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BRYAN'S FINANCIAL POLICY AS A "STEP" TOWARD SOCIALISM

By Rev. Charles H. Vail.

Occasionally one meets a man who says he is a Bryanite-Socialist; that is, a man who claims to be a Socialist and a Bryanite at the same time. It is quite evident that a person occupying that position has not grasped the economic theories of either party, for they are mutually exclusive and move in contrary directions. That Bryan's trust policy is anti-socialistic is now generally conceded, but some seem to think that his financial policy is a step toward Socialism. They argue that the money trust, as they call it, is the greatest of all trusts, and that we should commence reform by destroying the money power. Bryan, they say, is "going our way" and we should abandon independent party action and join the silver democracy.

It is not my purpose in this article to show the absurdity of such tactics, but merely to consider the question of Bryan's financial policy as a step toward Socialism. It is my contention that Bryan's financial policy, like his trust policy, is a middle class reform, and consequently of no interest to Socialists or the working class—Socialism being primarily a working class movement. Not only would this measure not improve the condition of the working class but it would tend to rehabilitate the declining middle class, and is, therefore, decidedly anti-socialistic. Any measure that tends to re-establish the conditions of the past—the conditions of competitive industry—is reactionary.

Socialists believe in the organization of industry. They trace the industrial evolution through its various stages, and point out the fact that the trusts have come as the natural and inevitable outcome of the competitive system. The trust, then, is a step toward the Socialist ideal—the complete unification of industry. Every measure that tends to facilitate the organization of industry is a step toward the final goal, but every measure that tends to check unification is decidedly anti-socialistic.

Now, let us inquire. What would be the effect of Bryan's financial policy? Mr. Bryan contends that what he calls the money trust is the greatest of all trusts, and that the first step toward the destruction of industrial trusts is to destroy the money power. If the destruction of the money power would lead to the dissolution of the trust system, then, surely, no one can claim that such a measure is a step toward Socialism. Mr. Bryan himself makes no such absurd claim, in fact, he contends that all trusts depend upon the money trust and that the destruction of this trust is the first step toward the destruction of all trusts. His plea for the destruction of the money power is for the purpose of striking a blow at the whole trust system, which, he holds, rests upon special legislation of which money privileges are foremost.

It is true that the ruling class have been able, by the manipulation of finances, to facilitate the concentration and organization of industry. The gold standard serves the interests of the large capitalists and hastens the downfall of the middle class. The money question, then, is merely one of interest to the capitalist class. The interests of the small proprietors are opposed to the interests of the large capitalists. In this struggle for supremacy both endeavor to enlist the support of the working class. But the working class is not interested in this capitalist family quarrel, especially, in the hopeless endeavor to preserve a class that belongs to a past era of economic development. The whole anti-trust movement, of which free silver is a part, is merely a movement in the interests of the class of small proprietors. As the present financial system has contributed to the centralization of industry, its destruction would only serve the interests of the middle class. Could the Bryan financial policy be carried out, it would tend to give a new lease of life to the competitive system. To be sure, it could not in itself re-establish the supremacy of the middle class, but the measure would tend in that direction, and is, therefore, reactionary.

Mr. Bryan as champion of the small proprietor class well knows what he is about. He makes no claim that the destruction of the money power is a step toward Socialism. Why, then, have any Socialists fallen into this error? Evidently because of the governmental feature connected with some portions of what is called financial reform. Many who are not well grounded in Socialist economics, seem to think that all kinds of governmental activity is socialistic. Of course, the free

coinage of silver does not come under this head, but many who advocate this do so as a step toward complete government monopoly. They think that anything that enlarges the sphere of government activity, or is a step in that direction, is socialistic. But this is far from the fact. Prof. Ely well says on this point, "Not all government activity can be called socialistic. If the purpose or the spirit of the activity in question is to render the collectivity dominant in the economic sphere, then it must be designated as socialistic, otherwise, not. Those who have studied Socialism to little purpose who imagine that the Socialist approves of all activity of government whatsoever, and that he is ready to endorse any plan which will enlarge the functions of government." Those Socialists who are Bryanward inclined, or who are affected with any species of financial reform, would do well to consider the above statement. Prof. Ely, although not a Socialist, has a clear insight into what constitutes Socialism, and the things that tend in that direction.

Clear-cut Socialists are not interested in the so-called money question—this interests only the proprietary class. The large capitalists want the gold standard, the middle class free silver. The latter hope, by depreciating the money standard, to pay off their mortgaged indebtedness with a debased currency or inflated product worth but about half its selling price. The interests of the working class are not served by this scheme of indebted farmers, land speculators, silver barons and small producers and dealers, and they refuse to be used as a tool to fight the battles of their exploiters.

Under Socialism, the monetary question will solve itself. In fact Socialism would abolish all metallic money and substitute therefor a system of labor checks or vouchers based upon the product of labor. It is absurd to propose, as some do, the application of this principle to the present system of commodity production. Yet many support the free coinage doctrine with this end in view, and pretend to think that it is a step toward Socialism. But those who would take a step beyond Bryan and introduce the Socialist principle under the present system, have failed to grasp the nature of either capitalism or Socialism. Such a position is as illogical and impossible as it would be to endeavor to put the roof on a house before the frame was erected. Under capitalism, money is a merchandise; that is, it has an intrinsic base. Like the institutions of credit and banking, all are convenient methods of conducting one portion of the machinery of the present order. To transfer to a capitalist state any of these functions now performed by private capitalists is surely not necessarily a step in the direction of Socialism.

I am not interested, then, in the so-called nationalization of the present financial system, or in Bryan's amendment, or any other device that can be put in operation under the present system. All such schemes, at the best, are middle class demands. Socialize the economic power—the means of production and distribution—and the money power will disappear. All the time spent on such questions today is absolutely wasted. The Socialist who thinks that Bryan is "going our way" is woefully deceived. Bryanism is not a step toward Socialism. The standpoint from which he proceeds is that of the middle class interests against the interests of the upper capitalist class. All proposed revisions of the monetary system will be ineffective to remove injustice so long as the present system exists. It is impossible to establish an equitable financial system on a basis of an economic system which is usurpatory in character. If our financial reformers would investigate the question sufficiently to discover the dependence of financial institutions upon economic conditions much confusion would be avoided. Until they realize the economic basis of the financial system we shall have confusion worse confounded. Do not be deceived by Bryanistic sophistry. If you want to solve the monetary question, vote straight for Socialism.

Has Found One Exception

Dear Editor: Being S. D. P. organizer for the city of Chicago I come in contact with the membership frequently, and find that in the present crisis as regards union with the S. L. P. every member with whom I have talked (with one exception) is opposed to union at the present time. Fraternally,
Wm. C. Horgan.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Success again! At Spring Valley, Ill., the Social Democratic party elected Comrade Joseph Kelly to the city council as alderman against the "coal company ticket." Later, in the school election, 500 votes were cast for the Social Democratic candidate against 700 for the "coal company ticket."

The man who reads the newspapers should be able to decide for himself whether Debs is a real factor in the presidential campaign. Already the Texas "pops" are quarreling over the question of fusing with the "dems" in support of Bryan or joining the Social Democratic party in support of Debs.

The following extract from a letter written by B. Berlyn, one of the oldest S. L. P. censors in Chicago, printed in the Workers' Call, is given to show the great degree of confidence which characterizes the present demand for union: "One thing must be insisted upon, that the candidate subordinates himself to the principles. We want a large Socialist vote for the principles of Socialism, aye, we want the majority, and we will get that majority much sooner by insisting that we want votes for the principles and not for any particular candidate. We should keep an eye on those who make a personal canvass. They may be all right, but the election of no one man can help the working class."

The Revgen, a Danish-Norwegian paper in this city that at the last presidential election supported Bryan, has declared for Debs and Harriman and the Social Democratic platform. An article in its last week's issue concludes as follows:

"The nomination of Debs and the agitation for him and his cause will guarantee that the coming presidential campaign will not be an out and out humbug-fight between the old parties but will force the social question to the front, as far as possible, and even if Debs will not this time be elected his candidacy will be the most effective stroke for Socialism ever witnessed in this country."

THREE GEMS FROM BENHAM

"I shall in the future be pleased to make some comments upon the idiosyncrasies and weaknesses of some of the 'giants' of today. They will none of them be so tall that they cannot be brought to their knees when their peculiarities are made known to the people."

"The manifesto furnishes a sweet morsel for every enemy of Socialism. All or any opposed to the Socialist movement could afford to pay almost any price for such a service in the cause of capitalism."

"Incidentally, would it not be very advantageous for the Republican party to have as many Democratic parties in the field as possible? And might not the Republican party so 'interest' the four signers of the manifesto that they would make the stand they have for 'Democratic' as against anything and everything?"

Rank Injustice to Women

I wish to refer to the article, "Women and Social Democracy," in The Herald of March 31. The attitude of the Socialists towards women is like water to a dying plant. But women have become so accustomed to their ridiculous, disgraceful, stupid, economical position, that most of them do not recognize or feel their position and actually imagine they enjoy the universal respect of men; so they do just as much as children and animals do. In this city, under a new charter (good in itself, but beginning with an untruth on the first page, where it says it was ratified by vote of the people, when actually it was only "men" and should be truthfully so stated) there was recently held an examination for municipal copyists in which women were graciously allowed to compete. There were almost exactly half of each sex. A woman came out No. 1 and most of the highest places were held by women; those men who had been and were then employed as municipal copyists could not (with four exceptions) pass this examination! But when it came to appointments, women were entirely passed over and men were chosen; for the time defeating the praiseworthy efforts towards justice and impartiality on the part of the civil service commission.

Women must work; no human being in good health and not deformed or crippled can be honorably excused from work; but for women as wives, to work at home as housekeepers for nothing but board, lodging and clothes is just giving the husband's employer the labor of two for the wages of one; this confusing of the duties of wife with that of cook, washerwoman, dressmaker, etc., is very beneficial to employers, but is one of the subtle, unnoticed leakages of labor, to which it is time men directed their attention.

All honor to Socialists, who are the only body of men who try to understand and put straight the defects in the economic position of women, as well as men.
A. T.
San Francisco.

"GROWING AWAY FROM THE CHURCH" YET GIVING IT SUPPORT

By W. P. Borland

It has so often been asserted that "the masses"—meaning the wage earners—are growing away from the church, and so many good people have occupied themselves with the devisement of schemes to bring back the erring ones to the vineyard of the Lord, that it has come to be accepted as a truth in a great many quarters that workmen are far from being ardent supporters of religion.

This is one of those great falsehoods which comes to assume the garb of truth solely because of reiteration. As a matter of fact, workmen are much more ardent supporters of religion, according to their means, than are the Christian faddists who worry so much about the salvation of their (the workmen's) souls, as witness the Salvation Army, which is supported almost entirely by poor working people, and which has developed into theocracy of such wealth and power as to recently cause a split in the ranks of the leaders over the administration of the spoils wrung from the rank and file by this highly-efficient soul-saving apparatus. Witness also the Roman Catholic Church, which is essentially a poor man's church, so far as the agencies for its financial support are concerned.

Workingmen, in truth, render much greater financial support to the church than they ought. If they would as a class devote as much of their attention and their means to temporal matters affecting their welfare as they devote to religion, they would stand some show of speedily realizing here on earth some of the blessings which the priests and prophets have promised them in the hereafter.

Let any person who wishes to satisfy himself of the truth of this assertion run through the schedule of cost of living by families, contained in the sixth and seventh annual reports of the United States Labor Commissioner. In the schedules of "expenditures other than for food" will be found some figures which I imagine will come as a revelation to many of those who worry so much over the indifference of workmen to religion. Taking the first five hundred families in each of the four leading industries dealt with—glass, woolen, cotton and iron—and comparing their expenditure for labor organizations with their expenditure for religion, we are able to construct a table, as follows:

	Annual expenditure labor unions, 500 families.	Annual expenditure religion, 500 families.
Trades—		
Glass workers...	\$4,791	\$3,067
Woolen workers...	93	3,368
Cotton workers...	52	3,787
Iron workers...	371	2,516
Total	\$5,307	\$12,738

These figures indicate that these two thousand families taken together spend nearly two and a half times as much annually to support religion as they spend to support labor unions, and this average will hold good throughout the more than eight thousand families treated of in the schedules. Leaving the glass workers out of the above table it will be seen that the remaining fifteen hundred families spend nearly nineteen times as much annually for religion as they spend for labor unions. The glass workers are the only ones that spend more for their unions than they spend for their religion, and it is well known that they are a solidly organized and comparatively well paid class.

It is a significant fact that the poorest paid workers of the lot, the cotton workers, spend more for religion than do the glass workers, or any of the others, while their expenditure for labor unions is the smallest of the lot, being but \$52 for the 500 families, or about 10 cents per year per family. The woolen workers come next, and the iron workers next, in point of wages received, amount paid for unions and amount paid for religion. It is safe to say that were the figures reversed for these three classes of workers, so that the large amounts would stand for the unions and the small ones for religion, their material condition would be much improved. There is not the least doubt, however, that if these workers were reproached with the meagerness of their support to labor unions they would answer that they could not afford to pay more, and they would undoubtedly point to the size of their religious contributions as one of the causes of this inability. The average man is a queer animal. He derives more satisfaction from laying up treasures in heaven than from securing decent conditions of existence here on earth.

Burley, Wash.

THE GREAT CHAIN OF PROTEST

The purport of the hour is vast.
The world wants justice; it demands
United hearts, united hands.
The day of charity is past.

Men have outgrown the worthless
creed
Which bade them deem it God's
good will
That labor sweat and starve to fill
And glut the purse of idle greed.

They have outgrown the poor content
That breeds oppression. Forged by
pain,
Mind links to mind in one great
chain
Of protest and of argument.

And, by the hand of progress hurled,
This mighty chain of human
thought,
In silence and in anguish wrought,
Encompasses the pulsing world.

And he who will not form a link
Of new conditions soon to be
Ere long must stand aghast and see
Old systems toppling down the brink.

They cannot and they shall not last—
The broader impulse of the day
Will gain and grow and sweep away
The rank injustice of the past.

More labor for the selfish few,
More leisure for the burdened
class—
These things shall surely come to
pass
As old conditions change to new.

They change through toil and strain
and strife;
The worst but speeds the final best;
Work for all men, for all men rest,
And time to taste the joys of life.
—Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

Wayland's Monthly fills the bill exactly for a low-priced and effective means of propaganda among the masses ignorant of social progress. The first number, just published, is an encyclopedia of information concerning New Zealand. The subscription price is 50 cents.

OUT-OF-PLACE POOR

When you look upon the world, and judge it from its standpoint of greatness, you wonder how it arrived at that condition. It is only the few who have money; the many are poor. Poverty is not greatness. Poverty is not riches, and yet all this magnificence is poverty's work. How do we know where it all comes from? By looking into the pockets of the rich and prosperous, you will find there, money, money, money! Where did they get it? From the poor man. His wife had so many less gowns, his children so many less shoes, and they all had so much less comfort. Time goes on, and churches, colleges, public libraries and other buildings grow more and more magnificent, and the poor man and his family grow more and more shrunken, timid and dependent. Dare they enter any of these buildings? Never! They would shrink to nothingness on entering. And if one had the temerity to enter, rich in the thought that his hands had placed that building there, that without him it could not have been, then some broadcloth brother, by his supercilious scrutiny would make him feel that he was not at home, that he was quite out of place.

Give your children all your spare pennies to build cathedrals. The gentleman in broadcloth, though he has money has many temptations to glitter. He must be satisfied, so must his wife.

The churches are doing a good work. They let you join their sanitarium and enjoy all its privileges for 25 cents a month. What more could you expect? You might, possibly, be unwilling to be classed as "city's poor" in the connection.

Twenty-five cents a month contributed by a number of people will equip any "hall" in a short time with paraphernalia for gymnastics, a library, and other requisites for mental and physical culture.

Poverty need not be ashamed, nor finch, when it receives its own.

M. R.

Comrade Charles Hallbeck of Branch 10, Chicago, desires the statement made in The Herald that members of this branch are in favor of union.

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MAY 5, 1900.

PALTRY CHARGES AGAINST THE BOARD

When the writers of circulars and letters or newspaper opinion attacking the integrity and official acts of the Executive Board, essay to prejudice the minds of members against the "Big Four," which, by the way, is the method they have adopted to promote what they call the "sacred cause of union"—whatever that may mean—they base their "honorable warfare" upon these grounds:

First—That the "manifesto is an illegal document."

Second—That it is "undemocratic" and "unauthorized."

Third—That the board had "no right" to issue a manifesto.

Fourth—That it is the "climax of a series of officious acts exceeding their powers."

Let these so-called justifiable reasons for diverting or attempting to divert the members of the Social Democratic party from a careful consideration of the causes that stand in the way of union to an unseemly and dishonorable attack on the board be passed calmly in review.

First—This is wholly dependent upon what is meant by the word "illegal." If anything is illegal that does not conform to and give support to the pre-convention plans of a few members of an eastern branch, then the action of the executive board comes within that category. But the writer's purpose evidently is to create the false impression with his readers that the executive board has exceeded the legitimate power conferred upon it by the laws of the organization. This position can not be maintained except by showing that the board has taken action in conflict with the constitution or declaration of principles, and this the circularizers for union have not attempted. The constitution and not the Haverhill Social Democrat is the law of the Social Democratic party.

Second—The charge that the board's action is "undemocratic" falls with the first. When the constitution expressly charges the board with the responsibility of supervising and empowering its members to "carry out the objects" of the organization, it assumes that crises might arise when the objects of the organization would be imperilled. Such an occasion came; the board took action, as it was bound to do or keep the members in ignorance of certain facts which, in the estimation of a dozen delegates to the Indianapolis convention, were fatal to a genuine union at the very outset. How "undemocratic" the course adopted by the board may be seen, not by passionate denunciation and abuse, but by recognizing (1) that as officials of the party they acted clearly within the requirements of the constitution, and (2) they submitted a proposition to the membership for a referendum vote, thus complying, as they have always done, with the democratic spirit and law of the party. This action is now denounced by those who get entangled in the meshes of their own verbosity as "undemocratic" and a "usurpation of power!" Those who make the charge do so, not because they for a moment believe it, but because they think it will serve their purpose of accomplishing fusion.

Third—If the board had no right to issue a manifesto at a time when its members, without a single exception, believed some action necessary to conserve the interests of the organization, then why have an executive board at all and why give such board instructions as to its duties? The appointment of a committee at Indianapolis to confer about union with another organization did not relegate our own to the limbo of perdition; the party did not expire when the convention adjourned; that committee was not the party. The board had an undoubted right to issue an address in behalf of an organization of whose rights and interests it was the legal and authorized custodian. As a matter of fact, while others were the pliant emissaries of the S. L. P. in an attempt to wreck the S. D. P., the executive board was engaged in a conscientious effort to prevent the wreck.

Fourth—No intelligent, thinking member of the Social Democratic party can be cajoled and hoodwinked by

the specious and paltry outcry from quarters where political ambition and finesse passes current for fidelity to Socialism, that the executive board of the party has been guilty of a series of "officious" acts. They who seek to justify their suspicions of others are always clever in the distortion of language to serve their purposes. The board has been "guilty" of a few official acts. Its administration has been so free from offensive officiousness as to sometimes leave its members open to criticism on the ground of laxity of purpose. Twice in the interest of the party the board has felt called upon to act: First, in the case of an independent political movement in New York and now in the instance before us. The conviction is rapidly spreading that as the members of the board were right in the first case, so are they in this.

The cry of the circular writers and others against the "undemocratic" course of the board, who have never desired to "conduct" or "boss" the Social Democratic party, but only to serve it, will not prevail. It is paltry and impertinent.

A Plea for a Truce

Comrades: The threatened disruption and alienation of the Socialist forces of the United States, coming as it does on the eve of a national campaign from which we all hoped for great results, must certainly be disheartening to every Socialist in the country.

This being the case, our evident duty is to set about averting the impending evil. Instead of spending a season in petty bickering and squabbling, had we not best face about, cease lamenting the vanished might-have-been and arraighing our fellows; and buckle to, regardless of party affiliations, and bestir ourselves to set things right again?

It seems to me that, unless party members in various places fail to do their manifest duty, a truce for the political purpose of furthering the coming campaign could be easily agreed upon and would meet with the approval and heartfelt support of almost the entire membership of both parties.

The S. L. P. people in the aggregate have certainly evinced a desire for a fair and honorable union and most of us of the S. D. P. feel likewise; so why can we not agree at least to hang together until after next November.

There is plainly no immediate solution of the difficulties now before us.

There is certainly much to be said for both sides to the squabble. And the violent partisanship now rampant bodes ill, not only for national Socialist unity, but even for party integrity.

The next thing on the tapis is dangerously likely to be wholesale secessions of state and local organizations from both parties and concomitant with such an occurrence we may consistently expect one or more new sets of candidates to appear in the field.

There is no need to say much of what would follow. The Socialist vote would surely be so divided as to set back the movement the period of a presidential term.

You Socialists whose battle-cry is "Socialism in our own time," what think you of this? Are you willing to thus lose the ground which we have so lately gained and for which we have battled so long and so valiantly in the past?

It is quite impossible to do anything now before the vote on union is taken, but had we not better provide for the aftermath? If the vote is against union should not steps be at once taken to provide for a harmonious political cooperation with the S. L. P. during the presidential campaign? If for union, what had we best do to propitiate the dissenting branches of the S. D. P. if any verge on secession?

To get all concerned to agree to an armistice to endure until after November should be no difficult task. It is not as though any of us had any fault to find with the principles of either candidate or the platform. We are all agreed that whatever their minor shortcomings or frailties, they stand like a regiment for that for which we all stand—Socialism, Socialism unadulterated and Socialism soon. And each party has given us one of the candidates.

Why can we not, in so far as may be possible, let all lie dormant until after the election? After then would be time enough to come to a final reckoning. Do you pro- or anti-unionists fear that if things are left so long in status quo the antagonistic forces would abate in brotherliness? Perhaps; but have you a sufficient plan to secure their immediate reconciliation? Will it be more conducive to ultimate harmony to break the S. D. P. into warring factions? Or does your wisdom lead you to the belief that an utter break with the S. L. P. would culminate in a love feast or lead to aught but a withdrawal of Harriman as Debs' running mate?

Comrades, contrary assertions notwithstanding, we can ill afford to risk these dangers. Whatever may be our personal opinions as to the merits or demerits of this current controversy, we all feel in our heart of hearts that through Debs and Harriman and our rational selves, the Socialist movement may now make a stride in this country which will put it far and away beyond hurt or injury from the strife of fac-

tional disturbances. Let us act accordingly. Let us call a truce. Until November let us bury the hatchet. After then let us fight it out, tooth and nail, if you will—but a truce until then. And let the people of this country see what we will achieve in the portentous days of next November. Who's next? Let us hear from others.

Victor R. Loughead,
St. Louis, Mo.

Comrade Gordon Sums Up

Comrades: It is true that I was one, if not the first, Socialist Democrat to advocate a union with the S. L. P. And it seems to be equally true that I made a huge mistake. Neither the S. L. P. nor a large number of the S. D. P. were ready for a union. It is true also that I regard the movement as a hundred times greater than the name. When I found that a large section of the S. D. P. would not unite unless the name S. D. P. was retained I became a strong advocate of our name. At the convention I pointed out that I was in favor of a union. I realized that trouble would come in New York and Massachusetts. I stated to many S. D. P. and S. L. P. members that I was ready to take myself out of the way in favor of a union. I am now. I did not abuse any S. L. P. members in my speech. I simply stated that certain members were just as bad as De Leon and that being true there was no abuse, and those I referred to are not wanted by the S. D. P. of Haverhill or Boston. The "peace conference" was called by me, aided by Comrade Maily. Both Maily and Carey, who fully know all the inside facts of that conference, know quite well that Berger was about the last man to be told about it. Both Carey and Maily know also that in my affidavit I simply told the truth. Let the S. L. P. ask these two comrades as to whether they think I stated the truth or not. Comrade Hayes was wanted at the conference and Maily will remember that I asked him to invite Hayes.

It was comrade Maily who made the agreement at the "peace conference" in favor of the S. D. P. name, and he used the argument that the S. D. P. was to concede Harriman for vice president and the S. L. P. was to concede the name. Let Comrade Maily make a statement as to the truth of this. It may or it may not be true that the Social Democrats in Haverhill, Brockton, Boston, New York, etc., have little regard as to what I say, but if any of them have so informed Benham, then they are certainly playing a double part.

Carey, Maily, myself and others prevailed upon Harriman on his return to the convention hall Friday night to accept the nomination, and a little later, when Berger came to the hall, he (Berger) was informed of this, and proceeded to nominate Harriman. That's the way it happened, and because of that Benham tries to make out a case against Berger. Edwards had nothing to do about "engineering" the "conference." Maily and I alone are responsible for that. Edwards was invited to attend. Let the S. L. P. members who have read my affidavit ask Comrades Carey and Maily whether it was true or not. Hilquit and Harriman did pledge themselves to stand for the name S. D. P. at the conference, and they so pledged themselves before Berger had refused to see Debs. Upon Benham's refusal to support the name S. D. P., Berger declared he would not see Debs. Then the argument was made to Berger that as Hilquit and Harriman were to stand for the name, the name would be saved. I did not see the "manifesto" until it was published, and do not know to this day who wrote it. The Milwaukee comrades know full well that I stood almost alone in that city in advocating a union. The whole sum and substance of the thing is this: Harriman and Hilquit both intended to stand for the name S. D. P. When they met the rank and file in New York they were charged with being a party to "being swallowed up" by the S. D. P. The rank and file even used Berger's paper to prove that the S. L. P. had surrendered to the S. D. P. They felt compelled against the storm that broke over their heads to take a different stand. The mistake which they made was in, first, making any pledge, and, second, when they found how their own membership stood they should have issued a statement, either publicly to the S. D. P. or privately to those to whom they had made pledges, stating the difficulties. Had they done this, many things that did happen would never have been made public. It is no doubt true that the old S. L. P. spirit still exists. And it is equally true that both the S. L. P. and S. D. P. leaders largely mistrust each other. Again, it is true that both of us have been playing for position in all the negotiations that have taken place. It follows that almost any organic union proposed (at this time) is bound to be a failure.

A political union can be arranged by the states. If this political union along the lines proposed by Comrade Debs can not be arranged, then it is a waste of time to talk about any organic union.

I have only one word to say to my S. D. P. comrades: Let the S. L. P. have a monopoly of calling names, and

let us remember that calling names is never an argument.

Comrade Benham says I was half the time for a union and the other half abusing S. L. P. Comrades. Does any one who attended the Indianapolis convention remember any such thing? The only comrades that I said one word against, even in an indirect way, were the very comrades that are not wanted in the "United Socialist" party by Carey, Chase, Putney, et al. In fact, all of the Massachusetts comrades know these S. L. P. people of both sexes much better than I, and want them still less.

The Right of the Manifesto

If our National Executive Board has usurped authority, by all means let it be condemned. If it has tried to "thwart the will of the majority," let its action be overthrown. If it has committed "treason" to the Socialist movement, let it be recalled.

This I say, as every true Socialist must.

But those "ifs" must be proven, and the burden of proof is upon those who make the charges. Certainly they have not yet proven them. So far they have done nothing but shriek their baseless accusations, and try to make us believe them true by frequent repetition.

What are the facts? A committee of nine on union is elected by the S. D. P. convention. That committee is given certain definite instructions. It is instructed on three different points: (1) That it shall urge the selection of the name S. D. P.; (2) that after the conference it shall submit all reports and recommendations of the committees to referendum vote; (3) that the question of party name shall be submitted to referendum vote of each party voting separately; and if the name S. D. P. does not receive a majority of each party, voting separately, the negotiations for union shall drop, then and there. All other questions may be re-submitted; but if the party name does not receive the concurrent vote of both parties, then the matter of union drops, for the present.

The last two of these instructions the committee of the S. D. P., when it met in conference with the S. L. P. committee in New York, openly and flagrantly violated. Instead of submitting "all reports," as they were instructed, they straightway agreed with the S. L. P. committee to SUPPRESS ALL MINORITY REPORTS UNLESS THEY WERE SIGNED BY FIVE MEMBERS; that is a MAJORITY OF EITHER COMMITTEE. Four of our members could not submit a minority report, according to their ruling! If they had the temerity to do so, they "would have to get it before the membership the best way they knew how." After the adjournment of the conference, a minority of the S. D. P. did send in its report to the committee who had the matter in charge, and the committee returned the report with the statement that it could not be published.

In the second place, the instructions of the convention were plain and unmistakable that all negotiations were to be forthwith dropped, if the name S. D. P. did not receive a majority of both parties voting separately. The convention distinctly prescribed this kind of vote. This the S. D. P. committee utterly ignored, and agreed with the S. L. P. committee to submit a third proposition which took the final decision out of the hands of our own party and placed it with "the majority of both parties voting together." The S. D. P. committee had no earthly right to agree to submit that third proposition. It is quite true, as they plead in self-defense, that the membership has the right and the power to reject that proposition. Certainly it has; but that is not the point. The point is that the committee had no right to submit it for the membership to reject. It had no right to take into its own hands the power of shutting off minorities and submitting propositions, contrary to the directions of the convention.

Here, then, you have the real culprits, the real usurpers of authority. It is they, and not the National Executive Committee, whom they are now so loudly accusing, who have exceeded their authority, and it is they, and not the National Executive Committee, who should be condemned.

This committee of nine is responsible to the convention for the submitting of a report in accordance with its instructions. The convention having adjourned, the National Executive Committee, as the representative head of the party when conventions are not in session, must hold the committee to a performance of its duty.

Upon the adjournment of the conference in New York, the N. E. C. finds that the instructions of the convention have been disobeyed in two important particulars by its own committee, and that certain agreements entered into by the representatives of the S. L. P. who were present at our convention have been broken. Upon finding this new state of affairs, the N. E. C. issues a manifesto, laying the facts before the membership, and saying: "Here are some facts which you did not know before, and which our convention did not know when it took action. Upon these facts, do you wish to go further with the

negotiations? If you do, vote yes, and the reports of the conference will then be acted upon. If you don't, say no, and the whole matter will drop." Now, in all soberness, what right has the N. E. C. usurped in submitting this proposition to the membership?

The claim that the N. E. C. did wrong because it issued the manifesto before receiving the official report of the committee on union is a mere technical quibble. The contents of the majority report, and the whole history of the conference, were known to the N. E. C., through the verbal reports of two members of that committee, Comrades Stedman and Heath, and my own written report as secretary of the S. D. P. committee, and through the reports in the German papers which had chronicled the events of the conference from day to day as they took place. All the facts were known to them, just as well as if they had received the official report. The existence of our party was threatened, and prompt action was an absolute necessity. If they had not taken that action, they would have proved themselves unfit to serve as the executive head of a party like ours.

Instead of trying to "thwart the will of the majority," they seek to ascertain it.

Now, as to the "treason" of it. Were an immediate amalgamation of the S. D. P. with the anti-De Leon faction of S. L. P. in any way essential to the progress of the Socialist movement in this country, or even conducive to it, then undoubtedly any action that would seem to prevent or even delay that amalgamation would be treason to the cause. No such necessity, however, is revealed by the closest study of the situation, and even its desirability is questionable.

The S. D. P. was getting along all right before the question of union was ever heard of; and was, and I believe even yet is, destined to become the Socialist party of the country. With its 5,000 members in good standing gained in twenty months, with branches organized in thirty-two different states, with its own press and its own corps of speakers and writers, with its splendid showing at the polls both East and West, it has a brief but glorious record behind it and a brilliant future before it. Its success has demonstrated that it was on the right track, and all that is necessary is that it should be allowed to continue to grow and develop naturally and without interruption along the lines it has laid down for itself, that it may ere long become a power in the land that will make the oppressor tremble. Anything that would arrest its development or throw it off the track, is to my mind, the real treason; and thus the proposed amalgamation would most certainly accomplish.

The two organizations have entirely different conceptions of the movement. The S. D. P., holding ever in view as its aim the conversion of this republic into a co-operative commonwealth, has a conception of a great national movement which shall include the exploited and the oppressed of every state in the union, and lays its plans, locates its headquarters and adapts its agitation accordingly. The S. L. P., if one may judge from its actions, conceives Socialist work to consist in attacking individuals who become prominent in its ranks. That this is as true of the anti-Deleontes as of the Deleontes, may be seen from the following quotation from the letter of Benham in The Herald of April 21: "I shall in the future be pleased to make some comments upon the idiosyncrasies and weaknesses of some of the 'giants' of to-day. They will none of them be so tall that they can not be brought to their knees." Social Democrats have neither time nor inclination to bring comrades to their knees. They prefer to spend their time in educating and organizing. With such widely different conceptions of Socialist work, an amalgamation of the two parties now would simply give us a house divided against itself, unable to stand. The fresh and vigorous start which the American Socialist movement has taken would be nipped in the bud. This I say, and not the action of the N. E. C., is the real treason.

Where does the report of the conference committee, if adopted, leave the S. D. P.? Our N. E. C. blotted out; our national organ abolished; the national scope and character of our movement destroyed and dwarfed into an affair of the Atlantic seaboard, our national headquarters arbitrarily removed from its central location and placed in a little seventh-rate city in Massachusetts, and half a continent away from our candidate for President just at the time when it is necessary for him to keep in close touch with it—the management of the national affairs of the party taken out of the hands of those who had the ability to bring the party up from nothing to its present standing, and placed in the hands of an entirely new and inexperienced set of men at a most critical time—just as we are entering upon our first national campaign. It is true they permit us to have a national campaign committee located at Chicago, upon which some of the members of our N. E. C. may serve. They may have the privilege of raising all the money and doing all the hard work of the campaign, but the moment the elections are over they must turn over their

books and accounts to the Springfield Executive Committee and—pass out of existence—and with them, I tell you, comrades, will pass the last vestige and remnant of our young and promising Social Democratic Party. We shall have been malevolently assimilated. And how eager they seem to be to unite with us upon this basis! One can not help being reminded of the eagerness of a hungry wolf to unite himself with a lamb. Even before our convention they had sent out the cry that our rank and file should unite with them "over the heads of their leaders." Their efforts now to incite our members to "turn down" our N. E. C. are open and undisguised. To a Socialist there is something revolting in the ghoulish glee with which their papers pounce upon every hasty word, every ill-considered circular, every hysterical cry of "treason" from any of our members and publish and gloat over them. It is inexpressibly sad. Clearly there still exist the reasons which demanded our organization as a separate party three years ago, and they still demand our continuance as a separate body for the time being, though uniting with other Socialists at the polls.

Margaret Haile.

A Statement

Comrades of the S. D. P.: The Social Democratic Herald of April 7, 1900, contained a "manifesto" signed by four members of the national executive board, the evident object of which is to prevent a union of Socialist forces. The claims on which this document is based are the actions of those present at the so-called "peace conference" at Indianapolis, in connection with the work of the conference committee at its sessions in New York city. The "peace conference" was simply the efforts of a few individuals to try and overcome obstacles in the way of securing what the overwhelming majority of the national convention desired. The "peace conference" was not authorized by the convention, and made no report to it. It was instigated by S. D. P. members whose only object was the unification of forces against a common foe. Those present from the S. L. P. were Harriman, Hillquit and Benham. From the S. D. P. Gordon, Edwards, Berger, Maily, Butscher, Carey, Chase and Martin. Of the latter, Chase, Carey and Butscher were members of the conference committee and present at its sessions in New York. Having read the "manifesto" and the various published statements, and possessing a personal knowledge as to what took place in the "peace conference," and the conference committee, or both, we desire to say that we consider the "manifesto" issued by the four members of the national executive board to have been uncalled for, and a most unfortunate document, calculated to arouse distrust, suspicion and enmity without just foundation. We further believe that the report of the majority of the conference committee offers full scope for expressing our opinions. In all its details it is probably satisfactory to few, but, as a whole, it presents a practical basis for what all honest, fair-minded Socialists desire—union of class-conscious Socialists to fight capitalism. The way to secure the adoption of the name Social Democratic party is by honorable argument. Let us prove ourselves worthy of the name.

Fraternally, Chas. R. Martin, Wm. Butscher, William Maily, John C. Chase, James F. Carey.

Debs as a Rival of Bryan

St. Louis Globe-Democrat: "The Bryanites who were expressing forebodings recently as to the possibility that the candidacy of Debs would injure their favorite are being vindicated in many quarters these days. Several more or less prominent supporters of the Nebraskan in 1896 have been saying recently that they are going to drop him this year and take up Debs in his place.

"Thus, as many shrewd democrats feared, the candidature of Debs will be a menace to Bryan's chances. Some of Debs' friends are predicting that he will get several hundred thousand votes, while a few of them are saying he will get more votes than were given to the populist Weaver in 1892, which was over 1,000,000. All these votes, of course, will come from the element who otherwise would support the democratic candidate. Thus the talk that the Socialist nominee put up a few weeks ago at Indianapolis would injure the man who is to be nominated by the Kansas City convention is seen to be very far from being a joke. Every vote that Debs secures will be a vote taken from his old friend Bryan, and Debs may be relied on to make a particularly active canvass this year."

New Ideas, Seattle, Wash., says: "Not that we love Bryan less, but Debs more. Mr. Bryan is a great statesman, an orator, but he lacks a few of the fundamental principles necessary for the advancement of the laboring class, while Mr. Debs falls in line with a platform, and can be put into execution, that will cut the tangled mess with blessings for all, not a few."

NEW BRANCHES

The new branches of the Social Democratic party organized since a week ago, are located at Chicago, Ill. White City, Kan. Black Lick, Pa. Phoenix, Arizona. Bayard, Kan. Quincy Point, Mass. Dedham, Mass. Kansas City, Mo. (2)

To Our Washington Readers

Comrade D. Burgess of New Whatcom, Wash., has been selected as organizer for the state and is prepared to assist the Socialists of Washington in organizing branches of the S. D. P. Correspondence addressed to him will receive prompt attention.

North Dakota Socialists

Socialists residing in North Dakota and desiring to organize for effective propaganda work in that state are requested to correspond with Math. Eidsness, Towner, N. D.

Michigan Socialists

All Social Democrats and all unattached Socialists residing in Michigan are requested to write at once to Henry Ramsey, 84 Railroad street, Battle Creek, Mich., and thus aid in placing a Social Democratic state ticket in the field this fall.

California Socialists

Socialists resident in California and not members of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with John Carter, 929 Twenty-second street, San Francisco.

Attention, Nebraska

Persons living in Nebraska and accepting the principles of Socialism are requested to communicate with T. A. Edwards, 3220 California street, Omaha, with a view to the organization of branches of the Social Democratic party.

Arizona Socialists

in every community should correspond with M. J. Casper, Box 178, Globe, Tucson, Ariz. We have plans for keeping organizers in the field to organize branches in every town in Arizona before November; 500 Socialists pledging 25 cents per month each will do it. Don't miss it—write at once.

To Our Connecticut Readers

All unattached Socialists in the state of Connecticut are requested to write Louis Schlaf, 26 Spring street, Rockville, for information concerning the organization of branches.

Southern California, Attention

All Socialists in the seven southern counties of Southern California should now get to work and so far as possible form branches in every voting precinct. To further this end communicate at once with James T. VanRensselaer, 1618 Toberman street, Los Angeles, Cal.

To Texas Socialists

For purpose of State organization, the Bonham Social Democratic Branch requests that every Socialist in Texas who reads this notice, will please send name and address to the undersigned. Please attend to this at once. W. E. Farmer, Bonham, Texas. All Socialist papers please publish.

Oregon Socialists, Attention

You are requested to communicate with J. D. Stevens, Box 204, Portland, organizer for the S. D. P., with a view to instituting branches of the party in your community. The future belongs to Socialism. Lend a hand and get your state thoroughly organized.

Some S. L. P. Resolutions

The resolutions which follow were adopted at an S. L. P. meeting last Sunday in Chicago, at which less than half a dozen Social Democrats were present. They were presented by T. J. Morgan.

Whereas, The S. D. P. and the S. L. P., each assembled in their respective national conventions, selected committees to formulate a plan for the union of all Socialists in the United States into one Socialist party; and, Whereas, Said committee performed the duty assigned to them and prepared a joint report to be voted upon by a referendum vote of the members of both parties; therefore,

Resolved, That this meeting of Chicago Socialists of both parties hereby approve of the proposed union of Socialists; and

Resolved, That as Socialists we declare for the fullest recognition of the principle of self-government and the use of the referendum as the best method of ascertaining the individual and collective will of associated Socialists on the question of union. Therefore, we declare that all assumption of leadership exceeding the limits of proper suggestion, that all claims of individual members, committees or officials to superior intelligence, which are set up as a warrant for forestalling, controlling or

defeating the free will of the membership, violates Socialist principles and injures the cause of Socialism, and we fraternally suggest that the membership of the general Socialist parties seek for information in the official reports of the several conventions and the report of the joint committee, and from these legitimate resources draw their own conclusions and make their judgment known by the referendum; and

Resolved, That pending the vote for union this meeting hereby ratifies the nomination of Eugene V. Debs and Job Harriman as Socialist candidates for President and Vice President of the United States.

A Gross Outrage

Elmer Vandervoort is a man of middle age, living in Chicago, who some years ago while employed as a railroad brakeman was crippled for life. Of late he has been trying to eke out a living by selling newspapers on the street. To do this he was required to have a permit from the powers that be. While engaged a few days ago in pursuing his precarious vocation a ruffianly policeman ordered him off the street, and though informed by Vandervoort that he had a permit, the minion of the law compelled this poor man to move on. Later, while Vandervoort with a friend was passing up the street he was accosted by the same policeman, now accompanied by another in plain clothes, and without cause or provocation whatever, both he and his friend were arrested and thrown into a cell. They were locked up from 7 in the evening to 11:30, then taken before a brutal justice and on representations made by the police that they were obstructing the sidewalk, forced to pay a fine of \$11. The men had no recourse, because of their poverty, and the administration of justice for the fees there is in it was triumphant.

TO ILLINOIS SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

In accordance with a resolution passed on April 11, 1900, by the Chicago Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party, you are hereby notified that there will be held a convention of the Social Democratic Party of Illinois, for the purpose of nominating the following state officers, to be voted for on Tuesday, Nov. 6, 1900: Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor of Public Accounts, Attorney General, State Treasurer, Three Trustees of the Illinois State University, also 24 Presidential Electors, and other officers.

This convention will meet at No. 594 East 63d Street, Chicago, Ill., on Sunday, May 13, 1900, at 10 o'clock a. m.

The representation of said convention will be by delegates chosen as follows:

First.—Each branch shall be entitled to as many representatives as there are individual members in good standing, any representative if selected shall be entitled to one (1) vote for each member whose name is signed to his credential; and provided further, that no member shall sign his name to more than one credential.

Second.—Branches not sending their own representatives may select those of other branches of this state to represent them; provided that in each case the representative shall hold the proper credential with the signature of members attached as herein provided.

Third.—No member shall be qualified to serve as representative or entitled to representation who has not been a member of the Party at least thirty (30) days prior to the opening day of the convention.

Fourth.—All signatures of members attached to credentials, as herein provided, shall be certified to by the chairman or secretary of their respective branches.

J. H. GREER, Chairman. CHAS. H. SOELKE, Secretary.

THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing,

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Educational meetings (for members) every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Membership, with advantage of Educational Course and Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every 3d Sunday afternoon at 8 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 125 1/2 Spring St. J. Franco, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary. Branch No. 2, Alameda, California, holds free public meetings every 2d and 4th Sunday, 8 p. m. at Foresters' Hall, cor Park St. and Santa Clara Ave. Business and Educational meetings (for members) 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 p. m. at 2465 Ecinal Ave. Allan A. Crockett, Secretary, 1610 Walnut St.

COLORADO Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 3:00 p. m. at 1715 California Ave., Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1629 17th Street. Branch No. 3, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m., at City Hall. Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville. L. Schlaf, Secretary. Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Tuesday evening, at 186 State St., at 8 p. m. Cornelius Mahoney, Secretary, 165 Frank St. Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Tuesdays at Turn Hall meeting room, headquarters. Secretary, Richard Niederwerfer, Box 760.

ILLINOIS Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 52 Dearborn St. Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 2604 Wentworth Ave. Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 2 p. m. at Nagel's Hall, 635 Blue Island Ave. Vaclav Jelinek, Secretary, 605 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in the place, 1080 W. 18th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary. Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Andr. Muzik's, 40 String St. Paul Chaska, Secretary, 804 Noble St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Chicago, meets every first Saturday each month at 8 o'clock at Nagel's Hall, 635 Blue Island Ave., near 18th St. Albin Gelsler, Secretary, 100 1/2 10th St. Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 1148 W. 63rd st., first and third Sundays at 3 p. m. S. L. Westine, Secretary, 6243 Center ave.

INDIANA Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

IOWA Branch No. 2, Hiteam, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. S. B. Jamieson, chairman. James Fisher, organizer; Joseph Schollacut, secretary.

KENTUCKY Branch No. 2, Covington, meets first and third Wednesday evenings and second and fourth Sunday afternoons. All communication should be sent to the third meeting in month. Good speakers. Secretary, P. C. Stumpf, 261 8th street.

MARYLAND Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 669 E. Baltimore St. Public invited. Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wenzel's Hotel, 828 W. Camden st. Good speeches. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Harre st.

MASSACHUSETTS The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 74 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Halle, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springdale Turner Hall. H. Schlichting, Organizer 587, Sumner St. Branch No. 3, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Munroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Gotimer, Sec., 428 Essex St.

Branch No. 4, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Secretary, 82 Crescent St. Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 99 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, Secretary, 99 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Letter's Hall, 1 State St. T. H. Chisnell, Secretary, 16 Collins St. A. L. Binley, 288 Merrimac St.

Branch No. 31, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system. Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be: First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists. Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America. The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man. As steps in that direction, we make the following demands: First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex. Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—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.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

MICHIGAN Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 3 p. m. at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 22 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1200 Union Ave. G. J. Storz, Secretary, 1330 W. 9th St.

MONTANA Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chisno, Mont.

NEW JERSEY Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Livingston st. Branch No. 3, Camden, N. J., meets every 3d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1292 Eighth Avenue.

Branch No. 4 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Helvetia Hall, 54-56 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 246 Edmond St.

NEW YORK The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets first and third Tuesdays of every month in Wilsig's Hall, 85 E. 4th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday, 112 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 153 Brothok St. Branch No. 3, 24th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 1009 Second Av., at the "Central." Henry Lang, Secretary, 324 E. 60th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 189 W. 99th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 56 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Committees desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Prossman, 190 Boerum St.

Branch No. 10, 4th Assembly District, meets every first and third Wednesday of the month in the rooms of The Voice of Labor, 423 Grand St. Frank Pankin, Chairman, 120 Division St. Branch No. 12, Brooklyn, headquarters, 251 Rutledge St. Meets every third Thursday at 8:15 sharp. All persons interested are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butscher, Secretary, 251 Rutledge St.

Branch No. 20, regular meetings are held first and third Friday of the month, at Webster Hall, 140th St. and Third Ave. Secretary, E. Spranger, Secretary, 317 E. 148th St. All persons interested in Socialism and the S. D. P. are invited to attend.

OHIO Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings first and third Friday, every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Jos. Jasin, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

Branch No. 5, Dayton, Ohio, meets every 2d and 4th Friday evening, in Hall 27, Central Trades Council. Everyone interested in Socialism invited. J. C. Schawe, Chairman, W. Harringer, Secretary, P. O. Box 1000.

Branch No. 8, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, 1212 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 1804 Frintz St. Branch No. 11, Germantown, Columbus. Ed Greiner, Secretary, 806 Mohawk St.

PENNSYLVANIA Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at K. of L. Hall, 716 State St. Chairman, Joseph Blain, Secretary, J. E. Perry, 119 Sassafras St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburg, meets every Thursday evening at 7:30. Secretary, Fred Hill, S. 24th and Josephine Sts. W. Bohn, President, 24 Addison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 2313 Jane St.

Branch No. 5 (Lewish), Philadelphia, meets every Friday at 4:30 P. M. at 730. Discussion from 8 to 9. J. Gerson, Secretary.

WISCONSIN Milwaukee Central Committee meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p. m. sharp at E. Water St. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary, John Doerfer, Treasurer, 1200 W. Hill, S. 24th and Josephine Sts. W. Bohn, President, 24 Addison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 2313 Jane St.

Branch No. 8, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary, 423 S. Third St. at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. J. Gerson, Secretary.

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets the second Wednesday of each month in the office of the Wisconsin Vorwaerts, 614 State St. Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Kraus' Hall, 21 Adams St., at 8 p. m. Secretary, Rudolph Loeschman, 1126 23rd St.

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Table listing various books and pamphlets with prices, including Karl Marx's Capital, F. W. Sprague's Socialism, and various historical and economic treatises.

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FUSION AND CONFUSION

An Instructive Fable Without a Moral.

And it came to pass that a few old hawks having lost their power as birds of prey, but retaining their desire for spring chickens, decided to coax their inexperienced young and hopeful creatures into their (the hawk's) nest, by means of crafty designs.

to the clear-cut Social Democratic ideas or drop out. But if they enter as an organization they must necessarily implant confusion and discord into the rank and file and in this way form rather an element of weakness than strength.

Now, what shall we, the rank and file of the S. D. P., do? Let us keep cool and express ourselves against any fusion and confusion.

MAKE IT UNANIMOUS FOR UNION

Again our party is confronted with the question: Shall there be unity with the S. L. P. or not? We are told that our conference committee have acted contrary to their instructions; that revolt is gaining headway in the party.

Better by far that union should fail by failure on name, or some other of the propositions, than a vote point-blank against union.

If we do not want to abide by a name which our party votes in opposition to, yet receives a majority of the combined vote of the two parties, all we have to do is to vote against the third proposition, as to name.

I believe our conference committee did the best they could under the circumstances. Though our national convention decided that a separate vote—each party by itself—should be the rule on all questions, please remember that there is a higher authority than the national convention or national executive committee; and to the highest court of the party our committee has agreed to submit the matter, viz.—the general vote of the party.

The lack of keeping faith by our comrades of the S. L. P. seems to be charged by those who were busy in holding side-room meetings to fix things. Such efforts never turn out well. I know of three delegates at our national convention whose combined credential vote was at least three hundred, who were for standing by our party name, and argued as I did to instruct our conference committee to stand by the name Social Democrat; these three delegates were very busy in consulting with the S. L. P. sub-committee, and no doubt thought things were well fixed, and when it came to a vote, voted for the minority recommendation to simply urge our party name.

The convention should have been flat-footed and voted for just what they wanted, and if union then failed the responsibility would have rested on the S. L. P. and not on us.

While union is desirable, I maintain our S. L. P. friends, by asking us to take a new name, they are for the sake of pride and a little prestige for themselves, asking us to do the cause of Socialism, for this year, at least, harm; and for the good of our cause we should refuse, even though the result is no union.

Now, I am not arguing for our name because I love it for itself alone, or of its applicability from a dictionary definition when applied to the Socialist movement. It does not matter much what a word means; but it is all important as to what the people think a word or name means.

To the members of the S. D. P. and S. L. P. it is taken for granted that it means with us so far as the number of votes to be secured, that the result is the same whatever the name is to be. But we are less than 10,000 votes, and

we expect to get 1,000,000 at the coming election. Under the name Social Democrat, Socialism has got such an advertisement in this country as never before in the history of the movement. We have as a candidate for president a man with not only a great national reputation, but of international fame. One who, with the exception of a few crazy De Leonites, is universally honored as a man of ability, and integrity of character, whose voice has sounded the principles of Socialism throughout the length and breadth of this nation; in the name of Social Democracy. And at this time to change our name would lead to confusion and doubt when we are looking for accessions of strength to our cause.

Whether our name be Social Democrat or United Socialist, in many states we have got to put up a fight to get a place on the official ballots. If Social Democrat, we have got to fight the democratic capitalist party; and that is a part of our program. The people expect it. We are after the scalps of all capitalist parties. If our name is to be United Socialist party we have got to fight the De Leonites. Great Scots! What a spectacle! A United Socialist party fighting before capitalist officials, another Socialist party, for position. The situation would make us ridiculous. Our experience has been that we succeed best when we ignore the De Leonites. When they fight us, we are the gainers. When we get into a wrangle with them, we belittle ourselves and our cause.

We oppose capitalism and capitalist parties, and have no time to waste in fighting other Socialist factions.

So I say let us be unanimous for union with the S. L. P. and our party name. Let us take up each proposition submitted by the conference committee and vote as intelligently as we can, ready to make all reasonable concessions. Let no one's desire to retain a hitherto important position influence us against a union of the two parties. Whatever a majority of the members of the Social Democratic party choose for a name, that name is good enough for me. If our party by a majority vote choose to accept a name having the largest number on joint ballot of the two parties, like Barkis, I'm willin'. To our S. L. P. friends who want a new name anyway, I will say you can't find a better name than ours; do your duty and vote for Social Democrat.

Squire E. Putney. Somerville, Mass.

THE TRANSFIGURATION

A bare, cheerless room, incumbered with old, worn-out furniture; a hard-working wife, bending wearily over a small, rickety stove; the whole pervaded with that atmosphere of grime and dullness which seems to hang permanently over the dwellings of the poor; this was the home in which John Carvel stood, one morning in the spring.

When he had removed the paper covering a small pamphlet was disclosed to view, on the face of which was the printed word "Socialism." A look of disgust and disappointment came over his face. Socialism! What was that to him? What was it, anyhow? He threw down the book, hastily put on his coat and left the house.

Two miles to the workshop. The road ran through cultivated fields, relieved here and there by little patches of woodland. April was shedding its bloom on all nature; the air was light and free, filled with the fragrance of early morning. The trees and shrubs were gay with blossoms, while here and there a precocious daisy peeped out from the grass to drink in the sunbeams. But what was all that to John? John was thinking, of his debts, perhaps, or his work, or perhaps he was not even thinking at all; such might have been the observation of the passer-by, seeing him plodding along with bowed head and empty gaze.

John had lived through many such days. With one or two exceptions they were but prototypes one of the other.

Perhaps John did not even know that life could be any different, and yet today he was more tired and oppressed than usual. The hours dragged with a heavier pace; the buzzing wheels seemed to sing a dizzier song, and as the day drew to a close a feeling of deeper gloom seemed to have entered his heart. Work was over. On his way home he crossed the path of a friend. Struck by the look of unutterable woe and haggardness which darkened the man's face, he stopped him and inquired the cause of his trouble. "Discharged," he answered; "a hasty word; I tried to make it up, but it was no use. I don't know what to tell them at home." "What are you going to do?" asked John. "Do?" A gesture, half of anguish half of anger, was the answer as the man hurried away. These were common occurrences in the big mill town, and after condoling a little in his heart with his unfortunate friend, John proceeded on his way. Nevertheless as he walked the thought pursued him—what should he do were he also discharged or deprived of work? Who would take care of the family at home? The sun was sinking to the horizon, filtering through the trees, rays of orange and red. In the sky, here and there, a few tinted clouds were floating in a sea of blue and gold. A hush was descending over the face of the world, spreading its blessing of peace and rest upon the fields and flowers. The buds and blossoms were beginning to nod their drowsy heads in the evening breeze and the buzzing insects of the sunlight had already retired to rest. At a certain spot a gurgling brook crossed the road, eddying and whirling around its pebbles in noisy glee. When John reached the little rustic bridge which spanned the tiny streamlet he paused for a moment and looked down into the water. Here it was dark and glossy; there, reflecting with a silver luster the tints of the heavens; farther on, white with foam. The picture was peaceful, quiet, enchanting. Suddenly, as he gazed, half absently at the rippling water, a song burst out into the air. A hidden nightingale from a neighboring tree was pouring forth its evening melody. For a few moments the music endured, floating down sweeter and softer until it died away into the silence.

As from a dream John Carvel awoke, and without stopping again he hurried to his home. The same dull scene as the morning; the same gloomy interior, the same rickety chairs and coarse, ugly utensils. Tired, weary, and sad, with an inexpressible feeling of misery in his heart, John sank down into a seat beside the table. Almost touching his hand lay the little pamphlet which he had thrown down so disdainfully before. "Socialism." The title seemed to stand out on the white cover almost defiantly. Socialism—what was it? Listlessly John took the book and opened it. He read on a few lines, greatly surprised to see how easily he understood it. He continued, and soon became absorbed in its contents to an extraordinary degree. Once he put down the book and stopped for a moment to reflect. All was quiet in the house; outside only a few pale gleams still streaked the somber sky. It was now supper time. After going through the evening meal as usual, John again took up his pamphlet and read on. He seemed to be under the spell of some fascination; now and then he would stop and remain for some time plunged, as it were, in a deep reverie; then he would resume his reading with more ardor than before. As he sat there in the lamplight, the observer who could have seen him would have greatly marveled at the expression which had gradually settled upon the worn visage. The hours succeeded each other silently as time crept slowly through the night, and soon the first rays of dawn shot into the room, paling the light of the dying lamp. Astonished, John looked up. The book fell from his hands. He raised his head and shaded his eyes, dazzled by the light. When he opened them again a new expression was there. The dull, sordid features had disappeared; the brutish look was gone. Intelligence, earnestness and a profound joy beamed from the sparkling eyes, and from John Carvel's old self looked forth a new man. Almost reverently he picked up the little sheet and placed it by the extinguished lamp. The light had come. He walked to the window to breathe in the fresh morning air. The sun had just risen and was flooding all nature with a wealth of red brightness, while the birds sang joyously their chorus of welcome to the coming day. And on that day John Carvel went out into the world, to labor, to struggle and to live.

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