NO. 13

THE CONVENTION

OF THE BATTLE-SCARRED AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION

Results in the Creation of a New Organiza tion, the Social Democracy of America.

True to prediction, the special convention of the American Railway Union was vanced advocate of the rights of labor zation. A number of western states

has an executive board of five members

Council elected by the convention and who will serve one year is composed of

James Hogan, Vice-Chairman Sylvester Keliher, Sectretary and Treasurer, Wm. E. Burns, Organizer, R. M. Goodwin, Organizer,

under the supervision of a Colonization Commission consisting of three memthe most notable affair of its kind held bers who are to be appointed by the for many years. The opening session Executive Board on or before August was public and was held at Handel Hall 1st. This commission will work in con-Tuesday morning, June 15th. Director junction with the officials of the Brother-.Wm. E. Burns called the meeting to or- hood of the Co operative Common der and introduced Mr. A. B. Adair, of wealth, and at the earliest practical time the Typographical Union, who presided. the joint commission will meet and de-Mr. Adair is widely known as an ad- cide upon a state for co-operative coloni-

SPECIAL NOTICE.

The American Railway Union has been merged in the Social Democracy and the RAILWAY TIMES in the SOCIAL DEMOCRAT and the headquarters have been removed from Terre Haute to Chicago. All correspondence should be addressed to

504 Trude Building,

Cor. Randolph and Wabash Ave.. Chicago, Ills.

for the graceful and eloquent address which he delivered in formally opening the special convention. He paid a lofty tribute to the American Railway Union and was heartily applauded by the mag-

In the afternoon the convention went into executive session. To see the old veterans assembléd once again was a scene never to be forgotten. The oldtime enthusiasm prevailed and loyalty to the organization was, if possible, more intense than ever.

The first three days, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, were occupied in hearing reports of officers, reports of committees, and closing up the affairs of the American Railway Union. On Friday, the 18th, after having changed the name of the organization to The bound to carry out the provisions of the Social Democracy of America and adopting the new Declaration of Principles, the doors were opened for the reception of delegates representing other organi zations. The following organizations were represented:

Brotherhood of the Co-operative Common

Social Labor Party. Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, Metal Polisbers' and Buffers' Union. Labor Exchange.

Media Federation. United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners Chicago Labor Union Excha

West Side Mutual Co-operative Union. Humanitarium League. Chicago Labor Church.

North Side Economic Club. Thirty-second Ward Economic Cl Woman's National Silver League. Fifteenth Ward Economic Educational Club

Pourteen Ward-Economic Educational Club. Ruskin Union, Scandinavian Co operative League.

Professional Workers' Socialistic Alilance.

The convention remained in session an even week, adjourning Monday eve-National Council of the S. cial Democracy of America and will be composed of one delegate representing each state and territory of the union.

The Initiative and Referendum was adopted and the Labor Excharge was endorsed.

From first to last it was a business convention. Not an hour was lost in idle talk or inaction. The delegates realized that weighty responsibilities rested upon them and they met every proposition with due appreciation of its importance and disposed of it in a manner becoming the great cause they rep-

The organization is committed unequivocally to the Co-operative Commonwealth. The work of organizing is already under way and when the National Council meets in 1898, every state and territory will be represented.

There is no "official head," the execu tive functions being vested in an Executive Board and the chairman simply presides over its deliberations. The onman power is totally abolished and any officer may at any time be removed by the Imperative Mandate.

The unit of organization is the Local Branch. On the first Tuesday in April all local branches in all states elect representatives, one each, to the State Unions. On the first Tuesday in May all State Unions assemble and elect representatives, one each, to the National Council and on the first Tuesday in June the National Council meets. The National Council, State Unions and Local Branches have jurisdiction in their respective order and constitute the legis lative bodies of the organization. Each

who hold office one year, unless re-

moved. The executive board of the National

the following: Eugene V. Debs, Chairman.

The Colonization Department is placed

and on this occasion won merited praise offer excellent inducements. Mean

while the work of organizing will be pushed with all possible vigor in every state in the Union.

The outlook is cheering beyond all expectation. The task is a stupendous one, but it will be accomplished. Our opponents can not stay the progress of nificent andience. President Drbs was then presented and delivered his address, which appeared in full in the last

women are in the cause and come what may, they will never turn backward.

The Social Democracy is built on the rock of Eternal Right and will prevail until wage slavery is abolished and the Co-operative Commonwealth is established.

There Are Others

Some one signing "One Who Knows" sent the fe'lowing to the New York Sun. It contains thoughts that might be considered by other workers besides the

I have read Leader Shoenfeld's public appeal through your paper for advice es to how the employers can be legally agreement to be submitted to the boss tailors.

It is indeed strange that it has not occurred to Mr. Shoenfeld that the very same people who have the power to force the contractors to their terms have also the power to enforce the agreements every day in the year, the same as many trades unions do. Why depend upon the courts or any one but them-selves? Here you have the secret of the sweating system. The unfortunate peo-ple that Shoenfeld represents are willing to act together when ground down past the limit of human endurance, but as soon as their demands are granted they forsake their unions, crucify their leaders, refuse to pay a few pennies per week dues, compete with each other to do more and more work per day and thus shorten the season's work, disregard their own agreements, and when again reduced to the inhuman task sys tem they grean aloud and blame ever one but themselves for their miserable

'If Mr. Shoenfeld would impress this upon the minds of tailors, instead of ning the 21st, to meet again at Chicago on the first Tuesday in June, 1898. This method of keeping the manufacturers up to their agreements, he would be doing better. Even animals gain by experience, and if the tailors continue to ignote what their own experience teaches them, who is to blame? Their salvation is in their own hands and does not de pend upon the validity of an agreement.

Railway Orders to Federate.

Charles Daniel, chairman of the grand executive committee of the order of Railway Telegraphers, says the movement to federate the railway brother-hoods is well under way. "The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen put it self on record as favoring international federation at its convention of last year, held in Galveston, taking the initiative in the matter. It unfurled the banner of federation around which the telegraphers, the conductors and the trainmen have now rallied, and the four organizations will stand as a unit when the occasion demands. The federation will doubtless be indersed by the Brotherhood of Lucomotive Engineers at its next convention, the latter organization not having held a session since the starting of the federation movement. With the latter organization in line the railroad men will then present a solid front, and the five great orders will be the strongest body of railroad men ever

Will Fight Attempted Reduction

Secretary Robert Howard, Fall River, Mass., of the Cotton Mule Spinners' as-sociation, reports that the mills will commence running full time after working four days per week for 13 weeks. The mill owners are preparing for an effort to reduce wages. The national convention of the spinners, recently held, passed a resolution to place the entire funds of the organization, \$135,000, at the disposal of any or all of the local branches to resist the attempt to reduce wages. The convention was more large ly attended than at any previous time.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES AND CON-STITUTION.

Adopted at the Special Convention Held Under the Auspices of the American Railway Union, June 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 21, 1897.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purposes and nade instruments for the enslavement of men and the starvation of

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

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

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

We also make the following specific

DEMANDS FOR RELIEF:

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

[Continued on Fourth Page.]

PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS OF BOS TON AT HANDEL HALL, CHICAGO.

No Country is Free in Which Any May is Dependent Upon Another for the Opportunity to Earn Bread."

Professor Frank Parsons of the University of Law of Boston was one of the delegates to the special convention of the American Railway Union, representing, together with Mr. A. S. Edwards, Editor of the Coming Nation, and want of employment, to have no chance to work at all. Mr. N. W. Lermond, National Secretary, the Brotherhood of the Co operative Common wealth, in behalf of which he trial mastery as oppressive as the political and delivered a most excellent address at the opening session on Tuesday morning, must not forget that in many respects America must not forget that in many respects America June 15th. Professor Parsons is justly famed as author and writer, having given social and economic literature some of its best productions. His articles in the Arena have been closely followed by tens of thousands throughout the world, and his name is known and honored whersever the oppressed and downtrodden are ever the oppressed and downtrodden are the bicycle and that has done and will do a great deal to improve the conditions of life. It will be the bicycle and that has done and will do a great deal to improve the conditions of life. strugg ing for emancipation. He is still a young man and the world will yet hear much from him before his great work is completed.

The address of Professor Parsons at the man with the best pair of calves that leads the procession on the road. But while we recognize that in invention, Chicago follows:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FRIENDS:

I come to you as the representative, and one of the national officers of the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth. I was invited to come here to take part in the deliberations of a joint committee representing the American Bail way Union, the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth, the American Co-operative Un ion and any other organization willing to take part in a movement looking to the co-operative colonization of a state. Last night President bebs asked me to speak at this convention, and my associated thought it would be a good plan for me to express to you the leading principles o our organization.

The Brotherhood of the Co-operative Common wealth was organized last fall and has now a membership of about 2,500 and is rapidly grow-ing. About a year ago a call was issued for a onvention to organize the Brotherhood. The call was signed by a number of leading reformer including Henry D. Lloyd whose name was guarantee that the movement meant something The National Secretary, Mr. N. W. Lermond wrote to me stating that the objects of the associ ation were, education, organization, and color ization. Education in the principles of co-opera-tive industry, organization of those who believe in these principles, colonization in order to obtain immediate practical realization and fulfill-ment of them. The intention was that the col-onization should be so managed as to colonize and capture a state instead of organizing scattered groups of co-operators in different parts of the United States. The effort was to be to concen-trate the forces of colonization upon some one state until the co-operators should be in majority in that state when they would transform all its institutions into the co-operative mould.

Histritutions into the co-operative monial.

Rev. Myron W. Reed, of Denver, is president
of the Brotherhood; Dr. C. F. Taylor, the editor
of the Medical World, of Philadelphia, is treasure; Mr. A. S. Edwards, editor of the Coming Nation, Ruskin, is chief of the editorial department. A few months ago Mr. Debs became national organizer of the Brotherhood of the Cooperative Commonwealth.

I come here with other officers of the Brother ood of the Co-operative Commonwealth hoping that an arrangement may be made by which the interest awakened in the American Railway Union in co operative colonization can be united with other forces moving in the same direction. and so bring about immediate practical results

of the highest moment.

It would not be fair, of course, to ask the American Ballway Union, with its large membership and great influence to come in under the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth have a part in the election of officers. Nor would it be fair to expect the Brotherhood of the Cooperative Commonwealth to merge itself into a labor union. But we hope and believe that it may be possible for committees of this and other organizations to meet in joint session, prepare a constitution and a plan of action to be submitted to a referendum vote in each of the organizations represented in the joint committee. The adop-tion of the said plan and constitution by said organizations would merge them into the new organization and the members of the old organization would become member as individual units in the new organization, under a new

constitution and perhaps under a new title.

The Brotherhood of Co operative Commonwealth is a good title. If a new title is desired the American Brotherhood of Co operators might be a good title. It makes Jittle difference what name might be provided, so it is broad enough to cover the whole co-operative movement and all classes of soc ety. We do not want a title that will be limited to the laboring classes so called, nor to any one class in the community; we want it broad enough to include the doctors, lawyers, ninisters, artisans, laboring men and the unem ployed-everybody who believes in co-operation and is willing to do his or her share of the world's

Such a movement is not so difficult as it may eem. A good many years ago the Pilgrim Fathers, being oppressed in England, started a Fathers, being oppressed in England, surred a movement to colonize America and the movement has been quite successful. A movement to colonize a single state like Washington or loward Kansas is not nearly so large an undertaking as the colonization of a continent. In fact Kansas has already gone through the process of colonization in order to construct it for the cause of onization in order to capture it for the cause of reedom. It was done in a few years and can be

President Debs has proposed as a motto of the movement "Employment for the Unemployed." This is good as far as it goes but I want to suggest that another phrase be added to the motto,—the idea was in the president's speech but he did not put it in the motto,—" Employ-ment for the Unemployed, and Freedom for the Wage Slave.'

The need of the movement is great. America used to be a good place for even a poor man to live. It was worthy the title of "The Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave." There is e doubt whether today it is still worthy of that sacred title. Some discourteous prohibi-tionist with good intent and earnest purpose but

ELOQUENT ADDRESS. vision more intense than broad, concentrating his gaze upon the brewers and monopolists has and gaze upon the orewers and monopoless has said that our country ought to be called "The Land of the Spree and the Home of the Knave." This is too severe, and yet the old title needs some modification. America is freer than some other countries, but it is not free. No country can be free in which any man is dependent upon the arbitrary will of another for the opportunity. the arbitrary will of another for the opportunity

to earn his daily bread.

To buy labor at the lowest market rates is to buy manhood and womanhood as merchandise the relation of master and slave exists today in the North in our stores and factories as truly as it did in the South before the War. It is only a difference of degree whether a man's whole life be sold at once upon the auction block or whether it be sold upon the installment plan, a day, a week, a month at a time with the whip of want to compel the bargain each morning anew. Yet bad as is the condition of large numbers of those who work for wages, it is vastly worse to be in

While we recognize the fact that millions of men in America are merely seris subject to indushas improved. It is a better place to live in, in telegraph has annihilated space. We have made the black man free to sell himself by the day and week instead of being sold for life, and although account on the wheel than any other man. It is

cience and the creation of wealth the county has made tremendous strides, we must not forget to clearly distinguish the evil that has come with the good. There has been progress in the creation of wealth, but in the distribution of wealth there has been serious retrogression. The concentration of wealth is 700 per cent. greater to-day than it was in 1810. Imagine a colony of dogs all about the size of an ordinary water span-iel. Democracy might have some chance in such

a society. But let a few of these dogs become the size of elephants and the rest remain a foot or two high as they were at first, and what chance would there be for a real democracy. That is just the change that has taken place in this country in the last fifty years. The owners of the Standard Oil trusts, and the telegraph com bines, and the great railway systems bear about the same relation to the ordinary man that one of these elephantine dogs would bear to the or-

dinary water spaniel.

What has caused the change? It is largely due to the private ownership of monopolies. In every age monopoly has been a curse. It even disturbed the happiness of Eden. Everything in the Garden of Eden was socialized except one apple tree. There was a private monopoly on that and as usual, the price wes high. A single apple cost Adam his entire possessions. From that day to this monopolies at one time or another, religious, political and industrial have oppressed mankind And to-day in America we have a thousand trusts and combines and mo-nopolies that hedge us in on every side.

What is the remedy? Shall we try to destroy monopoly? It cannot be done. Even Congress cannot do it. Congress has tried to do it and has failed. Monopoly exists in obedience to a law far higher than Congress can make,—the law of industrial gravitation. Monopoly means internal economy and co-operation,-the elimination of conflict between the producers who form the combination. A trust is a good thing for those inside of it-let the people inside. The remedy is not destruction of monopoly but the transform ation of private monopoly into public monopoly. We must change mastership into partnership so that every man, woman and child shall be a copartner in this planet and all the accumulated wealth, knowledge, inventions and institutions that have come down to us from the past.

How is this to be done? In two ways. By education, and the transformation of our institutions through the ballot; and second, by colonization and the formation of voluntary co-opera tive groups in every possible way. The government absorption of great monopolies, working from above downward, and the formation of vol untary co-operative groups, working from below upward, will meet at last in the middle and transnute the whole nation into a great co operative

This movement in which you are engaged to-day is an important part of one of those great processes, and all believers in co-operation should bid it God speed and render all assistance in their power.

The methods of escape from the evils that

beset us are education, organization, political action, colonization, strikes and revolution. We do not want revolution. As Lowell says, civilization does get forward sometimes upon a powder cart, but revolution is a terrible calamity and to-day an entirely unnecessary calamity. When the ballot and the printing press are in the hands of the oppressed there is no need of revolution. Nor should we rely upon strikes. A strike is a dangerous thing, it is a boomerang very apt to hit the man who throws it. Even if successful it does not remove the root of the difficulty which is the antagonism between the laborer and the capitalist. Co-operative industry does remove this root for it makes the laborer and the capital ist the same person. Think and vote. Think and organize. Think and colonize and there will be no need of strikes and revolution.

Some people object to this movement because Mr. Debsis in. I think that is one of the good things about it. He is one of the greatest organ izers in the country. His indomitable will, his organizing ability, his broad views, his absolute devotion to the cause emancipating labor, his perfect honesty and independence (which is recognized by all who meet him no matter how great their previous prejudices), his unswerving allegiance to his principles and convictions and the personal devotion of hundreds of thousands of men he has won and kept, pre-eminently fit of men he has won and kept, pre-eminently fit him to become the leader of a crusade for the co-operative colonization of a state. But the objectors say, Mr. Debs was in prison. Yes, so was John Bunyan in prison, and some of the Apostles and Daniel and Joseph. I don't mean to com-pare Mr. Debs with John Bunyan, or the Apostles. The bump of piety, perhaps, is located in a different place in his case, but they serve to show that the mere fact that a man has been in prison ought not to make him an outcast in good society. William Lloyd Garrison was in prison and William Stead of London, two of the noblest

reformers of modern times. Henry D. Lloyd, one of the most eminent and not morally to blame in the transactions which

[CONTINUED ON SECOND PAGE.]

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY OF

AMERICA. On the 1st and 16th of each mouth

W. N. GATES, 29 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio, Advertising Agent.

Semfitances, exchanges, manuscripts and all cor respondence should be addressed to THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT, Terre Haute, Indiana

red as Second-Class Matter at the Terre Haut



TERRE HAUTE, JULY 1, 1897.

NOTICE TO EXCHANGES.

Exchanges will please change our paper from the Railway Times to the Social Democrat and address it to 504 Trude Bldg., Cor. Randolph St. and Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT.

With this issue the RAILWAY TIMES the official paper of the American Railway Union changes its title to the Social Democrat and becomes the official paper of the Social Democracy of America After August 1st the Social Democrat will be published weekly and as its edi torial staff and contributors will be composed of the ablest writers on social and economic matters we bespeak for it the widest possible circulation.

The current issue is being gotten out under extreme difficulties and we hope our readers will bear with us until we are settled in our new quarters and the do justice to work. headquarters of the organization, including the official paper, are being removed from Terre Haute to Chicago in conformity with the action of the late convention, and the press of work incident to the removal is such that, although we are doing our very best, we cannot hope to satisfy ourselves. much less our readers, during the brief transition period. But in the course of a week or ten days we shall be in our new quarters and with the able assistance already guaranteed we shall be able to make the Social Democrat worthy of the great organization it represents.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

This great organization was formally instituted at Chicago in June and is now in the field of social, economic and political action. Never was a movement more favorably received by the common people. From every source comes the cheering announcement that the Social Democracy is just what was wanted. Thousands of letters are pouring in from every quarter and with scarcely an ex ception they contain messages of greet ing and good cheer.

In another column will be found the Declaration of Principles, or, the "platform" of the new organization. It is clear, comprehensive and emphatic. It deals with no half way measures. It voices the demand for the public ownership of all the means of production and distribution-in a word, the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The work of organizing has, already been begun and in earnest. At this writing fully three hundred applications for charters are on file. The organization will grow as no organization ever grew before. The people are ripe for it and they will take hold of it spontaneously in every village, hamlet, town and city of the Republic.

On the first Tuesday in May 1898 all the state unions will convene in the capital cities of the several states and on the first Tuesday in June following, the National Council, composed of one representative from each state and territory will hold its first session at Chicago, the National headquarters. Every state will be represented and it goes without saying that some of the most eminent citizens of the Republic will be in attend-

The Social Democracy will go to the front with majestic strides. Its mission is the emancipation of labor from wagebondage and the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth. Every good citizen is welcome to the new move-

THE A. R. U.

Although the American Railway Un. ion as a distinctive organization has ceased to exist, it was never more alive than now. It has lost nothing but its title and it has gained a continental or ganization. As a labor organization it fulfilled its mission nobly and it was fitting that it should form the nucleus of the Social Democracy of America. It was an organization of action. It "seen its duty, a dead sure thing, and went for it thar and then," although in its last great strike it was destined to defeat, the great upheaval ripened the people for the new and all-embracing organization which is in sight, has now been launched. It fought a good fight and its name will live in his- ago.

demonstrated the fact that the strike has run its course and is now an obsolete weapon. They realize the necessity for a change and they have made it and they will now serve the Social Democracy with the same zeal and fidelity that made the name of the American Railway Union immortal.

THE COLONIZATION COMMISSION.

This Commission will be appointed on or before August 1st and enter actively upon its work as soon as possible. The Commission will act in harmony with the officers of the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth, and the hand with the least possible delay. It is that a decided beginning can be made. By concentrating our supporters and getting control of one state the whole movement will be strengthened and more rapid progress will be made than would be otherwise possible.

THE WORDEN CASE.

The stay of proceedings in the case of Court passes on the case in October may prisoner's life. The case was fully presented at the late A. R. U. convention and a committee appointed to raise money to meet the expenses of carrying the case to the Supreme Court. Some ly \$1,000 will be needed. Worden was the A. R. U. and was arrested, tried and branches of our commerce would be subsentenced to be hanged for alleged trainwrecking. The day of execution was set for June 4th, but fortunately Attorney Monteith secured a stay of proceedings by appeal to the Supreme Court on the question of jurisdiction.

There is strong reason to believe that Worden was the victim of a conspiracy and every possible effort should be made to at least secure him a fair hearing.

In discussing the case the Coast Sea

nen's Journal enys: At this junction we may say that we are dissat, stied with the action of Governor Budd in refus ing to commute Worden's sentence, and we con fidently assert that a majority of the people of the state share our opinion in this respect. The governor spent a great deal of time in investigat-ing the record of the case and hearing the petitions of Worden's friends, but in the end ex pressed his conviction of the man's guilt. Of course, no one, not even the condemned man's varmest friends; could complain at the refusal of elemency where the guilt was established. But the reason given by the governor for his belief in Worden's guilt have not had a convincing effecon the public mind. The governor declares that caving aside the "confession" signed by Worden and the testimony of the perjured boy witness both of which were seriously questioned by the public, there still remains abundance of evidence to prove Worden's guilt. Admitting that the ord to the court proves Worden's guilt there i till a question in the public mind as to the value of the testimony recorded. A lawyer may accept the record as infallible, but the public will weigh t against the possibility of the witnesses swear ing falsely, especially where there is a fair pre-sumption of falsehood, as in the Worden case That presumption is based upon the fact that the Worden case grew out of an industrial conflict in which a great corporation had invoked state air assist it in its otherwise hopeless cause. The Worden case may reasonably be considered as one of the means by which the Southern Pacific Raifrond Company sought to justify its demands upon the state by showing the necessity therefor. Upon this presumption it is not a difficult matter to understand that the railroad company might have even roug so far as to create the necessity for Worden's agrest, * * We know, positive-ly, that large numbers of men were arrested during and after the A.R.U. strike upon the graves charges, based upon the timslest evidence, and even upon no evidence at all. Many of these mer were proscented with the utmost vindictivenes possible to greedy and malicious corporation and imprisoned for various terms. The public know this, and they know, also, that these con ricted men were in most, it not all, instances in accent of any crime against the law. Is it not then, presumable that such may have been the case with Worden." The incidents of the case go

een under the circumstance The desperate ends to which railroad companies and their minions have gone warrants suspicion in every case and sible defense should be provided, espe-

to strengthen the presumption. The acquittal of

he other four men indicted for the same offens

they would assuredly have been convicted; their

cas not properly detended and could not have

It is therefore earnestly requested that veryone interested in securing justice what he can to raise the necessary means Contributions can be sent Sylvester KELIHER, 1504 TRIDE BLDG., CHICAGO, AND MR. KELIHER will promptly forward the same to the proper committee in stake and this may be the last chance responses be prompt all along the line.

COMPETITIVE SYSTEM DOOMED.

and industrial system. Competition is and doomed. Co-operation is inevitable. Ignorance may delay the final death struggle of the present idiotic systemif it can be called a system—but the end

Capital abandoned competition years The brave men who shared its senseless motto "competition is the life trials, its triumphs and defeats will take of trade." He knows better. Compectation, so general in its nature, so up the work in the new organization tition is the death of profits. Only fools all prevading in its scope, that altogether where they left off in the old. They advocate competition.

was well enough years ago, but the control. Advocates of state co-operation world has progressed beyond it. The argue that under such a system the inintroduction of machinery doomed the tense poverty of the individual would be competitive system. The only way to impossible; that all would be laboring save it is to destroy all machinery and for the common good, and that everyset back the hands on the clock of pro- thing in excess of what would be re-

No great industry is now conducted on competitive lines. It is impossible. pleasures and happiness of the same Hence trusts are formed. Railroads cannot compete; hence pools are formed. rather difficult of achievement; but Mr. A few weeks ago the Supreme Court decided against the legality of pools. The great papers have been full of the subject. Their pages have teemed with work of securing a state will be taken in editorials denouncing the Supreme right to life, liberty and the pursuit of Court. It is not often that New Occanot contended that a perfect co-operative sions finds itself in line with these pacommonwealth can be established, but pers, and we take this opportunity to congratulate them on being in good company for once. From hundreds of clippings the following has been selected. It is from the New York Journal of Commerce, the ablest capitalistic paper in the country, and it thus sounds the

"There is no aggregate of invested capital in this country that on the average Salter T. Worden until the Supreme yields less less than that represented by the stocks and bonds of our railroad sysbe the means of saving the unfortunate tems. A conditions of cut-throat competition cannot be established between these without wiping out most of what is left of railroad profits and entailing a legacy of widespread financial distress. A few large shippers might grow richer beyond the difficulties which always surmoney was raised and the committee is in the general scramble among the railstill at work. It is estimated that neary roads for business, but the great body ments heretofore made to found limited of consumers would reap no benefit a member of the Sacramento union of from it, and some of the most important | That the movement will be opposed and jected to new risks and uncertainties. There can be no general prosperity in presence of conditions productive of railroad bankruptcy."

Why, of course. Some of us knew that and wrote about it years and years rich farm lands of the West or South ago. But there is a way out of it for the and opening up opportunities that are present, and the Chattanooga Times explains how it can be done, as follows:

their investment melts away? Of course it is not. They are going to save the money they have invested if they can, and the one means that has been found most effective in steadying net earnings is combination, under corporate ownership, of great groups of roads that prevade and virtually must, when wielded by a single head, monopolize the business of large sections of the country If the people like this prospect better than they do the present condition they are in a fair way of getting what they better like. A few more turns of the screw by the Legislature and courts and we shall have our whole mileage of 181. 000 miles of line in the hands of four to six vast incorporated combinations. The combinations will have proper arrangements for exchange of business, etc., as the roads now have, and the coming corporate association will have learned enough in the school of experience to evade any laws now on the books made at the meeting. to enable politicians to meddle with them and help lawyers to pluck them."

who howl about department stores, the men who lament the displacement of labor by machinery are wasting their been imposed upon them in respect to breath.

Competition will die in child-birth, but the babe will live and it shall be named co operation. New Occasions

nocence strengthens the presumption in favor Worden. Again, it is notorious that Worden CO-OPERATION ON LARGE SCALE. In another part of this issue of the Eight-Hour Herald we print Mr Debs' views regarding the co-operative colonization scheme which was launched here to secure the conviction of A. R. U. men at the convention of the American Rail way Union. Mr. Debs in the most posimakes it necessary that the fullest pos- live manner states it as his belief and conviction that the competitive system cially when the extreme penalty has as applied to industrial affairs is an utbeen-pronounced as in the case of Salter ter failure, and that unless it is substituted by something more equitable. more humane, more Christianlike, nothing but misery, and rapidly increasing for this unfortunate prisoner contribute misery at that, awaits the common peo-There may be some who will questo carry the case to the Supreme Court. tion Mr. Debs' right to speak for the people on so all-absorbing a question. It may be said in answer that conditions justify his actions. Millions are in want, and whoever desires to extend relief will California. The life of this brother is at be welcome. Mr. Debs himself says: We are here as the representatives of to save him from the gallows. Let the labor, which overleaping and narrower limits of unions, lodges, divisions and guilds, inscribes upon its banner the conquering shibboleth, 'Humanity,' and Nothing can save the existing social goes forth to battle with one supreme, overmastering purpose in view, that of bettering the condition of men and women who work and whose only capital is their brains and their hands."

As a substitute for the competitive system now in vogue, and as a cure for the evils which he claims are inherent to No wise man now quotes that that system, Mr. Debs proposes co-operation -co-operation so wide in its applidifferent conditions would surround

The competitive system of industry human life and human effort under its quired to meet the wants of a community would be utilized to promote the community. This may be an ideal state Debs maintains that the people are ripe for it, for he says: "The toilers of all enlightened nations, by which I mean those who comprehend their inalienable happiness,' by processes of mind evolution, have arrived at the conclusion that their mission in the world is something superior to eternal servitude; that they were designed by their Creator to occupy positions superior to beasts of burden, to 'dumb, driven cattle, superior to the coral insect, which builds and dies as it builds, superior to the worm that spins silk, lays its egg to perpetuate its toiling race, and dies."

What number or what proportion of the people are of Mr. Debs' way of thinking in this regard there are Lo means of determining now. Undoubtedly there are sufficient, if properly handled, to test the co-operative proposition in the fullest and widest sensesufficient, in fact, to place the movement rounded and finally swamped the experisocialistic or co operative communities. ridiculed in certain quarters may be expected; but there is no excuse for ridicule in a matter of this kind, especially under existing conditions. Men need work and need it badly. There is little or no risk in bringing these men to the denied them in the populous cities of the North. This country is big enough Is it within the bounds of reason and rich enough to provide a comfortathat the owners of \$12,000,000,000 worth ble living for every man, woman and of railroad property will sit still while child in it and if Mr. Debs suggests a way by which a number of people, who are now deprived the privilege can lift themselves above want he should be encouraged. It should be remembered that the Debs' scheme, no matter how successful it may be, need not deter others from putting into practice their pet theories for the amelioration of mankind. There is room enough and opportunity enough for all. - Eight Hour Herald.

Card from Professor Parsons.

Mr. EDITOR: At the Handel Hall convention of the American Railway Union t spoke of some objections and replied to some criticisms that had been made upon Mr. Debs. Some persons in the audience misunderstood my purpose in dealing with the said criticisms. For their benefit permit me to say that that part of my address was meant for the part of my address was meant for the East and not for the West. I did not mention the said criticisms on my own account. If I had not had entire confidence in the integrity and ability of President Debs I should not have been at the meeting. Neither did I speak of those matters for the sake of the audience in front of me, for I knew very well that Mr. Debs needed no defence before See how easy it is. Combine, combine, combine. And finally there will be one system, and only one. Who will own it? The United States of America will own it, and it will not be run for profit. It will serve the people as the postoffice now serves the people. It will be scientific, progressive and splendid beyond anything yet accomplished by man, and all foots on earth cannot stop it.

The men who rail at trusts, the men ment to build a co operative commonstrate of the second progressive people do not know what I might to bring our eastern co-operators into fuller sympathy with the western movement of its leaders. You feel western wovement of its leaders. You have been so united and pregressive people do not know what I might to bring our eastern co-operators into fuller sympathy with the western movement of its leaders. You have the western movement of its leaders. You have the western them. My purpose was simply to do them, and I might to bring our eastern co-operators into fuller sympathy with the western movement of its leaders. You have the western movement of ment to build a cooperative common-wealth might go a refutation of the doubts and misconceptions that have

> [The explanation of Prof. Parsons himself, quite clear, and yet by a few he seems to have been misunderstood. The object in discussing the criticisms which had been made upon Mr. Debs was most commendable in Prof. Parsons, and not only was no reflection upon Mr. Debs intended, but the precise opposite; not for the benefit of the Handel Hall audience, but for the people in the East, where the press had for months assailed Mr. Debs and created intense prejudice against him. Professor Parsons is the friend of our members and they are his friends.-En.]

TO A. R. U. LOCAL UNIONS AND MEMBERS.

All local unions of the A. R. U. can, on application of the Secretary, secure free a charter of the Social Democracy. Where it is desired, the A. R. U. can be kept up as a local organization.

The names of all members who desire cards of membership in the Social Democracy should be sent to the National Secretary and new cards will be promptly issued.

Members who have paid their capita tax for this year will be exempt from dues until May 1st, 1898.

Members of the General Union will also be exempt until May 1st, 1898, and on application will have new cards isued to them and will be enrolled as members of Local Branch No. 1 of Chicago until they are able to transfer to a local branch, where they are located.

All local unions of the A. R. U. have become local branches of the Social Democracy and will be so chartered on application to the National Secretary.

Communication should be addressed to Sylvester Keliher.

ELOQUENT ADDRESS

resulted in his incarceration. As I understand it, Mr. Debs did not order the strike. He opposed it with all his strength. It was ordered by the local unions, and when so ordered he had nothing to do as their executive officer but to carry out their oo as their executive officer but to carry out their order or resign his position. When the injunc-tion was issued he had no power to order the strike off, he had simply the choice to disobey the injunction or to resign his presidency and desert his constituents in the hour of their greatest trial. No man with a spark of nobility in his character would have resigned under such circumstances. He did his unnext He did his utmost to prevent all violence an breach of law,—the strikers even offered to run the mail cars and carry on the freight and pas-senger traffic—it was only the Pullman cars they refused to haul. The president stood by his cor stituents and went to prison in consequence,-and when he came out, organized labor wel comed him as a hero, and Henry D. Lloyd, who Dr. Herron pronounces the greatest publicist since Jefferson and Lincoln, went to the meeting given in honor of President Debs' release and

nade a magnificent address of welco But they say Mr. Debs makes untrue statements ook at the newspapers. Well, if the reporter are as considerate and attentive in the way of making up paragraphs and speeches to suit their own ideas of what might be or ought to be said and putting them in quotation marks and at-tributing them to Mr. Debs,—if they treat Mr. Debs, I say, with as much consideration and attention in this respect as they do me, I can very well understand that Mr. Debs is not responsible for a great deal that is attributed to him in the papers. They have said that I said a great many things that I never dreamed of saying, and I have no doubt that they pay a great deal more atten ion to Mr. Debs than they do to me in this line

of vicarious speech making.

But they say that Mr. Debs is a rash man. He nakes very rash predictions about politics and numbers and dates, and he was rash in ordering the great strike. Well, as to the strike I have spoken. As to predictions I think myself that predictions are dangerous. They have an unfortunate habit of not coming true, and then people will refer to them and say: "That man's mental processes can not be relied upon." And yet I must remind you that old Probabilities has a pretty good representation in the community in soit of the fact that many of his predictions do pite of the fact that many of his predictions de not come true. If I believed that the leaders of any movement were in the habit of making statements they knew to be false in the hope of misleading the people, I would have nothing to do with such movement so long as such men were its leaders, but mere exaggeration and enthusiastic prediction are comparatively very triling matters. If I were pushing a heavy load up a long hill I would not refuse the help of strong man who offered to put his shoulder to the wheel, simply because he predicted that we would come to the top of the hill several minutes or hours before I believed it would be pos

But the objectors say this is socialism? What do you mean by socialism? If you mean the partnership of all the people in co-operative effort for the common benefit, then this is socialism. But is there anything terrible about a partnership? Anything dangerous or criminal about co-operation? The piblic schools are socialistic in this sense. The postoffice, the armies, the fire department and the water works of our cities are all part and parcel of the so-cialistic idea. All who believe in these institutions believe in the socialistic or mutualistic principle.
"What we need," say some, "is not coloniza

tion, but education and political action. don't want a co-operative colony, we want the whole nation to be co-operative. We don't want a twig, we want the tree." Very good ; but how do you get a tree? Don't you have to plant a seed or a slip? As for education and politica measures, we recognize their value fully. We are not going to confine ourselves to colonization That is only one part of the movement. Bu your colony scheme, if successful will relieve the pressure and put off the reformation of indus trial conditions as a whole. Well, it may not be objectionable to have the reformation proceed slowly enough to avoid breakage-an evolution is better than a revolution; a growth is bette an an explosion.

"But," say other objectors, "these colonies ar of no use: lots of co-operative colonies have been started and the larger part of them have failed it's uscless to waste effort in organizing and mair taining another."

You may as well say it is useless to organiz nd maintain nations; large numbers of then have been formed and most of them have failed the past is strewn with their wrecks. You might as well say it is useless to organize and maintain a dry goods store, or a grocery, or a railroad, ar a bank, or any business enterprise, be cause a majority of business undertakings (%) per ent, it is said; have found a place on the list o failures. You might as well say it is useless for Edison to push his great experiments. He make thousands upon thousands of experiments fo every success he achieves. It is the same with scientific and mechanical progress. Experiments just be made in every department of life. Men The time may come when we may hold in ou hands sun idetures as true to Nature's colors a present photographs are to her forms, 'And the time will also come when we shall learn to build nations that will not fall into ruin becauof internal defects, and co-operative colonies that will not fail. It may be that these two successes will prove to be in substance one-a simple que tion of evolving men and institutions into se o-operative type.

What we want in this country is a broade deeper patriotism. Twenty years ago a Britis subject by the name of Cameron was taken by th King of Abyssinia and without cause assigne was put in a dungeon in the fortress of Magdalla on the top of a lofty mountain. It took six months for the British government to discover those facts. Then it demanded Cameron's re lease. King Theodore refused. Within a few days after notice of the refusal was received ten thousand men were on board ships of war sailing down the coast. They landed, marched sever hundred miles across a terrible country under burning sun, climbed the lofty mountain to th oot of the frowning fortress, then gave battle battered down the fron gates and the stone walls, went into that dungeon and took out the British subject, bore him across the seven hundred mile of land, put him on board a white-winged ship and sped him to his home in safety. That was a grand thing for a great nation to do, a nation with an arm long enough to reach over three thousand miles of land and sea and rescue a single subject from the dungeons of a foreign power. It cost Great Britain twenty-five million of dollars to do it and she would have done it if it had cost her every dollar in the treasury and every life that she could have pressed into mili That is the patriotism of the best nations of to

day. It is grand, but it is narrow. Let Mr. Can eron go home to London and be a wage-worke in the slums and sweat-shops of the great city or an unemployed wanderer on its inhospitable streets. Would the government of Great Britain see that he was rescued from the injustice of in dustrial despotism and the imprisonment of cir-cumstances beyond his control. No, the govern-ment would not give one cent or spend one National Secretary, thought to save him from his fate. What we 504 Trude Bldg., Chicago, Ill. want is a patriotism that shall put the whole

strength of the country, every dollar and every life in it behind every citizen, to save him fr injustice at home as well as to save him from inlike this for the colonization of a state by the who believe in co-operative industry will give us a community in which this new and higher patriotism will naturally become the ruling spirit.

THE STATE OF WASHINGTON. (The Evergreen Shore.

Oh, come, my daughter, come with me to the the coasts of Evergreen,

Where the broad Pacific laves the shore and the

tall white ships are seen;
Where snow-capped mountains pierce the skies
by the side of crystal lakes, And the wind among the balsam boughs celestial

music makes; Where the gold and silver mountains ring with

the miner's pick and spade, And the water-fowl skims on the lake, and the deer leaps in the glade. oh, come where Puget Sound winds in among a

thousand isles.

By farmer's cots and woodsman's homes, where bounteous nature smiles;

Where tall fir trees make green the tide as it cbbs among the hills,
And mountain lakes pour out their floods in a

hundred tumbling rills

Where cities fair, with their hum and stir, beside their busy bays,

send out their ships with steam and sail in many ocean ways! Oh, come to the fields of Washington, where grows the golden wheat,

and where in the iron mountain's breast, the coal rests neath our feet;
And the saw-mills hum and the canners come

with their treasures of the deep.

And the soft winds in the pine trees sing, fulling

Oh, come where the sun bathes in the West, where

the daylight hours grow late: Where the lion of the sea basks warm by the side of the Golden Gate, And the gray gulls scream in mad delight as the

ocean ships go out,
And their table spread with lavish hand on the evening waves about

come where the salmon leaps with glee in the glorious summer sun. And tlashes his silver armor bright in the vigor

of his fun Where the halibut in the peaceful calm of his ocean pasture deep

Jerks taut the line of the fisherman with the vin of his mighty leap. th, come where the palm leaves fringe the snore

of the mighty Evergreen state, And the grapes and oranges hang rich, while the drowsy pickers wait.

come where the walrus churns the sea and blows his trumpet loud,

hiile the soft-eyed furry-coated seal the myriad islands crowd ? Or Mount Tacoma's towering peak is mirrored in

Where the mighty whale makes the ocean boil

like a monster pot of tea.
Where the icebergs float on the Arctic Stream like crystal mountains bright.

mighty ghosts, with silent trend, glide by in me where the streams of Washington form

mighty mountains flow. ong the fields and happy homes, where the prune and apple grow;

And where the grain and grass grow high by the side of the winding stream, And in their plenteous comfort there the sheep

and cattle dream. Where the mighty Columbia pours out its mount

ain flood To buffet back with sweeping bands the foaming ocean rude.

oh, come with me to the verdant isle where the royal city stands, where the Frazer river flows down over golden

Where the star and stripes float over fields as rich as Eden was

And offers free from disease and wee an enchant Oh, come, come, come, my daughter dear, to the

coasts of evergreen.

Where nature fair the whole year thro in a ver dant robe is seen. And the soft Chinook, with gentle touch, comes

out from the warm southwest, And draws for all a rich supply from nature's bounteous breast.

Oh, come, then, come and make your home where a soft and gentle clime Makes the blood glide smoothly through the yeins

and the pulses beat in time; Where everything makes glad the heart and rests the weary eye.

And we can live in joy and peace while the happy days go by,

Joseph W. Dorr in Northwest Magazine.

Suppressing Labor's Friends.

A dispatch from St. Petersburg states

that 50 persons have been arrested there for teaching workmen how to read and write. It is contended by the authorities that until the working people were enlightened there was no bother in the Russian capital, and that since they have been educated there has been a large increase in labor demonstrations and the number of socialistic riots. The authorities are determined to put a stop to all education of the lower classes if possible, and the wholesale arrests are only a forerunner of what may be ex-The dispatch adds that there have

been several mysterious disappearan recently among the ranks of those dabbling in labor movements.

Tobacco Workers' Label. For the protection of tobacco users

among the workingmen a printed an-nouncement has been issued by the National Tobacco Workers of America de-scribing their label. It is printed in black ink on blue paper in two sizes, one for use on boxes and pails and a smaller one for packages.



The DEBS PUBLISHING CO., Terre Haute Ind.

PAPERS.

RANDOM COMMENT. (Anonymous

Last night, conducted by that ghos Whose spectral hand on New Year's eve Becks us to days departed, lost, To deeds which man may not retrieve, I walked across the bridge, snow-gray Now resting from the tugboats' call, And climbed the winding' crooked way And stood again in Uhlich's hall.

Outside the wind blew mad and shrill.
Outside the snow lay in the street, But inside greatest ghostly will Could scarcely endure the tropic heat. That ardent June of '94 Had come again to blister all This winter night had brought once more The summer days to Uhlich's hall.

And there upon the dusty stage Old shapes familiar rose to view, As Howard's specter fumed its rage And Debs' ghost rose six foot-two; Unkempt, emphatic Goodwin's shape On highest heaven loud did call To let no guilty man escape And shades shricked joy in Uhlich's hail,

I noted that same simple faith
That taught these dim ghosts to obey
The ruling of the chiefest wraith As they had on that other day; I heard the ghostly cheers, the so That followed when he pictured all The joys of Eden newly found By prophets sent from Uhlich's hall

Jim Casey met me yesterday, ... Tattered, forlorn and unemployed, Starved, bent and prematurely gray And where his spirit was, a void: His children dead, himself a tramp, Home, hope and heart had vanished all I looked last night again; the damp Of graveyards rose from Ublich's hall.

CASEY'S REPLY TO " RANDOM COM

ASEY'S REPLY TO "RANDOM C MENT."

DEDICATED to LEROY M. GOODWIN.

Three years ago the A. R. U.

At Uhlich's Hall in grandeur stood.

Flushed with a victory that grew,
With this, the flower of brotherhold;
Led by those souls who never feel

That wrong to right can bring defeat;
Whose flag me'er kissed a tyrant's heel
Whose bugle calls no coward's retreat. Whose bugle calls no coward's retreat

All avarice there was cast aside, And altruism held the throne. No brother's rights were then denied Each injury was made their own. The golden rule was their estate. The butt of man, the law of God, And while you knelt to suplicate
They stood creet beneath the rod.

That ardent June of '94 Matured a tree, a giant robust, Whose blossoms now, tho scattered o'er The earth, and trampled in the dust, In fragrance rise to whisper of New days to come, when it shall bear A life sustaining fruit of love Which every child of God shall share,

Count not that battle lost which gives To half the world in avarice A knowledge of the half that lives In want and daily sacrifice. But rather heed the bugle call, And rally where the flag still waves.

The man who falters, cowers to fall,

And those he loved are shackled slaves.

If history you will but sean, You'll find each eath by heroes bewed, That leads to liberty for man, is margined by brave hearts subdued Alone in death, they died to give To you and me a freeman's birth. They fought and died that we might live In peace and happiness on earth.

All hail the men who on the field Do meet the wolves of stratugem, And only with their life blood yield A jewel from the diadem. That crowns the head of Liberty; Around whose throne our fathers sleep, Trusting to these that they made free This priceless heritage to keep.

Tis never these who bring defeat; They know not of a battle lost. Nor do they hesitate to meet .
Their foes and yours whate'er the cost.
God will rebuke, and man detest The craven hearts that e'er refrain To strike a blow from those oppressed Lest they be numbered with the slain

You caitiff's covetous of smiles, From those by honest folk abhorred Whose very presence here defiles The home of freemen, so adored, On such as you shall rest the blume. For vanished hopes, beloved dead. For sisters lost in lives of shame. And homeless men who plead for bread. ELLIS B. HARRIS

Thoughts From the Workshop On Old Hulks.

BY 3. R. ARMSTRONG.

Have you ever seen an old, old bat tered and abandoned hulk, drifting about on the Atlantic, weighted down with barnacles? I saw one several years ago, a few days sail from St. John. Nova Scotia. It was a sad, suggestive spec-tacle, because it presented to my find tacle, because it presented to my mind many peculiar analogies of hunan kind. Rudderless, dismantled and frightfully grim the old hulk careened and rolled slowly and heavily along, carried hither and thither by the relentless sea to no particular destination. The old hulk had once been a stately craft, with a full cargo of valuable merchandise aboard, manned by a crew of hale and hearry tars. But time, weather and sea-water had transformed the once majestic white winged beauty into a derelict and a dangerous obstruction. Some day, if per chance a storm did not accomplish the work, the Canadian government would of production and distribution' is agi-

our deep-seated veneration for ye olden time. I met one of these frosted and wrinkled beings to-day and how much I learned of his non progressiveness and perfect tenacity to usages already mildewed would be too much for me to attempt to indite upon this brief paper. "Socialism," he said, "was the greatest curse of the world, and the governments of Europe and America would, if necessary, be obliged to shoot every exponent of this dangerous and destructive doctrine." I argued with him gently, kindly and logically, but instead of growing milder in his expressions he became more caustic and severe. "Law," he said, "is the very foundation of government, and the unbridled nonsense of the 'commune' means anarchy and dissolution! I once worked for ten dollars a year and I was happy, but now men grumble if they receive half of that amount per diem. I lluman nature must be regenerated by the benign influence of Christianity before any different order of things than the present can possibly be introduced! The malign and criminal instincts of human nature must be stamped out, and government cannot accomplish that." stamped out, and government cannot accomplish that!"

"What about the Havermeyer and Rockefeller trusts, Pullman and Huntington corporations, Carnegie and Phil Armour syndicates, Sherman-Cleveland Rothschild gold-bond-conspiracy, are they not absorbing too much of this world's goods, and preventing at least fifty million people from enjoying life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." The old fellow looked daggers and said: "Why they cheapen products, develop our resources, and, bless me, What about the Havermeyer and develop our resources, and, bless me, they deserve all they get." Taking a breath or two, he continued: "Without great capitalistic consolidations all that great capitalistic consolidations all that is grand and noble in our country would not have been. The transcontinental railroads, the great mining activities, the superb equipages, the telegraph lines, etc., etc., all owe their being to the master minds of finance and execu-tion." "Then," I said, "you think mere property is more important than human life?" "Property! Property! Great heavens, yes, for what is life without property? Why, not worth having! Property is the most sacred edifice of all our institutions, and requires more so licitude and greater watchfulness of government than any other combined concerns! Life is volatile! It is here to-day and gone to-morrow! But property is a chain that reaches from the dim past into the far distant future and every generation is merely a link; must dim past into the far distant future and every generation is merely a link; must we sacrifice the whole chain for merely a link? Property is the basis of life and socialism would destroy the tenure of it, this is the reason why I am bitterly opposed to the madness." So the old man stamped his fect and smote the air with his fist and talked for an hour on just such lines as the above. I found him to be an old bundle of human driftwood, floating athwart the pathway of many full-trimmed human ships that would bear down upon him only to receive a shock, he shattered and perhaps wrecked, or like him enter upon ob structive drifting.

I am not drawing this picture from imagination, it is as true as life itself.

imagination, it is as true as life itself. The old man of whom I spoke has been a medical practitioner in this city for many years. He is also a sturdy and tenacious church Christian, believes in tenacious church Christian, believes in lofty anthems and spread-eagle magnilo quence. What a strange contradiction to love the theory of a thing and hate the practice of it. Primitive Christianity meant property in common as does socialism! If "socialism is the greatest curse in all the world" the sooner we close up all our public schools the better, cut up our public parks into lots and auction them off to the highest bidders anction them off to the highest bidders and close all our streets and highways. Stamp out the postal department and kick out all our firemen; sell our fire engines for old iron and wake all our police take off their badges. The old man perhaps would not go to these extremes but his denunciations caracter our, would end there. There are plenty of young men as old as this doctor in ideas, and for all practical purposes as useless and obstructive. useless and obstructive.

the old man's blind and furious rage at socialism is a specimen of the manical ignorance that flauntistiself so promine inently before the world even from the lips of so called "college professors." These creatures one would think are not so misguided and unlettered on the grand truths of "community ownership" as they are zealous for a continuation of "man's inhumanity to man." No doubt these impotent things in human form would again insist upon the adoption of the "toll gate," private ownership of gas, water, electric lights, and other utilities. They would also have all the knowledge in the world monopolized by a few priests and high salaried professors. Staid, dignified and conventional savages too atterly filled with inborn malignancy ever to leave a trace of good ness behind. Old hulks drifting about, now driving athwart the pathway of humanity and too frequently collidiar. ness behind. Old hulks drilling about, now driving athwart the pathway of humanity and too frequently colliding against many a stately effort for the emancipation of the race from the savagery of greed and oppression.

The "old man" either in young or old desh, however, thanks to the benign in-ligences, not of churchianity, but the re Tios. The fuel of ignorance is almost consumed, steam is getting lower and lower and in a very short time the humand din of the present ungodly "system" will stop. Already in numerous states laws are being enacted for the provision of permanent work for the disemployed. "Public ownership of the means of production and distribution" is agitating the public mind all over the

"All grim and soided and brown with tan, I saw a strong one in his wrath. Smiting the godless shrines of man Along his path."

"All grim and soled and brown with tan, I saw a strong one in his wrath. Smitting the golders shrines of man Along his path."

So old man, in young or old flesh, take warning; you have an advantage over the old sea hulk, you can REMIVENATE IN YOUR IDEAS and be a help instead of a hindrance to the progress of mankind. Humanity, justice and reason can convert you from your staid and mildewed conservatism and make you a serviceable citizen! Because you or your ancestors have been assisted by "HUMAN LAW" to murder and steal, do not imagine that this privilege will last forever! Canthat this privilege will last forever! Can-ibalism was once considered by a large portion of the human race as a very HOLY TRANSACTION, but now it is looked upon as one of the most heinous of crimes. As we now look back upon the EFOCH OF ROAST MAN with horror, so we shall in a few years hence look back upon this wild-eyed-age of sweating hell-wage-slavery. Dingley-bill legislation, wholesale manufacture of harlots and tramps, "single gold standard enormity" with ten thousand times more dread and hor ror than we do now when we think of the ages of cannibalism and "the impuisi-tion" COMBINED!

Too long hath crownless kings their scaptres waved'
Too long both cunning laws the world enslaved'
Too long both superstition critished the race
With rack and serew and wrenched each human
trace.
From semblance of a thing uprlight, divine.
To maggots wriggling in the dung and slime!

Too long bath Freedow wallowed in the dust, Too long hath virtue been a prey to lust! Too long hath fell oppression ruined the land With fron heel and hate and bloody hand. But MEN are rising in their strength to be I nehained and crowned with life and liberty!

The Social Democracy.

BY W. P. BORLAND.

I see you have crossed the rubicon-ow for the annihilation of l'ompey's army

The meager newspaper reports of your action at Chicago, notwithstanding that I never pay much attention to news-paper reports, as 4 can conceive of nothing more generally unreliable—these re-ports thrill my heart with the pulsings of a new hope and lead me to rejoice exceedingly at the sure prospect of the speedy dawning of a new industrial era. Although I am ignorant of the details

Although I am ignorant of the details of your plan, in general outline it is what I have been studying on and contending for amongst my conrades for several years past, and I sincerely believe you to be on the right track.

The age of discussion is past—or should be, at least—and the industrial situation at the present day inversely.

situation at the present day imperatively demands action. The strain on the ex-isting system is becoming day by day more intense and unbearable. Workers in constantly increasing numbers are being cast off as useless, and there is, nor can be, absolutely no room for them again, nor chance to regain status under the existing regime. These workers again, nor chance to regain status under the existing regime. These workers must be taken care of; they must be given a chance to exist; and I know of no really practical and feasible plan to accomplish this object save that of col-onization and the building up of an en-tirely independent commonwealth free

altogether classical but it is the only deduction that the "old human hulk" sugnance things in their own interests, and the interest and the sundight of a master in the smallest details of the shape of Rockefeller, Pullman, et al, is 'catrancing to the Chicago college protest in the shape of Rockefeller, Pullman, et al, is 'catrancing to the Chicago college protest is catrancing to the Chicago college protest

There are times when every thoughtthe strife and bustle of life tries to take an inventory. Tries to sum up the results accomplished by the contending forces of good and evil, and see whether the totals show a loss or gain for humanity. We of today live in the closing decade of the injustment the entury and manity. We of today live in the closing decade of the nineteenth century, and the time is suggestive of such a line of

thought. Until very recently, it seemed that the century, while the most active and progressive in the history of the race in progressive in the instory of the race in many directions, was destined to close without any well defined, and successful advance to a fundamentally higher, better, and happier social and political life, for the mass of the people. That from such a point of view, it would fall short of the previous century, and close with struggling humanity on the defenwith struggling humanity on the defen-sive and scarcely able to hold the line of action, to which the reformers of the or action, to which the reformers of the closing years of the eighteenth century had advanced. But, suddenly through the gloomy shadows that envelope us, a light appears, gladdening the eye bringing new hope to the heart, and new strength to the arm.

With the present effort to found the co-operative commonwealth, we see the

co-operative commonwealth, we see the dawn of a new and a brighter day for the poor, the weak, and the oppressed; and it may be that the century in which we live may yet close its course in a halo of glory. If the conditions of distress, misery and suffering through which we have passed in recent years were but the birth-pains of the century in travail, and are to result in giving life to a new born republic, full of the promise of universal blessings to humanity, then those who have suffered have not done so in vain. Perhaps nothing but these calamities' would have roused us from dangerities' would I ave roused us from dangerous lethargy, and made the success (for 1 believe in its success) of this grand movement possible. Those who have movement possible. Those who have suffered privations, and who have known that greater distress: the anguish of soul, that consumes and de stroys, as day by day the sufferer approaches nearer and nearer the gulf of dark despair, may be the unknown heroes of this victory for humanity, and though unknown, will be honored by posterity; and blessed in heaven by Him who, also, suffered and died for hu-

A Brief Sketch of History and Notes of Passing Events.

sand and imagines himself safe from his pursuer because he cannot see what is going on around him. What these people cannot see is, that the numerous lailures of colonization projects in the past weigh absolutely nothing against the success of a vast colonization project today. They fail to take conditions into account—never since the beginning of the capitalistic era were conditions really favorable for colonization on the co-operative basis until the present time; until, in short, since the beginning of the present decade. They fail to see that the evolution which they talk so much about has brought us up to the point where we may safely begin to put our theories into practice; ay, where we absolutely must put them into practice if we expect to escape a cataclysm of bloed and terror. practice; ay, where we absolutely must put them into practice if we expect to escape a cataclysm of blood and terror. No great social event was ever yet brought about by the strictly "scientific" methods which these people are so much in love with. All the sciences combined weighs nothing in argument against the states are unsubdued." These are only very material promptings of a hungry

serous obstruction. Some day, if per chance a storm did not accomplish the every, the Canadian government would have to send this floating wreck to the policy of production and distribution" is aging an obstacle to inbound and outbound vessels. The "o.t.o. Max" in many particulars is like the old ding; hulk aforementioned. Once he was proud and erect and navigated life's course and weathered every storm. But diagrams and an additional and an additional and an additional and between the national and the produce of the policy of the strains of the produce o

their system of finance; they have forced, by their cunning, the adoption by America and the maintenance of their gold standard; they have driven American shipping from the high seas; they own vast holdings in our railways, mills and factories; they own 22,000,000 acres of our land; they own a mighty press in the cities, and the people of America are taxed to-day by the "Mother country" between \$250,000,000 and \$300,000,000 annually, in gold, which is from two hundred to two hundred and fifty millions more than we produce.

Of late she has been quite considerate of her offspring, and has pressed for-

of her offspring, and has pressed forward to establish an "arbitration" treaty and, methinks, if we could read between

and, methinks, if we could read between the lines, it was to assist in further encroaching upon a sleeping people. America wants no arbitration treaty with the "Mother country."

It is with deep anxiety that all lovers of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" are watching the "Mother country's" conquest of America, aided by her agents scattered throughout the states. Nothing but a right-about face and reversal of policy can save this republic from extinction. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," and if the people hope to save their republic there must be immediate action. The people are be immediate action. The people are losing their homes with great rapidity, being reduced from independent homeowners to tenants. The land is filling with paupers: jails, asylums and poorhouses are overcrowded and crime is stalking through the land like mad. It is easy to englave a nation of paupers. is easy to enslave a nation of paupers, made desperate by privation and suffer ing, but you cannot enslave a nation of free, independent home-owners.

To avert the pending danger, prejudice nor pa

should not obscure our reason.
For the future of a great nation is at stake.
So let us calmly reason,—'tis best for every a
For man promotes his own welfare best,
When he promotes the general good.

Bridging the Gulf Between the Extremes.

BY CLINTON COLLINS

1. The abolition of the collection by law of mere credit debts.

law of mere credit debts.

This would result largely in everybody doing a cash business. A man would only let another have goods on credit when he knew him personally, as a friend, or where he lelt perfectly confident that his customer was an honorable

II. The abolition of all business corporations.

They are great instruments of fraud and corruption—often run only to pay salaries—often manipulated against all stockholders except the officers. Besides this, they are never-dying institutions that lead to an entailment in personal property far more destructive of the general welfare than the feudal system of land holding that called for retem of land-holding that called for re-dress in England, because the bulk of the wealth of a country lies now much more largely in personal property than it ever did at any other period of the world's history.

III. The doing away with devise by

Let property descend or ascend by law just as it now does when no will is made but limit the amount any one heir can receive to one million dollars. Let the balance of all large estates go to the state. This will give the state revenue, make it a large owner in its own indus-tries and do away with a large part of the alway troublous question of taxation.

The above would also keep property moving and always in operation. Would not put a check on industry, but would put a check on any undue accumula-

Wealth and Labor. BY C. B. POWER.

Wealth is the product of labor ap-plied to land. Capital is a part of wealth we set aside to assist us in producing

more wealth.

How then can capital oppress labor? Can the created oppress the creator? The earth is the only source of life, of wealth, of capital and whoever controls this source as owner is the oppressor of labor. We see valuable land going into labor. We see valuable and going into fewer hands every year, not by reason of capital, but by reason of private property in land, or by land monopoly.

Just think of the awful crime of a few the color of the awful crime of a few from the color of the

conopolizing the only source from

nonopolizing the only source from which we can get subsistence. Now what is the remedy? Simply pay all the public dues with the price to exclude the people from any

Community always produce this price to exclude. This price is economic ground rent. This plan exterminates the land speculator, that parasite that will not get off the backs of the people. Land then would be free to all in the community. Therefore we have free land. Labor applied to land produces wealth, a part of wealth we set aside to assist us in producing more wealth is capital. Labor, you see, controls capital because of free land. We never can have free men without free land, for how can we be free when the source of life is not free. It is impossible. Now we are ready to co-operate with any of our fellows at will, or paddle our own canoe. The price to exclude being used for common purposes keeps land always free. Then man is free to co-operate or go it alone at will. That is just to all.

Now since we all want to get our subsistence with the least resistance we co-operate when we can accomplish that presult. But it must be voluntary to

Then man is free to co-operate or go it alone at will. That is just to all.

Now since we all want to get our subsistence with the least resistance we co-operate when we can accomplish that result. But it must be voluntary to have free men. Therefore, if I don't want to co-operate, the government has no right to make me, for that is not a proper function of public government.

Public government is necessitated when the community arises to secure to all

and the tocsin sounded and vibrated their equal right to land. And to do throughout the land. their equal right to land. And to do
this people have to be restrained lest the
strong and greedy get more than their
equal right to the source of life. Now to
preserve this right government must
have police, build and own all kinds of
public roads, bridges, dredge and slack
rivers, sewer towns, pipe them for light
t and water, and manipulate anything in
the nature if the case is a monopoly.
But merchandising, farming, housebuilding, mining, doctoring, presching,
teaching, etc., are not monopolies, and,
therefore, they are proper functions for
the individual to manipulate and to cooperate with his neighbors at will.

the individual to manipulate and to cooperate with his neighbors at will.

There is no other way to get for the
people what they want but by putting
the "profit of the earth" (the price to
exclude) into the public till, for it is
simply the will of the Great Creator, is
natural law and common sense.

Now, in starting your "coming republic" see that "the price to exclude"
from land is used for common purposes
and all else will be easily adjusted. It
simplifies government when it confines
itself to manipulating all monopoly.
But no government has a natural or just
right to make me co-operate as a farmer
or merchant if I don't want to. In
going it alone I do not interfere with
the equal right of my fellows; therefore,
government hands off of my individual
functions. functions.

Enlarge the Franchise.

BY SAM FONOGRAF.

When all the nonsense has been boiled out of economic and sociological science we find they merely stand for the science we find they merely stand for the art of manufacturing honesty. Let us speak plainly, so every one will know what we mean. Of course, no one intends to steal. Certainly not, but we expropriate each other's labor and products, just the same, expropriate them without giving a full equivalent in return. If that isn't slavery, or stealing, what is? what is?

what is?

Now, to make men honest, we have various propositions. The anarchist says, no authority. The populiat would make us honest by certain issues of certain kinds and quantities of money. Single-taxers and state-socialists contend that honesty will be the result of taxation and the handing over of the earth and fixings to a majority. How the majority is to be kept in the straight and narrow path has not been *xplained. That is merely a detail. Possibly I am too previous, but it is noticeable that majorities are as prone to pie as anyone else. The postoffice, the white, immaculate postoffice, is the basis of a yearly steal of ten million or so, and no end of patronage. Worse still, it absolutely forbids competition. Economy is more important than justice. Like instances without number, domestic and foreign, could be cited, No wonder there are anarchists. They, at least, are not looking for that "refuge of the incompetent," a paternal government. All honor to them, for that much intelligence. Now, to make men honest, we have government. All honor to them, for that much intelligence. The simple undeniable fact is, the or-All honor to them, for

The simple undeniable fact is, the organic plunders the less organic, proof absolute of which we have throughout the vegetable and animal kingdoms, and man is no exception to the rule. There is but one remedy, viz., nature's remedy, the organic form. ALL the people must rule, not half, and that can be accomplished only through application of natural laws—a natural law; the universal law of Balance, or Justice; the only universal law; the keystone of the arch; the corner stone of the temple (Man); the law without which we derive no permanent benefit from knowledge of other natural laws: the law in which

other natural laws: the law in which "we live and move and have our being." Instead of organizing to strike with ballot and bullet we must organize to ballot and bullet we must organize to serve; to serve honestly, but as speculators organized to serve dishonestly. Can't do it? Then be plundered as usual, until Wisdom supplants Cunning. Wisdom is fitter, but Cunning seems fitter to-day. Time is a factor in these matters. Every discovery and application of natural law tends to obliterate Time and Space. Time and Space.

Reforms may have been established by law but the vast majority of the evils "reformed" have been evils transevils "reformed" have been evils trans-lated from one place to another. Note the effects of the Revolutionary and Civil wars. By one we gained more room to plunder each other. By the other we made black slavery, white. Had we waited for the introduction of natural laws they would have ousted chattel slavery and made it impossible, as it is today. Machinery has taken its place forever. place forever.

Yes, we steal, for there isn't an insti-tution on earth, so far as known, Christ-ian or pagan, expressly devoted to the rendition of the equivalents. The ian or pagan, expressly devoted to the rendition of the equivalents. The Church preaches Justice in the Golden Rule, (incidentally). The courts practice on poor men while the rich robbers occupy the chief seats in the synagogue. Through charity and almsgiving we make partial restitution,—very partial. Organize for justice, a natural law, INTRODUCE IT AS OTHER NATIVEAL LAWS HAVE BEEN INTRODUCED. "Education" and legislation will follow and adapt themselves to it, as ever. The world doesn't know what Justice is today, and cannot be taught, except through the satisfaction of its desires. Always so. Desire is the formulator of all things. Through natural laws, only, can ALL the people rule. Thus do we find Omnipotence. "The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the wisdow of God as the waters cover the sea." At present we are only acquainted with the wisdom of the mathe sea." At present we are only acquainted with the wisdom of the majorities.

SALTER T. WORDEN.

In another column will be found a statement of the case of Salter T. Worden of the A. R. U., who is under sentence of death and whose case is to be passed on by the Supreme Court. Funds are necessary to meet the expenses of carrying the case to the Supreme Court, and we appeal to our friends to help raise the necessary amount. Contributions should be sent to Sylvester Keliher, 504 Trude Bldg., Chicago, Ilk

TO ORGANIZE.

[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.]

"On earth peace; good will toward men."

The Social Democracy of America.

CONSTITUTION OF NATIONAL COUNCIL.

NAME AND HEADQUARTERS.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the Social Democracy of America, and its head-quarters shall be located at Chicago, Ill.

HOW ORGANIZED.

Sec. 2. The Social Democracy of America shall

be organized as follows:

1st. Local branches limited to 500 members

each.
2d. State Unions composed of one representative from each local branch.
3d. A National Council composed of one representative from each state and territory.
4th. An Executive Board composed of five members.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

SEC. 3. The executive foard shall be elected annually by the National Council, have general supervision of the organization and be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with this constitution and declaration of principles.

tion and declaration of principles.

Sec. 4. The officers of the board shall consist of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer and organizer, who shall be elected at each annual meeting of the board and serve until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall perform such duties as appertain to their several offices and for their services shall receive such compensation as the National Council may determine. The board shall hold stated meetings on the second Tuesday in June of each year and such special meetings as may be required.

Sec. 5. A majority of the board shall consti-

Sec. 5. A majority of the board shall constitute a quorum.

SEC. 6. Any member of the board may be removed by a two-thirds vote of all the members, provided that all charges shall be reduced to writing and that the accused member shall be entitled to a fair trial. The board shall be authorized to fill all vacancies.

Sec. 7. Any member of the board may be removed at any time by the National Council.

Sec. 8. All members of the board shall give their entire time to the organization and no member shall hold political office.

Sec. 9. All members of the board may be removed in the political office.

Sec. 9. All questions not provided for in the constitution and all questions of appeal shall be decided by the chairman, such decisions to be final and in full effect unless otherwise ordered by the board.

Sec. 10. At each annual meeting the officers of the board shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several officers and transmit a copy to each local branch.

REVENUES AND PUNDS.

SEC. 11. The funds of the organization shall be deposited in such bank or banks as the board may direct and the treasurer shall be required to execute a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such an amount as the board may re-

SEC. 12. The revenue of the organization shall be derived from an admission fee of Twenty-Five (25) cents and monthly dues of fifteen cents, payable monthly, for each member.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.

Sec. 13. The National Council shall meet annual-Sec. 13. The National Council shall meet annually at the headquarters of the organization on the first Tuesday in June. The chairman of the executive board shall preside over its deliberations. The scretary of the executive board shall serve as secretary of the National Council, and keep a correct record of its proceedings, submitting a copy of the same to each local branch.

Sec. 44. The National Council shall constitute the legislative body of the organization and shall be empowered to canct all general legislation. It shall determine the policy, and do all other things required to carry out the general objects of the organization.

Sec. 45. The expenses of representatives shall

Sec. 15. The expenses of representatives shall be paid from the general treasury at the rate of three dollars (\$3.00) per day while in session, also railroad fare and hotel expenses.

OFFICIAL PAPER.

Sec. 16. This organization shall publish an official paper, under the supervision of the executive board, which shall be known at the Social Demo-erat. Each member of the organization shall be entitled to a copy of the official paper in considertion of the payment of monthly dues.

The Social Democracy of America.

CONSTITUTION OF STATE UNIONS.

NAME AND HEADQUARTERS.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the————State Union of the Social Democracy of America, and its headquarters shall be located at—————, the capital city of the state.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

SEC. 3. The executive board shall consist of five members and shall have general supervision of the State Union. It shall be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with this constitution, the constitution of the National Council, or the declaration of principles.

SEC 4. The officers of the board shall consist of

laration of principles.

Sec. 4. The officers of the board shall consist of a chairman, vice chairman, secretary, treasurer and organizer, and such others as may be determined, who shall be elected at each annual meeting of the board and serve until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall perform such duties as appertain to their several offices and for their services shall receive such compensation as the State Union may determine. The board shall hold stated meetings on the second Tuesday in May of each year and such special meetings as may be required.

Sec. 5. A majority of the heard shall section.

Sec. 5. A majority of the board shall constitute

SEC. 6. Any member of the board may be removed by a two-thirds vote of all the members,

provided that all charges shall be reduced to writing and that the accused member shall be entitled to a fair trial. The board shall be authorized to fill all yacancies.

 ${\rm Sgc},\,7.$ Any member may be removed at any time by the State Union.

SEC. 8. No member of the board shall hold polit-

SEC. 9. All questions not provided for in the constitution and all questions of appeal from local branches shall be decided by the chairman, such decisions to be final and in full effect unless otherwise ordered by the board.

Sec. 10. At each annual meeting, the officers of the board shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices and transmit a copy to each local branch.

Sec. 11. The revenues of the organization shall be derived from such sources as the State Union may

THE STATE UNION.

SEC. 12. The State Union shall meet annually at the headquarters of the organization on the first Tuesday in May. The chairman of the executive board shall preside over its deliberations. The secretary of the executive board shall serve as secretary of the State Union and keep a correct record of its proceedings, submitting a copy of the same to each local branch in the state.

SEC. 13. At each annual meeting of the State Union an executive board of five members and a representative to the National Council shall be elected who shall serve one year, or, until their successors are elected and qualified.

Six, 14. The State Union may enact such laws as may be necessary, determine the policy of the state organization and do all other things required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action is taken inconsistent with this constitution, the constitution of the National Council, or the declaration of principles.

The Social Democracy of America.

CONSTITUTION OF LOCAL BRANCHES.

NAME AND LOCATION.

Section 1. This organization, located at-County of ______, shall be known as Local Branch No. __ of _____ of the Social De-mocracy of America and shall hold a charter duly issued by the National Council, which may be suspended or reclaimed by the National Executive Board in case of violation of the laws, principles or regulations of the organization.

Sec. 2. Any reputable person subscribing to the principles of this organization shall be eligible to membership.

Sec. 3. A local branch shall consist of not less than five, nor more than five hundred members,
— members constituting a quorum.

Sec. 4. A person desiring membership shall make application to a local branch, recommended by a member of said branch, and if accepted by a majority vote shall be enrolled as a member.

SEC. 5. A member may be transferred from one local branch to another by obtaining from the secretary a transfer card and depositing the same with the secretary of the branch desired to be joined.

SEC. 6. A member in good standing may termiate his or her membership by obtaining from the secretary a card of withdrawal.

SEC. 7. Each member shall be entitled to a card of membership, such cards to be furnished by the National Council and issued to members by the secretary of the local branch.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Sec. 8. The executive board shall consist of five SEC. 8. The executive board shall consist of five members, elected annually on the first Tuesday in April, and shall have general supervision of the local branch. It shall be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures, subject to the local branch, as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with this constitution, the constitution of the State Union, the constitution of the National Union, or the declaration of principles.

SEC. 9. The officers of the board shall consist of

Sec. 9. The officers of the board shall consist of SEC. 9. The officers of the board shall consist of a chairman, vice chairman, secretary, treasurer and organizer, and such others as may be determined, who shall be elected at each annual meeting and serve until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall perform such duties as appertain to their, several offices and as the local branch may direct. The board shall hold stated meetings on the second Tuesday in April of each year and such special meetings as may be required.

SEC. 10. Any member of the board may be re-removed by a majority vote of the local branch, provided that all charges shall be reduced to wri-ting and that the accused member shall be entitled to a fair trial. Vacancies in the board shall be filled by the local branch.

SEC. 11. No member of the board shall hold' political office.

SEC. 12. The local branch shall hold regular meetings at such times as the members may determine. The chairman of the executive board shall preside and all the officers of the executive board shall be executive officers of the local branch. The chairman shall decide all questions of appeal, subject to the approval of the local branch.

SEC. 13. At each annual meeting of the local branch, on the first Tuesday in April, the officers shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices for the preceding year.

DUES AND FEES,

Sec. 14. The admission fee, which shall accompany each application for membership, shall be such an amount as may be determined by the local branch, provided it shall be sufficient to include 25 cents to be forwarded to the National Council.

SEC. 15. At the close of each meeting the treasurer shall transmit to the National Council the names of all members admitted at said meeting, their postoflice addresses and a remittance by postal money order of their admission fees.

sec. 16. The dues of a member shall be payable monthly in advance, on or before the first day of each month in such an amount as the local union may determine, provided it shall be sufficient to, include 15 cents per month to be forwarded to the National Council. A member admitted on or before the 15th day of the month shall pay dues for the full month; a member admitted after the 15th day of the month shall be exempt for said month.

SEC. 17. On or before the 5th day of each month

SEC. 17. On or before the 5th day of each month the treasurer shall remit by postal money order the monthly' dues for the current month to the National Council and each local branch shall re-mit the full amount due for the entire membership of the branch

SEC. 18. Local branches shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the State Union and National Council, and the State Union shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the National Council.

ELECTIONS.

Sec. 19. At each annual meeting of the local

branch, on the first Tuesday in April, or as soon as practicable thereafter, an executive board of five members and a representative to the State Union shall be elected, who shall serve one year or until their successors are elected and qualified.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

SEC. 20. Upon application of ten per cent. of the membership, any matter relating to the amendment of the constitution, the calling of a special meeting of a State Union or the National Council, or the removal of an officer, state or national, shall be submitted to a direct vote of the membership through the Initiative and Referendum, and a majority vote shall determine the result. jority vote shall determine the result.

TRIALS.

SEC. 21. Any member violating any of the laws or principles of the organization may be suspended or expelled by a two-thirds vote of a local branch, provided that any charges against a member shall be preferred in writing by a member in good standing and the accused shall be entitled to a fair trial.

Sec. 22.4 Any memoer having been suspended or expelled may appeal to the executive board of the state and if the decision of that body is not satisfactory he may appeal to the executive board of the National Council.

SEC. 23. A local branch may adopt such by-laws as a majority may determine, provided they do not conflict with this constitution, the consti-tution of the State Union, the constitution of the National Council, or the declaration of principles.

SEC. 24. The constitution of Local Branches, State Unions and the National Council is the or-ganic law of the organization and can be altered or amended only by the National Council in meet-ing assembled or by the general organization through the Initiative and Referendum.

The Social Democracy of America.

CONSTITUTION OF COLONIZATION DEPARTMENT.

Section 1. On or before August 1st, 1897, the executive board of the National Council shall select three persons of sound business judgment and unquestioned integrity, who shall constitute the Colonization Commission of the Social Democracy of America.

Sec. 2. As soon as practicable after their appointment, they shall meet and elect from their number a chairman, a secretary and a treasurer, who shall hold office for one year, or, until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall receive for their services not to exceed \$5.00 per day and their railroad fare and hotel expenses while in actual service in their official capacity.

SEC. 3. The Commission, shall, in conjunction with and subject to the approval of the executive board, as soon as practicable, examine into the advantages of the several states for the colonization of the unemployed members of the organization and decide without unnecessary delay upon some state of state for that purpose and make due some state or states for that purpose and make due report thereof to the organization.

Sec. 4. The Commission shall, as far as practica-ble, co-operate with other co-operative organiza-tions having similar objects in view.

SEC. 5. The object of the colonization shall be the establishment of the State Co-operative Com-monwealth and ultimately the National Co-opera-tive Commonwealth upon the principles set forth in the Declaration of Principles of the Social Democracy of America.

Sec. 6. The Commission shall give special atten-tion to the unemployed and shall as soon as possi-ble establish co-operative industries for their employment.

Six. 7. The Commission shall, subject to the approval of the executive board, adopt proper measures and regulations for the selection of applicants for employment and for assisting them in reaching the state or states selected for colonization.

SEC. 8. The colonization fund shall be in the custody of the treasurer, who shall file such bond as the executive board may require for the faithful performance of his duties. He shall receive all contributions, giving his receipt therefor, and issue a monthly report of the transactions of his office and transactions of his office and transactions of his office. and transmit a copy thereof to each local branch. SEC, 9. At each annual meeting of the National Council, a committee of three shall be appointed to examine the books and accounts of the Com-mission and submit a report; including a state-ment of receipts and disbursements, to each local

branch.

SEC. 10. The revenue for the support of the Colonization Department shall be derived from voluntary monthly contributions of members and voluntary contributions from other sources. Each local branch shall elect a Collector for the Colonization fund, who shall collect the monthly and other contributions and forward the same to the treasurer of the Commission on the first day of each month, or as soon as practicable thereafter.

SEC. 11. In carrying forward the work of colonization, the board shall proceed in an orderly, systematic manner, according to carefully prepared plans, made in advance, placing working men and women of such occupations and in such numbers as will be required in the course of industrial development of the state.

SHAKESPEARE RELICS.

Shakespeare relics are, of course, very numerous, but, as we have already indicated, relics were not collected in his time, so that a great deal of suspicion necessarily attaches to those which we are called upon to venerate. Crofton Croker possessed the betrothal ring of the great dramatist—the "gimmal ring," which had been placed by the bard's own hand upon the finger of his betrothed. It is described in Fairholt's "The Home of Shakespeare," and also by Croker himself in a letter to Mrs. Balmanno, and preserved in that lady's "Pen and Pencil," New York, 1858, where it is illustrated. At the sale of Croker's lares and penates, in December, 1854, the ring became the property of the late Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, who already possessed a rival ring, of which a representation is given in his "Life of Shakespeare."

Thomas Hill the original of "Paul Pry." pos-

which a representation is given in his "Life of Shakespeare."

Thomas Hill, the original of "Paul Pry." possessed Garrick's cup formed from the mulberry tree planted by Shakespeare in his garden at New Place, Stratford-on Avon. This realized at Hill's death 40 guineas. Another Shakespearean cup was purchased in May, 1825, for 121 guineas, by a Mr. J. Johnson, and was by him sold 21 years after for 381 guineas. Joseph Lilly, the bookseller, possessed another. Shakespeare's jug and cane were sold at Christie's in June, 1893, and realized 155 guineas. These relies were bequeathed by Shakespeare to his sister Joan, who married a Mr. Hart, who sett'ed at Tewkesbury, and they remained in possession of his descendants till the commencement of the present century, when they passed into other hands,—Temple Bar.

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THE DAY WE CELEBRATE. BY RUDOLPH LEONHART, SR. My children—for as such I claim you all—

I'm glad to see that you obeyed my call

To celebrate this glorious day so piously; This grand and immortal day which History Has underlined with tiery emphasis As being pregnant with celestial bliss For countless generations still unborn. Well may you hall with cannon shots its morn Well may you decorate each thoroughfare, With shouts and music fill the festive air, With colors floating, stars and stripes unfurl'd Proclaim your joy unto a startled world. But is this all? I know full well the thought Of how the fathers of this country fought For independence and for liberty, is captivating like their legacy, Now, if such boon were left you by a sire, It would be mete and proper to inquire: " is it still yours, and if so, quite intact, or lost by folly or some wanton act?"
If "yes," the answer, you would stand arrayed
As culpable of confidence betrayed. As culpaine or conducted secting at:

Permit me, friends, to open unto you
The conturies gone by in furtive view.
Columbus, lo! returning from his sail,
Indiance all Europe with his wondrous tale.
The marvels of the Western Hemisphere
Entrance the soul, and fill the heart with cheer.
Its wealth its some, its great fertility its wealth, its scope, its great fertility Eukindle hope and quicken energy.

And rightfully. Was not this vast domain
Designed the homes of millions to contain ed I point out, how Nature's bounteous han Need 1 point out, how with richest treasures stored this haleyon land. The bowels of the earth hold veins of ore; Rich beds of coal extend from shore to shore. Rich beds of coal extend from shore to shore. Vast forests, fields of oil—but why go on Recounting things well known to every one? Go north or south, my friends, go east or west, You'll find no second land like this one blessed. Behold, how to this land of promise steers. Band after band of study pioneers. The country fills, and soon the fertile plain shows happy homes and fields of waving grain, state after State springs into healthful life, I'ntil at length of 'seventy-six the strife. And now what scenes,' Oh, children, gaze with me.

and now what scenes; Oh, children, gaze we me
on happiness such as the startled Sun,
Since Ellen closed, has never looked upon.
There was no wealth, but neither could you a
A trace of hunger or of misery.
There were no palaces, no stately dome:
But every yoeman owned his modest home.
There was no merit, then, attached to birth,
And People judged according to their worth.
And now? And now? Oh, Children, must I.
Before your eyes a picture of to day?

And fleopic jungers are year.

And now? And now? Oh, Children, must J. ay Before your eyes a picture of to day?

Ungrateful is the task, and I would fain save me the irksome labor; you; the pain.

Yes, pain: Is it not painful, Friends, to find Oneself to duty or to vision the long of the one or the other, yet ery mockingly.

The wealth of Nature scape to be one or the other, yet ery mockingly.

The wealth of Nature scales.

The wealth of Nature scales.

The wealth of Nature scales.

The coal-bods, forests, sil-fields and the mines. Still yield their treasures freely to combines. Our nabobs live in pincely palaces,

While countiess tolers wander penniless.

Our grand cathedrals penetrate the sky,

While fairness sickns and the virtues die.

Our legislators are successed and the virtues die.

Our legislators are successed and the virtues die.

Our legislators are the penetrate the sky,

While public inverse, the prisons of the State liferense their inmates at a fearful rate.

Which way you look, my Children, where you go, you meel with degradation, crime and woe.

I might advance, that abject poverty lefties the victims with depravity,

But let it rest. I trust that I have stirred.

You into consciousness of having erred.

So let me close by pointing out to you.

The proper way, not merely to eschew.

Into the harbor of prosperity.

There is a demon that you all possess, whose birth-place, hell; whose title, selfshness.

Be careful, Children. You cannot afford.

To let this evil spirit come a-board.

Leave him a-shore, and study calously.

The words so grand in their simplicity.

"Love thou thy neighbor as thou dost thyself!"

"Love thou thy neighbor as thou dost thyself!"

"Love thou tryn eighbor as thou dost thyself!"

"Love tow thy neighbor as thou dost my developed and their simplicity."

Which you should likewise wisely leave ashore.

My Children, this is all, and nothing more.

Ope to this truth your heart as well as eyes, And this fair land will be a Paradise.

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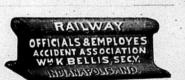
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Woman and the Labor Movement.

Woman must either be a help or a hindrance in the great labor movement for the uplifting and betterment of the conditions of men who work for wages. Woman has been an important factor in every reform movement of the world. Her sweet, persuasive voice, her refining influence and her spirit of heroic sacrifice have given force and dignity to every movement that sprang from the nobler impulses of men which had for

their purpose the betterment of the race. Woman has gilded the horrors of the battlefield and the lonely hospital with gleams of sunshine, and now, in this last supreme effort on the part of the rightful protectors of the home to save themselves from European conditions and save woman from the degradation which necessarily follows the degrada-tion of labor, women must lend their aid.—Southern Economist.