

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

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ELECTION NEWS

Prejudice Dissolving at the Polls Wherever Social Democracy is Understood

Alderman Elected at Liberal, Mo.

Saginaw Social Democrats Cast an Average of Eight Hundred Votes for Three Candidates

Councilman Elected at Plattsmouth, Nebraska

Social Democrats Gain Five Hundred Per Cent in the Vote at Pacific, Wis.

Hurrah for a Movement that Moves

Liberal, Missouri

Branch No. 15, Social Democratic party, Liberal, Mo., put out a full city ticket to be voted at election April 3. Our convention was called and the opposition had their cappers on hand to run our convention, but when the chairman called for "roll call" and announced that all those whose names were read would have a vote and that vote would be by public ballot, the cappers were completely knocked out. When they failed in this "mass convention" was called and one of their cappers who was handy with chalk wrote on the sidewalks, "Fusion convention tonight."

We have always had a most rock-ribbed democracy in this state, and an equally pronounced republican party. This town was founded by infidels, with the result that a rival town just across the railroad was laid out by Christians, and these two elements have been at daggers' points for fifteen years. But when a foe so dangerous as a "Socialist organization" came upon the ground, infidel and Christian, prohibitionist and whisky men, democrats and republicans joined hearts and hands to fight us. One big hardware dealer went so far as to pull our ticket down from the polling place and stamp and spit on it. Another, a banker, tore our tickets down. The banker is an uncompromising (?) democrat; the other a republican. The branch may have these two parties arrested for a violation of the state law. However, there is a spirit among our boys that says: "Forgive them; they know not what they do."

Clark Brayden, a Christian preacher, debated here twenty days with one of the opposite faith and failed to convince them, but one of our comrades spoke thirty minutes on the street corner and every faith and creed went straightway to mass convention. We now feel that we can soon make all supporters of capitalism join heart and hand in this country.

We elected one alderman, Comrade George Mellor. The following is the vote:

Mayor—Jones (Fus.), 69; Lipscomb (S. D.), 39.
Marshal—Cramer (Fus.), 76; Blake (S. D.), 27.

Collector—Linglefelt (Fus.), 56; Wheeler (S. D.), 50.

Aldermen—First ward, P. Thompson (S. D.), 19; J. Betz (expelled S. D.), 33. Second ward, George Mellor (S. D.), 28; Lapp (Fus.), 19.

It will be seen that the fusion party put in nomination John Betz, a member of our branch. The branch gave him the option of refusing the fusion nomination or retiring from the branch and he retired. He was a new member and does not fully comprehend the class struggle or the tactics necessary to defeat the capitalist class. When he does, we feel that he will be with us.

Dr. D. F. Eskew has been nominated for congress in the Fourteenth congressional district and a full county ticket will be in the field. Poplar Bluff seeks the state convention. L.

Saginaw, Michigan

Social Democrats at Saginaw, Mich., have good reason to be satisfied with the result of their first local campaign. An average vote of over 800 cast for the three principal candidates on the ticket is a beginning that they may well be proud of. It is another demonstration, the force and significance of which considered as a whole, cannot be ignored, that the name of the party, with its principles and tactics, are becoming more acceptable every day to the American people. One of the really laughable incidents connected with the Saginaw campaign was the contention of the leading democratic paper there that the democratic party will give Socialists what they want; yet in the same paper the things that Socialists want are ridiculed. The democratic

party is a hypocritical aggregation of place-hunters that no honest man can trust. Following is the vote:
Mayor—Cooney (S. D.), 621.
Treasurer—Jones (S. D.), 636.
Police Justice—Clark (S. D.), 802.

Pacific, Wisconsin

The steadfast little band of Social Democrats at Pacific, Wis., which has stood firm for the principles of the party for nearly two years, was rewarded at the town election April 3 with a gain in the vote over last year of 500 per cent. The comrades emphatically declined an indorsement of their candidates, proffered by the republicans (mark it!), and went into the election alone, with the result stated. Two years ago Comrade H. J. Dunham, who is a farmer, was the only Socialist in the town of Pacific, and was then known as a "crank" and a "fool"; today he is recognized as the father of the Social Democratic party in his county and has congenial company around him.

Pana, Illinois

The comrades at Pana, Ill., with the co-operation of the members of the Social Labor party section, have reaffirmed the national platform, adopted a ringing municipal platform in favor of municipal electric plant, abolition of the contract system, eight hours' day, improved streets, the union label and union coal, and a free public library, and nominated Comrade John A. Bruell for alderman in the Fourth ward. The Herald hopes that Comrade Bruell will receive the support of every wage-worker in his ward at the election on the 17th inst. He deserves it, and if elected, as we expect he will be, they will have a faithful and fearless champion of their class in the council.

Battle Creek, Michigan

The Social Democratic party, as a result of the election reported last week, secures second place on the official ballot at the next election. This is in line with the record. Social Democrats, stand pat!

Plattsmouth, Nebraska

At Plattsmouth, Neb., there was a Social Democratic city ticket and the comrades succeeded in electing Frank Newman as councilman from the Fourth ward. This is the first success of the party in Bryan's home state and augurs well for the movement in the west. The Social Democratic party is a movement, not a sect. Comrades, keep your heads level and speed the work of organization everywhere.

Burlington, Iowa

The head of the Social Democratic party ticket at Burlington, Iowa, polled more than 3 per cent of the vote, giving the party official standing in municipal elections.

NEW BRANCHES

Lawson, Col.

Chairman, Henry Cadwalader; vice-chairman, M. O'Hagan; secretary, A. J. August; treasurer, Harry Boyer; organizer, Ben Currier.

Aurora, Mo.

Chairman, M. F. Scott; vice-chairman, R. B. Hufflime; secretary, H. L. Cottingham; treasurer, E. K. Kemper; organizer, L. N. Stockton.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Chairman, H. Bergner; vice-chairman, C. Neumann; secretary, W. Manzke; treasurer, C. Haack, Sr.; organizer, P. Grimmer.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Chairman Joseph Sommer; vice-chairman, J. H. Wurm; secretary, Wm. Hinz; treasurer, Sieling; organizer Thos. A. Panyard.

Attention, Iowa Socialists

All Socialists are requested to send their names and addresses to E. P. Hagerty, 214 Columbia street, Burlington, Ia., for the purpose of organizing a state union.

At the last meeting of Branch 4, Cincinnati, the following executive committee was elected: Hugh A. Crumley, chairman; Albert Corbin, vice chairman; Joseph Jasin, secretary; Robert J. Waite, treasurer; Walter R. Ingram, organizer.

Comrades living in New London, Conn., desiring to join the Social Democratic party should communicate with H. Dorkin, 3 Crouch street.

Hoxie, Kan., elected a Socialist mayor in the person of B. C. Decker at the recent municipal election.

THE MAJORITY REPORT

To the Members of the S. D. P. and S. L. P.

Comrades:—
The respective national conventions of our parties, having instructed us to devise a basis for the union of our parties, we herewith submit for your approval the result of our deliberations.

In doing this we are well aware of the fact that the treaties submitted by us are not perfect in all respects and that many provisions of the same could be improved upon. But we beg the comrades to bear in mind how difficult it is to satisfy every member of both parties on all details in preparing a plan of organization and action involving so many propositions as the one before you.

The provisions, moreover, are but temporary in nature, and our parties, once united, will have ample opportunity to modify the same at the next national convention or in the manner provided by the proposed constitution, if a modification should at any time seem advisable.

The desire uppermost in the minds of your committees during their joint deliberations was to devise a plan in its principal features satisfactory to both parties and one by which we could, once formally united, start on the great work of propaganda and organization involved in the approaching national campaign, without further loss of time.

With this end in view we have proposed a provisional party administration to be elected while the vote is being taken on this treaty, and to be constituted as soon as the result of the vote is ascertained.

The only point on which two propositions have been submitted to the voters, is that of the party name. We have no recommendations to make on the subject, but leave this important matter entirely in the hands of the membership for such decision as they may think best.

The committee has submitted to you the question as to whether you will abide by the decision of the majority of both parties on a joint count with respect to the name, if such procedure becomes necessary. An affirmative vote on this question will secure union, a negative vote may become fatal to union. With these few explanations we leave the matter to the wisdom and good sense of the party, which we trust will successfully accomplish the great work to which we have contributed to the best of our abilities.

Respectfully submitted for the conference on unity,

Wm. Butscher,
N. I. Stone.

QUESTION 1.

Are you in favor of the following constitution? Vote yes or no.

CONSTITUTION.

Section 1. The Social Democratic Party of the U. S. and the Socialist Labor Party of the U. S. hereby cease their separate existence and consolidate and merge in one party.

I. NAME.

This party shall be known as _____ Party.

II. ORGANIZATION.

The affairs of the party are conducted by the National Council, the National Executive Committee, the State Committees, the Locals, the National Conventions, and by the general vote.

III. NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION.

1. The National Council is composed of members elected from the various states, each state electing one member; such election to take place in the month of January each year.

2. The National Council shall nominate from the membership of the party residing in three states within the vicinity of the party's headquarters, not less than fifteen members; seven of whom receiving the highest number of votes cast by the party membership shall constitute the Executive Committee of said Council, to be known as the National Executive Committee.

3. The National Council shall meet at least once a year.

4. Members of the N. E. C. may be recalled by the general vote of the party and members of the National Council may be recalled by the respective states electing them.

5. It shall be the duty of the National Executive Committee:

a. To receive and submit to a general vote, without change or comment, propositions sent from any local if endorsed by at least five others located in at least three different states.

b. To canvass all general votes and publish the result within a week in tabulated form, indicating locals and votes cast in each.

c. To be represented at the National Convention by one of its members, who shall have no vote, but merely an advisory

voice in the proceedings, and shall bear no other credentials.

d. To carry out the resolutions of the National Convention and those adopted by a general vote.

e. To supervise the agitation throughout the country.

f. To establish proper relations and communication with the Socialist parties of other countries.

g. To make all necessary preparations for the National Convention, and make a full report to such convention on all party matters.

h. To issue to the locals semi-annually, and to the State Committees upon application and in a sufficient number of copies a report of the party's finances, lists of locals and names and addresses of the corresponding secretaries.

i. The National Executive Committee may make its own order of business.

j. The National Executive Committee may compensate its officers according to the labors performed by them from the treasury of the party.

k. The National Executive Committee shall issue application cards to State Committees or, in the absence of such, to the locals, bearing a plain exposition of the principles of the _____ party, and also of the duties required from the applicant for membership.

6. All vacancies on the N. E. C., however, occurring, shall be filled from the remaining nominees made by the National Council, who have received the next highest vote cast by the party membership.

7. The expenses of the members of the N. E. C. shall be borne by the party.

The expenses of the members of the National Council shall be borne by their respective states.

8. a. The National Secretary shall be elected by the referendum vote from among candidates nominated by the N. E. C. No member of the N. E. C. shall hold office of National Secretary.

b. The National Secretary may be recalled by the N. E. C. subject to a referendum or at the initiation of the party membership.

IV. STATE COMMITTEES.

1. Whenever there are five locals in any one state, they shall form a state organization to be known as the state committee which shall be governed in accordance with the laws of that state.

2. The State Committee shall report a regular semi-annual report to the National Executive Committee and submit monthly a financial report showing receipts and expenditures.

3. The state organization shall have power to make regulations governing their form of organization in accordance with the laws of their respective states, provided such regulations do not conflict with the party's national constitution and platform.

4. The State Committee shall receive and pass upon all applications for charters from locals and submit same to the National Executive Committee. Only the National Executive Committee to have the right to issue charters.

V. LOCALS.

1. The local shall be the unit of organization.

2. Any number of persons may form a Local provided they subscribe to the platform and principles of the _____ Party, and belong to no other political party.

3. They shall report their organization as a Local, giving a list of members and send the dues for the current month to the State Committee, or in the absence of such, to the National Executive Committee.

4. Each Local shall send every six months a report of its numerical and financial condition, also its progress and prospects, and shall report the names and addresses of members in good standing and otherwise to the State Committee, or in the absence of such, to the National Executive Committee. The National Executive Committee shall send out every six months printed blanks calling for information desired.

5. Locals shall adopt by-laws to govern their actions, but such by-laws shall not be in conflict with the National Constitution.

6. Every Local shall elect from its members such officers as it deems proper.

7. Should a protest be entered against the admission to a Local of any applicant for membership, a two-thirds vote by a referendum of the members of the Local shall be necessary to admit him or her.

8. Locals shall have jurisdiction over their own members.

9. Any person violating the laws or principles of the organization may be suspended or expelled by a two-thirds vote of the members in good standing of the local branch of which he is a member; provided that any charges against such member shall be preferred in writing, and the accused shall be entitled to a fair trial. The person so accused, if dissatisfied with the decision of the local branch, may appeal to the National Executive Committee. The action of the National Executive Committee shall be

final, unless appeal is made by the accused to referendum vote.

10. Each Local shall hold a regular business meeting at least once a month.

11. In any Local which is divided into two or more branches all business of the Local and dealings with the party's National and State Committees shall be carried on by a Central Committee, unless otherwise provided in its by-laws.

12. Not more than one charter shall be granted to any city or town.

13. Members who have withheld payment of their dues for more than three months shall be suspended from all rights until they have fulfilled their obligations.

14. On application to their Local sick or unemployed members will be excused from payment of dues.

15. Upon the election of new officers Locals shall immediately notify the National and State Committees giving the names and addresses of said officers.

16. Under no circumstances shall any Local or State organization co-operate with a capitalist political party and with no other political party without the consent of the National Executive Committee.

VI. CONVENTIONS.

1. A National Convention of the party shall be held every two years, but if five Locals in three different states so demand, a general vote shall be taken as to holding a special convention. A general vote shall decide as to the place, but the date of a convention shall be fixed by the National Executive Committee.

2. The Local shall be the basis of representation.

A Local shall be entitled to one delegate for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof. Two or more Locals may combine to send a delegate.

Each Local shall be entitled to at least one delegate.

Delegates must be members of the Local or one of the Locals electing them.

Each delegate shall have only one vote.

3. The expenses of delegates shall be borne by the Locals sending them.

The expenses of the National Convention shall be paid by the party.

4. The National Convention shall frame the national platform, decide the form of organization, investigate and decide all difficulties within the party, and provide a mode of election of the National Executive Committee and the National Council.

5. All acts of the convention shall be submitted to the Locals for general vote.

VII. DUES.

1. The Locals shall levy upon each of their members a monthly tax of ten cents, to be paid monthly to the State Committee, or in the absence of such to the National Executive Committee.

2. The dues shall be received for by stamps to be furnished by the National Executive Committee to the State Committees at the rate of five cents each, and in the absence of such to the Locals at the rate of ten cents each.

3. In addition to the monthly stamps each member shall be required to pay for a quarterly stamp of the value of ten cents in the months of January, April, July and October; the money derived from this source to be applied by the National Executive Committee to the payment of the member's subscription to a party paper.

4. Every State Committee or Local shall receive a first quota of stamps on credit, to be measured by the size of membership; such quota to remain a standing indebtedness. All stamps received subsequently must be paid for in cash, and the Secretary of the National Executive Committee, as well as the secretaries of State Committees, shall not send out any stamps other than in compliance with this rule.

VIII. PARTY PRESS.

1. Members may select one of the following papers which they may receive in consideration of the quarterly dues provided for in Article VII.: Section 3. The People, the Social Democratic Herald, the Class Struggle, the Workers' Call, Haverhill Social Democrat, Milwaukee Social Democrat, the Proletarian.

The National Council may from time to time alter the above list.

MISCELLANEOUS REGULATIONS.

1. This constitution may be amended by the National Convention or by a general vote. Within five weeks after the issuance of a call for a general vote relative to changing the constitution, amendments may be proposed by any Local to any proposition so laid before the party, and such amendments shall then also be submitted to be voted on together by the National Executive Committee within ten weeks after the first call was issued.

2. The National Executive Committee shall forthwith transmit to the Locals a tabulated statement of the vote cast by each Local.

3. All officers, boards or committees of the party shall be subject to removal by their constituents at their pleasure.

(Continued on Fourth page)

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SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary
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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, APR. 14, 1900.

WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN—THE ISSUE CLEARLY STATED

When the Indianapolis convention adjourned at three o'clock in the afternoon of March 9 and the comrades bade each other good-bye, probably not one of their number returned home with any other opinion or belief than that the work begun at Rochester, continued at Indianapolis and delegated to the joint committee of eighteen to be consummated at New York, would result in the unification of the Social Democratic party with the Socialist Labor party faction represented by Messrs. Harriman, Hillquit and Hayes. It was the hope of all, and that hope was backed by a resolution to do all that could be done to give it fruition. As hope enlarged, courage was exalted and every delegate who remained to witness the closing scene of the convention when comrades mingled their voices in a parting song, felt that a step of vast importance had been taken from which there was no going back. If the delegates from Rochester, fully empowered as we must believe them to have been to negotiate with us, had gone into the conference at New York and said: "Comrades, in order to effect union we agreed to accept the name Social Democratic, in case certain men were nominated at Indianapolis," the honorable thing would have been done and the way to a perfect union might have been clear at this time. Instead of that the delegates went to New York opposed to the name, although the condition on which they agreed to accept it and urge it upon the other members of their committee had been complied with, one of their number who was willing at Indian-

apolis to accept the name as a proper one (in case Harriman and Hayes were nominated) repudiating it at New York as unsuited to the movement in this country!

It will be a difficult undertaking for any one, however skilled in sophistical and distorted statement, to convince any honest Social Democrat of the ingenuousness of an argument against a name for the Debs and Harriman ticket which was wholly acceptable for a ticket composed of Harriman and Hayes. Comrades will not overlook this in making up their conclusion upon the matter now before them for their votes. Either the man who said the name would be all right with the Harriman-Hayes ticket dissimulated, or his declination to pledge himself to the name with Debs and Harriman for candidates was the inception of a trick which the committee, of which he was a member, developed and took the full benefit of at New York. Over and over again the member of the Rochester committee who finds himself in the unenviable position of resorting to dissimulation and trickery, declared that Debs and Harriman would be the ideal ticket; he eulogized Debs but would commit himself to the name, not with Debs as a candidate, but only on condition that our convention nominated Harriman and Hayes. It may now well be doubted whether in the event of the convention doing what he wished it to do, he would have done otherwise than just what he did in the New York conference. If this plain and truthful statement of the case as to that single member of their committee is the sort of tactics that the rank and file of the Socialist Labor party endorse, then union has at no time been desirable.

It is suggested that the members of the Rochester committee exceeded their powers at Indianapolis. If that is true none know it better than the members of that committee themselves. Attention is called to the fact that two of that committee were nominees of the Rochester convention for president and vice-president. Are we to believe that these men came to our convention on a mission of unity, deliberately in behalf of unity pledged themselves upon a question of importance, that is the name, and then with perfect unanimity violated their pledges at New York? If yes, then the logic of the case compels us to one conclusion: We were tricked. If the visiting delegates exceeded their powers they were conscious of it at the time, knew the pledges could not be kept, never had any serious intention of "writing to the S. L. P. sections to urge the acceptance of the name," and instead of being at Indianapolis for union they were

there to wreck the Social Democratic Party.

It may be argued that the pressure brought to bear upon the S. L. P. committee in New York was too great for them to withstand. If that is the case, then the rank and file of both parties, and especially of the Socialist Labor Party, are confronted by this situation, that an honorable understanding arrived at in Indianapolis was utterly disregarded at New York and that to New York influence is attributable the failure of the movement for union. Members of the S. L. P. delegation at Indianapolis, before the agreement had been made, assured us that within twenty-four hours afterwards they could have all their committee of nine at Indianapolis; they said they would wire their comrades and the joint committee could complete its work within a week after adjournment. Instead of that the joint meeting was fixed at New York, mainly because of arguments advanced by Morris Hillquit, with the result that what the rank and file, at least outside of New York, honestly desired, has now been indefinitely postponed.

Calm and dispassionate review of all the circumstances must satisfy every reasonable man that a perfectly fair and honorable agreement, made, so far as Social Democrats were concerned in it, to effect a genuine union of Socialist forces, was cast aside and disregarded with the contempt which characterizes old party politicians. If the delegates of the S. L. P. had no intention of keeping their pledges, the pledges should never have been given. There was no sort of coercion used to force these pledges from them; they accepted the proposition with their eyes wide open, understood what they were doing, conceded that it was the way to union, professed great satisfaction with the outcome, and yet, in spite of the clearest understanding, not one of them even referred to it at the New York conference until the matter was brought up by one of our committee and then the claim was set up that if the pledges had been given it was "with conditions" other than that of candidates, and this claim is groundless and untrue.

If the members of the S. L. P. committee understood what they were doing, they deliberately blocked negotiations for union and upon them rests responsibility for the failure. What their real object was members may decide for themselves.

Comrades of the Social Democratic Party will act cautiously at this time and not be misled by specious argument in favor of a union which, if accomplished, will not unite. The danger now is in being misled by superficially fair and deceptive argument. The situation calls for careful scrutiny of the facts in the case, and plausible or hysterical appeal for union despite the facts.

Comrades, stand pat for the Social Democratic Party and for Socialism!

OUR LETTER BOX

Rep. MacCartney on "No Union"

Editor The Herald: I have perused the manifesto of the national executive board and wish to say that the position taken by the board is perfectly sound, the issuance of the manifesto was a step absolutely necessary. There can now be no doubt, in view of the undisputed facts in the case, that the leaders of the Social Labor party faction have broken faith, and, as I review the entire history of the case from the Rochester convention up to the present time, I can come to but one conclusion—viz., that the object of these leaders from the very first has been to either capture or disrupt the Social Democratic party. The results of the peace conference on Thursday evening were widely scattered among the delegates immediately, and it was in view of the understanding on the part of the delegates that the Social Labor party committee had pledged themselves to the name Social Democratic and had consented to the submission of that name only for the referendum vote, that the convention unanimously on Friday morning nominated Mr. Job Harriman for vice president on motion of Comrade Victor Berger. We "delivered the goods" in the nomination of Harriman, but at the New York conference the Social Labor party committee refused to deliver in return.

The proposition of the Social Labor party delegation in regard to the type of referendum vote was this: A majority of both parties voting as one. This proposition the Indianapolis convention in specific and unmistakable terms refused to consider; nay, it went further, and instructed its committee of nine that the only vote was to be a vote of each party voting separately. The well-understood inference of this definite instruction was that concurrence on the name could alone effect union. It will be remembered that the last clause of the majority report accepted by the convention was that all questions, "save only the name," where there was non-concurrence, could be resubmitted to a referendum. That shows clearly the attitude of the convention. The name was to be submitted to concurrent vote,

each party voting separately; and that but once.

But behold, the New York conference, the creature so far as our committee of nine was concerned, delicately disregarded instructions and swept aside these limitations as to the method of voting. First, this conference says there shall be a separate referendum vote; then, going outside its instructions, it asks this question of the members of the party: "In case the party name voted by you fails to obtain the concurrent majority of both parties, shall the name receiving the majority of the total vote of both parties be adopted?"

Do you not see, comrades, that in this last referendum the committee has definitely disobeyed the express instructions of the very power which created it?—that is, the Indianapolis convention. Moreover, by this maneuver, the separate referendum vote might as well not be taken, for the ultimate vote is a majority of both parties voting as one, which, as I have said, the convention absolutely rejected.

Pledges have been broken by the Social Labor party leaders, instructions have been violated by the Social Democratic party committee of nine, and unless the party unitedly supports the national executive it will either be swallowed in a dishonorable union or disrupted and scattered.

F. O. MacCartney.

"Where Are We At?"

Dear Comrades of the Social Democratic Party of America: A word with you, please.

The mountain has labored; have you seen the mouse? The lion and the lamb lay down together. Where is the lamb now? It is no fault of the lion if he is not inside the belly of his voracious majesty.

But "the best laid plans of mice and men gang aft a-gle."

Have you read the manifesto of our comrades, the executive committee of Social Democratic party of America (write this name the biggest capital letters in the case)?

Have you read the report of the conference by our true and faithful, Comrade Margaret Haile, in the Herald of April 7?

I know you have, and, like myself, you art "hot."

Tricked, queered and buncoed, but the steerers didn't succeed in landing their game.

I need not repeat the details of the conspiracy by which it was sought, by chicanery, double-dealing, duplicity and deceit, to annihilate, destroy and wipe out of existence, our beloved

party, with its splendid working organization, through which we have achieved such marvelous and unprecedented success and victories, and leave to us as a reward for all our labor, of the privations and sacrifices of our brave comrades who had served us at the head of our organization, leave to us for all our toil in the past only a memory.

You are familiar with the details; you know how every promise made to us at our convention at Indianapolis by the visiting committee of the Social Labor party has been outrageously and shamefully violated—the pledge to allow us to retain our name—Social Democratic. The agreement that the referendum vote should be taken by each organization separately, the tacit understanding that we should be treated fairly and justly in the adjustment of our interests in the consolidation.

All, all have been flagrantly violated, and now our executive committee submits to us a referendum vote the plain question: Do we desire a union with this people who have so basely deceived us and have shown a disposition to boss and control everything in sight? I say everything in sight—viz., the name, the location of headquarters, the party organ and the location from which are drawn the executive board (from three eastern states). They want all and leave us holding the bag, without even one snipe.

Our committee asks, do we desire such a union?

I am persuaded that, with me, you will, with one unanimous voice, vote no! a thousand times no! For those who have deceived us once cannot be trusted again.

Let us stand by our organization; its brief but glorious history cannot be obliterated. Let us buckle on our armor and force the fight against capitalism. Add conquest to conquest, and never give up the struggle until we succeed in writing the loved name of Social Democracy on the dome of the capitol at Washington.

Comrades, I need not appeal to you. I need not urge you, for I know you will do your duty, because I know the kind of stuff a Social Democrat is made of.

All hail! the Social Democratic party of America!

As to union with the S. L. P., "the stuff is off!"

And now in closing, a word of cheer for you dear faithful comrade, Margaret Haile. Dry up your tears; don't weep any more, cast off those habiliments of mourning, but be joyful with great joy, for your beloved is not dead, although

mangled and bleeding from the stabs of pretended friends. The loved name "SOCIAL DEMOCRAT" still lives, and will survive and push the fight for real freedom in defiance of attacks from open or covert foes. Now let us vote! Indianapolis, Ind. J. R. Backus.

A Committeeman's Opinion

Editor of the Herald: Two names are to be submitted for a referendum vote. The question then arises which is the more appropriate of the two, the Social Democratic Party or the United Socialist Party. In arguing for the former will say that the name is now extensively known throughout the country on account of our vigorous agitation, our successes in Massachusetts and elsewhere, our tolerant spirit and our friendliness toward the trade union movement. Many thousands of workmen have learned to know the S. D. P. as the friend of the working class. Further, that name is dear to five thousand comrades in the movement who, if deprived of it, may to a degree lose their enthusiasm and refrain from doing their best for the cause.

In addition the name Social Democratic exemplifies exactly what the Socialists are striving for, and plainly demonstrates that our ultimate aim is a Social Democracy.

Therefore, if a name is to be chosen according to what it defines, no better one than Social Democratic can be found if you hunt through all the dictionaries in the land. On the other hand, we have the name United Socialist party. What does it represent? A united Socialist movement? Oh, no! for there are the De Leonites, the Jones non-partisan, the Socialist Party of Oklahoma, the municipal Socialists, the Christian Socialists and many other kinds and creeds who are not with us and have their own hobbies about ushering in the Co-operative Commonwealth. The name would be erroneous as long as all men and women who believe in Socialism are not in one organization.

Further, won't we look pretty abbreviated as the U. S. Party? People will think we are an adjunct of Uncle Sam or some other old uncle and a lot of explanation will have to be done to satisfy the inquisitive.

Now, comrades, the question narrows itself down to this: Two names have been submitted; one is a recognized factor with a history, the other is erroneous in the first place, and secondly is entirely unknown and must begin to build up a reputation. Also two names having been submitted no one can say you were forced to accept; but of your own free will you decided to adopt the best one, which I am convinced is the S. D. P.

Furthermore, if that name is adopted I am confident the union will be cemented closer and better than if the other one prevails and our union will be as perfect and harmonious as can possibly be expected.

It is to be hoped that all comrades will look at this question of name from the broadest possible view and vote for S. D. P. so as to accomplish the greatest good for the Socialist movement.

Brooklyn, N. Y. Wm. Butscher.

Hayes Explains

Editor The Herald: A thunderclap from a clear sky could not have surprised me more than did the issue of the Herald of this date. I am not only astonished, but pained and chagrined at the "manifesto" promulgated by the Social Democratic party executive board. Your board accuses me, among others, in so many words, of double dealing and trickery. I plead not guilty, and as a Socialist and an American citizen I demand the right to be heard in my own defense, as well as in defense of my colleagues and comrades, feeling confident that the fair-minded and tolerant members of your party will judge impartially and render a verdict in accordance with the facts.

This is no time for hysteria and wild insinuations!

The "manifesto" says: "Mr. Max Hayes, on the floor of the convention, Thursday afternoon, announced his personal choice of the name Social Democratic, and in strong terms pledged himself and his paper, the Cleveland Citizen, to the name."

Correct. Again, in reporting action of New York conference: "It must be noted also that while Mr. Max Hayes, as heretofore described, had pledged himself to work for the name, nevertheless he evaded the responsibility by absenting himself from the conference while the question of name was under discussion. He promised Comrade Leonard D. Abbott in New York that he would attend a session and speak in favor of the name. This he failed to do."

This implies trickery, cowardice and a breaking of pledges on my part. It is a jumble of half-truths. When I returned to Cleveland and reported the action of the Indianapolis convention at a large meeting of local Socialists, as Social Democratic party comrades will testify, I declared in favor of accepting the Social Democratic name. Several Social Labor party comrades announced that they would vote for another name, which, according to Socialist ethics as I understand them, they had a right to

do. In the Citizen of March 17 the following was printed in a leading editorial on the question of amalgamation:

"The Social Democratic party will urge that its name be accepted by the united movement rather than that a new name be selected, and thus increase the confusion. It is pointed out that no stigma is attached to the title, that it is international in scope, and that it expresses perfectly what the labor movement stands for. The writer believes that the arguments are good ones, and that, if legal difficulties do not stand in the way, the easiest and most satisfactory manner to settle that question is to adopt the name Social Democratic party. We are not fetish-worshippers. A principle under any name is still the principle."

As regards the various meetings and conferences, I did not dodge anything. When the so-called "peace conference" took place in the Indianapolis hotel I was addressing a Social Democratic mass meeting in the criminal court room. When the name question was being discussed in New York I attended the weekly meeting of the Central Federated union and addressed that body, having been pressed by a number of Socialist delegates to do so, and Monday morning I addressed the striking cigarmakers. Questioned by Comrade Abbott, Saturday evening, whether I favored the Social Democratic party name, I replied that I did. I do yet, and will vote for it.

But I did not believe, and do not believe now, in making of the name a greater issue than of principles, platform, ticket, tactics, unification and everything else combined, as a few of our hysterical and excited friends are attempting to do. While our committees were wrangling over this insignificant question—like a lot of school boys would over the momentous question whether a red marble is as pretty as a yellow one and would roll as well and as far—I was, to the best of my ability, attempting to make a few more converts to our common cause.

It is gross unfairness to charge our people with duplicity, and to harbor all sorts of senseless suspicion. I believe that Comrades Harriman, Hillquit and the others, who have sacrificed so nobly and have worked so hard in overthrowing bossism, are deserving of great credit for what they have done. The membership of our party demands that two names be submitted to a general vote, and it looks to a man up a tree as though your executive board is not in favor of one of the fundamental doctrines of Socialism—i. e., majority rule. If the name should fail to receive the concurrent majority of both parties, what then? Continue to vote all summer? Or should the majority lay down to the minority? Who said De Leonism! Again, we are accused of being but a "few hundred kangaroos." Well, what are you afraid of then?

Many other absurd charges and insinuations appear in the "manifesto" that I have neither the time nor inclination to reply to. I am sure that the Social Democratic party membership will not allow itself to be influenced by a display of I-won't-play-in-your-yard spirit. I don't believe that Comrades Carey, Chase, Hoehn, Butcher and Lonergan will claim that they were tricked and treated unfairly; in fact, all expressed the greatest pleasure at the happy termination of negotiations in New York, and I believe even Comrades Stedman and Haile were satisfied as a whole.

There are some people in this world who are bound to have their own way in even the most minute particulars. They will rule or ruin, being incapable of real leadership, a welding together of homogeneous elements. Such a man is Daniel De Leon. There are others. Nevertheless, hurrah for Socialism in our time! Max Hayes.

Cleveland, April 7.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FUND

- Previously acknowledged \$51.00
- C. Knecht, Poplar Bluff, Mo. 1.00
- W. E. Harmon, Mechanic Falls, Me.50
- Jos. Spero, E. Boston, Mass.50
- Dr. Jos. Jaffe, Woodbine, N. J. 1.00
- Robt. Swift, Cincinnati, Ohio 1.00
- Leonard D. Abbott, New York, N. Y. 1.00

THE WOMAN'S FUND

- Miss H. A. Howard, Columbus, Ga. 5.00
- Mrs. E. H. Thomas, Haverhill 25.00
- Women's Social Democratic Club Haverhill 25.00

PROPAGANDA FUND

- Appeal to Reason \$1.00
- Eugene V. Debs50
- Branch No. 9, Milwaukee, Wis.25
- Sam'l W. Langley50
- "Z"25

COMRADES, TAKE NOTICE

Members are requested to at once take up the Referendum submitted by the Executive Board, canvass the whole question and return their votes through Branch Secretaries to the National Secretary not later than May 7.

The Union Label

on everything you buy is a guarantee that the producers thereof receive a fair rate of wages for its production

Insist on having the label

BERLIN'S MIXTURE

Wolfish men. There had been a large fire in Boston. Flames had swept through a large building and left it a charred wreck.

Down below were crouched groups of ragged men and haggard women and aged children. They crowded round the barricading ropes. They watched with strained eyes for the falling of debris.

And this in the last year of human evolution! This in civilized America! What an awful picture is this! Human beings, with the capabilities, the desires, the aspirations of divine manhood, forced to fight like wolves for charred rubbish!

A curse upon us, comrades, if we use not every energy to overpower the dehumanizing influence of greed, that degrades manhood to the depth of wolfishness.

In a March magazine was an interesting illustrated article on the "civilized wolf." It described a certain farm where wolves were bred and raised, and showed the influence of training and environment upon wolfish nature.

The illustrations admirably showed the marvelous effect. The beasts that to us have ever been the incarnation of fury and ferocity were as docile as dogs and as gentle as kittens. Their savage natures had been subdued, and they gathered affectionately about their human teachers.

If such a result can be effected with wolf nature, what may not be accomplished with human nature? If a savage brute, with wolfish instincts and wolfish desires, can be subdued into gentleness, is there not hope for those human unfortunates who are gentle by instinct and savage only by environment?

The aim of Socialism is not to change human nature. It proposes simply to give it a chance to assert its true self. It aims to remove the present environmental influences of injustice and oppression, and allow man to become manly, instead of forcing him to become a wolf.

All that oppressed manhood wants is a fair chance. Socialism will give that chance. Won't you help to give them Socialism?

The profane plumber. One very cold day the waterpipes in my kitchen froze. By and by the plumber came with his tools to repair the damage. We retired to the dining room and left him in sole possession.

After a while there came subdued murmurs from the kitchen. It was like the muttering of a volcano. Presently the eruption of profanity broke forth, and the sulphuric fumes penetrated the room where we were.

A pious person in the room waxed wroth at the sound. How dared the plumber use such language? Why couldn't he do a simple job without scorching the air with his lurid oaths? and sympathized.

I went out to see and scold. I saw the plumber was in a little two-foot-square cubby-hole under the sink, using, or trying to use, a large wrench. He struggled, he skinned his knuckles, he sweat, he swore—and plenty of it. I returned. Said I to the pious person, after describing the scene: "When you have crawled into that hole and used that wrench, you may talk about profanity. Not till then." He declined to experiment.

And the pious persons who denounce the sins of labor had better get into labor's environment before they make any criticism. Let every person be a plumber for six months, and then he will deal more leniently with the art of cursing.

A votary of voteless vice. Talking of pious people reminds me of another class who are ignorantly blocking the way of labor's advance toward justice.

In a certain graveyard in Wayland, Mass., there is a tombstone with a peculiar epitaph thereon. It reads thus: "Here lies the body of Dr. M—, who never cast a vote in his life. Of such is the kingdom of heaven."

There is a large and increasing class who, in their shortsighted ignorance, think that any contact with politics and politicians is contaminating. They believe that they imperil their souls' eternal interest if they tamper with things political and temporal.

A man in Topsham, Mass., lately boasted that he had not cast a vote for over fifty years. The fellow actually boasted in the fact of his heroic abstinence from the smirching sins of politics.

The man was a fool and a rascal. He was a fool in not making any attempt

to better the conditions in which he was forced to live. He was a knave in not reaching out his political hand to rescue the victims who by the industrial conditions were forced to die.

A vote is a man's most sacred possession. He who scorns it is a true traitor to himself and his fellows. He who uses it aright is a true savior of his race.

The real and the ideal. Dr. J. W. Winkley, in a recent address in Boston on mental healing thus voiced the modern need:

"In order to develop the highest degree of harmony in life we need an ideal world, and ideal men and women in it. We need an ideal social and industrial order, an ideal home, an ideal state and an ideal church. We need an ideal brotherhood, and a pure democracy organized to make 'liberty, equality, fraternity' a reality among men. The watchword of such a democracy would be 'fellowship'; its motto, 'service to men'; its aim and object, the attainment of the ideal; its principle, that of unity.

Fine words. Very fine words. But I doubt, after my experience with such idealists, if a single one of those who applauded those sentiments with gloved fingers had the remotest idea of putting these things into practice.

An ideal is useless, unless it inspires and impels us to realize it. It is one thing to rhapsodize, but it is another thing to realize. An ideal in the clouds is well enough, but a reality in common life is worth all the ideals in cloudland.

Winkley speaks truly when he says, "Its principle is unity." And I speak more truly when I say, "Its principle is political unity." Only when men band themselves together to make an ideal a reality by means of their votes will any progress be made. When this is done, nothing can prevent our onward march.

It may be retarded by obstacles, the road may be made more difficult, but eventually we shall make the real and the ideal meet in common life on common ground. Merlin.

MUSINGS

Most people, including many school children, know by this time that in this great and godly empire city a naughty, naughty actress put on the stage a shockingly wicked play, and that a holy wave of virtuous indignation swept both the actress and the play off the stage. Everybody is, no doubt, also aware that two righteous, pure and moral newspapers, so righteous, so pure, and so moral, by the way, that only a couple of years ago hundreds of libraries, clubs and reading rooms felt impelled to exclude them from circulation, were instrumental in getting the actress aforesaid arraigned before a magistrate, handed over to a grand jury and indicted.

Now we have the trial of the "vile and filthy" play, and the same two news sheets vie with each other in publishing—for the fourth time—all the shocking "evidence," all the suggestive horrors; in giving the nastiest possible flavors to every innocent-looking detail connected with the very thing that was supposed to be undermining the good work of the pulpit, the Sunday school and that dear old soul, Mrs. Grundy. It is safe to say that these modern Tartuffes, these daily Pecksniffians, these Comstocks and Steads are doing more mischief than all the sinners from Boccaccio to Guy de Maupassant put together.

After the above was written the jury in the case acquitted all the defendants, but has failed to stigmatize in proper terms the conduct of the sensation mongers who should have been in the stocks if justice and capitalism were not mutually excluding terms.

To observe the workings of this crime-begotten, sorrow-laden, corrupt and corrupting system, and to think that sensible, civilized, feeling and reasoning human beings tolerate it, is enough to drive a sane man crazy, and the most hopeful, the most optimistic as desperate as the inmates of a house on fire, with every outlet cut off. Here are people ever on the lookout for some great national calamity, for mine-explosions, claiming victims by the hundred, for life-devouring conflagrations, for war, and famine, and pestilence; who spread like vultures over the carcasses of the slain, and live on death like hyenas; who gloat over theft and adultery as if the breaking of the ten commandments were a natural part of their assets; who would stop the blood circulation in the rest of mankind if it could raise the circulation of their sheets.

Talk about Nero fiddling while Rome was ablaze! That worthy had at least no sordid mercenary motives. Besides, he was an emperor, as mad as Peter (No. 3) of Russia, as ambitious as the first Napoleon, and as depraved as that holy person Alexander Borgia. The modern dealers in horrors and disasters have all their senses, very little ambition, and wield not a scepter, but a pen—and even that by proxy—while

turning blood and tears, crime and misery into dollars and cents.

And yet they are only the creatures of this social system which is about as social and systematic as are death and chaos respectively. Oh, for one of Carey's smiles! I am in a terribly gloomy mood. M. Winchevsky.

THE INDIANAPOLIS COMPACT

Edwards' Statement and Affidavit

"On the evening of March 8 at the New Occidental hotel, Indianapolis, a meeting was held for the purpose, if possible, of arriving at an agreement. There were present as representatives of the Socialist Labor party Morris Hillquit, Job Harriman and G. B. Benham, and F. G. R. Gordon, Wm. Maily, C. R. Martin, A. S. Edwards, J. C. Chase, J. F. Carey, V. L. Berger. Gordon stated that since E. V. Debs declined to accept the nomination, it had been deemed advisable to hold a meeting of a few members of the S. D. P. and the S. L. P. delegates to see if an agreement honorable to both parties could not be made. He said the delegates to the convention were willing to accept Harriman and Hayes as the candidates, and if that was done he thought the delegates of the S. L. P. should be asked to give some assurance that the name Social Democratic would be accepted.

"Morris Hillquit was the first to respond. He said, in substance, that if the convention on the following day nominated Harriman and Hayes there would be no difficulty about the name; that he would give his personal pledge (which he then and there did) that so far as he was concerned the name Social Democratic would be the only one submitted by the joint conference committee; further, he said, that he would give those present the moral assurance that the name Social Democratic would be accepted by the committee of nine representing the S. L. P.

"The next to speak was G. B. Benham. He said that he agreed fully with Mr. Hillquit, that the name was an acceptable one and that such an arrangement as was proposed would be satisfactory and settle the question of name. He gave his personal pledge.

"Job Harriman followed with the explicit and unqualified statement that he was in full accord with Hillquit, gave his personal pledge and added that he would write to the sections of the S. L. P. urging acceptance of the name Social Democratic party.

"Then Victor L. Berger said, in substance: 'If Debs can be induced to accept and the ticket nominated is Debs and Harriman, will you then stand by the name and will your pledges be good? I have some personal influence with Debs and am willing to make another effort. I do not know that I can succeed, but I will try, and if he does accept will you recommend only the name Social Democratic party?'

"To this Hillquit was first to reply. This he did in precise terms, declaring, as on the first proposition, that he would stand for the one name, Social Democratic party.

"Benham declined to commit himself as he had done on the Harriman-Hayes proposition.

"Harriman expressly declared that he accepted the proposition and would stand by the agreement on the name if the ticket were Debs and Harriman.

"Hayes being absent, the question was asked whether he would approve and accept the action of the meeting. Both Hillquit and Harriman stated that Hayes' indorsement and pledge could be relied upon and any agreement made there would be sanctioned by him.

"To the foregoing I wish to add that no other conditions or provisions whatever were suggested or agreed upon; that the members of the S. D. P. on their part accepted the conclusion arrived at in good faith, and that it was the distinct understanding when the meeting adjourned that if the convention nominated Debs and Harriman no other name than that of Social Democratic party would be submitted by the joint conference. "A. S. Edwards."

Subscribed and sworn to before me, this third day of April, A. D. 1900. Chas. H. Soelke, Notary Public.

Gordon's Statement and Affidavit

"I believe it to be in the interest of truth and justice that a statement be made in reference to the peace conference held on Thursday, March 8, at the Occidental Hotel. The convention had adjourned in confusion and considerable bad feeling. Comrade Maily requested me to talk to certain comrades who were 'pretty hot under the collar.' On the way to the hotel I suggested to Comrades Hillquit and Maily that we get a half-dozen of the warring comrades into a room and see if we could not effect some kind of peace that would be honorable to all. This was agreed to, and I lost no time in bringing it about. I sought Victor L. Berger to retain the name and spirit of the Social Democratic Party and asked him to attend. He at first flatly refused, stating he was afraid of trickery, but finally consented after much urging upon the part of Comrade Maily and myself and also upon an invitation of Comrade Carey.

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, Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodman's Hall, 125 1/2 Spring St. J. Franc, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary. Branch No. 2, Alameda, California, holds public meetings every Thursday, 8 p. m., at Linderman Hall, Central Ave., near 10th St. Business and educational meetings (for members) every Monday, 8 p. m., at 2468 Encinal Ave. Allan A. Crockett, Secretary, 1610 Walnut Street.

COLORADO Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 3:00 p. m. at 1715 California Ave. Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1629 17th Street.

CONNECTICUT The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville, L. Schlarf, Secretary.

Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Tuesday evening at 198 State St. at 8 p. m. Cornelius Mahoney, Secretary, 165 Park St.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at 8 p. m. in Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard M. Decker, Box 740.

ILLINOIS Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 52 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 264 Westworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 8 o'clock at Nagl's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. Vaclav Jelinek, Secretary, 606 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dundler's place, 1050 W. 18th place. Joseph Dundler, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Andr. Musik's, 40 String St. Paul Chapska, Secretary, 35 1/2 Rube St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Chicago, meets every first Saturday each month at 8 o'clock at Nagl's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. near 18th St. Albin Geisler, Secretary, 725 W. 20th St.

Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets every Monday, first and third Sundays at 8 p. m. S. L. Westline, Secretary, 6243 Center Ave.

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

IOWA Branch No. 2, Hittman, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. S. J. Jamison, chairman. James Fisher, organizer; Joseph Schollact, secretary.

KENTUCKY Branch No. 2, Covington, meets first and third Wednesday evenings and second and fourth Sunday afternoons of each month. All agitation meetings except third meeting in money every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Götter, Sec., 423 Essex St.

MARYLAND Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 600 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wensel's Hotel, 328 W. Camden at Good speech. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Harre st.

MASSACHUSETTS The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 724 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 Hall, 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, 77 Monroe St. Secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Springfield St. Open house. Public invited. Harry Götter, Sec., 423 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, W. J. Brown, 22 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, Woburnport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. T. H. Chisnell, Secretary, 16 Collins St.

Branch No. 21, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

Comrade Berger had been invited to attend a conference of the oldest friends of Comrade E. V. Debs for the purpose of prevailing upon Debs to accept the nomination, but upon the urgent demands and appeals of Comrades Maily, Carey and Gordon he consented to attend the peace conference instead.

I made the proposition at the peace conference that in case Debs would not accept the nomination the S. D. P. nominate Harriman and Hays for the standard bearers of the united party and that the S. L. P. on their part pledge themselves to accept and work for the name Social Democratic Party as the official name of the united party. Comrades Hillquit and Harriman both agreed to this, Comrade Harriman pledging himself to write to all S. L. P. sections, appealing to them to vote for the name Social Democratic Party.

"Comrade Berger then put this question: 'How would it be about the name then in case Debs will run, do you still agree in that case to the name Social Democratic Party?' After some discussion, the point was made by Comrade Maily, that Debs was the choice of all, that we, the S. D. P. were to accept Harriman and the S. L. P., on their part accept the name of the S. D. P. This was agreed to by both Harriman and Hillquit. Comrade Benham did not agree to this.

"The peace conference adjourned to meet at 11:30 p. m. In the meantime the other conference had succeeded in gaining Debs' consent to accept the nomination; he (Debs) giving his consent at almost the very minute that the peace conference adjourned. Things having been settled to the satisfaction of all, the 11:30 conference was not called simply because Debs' acceptance had settled everything. F. G. R. Gordon. Milwaukee, Wis., April 2, 1900.

STATE OF WISCONSIN } ss. Milwaukee County }

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 3d day of April, 1900. James A. Sheridan, Notary Public, Wisconsin.

Organize a Branch in Your Town

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 1300 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, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 57 Livingston St.

Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 2d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1206 Kaighn's Avenue.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at Helvetia Hall, 54-56 Van Hooken 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 Willis's Hall, 32 E. 4th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

East Side Branch, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 113 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 183 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 3, 24th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 1029 Second Av., at the Central. Henry Lang, Secretary, 24 E. 80th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 125 W. 99th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 4 p. m., at 56 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Pressman, 190 Boorum St.

Branch No. 10, 4th Assembly District, meets every first and third Wednesday of the month at the rooms of The Y. M. C. A., 425 Grand St. Jacob Panken, Organizer, 129 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. Butcher, 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., Borough of the Bronx, E. Spranger, Secretary, 817 E. 149th 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 3 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Saturdays at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St. Lectures, discussions.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelieu Hall, southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. J. Jasin, Secretary, 1410 Central Ave. Hall, 140th St.

Branch No. 5, Dayton, Ohio, meets every 1st and 3rd Friday evening in Hall 27, Central Trades Council Bldg. Everyone interested in Socialism invited. J. C. Schwab, President, W. Barringer, Secretary, P. O. Box 294.

Branch No. 6, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, 1313 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 1247 Erie St.

Branch No. 11, German, Columbus. Ed Grainger, Secretary, 806 Mohawk St.

PENNSYLVANIA Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at E. of L. Hall, 718 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stein, Secretary, J. E. Perry, 119 Sasfras St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m. at 1200 S. 10th St. and Josephine Sts. W. Bohn, President, 24 Ad-dison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 2315 Jane St.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish), Philadelphia, meets every Friday at 8:30 p. m. at 422 S. Third St. at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. I. Gerson, Secretary.

WISCONSIN Milwaukee Central Committee meets on the first Sunday of each month at 8 p. m. sharp at 618 E. Water St. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary. John Doerfler, Treasurer.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Tuesday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 128 Jefferson St. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuttle, Chairman. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concessia Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard's Hall, 1200 Pennsylvania Ave. R. Schoen, Secretary-Treasurer, 812th St.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Moller's Hall, corner 23d and Brown Sts. George Moerschell, Secretary, 231 1/2 5th St.

Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigal's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. Fred Brockhausen, Secretary, 70 Windmill Ave.

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets the second Wednesday of each month at the office of the Wisconsin Vorwarts, 614 State St.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Kraus', 21 and Center St. at 8 p. m. John Koenfer, Secretary.

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THEODORE DEBS, Secretary Treasurer, 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

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THE MAJORITY REPORT

4. A member in good standing of one Local shall have the right to attend and speak at any meeting of another Local, but shall not be allowed to vote.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That the Socialist policy and tactics toward the trade union movement as agreed upon at the National Conventions in Rochester and Indianapolis is hereby reaffirmed and adopted as the policy of the United Party.

QUESTION 2.

Are you in favor of the following platform? Vote yes or no.

PLATFORM.

The party of the United States, in convention assembled, reaffirms its allegiance to the revolutionary principles of International Socialism and declares the supreme political issue in America to-day to be the contest between the working class and the capitalist class for the possession of the power of government.

In the United States, as in all other civilized countries, the natural order of economic development has separated society into two antagonistic classes—the capitalists, a comparatively small class, the possessors of all the modern means of production and distribution (land, mines, machinery and means of transportation and communication), and the large and ever increasing class of wage workers possessing no means of production.

This economic supremacy has secured to the dominant class the full control of the government, the pulpit, the schools and the public press, thereby making it the arbiter of the fate of the working class, while it is reducing it to a condition of dependence, economically exploited and oppressed, intellectually and physically crippled and degraded and its political equality rendered a bitter mockery; and the contest between these two classes grows ever sharper.

The evil effects of capitalist production are intensified by the recurring industrial crises continually rendering the existence of the greater part of the population more precarious and uncertain, which amply proves that the modern means of production have outgrown the existing social order based on production for profit.

Human energy and natural resources are wasted for individual gain.

Ignorance is fostered that wage slavery may be perpetuated. Science and invention are perverted to the exploitation of men, women and children.

The lives and liberties of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit.

Wars are fomented between nations; indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged; the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalist class may extend its commercial dominion abroad and enhance its supremacy at home.

The introduction of a new and higher order of society is the historic mission of the working class. All other classes despite their apparent or actual conflicts are interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the means of production. We therefore charge that in this country the Democratic, Republican and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production are alike the tools of the capitalist class.

The working class can not, however, act as a class in its struggle against the collective power of the capitalist class except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, without distinction of color, race or sex, and upon all citizens in sympathy with the historic mission of the working class to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party, as a party truly representing the interests of the toiling masses and uncompromisingly waging war upon the exploiting class, until the system of wage slavery shall be abolished and the Co-operative Commonwealth shall be established.

Pending the accomplishment of this our ultimate purpose, we pledge every effort of the Socialist Labor Party for the immediate improvement of the condition of labor, and also for the securing of its progressive demands.

"Working men of all countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, and a world to gain!"

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.

QUESTION 3.

Whereas the subscription to the Social Democratic Herald has heretofore been paid almost exclusively from the membership dues of the S. D. P., and whereas a change in the basis of subscription involved in this treaty will result in a considerable decrease in the income of said paper,

Resolved, That during the six months following the ratification of this treaty the management of the Social Democratic Herald may continue sending the said paper to all the present members of the S. D. P. and the expense of its publication not exceeding sixty dollars per week be paid by the National Executive Committee.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION 4.

Resolved, That the Provisional National Executive Committee at its first meeting call upon the members of the united party in the city of Chicago to elect a National Campaign Committee with headquarters in that city, for the purpose of conducting the campaign of 1900 in conjunction with our candidates on the national ticket. The funds of the said committee shall be furnished by the N. E. C. and be raised by subscriptions.

On or before January 1, 1901, the Campaign Committee shall account for all its income and expense to the N. E. C. and deliver to the latter its funds, books and other property and its functions shall cease.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION 5.

Resolved, That Comrade Eugene V. Dietzgan, now sojourning in Europe, shall represent the united party at the International Socialist Congress in Paris to be held this year.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION 6.

Are you in favor of the name Social Democratic Party?

Are you in favor of the name United Socialist Party?

Vote for either one.

QUESTION 7.

In case the party name voted for by you fails to obtain the concurrent majority of both parties shall the name receiving the majority of the total vote of both parties be adopted?

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION 8.

Shall the affairs of the united party be managed by a Provisional National Executive Committee of ten to serve from the day this treaty of union shall go into effect until the first day of February, 1901? Said committee to consist of five members from each party, to be elected as follows: Two from the State of Massachusetts, two from the State of New York and one from the State of Connecticut?

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION 9.

The following ten comrades have been nominated by your Committee on Unity from the membership of the S. P.:

- 1. John C. Chase.
2. Margaret Haile.
3. Samuel M. Jones.
4. Frederick O. McCarty.

New York—

- 1. Wm. Butscher.
2. George Gordon.
3. A. Guyer.
4. J. Phillips.

Connecticut—

- 1. Wm. P. Lonergan.
2. Geo. Sweetland.

Vote for two names from the State of Massachusetts, two from the State of New York and one from the State of Connecticut. Put a cross opposite the name you wish to vote for.

QUESTION 10.

Resolved, That the Provisional National Executive Committee shall have the power to fill its own vacancies.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION 11.

In addition to the said ten members of the Provisional National Executive Committee, each state shall be entitled to elect one additional representative to said committee, the expense of such additional representative to be borne by the respective states.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION 12.

The Provisional National Executive Committee is instructed to publish the proceedings of the Rochester and Indianapolis conventions; also the proceedings of the conference on unity held in New York.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION 13.

Resolved, That Eugene V. Debs serve as candidate of the united party for the office of President of the U. S. and Job Harriman as candidate of the united party for the office of Vice-President of the U. S.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION 14.

The Provisional National Executive Committee is authorized to fill any vacancies on the national ticket.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION 15.

Resolved, That the seat of the National Executive Committee be located in the city of Springfield, Mass., until the next national convention.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION 16.

Resolved, That the national secretaries of both parties tabulate the results of this vote and transmit the same with the original returns to the members of the committee elected for that purpose at the conference in New York, to-wit: N. I. Stone of the S. L. P., and Wm. Butscher of the S. D. P.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION 17.

Resolved, That the said committee of two after verifying the vote, in case this treaty is adopted, call upon the Provisional N. E. Committee elected thereby to assemble in the city of Springfield, Mass., on the Saturday of the week following.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION 18.

The result of this vote shall be published in detail in the official organs of both parties.

Vote yes or no.

This vote must reach the National Secretary on or before May 30, 1900. All votes received after that date will not be counted.

Respectfully submitted,

Wm. Butscher, For the Committee.

ORGANIZATION

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.

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 Townerman street, Los Angeles, Cal.

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.

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, 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.

ATTITUDE TOWARD TRADE UNIONS

In accordance with our declaration of principles we declare that the trades union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage-working class. We recommend to the members of the Social Democratic party the following general rules:

First—Join the union of your respective trade.

Second—Assist in building up and strengthening the trade union movement.

Third—Support the union labels of all crafts.

Fourth—Educate your fellow-unionists on the question of Socialism and the labor movement, on economic and political lines.

Fifth—It shall be your duty to work for the unity of the labor movement, thereby recognizing the fact that the emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the united efforts of this class.

Sixth—Educate the members of the unions in the principles of Socialism and induce them, individually, to affiliate with the Social Democratic party.

Seventh—Trades unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned. The trades union is the arena where all wage-workers may be brought together for joint action to resist the encroachments of capitalism on the economic field and to participate in the class struggle of the proletariat which will finally develop into the political alignment of the forces of labor in the struggle for proletarian emancipation.

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