.35 Cash loaned National Council, S. D. A. 194.17 Cash paid out on account of National Council 540.00

Total \$2,388.19 The item "Colony expense account" includes all the expense of the commission in the examination of various properties under consideration throughout the year, and is largely covered by amounts paid in for that specific purpose and receipted for as individual contributions.

The item "Co-operative Commonwealth Co." covers expenses incurred in the organization of that company, which expenses were paid out of the funds of the commission. This item now stands as an asset of the commission.

The cash paid out on account of National Council was for the services of W. P. Borland as editor and general utility man of the Social Democrat, and for small items of cash which he was compelled to pay from time to time for assistance in getting out the paper. This was all paid out of the funds of the commission and charged to the National Council.

The cash loaned National Council covers amounts advanced by the treasurer of the commission to the general organization to tide it over financial difficulties, and includes items of cash which were received on account of the commission by Treasurer Kehler of the general organization and retained by him, he turning over to the treasurer of the commission the account only of such receipts without the cash. In this connection it is proper to say that the treasurer of the commission did not obtain full account and control of commission funds until Dec. 1, 1897.

It is also proper and just to say that under the circumstances as they existed at national headquarters, the treasurer of the commission attaches no blame to Treasurer Kehler of the general organization. He was continually hampered by pressing financial obligations on account of the organization, and it seemed to be the duty of the treasurer of the commission to render such financial assistance as was possible. The funds so used were paid out with the full consent of the treasurer of the commission, and with the qualified consent of the other members of the commission.

The total amount due from the general organization on June 1 was \$734.17, and assets of the commission at that time were tabulated as follows: Due from National Council \$734.17 Due from Co-op. Com. Co. 144.06 Cash on hand 33.23 Total \$911.46 W. P. Borland, Treasurer.

THE SPANISH ASSASSIN.

A Spanish deputy tells a newspaper correspondent that the masses in Spain would be pretty willing to surrender Cuba and the Philippines, if they could thereby secure an honorable peace. He says that the effort to maintain these colonies has cost the peasantry and working classes their best sons for generations, and that it is only the aristocracy and the army that are eager to continue the war.

Here is a voice crying in the wilderness. To bring this truth before the world it had to be spoken by one outside the ranks of the workers and who will probably not repeat it. The dumb, driven cattle of Spain, whose sons have been fished and taken to deadly climates for generations, are unrepresented. They are as fanatical as sheep. They know what they want and are beginning to perceive what is hurting them, but they are voiceless.

A John the Baptist or an Elijah of the working classes of Spain might have prevented this by advocating justice for their Cuban brethren. What the masses of Spain and other countries need is consecrated prophets from their own ranks, who will stand up boldly and denounce the Herods of today and arouse the common people until the demand for freedom, for justice and for humanity shall sweep the earth like a tidal wave.—St. Louis Post Dispatch.

SOCIALISM AND THE FLAG. It is perhaps superfluous for us to call the attention of Socialists to the importance of always having the American flag in evidence at their meetings and parades. Of course Socialists yield to no class or party in their loyalty to the flag and to the fundamental principles of our government, which are based upon the equal and inalienable right of every man to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

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An incident of the late reform convention in this city is what has suggested the necessity of Socialists always displaying the national colors at their gatherings. The reporter of the St. Louis Republic, a stalwart mouthpiece of plutocracy, seems to have been grievously distressed at the absence of anything connected with the convention upon which to base an insinuation of disloyalty. Finally the reporter, in casting his eye over the assemblage, noted what was to him, indisputable evidence of treason. He made the startling discovery that, although the hall was profusely decorated with American flags, only five or six of the dele-

gates wore little flags on the lapels of their coats, and this trivial incident was duly mentioned in his report.

The fact that he could have stood at the window of that hall and counted seventy-five men passing to and from the street without flags, did not occur to the zealous reporter as destroying the force or significance of his pusillanimous little flag incident. Of course not. Those people on the streets were Democrats and Republicans; they don't need to wear flags to prove their patriotism. All that is required of them is to put on the yellow gold-bug badge of truckling, slavish servility, and vote for Hannibal, that is turning them out onto the streets to starve just as fast as the trusts can be organized and machines and children put in their places.

In regard to the flag, I have a suggestion to make: As a party that is opposed to war, that is opposed to the few exploiting the many through the wage slave system, but does believe in every one doing his just share of honest, productive toil and receiving full value therefor, I insist that neither the eagle, the battle-ax nor the spearhead, emblems with which flagstuffs are usually surmounted, are in any sense typical of Socialist principles.

The eagle is pre-eminent among the feathered tribe as the king of birds—a tyrant, a thief and a fighter. He is a relentless exploiter of labor, which he does by robbing the fish hawk of his prey in the most approved capitalist fashion; and as such he is peculiarly appropriate and suggestive as an emblem of capitalism.

For the spearhead and battle-ax I would substitute the plowshare and the pruning hook—implements of industry in the highest sense typical of Socialist principles. By making this change we would forestall the churches in making a practical application of the text which foretells the time when we shall beat our swords into plowshares and our spears into pruning hooks and have war no more.

As to the feathered emblem we might substitute the dove with the olive branch, the traditional emblem of peace from the time of the flood. Or I would be willing to sacrifice the sentimental for the practical, even to the extent of replacing the dove with that eminently respectable, honest and industrious member of the feathered tribe, the Plymouth Rock hen, who pays her way through this world by honest productive toil, who is an ornament to the circle of domestic animals in which she moves, and whose life, unless she has the misfortune to be cut down in the bloom of her pulchrethood to satisfy the craving of a hungry preacher for yellow-legged chicken, is a boon to human kind.

E. H. ELLIFF. St. Louis, Mo.

PLUTOCRACY AND PROGRESS.

Without question the principles of plutocracy are all of the retrograde character and a nation subservient to them is in its decline, going down hill, with its sun of progress sinking in the western horizon, and clouds of darkness and bigotry from the ocean of despotism originated by its own selfishness. Plutocracy is a nation wrecker. Plutocracy never made a nation, but it has destroyed many of them.

Plutocracy says to humanity: "If I can't live off you, I will destroy you. If I can't be on your back, I will break it. If I can't eat at the first table, you shall not eat at any table."

A similar assumption is made by the plutocratic press when it freezes out all news not in harmony with those tyrannical policies.

Socialism is but an expression of humanity. It stands for the people. Its flag is the human heart, not a piece of bunting. Its government is the justice and happiness of the people, not their misery and death. Its government is justice tempered with that broad mercy known to embrace principles of truth, so full of progress that laws will be necessary, because there is no crime and dishonesty. Progress enlarges the sympathies, broadens the mind, makes the bigot a liberal neighbor, and fills the earth with its products for all. Laws often prevent this. In the light of true progress for all, laws become fewer and fewer. In the light of a retrograde progress, the law is full of laws, courts and guns. Courts, laws and bigotry have always been the scourge of a free and brave people. Many governments are in the business of subjugation of the people's natural rights. These in time must perish, but the people will always live by Socialism.

The true principles of progress for individuals, communities and states are involved in Socialism. War is destruction, and peaceful methods are necessary to build up what wars destroy. War is the use of the club and gun to conquer, and rob people of property and life. Very many wars have been foolish and for wicked purposes, and tend to shorten and make miserable human life.

The objects of Socialism are all humane, and the principles are intended to provide all the people with these blessings, viz.: A good, comfortable, happy home; plenty to eat, drink and wear; a good substantial education; a reasonable amount of amusement; in short, all things that make people happy, industrious, contented, cheerful, agreeable, humane, kind, charitable, and filled with good will towards man and kind, are taught by Socialism, and the same tends to make human life long and happy. It shouldn't be a difficult matter to decide which to choose.

LUCIUS O. WILSON. Gano, Ill. If race patriotism is a step ahead of country patriotism, world patriotism must be the finality. When we arrive at that universal peace will no longer be an iridescent dream.

It is quite fashionable for dumb-headed capitalist loafers to have all the comforts and luxuries of life, while the working human cattle who produce them live in want.

Chicago, with her 32 branches, stands solidly for the organization of the Social Democracy of America.

Children's Column

Address Communications to E. R. Ware, 597 Deane St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

MY BOY. (A Gem of Heart-Breaking Pathos.) I have a little boy, a fine little fellow! When I look at him all the world seems mine.

Rarely, oh, so rarely, do I see my beautiful son awake! Ever asleep I find him. For I see him at night only.

Early labor drives me forth, late it brings me home. Oh, my dear, is stranger to me. Strange my own child's glances.

Home I come in anguish, shrouded deep in darkness. How nicely the child plays—so my pale wife tells me.

How sweet he prattles, how lightly asks: "Oh, mother, good mother, when will my good, good papa come and bring me a penny?"

I hear it, I hasten; it must be, yes, it shall be! My father-love flames up; my child must see me!

By his cradle I stand, I look, I listen—hush! In dreams his lips move: "Oh, where is, where is my papa?"

I kiss the little blue eyes; they open. "My child!" They see me, they see me—but soon close again.

"Darling, here stands your papa. Here is a penny for you." In dreams his lips move: "Oh, where is, where is my papa?"

In bitterness, pain and anguish I stand and think: "Some day, when you awaken, my child, you will find me no more."

A SWEAT-SHOP POET. There is nothing about a crowded sweatshop to be very proud of, but here in New York we are very proud of our sweatshop poet. Morris Rosenfeld wrote patiently the songs that came in his heart. He wrote them in the Yiddish or Jargon, and in spite of the dark, dreary surroundings, the songs were so sweet, the sweetness and the sadness penetrated the darkness, and now they have been brought to the light through the translation of one of the Harvard professors, and we have a whole book of these poems, called "Songs From the Ghetto." I send you one this week, and I mean to send you more. It will bring us all closer to the heart of the workers in the dark places. E. R. WARE.

LETTERS FROM THE CHILDREN.

Dear Editor—I am a little girl 10 years old. I was born in a Russian village. I can well remember how hard my mother worked attending the house and garden. I can also well remember when my mother died. Soon after my mother's death I came to this country. Living with my aunt and sister I heard a good deal of Socialism. They are members of the S. D. A. They have taken me many times to meetings. Listening to the speakers, and reading every week the children's column in The Social Democrat, I have learned that when Socialism will come and all the people will work alike, and there will be neither rich nor poor, I believe that young mothers would not die from hard work, as my mother has, leaving little ones behind.

SARAH REISMAN. 1 Auburn St., Boston, Mass. Our hearts go out in sympathy to brave, motherless Sarah. I believe she will do good, earnest work in the world for Socialism.

Dear Mrs. Ware—I am a little Socialist, and I read The Social Democrat every week. I think Socialism is a good thing. My father is a Socialist, and so is my mamma. I read your story about "War Times" and I like it good. I would like to know Lillie Dennett and F. Glanz. I think we would have good times together.

Hope that we will soon have Socialism, I am your little friend, IKE RUBINSTEIN. 623 South St., Philadelphia.

One of our New York boys sent me this the other day. I don't know whether to call it a dream or a story. "One day while walking in the woods a boy about as big as a man's thumb came up to me and said in a shrill voice, 'Do you want to play ball?' I said, 'Yes,' and then he threw me an acorn and I threw it back, and we played a long time. Then he jumped into a tree and began to throw nuts at me. At first I thought he wanted to hurt me, but he said, 'Please let me see you eat those big nuts.' So I ate them up and was just going to ask for more when I awoke. Then I knew that the little boy was Tom Thumb.

"MAX SHAINIR. "312 E. 11th St., New York"

CO-OPERATE FOR PRODUCTION.

Editor Social Democrat: Being in war the time for discussing its causes is past. The duty is imperative for us Americans to harmoniously unite for victory.

He who does not is denounced as a coward. If his opposition takes the form of action it becomes treason, and death is his penalty.

WHY DO WE DEMAND AND FORCE CO-OPERATION? Because the safety of each citizen is in peril—the permanence of our nation is at stake.

But if our seventy-five millions of people can, do and must co-operate to fight Spain, why cannot they also unite to produce food, clothes and houses, education and culture for all?

Is not WANT as dangerous as Spain? JAMES TAYLOR ROGERS. San Francisco, Cal.

Make a little fence of trust Around today; Fill the space with loving works, And therein stay. Look not through the sheltering bars Upon tomorrow; Love will help thee bear what comes, If joy or sorrow.

An arm of aid to the weak; A friendly hand to the friendless; Kind words, so short to speak, But whose echo is endless. The world is wide, these things are small, They may be nothing—but they are all. —R. M. Milnes.

BOOKS...

YOU SHOULD READ.

The Ancient Lowly; or a History of the Ancient Working People. By C. Osborne Ward, elegantly bound in cloth. \$2.00

The Equilibration of Human Aptitudes and Powers of Adaptation. A strikingly new and original work on the Labor Question, of great power and research. By C. Osborne Ward. 222 pages, 12mo., cloth. \$1.50

The Railroad Question. By William Larrabee (later Governor of Iowa) 12mo., cloth extra, gilt top (488 pages). \$1.50

Cesar's Column. By Ignatius Donnelly. 12mo., 367 pages. Cloth. \$1.25 Do., paper. \$1.50

Beneath the Dome. By Arnold Clark. Large 12mo., 361 pages. Cloth extra, gilt top, stamped in black and silver. \$1.25 Do., paper. \$1.50

Brook Farm. An ever fresh story of an interesting experiment. Historic and personal memoirs, by John Thomas Codman. Cloth. \$1.10

The Inter-Minor State. A Labor Catechism of Political Economy. By C. Osborne Ward, 204 pages, cloth, 10mo. \$1.00 Do., paper. \$1.50

Equality. Bellamy's wonderful new book, cloth, 412 pages. \$1.25

Wealth Against Commonwealth. By Henry D. Lloyd, boards, 623 pages. \$1.00

So the World Goes. By J. W. Sullivan, cloth. \$1.00

Voices of the Morning. By J. A. Edgerton, cloth. \$1.00

John Harvey. A story of the New Time. By Anon Moore. Cloth. \$1.00

A Daughter of Humanity. By Edgar Maurice Smith, crown octavo, 317 pages, cloth. \$1.25 Paper. \$1.50

The Juggernaut of the Moderns. By Rosa Hudson, crown octavo, 277 pages, cloth. \$1.25 Paper. \$1.50

Our Destiny. By Laurence Gronlund. \$1.00

The Co-operative Commonwealth. By Laurence Gronlund. \$1.00

President John Smith. By Frederick U. Adams, cloth. \$1.00 Paper. \$1.50

A Breed of Barren Metal. By J. W. Bennett. \$1.25

The Red Light. By Herbert N. Casson. \$1.25

A History of the Paris Commune of 1871. By G. D. Benham. The Proletarian Revolution in the United States. A History of the Helms of "Order" and the Protectors of "Society" \$1.25

Man or Dollar, Which? A story of the Co-operative Commonwealth in the United States. Paper, 192 pages. \$1.25

Woman in the Past, Present and Future. By Aug. Bebel, Socialist representative in the Reichstag. "The Book of the Age. Now issued in 22 languages. 27th edition in German sent for Paper, 192 pages. \$1.25 Full cloth, red and gold. \$1.50

Brotherhood. By Burcham Harding. \$1.00 Cloth. \$1.50

Heterodox Economics vs. Orthodox Profits. A preliminary pamphlet. By Henry E. Ashplant. \$1.25

Bersford's Derringer. A Pocket Book of Statistics. \$1.25

Civilization Civilized. A crushing arraignment of the present social order. By Stephen Maybell. \$1.25

Direct Legislation. By J. W. Sullivan. New Edition. \$1.00

Ten Men of Money Island. A classic on the money question. By S. F. Norton. New edition. \$1.00

Poems for the People. A collection of reform poems, compiled by W. F. Phelps, just the thing for broadminded readers. \$1.00

**COLONIZATION DEPARTMENT**

CYRUS FIELD WILLARD, EDITOR

COLONIZATION COMMISSION — COL. RICHARD J. HINTON, Chairman.  
W. P. BORLAND, Treasurer. CYRUS FIELD WILLARD, Secretary.

**REPORT OF RECEIPTS.**

Amount previously acknowledged	\$2,422.72
J. H. Grannis	1.00
A. H. W.	1.00
Chas. Anderson, No. 2 of Pa.	1.00
C. C. Janney	1.00
Ed. Ehrlich	1.00
John Plummer, No. 9 of Ohio	2.25
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$2,431.97</b>
By error in footing	1.30
<b>Total receipts to date</b>	<b>\$2,430.67</b>
W. P. Borland, Treasurer.	

**THE COLONIZATION COMMISSION SUBMITS ITS REPORT.**

The colonization commission of the Social Democracy of America desires to submit herewith its first annual report to the National Council in convention assembled. The full report of the work done cannot be given in detail and must be summarized so as to give the most salient points.

We stand at the inception of our long-desired co-operative commonwealth. The plans which we have outlined we believe will enable us to supplant that system which has been in existence for nearly 2000 years. If we have not abolished it in the ten months that the commission has been organized, as many of our impatient members expected, it is the fault of the system and not the fault of the commission. Despite the war scare, which has depleted the ranks of the organization in general to some extent, the work of the commission has continued with a steadfast object in view.

The members of the commission were appointed on August 2, 1897, and organized with a choice of Col. R. J. Hinton, of Washington, D. C., as chairman; C. F. Willard, of Chicago, secretary, and W. P. Borland, of Bay City, Mich., as treasurer.

As soon as organized, the next question was to begin operations immediately. We were then beset with the question of lack of funds, which has continued to hamper our work all through the year. The commission being dependent upon voluntary contributions, no funds were in hand, and steps had to be taken to secure some. The secretary of the commission being in Chicago, it was decided that he should take steps to organize the work and secure the needed funds. Circulars were drawn up asking for voluntary contributions, and a daily co-operative fund box was also inaugurated, which brought in good results. On Sept. 17, 1897, Comrade Borland arrived from his home and assumed his duties as treasurer of the commission. By correspondence between the members of the commission an agreement had been reached which related to the future work of the commission. This was in the nature of a confidential report to the national executive board, and was submitted Aug. 15. It provided that the land and instruments of production should be collective property and that the trustees should be selected in the persons of the members of the national executive board as representing the Social Democracy of America. This confidential report forms practically the basis of all our actions since that time.

On Sept. 20, 1897, the treasurer of the commission was appointed as editor of the Social Democrat, and his necessary absorption in the duties of that office has prevented the development of the plans of the commission as originally outlined, and as fast as desired, but such action appeared necessary at the time to the members of the national executive board on account of the lack of money in their treasury and the impossibility of securing and paying for the services of some one else equally as able. This lack of funds has likewise compelled Comrade Hinton to remain, except for a short time, at his present occupation since the commission was not in a position to pay him for continuous services.

With the dearth of funds then existing, on Sept. 25, 1897, a proposition was received from a real estate dealer by the name of Charles B. Molling of Columbus, Ohio, that the commission inspect certain lands that he had for sale in Tennessee, and that he would pay the traveling expenses of two members of the commission to inspect this land. It was decided by the commission that Chairman Hinton and Secretary Willard should be the two to inspect the property, as it would give them the opportunity to meet and discuss matters in relation to the work of the commission which their lack of funds had hitherto prevented them from doing. Accordingly these two commissioners met in the city of Nashville on Sept. 25 and outlined various methods of work for the commission in the future. A visit was then paid to the land on the Cumberland tableland near Crossville, in the county of Cumberland, where said land is located. Commissioners Hinton and Willard spent nearly a week in making the investigation, driving over the plateau in various directions to the extent of 120 miles. The result of the examination is contained in the report upon this Tennessee land, which is herewith submitted as a part of the report of the commission. Briefly stated, it may be said that there is an area of 400,000 acres which can be secured at an average price of \$4 per acre. It has been assumed, and in fact guaranteed, that bonds to the amount of \$2,500,000 could be sold to cover the purchase price and leave a surplus of \$900,000 to operate the property, build factories, equip workshops, supply transportation and increase the organization. It has been suggested that an amount equal to three years' interest could be set aside out of the principal to provide for the payment of interest for the first three years of the existence of the colony in this location.

The resources of this region are superb; the climate is unexcelled, water excellent and abundant; the agricultural possibilities good, the soil not extremely rich, but fairly productive;

timber abundant; coal likewise in thick veins of best quality; iron and nearly all other metals likewise present in more or less abundance, while building stone, clays and sands are likewise present in sufficient quantity.

The variety of resources enables the complete circle of production to be consummated, and would enable a self-sustaining co-operative commonwealth in miniature to be established there which would not be obliged to depend upon any other region for supplies.

On Oct. 4, Comrade Willard arrived at Chicago headquarters and reported these facts to Comrade Borland and the various features of the question were gone over carefully.

On Oct. 7 it was decided that as the matter was of such importance, Comrades Hinton and Willard should meet Comrade Debs in New York and lay the matter before him as the chairman of the national executive board. This was done on Oct. 10, when Comrades Debs, Hinton and Willard met at the Continental Hotel in New York and entered into a conference with Mr. Charles B. Molling of Columbus, Ohio, and Mr. Joseph Huffaker of Louisville, Ky., who were engaging to sell this property. At this meeting the whole Tennessee proposition was gone into in detail, including the matter of the land, its price and the method of raising the money to pay for it. Comrade Debs, as the chairman of the national executive board, agreed to the plans of the commission as outlined in its report and did it the honor to say to one of these gentlemen who was negotiating the sale that he had the utmost confidence in the wisdom, judgment and integrity of the members of the commission.

On Oct. 24 Comrade Hinton arrived in Chicago from Washington, and on the 25th the three members of the colonization commission assembled together for the first time. At that meeting of the commission the various work done hitherto by the commission was submitted and accepted, and it was formally decided that the acquisition of the land on the Cumberland tableland by the colonization commission should be undertaken and proceeded with as rapidly as possible. It was decided at this meeting likewise that Commissioners Willard and Hinton should travel west and endeavor to inspect lands in Washington and Idaho as originally contemplated, since it would require considerable time to carry through a transaction of such importance as that in Tennessee.

The three members of the commission unanimously voted to submit the proposition relating to the Tennessee matter to the national executive board with a favorable report of the colonization commission and recommending as soon as possible the making of an industrial survey of the land in order that the co-operative idea might be carried out intelligently.

On Oct. 25 Comrades Hinton, Borland and Willard signed, as trustees, for a company to be formed hereafter, a proposition to purchase this land as such trustees provided that the amount necessary could be raised by the issue of bonds. Comrades Hinton and Willard left for St. Louis that evening, and the next night started for Colorado Springs at the expense of Messrs. Huffaker and Molling to see a certain wealthy man resident in that town in regard to the purchase of the bonds. From this time until Dec. 4, Comrades Hinton and Willard were in Colorado engaged in these negotiations, and likewise occupied in an endeavor to raise funds to proceed to Washington and Idaho and Comrade Willard remained until Dec. 12 for that purpose. It had been agreed that Messrs. Huffaker and Molling would advance the Commission \$700 as a loan to enable them to defray their expenses on this western trip, but after serious delays such assistance was definitely refused. Vice Chairman Hogan was then in Denver, and consultations were held between him and the members of the Colonization Commission.

On Dec. 4, Vice Chairman Hogan of the national executive board and Chairman Hinton started for Chicago, and on Dec. 12 Comrade Willard likewise started for Chicago to attend a joint meeting of the National Executive Board and Colonization Commission.

On Dec. 9 a joint meeting of the National Executive Board and Colonization Commission was held, at which the question of the Tennessee land matter was taken up and gone into in detail, and this meeting was adjourned until Dec. 14, when the members of the National Executive Board and the Colonization Commission were present.

Chairman Hinton of the Colonization Commission made a long and complete verbal report, setting forth the advantages of the Tennessee proposition, and claiming that the debt incurred for the land could be easily provided for from the timber alone. He cited the opinions of various experts familiar with the country and drew attention to the fact that such a work would be in line with special instruction to the Commission contained in that section of the constitution, section 6, which says: "Special attention should be given to the unemployed," etc. At the suggestion of Comrade Debs attention was called to the fact that better results could be obtained by concentrating the efforts on one proposition and the efforts on one proposition and to direct all efforts to that end to the exclusion of all other matters. At this joint session of the two boards a proposition was submitted from Comrade H. C. Childs, of Denver, looking to the establishment of co-operative gold mining in the mines of Colorado on property then owned by him and which he was willing to turn over on favorable terms to the Co-operative commonwealth. It was, however, agreed that the efforts of the commission should be centered on one proposition and that nothing could be done

at that time with the offer of Mr. Childs.

At the joint meeting of the two boards on December 15th, it was moved and carried that the members of the joint board meet Mr. Huffaker at his hotel on December 16th and if he assured them that he could float the bonds as per terms of agreement to permit him to go ahead.

On December 16th the members of the two boards called on Mr. Huffaker and received his assurance that he could float the issue of bonds on the Tennessee land. At this interview it was requested by him that the Colonization Commission write him a letter declaring formally their willingness to proceed as representing the Social Democracy on the Tennessee proposition and this was agreed to, and the next day such a letter was presented to him. At this meeting Mr. Molling agreed to pay the sum of \$469.95 in settlement of the expenses of Comrades Hinton and Willard while remaining in Denver at his request. It was likewise stated at this meeting that no action could be taken upon this matter by those interested in securing finances until after the Christmas holidays. This action in deferring negotiations until after the Christmas holidays was declared necessary by those who were to secure the sale of the bonds, and the matter went over until after the first of January.

From that time until March 11th, over two months, nothing of a definite nature was heard in regard to the negotiation of these bonds, although it was understood that Mr. Molling was in New York attending to the matter. The members of the Commission were likewise informed that Mr. Huffaker was very ill and continued so to be for a period of six weeks, which did much to impede progress.

On Friday, March 11th, a telegram was received from Mr. Huffaker, asking the secretary to come to that city to confer with him on matters relating to the acquisition of the Tennessee land. The secretary went there and spent a number of hours on March 12th with him at his home, he still being confined to the house by illness. At that time he presented a number of propositions and suggestions and made certain statements. He also requested that the sum of \$2,000,000 be raised to \$2,500,000, as the amount of the issue of bonds to run twenty years at 5 per cent, and stated that the necessity for the increase in the amount was due to the advice of competent financial men in New York, who stated that the additional \$500,000 would be essential to make the operation a success. He made numerous suggestions as to the formation of a corporation of a company under the laws of New Jersey and furnished full information as to the laws of the state, but it was decided afterwards by the Commission that we did not care to organize a company in that corporation-ridden state.

At that time Mr. Huffaker stated that Harvey Fisk & Sons, a banking firm in New York City, had agreed to underwrite the entire issue of bonds, upon certain conditions which in the main provided that a minority of representatives of capitalistic interests be put upon the board of directors. This proposition, with all his suggestions and information, were embodied by the secretary in a report furnished to Comrade Debs, Chairman of the National Executive Board, and to Comrade Hinton, who, with Comrade Kellher, met Mr. Huffaker in Washington and went over matters in detail with him. At this meeting the increased amount of bonds was agreed to, but the idea of having the men named upon the board of directors as representatives of capitalistic interests was rejected.

In the report submitted by the secretary to the Commission, which covers eleven pages of typewritten matter, upon this interview, attention is called to the possibility of capitalists seeking to place us in a position where it would be possible to foreclose the mortgage securing the bonds if any default in the payment of the interest should occur. This might be done insidiously or openly, and it was suggested that it would be advisable to secure the necessary funds to carry out the Childs proposition so as to have a checkmate in the gold dug out of this mine to all the open and covert attacks of capitalism. Upon this action by Chairman Debs, Comrades Hinton and Kellher, as previously related, the Commission proceeded.

On March 18 the secretary of the Commission was called by Comrade Rordan to Atlanta, Ga., who agreed to pay his expenses for the trip. The trip lasted from March 18 until April 1. While in Atlanta Comrade Rordan paid over to the secretary \$250 and requested him to visit certain lands in the southern part of Georgia, which he did. He went first to Lumber City and thence to Helena, where he met representatives of Dodge, Hilton & Co., who hold some thing in the neighborhood of 250,000 acres. As the National Executive Board and Colonization Commission had decided to concentrate upon the Tennessee proposition, it was deemed inexpedient to go into the availability of this land in detail. The mere fact of its being largely segregated, as was learned by the inspection of the firm's maps, was sufficient to stamp it unavailable. From Atlanta the secretary proceeded to Washington, where a conference was held with the chairman of the Commission as to the various methods of handling the Tennessee proposition and the progress which had been made up to date. At the request of the chairman, the secretary went to New York and conferred with Mr. Molling on the progress of the financial operations in relation to the Tennessee matter.

On March 30 the secretary met Mr. Molling in New York City and had a long interview with him on the status of the financial negotiations. The possibility of floating the bonds was gone into in considerable detail. Mr. Molling stated at that time that it was essential that a company should be formed forthwith and that the bonds of such a company should be issued, as they could not be disposed of until they were ready to sell. He stated that bonds could be easily sold in New York as soon as they were ready, and

the secretary of the Commission returned to Chicago and met Commissioner Borland and the Commission thereupon met and formally ratified the action of the secretary in securing the mining property as referred to.

Such, in brief, is the history of the work of the Commission for the past ten months, hampered as it has been by lack of funds and the inability of its members to get together in the earlier stages of its existence. Besides the work herein outlined, public meetings have been attended by members of the Commission and addresses made on the general principles of the Social Democracy and the special work of the Colonization Commission in Nashville, New York City and Denver. The Colorado comrades are very enthusiastic over the proposed location of the first colony in that state, and already two strong branches have been organized by the secretary of the Commission and many others can be organized in that state within a short period of time.

The Tennessee matter is not fully abandoned. It may be consummated later on. Requests have been made by those who are endeavoring to dispose of it to the Co-operative Commonwealth Company that we allow them to proceed and carry the matter through successfully. The treasurer of the Commission notified Mr. Chas. B. Molling, in answer to his request, that we were willing and even anxious to proceed on the Tennessee proposition if they would concur with our ultimatum. Unless they did so, the matter would be dropped. Since then telegrams and letters, however, indicate that Messrs. Huffaker and Molling have no desire to allow these negotiations to fall through, but on the contrary they are desirous of making them successful, having already expended considerable money and having a large prospective commission in view if they make disposition of the land to us. This, however, is something which does not concern us, as it is a part of their business to dispose of land on commission. Mr. Molling has expressed his desire to meet the members of the Commission at about the time of the convention, and in all probability will be present to answer any questions which may be asked.

In conclusion we desire to say that here is the report of our work it is as complete as possible when all the circumstances are considered.

We feel highly gratified at the progress so far made in view of the war fever, the lack of funds and difficulties under which the commission has labored. The prospects for the future are bright and hopeful.

We have only one recommendation to make, and that is that the course now adopted be steadily pursued until eventual success crowns our work. Fraternal submission, The Colonization Commission, Social Democracy of America.

By C. F. Willard, Sec'y.  
W. P. Borland, Treas.

**BONDS SUBSCRIBED.**

Already seventeen of the bonds of the Co-operative Commonwealth Company have been subscribed for.

This has been done with but very little advertising or mention. Despite this fact and the thinly-disguised opposition of those who believed in political action exclusively, we have received \$170 from our members for these bonds. These bonds will be secured by a mortgage on the land.

Members cannot lose their money, as they will have security. It will be a loan and not a gift. This loan will be repaid in due time. It will be as safe as putting their money in the bank, and those who desire it will be paid 5 per cent. interest.

We will print next week a copy of the charter, in order that they may understand the full scope of the Co-operative Commonwealth Company. We are sorry for the narrowness of vision of some of our comrades who refused to abide by the will of the majority and bolted the convention. The branches should not accept their reports. They have tried to beloud the issue by bringing in side issues and mis-statements.

The thing to do is to push on. Those who believe in colonization must show it by their works. The bonds of the Co-operative Commonwealth Company are now open for subscription. They are to be issued in denominations of \$100 and \$10.

Subscribe now and earn fame hereafter.

**SMILES BY THE WAY.**

Mother—"Haven't you got your gloves, Alexander?" Alexander—"No, mater. But my hands are quite clean!"—Punch.

First critic—"There's no excuse for the man trying to play Hamlet." Second critic—"Yes, there is! He's getting paid for it."—Puck.

"I noticed some time ago that Spain had a torpedo boat that would stay under the water for hours." "Spain has boats that will stay under the water forever."—Cleveland Plain Dealer.

Nervous old lady (to deckhand on steamboat)—"Mr. Steamboatman, is there any fear of danger?" Deckhand (carelessly)—"Plenty of fear, ma'am, but not a bit of danger."—Harlem Life.

Banks—"There goes Dickey, the labor agitator. He's always declaiming against the money power." Hill—"Why shouldn't he? He makes a power of money out of it."—Boston Transcript.

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**Paradise Found**

CHAPTER XXII.  
A Telegram.

That afternoon Paul Zitroy received a telegram which created quite a stir in the household, and read as follows: "A. will shortly receive an urgent invitation to come East. Warn her not to go, for they will make an attempt to adjudge her insane."

"Yes, I do," Aurelia replied with flashing eyes. "They will make an attempt to adjudge me insane to secure the control of my fortune. I am pained to think that my own brother should resort to such measures, knowing well that I am as sane as he, or more so, it being my honest opinion that this insatiable greed for more wealth is really a sort of insanity, but I also believe that Caesar is merely the instrument in the hands of others, amongst them my ardent admirer Ego, who evidently wishes to pay me for the mitten I gave him during his visit here."

"You will not go, cousin, will you?" "Will I?" she retorted, her eyes flashing fire. "Of course I will. I crave an opportunity to prove that Aurelia Croesus is not as crazy as they think."

"But, dear," suggested Hugh, "won't you give me a legal right to protect you, by becoming my wife before I leave?"

She blushed prettily, saying with a smile, "As you please, dear Hugh. The day which will make me yours can not dawn too early, although I wish you to understand that fear of personal safety has nothing to do with this reply."

"Love suits me much better, dear Aurelia. But, if we are to wed today, we must take steps immediately, for tomorrow sees me off for Lakopolis."

"And me," cried the girl, reaching her hand lovingly to her friend, who kissed it tenderly.

"Be it so," he replied, jubilantly. "And now get ready for a ride to Homewood, both of you, for I suppose that place is the nearest where a clergyman can be found. Wasn't it a blessing that that button was put on this morning?"

They laughed, and Hans was instructed to get a two-seated carriage in order. A few hasty preparations and the bridal pair, accompanied by Paul and Marianne, and driven by Hans, rolled toward Homewood, in other words their destiny. They arrived just in time to catch the clerk in his office to secure a license, and then proceeded to the house of Rev. Mr. Sweet, who smiled in accordance with his name at the prospect of a V, or perhaps even an X, and without loss of time made the twin one, the three witnesses signing the marriage certificate. Then they returned.

"What! Is that all? A nabob married, and no more fuss than that? Pshaw!"

It is provoking, reader, and no mistake. See what a fine opportunity we are losing of displaying our power of description! But we resign ourselves to the inevitable, and if we are satisfied, YOU surely have no right to—well, yes, kick, although that expression smacks of slang.

Now they reach their home, and are on the point of entering the house when a servant handed Aurelia a letter saying, "It arrived a few minutes after you left, ma'am."

Aurelia looked at the address and started: "From Caesar. It was a long time on the road, for the stamp-bears the date of Feb. 24, while today—let me see—yes, today we write the 15th of March."

They parted to lay aside their wraps, and when Aurelia met Hugh a few minutes later in the dining room she looked disturbed, and said, bitterly: "Emile's warning was well founded, dear, read."

Hugh obeyed and read as follows: "Plutopolis, Feb. 23, 18... "Dear Aurelia:

"It gives me pleasure to inform you that our baby boy will be baptized on the 23d of March, which occasion I have invited the elite of Plutopolis. Without your presence the festival would lose half its charm, and you are, therefore, urgently invited to attend. I write a month in advance to cut off all excuses of lack of time, and confidently expect you to grace the happy event by your presence. Regina sends her love, and so does your affectionate brother, Caesar."

Hugh's brow was clouded, as he handed back the letter to his wife. "I can hardly believe this cordial invitation to be a trap," she said, gravely.

"It looks incredible, yet Emile is the most conclusive evidence can have provoked that telegram. Well, we shall see. This is the 15th, the festival comes off on the 23d, giving us eight days to reach Plutopolis in season, to GRACE it with our presence"—GRACE, with a touch of bitterness. "You can go with me, dear?"

"Certainly, Aurelia. I would not let you go alone into the lion's den if the gravest issues were at stake, which is fortunately not the case, as the expedition of the trains has assumed such a character of regularity that, in case of necessity, my presence might well be spared for once."

"Oh, our stay will be a very short one, Hugh. I feel confident that we can be back to Lakopolis to accompany your clients."

"What do you contemplate doing, dearest? If the mere anticipation of the meeting can work you up in this way, the meeting itself may injure your health, and—"

"No danger, Hugh," with a smile. "Sarah Jane Smith is pretty tough, you know. What do I contemplate doing? I don't know myself, yet. We can discuss that on the train, you know. But

now let us have supper, for I need some time to get my Saratoga ready. You haven't been married long enough to know the requisites of a woman on such occasions, poor boy; you will learn rapidly, dear, an assertion warranted by your natural cleverness."

Hugh laughed, and the proud glance he cast at his better half bore testimony regarding the high opinion which he in turn entertained of her aptitude.

The early dawn of the next day sees them off, but we shall spare the reader the long and tedious trip on the cars, admitting him graciously to the airship which we have recently invented, a contrivance shortening the time of the journey to such an extent that we reach Plutopolis in season to grace the baptismal ceremony by OUR presence, and to watch the influx of the elite of Plutopolis to the Croesus mansion. It is dusk, as carriage after carriage rolls into the stylish portecochere of the Croesus mansion. Damsels wrapped in protecting cloaks alight and proceed to the ladies' dressing room, to change to gorgeous butterflies, while gentlemen hie to another apartment devoted to the transformation of ulstered chrysalis into dudes and dandies.

Now the grand reception room fills with a glittering bejeweled crowd, standing or sitting in groups, or walking in pairs to and fro indulging in the gay and often witty, but mostly frivolous conversation usual on such occasions. We respectfully decline to listen and report, and confine ourselves to a silent contemplation of scenes interesting enough for half an hour or more until suddenly a flourish of unseen trumpets gives the signal for the march into the dining hall, where a brilliant dinner awaits the guests.

"We'll let them all pass, and then follow the last couple, for although Caesar has forgotten to reserve seats for us, we can listen to the music of the band discoursing sweet strains from a sort of balcony in the banquet hall."

It is certainly a swell affair, course following upon course, new and rare dishes tickling the palate and causing the stomach to perform rare miracles. Choice wines tempt the vows of abstinence with so much success that many a cheek flushes, many an eye sparkles with extraordinary luster, such cheeks and such eyes are not always belonging to the male sex.

Caesar and Regina play the role of host and hostess very creditably, although a close observer could not have helped noticing a touch of absent-mindedness, a look of abstraction in his eyes. At such times he would start when addressed, and endeavor to atone for his inattention by double watchfulness and affability. It was evident, however, that the repast was a bore to him, for when it was over he heaved a deep sigh of relief. He gazed wistfully at the multitude as it withdrew from the hall to enter a third apartment of the mansion, larger than all the others, and devoted to the culture of Terpsichore.

Hark! Already the lively strains of a march are exhorting the devotees of the "light fantastic measure" to select their partners; but Caesar lingers in the rear and starts visibly when a voice accosts him, saying, "It is evident 'e isn't coming, Caesar."

The host looks up and sees Crassus, who gazes inquiringly into his face.

