

# THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT

(SUCCESSOR TO RAILWAY TIMES.)

VOL. IV.

TERRE HAUTE, INDIANA, THURSDAY, JULY 1, 1897.

NO. 13

## THE CONVENTION

### OF THE BATTLE-SCARRED AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION

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

True to prediction, the special convention of the American Railway Union was the most notable affair of its kind held for many years. The opening session was public and was held at Handel Hall Tuesday morning, June 15th. Director Wm. E. Burns called the meeting to order and introduced Mr. A. B. Adair, of the Typographical Union, who presided. Mr. Adair is widely known as an advanced advocate of the rights of labor

has an executive board of five members who hold office one year, unless removed.

The executive board of the National Council elected by the convention and who will serve one year is composed of the following:

Eugene V. Debs, Chairman.  
James Hogan, Vice-Chairman.  
Sylvester Kellher, Secretary and Treasurer.  
Wm. E. Burns, Organizer.  
R. M. Goodwin, Organizer.

The Colonization Department is placed under the supervision of a Colonization Commission consisting of three members who are to be appointed by the Executive Board on or before August 1st. This commission will work in conjunction with the officials of the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth, and at the earliest practical time the joint commission will meet and decide upon a state for co-operative colonization. A number of western states

## 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.

and on this occasion won merited praise 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 magnificent audience. President Debs was then presented and delivered his address, which appeared in full in the last issue.

In the afternoon the convention went into executive session. To see the old veterans assembled once again was a scene never to be forgotten. The old-time 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 Social Democracy of America and adopting the new Declaration of Principles, the doors were opened for the reception of delegates representing other organizations. The following organizations were represented:

Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth.  
Social Labor Party.  
Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.  
Metal Polishers' and Buffers' Union.  
Labor Exchange.  
Media Federation.  
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.  
Chicago Labor Union Exchange.  
West-side Mutual Co-operative Union.  
Humanitarian League.  
Chicago Labor Church.  
North-side Economic Club.  
Thirty-second Ward Economic Club.  
Woman's National Silver League.  
Fifteenth Ward Economic Educational Club.  
Fourteen Ward Economic Educational Club.  
Ruskin Union.  
Scandinavian Co-operative League.  
Professional Workers' Socialist Alliance.

The convention remained in session an even week, adjourning Monday evening the 21st, to meet again at Chicago on the first Tuesday in June, 1898. This will be the first annual meeting of the National Council of the Social 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 Exchange 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 represented.

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 executive functions being vested in an Executive Board and the chairman simply presides over its deliberations. The on-man 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 legislative bodies of the organization. Each

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 this emancipating movement, and our friends need have no misgiving. The hearts of thousands of brave men and 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 following to the New York Sun. It contains thoughts that might be considered by other workers besides the tailors:

I have read Leader Shoenfeld's public appeal through your paper for advice as to how the employers can be legally bound to carry out the provisions of the 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 themselves? Here you have the secret of the sweating system. The unfortunate people 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 system they groan aloud and blame every one but themselves for their miserable lot.

If Mr. Shoenfeld would impress this upon the minds of tailors, instead of seeking some self regulating, patent 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 ignore what their own experience teaches them, who is to blame? Their salvation is in their own hands and does not depend 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 brotherhoods is well under way. "The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen put itself 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 endorsed by the Brotherhood of Locomotive 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 formed."

## Will Fight Attempted Reduction.

Secretary Robert Howard, Fall River, Mass., of the Cotton Mule Spinners' association, reports that the mills will commence running full time after working four days per week for 18 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 largely attended than at any previous time.

## THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES AND CONSTITUTION.

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 necessities of life.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We therefore call upon all honest citizens to unite under the banner of the Social Democracy of America, so that we may be ready to conquer capitalism by making use of our political liberty and by taking possession of the public power, so that we may put an end to the present barbarous struggle, by the abolition of capitalism, the restoration of the land, and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution, to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the co-operative commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder—a commonwealth, which, although it will not make every man equal physically or mentally, will give to every worker the free exercise and the full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization and ultimately inaugurate the universal brotherhood of man. The Social Democracy of America will make democracy, "the rule of the people," a truth, by ending the economic subjugation of the 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, trusts and combines.
2. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water works, gas and electric plants, and all other public utilities.
3. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, coal, iron, and all other mines; also all oil and gas wells.
4. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.
5. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.
6. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.
7. The establishment of Postal Savings Banks.
8. The adoption of the Initiative and the Referendum, the Imperative Mandate and Proportional Representation.

[Continued on Fourth Page.]

## ELOQUENT ADDRESS.

### PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS OF BOSTON AT HANDEL HALL, CHICAGO.

"No Country is Free in Which Any Man 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 Mr. N. W. Lermond, National Secretary, the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth, in behalf of which he delivered a most excellent address at the opening session on Tuesday morning, 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 wherever the oppressed and downtrodden are struggling 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 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 Railway Union, the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth, the American Co-operative Union and any other organization willing to take part in a movement looking to the co-operative colonization of a state. Last night President Debs 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 of our organization.

The Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth was organized last fall and has now a membership of about 2,500 and is rapidly growing. About a year ago a call was issued for a convention to organize the Brotherhood. The call was signed by a number of leading reformers including Henry D. Lloyd whose name was a guarantee that the movement meant something. The National Secretary, Mr. N. W. Lermond, wrote to me stating that the objects of the association were, education, organization, and colonization. Education in the principles of co-operative industry, organization of those who believe in these principles, colonization in order to obtain immediate practical realization and fulfillment of them. The intention was that the colonization 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 concentrated in that state when they would transform all its institutions into the co-operative mould.

Rev. Myron W. Reed, of Denver, is president of the Brotherhood; Dr. C. F. Taylor, the editor of the *Medical World*, of Philadelphia, is treasurer; 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 Co-operative Commonwealth.

I come here with other officers of the Brotherhood 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 Railway Union, with its large membership and great influence to come in under the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth as a local Union and wait until next January to have a part in the election of officers. Nor would it be fair to expect the Brotherhood of the Co-operative 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 adoption 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 members 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 little difference what name might be provided, so it is broad enough to cover the whole co-operative movement and all classes of society. 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, ministers, artisans, laboring men and the unemployed—everybody who believes in co-operation and is willing to do his or her share of the world's work.

Such a movement is not so difficult as it may seem. A good many years ago the Pilgrim Fathers, being oppressed in England, started a movement to colonize America and the movement has been quite successful. A movement to colonize a single state like Washington or Iowa or 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 capture it for the cause of freedom. It was done in a few years and can be done again.

President Debs has proposed as a motto of the new 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—"Employment 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 some doubt whether today it is still worthy of that sacred title. Some discourteous prohibitionist with good intent and earnest purpose but

vision more intense than broad; concentrating his gaze upon the brewers and monopolists 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 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 want of employment, to have no chance to work at all.

While we recognize the fact that millions of men in America are merely serfs subject to industrial mastery as oppressive as the political and religious masteries of the past, nevertheless we must not forget that in many respects America has improved. It is a better place to live in, in some ways, than it was a hundred years ago. The railroad has banded the states together more closely than any constitution could do it. The telegraph has made the world a village. We have made the black man free to sell himself by the day and week instead of being sold for life, and although this is not a step entirely out of slavery, it is a step in the direction of freedom. Then we have the bicycle and that has done and will do a great deal to improve the conditions of life. It will give us healthy, jolly, justice-loving people. There is no aristocracy on the road. The bicycle levels all ranks. The millionaire is of no more account on the wheel than any other man. It is the man with the best pair of calves that leads the procession on the road.

But while we recognize that in invention, science and the creation of wealth the country 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 1840. Imagine a colony of dogs all about the size of an ordinary water spaniel. 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 companies, and the great railway systems bear about the same relation to the ordinary man that one of these elephantine dogs would bear to the ordinary 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 was 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 monopolies 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 transformation of private monopoly into public monopoly. We must change mastership into partnership so that every man, woman and child shall be a co-partner 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-operative groups in every possible way. The government absorption of great monopolies, working from above downward, and the formation of voluntary co-operative groups, working from below upward, will meet at last in the middle and transmute the whole nation into a great co-operative commonwealth.

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 revolt. 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 capitalist 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. Debs is in. I think that is one of the good things about it. He is one of the greatest organizers 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 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 compare 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 careful scholars in the country, was here and knows the facts, and he says that Mr. Debs was not morally to blame in the transactions which

[CONTINUED ON SECOND PAGE.]

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT.

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY OF AMERICA.

On the 1st and 15th of each month.

TERMS:

One year \$1.00 Six months .50 Three months .25

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

Remittances, exchanges, manuscripts and all correspondence should be addressed to THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT, Terre Haute, Indiana.

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Terre Haute Postoffice.



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 Trade 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.

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 can do justice to the work.

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.

In another column will be found the Declaration of Principles, or the "platform" of the new organization.

The work of organizing has already begun and is earnest. At this writing fully three hundred applications for charters are on file.

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 Social Democracy will go to the front with majestic strides. Its mission is the emancipation of labor from wage-bondage and the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

THE A. R. U.

Although the American Railway Union 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 organization.

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 work of securing a state will be taken in hand with the least possible delay.

THE WORDEN CASE.

The stay of proceedings in the case of Salter T. Worden until the Supreme Court passes on the case in October may be the means of saving the unfortunate 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.

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 Seaman's Journal says:

At this juncture we may say that we are disast, lished with the action of Governor Bland in refusing to commute Worden's sentence, and we confidently assert that a majority of the people of the state share our opinion in this respect.

The desperate ends to which railroad companies and their minions have gone to secure the conviction of A. R. U. men warrants suspicion in every case and makes it necessary that the fullest possible defense should be provided.

It is therefore earnestly requested that everyone interested in securing justice for this unfortunate prisoner contribute what he can to raise the necessary means to carry the case to the Supreme Court.

COMPETITIVE SYSTEM DOOMED.

Nothing can save the existing social and industrial system. Competition is doomed. Co-operation is inevitable. Ignorance may delay the final death struggle of the present idiotic system—if it can be called a system—but the end is in sight.

Capital abandoned competition years ago. No wise man now quotes that senseless motto "competition is the life of trade." He knows better. Competition is the death of profits. Only fools advocate competition.

The competitive system of industry was well enough years ago, but the world has progressed beyond it. The introduction of machinery doomed the competitive system. The only way to save it is to destroy all machinery and set back the hands on the clock of progress.

No great industry is now conducted on competitive lines. It is impossible. Hence trusts are formed. Railroads cannot compete; hence pools are formed. A few weeks ago the Supreme Court decided against the legality of pools.

There is no aggregate of invested capital in this country that on the average yields less than that represented by the stocks and bonds of our railroad systems. 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.

Why, of course. Some of us knew that and wrote about it years and years ago. But there is a way out of it for the present, and the Chattanooga Times explains how it can be done, as follows:

"Is it within the bounds of reason that the owners of \$12,000,000,000 worth of railroad property will sit still while 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 steady net earnings is combination, under corporate ownership, of great groups of roads that pre- vail and virtually must, when wielded by a single hand, monopolize the business of large sections of the country.

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 foets on earth cannot stop it.

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

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 at the convention of the American Railway Union. Mr. Debs in the most positive manner states it as his belief and conviction that the competitive system as applied to industrial affairs is an utter failure, and that unless it is substituted by something more equitable, more humane, more Christianlike, nothing but misery, and rapidly increasing misery at that, awaits the common people.

As a substitute for the competitive system now in vogue, and as a cure for the evils which he claims are inherent to that system, Mr. Debs proposes co-operation—co-operation so wide in its application, so general in its nature, so all prevailing in its scope, that altogether different conditions would surround

human life and human effort under its control. Advocates of state co-operation argue that under such a system the intense poverty of the individual would be impossible; that all would be laboring for the common good, and that everything in excess of what would be required to meet the wants of a community would be utilized to promote the pleasures and happiness of the same community. This may be an ideal state, rather difficult of achievement; but Mr. 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 right to life, liberty and the pursuit of 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 no means of determining now. Unoubtedly there are sufficient, if properly handled, to test the co-operative proposition in the fullest and widest sense—sufficient, in fact, to place the movement beyond the difficulties which always surrounded and finally swamped the experiments heretofore made to found limited socialistic or co-operative communities. That the movement will be opposed and 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 rich farm lands of the West or South and opening up opportunities that are denied them in the populous cities of the North. This country is big enough and rich enough to provide a comfortable living for every man, woman and 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 I 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 East and not for the West. I did not mention the said criticisms on my own account. If I had 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 them. My purpose was simply to do what I might to bring our eastern co-operators into fuller sympathy with the western movement of its leaders. You of the West know Mr. Debs and honor him, but in the East the attacks of the press have been so united and persistent that even our co-operators and progressive people do not know what to believe about Mr. Debs. I knew that my words would go to them and I wished that along with the general argument for the new movement to build a co-operative commonwealth might go a refutation of the doubts and misconceptions that have been imposed upon them in respect to the great leader of the new democracy.

FRANK PARSONS.

[The explanation of Prof. Parsons should hardly be necessary, for he made 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.—Ed.]

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 issued 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 KELBER, National Secretary, 504 Trade Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

ELOQUENT ADDRESS.

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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 order or resign his position. When the injunction 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 utmost to prevent all violence and breach of law,—the strikers even offered to run the mail cars and carry on the freight and passenger traffic.—It was only the Pullman cars they refused to haul. The president stood by his constituents and went to prison in consequence,—and when he came out, organized labor welcomed him as a hero, and Henry D. Lloyd, whom Dr. Heron pronounces the greatest publicist since Jefferson and Lincoln, went to the meeting given in honor of President Debs' release and made a magnificent address of welcome.

But they say Mr. Debs makes untrue statements. Look at the newspapers. Well, if the reporters are so 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 attributing 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 attention to Mr. Debs than they do to me in this line of vicious speech making.

But they say that Mr. Debs is a rash man. He makes 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 have a pretty good representation in the community in spite of the fact that many of his predictions do 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 trifling matters. If I were pushing a heavy load up a long hill I would not refuse the help of a 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 possible.

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 public 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 socialistic idea. All who believe in these institutions believe in the socialistic or mutualistic principle.

"What we need," say some, "is not colonization, but education and political action. We 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 sapling? As for education and political measures, we recognize their value fully. We are not going to confine ourselves to colonization. That is only one part of the movement. But your colony scheme, if successful will relieve the pressure and put off the reformation of industrial 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 better than an explosion.

But," say other objectors, "these colonies are of no use; lots of co-operative colonies have been started and the larger part of them have failed; it's useless to waste effort in organizing and maintaining another."

You may as well say it is useless to organize and maintain nations; large numbers of them 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, or a bank, or any business enterprise, because a majority of business undertakings (95 per cent. it is said) have found a place on the list of failures. You might as well say it is useless for Edison to push his great experiments. He makes thousands upon thousands of experiments for every success he achieves. It is the same with scientific and mechanical progress. Experiments must be made in every department of life. Men learn by failure to succeed. Numberless attempts at fixing sound gave us at last the phonograph. The time may come when we may hold in our hands pictures as true to Nature's colors as our 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 because of 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 question of evolving men and institutions into some co-operative type.

What we want in this country is a broader, deeper patriotism. Twenty years ago a British subject by the name of Cameron was taken by the King of Abyssinia and without excuse assigned was put in a dungeon in the fortress of Macdalla on the top of a lofty mountain. It took six months for the British government to discover these facts. Then it demanded Cameron's release. 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 seven hundred miles across a terrible country under a burning sun, climbed the lofty mountain to the foot of the frowning fortress, then gave battle, battered down the iron gates and the stone walls, went into that dungeon and took out the British subject, bore him across the seven hundred miles 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 millions 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 military service.

That is the patriotism of the best nations of today. It is grand, but it is narrow. Let Mr. Cameron go home to London and be a wage-worker in the slums and sweat-shops of the great city or an unemployed wanderer on its inhospitable streets. Would the government of Great Britain care that he was rescued from the injustice of industrial despotism and the imprisonment of circumstances beyond his control? No, the government would not give one cent or spend one thought to save him from his fate. What we 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 from injustice at home as well as to save him from injustice abroad. And the success of a movement like this for the colonization of a state by those 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 coasts of Evergreen, Where the broad Pacific leaves 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 ebbs 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, lulling us to sleep! 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 white sails spread with lavish hand on the evening waves about. Oh, come where the salmon leaps with glee in the glorious summer sun, And flashes his silver armor bright in the vigor of his fun; Where the halibut in the peaceful calm of his ocean pasture deep, Jerks out the line of the fisherman with the vim of his mighty leap. Oh, come where the palm leaves fringe the shore of the mighty Evergreen state, And the grapes and oranges hang rich, while the drowsy pickers wait. Or come where the walrus churns the sea and blows his trumpet loud, While the soft-eyed furry-coated seal the myriad islands crowd! Or Mount Tacoma's towering peak is mirrored in the sea, Where the mighty whale makes the ocean boil like a monster pot of tea. Where the iceberg floats on the Arctic stream like crystal mountains bright, Or mighty ghosts, with silent tread, glide by in the misty night. Come where the streams of Washington form mighty mountains flow, Among 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 plentiful comfort there the sheep and cattle dream. Where the mighty Columbia pours out its mountain flood To buffet back with sweeping hands the foaming ocean rade. Oh, come with me to the verdant isle where the royal city stands, Or where the Frazer river flows down over golden sands; Where the star and stripes float over fields as rich as Eden was, And Lovers free from disease and woe an enchanted home to us. Oh, come, come, come, my daughter dear, to the coasts of evergreen, Where nature 'fair the whole year thro' in a verdant 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 climate Makes the blood glide smoothly through the veins 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 expected.

The dispatch adds that there have been several mysterious disappearances recently among the ranks of those dabbling in labor movements.

Tobacco Workers' Label.

For the protection of tobacco users among the workmen a printed announcement has been issued by the National Tobacco Workers of America describing 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.



By JOHN A. HILL, editor of Locomotive Engineering, for ten years a fireman and engineer. Plan is the one proposed by Mr. H. to the American Railway Master Mechanics Association and is strongly recommended by their committee. Tells what should be required of a man when he goes firing. Examines him the first year on safety and the elements of firing, the second, on combustion, etc., and the third, on boilers, breakdowns and the engine. Practical, nearly 300 questions and answers to 'em. Seventeen colored plates showing position and color of every steam carried on engine or train. Standard code. Adopted as official examination on several roads. Invaluable to engineers and firemen, and tells every young man what he ought to know to start with and what he must learn before promotion. Send 25 cents (U. S. stamps are good) for this treat book. Sent by mail, or by express, post and gold. THE DEBS PUBLISHING CO., Terre Haute Ind.

PAPERS.

RANDOM COMMENT.

Last night, conducted by that ghost Whose spectral hand on New Year's eve Beckons us to days departed, lost...

Outside the wind blew mad and shrill. Outside the snow lay in the street. But inside greatest ghostly will...

CASEY'S REPLY TO "RANDOM COMMENT."

DEDICATED TO LEROY M. GOODWIN. Three years ago the A. R. U. At Ullrich's Hall in grandeur stood...

That ardent June of '94. Matured a tree, a giant robust. Whose blossoms now, the scattered o'er...

Count not that battle lost which shivers. To hold the world in avarice. A knowledge of the half that lives...

All hail the men who on the field Do meet the wolves of stratagem. And only with their life blood yield...

Thoughts From the Workshop On Old Hulks.

BY J. R. ARMSTRONG.

Have you ever seen an old, old battered and abandoned hulk, drifting about on the Atlantic, weighted down with barnacles?

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 mil-

What about the Havermeyer and Rockefeller trusts, Pullman and Huntington corporations, Carnegie and Phil Armour syndicates, Sherman-Cleveland-Rothschild gold-bond-conspiracy...

The Social Democracy. BY W. P. BOHLEND. I see you have crossed the rubicon—now for the annihilation of Pompey's army!

The old man's blind and furious rage at socialism is a specimen of the maniacal ignorance that haunts itself so prominently before the world even from the lips of so-called "college professors."

No doubt the old wooden hulk, if it could speak, would lament the change from wood to iron in the construction of ships and more especially deplore the substitution of steam power for ropes and sails...

altogether classical but it is the only deduction that the "old human hulk" suggests. He lives in the past amidst its ruined Babylonian walls and moss-grown monuments.

So old man, in young or old flesh, take warning; you have an advantage over the old sea hulk, you can REGENERATE IN YOUR IDEAS...

Too long bath crownless kings their scepters waved. Too long bath cunning laws the world enslaved. Too long bath superstitious crushed the race...

A Brief Sketch of History and Notes of Passing Events. BY A FARMER. In reading the history of the world we find it recorded that there were once colonies in a new land called America...

Wealth and Labor. BY C. B. POWER. Wealth is the product of labor applied to land. Capital is a part of wealth we set aside to assist us in producing more wealth.

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 art of manufacturing honesty.

and the tocsin sounded and vibrated throughout the land. The vast majority of the colonists agreed with the signers of the Declaration, but there were many who thought they could not get along without the "Mother country," and became Tories...

The Dawn. BY J. M. SAMUELS. There are times when every thoughtful observer of events, pauses, and amid the strife and bustle of life tries to take an inventory.

With the present effort to found the co-operative commonwealth, we see the dawn of a new and a brighter day for the poor, the weak, and the oppressed;

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.

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.

Community always produces 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.

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, 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.

Local Branches should at once be organized at every available point. Five or more persons can institute a local branch. The admission fee is 25 cents and the monthly dues 15 cents.

TO ORGANIZE. Full information will be given by addressing SYLVESTER KELLNER, 504 Trade Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

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.

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"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 headquarters 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 board 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.

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 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 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 offices and transmit a copy to each local branch.

### REVENUES AND FUNDS.

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 require.

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 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 secretary 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. 14. The National Council shall constitute the legislative body of the organization and shall be empowered to enact all general legislation. It shall determine the policy, and do all other things required to carry out the general objects of the organization.

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 as the Social Democrat. Each member of the organization shall be entitled to a copy of the official paper in consideration 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.

### HOW ORGANIZED.

SEC. 2. The \_\_\_\_\_ State Union of the Social Democracy shall consist of one delegate representing each local branch in the state, and shall constitute the legislative body 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 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 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 may be removed at any time by the State Union.

SEC. 8. No member of the board shall hold political office.

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.

### REVENUES.

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

### 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.

SEC. 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 the Social Democracy 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.

### MEMBERSHIP.

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 terminate 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 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 Council, or the declaration of principles.

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 removed by a majority vote of the local branch, provided that all charges shall be reduced to writing 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 *ex-officio* 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 postoffice 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.

### JURISDICTION.

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 remit 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.

### 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.

### APPEALS.

SEC. 22. Any member 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.

### BY-LAWS.

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

### AMENDMENTS.

SEC. 24. The constitution of Local Branches, State Unions and the National Council is the organic law of the organization and can be altered or amended only by the National Council in meeting 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 \$3.00 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 or states for that purpose and make due report thereof to the organization.

SEC. 4. The Commission shall, as far as practicable, co-operate with other co-operative organizations having similar objects in view.

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

SEC. 6. The Commission shall give special attention to the unemployed and shall as soon as possible establish co-operative industries for their employment.

SEC. 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 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 Commission and submit a report, including a statement 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 "gimmel 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 laces and penates, in December, 1854, the ring became the property of the late Mr. Halliwell-Phillips, who already possessed a rival ring, of 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 relics were bequeathed by Shakespeare to his sister Joan, who married a Mr. Hart, who settled 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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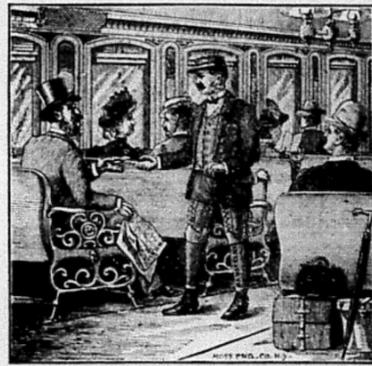
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### THE DAY WE CELEBRATE.

BY EDWARD 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 proudly; This grand and immortal day which history Has underlined with fiery emphasis As being pregnant with celestial bliss For countless generations still unborn. Well may you hail 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 unfurled 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. Permit me, friends, to open unto you The countries gone by in furtive view, Columbus, lo! returning from his sail, Inflames all Europe with his wondrous tale, The marvels of the Western Hemisphere Entrance the soul, and fill the heart with cheer. Its wealth, its scope, its great fertility Enkindle hope and quicken energy. And rightfully, was not this vast domain Designed the homes of millions to contain? Need I point out, how Nature's bounteous hand With richest treasures stored this halcyon land? The bowels of the earth hold veins of ore, 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 sturdy pioneers; The country fills, and soon the fertile plain Shows happy homes and fields of waving grain. State after state springs into healthful life, Until at length "seventy-six" the strife Adds independence to prosperity. And now what scenes? Oh, children, gaze with me On happiness such as the startled Sun, Since Eden closed, has never looked upon. There was no wealth, but neither could you see A trace of hunger or of misery. Yes, pain—Is it not painful, Friends, to find But every yeoman owned his modest home. There was no merit, then, attached to birth, And people judged according to their worth. And now, my friends, my children, must I say 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 Ourselves to duty or to vision blind, And you can surely not escape to be One of the other, yet cry mockingly: "The wealth of Nature still exists!" 'Tis true; But, children, does this wealth belong to you? The coal-beds, forests, oil-fields and the mines Still yield their treasures freely to combine. While countless toilers wander penniless, Our grand cathedrals penetrate the sky, While fairness sickens and the virtuous die, While legislators sit in marble halls, While public interests wear fur and tails, Our Bedlam's swarms, the prisons of the State Increase their inmates at a fearful rate. How many of you look, my children, where you go, You meet with degradation, crime and woe. I might advance, that abject poverty Belies the victims with deprecity. 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 Like errors, but to steer infallibly Into the harbor of prosperity. There is a demon that you all possess, Whose birth-place, hell, whose title, selfishness. To let this evil spirit come a-board. Leave him a-shore, and study zealously The words so grand in their simplicity, "Love thy neighbor as thou dost thyself!" They'll drive the demon to the filthy pelt. My children, this is all, and nothing more. Open to this truth your heart as well as eyes, And this fair land will be a Paradise.

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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 degradation of labor, women must lend their aid.—Southern Economist.