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The Greatest Glory of a Free People is to Transmit Freedom to their Children.

## SONG OF THE TRUSTS.

There's a flour trust and a meat trust,  
A trust in beer and malt;  
A cracker trust and a sugar trust,  
A trust in lead and salt.  
There's an oil trust, an ice trust,  
A trust in lard and soap;  
A starch trust and coffee trust,  
A trust in twine and rope.

There's a collar trust and cuff trust,  
A trust in printers' type;  
A silk trust and a milk trust,  
A trust in screws and nails.  
There's a woolen trust, a worsted trust,  
A trust in coke and gas;  
A thread trust and a pin trust,  
A trust in zinc and brass.

There's a leather trust, a lumber trust,  
A trust in printers' type;  
An iron trust and a steel trust,  
A trust in sewage pipe.  
There's a copper trust, a coal trust,  
A trust in brick and bridges;  
A school book and a corn trust,  
And a trust in cart-ridges.

There's a scissors and a shears trust,  
A trust in chewing gum;  
A saw trust and a stove trust,  
A trust in petroleum.  
There's a match and a watch trust,  
A trust in ammunition;  
And the trusty friend of all trusts  
Is the trust politician. —A. S. E.

The Filipinos may be able to get "comfort" out of the thought that if they can't have liberty they can have the bible.

The meeting of a State legislature is an opportunity for the vultures of corporations. And how they do improve it!

A bicycle tube trust, worsted yarn trust, lamp chimney trust, hollow-ware glass trust are among the latest combines effected for the benefit of the "dear public."

The Federal court in Cleveland finds that low car fare is unconstitutional, and the legislature in Missouri decides that a street car trust is about what St. Louis needs.

Ex-Governor Boutwell of Massachusetts says "Aguinaldo is right and McKinley is wrong." Of course Boutwell is guilty of "treason," but that don't alter the fact that he, too, is right.

The cost of expansion to date in the Philippines, so far as the same has been ascertained, is \$98,710,000, and not a man, woman or child, immediately or prospectively two bits better off for it.

Wasn't the payment of that \$20,000,000 for the Philippines, after the Spaniards were whipped, a foolish piece of business? Or was it paid to afford an excuse to slaughter "yellowbellies at \$2 a head?"

Only three week ago the press of St. Louis was jubilant over the decision of a court against trusts and lustily declared that Missouri had the lead in the fight against combinations. Now they are dependant over the action of the state legislature which is doing the trusts' bidding.

Gen. Henry says that "Porto Rico is the place for the capitalist rather than for the poor man."

The poor man is already there and all the capitalists have to do is exploit him. An abundance of natural resources and "the poor man" make the capitalists' opportunity.

A democrat writes to say that if the governor of Missouri approves a street railway monopoly bill passed by the legislature, the State will go republican next year. But that won't help the State a particle. What an absurd thing for a State to do because democrats approve monopoly.

"Brother" Moody, the "man of God," who objects to Sunday trains and Sunday work, but accepts the Sunday "services" of his wealthy patrons' coachmen, agrees with "Brother" McKinley that "we can't leave these Filipinos to form their own government; they would kill themselves off!" The "godly man" evidently wants the Filipinos preserved for American capitalists to kill off.

Says the St. Louis Post-Dispatch: "The Golden Age will not come till the \$625,000,000 steel trust is knocked out." And the action of democratic members of the Missouri legislature in relation to the street railway monopoly shows that the democratic party cannot be depended upon to knock out the trusts, therefore, that the people need not look to that party to inaugurate the "Golden Age."

A people who will fight for their liberty and right to be independent, have more "sand" and genuine Americanism in their make-up than millions of Americans who are taken in by the cant and pious froth of modern pretenders to statesmanship.

The death rate of Chicago during the first week in May was increased by an epidemic of suicides, fifteen being recorded during the first three days of the week. Cause: The criminal aggressions incident to and inseparable from a system of private property in land and industrial capital.

McKinley, the press tells us, will now use Aguinaldo "in carrying out his Philippine policy." And since McKinley's "policy" has always been that of the capitalist masters who controlled him, it follows that if Aguinaldo is used at all, it will be for the purpose of promoting the schemes of your uncles, the capitalists.

A candidate for appointment as water commissioner of St. Louis, who has been nominated by the republican mayor, says he wants the position "because it would be worth thousands of dollars to him in his business." That fellow is a fair type of the whole gang that run what is called a "people's government" in the United States from the Manitoba line to the Bay of Florida.

A letter from Sarah Ward Temple, Fairhaven, Wash., tells a pitiful and doubtless true story of the conditions at Equality colony. Over 300 she says have left the colony in sorrow and disgust. A large number of the colonists, Mrs. Temple says, will be forced to the only alternative left them of applying for a receiver. The paper does not tell why the people, whose sufferings and privation have been fearful, leave the colony, which is, declares Mrs. Temple, "a fraud, a failure and a disgrace."

The Civic Federation of Chicago is arranging for a four days' study of trusts during the summer. The fourth day of the study will be devoted to suggestions for restricting trusts. The spectacle of a company of grown men gathered, after the capture of government State and National by the trusts, to devise ways of restricting them, will be ludicrous enough. Again we say, enlarge the trusts and use them for the benefit of all the people. It is to be hoped that the three days' study will reveal the true way to deal with the trusts.

When you start out next Monday morning, ask yourself why it is necessary for you to offer yourself for sale to somebody in order to live. Don't sell yourself, eh? Yes, you do, friend! And all you get on the deal is something to eat. You work and are fed. A horse works and is also fed. A horse is sold and gets food for the work it can do. You sell yourself to work to get food. With you it is no work, no food; no master, no work; you are compelled to put yourself up for sale to a master to live.

The secretary of the treasury informs the country that the deficit this year will be \$100,000,000. The people have bought nothing they have not paid a tax on, the whole nation has been licking war stamps for a whole year, the McKinleyized Dingley bill has been in full operation, but the country is "in the hole" for a cool \$100,000,000. They have bled the people in every little, contemptible way that could be thought of and now admit that it may become imperative to sell evidences of debt to the extent of \$200,000,000. This is government by a class, for a class and against the masses.

Will not some ingenious Yankee who hates liberty and loves tyranny devise some scheme to help out the Kaiser who is sorely perplexed by the steady advance of Social Democracy in Germany? His latest scheme is to improve the reichstag by creating three classes of voters: Class one, those between 25 and 40 years of age, to have one vote each; class two, those from 40 to 45, with two votes each; class three, those over 55, with three votes each. But the scheme will never work, because there is no guarantee that as men grow older they will not get good sense and vote the Socialist ticket. It is to be hoped, however, that the Kaiser will try it, for the reason that all his schemes up to date have helped the Socialist movement.

In a society in which each man's labor, in some direct or indirect way, complements another's, the largest and most useful class is compelled to make the greater sacrifices, because of the private ownership of the means of production.

It's a queer animal that contentedly stands by a machine and produces fifty times as much with its aid as his grandfather did by hand; then goes home Saturday night to fewer comforts and a meaner life than grandfather enjoyed. Is it because the grandson has lost the power to think?

Speaking of government: How much better is a republic in which the people are hitched to the trust juggernaut of a hundred irresponsible kings, whose agents control the government, to a monarchy where the people enjoy as full and free a life and whose single crowned head is controlled by the government?

One of the lessons which young men can learn from the life of our hard-working comrade, Russell Sage, is that by the aid of the social organism and the opportunities to skin that New York has offered him, he has grown wealthy—or his wealth has grown. What he could have achieved on a Western farm, toiling in isolation, is quite another question.

Can you see how the inequality of wealth produced by capitalist production and distribution destroys liberty?

If you can see it, and believe in liberty, what do you propose shall be done to preserve liberty?

If you have nothing to propose, why not make a fair inquiry into the merits of the propositions of Socialism?

Our farmer friends will not receive with any degree of enthusiasm the announcement that twenty leading manufacturers of feed cutters, corn shellers, feed mills and cider mills have decided upon an advance in prices of 15 to 25 per cent. This is owing to "increased cost of raw materials," and not to increased wages paid to workmen who buy farm products. It's "prosperity" and it comes high!

If wealth ought to be distributed according to ability and industry, can you tell why it is that 52 per cent of the population of this country possess only 3 per cent of its wealth? Or why 9 per cent of the population possess 71 per cent? Do you not see that wealth is distributed according to the power of control over production and distribution? The masses have ability and industry, but a class has the wealth.

The latest information concerning the Pana strike situation is that the State Board of Arbitration has effected an agreement between the operators and striking miners. A scale of 32 cents per ton is said to have been agreed upon. The operators will recognize the union and all the rules and regulations governing it. Concessions will be made by the union men governing the non-union white labor and the negro labor at present employed in the mines. But it is understood that the negroes are to depart, and that only union men are to be employed.

In this connection we note a current report that the mine operators of the State at large are subscribing to a fund of \$1,000,000 to "fight the miners in the future."

Mr. E. W. Parker, of the Geological Survey, in a lecture before the American Statistical Association on machine mining said:

"There is one point on which it is not possible to obtain accurate information, and that is as to the exact saving in the cost of production effected by the use of machines. There are two reasons for this. In the first place an operator who has invested a considerable amount of money in an expensive plant for utilizing electricity or compressed air is not going to give a competitor the benefit of his experience. In the second place he does not care to sacrifice all of the profits of his investment by furnishing the miners' union with a data for a 'revision of the tariff.' This may be an exceptional case. Some operators report that the average efficiency has been increased 100 per cent, while some put it as low as 20 per cent. It is not possible to obtain more accurate information on that point."

## DEBS IN TEXAS.

Comrade Farmer, of the Social Economist, Tells of His Reception and Meetings.

As Comrade Debs is in Texas, I feel that those interested in the Socialist movement throughout the country would be glad to hear something from this state relating to his success and the outlook for the movement here. Comrade Debs delivered a lecture at this place last evening to more than a thousand people, constituting all classes of our people.

The meeting was held in the court house and it is regretful that the house was not large enough to hold all who desired to hear Comrade Debs, and many were turned away. Some stood for two hours and listened intently to the lecture, while the audience was one of the most intelligent and well-behaved that I have seen in a long time.

Before the coming of Comrade Debs there were some remarks by a few people here about "anarchy" and "blood" and "thunder," but when our Debs was introduced by our mayor and had spoken about fifteen minutes he had the profound attention of the whole audience. It was soon discovered that Debs was not the ignorant "ruffian" that the ignorant had supposed him to be, but a genial, polished, eloquent gentleman.

The effect of Comrade Debs' lecture at this place has been wonderful. Even some of the old Socialists are surprised at the result; at least nine-tenths of those who heard the lecture have spoken favorably of it and many converts were made to Socialism. Much prejudice was removed and many say that Socialism is not what they thought it was.

We feel that we have been paid a thousand fold for the efforts made to have Comrade Debs here, and should he come again he will have thousands to hear him. In fact we would have had thousands to hear him this time, but this is an agricultural country and the farmers are very much behind with their work and could not afford to take a day off to attend meeting. You see we are producing four cent cotton down here and our people are already enslaved. Four cent cotton means bondage to Southern people. The outlook for Socialism in Texas is very hopeful, and we expect to soon see Texas the banner Socialist state in the Union. Texas will be to Socialism what it was to populism. When "the boys in the trenches" make a start toward the co-operative commonwealth, capitalism will realize that the battle for industrial freedom has begun. Our blood is warm down here and we are in earnest. The populist press of the state is holding out the hope that the populists will be reorganized and that there is still hope in that movement; but while we Socialists recognize that the populists have done much good in breaking the chains that once bound our people in political slavery, we see that the party has served its mission, and the people can never be rallied under the populist banner again. We see that the time has fully come to enter the last stage of the movement, which is Socialism. Thousands of the old-middle-of-the-road populists have given up hope in their party and are going through the transition state that leads to Socialism. We know that as brave and true a lot of men as composed the populist party of Texas will never return to the old parties, but will soon be in the ranks of the Socialists, battling for economic freedom. The Socialist party of Texas thinks that all true Socialists should get together in one great movement and strengthen our defenses for the coming struggle, and when the final conflict comes Texas Socialists will be in the hottest of the fray. I know there are some who will refuse to travel the road that leads to unity, but it must come and we must ally ourselves with international Socialism and fight as one man for freedom.

We want Comrade Debs to visit Texas again next fall; and by that time I think thousands of our people will be ready to accept the Social gospel. No man can do so much for us as Debs. His courage and grit suits us Southern people, and we will always welcome him to our State. This communication is already too long, so I will close by sending greetings to the Socialists throughout the country and the world; trusting that we may soon see the consummation of our hopes. W. E. FARMER.

Bonham, Texas, May 17, 1899.

# "THE FARMERS' DEMANDS."

## DISCUSSION CONTINUED.

### A FARMER'S VIEW OF IT.

Without wishing to interfere in the discussion now proceeding in your columns about the "Farmers' Demands," I desire to present a few facts and reflections as they occur to one who is on the ground as it were, a farmer. Here in Texas the great bulk of our industrial workers are farmers and the Social Democratic party needs and can get their votes, but only on a straight, clear-cut platform. The majority of our farmers are tenants, who pay for the privilege of using the earth. The remainder may be divided into first, the class who own land but do not work it, such as the bankers and merchants in the country towns who acquire thousands of acres of the best land in the state through the mortgage system; second, the class who own goodly tracts of land, till a portion of it and rent out the rest; third, the greatest number of landowners who own small farms, thousands of them situated in the more undesirable portions of the state where they find it difficult to make a living the best of times and almost starved in disastrous seasons. Taking self-interest as a great motive in human affairs, I say as a farmer, and one who has associated with farmers that it would be difficult to suggest any change however radical that would inspire the great majority of our farming population with any serious feeling of alarm, for they all feel they have reached a position that cannot be made worse. Moreover, as one who has used such time and ability as he could devote to the cause, that the principles of Socialism find ready welcome and little opposition save by the capitalist farmer who by exploiting labor reaps a little larger harvest than his poorer neighbor. The spirit that animates him is identical with that of the large industrial capitalist who also views with alarm the growth of radical principles. Shall the S. D. P. toady to this man for the sake of his support? Shall it build telephones, elevators, etc., for the products of the long range farmer whose headquarters are in the counting house? Or for the man who exacts money, rent (and his name is legion) and when the crop is short will take the last title of it, and the tenant's teams also to satisfy his claim? The S. D. P. can't afford to go wrong on this, and sure as you live the hard-headed hayseed will "smell a mouse" when he reads a platform that makes a speciality of the farmers case. Why lease 640 acres to one family? Isn't it the contention of Socialists that under just conditions less labor will suffice to support a family? Twenty-five acres in the better portions of Texas will keep a family in luxury under Socialism. Why not take up this aspect of the case, collate the statistics bearing upon it and demonstrate the fact that the extra labor being performed now is solely for the support of a useless parasitical class? The farmer doesn't love work better than another, and let him once learn that he doesn't need to spread himself out over an entire country to make a living and he won't be so hungry for land. Let us stick to the text, no temporizing, no expedients, we have been middle-of-the-road populists, let us be the same kind of Socialists. Texas is a great field ready for the sickle, but the poverty of the people is our greatest drawback. Many noble men and women have impoverished themselves on behalf of reform only to see the enemy profit by it, but the lesson learned is not forgotten. Still we are so poor that we can raise little money for aggressive work which is needed badly. I don't suppose that one-half of the farmers in Texas have seen a dollar in ten years they could truly call their own. Every cent is swallowed up by indebtedness before it is realized. Certainly it is not necessary to be timid in advocating Socialism among a people in such conditions, conditions

from which at present there appears no rational hope of escape. Rent, profit and interest. These are our enemies and we shall find as many allies among the farmers as in any other pursuit if we can place our principles before them with the necessary incontrovertible facts and statistics bearing on the farmers' condition along the line I have suggested. We want no support that comes from any other motive than a full endorsement of our principles. We shall be weaker with it than without.

W. ROPER.

Big Springs, Tex.

### MARYLAND'S STANDPOINT.

It appears from the discussions from week to week in the HERALD that there are great differences of opinion as to the advisability and soundness of the "farmers' planks" in our platform.

The specific demands under discussion I do not care to touch upon. But this fact impresses me very strongly, that in Maryland the farmer vote is necessary to place Socialists in possession of the political power.

The population of the State of Maryland in 1890 was 1,056,806. Of this amount, 500,000 is in the city of Baltimore. The General Assembly of Maryland is composed of 117 members. The State Senate having 26 members and the House of Delegates, 91. In this aggregation the city of Baltimore, with its large proletarian population and nearly one-half the population of the State, is represented by three Senators and 18 members of the House of Delegates.

The proletarian population outside the city of Baltimore, save perhaps in the mining districts, is in a hopeless minority. Thus the fact forces itself upon us, that under the present constitution of the State, Socialism, with only the proletarian vote (although that vote is in the majority), cannot succeed in getting control of the political power. The necessity of the rural vote becomes apparent.

It becomes all the more so, when we consider, that even in the event of our capture of the municipal government of Baltimore City, the legislature could frustrate any attempt to enforce our municipal demands. For we must remember that a municipal corporation is the creature of the legislature, and derives all its powers from the consent of the legislature, which consent can be withheld or withdrawn at any time. Thus with a two-thirds' majority in the legislature, capitalism could defeat any Socialist program that might be attempted.

It is true that we might succeed in electing a Socialist governor who with the veto power, might try to obstruct the reactionary legislation. But under the condition already stated, such legislation could be readily carried over the veto.

I am not ready to agree with "Rosa Proletaire" in the comrade's criticism of the "farmers' platform." She says: "that it was certainly not prosperity that induced the shoe workers of Haverhill to affiliate with the Socialist movement." This may be true; but it must be also remembered, that there are people who are infinitely worse off than the shoe workers of Haverhill who have not "affiliated with the Socialist movement."

It is not misery or oppression alone that makes Socialists or revolutionists. The peasantry of Russia are miserable enough and poverty-stricken enough, yet they bring forth few Socialists or revolutionists. Take the slums of our great cities. What do they contribute to the Socialist movement? Indeed, it appears that in localities where the slum is practically unknown, the Socialist vote is heaviest. "Haverhill," for instance. Revolt is not conditioned upon the mass of misery under which a certain class is suffering; but rather upon the spirit of independence and standard of living of the class

oppressed. Some one has said that "revolutions have always taken place not when the evils complained of were greatest, but when they were on the mend." Lassalle has said that "the working class was the rock upon which the church of the future was to be built." That is, that the working class was to be the foundation of the new society. If this is true, and as Socialists we must believe it to be true, then the working class must be made worthy of its great mission. If the debasing influences of capitalism are allowed to proceed unchecked, what will be the condition of the working class at the break down of the system. In what condition will the working class be, upon which to build the society that is to inaugurate the reign of justice and happiness. Some one may answer that "we have demands and propositions which, if put into effect, would counteract these debasing influences of which you speak." But I think I have shown how difficult it will be, if not impossible, to inaugurate these reforms, in Maryland at least, without the aid of the "farmer" vote.

And then again, we must remember that it is from the farmer class that the proletariat continually draws its strength. There is a continual flow from the country to the city. The majority of the employees of the street car lines of Baltimore are the sons of farmers.

The class from which the proletariat is continually augmenting its strength must not be debased. Our "reforms" must be made to reach them. To quote from Kautsky: "The more crushed down and degraded those portions of the population are from which the proletariat must recruit its forces, all the harder will be the work of raising these recruits high enough to enable them to catch the inspiration of noble and masterful efforts." \* \* \* \* \*

Again: "The deeper the depth of misery into which the farmer and other small producers may be steeped, the more these become habituated to endless toil, all the more helpless and unfit for resistance will they prove themselves, the moment they have sunk into the class of the proletariat; they will be all the more submissive to exploitation, and all the more will they injure the higher layers of the proletariat through their competition for work. Reasons similar to those that lead to the international solidarity of the workingmen lead also to the solidarity of the proletariat with those classes from which its future recruits are to come; but this solidarity, as a rule has been one sided, it has proceeded from the proletariat alone."

Let the discussion go on. We will yet evolve a plan that, without being reactionary, will unite those who need each other—the country and the city workers. Baltimore, Md. Wm. A. TOOLE.

Sidney Webb says that whilst the Australian Colonies have mostly adopted manhood suffrage for their parliaments and abolished any property qualification for their representatives, they still retained in their city government a ratepayer franchise, the plural vote according to the value of property, so that the large occupier often had six votes to the workman's one, and sometimes even a high qualification for the members of council. The consequence is that, as in England in the last generation, the wage-earning population have little or no participation in the management of local affairs.

Dr. Janson, of Stockholm, wished to try the effects of inoculation of "black (or malignant) small-pox virus." He began with calves, but as he found them rather expensive, he asked Professor Medin, the chief physician of the Foundling hospital, to allow him to operate on the children under his charge. Dr. Medin consented, and 14 children were inoculated with this virus. This is a hint to those of our inoculators who are inclined to economy. Animals are dear, human subjects are cheap.

Our clubbing rate for THE HERALD and Appeal to Reason to one address is 70 cents a year.

# PRINTERS AND MACHINERY.

"The printers are a lot of hogs! And I'll tell 'em so to their face! They ain't satisfied to stay in their own trade, but they have to go 'n the machinists' and to farming and —" here he hesitated to get breath. A young printer who had taken advantage of an opportunity to learn the linotype machine thought that he had run up against a cyclone when, after looking over one of the largest plants of typesetting machines in New York, he ventured to make a few remarks to one of the machinists' helpers who was standing by, and received this vehement reply.

The printer upon recovering from the shock looked calmly and squarely at his unreasonable accuser and said: "Do you carry your brains in your elbow or have you none? If you have any brains why don't you use them? Now you just listen for one minute and I will show you very clearly just who is the hog in this game, if there is any such thing."

"The machinist is not only going into the printing business and into farming but into every line of manufacture under the sun. Show me a trade or industry where machines have not replaced hand labor. Why are you here in a printing office helping to turn out one of the largest papers published? Why are you not in a machine shop where you belong? Why don't you leave the printing business to the printers? You machinists are not satisfied to build the machines that turn printers out of work by the wholesale, but you must come in and run them and now you have the inexpressible gall to call the printers hogs, who have been turned out of their jobs by these machines, because some of them have attempted to learn to run them."

The machinist's helper had calmed down and kept his eyes which had quite lost their indignant glare fixed upon the floor.

The printer went on: "Before the Mergenthaler linotype came out the printers did not go into the machinists' trade and Typographical Union No. 6 did not have to start a farm in order to keep its unemployed members from starving. When the machines are put into an office and the compositors are turned out, what do you want the compositors to do—live on wind pudding and air sauce for the rest of their lives, skirmish around and get into some other poor fellow's job and leave him on the outs, become gentlemen of leisure and travel the country in side-door pullmans and solicit handouts for a pastime, or what?"

"Now see here, my friend, you are a workman with a living to make and so am I. Now just put your thinking cap on and put this down for keeps. The reason why Big Six started that potato farm was because its out-of-work list was growing so enormously large that it had to do something to help matters along, so it tried the farm which has proven a help but not a remedy."

"Its out-of-work list grew because the introduction of the linotype turned thousands of printers out of work. The labor-saving machine is and has been playing the same kind of havoc with the workmen in almost every trade and industry. Why does the labor-saving machine instead of saving a man's labor turn him out on the street? It is because the workmen do not own the machinery. When the workmen own the labor-saving machinery then, and not until then, will they get the benefit of it. The bicycle is a proof of this. It saves the rider's labor because he owns the machine and does not have to push the pedals for some one else's benefit. Unlike the bicycle other machinery is enormously expensive."

A large factory with much and varied machinery is necessary for a modern industry. Some machines require a number of men to run them. These conditions make it impossible for the individual workman to own his own machine and therefore the machinery should

be owned by the workmen collectively.

"But there are other things. Why do we see starvation and 'overproduction' going hand in hand, overstocked granaries and hungry people on all sides; unemployed carpenters, masons, and builders and half-sheltered thousands, unemployed tailors and poorly clad millions?"

"Why do we see in our cities a half dozen stores all in the same line of business and all within a block of each other competing, where any one of them could easily take care of all the trade that goes to the six, without increasing the size of the store or adding extra help—five stores and the labor of all the clerks and proprietors of them wasted in competition?"

"It is because we are living in a state of industrial anarchy—no government, no systematic management of industrial matters. And what else can you expect under such a system?"

"There is a remedy for this condition of affairs. It is not in getting hot-headed and snatching with an axe the machine that turns you out of a job. O no! Nor in getting up on your dignity because some one else is going to try to make a living by doing the same kind of work that you do. It is by the simple application of a little common sense."

"We must inaugurate a system of government in which all the means of production and distribution will be owned and operated by and for the whole people. Replace competition by co-operation and the machine will save the workingman labor and give him shorter hours and a better living, in place of depriving him of his job and leaving him to starve."

"We must replace the present state of anarchy by a systematic, thoroughly organized, co-operative government. Your duty is not only to vote right but to put your shoulder to the wheel and help hasten on the time by joining the party that stands out for the remedy, namely the Social Democratic Party of America."

Others may take the hint. EMERSON P. JENNINGS, JR.

### The White Man's Civilization.

As a question of color it is perfectly indifferent to me whether I am white, black, yellow red or brown, although as a matter of personal taste I prefer the bronzed color of the Red Indian. But in view of the present attitude of white men toward those of other colors, I am glad to have been born white.

On the west coast of Africa we whites are perpetually engaged in civilizing expeditions which consist in burning the villages of black men and firing at them. In East Africa we have in the last few months civilized some 20,000 dark-brown Soudanese off the face of the globe. The United States are carrying out the white man's civilizing mission in the Philippines by slaughtering the yellow inhabitants because they have the effrontery to wish to be independent of American rule. In Samoa we and the Americans are throwing shot and shell into the villages of light-brown people in order to show the Germans that they must not be allowed to have their way there. In China all white men are quarreling over the spoil, each being determined to show the others that everyone has rights here except the yellow Chinese.

All this is being done in the interests of white civilization, and so distrustful are the philanthropists themselves of each other that they are all adding gun to gun, ship to ship and soldier to soldier, in case any one of them should get the better of the others in this humanizing mission.—London Truth.

Robert H. Southey, said to be a grandson of the poet, was remanded at Ystrad, South Wales, charged with false pretences over the sale of some cats. Defendant pleaded not to be sent to prison, as his chance in life would thus be ruined, and added, "What I did, I did under great provocation, as I had to find bread for myself and my wife. I tried hard, God knows, to find work, but failed."

## The Widow and Orphan Argument.

It was by no means infrequently in slavery times that lines of argument something like this were addressed to those favoring the abolition of the traffic: "Here is a poor widow, here are poor orphans, left by him who was the head of the household to eke out a precarious livelihood. Would you reduce these most deserving of all classes to poverty, and force them into the street?" We of the present generation are able to see, what was not so apparent to our predecessors, that, regardless of the minor and incidental hardships which were sure to be entailed by abolition, the owning of one man or woman by another man or woman is a wrong that must not be allowed to stand.

It is an old custom with the people who happen to be largely benefited by some form of stealing which they do not desire abolished during their lifetimes: to instance the case of the "widow and the orphans" for the purpose of diverting popular attention from the fundamental postulates pertaining to the right or wrong of such stealing. During the currency discussion of three years ago, their "widow and orphan" argument was perhaps the main standby of the party that was controlled by great capitalists whose interests chanced to coincide in a measure with those of widows and orphans. Of course, the capitalist party cared nothing for the poor who had been left without providers, except so far, as the poor might be employed as stalking horses to justify or cover up the barbarous filchings of its richer members. Even such a recognized authority as Herbert Spencer employs this mode of argument when considering in his "Coming Slavery" the matter by compulsory education. In arguing against it he says that "they (the old legislators) did not dream of a compulsion which should deprive poor widows of the help of their older children; and still less did they dream that their successors by requiring impoverished parents to apply to Boards of Guardians to pay the fees which School Boards would not remit, would initiate a habit of applying to Boards of Guardians and so cause pauperization." Compulsory education is now a fact, not only in America, but in Great Britain; and Mr. Spencer's attack is presented to show how the "widow and orphan" example may be introduced almost anywhere.

To-day there are not wanting persons who foolishly try to use similar tactics in opposing Socialism. Many of them, never having given the slightest thought to widows or orphans for fifty years, are beginning to entertain a solicitude for these unfortunate beings; or, at any rate, to pretend to do so.

"What!" they say, "would you take the friendless and alone, provided with their scanty investments, and deliberately injure them? Would you lessen their small store that loafers and tramps may enjoy themselves?" But such tactics are too transparent. They would fail, even though they were not so transparent. It is true that when Mr. Lincoln liberated the slaves, there were large numbers of widows and orphans who were compelled to endure hardship. Under Socialism, however, both absolute justice and temporary expediency will be promoted in the cases of those who have been left in receipt of income just enough to enable them to get along. The policy of equality, by cutting off the immense streams of wasted wealth that at present go into the pockets of the rich, will permit the widows and orphans, not only to live as well as is the case at this time, but to enjoy an infinitely more exalted station in life. Abolition had nothing to offer the widows and orphans. Free coinage of silver had little more. Socialism holds out the highest reasons for change to them—something that no reform in past eras has done. Let the talk against Socialism on such grounds, cease at once. Let the intelligence of a position like ours refuse to entertain it a moment longer.

GEORGE ALLEN WHITE.

## INVENTORS WORK WONDERS.

### Tripler Will Soon Apply Power from Liquid Air.

NEW YORK.—In his lecture in Chickering Hall, Charles E. Tripler, who has invented a method of liquefying air at a small cost, said that he had purposed keeping his discovery a secret, so far as the general public was concerned, until he had perfected it.

His plans were thwarted by the accidental discovery of the explosive power of the liquid air. He made a few experiments before some friends in the Hotel Majestic about two years ago. One of them touched a match to the air. The explosion that followed injured several persons, and it was through this that Mr. Tripler became known.

He said that, had it not been for this accident, he would have said nothing until he was quite ready to make a public announcement. Mr. Tripler feels that he has about perfected his discovery. It should be said that Mr. Tripler does not claim to be a scientist, but only an inventor. He has been working over the problem of liquefying air for years.

Others had liquefied air but at an enormous cost, between \$2000 and \$3000 a gallon. Mr. Tripler makes liquid air at a cost of 25 cents a gallon, and expects to make it for even less.

Liquid air is the coldest thing that mortal ever felt. Ordinarily its temperature is 312 degrees below zero, which is just about as easy to realize as the distance between the earth and the sun. It freezes mercury until it is as hard as steel. It turns alcohol, which freezes at a temperature of 200 degrees below zero, into an icicle. In fact, there is nothing in the world it will not freeze solid, except hydrogen.

The liquid is made by a fifty-horse-power engine, which compresses the ordinary atmosphere until it is red-hot. Then it is cooled by means of pipes submerged in water at an enormous pressure. This apparatus can make about 40 gallons a day.

Liquid air is the color of a steel blue diamond, and as pure. It constantly throws off a white vapor exactly like steam in appearance. It is difficult to understand its action, because it reverses all accepted ideas.

If ice is submerged in liquid air it is made 344 degrees colder and its character changes. It can be crushed like an egg-shell. If a tea kettle filled with liquid air is placed upon a cake of ice, the liquid boils more rapidly and the kettle is covered with frost. Water placed in the kettle is made into solid ice.

Mr. Tripler is working with liquid air to harness it as steam and electricity have been harnessed. Liquid air expands 800 times, while steam expands about 1700 times, yet Mr. Tripler says the expansive force of liquid air is twenty times that of steam.

Steam power costs from \$36 to \$40 per horse-power for a year. The electric plant of Niagara Falls costs from \$15 to \$20 per horse-power per year. Mr. Tripler says that liquid air should cost from \$7 to \$10 per horse-power.

Mr. Tripler says that the power of the liquid air should run the engine making it. This sounds like perpetual motion, but it is nothing of the kind. This heat, that is to say, the energy, which makes liquid air powerful is the heat of the sun. A fire under the boiler turns water into steam. The heat of the sun turns liquid air into a gas more powerful.

The uses of liquid air are manifold. Mr. Tripler says that the time is coming when liquid air will run the warships and will furnish the explosives. There is no known explosive which equals its force. It will run locomotives, and each plant will be independent, because the atmosphere, that is to say, the heat of the sun, is the fuel, and that is everywhere.

### Tesla Controls a Boat by Force of Will.

CHICAGO.—Nikola Tesla, before the Commercial club, of this city, demonstrated the latest discovery he has made known to the scientific world, of both propelling and steering a submarine boat, by electricity without connection with the shore.

"I have observed that air which cannot transmit electricity becomes a conductor when millions of volts of electricity are sent through it," said Tesla. "As I spoke of man as an automaton I will show how it is possible to construct another automaton which can be directed at the will of the inventor. The first essential in man is the machine, then the food is transformed into power, and then the mind which directs all. To construct a machine which can be operated at will we have three principles to work upon. The balloon which navigates the air, the boat, and the locomotive engine. Taking the boat as the object. I will now show how it can be done."

In the center of the room was a boat, apparently water-tight and constructed for submarine navigation, and fitted with a keel, propeller and rudder. Upon the upper surface of the boat were fixed three metallic disks, facing the machine on the table in front of the boat, and about ten feet distant. There was no connection of any kind between the two, and Mr. Tesla then went on with his lecture.

"The power is stored within the boat by means of a storage battery. We thus have the motive power. How to supply the mind? By transmitting the sensibility of my own mind to the boat. How shall we do this? Thus."

The apparatus was started, and by means of a lever on the machine, by which he directed the current, the propeller of the boat started to whirling, while the audience stood about Mr. Tesla spellbound.

The propeller could be stopped and started at will, showing that it was subject to the slightest whim of the electrician. Mr. Tesla showed how it could be directed. The current was turned in another direction, and the rudder was turned either side, thus showing that the boat could be guided wherever the person operating it from the shore willed.

"The possibilities of this invention are innumerable," said he, and in time may be even more greatly appreciated than they are now. I do not wish to go down in posterity as the inventor of another method of destroying life or making war."

The speaker then entered into a lengthy description of the manner to which he had arrived at his conclusions by means of thoughts and ideas which had come to him and which he had traced back to his original impressions of childhood. He had come to the conclusion, from the accuracy with which he had been able to fix the source of all his ideas, that man was but little more than an automaton, all his actions being guided imperceptibly and unconsciously by external impressions. He enlarged upon this theory and then explained how people became accustomed to ordinary things which in themselves were as wonderful as anything which he had described. For instance, people had ceased to wonder at the law of gravitation because it was one of the things they had been familiar with since childhood and accepted as true. An incandescent globe lighted by electricity was also another familiar sight which excited no wonder in the mind of any one. Mr. Tesla proceeded to demonstrate how the light in an incandescent globe could be produced by another means than that of a wire.

By means of the oscillator of his machine upon the table and a Crookes tube, which he held in his hand, he lighted up the darkened room by passing the current from the apparatus through his body into the plain glass tube.

## SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

In his work on the "Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," Frederick Engels sums up the course of the class struggle, its several successive stages and the significance of each in the development of production in the following clear manner:

I. MEDIEVAL SOCIETY.—Small individual production. Means of production adapted to individual use; thence primitively inefficient and paltry, and dwarfish in their results. Production for the immediate consumption, either of the producer himself or of his feudal lord. Only there, where an excess of production over consumption takes place, is that excess offered for sale and falls into exchange. The production of "commodity" is in its incipency; but already it contains in embryo THE ANARCHY OF PRODUCTION IN SOCIETY AT LARGE.

II. CAPITALIST REVOLUTION.—Transformation of industry, first through simple co-operation and manufacture. Concentration of the hitherto scattered means of production in large workshops, and thereby, their transformation from individual into social means of production—a transformation that, on the whole does not affect the form of exchange. The old forms of appropriation remain in force. The CAPITALIST makes his appearance. In his capacity of owner of the means of production, he appropriates the products also; and turns them into "commodities." Production has become a social act. Exchange, and, together with it, appropriation remain individual acts, acts of the individual. THE SOCIAL PRODUCTS ARE APPROPRIATED BY THE INDIVIDUAL CAPITALIST. This is the fundamental contradiction from which arise all the contradictions in which present society moves and which production in gross brings to light:

A.—Severance of the producers from the means of production. Condemnation of the worker to life-long wage-labor. CONTRAST BETWEEN PROLETARIAT AND CAPITALIST CLASS.

B.—Growing predominance and increasing effectiveness of the laws that govern the production of commodities. Unbridled competitive struggle. Contradiction between social organization in the separate factories, and social anarchy in production at large.

C.—On the one hand, perfection of machinery made by competition compulsory upon every individual manufacturer, and equivalent with ever increasing displacement of labor—the industrial RESERVE ARMY. On the other hand, boundless expansion and production, equally a compulsory law of competition to every manufacturer. On both hands unheard of development of productive forces, excess of supply over demand, overproduction, glutting of the markets, decennial crises, the vicious circle; here, a superabundance of products and means of production; yonder, a superabundance of workmen without employment and without means of existence. But these two forces of production and social well-being cannot combine because the capitalist form of production prevents the productive powers from operating and the products from circulating unless they first convert themselves into capital—a thing that their very superabundance prevents from being done. The contradiction has become an absurdity; THE MODE OF PRODUCTION REBELS AGAINST THE FORM OF EXCHANGE. The capitalist class is convicted of incapacity further to direct its own social powers of production.

D.—Partial recognition of the social character of the powers of production forced upon the capitalists themselves. Appropriation of the large organism of production and communication and transportation, first by STOCK COMPANIES, next by the STATE. The capitalist class shows itself to be superfluous; all its social functions are performed by hired employees.

III. PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.—Solution of the contradictions. The proletariat seizes the public power, and, with its aid, turns the power

of production, that have been slipping from the hands of the capitalist class, into public property. By this act it frees the means of production from their previous capitalist character full freedom to assert itself. Thenceforth, social production upon a pre-determined plan becomes possible. The development of production makes the continuance of several social classes an anachronism. In proportion as anarchy in the production of society disappears, the political authority of the state becomes dormant. Man, finally master of his own form of social organization, becomes at the same time lord over nature—lord over himself—in short, free. To accomplish this work of universal emancipation is the historic mission of the modern proletariat. To investigate its historic conditions, thereby its nature itself, and thus to impart a consciousness of its own motion to that class that, oppressed to-day, is called upon to do the act—that is the task of the theoretic expression of the movement of the proletariat, i. e. of scientific Socialism.

## THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

### The Political Strength of Socialism from 1867 to 1898.

Many persons whose sympathies are with the cause of Socialism are heard to say that while they believe in it, it will never win. This is said without a knowledge of its growing power in the world. Below will be found the Socialist vote in those countries where the people have the elective franchise. A study of these figures should put faith and courage into all who believe in Socialism but say "it cannot win." The fact is that it is winning, its development is truly remarkable. Outside the countries named the movement is growing in like proportions.

AUSTRIA.	
1895.....	90,000
1897.....	750,000
BELGIUM.	
1894.....	334,500
1898.....	534,324
DENMARK.	
1872.....	315
1884.....	6,805
1887.....	8,408
1890.....	17,232
1892.....	20,098
1895.....	25,019
1898.....	32,000
FRANCE.	
1885.....	30,000
1888.....	91,000
1893.....	590,000
1898.....	1,000,000
GERMANY.	
1867.....	30,000
1871.....	101,927
1874.....	351,670
1877.....	486,843
1878.....	437,158
1881.....	311,961
1884.....	599,990
1887.....	763,128
1890.....	1,427,298
1893.....	1,786,738
1898.....	2,125,000
GREAT BRITAIN.	
1895.....	55,000
ITALY.	
1893.....	20,000
1895.....	76,400
1897.....	134,496
SERVIA.	
1895.....	50,000
SPAIN.	
1893.....	7,000
1895.....	14,800
1897.....	28,000
SWITZERLAND.	
1890.....	13,540
1893.....	29,822
1896.....	36,468
UNITED STATES.	
1890.....	13,704
1891.....	16,552
1892.....	21,512
1893.....	25,666
1894.....	30,020
1895.....	34,869
1896.....	36,275
1897.....	55,550
1898.....	91,749
<b>TOTAL ESTIMATED STRENGTH.</b>	
1898.....	5,000,000

For Information how to Organize Branches of the S.D.P. address THEODORE DEBS, Sec., 126 Washington St., Chicago.

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BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, U.S.

SATURDAY, MAY 27, 1899

## THE EMPTY TEMPLE.\*

(A POEM IN PROSE.)

Was it a dream?

Far, far away, in the distant East there stands proudly, upon a high and rocky hill, on a solid, eternal foundation a grand, magnificent Temple. One out of an ever increasing number.

It took thousands of years to build and to perfect it, until it reached its present wonder-inspiring shape and form.

At its entrance there is to be seen a colonnade of mighty pillars, each of which is a monument of science, art and human labor.

High over the dome, playing with the winds, and defying the storm, there is the purple banner flying in the air.

And old Sol appears every morning at the windows looking eastward and smiles "Good morning," and then comes again at even-tide, peeps in through the windows at the western half, and says "Good night."

Once, and that not very long ago, it used to be lovely, cheerful and warm in that grand edifice,—warm in the hearts of the thousands of pilgrims that flocked into it.

And now? Once the spirit of Love pervaded the atmosphere in and around the Temple, and people used to feel like brothers and sisters. And thus hearts would be seeking hearts, lips would be turning toward lips, and without the aid of words each would understand the other. At that time every great joy though shared in by many, would only grow through the division, while sorrows, distributed in the same way, would tend to decrease to the point of vanishing. And as hope would spread among the masses, the glorious future would be seen looming in the distance, its rays brightening the present, and removing the past as the awakened morn dispels the evil dreams of the night. Then also Fear, meeting Solidarity, would vanish out of sight.

And now? Once there reigned supreme in that Temple all-forgiving Tolerance who used to scare away Persecution, who termed crime an error, and lovingly overlooked the error; who kept Suspicion out and held Confidence in honor.

And now? Once there was a holy enthusiasm within, one that kept all hearts warm, all heads erect, all limbs steady. And the Temple looked full, though only a few pilgrims inhabited the place.

And now? Well, meseemed that a heavy horror-laden, cursed cloud had gathered over the horizon, and darkened the glory of the Temple, banishing its brightness and extinguishing its light. That the people within began to feel stiff, uneasy, cold and estranged from one another. That notwithstanding the increased number of worshippers, the edifice looked ever emptier and more desolate.

And then, methought, I heard a voice that sounded like a hoarse trumpet that said:

"It is dark there because an evil spirit has taken hold of the people's hearts, and had taught them to shun the light of day."

\* The "Empty Temple" is a translation from the Jewish original which appeared in the January 1897, issue of the Zukunft, a monthly magazine published by the Jewish section of the S. L. P.

## MERLIN'S MIXTURE.

Great is the power of man! The inventive thought of centuries is finding its full function in the applied forces of to-day.

The dreams and fairy tales of the ancient world have become modern realities.

The might of gods has become the slave of man.

Great is the folly of man!

With the faculty and force with which to create a universal human paradise, he has selfishly, slavishly, and suicidally constructed a human hell.

He has prostituted his diviner faculties by permitting their control for profit by the high priests of the God of Mammon.

The African savage who receives a coat from a missionary box, and who sticks his legs through the arms, is less foolish than the working class of America, who, possessing almost divine creative power, still lives in the shacks and shackles of barbarism.

The cable is one of man's most marvellous achievements.

The man who a hundred years ago would have asserted that in time men could talk through the sea, would have had comparisons drawn between the ocean and his hat.

But to-day it is an accomplished fact, and the sea has been annihilated at a stroke.

What news shall travel by this lightning flash express?

Does it tell us of how the beating waves of Socialist influence are washing away the underpinning of the German throne?

Does it flash across the ocean some new formula of cure for human ill that modern science has just revealed.

Does it send messages of comfort and assurance to the anxious mother whose only son has just landed in New York to seek work in a new land?

Does it repeat the best words of the best thinkers on the best subjects?

No. From continent to continent flew these words "Croker's got another boil on his neck!"

The telegraph, too, performs a like service on the land.

It spreads its network of life wires over the face of the country, and becomes a national nerve system. By it San Francisco becomes the neighbor of Boston and Maine jostles Florida.

By it the human mind becomes omnipresent, and the morning occurrence of New York is the afternoon topic of Denver.

After scores of years of inventive thought and experiment, the tiny instrument ticked responsive to the touch of the distant operator.

After infinite toil and back-ache, the great lines of poles at last stretched over desert and mountain.

After centuries of waiting for this boon of winged speech, what say the wires?

News of industrial battlefields where the rights of man hang in the balance?

News of municipal victories where man overthrows monopoly, and a whole city proclaims its conversion to a new principle of life?

Not a bit. The wires tremble with such weighty words as these: "President McKinley created history to-day by creasing his pants only half way up!"

Another half-way measure!

And so through the entire list, our modern forces are monopolized or abused.

Art is not used in making beautiful the homes of the toiling poor, but in gilding empty palaces and advertising new brands of gum.

Music does not sound its glorious melodies in the public ear of the mass, but is imprisoned in a corporation's theatre, and given to those alone to whom good fortune supplied the price.

Invention has not put electric lights in the houses of the common people or bath rooms, or electric

heating, or soft carpets, or the thousand products of modern skill, but has instead by the very possibility of producing more, made the possibility of possessing less. The express trains that fly across the continent from shore to shore do not enable the toiling millions to see and enjoy the myriad scenes of beauty and interest.

The magnificent ocean steamers offer no more chance of a sea voyage and a continental trip to the average workingman, than if only birch bark canoes touched the beaches of our shores.

Verily in the midst of life we are in death.

While empty-seated trains stop daily at the very doors of distant loved ones, the fever of homesick longing consumes myriad hearts. While shoemakers are appealing for work, and while improved machinery lies idle, and leather stock remains unsold, many wish in vain for shoes.

While the looms are clogged by the very abundance of their product, old gowns are remade and patched for the twentieth time.

While every store in every city is overcrowded with unsold goods, the average home is still bare and cheerless.

While the press is filled with columns of descriptions of diamond stomachers, and \$1,000 tea parties, and \$2,000,000 royal yachts, the slum baby hasn't a single glass bead, a tin cup or a toy boat to play with.

In the midst of plenty we are in want; in the midst of beauty we gaze at bare factory walls; in the beginning of the twentieth century by the calendar, we are still living in the eleventh century by our method of life.

All of which proves that the great and crying need of the world to-day is one of two things, either more lunatic asylums or more branches of the S. D. P.

MERLIN.

## To the Workingmen and Woman of America.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD is gotten up expressly for you. For the benefit of that vast army of wage-workers in the North American Continent, men, women and children for whom the most pressing daily question is "how to live and defend their rights against the encroachments of the capitalist class."

THE HERALD, therefore, finds its existence owing to your necessities, and is intended for popular information among you.

The propagation of Socialism is of the greatest importance to humanity, for it is impossible to conceive in the present organization of so-called civilized life a greater necessity for practical knowledge, by the masses of the people, in the department of scientific economy applied upon lines of human justice, than exists at the present time. In most all countries it has become a matter of serious and earnest consideration. The tendency of the age is toward organization and the present rapid and healthy growth of Socialism in every country in which it has started shows with what zeal and vigor the intellectual rank and file of the people are moving forward, like a solid phalanx, toward the restoration of their stolen liberties and in the protection of their interests, and also the progress of their efforts to elevate themselves from a condition of absolute wage-slavery and dependency to that of independence and power.

At the present advanced stage of development it becomes imperative to place such authoritative information before the people as will be of practical benefit to them, and increase their estimate of the true value of Socialism, so as to enable them to discriminate between practical Socialism and the present infamous and unchristian order of things. Everything contained in THE HERALD is from the fountain of Socialism, and is intended to increase that respect for its authority which practical issues in the future will sustain.

P. P. AYER.

## Socialism in Massachusetts.

### Report of Representatives Carey and Scates.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Boston, May 15, 1899.

TO THE COMRADES:—Upon a bill to change the present law relative to the purchase of gas and electric light plants by cities and towns, compelling dividend paying according to the "dividend earning capacity" of the plant to one requiring duplicate cost to be paid, we voted for the bill. It was defeated, 31 yes, 55 no; with 20 pairs.

A bill lessening the right of abutments to object to saloon licenses being granted was defeated by a roll call vote of 65 yes, 106 no. We voted no.

An order instructing the insurance commissioners to investigate the advisability of the State assuming the business of industrial insurance (a form of insurance common among the working class), was defeated by a vote of 39 yes to 54 no. We voted, yes. This bill covered a part of one introduced by us and which was defeated in the early part of the session.

Carey spoke in support of a bill abolishing the "death penalty" (capital punishment). It was defeated on roll call—112 no, 36 yes. We voted, yes.

A bill providing for a more perfect system of taxation, including the "Doomage clause," was defeated on roll call—31 yes, 102 no. We voted, yes.

A bill providing for the taxation of stocks and bonds of foreign corporations held in Massachusetts was defeated on roll call—83 no, 71 yes. We voted, yes.

Another bill, limiting the power of the State to tax stocks and bonds of foreign companies, was defeated. We voted against the bill.

Carey spoke in support of a bill improving the services of workmen's train, so called. It was defeated on roll call—87 no, 61 yes. We voted, yes.

Six bills, improving the employees' liability law, including three which we introduced, were supported by Carey, who spoke several times. We succeeded in getting one through the House. We send a copy, it was the only one that survived, and can best be appreciated when it is known that the present law in Massachusetts claims that the employe "assumes the risk."

### AN ACT

Relative to Injuries Upon or About Railroads and Railways.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

SECTION 1. Whenever upon any railroad or railway, any part of any car or locomotive, or of any propelling or drawing engine, machine or appliance, used on or in connection with such railroad or railway, or any pin, link, coupler or attachment used on, about or in connection with any car, engine or machine on such railroad or railway, breaks, gives way, comes off or fails to operate properly, such fact shall, in any action to recover for injury or death, or both, caused thereby, be deemed prima facie evidence of the negligence of the person, persons or corporation owning, managing, controlling or operating said railroad or railway.

SECTION 2. No employe shall be held to have assumed as a risk of his employment or otherwise the danger of striking or being struck, if he strikes against or is struck by any post, switch-stand, signal abutment, bridge or any other object or structure situated near a railroad or railway track while such employe is engaged in his duties on or about such railroad or railway, and in the exercise of due care.

SECTION 3. This act shall take effect upon its passage.

All the others were defeated. It was on these bills that a railroad attorney shrieked that "the red head of Socialism had appeared in the Massachusetts State House."

Upon a bill to compel railroad companies to equip their cars with

[CONCLUDED ON FIFTH PAGE.]

### Questions for Expansionists.

1. Do you advocate imperialism?
2. Do you think that the Filipinos are rebels?
3. Can you give a satisfactory republican definition of the word rebel?
4. Are you quite satisfied with an imperialist definition?
5. What is the difference between a patriot and a rebel?
6. Are you ashamed of our forefathers' action at Lexington and Bunker Hill?
7. On those occasions do you think the British were right and the rebels deserved chastisement?
8. When, where and how did we obtain the right to govern any people without their consent?
9. Did Hanna, Alger, Morgan, Belmont and company purchase from Spain the right to govern ten million people in the western hemisphere?
10. Did Spain have the right, and was it transferable?
11. What clause in our constitution gives the administration the right to hold the Filipinos in subjection?
12. Is the Algerine policy such as Lincoln, Grant, and Sherman would have approved?
13. Do you think that Alger is a Saint, whom the Filipinos should worship, or a prince whom they should obey?
14. Have you quite forgotten that we are not fighting for conquest, but for humanity?
15. Have you never suspected that the Algerine policy was inspired by admiration of the methods of the stock yards?
16. Do you think that all anti-imperialists should be executed, or merely gagged and muzzled?
17. Can you, henceforth, celebrate the Fourth of July?
18. Shall you regard it as a day of mourning?
19. Would you like to see your Secretary of War crowned as King Alger the First, Emperor of the United States of America and Asia?
20. Does it gratify you to be fooled all the time?

WM. H. RILEY.

Fitchburg, Mass.

THE HERALD and Appeal to Reason, clubbed, for 70 cents a year.

News from the Branches and notices for publication should be mailed to reach Belleville not later than Monday morning.

GET SUBSCRIBERS FOR THE HERALD.

# AMONG THE BRANCHES

## BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 50¢ per month.

### Colorado.

Colorado Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday eve at Bohemian's Hall, 1715 California street, Denver, Colo., 8 p. m. Thos. H. Gibbs, Chairman; Mrs. Ida Mercer, Secretary, 220 Washington street.

### Connecticut.

Branch 3 (Conn.) meets every 3rd Sunday in the month, at St. George's Hall, 868 Chapel street, cor. Church street, at 8 p. m. new Haven. Secretary, Cornelius Mahoney, 165 Frank street.

### Illinois.

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thos. Kirwin, Secretary.

Branch 2, Chicago, Ill., Bohemian, meets every Sunday at 2 p. m. at Nagl's Hall, 535 Blue Island ave.

Branch 3, Chicago, Ill., meets 1st and 3d Sunday afternoon of each month at Bohemian American School Lad Karel cor. 19th and Leavitt sts. Secretary Frank Opt, 866 W. 18th st.

Branch 6, Chicago, Ill., German, meets 1st and 3d Monday at 8 p. m. at 535 Blue Island ave.

### Indiana.

Branch No. 6, Indiana, meets first Saturday evening and 3rd Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwind's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets, Indianapolis, J. Barn, Secretary.

### Maryland.

Branches Nos. 1 and 2, Maryland, meet every Sunday at 8 p. m., at Carpenter's Hall, 505 E. Baltimore street. Public invited.

### Massachusetts.

Branch 2, Holyoke, Mass., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Springdale Turner Hall. Organizer, H. Schlichting, 30 James street.

Branch 5, Lynn, Mass., holds business meeting first Sunday of each month, at 12 o'clock, noon, at W. C. T. U. Hall, corner Oxford and Washington streets. E. W. T. M., Sec. Fin. Sec. Treas. Notice of agitation meetings will appear in THE HERALD and local papers. Public invited.

Branch 9, (Mass) Brockton, meets Sunday at 7 p. m. in Cutters Hall, Clark's Block, cor. of Main and Centre streets. Every member expected to attend at least one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, 382 West Elm street, Secretary.

Branch 15, Massachusetts—East Boston—meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at Chelsea St. A. L. Sweeney, 191 Webster st., Sec. The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 7:30 p. m., at 1048 Washington street, Boston. All communications and moneys intended for the Massachusetts State Committee should be sent to the secretary, Margaret Halle, 4 Glenwood st., Roxbury.

### Missouri.

Missouri State Central Committee meets every Thursday at 8 p. m. at Room 7, International Bank Building, 29 and 22 N. Fourth street, St. Louis. Organizer Anna F. Smith, 305 Indiana avenue.

St. Louis City Central Committee meets every Thursday, at 8 p. m., at Room 7, 22 E. Fourth street. Secretary, Albert E. Anderson, 125 N. Newstead avenue.

St. Louis Third Ward Branch (1st Mo.) meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., at 1223 N. Broadway. Organizer, A. F. Haussler, 1223 E. Broadway.

St. Louis Twelfth Ward Branch (2nd Mo.) meets every 1st Sunday at 2 p. m., and every 3rd Sunday at 9:30 a. m., at Bohemian National Hall, cor. Allen avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, A. Langhild, 3430 Tennessee ave.

St. Louis Ninth Ward Branch (3d Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday, at 8 p. m., at Ethne Hall, 14th and Wyomung streets. Organizer, Charles F. Meier, 3604 Indiana avenue.

St. Louis Tenth Ward Branch (4th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Sunday at 9:30 a. m., at Vitt's Hall, Broadway and Beokuk sts. Organizer, Francis J. Krause, 3524 Michigan avenue.

St. Louis First Ward Branch (5th Mo.) meets every 2d Sunday, at 8 p. m., at 4800 E. Broadway. Organizer, Julius Blumenhal, 57 Cowan street.

St. Louis Second Ward Branch (6th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday, at 8 p. m., at Social Turner Hall, corner 15th and Monroe streets. Organizer, H. J. Stelgerwalt, 113 Chamber street.

Branch 7, Missouri, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1309 Union ave., Kansas City. J. Storz, 1330 W. 9th street, Sec.

St. Louis Twenty-sixth Ward Branch (8th Mo.) meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 668 E. Ferdinand avenue. Organizer, Joseph G. Harrisborn, 3560 St. Ferdinand ave.

St. Louis Sixth Ward Branch (9th Mo.) meets every Wednesday, at 8 p. m., at 1303 South Twelfth street. Organizer John Zach, 101 South 12th street.

St. Louis Eighth Ward Branch (10th Mo.) meets every 1st Sunday, at 2 p. m., and every 3d Sunday, at 9:30 a. m., at Bohemian National Hall, corner Allen avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, L. P. Tomson, 101 South 7th street.

St. Louis Thirteenth Ward Branch (11th Mo.) meets every 1st Sunday at 2 p. m., and every 3d Sunday, at 9:30 a. m., at Bohemian National Hall, Allen avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, Oliver A. Nelson, 1515 Mississippi avenue.

St. Louis Nineteenth ward Branch (12th Mo.) meets every Saturday, at 8 p. m., at 101 W. Wacker avenue. Organizer, G. Gander, 101 W. 26th street.

### New York.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every 1st and 3d, Thursday at 112 Clinton street. Secretary, A. Guyer, 163 Suffolk st.

Branch No. 2, New York, meets at William Forward Club Rooms, 167 Forsyth st. Business meetings second and fourth Tuesdays. Discussion meetings first and third Saturdays of each month, New York City. Secretary, Louis Palewsky, 537 East 12th st.

Branch No. 10 (4th Ass. Dist.) New York, meets every second and fourth Friday of each month, at the Club Rooms of the House of Labor, 107 Henry street. Nicholas Schneider, secretary, 381 Madison st.

Branch 3, New York, (24th Assembly Dist.) meets every 2d and 4th Monday of each month at 344 E. 54th st. L. Funcke, 207 E. 86c

Branch 12, Brooklyn, N. Y. Headquarters Social Democratic Party, 292 Hewes street, meets 1st and 3d Thursdays at 8:15 sharp. All persons interested in Socialism and the Social Democratic Party are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate with us in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butscher, 292 Hewes st., Secretary.

Branch No. 20, New York, (28 Assembly District) meets 1st and 3d Thursdays of each month at Faulhaber's Hall, 1531 Second avenue, New York City. Secretary R. Hoppe, 328 E. 80th street.

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity, meets second and fourth Saturdays of each month at 107 Forsyth street. In the William Morris Forward Club rooms, Elizabeth H. Thomas, 257 Division street, secretary.

### Ohio.

Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York streets, second and fourth Sundays, at 3 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meeting, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

### Pennsylvania.

Branch 1, Philadelphia, meets every Saturday, 8 p. m., City Hall, North Plaza.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania meets every Sunday at 7:54 south Third street, Philadelphia, at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. J. Gearson, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburg, Pa., meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 P. M., Funk hall, south 24th and Josephine sts. President W. Bohn, 24 Addison st. Secretary, J. H. Lewis, 2818 Jane st.

Branch 2, Erie, Pa., meets every Sunday afternoon at K. of L. Hall, 716 State street. Chairman, Chas. Heydrick; Secretary, Geo. K. Laird, 225 W. 5th street.

### Wisconsin.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee meets every second and fourth Thursday evening of the month, at the Ethical Society Building, 558 Jefferson st. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuttle, chairman, Eugene H. Rooney, secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturday, in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia ave.

Branch 3, St. Boygan, Wis., meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard Hall on Pennsylvania avenue. R. Schoen, S. 12th street, secretary-treasurer.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee meets every first and third Friday each month at Mueller's Hall, corner Twenty-third and Brown streets. George Moerschel, secretary, 775 Twenty-fifth street.

Branch 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Peterkus hall, 717 Center street at 8 p. m. John Koepfer, secretary.

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic party of America, meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p. m., sharp, at No. 418 East Water street. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary; John Doertler, Treasurer.

## PROPAGANDA FUND.

Contributions to propaganda fund started by Eugene V. Debs:

Eugene V. Debs	50
P. P. Ayer	20
Wm J. Gerdes	10
Alfred Hanson	10
Whiteford, N. H. (no name)	10
Chas. Hollbeck	25
Chas. Mempel	10
Herman Brueske	10
C. Schmidt	10
L. Schlaf	10
Paul Otto	10
Following amounts collected by members and friends of Branch 1, Hartford, Conn.	
A. Kessler	1.00
Hoffman	1.00
S. M. Mottabe	1.00
A. Bogen	.50
A. Joseph	.50
S. Baker	.50
M. Myerson	.50
P. Schaffer	.50
M. Gordon	.25
D. Tuck	.25
Shulman	.25
S. Polock	.25
J. Goldenthal	.25
H. Schusterman	.10
N. H. Finelilver	.10
S. Feldman	.10
Meister	.25
L. Rosenfeld	.25
B. Bogen	.25
D. Cooper	.10
* * *	
M. Josephson	10
M. Dorn	25
Previously reported	\$181.50
Total	\$441.85

New branches have been organized at Nashville, Tenn. and Chelsea, Mass.

It is probable that F. G. R. Gordon will engage in the work of organization in Massachusetts.

Comrade Mary Lease lectured at Rockland, Whitman and Brockton, under the auspices of the local branches, Saturday and Sunday, the 13th and 14th inst.

Eugene V. Debs after a most successful trip to important points in Texas, went to Birmingham, Ala., where he spoke on the 24th; Chattanooga was the next point and last night, May 26th, he addressed a large meeting at Knoxville.

Comrade Bernard W. Gidney, of Lynn, Mass., suggests that all branches not now doing so, insert a card in the "Branch Directory."

He thinks the directory is a help to the branches and the cause at large.

## A Correction.

Comrade Editor.—Allow me to correct an error made by Comrade Cutting in his lecture reported in THE HERALD May 13.

The Independent Labor Party was not organized in England until 1892, and at no time has John Burns been a member of the party. At the time the I. L. P. was organized Tom Mann was secretary of the London Reform Union, and did not join the party until several months later. The first leaders of the movement were Kier Hardie, Fred Brocklehurst, and Frank Smith.

Yours fraternally

ALBERT L. VOGL.

301 West 30th, New York City.

## Lynn, Mass.

At the last business meeting of the Lynn branch five new names were enrolled upon our membership list, and money was pledged, by subscription, for the support of a reading and club room, Comrades Staples, Timson, Bryant, D'Orsay and Miles were elected a committee to secure a more suitable hall than the one at present occupied, and to arrange for future meetings. This committee intends if possible to carry on agitation in different parts of the city during the summer. Comrade Bryant who was one of the participants in the late successful Haverhill campaign created great enthusiasm by showing that it only requires the proper amount of hustling to achieve for the S. D. P. the same success in Lynn next fall, as was achieved at Haverhill in the fall of '98. The writer of this letter was instructed to report the doings of the branch to THE HERALD each week from this time on; and judging from the hopeful determination evinced by the comrades, it seems probable that there will be something to report. Watch! MILES.

## Greater New York.

A joint meeting of all branches of the S. D. P. in Greater New York was held May 13th in Wilzig's hall to consider the subject of obtaining a new organizer in place of Comrade Maily, resigned. A vote of thanks was given our former organizer for his energetic and self-sacrificing labors in starting the agitation movement in New York. A motion was carried that we secure the services of another organizer, and subscription lists were circulated to establish a fund for the regular payment of the organizer's salary. A committee was next appointed to arrange a picnic to take place on June 11, the first anniversary of the birthday of the S. D. P. Another committee was appointed to form a plan for establishing an English organ of the S. D. P. in New York, or a New York edition of the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD, and to present the plan at our next joint meeting. This is the first joint meeting of all the branches which has been held in New York, and it seems likely to be productive of much good.

ELIZABETH H. THOMAS.

Secretary.

## A National Conference.

The following resolution has been adopted by the National Executive Board:

Whereas, circumstances which were unforeseen at the time the present constitution of the Social Democratic Party was framed, have rendered some of the provisions of the said constitution, and especially that providing for the choosing of the Executive Board, impracticable of operation, and

Whereas, it is desirable that the members of said National Executive Board should at all times be in accord with the object of the party and its will, therefore be it

Resolved, that a conference of the Social Democratic Party be held. That two members from each State be selected by the branches of the respective States to act in conjunction with the National Executive Board; such conference to be held on the 6th and 7th day of July, 1899, at the office of National Headquarters in Chicago, Ill., for the purpose of proposing and submitting to a referendum vote of the branches a constitution for the party, and also fixing the time and place for the next national convention.

We also indorsed the action of the comrades of Indianapolis against holding a convention or national conference of the party this year.

JAS. ONEAL.

## The Nashville Branch.

At the close of his lecture in this city, Eugene V. Debs spoke to a gathering of the members of the Nashville Socialist Club at their hall. He appealed earnestly for the organization to affiliate with the Social Democratic Party and at his request a special meeting was held to discuss the advisability of and to take final action on the subject of going in the Social Democratic Party. The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the large and enthusiastic assemblage of members:

"Whereas, the Socialists of Nashville, after an independent organized existence of nearly one year, during which time they have carried on a local educational work, feel that the time has arrived and that the occasion demands that they affiliate with that national political organization whose platform embodies the principles of pure Socialism without compromise or equivocation, and whose methods and tactics are in accord with the spirit of progress and liberty.

"Whereas, it having been the original intention of the Socialists of Nashville, when they withdrew their allegiance from the Social Democracy of America, that they form a local educational society for the dissemination and propagation of Socialist principles and to pursue such independent action as the organization saw fit, until the time and events should demonstrate which Socialist party was the proper one to affiliate with.

"Whereas, the Social Democratic party of America has shown by the principles incorporated in its platform, by the purity, honesty and liberality of its methods and tactics, and by the intelligence, vigor, and honesty of its members, that it is destined to be the Socialist party that will usher in the Co-operative Commonwealth, therefore be it

Resolved, that it is the imperative duty of every Socialist organization to give its moral financial and political support to the Social Democratic Party of America and in accordance with which we hereby vote to join said organization. Be it further

"Resolved, that we appeal earnestly and hopefully to all Socialists and Socialist organizations to co-operate with us in the praiseworthy effort to unify and organize the Socialists of America under the banner of the Social Democratic Party of America.

"Resolved, further, that a copy of these resolutions be sent to all Socialist papers."

Steps will be taken at once to perfect the organization under the new jurisdiction.

WM. L. HAMILTON,

President.

SAM. F. MOSBY,

Secretary.

In her lecture at Brockton Mrs. Lease said she had never yet heard a minister preach from the text, "If a man has two coats let him give one to him who has none." This brought out Rev. Roland D. Sawyer, who announced that he would preach from that text on the following Sunday and invited members of the branch to attend.

Branch 3, Manchester, N. H., at the regular meeting, May 16, voted that it be the sense of the branch that a state convention be held in Exeter in the month of June, and that the Exeter comrades shall fix the date. The purpose of the state convention to be the organization of a state committee.

The Terre Haute Branch at its regular meeting held on May 14th passed the following resolution:

Whereas, we believing the farmers' plank to be an injury to the growth of the Social Democratic Party, and

Whereas, in view of the present controversy over the said plank, Resolved, that the local branches take action for the purpose of securing the necessary 5 per cent. to have the said plank referred to the members of the party through the referendum.

We also indorsed the action of the comrades of Indianapolis against holding a convention or national conference of the party this year.

## Boston Notes.

Nearly five hundred people listened to Comrade Lease when she spoke in Boston last week under the auspices of the S. D. P. Her marvelous voice, her eloquence and earnestness completely captivated her hearers, and next time she comes to Boston we can promise her an audience twice as big.

At its last meeting Branch 1, Boston, discussed the Farmers' Platform. The consensus of opinion among our members seems to be that we need a farmers' platform, and that the present one needs a little revision.

They are coming to us from every side. The new branch in Beverly numbers amongst its members a man who has been for twelve years chairman of the democratic city committee of that city. For some time he has been convinced of the truth and practicability of Socialism, and that to be consistent he must make a change, and when the S. D. P. came along he at once recognized it as the party that suited him and promptly joined it.

On the other hand the newest branch in Boston has among its charter members the presidents of four different trades unions in Boston. Oh, we shall arrive!

Requests for instructions about organizing and for speakers in entirely new fields come to us faster than we can attend to them properly. It is fortunate that we are getting in some new speakers, like Comrade McCartney, before Comrades Carey and Chase are worked to death entirely. This new comrade, in spite of the reverend prefix to his name, which has led to class him as a Christian Socialist, is one of us—one of our own kind. He is a scientific Socialist in the true sense, and is true blue, besides being an eloquent speaker. When he spoke on the Common a week or two ago fully 500 gathered around him and they stayed till he was through, too, which is saying a good deal for the shifting, ever-changing come-and-go kind of an audience that patronizes Boston Common. The state committee has enrolled Comrade McCartney's name on its regular list of speakers, and as he has this week resigned his church in Rockland in order to give his time completely to Socialist work, we hope to be able to have his help in the fall campaign, which will be of incalculable benefit to us.

The indications are that we shall have a largely attended convention on the 28th, one out of our thirty-three branches being big enough to send twelve delegates on a basis of one delegate to twenty-five members. The convention is to be held in the same building as the last two—724 Washington street, but in a different hall, viz: America hall, up two flights, a larger and much better hall, as befits our increased importance as a party. Don't forget your credentials, comrade delegates, nor that the convention opens at 10 a. m. sharp.

MARGARET HAILE.

## Socialism in Massachusetts.

(CONTINUED FROM FOURTH PAGE.) platform gates we voted, yes. It passed the House.

A bill to abolish contracts on public works was defeated; 92 no, 22 yes. Carey spoke it its support.

Carey opposed a bill extending the law for the collection of debt for the necessities of life, the Dubuque law, so-called. The bill was laid on the table.

Two weeks more will conclude the session, and then we will be free to organize the Social Democratic Party for the next election. The outlook is bright and we urge all branches to be sure to send delegates to the State Convention, in Boston, May 28, so that a full representation attends.

Fraternally,

LOUIS M. SCATES,

JAMES F. LEBRY.

We will send THE HERALD and Appeal to Reason subscribers one year for 70 cents.

# Social Democratic Party Platform

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights.

That private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes, with conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the socially-due share of their product.

That 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.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system, will compel the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization.

That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

Therefore, the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with their historical 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 capitalism and of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in this direction, we make the following demands:

1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.

2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and all other mines; also of all oil and gas wells.

5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

8. Labor legislation to be made national instead of local, and international where possible.

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

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

11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

**DEMANDS FOR FARMERS.**  
The Social Democratic Party of

America does not hope for the establishment of social order through the increase of misery, but on the contrary expects its coming through the determined, united efforts of the workers of both city and country to gain and use the political power to that end. In view of this we adopt the following platform for the purpose of uniting the workers in the country with those in the city:

1. No more public land to be sold, but to be utilized by the United States or the state directly for the public benefit, or leased to farmers in small parcels of not over 640 acres, the state to make strict regulations as to improvement and cultivation. Forests and waterways to be put under direct control of the nation.

2. Construction of grain elevators, magazines and cold storage buildings by the nation, to be used by the farmers, at cost.

3. The postal, railroad, telegraph and telephone services to be united, that every post and railroad station shall also be a telegraph and telephone center. Telephone service for farmers, as for residents of cities, to be at cost.

4. A uniform postal rate for the transportation of agricultural products on all railroads.

5. Public credit to be at the disposal of counties and towns for the improvement of roads and soil and for irrigation and drainage.

**S. D. P. AND TRADE UNIONISM.**  
"Whereas, We hold the trade union movement to be indispensable to the working people under the prevailing industrial system in their struggle for the improvement of their conditions, as well as for the final abolition of the wage system; we need further recognition among the workers; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we commend an honest co-operation to that end by the members of the Social Democratic Party of America, by becoming members of the unions in their respective trades or callings, or of the Federal Labor Unions, and strive to organize all such trades as have heretofore not been organized and assist the organization of labor in every way possible.

"Resolved, That in order to more effectively resist the encroachments upon labor we advise organized labor to combine into national and international unions, pledging ourselves to extend to them all possible assistance to accomplish this end.

"Resolved, That we reaffirm the truth expressed in the proceedings of the International Labor Congress, held in London in August, 1896, that while it is absolutely necessary for the working people to make use of the political power in order to secure and enforce the demands of labor, yet differences of political views held by members of the labor organizations should not be a reason for separate organization in the economic struggle, causing dissensions and disruptions.

"Resolved, That we consider strikes and boycotts as historically necessary weapons to obtain the demands of trades unionism; we further recognize in the union label an important factor in strengthening the power of organization, and educating the public to demonstrate in a practical way its sympathy and assistance to the cause of labor; and we therefore endorse all the labels of the bona fide trades unions, earnestly recommending to the membership of the Social Democratic Party of America to patronize only such concerns selling products bearing the same.

"Resolved, That we condemn the attempt to disrupt the labor movement by organizing rival unions to the bona fide trades unions.

"Resolved, That we encourage the movement of organized labor for the establishment of a legal eight-hour workday and the Saturday half holiday.

"Resolved, That we condemn the modern white slavery of the sweating system."

"The instrument of labor, when it takes the form of a machine, immediately becomes a competitor of the workman himself." Karl Marx.

**GET SUBSCRIBERS FOR THE HERALD.**

## Constitution of Local Branches

### NAME AND LOCATION.

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

### MEMBERSHIP.

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

Sec. 3. A local branch shall consist of not less than five nor more than 500 members, \_\_\_\_\_ members constituting a quorum.

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

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

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

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

### DUES AND FEES.

Sec. 8. The admission fee, which shall accompany each application for membership, shall be such an amount as may be determined by the local branch, provided it shall be sufficient to include 25 cents to be forwarded to the National Council.

Sec. 9. At the close of each meeting the treasurer shall transmit to the National Council the names of all members admitted at said meeting, their postoffice addresses and a remittance by postal money order of their admission fee.

Sec. 10. The dues of a member shall be payable quarterly in advance, on or before the first day of January, April, July and October, in such an amount as the local branch may determine; provided it shall be sufficient to include 25 cents per quarter to be forwarded to the National Council. A member admitted on or before the middle of the quarter shall pay dues for the full quarter; a member admitted after the middle of the quarter shall be exempt for said quarter.

Sec. 11. On or before the 5th day of each quarter the treasurer shall remit by postal money order the quarterly dues for the current quarter to the National Council and each local branch shall remit the full amount due for the entire membership of the branch.

### EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Sec. 12. The Executive Board shall consist of five (5) members, elected annually in March, and shall have general supervision of the local branch. It shall be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures, subject to the local branch, as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with the constitution of the State Union, the constitution of the National Council, or the declaration of principles.

Sec. 13. The officers of the Board shall consist of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer and organizer, and such others as may be determined, who shall be elected at each annual meeting and serve until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall perform such duties as appertain to their several offices and as the local branch may direct. The Board shall hold stated meetings in March of each year and such special meetings as may be required.

Sec. 14. Any member of the Board may be removed by a majority vote of the local branch; provided that all charges shall be reduced to writing and that the accused member shall be entitled to a fair trial. Vacancies in the Board shall be filled by the local branch.

Sec. 15. No member of the Board shall hold political office except under the Social Democratic Party.

Sec. 16. The local branch shall hold meetings at such times as the members may determine.

Sec. 17. At each annual meeting of the local branch in March, the officers shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices for the preceding year.

### JURISDICTION.

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

### ELECTIONS.

Sec. 19. At each annual meeting of the local branch in March an Executive Board of five (5) members and representatives to the State Union shall be elected, who shall serve for one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

### BY-LAWS.

Sec. 20. A local branch may adopt such laws as a majority may determine; provided they do not conflict with the constitution of the State Union, the constitution of the National Council, or the declaration of principles.

### TRIALS.

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

### APPEALS.

Sec. 22. Any member having been suspended or expelled may appeal to the Executive Board of the state, and if the decision of that body is not satisfactory he may appeal to the Executive Board of the National Council.

### AMENDMENTS.

Sec. 23. The constitution of local branches, State Unions and the National Council is the organic law of the organization, and can be altered or amended only by the National Council in meeting assembled or by the general organization through the Initiative and Referendum.

**INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.**

Sec. 24. Upon application of 5 per cent of the membership any matter relating to the amendment of the constitution, the calling of a special meeting of a State Union or the National Council, or the removal of an officer, state or national, shall be submitted to a direct vote of the membership, through the Initiative and Referendum and a majority vote shall determine the result.

### SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

The definitions of the two words "Social" and "Democratic" which follow, are taken from Webster's Dictionary:

**SOCIAL**—Pertaining to society or to the public as an aggregate body, as social interests, etc.

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—Social Democratic Party Platform

# Social Democratic Party of America.

## Constitution of National Council.

### NAME AND HEADQUARTERS.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the Social Democratic Party of America, and its headquarters shall be located at such place as the Executive Board may decide upon.

### HOW ORGANIZED.

Sec. 2. The Social Democratic Party of America shall be organized as follows:

1st. Local branches limited to 500 members each.

2d. State Unions before state convention of 1900 shall be composed of one representative from each local branch; provided that branches having more than twenty-five members shall be entitled to a representative for each additional twenty-five members or major part thereof, after which each state shall provide its own method of organization.

3d. A National Council composed of one representative from each state and territory; provided that states having more than 500 members shall be entitled to a representative for each additional 500 members or major part thereof.

4th. An Executive Board of five members.

### EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Sec. 3. The Executive Board shall be elected quadrennially by the National Council; having general supervision of the organization and be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization; provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with the constitution and declaration of principles.

Sec. 4. A National Secretary, Treasurer and Editor of the national organ (and such other officers as may be required) shall be elected every four years, and their salaries fixed by the Executive Committee, to be approved by the direct vote of the members through the referendum.

Sec. 5. Members of the Executive Board shall receive no compensation for their services. They shall hold stated meetings on the second Tuesday in May of each year, and such special meetings as may be required.

Sec. 6. A majority of the Board shall constitute a quorum.

Sec. 7. Any member of the Board may be removed by a majority vote of all the members of the organization as hereinafter provided.

Sec. 8. Any member of the Board, or National officer may be removed at any time by the National Council as hereinafter provided.

Sec. 9. No member shall hold political office, except under the Social Democratic Party.

Sec. 10. All questions not provided for in this constitution and all questions of appeal shall be decided by the chairman, such decision to be final and in full effect unless otherwise ordered by the Board.

Sec. 11. At each annual meeting the officers of the Board shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices and transmit a copy to each local branch.

### REVENUES AND FUNDS.

Sec. 12. The revenue of the organization shall be derived from an admission fee of twenty-five (25) cents and dues of twenty-five (25) cents, payable in advance for each member.

Sec. 13. The funds of the organization shall be deposited in such bank or banks as the board may direct and the National Secretary and Treasurer shall be required to execute a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such an amount as the board may require.

### THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.

Sec. 14. The National Councils shall meet annually on the first Tuesday in May at such place as the Executive Board may determine, subject to change by referendum vote. The chairman of the Executive Board shall preside over its deliberations.

Sec. 15. The National Council shall constitute the legislative body of the organization and shall be empowered to enact all general legislation, subject to referendum hereinafter provided. It shall determine the policy, and do all other things required to

carry out the general objects of the organization.

### OFFICIAL PAPER.

Sec. 16. This organization shall publish an official paper, under the supervision of the Executive Board, which shall be known as the Social Democratic Herald. Each member of the organization shall be entitled to a copy of the official paper in consideration of the payment of quarterly dues.

Sec. 17. The columns of the official organ shall be open at all times to reasonable criticism and discussion of party matters by members of the party.

Sec. 18. The National conventions of the organization shall be held quadrennially on the first Tuesday in May, at such place as may be determined by the National Council.

### REFERENDUM.

Sec. 19. The members of the Executive Board may be removed by the imperative mandate in the following manner: Any three members of the National Council may demand the resignation of any member of the National Executive Board, by filing a petition with the secretary of said Executive Committee; and upon said secretary's neglect or refusal to act upon said petition within five days after filing the same, then by filing a petition with the chairman of the said Executive Board; and upon the said chairman's neglect or refusal to act, by filing such petition with three members of the National Council, other than the petitioners, who shall act as a committee for the purpose of receiving and acting as herein provided. Such petition shall contain a statement in writing, setting forth fully and at large the grounds upon which the recall is demanded. Such officers or committee with whom such petition is filed shall forthwith deliver a copy thereof to the person whose recall is demanded, if such person can be found; and said person shall have the right to answer such petition in writing, which said answer shall be mailed by registered letter to the officer or committee holding said petition within fifteen (15) days from the receipt by the person whose recall is desired of the copy of the petition required to be delivered to him.

The petitioners shall be served forthwith by registered letter from the officer or committee holding the petition with a copy of said answer, and such petitioners shall have the right to file, with such officer or committee, a replication to such answer within ten (10) days after receipt of such copy.

Thereupon the said officer or committee holding said petition shall mail a complete copy of the proceedings to the person whose recall is sought, and five (5) days thereafter said officer or committee shall mail to each member of the National Council a complete copy of all the proceedings and shall demand a vote of each member of the National Council thereon.

All proceedings shall be open to the inspection of any member of the National Council at all times. The time for filing the answer and replication may be extended by the officer or chairman of the committee holding such petition for ten (10) days; and such answer may be amended at any time to meet the allegation of the replication.

Recall of a member of the Executive Committee shall not affect the standing of such member as a member of the National Council.

### RECALL OF OFFICERS.

Sec. 20. The selection of the National Secretary and Editor shall be announced for approval or rejection in the official organ, the Social Democratic Herald, within fifteen (15) days from the selection of said officers, and each member shall have a vote thereon to be sent by the secretary of his local branch to the chairman of the Executive Board, the vote to be announced in the official paper and the polls shall close twenty (20) days after the date calling for the referendum.

Sec. 21. The National Secretary-Treasurer or the Editor may be removed or discharged by the National Council or the Executive Board, but if the said National officers shall be

so removed or discharged they may appeal the case to the members of the organization by stating the grounds of protest, serving a copy on the chairman and secretary of the National Council and the Executive Board, the same not to occupy more than two columns of the official paper, an equal space to be given the Council or Executive to state their side of the controversy; the votes shall be mailed to any member of the Council or Executive Board the petitioner may designate; the petitioner shall be entitled to representation at the count of ballots, and the polls shall close twenty (20) days after the date of the publication of the referendum.

Sec. 22. The question shall be: "Shall the action of the Executive Board (or the National Council, as the case may be,) be sustained?" and if the vote of the members does not confirm the action the petitioner shall then be reinstated.

Sec. 23. The National Executive Board (or any member of it), the National Secretary-Treasurer or the Editor may be removed by the members of the organization in the following manner: A petition indorsed by 5 per cent of the members shall be filed with the chairman of the Executive Board, who shall cause the same to be submitted to a referendum vote within ten (10) days; should said chairman fail to do this, then any five branches, by official action at a regular meeting, shall have power to call for said vote and the same, after due hearing of both sides as provided in section 21, shall be taken.

### Constitution of State Unions.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the — State Union of the Social Democratic Party of America, and its headquarters shall be located as the union may determine.

#### HOW ORGANIZED.

Sec. 2. The — State Union of the Social Democratic Party of America shall consist of delegates representing local branches in this state, and shall constitute the legislative body of the state.

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

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

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

Sec. 6. Any member of the Board may be removed by a majority vote of all the members, provided that all charges shall be reduced to writing and that the accused member shall be entitled to a fair trial. The Board shall be authorized to fill all vacancies.

Sec. 7. Any member of the Board may be removed at any time by the State Union.

Sec. 8. No member of the Board shall hold political office, except under the Social Democratic Party.

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

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

#### REVENUES.

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

#### THE STATE UNION.

Sec. 12. The State Union shall meet annually at such place as its members may determine, in April.

The chairman of the Executive Board shall preside over its deliberations. The secretary of the Executive Board shall serve as secretary of the State Union and keep a correct record of its proceedings, submitting a copy of the same to each local branch in the state.

Sec. 13. At each annual meeting of the State Union an Executive Board of five members and representatives to the National Council shall be elected, who shall serve one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

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

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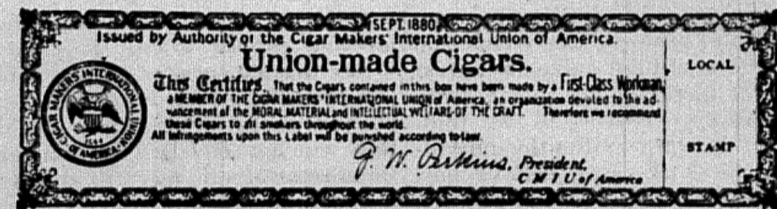
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## Com. Mary Lease At Whitman, Mass.

It is a matter for congratulation, not only for this branch or this state, but the whole United States, to be able to proclaim to the world, that the Social Democratic Party has within its fold such an able, eloquent, convincing orator as the distinguished Kansan, Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Lease. Comrade Lease, for such she can now be called, was with us Saturday evening, May 13, and delivered the most electrifying lecture on Socialism that it ever has been my good fortune to hear. Her all inspiring presence, her matchless oratory, her wonderful knowledge of national affairs, her convincing arguments, and last but by no means least, her original humor completed a combination that is but seldom found in one person.

As I wrote in my last letter we had all the arrangements made for the largest hall in town on the 18th, and the Socialist band was engaged and notwithstanding that there was a circus in town, and also that it rained hard during the evening, we had the largest as well as the most enthusiastic audience that we have yet had. They were the most representative audience of old puritan stock that we have ever been successful in drawing out, and to prove that they were enthused was evidenced by the fact that many of them went to Rockland and Brockton to hear the speaker on Sunday afternoon and evening. She has awakened a tremendous amount of thought, and go where you would on Sunday, you could hear nothing discussed but Socialism, and the possible success of the S. D. P. in this state at the coming fall election. Many favorable comments are heard of the principle for which we stand, never before have existing conditions been so graphically pictured, and the causes that are directly responsible for the same, as were illustrated by Comrade Lease. An allusion to the Ohio citizen who bought his seat in the U. S. Senate, as being so corrupt that the angels were obliged to cover their noses, when flying over the city of Washington, was sufficient to elicit wild applause and again when she referred to the American capitalists as being engaged in the prolific vocation of fattening their daughters for the European market, that they might secure titles, pandemonium reigned. The sentiment that is manifest here now is enough to put to flight the most pronounced pessimist, and all the comrades are feeling like a man who comes out victorious after an uphill battle.

But comrades, we don't propose to stop here. We are already planning for a number of open air concerts during the summer and as the Socialist band is a reality, what is to prevent our invasion of every town in the "Old Colony" district ere cold weather rolls around?

At our last meeting plans were made for districting the town by a committee, to enable the branch to make a thorough canvass and also to circulate Socialistic literature and spread the doctrine in every conceivable legitimate way.

We also came to the conclusion that we would not make any great effort to increase our membership by making overtures to any individual, but rather allow the individuals to seek us, as we believe now that we have attained that position where it is better policy to look for quality rather than quantity and we believe that a man who joins any movement of his own volition is vastly more valuable than 10 who join because they believe it a fad or worse still for their personal aggrandizement. We don't wish it understood that we are not going to exert every effort to convert the people, but in the desire to achieve wondrous proportions in a numerical sense, we are apt to ignore the most essential feature, that of qualification.

We are to have another special town meeting on the 22nd inst., and while we do not propose to take any active part as a body; we nevertheless, will be in evidence on the negative side of some of the questions that will come up, the

one that most directly concerns us as Socialists is an effort to have the town vote to elect their town officials for 1, 2 and 3 years respectively, and thereafter to hold office for three years; this same matter came up some two years ago, and it was overwhelmingly defeated; but they say, that now they believe that the wisdom of such a departure can be satisfactorily explained. A rather ludicrous matter that is worthy of mention, is that of the eight hour law, which the town voted on at the annual town meeting. It was a very bitter pill for some of the so-called heavy tax payers to swallow, they sat up nights and conferred together to find some way of preventing it from becoming operative, and they searched high and low until, finally, they dug up an old decision that was rendered in 1823, and the townfathers declared the whole matter illegal, as the assessors could not assess property on an illegal act so they declared. The only way out of the difficulty was to petition the legislature to have the act legalized, and here comes the funny part of it, the house and senate recently passed and the governor signed a bill to make it permissible for a town or city to vote to establish an hour law on all public works and our representative in the legislature voted against it, as he does against all measures that are in the interest of the people. But by virtue of the position he occupies he was subjected to the humiliation of presenting a petition to the great and general court to legalize a petition for which he voted against, and we can all imagine the pleasant duty he had to perform, to save, as it were the bacon of his cohorts. It also proves another potent factor in the annals of town history, that the town fathers do not possess that amount of perspicacity for which the old liners were wont to boast, and now there is wailing and gnashing of teeth.

The branch decided to engage a special car to convey the comrades home from Rockland on the evening of their jubilee which takes place May 26.

I will have to forego the matter of which I spoke in my last letter, about the school scholars interesting themselves in Socialism, as I wished to quote from a composition of one of the scholars, and will defer that until later. DUFF.

Whitman, May 18.

### The Brockton Meeting.

This has been an eventful week for Brockton and vicinity, and were I to attempt to chronicle all that has transpired since my last letter, THE HERALD would contain nothing else and so I will confine myself to the direct occurrences and leave the future to chronicle the others, as it surely will.

That Branch 9 has done a great work all winter no one will deny. We have held meetings every week, with an average attendance of 400, and that means considerable hard work on the part of the members and an inestimable amount of good to the cause in general. So when we were informed that we could have Mrs. Mary E. Lease, we resolved to make it a fitting finale to our season's work. But we did not dream of such success as the meeting proved to be. It is safe to say that no speaker on any subject ever made such an impression on the people of Brockton as did this woman; 800 people, among them some of our most prominent lawyers, doctors and business men heard her speak and left the hall with thoughts that will surely bear fruit this coming fall.

Thousands of others read the accounts in the papers, and all unite in paying tribute to the matchless reasoning power and eloquence of this wonderful woman. Out of it all will come a great boom for Branch 9 and the Social Democratic party, and with Eugene V. Debs and Mary E. Lease in Massachusetts this fall, we will deal capitalism a blow in its own stronghold that will give its leaders "that tired feeling."

Miss Eleanor Piper and Miss Villa Ross contributed to the success of this meeting, the former with cornet solos and the latter with readings.

At the business meeting, Tues-

day, the 16th, 25 new names were added to the roll, among them some of our leading citizens. A letter was received from Rev. Roland W. Sawyer stating that as Mr. Lease had stated that she never heard a sermon preached from the text: "If ye have two coats give one to him that hath none," he would preach one on Sunday, May 21, and inviting the branch to attend. This the branch will do in a body.

A committee was appointed to secure the privilege of giving band concerts and Socialistic speeches at Perkin's Park through the summer.

This is a small park owned by the city, and if we can get it we can do great work through the summer. If we can't get it, we'll do the work just the same and in a manner not so pleasing to those who control it.

A committee was appointed to secure permanent quarters for the branch, as it is our intention to start right in on our campaign work and keep it up all summer. Our band played in Whitman, Saturday, May 13th, and demonstrated their ability to tout for Socialism in the campaign that is about to open. Our next seige will be on East Bridgewater, which we expect to capture next week with a charter membership of at least 15 men. C. H. COULTER.

### Socialism and Personal Liberty.

The notion is quite generally prevalent that in the scheme of Socialism the community is held to be everything and the individual nothing. The direct opposite of this is true. Socialism holds that individuality and personal liberty are everything, and that the community is a force in securing the fullest personal liberty that Socialism respects it at all. The Socialist believes he can see in the growing complexity of human relations a condition of things in which the fullest personal liberty cannot possibly be secured except through a surrender of certain lesser personal advantages that he may gain the greater.

It is everywhere freely admitted that so-called civilization is merely a state of society in which the individual less and less protects himself and his interests directly, as is the case with uncivilized men, but more and more directly through the community. He gives up the sword that protects him to the policeman; the bucket of water to the fireman, the shackles that bind the thief to the sheriff, the nomadic life for the life that demands fixed hours of labor. In a word, he yields up certain inferior good for that which he prizes more. It is utterly impossible, in the nature of things, that the individual should secure the fullest aggregate good in complex relations of society, in disregard of those relations.

The liberty of the savage presents itself under certain aspects. He is free to rove; to defend himself with his own hand, to be idle, to go naked at his will, subject only to the laws of custom, which it must be confessed, are often as exacting as the statute laws of civilized peoples. The civilized man aspires to a higher liberty, the liberty of coming in contact with nature in its subtle forms. The Socialist holds that individualism is trying to secure this higher personal liberty, while ignoring the laws on which it is based.

Self-preservation under individualism has always required and always must require that a man fight. Self-preservation under collectivism can be maintained only through altruism. Since self-preservation is the first law of biology, Socialism becomes a necessity when society has reached a certain stage of complexity. Men must now protect themselves through mutual aid. Under high complex social relations antagonism curtails liberty. Mutual aid lessens certain inferior forms of liberty, but greatly enlarges that broader freedom of life which we specially call liberty.

If Socialism be false from a philosophic or from an economic standpoint, it certainly does not subordinate the individual to the community; it uses the community under a law of stern necessity to broaden out and ennoble the individual man.—H. T. Hickok in Commonwealth.

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