

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

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No. 2.

THE REFERENDUM NOT AN UNMIXED BLESSING

IT IS A LIFE-LINE FOR CAPITALISM

In Theory the Most Democratic of Popular Institutions—It Is in Practice the Most Reactionary—Favored by Noted Anti-Socialist Leaders.

In view of the near approach of the "convention of reformers" at Buffalo, called, it appears, to give direct legislation a boom, a consideration of the referendum will not be out of place, but, on the contrary, exceedingly timely. Quite recently Eugene V. Debs, in answering a request from Ohio to act with a convention called specially to exploit the referendum, had this to say in his reply, respectfully declining to do so:

"Apart from Socialism the initiative and referendum has little, if any, value. Under capitalism the ignorance of the mass makes it even a dangerous weapon. Had my fate been decided by it in 1894, I would have been hanged for the crime of trying to help humanity." (Feb. 16, 1899.)

Will you kindly permit me to take this as a text for a few words to the readers of THE HERALD in opposition to the referendum craze which bids fair to, in some degree, divert the attention of the American radicals and emancipationists from the true needs of the great mass of the people? I am well aware that with many who go to make up what may be termed the Socialist movement in this country, the referendum is looked upon with decided favor, in the belief that it will be one of the foremost emancipating factors in the progress of democracy towards its logical goal. I am aware that it is not only unpopular to speak out against it, but quite likely to bring down upon one's luckless pate the charge of heresy to democracy itself. Still, "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," no less now than in the days of 1776, and the man who puts aside an unpleasant duty, and only says the things the crowd likes to hear, is a demagogue and nothing else.

Students of Socialism well know that the mass of the people, from their social disadvantages, are filled with erroneous ideas and deep prejudices. One obeys a sacred duty, therefore, when he opposes misconceptions and popular errors.

The truth cannot be too much discussed. We all want the social democratic movement to march straight on to victory, and we all certainly want to avoid false steps. Is the referendum a false step. I say yes. Let us see.

Whenever Socialists and Socialistic parties have given the subject of the referendum attention and study, they have, with unerring clearness of vision, pronounced against it, holding that it is calculated to do mischief rather than good. "All is not gold that glitters," and the referendum certainly does glitter. It is very attractive when it first makes its bow to the mind, and the impulse is strong to welcome it and to fight for it.

Sober second thought, however, may disabuse us of this "love at first sight." In spite of its attractiveness, doubts arise as to its being an unmixed blessing. And when it is considered by the mind trained in viewing things from the single rule of democracy's interests, the scales decline decidedly against it.

It is hard, I know, for the person who first considers the matter to see how there can be anything more democratic than the referendum. Yet if such persons will look more intently while I direct their attention to it in certain aspects I feel sure they will admit a change of heart and confess that the picture appears to them in a new light.

We all know the old familiar trick which parents play on their offspring when they do not want them to have certain things. The baby's eyes, for instance, have fastened on paterfamilias' watch, and the little fingers, none too steady, are likely to dash it to the floor and destroy its usefulness. To take the watch away is to invite a wail and roar from the young hopeful, which is a thing to be avoided. But there is a much better way. That is to find something equally attractive to the eye, with which to catch the infant's attention, and to thus remove the watch while the interest is centered in the new toy.

Now, we are only children of a larger growth, after all, and if there is one man who knows this above all others, it is our only friend, the politician. Were he to speak his mind he would tell you that all men are "suckers," and that a new fool is born every minute. The main business of the politician consists in giving the people what they do not want, politically. It is his business to thwart democracy while pretending to serve it. Whenever there is danger of the people demanding the thing they really need, he looks up serenely with some bright, new

"issue," gets their attention away from their own true interests—and the trick is done!

Now, the referendum of itself is a democratic procedure, but in the hands of the politician (and do not forget that the American politician is in the pay of and under orders from the great capitalists) it can be made to serve the most undemocratic ends. If you do not believe this, just think for a moment of the referendum that elected McKinley. Think of the referendums that have marshaled the ignorant votes of the country (and that means the majority!) upon the subjects of protection vs. free trade, money reforms, etc. The time will come when the Socialist demand grows so uncomfortably strong that the politicians will hug the referendum in their bosoms as a life-line sent by Providence for their especial preservation!

The greatest evil of the referendum, from the standpoint of the dispossessed, is this: It has a tendency to do away with political parties, i. e., with great organizations of well defined ulterior aim. The referendum has a tendency to draw attention away from great principles and to fix it upon small issues.

Now, the Social Democrat stands for a great and a vital principle. To him issues are of minor consideration. Manifestly, a strong organization is needed to deliver the people from the present industrial slavery. That organization is already in existence. It is the Social Democratic party. The referendum, as its advocates admit, has a tendency to do away with parties. Yet the time has not yet come when we can dare to do away with such organizations. A strong social democratic party is needed by the proletariat—by the people.

The referendum has often been used as an instrument of tyranny, as I have already indicated, and it can be used in that way today. Capitalism, hard pressed by the swelling wave of democracy, would use it in that way very willingly. If you will turn to your French histories, you will find that Napoleon III. always used the referendum (it was called a plebiscit) to get a popular sanction for his despotism. He would shoot the people down in the streets, and then call for a vote—and the fool people always voted as he wanted them to. And take our own country. In 1783 a referendum would have adversely settled the proposition to dissolve the bonds that held the American colonies to Great Britain. The average man then hugged his chains, just as the average workingman does his today. In 1861 the referendum (that is, a majority of the voters) actually did declare IN FAVOR OF HUMAN SLAVERY, and that isn't so very long ago, either! In 1886 the referendum, with a majority of twenty to one, would have hanged the anarchists at Chicago, while in 1894 a good referendum majority would have been easily secured for shooting down Eugene V. Debs and the other leaders of the great A. R. U. strike. A referendum today would make Devey a present of a palace in Washington and never give a thought to the many homeless men who really need a shelter. A referendum in the south today would overwhelmingly endorse Judge Lynch.

In fact, the referendum would always be the instrument by which the passion and the prejudice and the "enthusiasm" of the hour would fasten its results upon the already burdened people.

The time has not yet come when the greatest mass of the people has the greatest amount of wisdom, and no one is in a position to know that fact so well as those who are working in the reform field, or in the revolutionary field, rather. On the contrary, a world of agitation and education is needed, and more important still, a change of conditions, before the majority may be enlightened. Experience tells us that even in the most democratic country on earth, in Switzerland, the referendum has acted rather as a brake on the wheel of progress than as a generator of added progressive force. The reactionary elements and the conservative parties have been the ones in most cases to appeal to the referendum in that country.

Fanatic autocratic Socialists, of the dogmatic school, have sneered at the Fabians as being of the middle class, and this pronouncement on the subject of the referendum is a very good vindication:

The Fabian society "warns associations of the working people throughout the world to scrutinize with great care all proposals for transferring direct legislative and administrative power, including the appointment of public officers of the electors. The people can

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What can a Socialist do for Socialism? He can lend a hand and a little time every week to increase THE HERALD'S circulation. If every Socialist who is now reading the paper would send in one subscriber a week during July he would be surprised at the results. And now is the time to do it, preparatory to 1900. Start on the Fourth of July to do something for Socialism—while the other fellows read the discarded Declaration of Independence.

THE GROWTH OF A YEAR PRESAGES SUCCESS

GREETING FROM EUGENE V. DEBS

Socialism and the Independent Political Movement in Ohio—A Question of Principles and Not Persons—No More Compromise.

The first year of the Social Democratic party has been completed and congratulations are in order. The results are equal to our most sanguine expectations. In a twelvemonth our party has extended over nearly all the states of the union and is now in superb condition for the great work mapped out for it. Our comrades are active and harmonious, aggressive and hopeful. They enter upon the second year with a determination that presages success.

On this Anniversary Day I salute the Social Democratic Party, and tender hearty greeting and congratulation to each comrade. As we have tramped together on the highlands and in the valleys in the past, so will we keep step together to the strains of Socialism in



EUGENE V. DEBS

The Man Who Was Imprisoned for the Crime of Trying to Help Humanity.

the future. Each day adds to the strength and influence and sweep of our movement. Each day brings us nearer victory. No backward step will be taken. No retreat will be sounded. International Socialism is the goal and it will be reached while the twentieth century is yet in its swaddling clothes.

Looking up among the stars we behold Marx and Engels, and then press forward to the consummation of their grand work.

For some days I have been in Ohio. The state is in a political ferment. There is a great moral impulse through it all, but it is extremely chaotic. An independent political party may be formed by the working class as the result of the labor convention lately held at Columbus. The supreme purpose seems to be to nominate Mr. Jones, of Toledo, for governor. There is plenty of enthusiasm everywhere. We are assured that the day of jubilee is near.

A hundred times at least during the past few days have I been asked if I would support the independent movement in Ohio, with Mr. Jones as its candidate. I answer candidly no. As a Socialist, as a member of the Social Democratic party, I will support no man for any office who does not stand squarely on a Socialist platform, the representative of a Socialist party.

Let me make myself clearly understood. Personally I have only respect for Mr. Jones. I believe him to be an honest, conscientious man. But that is not the question. It is a question of principles, and not of persons. Mr. Jones himself agrees to this. As far as I know, Mr. Jones has not yet quit the Republican party, and a Socialist in the Republican party at this stage of the political development is to me inconceivable. Again, Mr. Jones would have accepted the Republican nomination for governor had it been tendered him. If Mr. Jones is a Socialist, this also passes my comprehension. The Republican party is opposed to everything that Socialism stands for and for everything that Socialism is opposed to.

There are at this time but two kinds of politics, viz.: capitalist politics and Socialist politics. And they will not mix any more than will fire and water, and he who tries the experiment will get burnt or soaked.

In Mr. Jones' speech at the Columbus convention he failed to avow himself a Socialist, and as far as he is publicly reported, did not even mention Socialism. His utterances were vague and hazy. He aroused much enthusiasm, but that is easy. To me it seemed that he was trying the impossible task of uniting and harmonizing republicans, democrats, populists, single taxers, prohibitionists,

etc., etc. Vain attempt. Neither Jones nor Jesus would be equal to such a task. As soon as the ebullition of the hour subsides this movement will go to pieces. I have had some experience. I have tried the "short cut" to find that it is no cut at all. For the most part, Mr. Jones' followers are honest. They are also mixed and confused. They see "trees as men walking." They fail to perceive, as Socialists clearly do, the economic trend. The "golden rule" is all right in its place, but it has no place in the fight against capitalism. There has got to be a social revolution, a complete wiping out of capitalism, peaceable or otherwise, and any compromise at this stage is fatal. Lassalle said: "You can't inaugurate a revolution with rose water." To Mr. Jones and the wageworkers of Ohio we have simply to say: We have got to get down to the bed-rock of socialism, gentlemen, and throw down the gauntlet to capitalism for ceaseless and uncompromising war until the capitalist system and its wage-slavery is wiped from the earth, and the co-operative commonwealth is reared above its ruins.

In your platform you have not even mentioned the wage-system, the foundation and cap-stone of your slavery. You have yet to learn, as you will learn by bitter experience, that the "step-at-a-time" program is a delusion and a sham that will result in nothing but failure and disappointment. And in this I allude particularly to the "one-plank, initiative and referendum, platform." Apart from socialism it is good for nothing except to catch and string the gullible. All along the track of our economic and political development there has been "compromise" for the sake of "harmony" until the wage-worker in all lands has been sunk to the fathomless depths of degradation.

For the existing ills of the wage-workers there is but one remedy. It is embraced in a single word—SOCIALISM—the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution; and these can be secured by conquering the political power and seizing the reins of government through a united, class-conscious socialist ballot.

In an interview recently Mark Hanna is quoted as alluding to the workmen in the usual capitalistic terms of "voting cattle," etc., and the latter are much stirred up about it, as their leaders declare that they will resent the outrage at the polls. No danger. Mark Hanna is not a fool. No man in America has the average workingman "sized up" more accurately than he. In the coming election nearly all of them will vote just as Hanna says they will. They will vindicate his estimate of them.

Mark Hanna is simply a fair specimen of the capitalist class—neither better nor worse. He is as good as Rockefeller and as bad as Pullman. I have no time to waste on Hanna—I am after the system that spawns the species.

The continuous performance of the Industrial Commission is amusing, if nothing else. It is a good side-show to the capitalist circus. As a confidence game it ought to do a good business, and I do not doubt that the "bunko" returns will be equal to expectations. That a "representative" of labor is in the cast makes the farce comedy complete. In the fall campaign we will hear all about the creation of this commission for the express purpose of making gods of the working class, in return for which they will continue their allegiance to the parties that have enslaved and robbed them. How these capitalistic benefactors chuckle over the success of their skin games!

The governor of Idaho, a rampant, free silver, Chicago platform Bryan democrat, is showing what workmen may expect when the Democratic party gets into power. This scoundrel has the record to date. He has used all the powers of his democratic, populist state to outrage the striking miners. Here we have a specimen of the "step-at-a-time" politics. He is a fit representative of the mine owners of the West. They are all free silver democrats. In the Leadville strike I had occasion to meet them, and I know that if the Democratic party gets into power they and their class will run the government, and the only difference there will be so far as the working class are concerned will be the difference in the names of their masters.

To the working class of the United States we say, the Social Democratic Party is pledged to your complete emancipation. It proposes no short cuts and no quack remedies. It is a class-conscious, revolutionary party committed to the overthrow of capitalism and its wage-slavery and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth and economic equality, and every wage-worker should rally to its standard and hasten the day of its triumph and his own deliverance.

Eugene V. Debs.

Zanesville, O.

ENTHUSIASM WITHSTANDS HOT WEATHER TRIALS

TOUGHSTONE'S NEW YORK LETTER

The Life-Reviving Propaganda of Socialism and Freedom Amid the Packed Tenement Houses and Blossomless Streets of Gotham.

The close of the first year of the existence of the Social Democratic party finds the movement in New York city not only alive, but alert, progressive and full of vim and vigor. The enervating heat and humidity of the long summer days may wilt our collars and put our patience to a severe test, but our determination and our enthusiasm withstand every trial, and the good work goes on. If there be on Mother Earth some place where a person could be pardoned for relaxing his efforts in the cause of Socialism in summer time, then this "village" would be that one; but the need for a change in our social life becomes now more than ever most glaringly apparent, and to halt would be treason; to hesitate, the most grievous sin in the calendar of Social Democrats. Let those who may "seek the quiet shades of country groves, the fresh, cool breezes that come blowing from the sea," and the refreshing joys of green lanes and overhanging boughs; but we whose lot is to toil and sweat out a weary life in closely packed tenement houses and blossomless streets and alleys will make the best of our opportunities and conditions to push the life-reviving propaganda of Socialism and freedom.

We have been much encouraged by the results of our winter's work. Many new comrades have joined us, comrades worth having and worth knowing, and if the program we intend to carry out during the summer yields as good fruit, then the fall campaign and the ensuing winter will find a strong movement firmly our permanence as a political power well nigh established.

What are we doing, and what are we going to do?

Open air meetings are being held every Saturday night on the west side of Manhattan borough and in Brooklyn. Of the latter, the Brooklyn comrades will themselves report, and of the former it can be said they have so far been quite successful. The West Side branch is concentrating its efforts in the Twenty-first Assembly District, and meetings are held at a different corner on a crowded thoroughfare each Saturday evening.

One of the members, Comrade Paine, has invented quite a "slick" thing in the line of platforms. It is a simple trick, as all things are when someone's good brains have made them possible. The platform can be made up into a very small compass, is attached to a bicycle, and is easily carried around on the wheel. All one has to do is to stop the wheel, untie a wire string or two, put up a few bamboo rods for support, and the deed is done. It is strong enough to hold all the way from one hundred to three hundred pounds of Social Democracy any time. Patent has not been applied for and the platform is a socialized institution already. Our speakers get good attention, hold the crowds well, and our literature is taken eagerly. These open air meetings are going to be graduating schools for some of our younger people this summer. On August 12 the first annual picnic of the party will be given at Fort Wendell. It will be a success, of course, because every comrade is going to work to make it so.

On Saturday, July 1, the "Forward" comrades will give their annual summer excursion, and the East Side will be depopulated for one day at any rate. Two large steamers have been chartered to leave the Market street dock every two hours from 8 in the morning until 6 in the evening, to take the crowds to Idlewild grove, an hour and half's sail up the Hudson. There will be a great time. If you want to see an excursion "as is an excursion," just come to New York city July 1.

On Friday night, the 23d inst., a joint meeting of the branches will be held in Wilzig's hall to hear the report of the picnic committee and to decide what action the party will take in the fall campaign. It is probable tickets will be put up in several up-town districts in addition to those down town, and a vigorous campaign will be carried on.

The Voice of Labor, once one of the most influential and active Socialist propaganda clubs in New York, is getting in old time trim again, and the young men who compose it are preparing to do valuable work for the cause when the campaign opens up.

I am ashamed that I did not report in full Comrade Margaret Haile's visit to New York on the occasion of the party

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JULY 1, 1899.

A Filipino fighting against Spain was a patriot; but a Filipino fighting against "us" is a rebel.

Is there not an odor of improbability in the report that Hazen S. Pingree's politics are pure and sweet scented?

Between the Pingree-Alger alliance and the decline of Bryanism the "step-at-a-time" Socialist is having a disastrous time.

Heidelberg university, at Tiffin, Ohio, made a bid for half a million dollars by conferring the degree of doctor of laws upon Andrew Carnegie.

All the politicians in the land who owe their political appointments to the "benevolent assimilator" have something to say about McKinley's wisdom.

The "step-at-a-time Socialists" have no reason to pride themselves on the size of their heads when they turn to Pingreeism and Michigan politics.

Pingree's assurance to the contrary notwithstanding, nobody really believes that his political partner, Alger, expects to get to the senate without tapping his barrel.

When one reads that Lyman Gage defends McKinley's actions as president he should not fail to recall the important fact that McKinley appointed Gage to office.

Rockefeller has just come into possession of between 3,000 and 4,000 vassals by the foreclosure of a mortgage on the town of Everett, Wash., with all that therein is.

The mother of plundering privilege and the source of all corruption in politics is private property rights in productive capital. Retain that and you will retain misery and injustice—in spite of your "reforms."

It would be remarkable that a great corporation with so good a Christian at its head as Rockefeller should do so much that is mean, did we not understand that Christianity as well as oil has been capitalized.

Justice Harlan forgot when he babbled in learned terms before the students of a university at Rochester about the "treacherous" Aguinaldo, that Dewey's fleet was piloted into Manila Bay by that same "traitor."

The qualification of John W. Gates, president of the American Steel and Wire Company, for the position of United States senator from Illinois, which the press discusses, is his ability to buy the seat.

The charge that Judge Haight of New York secured his election to the bench as a reward for services to the Standard Oil outfit loses none of its strength by the fact that David B. Hill denies it.

When Pingree makes an offensive and defensive alliance with Alger, the contract of course covers the secretary's embalmed beef record and other army scandals. It's a savory combination for direct legislators and "step-at-a-time Socialists" to contemplate.

The Boston bank thief will serve a long imprisonment for having the use of \$10,000 for half a day. Which reminds us that Captain Carter, who has had the use of \$2,500,000 belonging to the people for some years, is still at large. But then Carter is another "breed of cats."

The admirable sketch by Comrade Winchevsky in this number of The Herald is not a bit of fiction, but a fact. The "International Sketches," of which "The Growling Editor" is a forerunner, will appear as a feature in future numbers of this paper.

Several hundred rifles, shotguns and small arms, which were taken from the citizens of Pana by soldiers, were returned to their original owners June 26. It is a safe proposition that if these arms had remained in the hands of their original owners without interference from

soldiers the strike would have been of shorter duration. The right of the citizens in a republic to bear arms should never be abridged. Not a paid soldiery, but citizen volunteers are the strongest safeguard for any community or nation. Professional soldiers are the national police of capitalism.

The missionaries of the bullet started their work in the Philippines by presenting cannon to Aguinaldo. It is quite evident that the cannon were not given to an enemy at that time, but to one who was recognized as a friend. The incident is only one in the administration of the jelly-fish statesman.

If the republican party is ready to advocate the abolition of trusts and the democratic party is ready to abandon free silver, what is left for the last named party to do? It is about time the masses recognized that there are two parties only: the capitalist party and the Socialist party.

Editor A. H. Lewis, of Oliver Belmont's paper, the Verdict, assures Editor Buchanan, of the Pittsburg Kansan, that "we shall certainly keep up the fight for the initiative and referendum," but does not believe it can be got into the next democratic platform. Which will be sad news for the Bryanized "step-at-a-time Socialists."

To shut down on the trusts would be to shut off the economies which co-operative production have effected. The right thing to do is to direct these economies through a system of co-operative distribution for the benefit of society as a whole. This is the Social Democratic method of dealing with the trusts, and the method requires the social control and ownership of productive capital.

The American Tobacco Company has dismissed 90 per cent of the traveling salesmen of factories bought by the trust and the number of factory salesmen employed has been largely reduced. The 10 per cent can say to the 90 per cent: "Times are good; everybody is prosperous; this is the greatest country on earth and there's a job for every man who really wants work."

For carrying on the war against Spain your Uncle Sam bought about 200 vessels. For six of these he paid \$943,769. They are in better shape than when bought, because your Uncle fixed them up, but they are to be sold for \$270,000, which means a loss to your Uncle of \$673,769. And the fellows who are for running up the flag and turning down the constitution are the "bilkers."

The report that the Grand Army of the Republic is in process of speedy extinction, by reason of having nothing to recruit from, is accompanied by information that at the next encampment steps will be taken to insure its perpetuation by admitting all soldiers and sailors who ever fought for the Union. Another instance of good and evil going hand in hand.

It was a military gentleman, Carter by name, who swindled the government out of \$2,500,000 on harbor improvement contracts. It is a military gentleman, Otis by name, who has swindled the American public in the matter of news from the Philippines. But Otis took his instructions from McKinley, and Attorney General Griggs, who is trying to clear Carter, takes his instructions also from McKinley. But then we are told they are all honorable gentlemen—including McKinley!

If the general government has not the power to make and enforce legislation calculated to abolish trusts, Gov. Sayers of Texas says "then the states have it." But what power conferred the power on the states? The general government has no power to abolish trusts because the trusts, as Mark Hanna said, wield more power than the government. The states will cut a sorry figure in attempting to do what the general government is powerless to accomplish.

While the regulation of trusts has been referred to the separate states for action, it is interesting enough to notice that the state of Delaware has entered into competition with New Jersey to provide the greatest facilities possible for the legal promotion and protection of trusts. A Delaware law recently passed offers special attractions to the trust promoters, not the least of these being a lower schedule of fees and taxes than New Jersey imposes.

In connection with the appearance of Gen. Miles, of the Gatling Gun Union, at a labor demonstration in Pennsylvania, a very curious thing occurred which shows the littleness and subserviency of a labor committee having the affair in charge. When it was learned that the chief of the G. G. U. would attend, this committee, conscious of their own unworthiness, in common with all cringing slaves who abase themselves before the "great," asked the mayor of Pittsburg to appoint an auxiliary committee of 100 representative citizens, which the mayor promptly did. Then the slaves bethought them that these high might-

nesses from the club and the counting room could not affiliate with the common citizens of the slave class, and requested the mayor to withdraw his invitations, which his honor did with alacrity. Arise, ye slaves! the great are great only because you are on your knees!

An old woman of 77 years and a demented son of 36 were rescued from a habitation they had been forced by poverty to occupy in a crowded Chicago street. It was a hole under the sidewalk. Their only food was the scraps that poor people could give them and their only protection from the elements the flooring of the walk, through which the rain beat upon them. They were moved to jail as criminals. Criminal for being poor. O, the horror of human wretchedness, when men live in holes like rats and die in prisons like felons for being poor!

The boot and shoe manufacturers are "up against it" and the great shoe trust, which has been thought improbable, is beginning to loom up. A start has been made by the combination of the machine makers under the name of the United States Machinery Company, with a capital of \$25,000,000. The combine will do business with sole reference to dollars, and the price of machines has been advanced; the shoe men who kick against this logical sequence of events will soon be on their "uppers," because they will be unable to get machines. Does the "smash-the-trusts and step-at-a-time Socialist" think they will go back to the hand awl and bench?

At last, after decades of waiting for an unerring sign, the Chicago Tribune gives us what it calls a "nearly perfect index to the prosperity of a country." What do you suppose it is? Money in savings banks! No. Bank clearances! No. The rises in prices of iron and steel wares! No. Nothing of that kind. Simply the trade in overalls. There is so much work that, the Tribune says, men are spending "more money for overalls than for the clothing they wear!" So hereafter when you see men wearing blue jeans who can't afford to buy a decent pair of pants, pass 'em up if they ask for food; the country is prosperous.

When a justice of the United States Supreme court gets down from his perch of dignity and participates with ordinary mortals in ordinary affairs, we discover the stuff he is really made of. Justice Harlan certainly ceases to be a demi-god when he makes a speech at a college function, as witness his whine at a University of Rochester gathering last week: "Our country has reached a critical and momentous period in its history," he declared. "Some people have not hesitated to say, in the most public way, that those who ambush and shoot down our brave boys in the Philippine jungles are doing only what they have a right to do and what their honor demands." The august judge seems to overlook the fact that our brave boys are invaders and that as such they must take the medicine usually given to invaders.

A SORRY SPECTACLE

A sorry spectacle, but not one to surprise a Socialist, is the offensive and defensive alliance just formed between Hazen S. Pingree (Moses of reform, hope of direct legislators and step-at-a-time Socialists) and Russell Alger. For years Governor Pingree has been set up on fame's pinnacle as the coming emancipator. He has been the bright particular star in the "reform" skies. True, his following has been a motley crowd, floundering in a maze of political panaceas and programs, but it has always had the utmost faith in Pingree's politics and Pingree's honesty.

But, alas for the mutability of human affairs, especially in the realm of middle-class "reform," their idol is shattered! After entertaining his friends for years with visions of the regenerated republic, to be brought about through the adoption of Pingree politics and Pingree reforms, he turns round and tells them that if they do not favor Alger (one of the owners of the republican party) for senator, they are no friends of his. And to keep the suckers on his string he tells them that Alger is "on the right side of the two greatest questions of the day." These questions are, according to Pingree, opposition to trusts and direct election of United States senators by the people. Could anything be more preposterous—or disappointing to the people who have looked upon Pingree with open-mouthed wonder as the Moses of Reform?

For the sequel to the Alger-Pingree alliance of 1899, watch the republican national convention of 1900 and the Michigan delegation.

To start 'em thinking, order 100 S. D. Leaflets, 35 cents.

Take time to secure one new subscriber to The Herald every week.

Texas Socialists: Send your subscriptions to the Farmers' Review, Bonham, Tex. Comrade Farmer is associate editor and he's all right; so is the paper.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

Just a year has gone since the political ship was freed from the colony raft, and the S. D. P. started on its journey toward the port of Socialism.

To many of us who have been engaged in reform work for years, it has undoubtedly been the most satisfactory year of our experience.

There has been more evident advance, more real progress and more acknowledged victories than during any former year.

When we consider how that Socialist parties have hitherto been in the despised and unrecognized minority, and the feeling of isolation that we all had who joined such a party, and then contrast it with our position and prospects today, we cannot but rejoice over the difference.

If this Anniversary Number were printed in gold ink, it would fittingly illustrate our golden hopes for the coming year.

Prominent among our numerous causes for rejoicing at this time is the fact that in Massachusetts, at least, our Socialist party is a recognized body.

The work has largely resembled that of building the foundations of a lighthouse.

For months or years the work goes on under water, and stone after stone is dropped into the sea without any more apparent result than a moment's splash.

But after a long time of evidently fruitless toil the foundation stones begin to appear above the water, and progress is perceptible to all.

So, in the building of the Socialist lighthouse we have been busy in the past laying the foundation stones in the deep sea of human ignorance.

Our work has been going on in the dim twilight of obscurity, the workers and the work alike unseen, unrecognized or misunderstood.

Every election splash has seemed to the superficial observer but the wasteful dumping of good material.

But every vote that was dropped for Socialism, and that sank out of sight, has played its part, and now the result is seen.

The foundation has risen above high water mark, and a dozen stones, square-cut and firm, rear their heads triumphantly above the water's edge.

The splash of opposition from the waves is better than the dark quiet of the bottom.

And so, with Chase, and Carey, and Scates, and the others elected, our party is at last recognized and our work acknowledged.

Again, a cause for congratulation is the fact that the Social Democratic party is not in the control of faddists of any kind whatsoever.

Almost every small party is like a comet, with a big head and the rest tail, or else a number of small satellites revolving around some central luminary.

Our party is not like a cage, with one big lion and a score of rats in it, as some other parties might be said to be.

We are, it is true, sometimes Carey-ed away by the eloquence of one member, or Haile-d off of our personal position by the resistless logic of another, but we are never dominated by any political leader, or party boss.

We no longer have co-operative cranks proposing the colonizing of the north pole, nor a clique of fanatics domineering every movement.

The party is thoroughly democratic and intelligent, with strong, healthy life, and making steady, wholesale growth.

It is composed of men and women who thoroughly understand the party's purpose, and who are willing to sink their private interest and opinion in the co-operative sense and effort of the whole.

One chief reason for rejoicing lies in the strength of character of the men elected to office.

After all, mere election counts but little in comparison with the opportunities of success or failure afforded the men elected.

The morning after election, when the papers published the fact of election of two representatives by the S. D. P., a comrade and I were expressing our joy. "A grand thing," said he.

"Yes," said I, "If the men are grand enough to make it so. It will either hurt or help the Socialist movement tremendously."

But looking back today we can see that it has been a grand thing, a great help, and that the movement has made great strides on account of the strength of character and wisdom of mind of those we elected.

Since their election every capitalistic searchlight has been turned on them and every S. L. P. red lantern has been swung in their back door yards, but not one word of accusation has been made against the integrity of one of them.

They have been weighed in the balance of public opinion and were not found wanting.

Once more, cause for hope is found

in the favorable change of industrial conditions.

We wisely regard Socialism as the inevitable outcome of industrial development, and that is the sole alternative of a competitive system.

Hence, everything that tends to destroy the latter, brings the alternative nearer.

At the present time the competitive system is being destroyed in a marvelously rapid manner.

Every paper records the formation of a new trust, or the concentration of capital in some form or other.

It is simply the process of industrial evolution, in which the trust is but the chrysalis of the Socialist butterfly.

Socialism is an economic necessity, as well as a political plan, and every trust brings it nearer.

May the victories of the past year give us hope and determination to accomplish the greater victories of the coming year.

Merlin.

HERE'S THE BOOK

Of all the contributions to the literature of Socialism that go into a thorough analysis of capitalist production and give a full presentation of the principles of scientific or modern Socialism, the work just published by the Commonwealth Company of New York, from the pen of Rev. Chas. H. Vail, will prove by long odds to be the most satisfactory to well-informed Socialists and most effective as a converter of non-Socialists to our principles. The title of this truly excellent volume of 237 pages is "Principles of Scientific Socialism," and it is as free from matter foreign to its title as Karl Marx's "Capital." The author has done his work, despite his profession or because of it, in a manner that must be satisfactory to the thorough Socialist; utopianism is left behind; there is no compromise or confusion, but a clear, concise and convincing presentation of principles based upon historical grounds and fortified by a complete knowledge of the causes of social development. We have great pleasure in adding "Principles of Scientific Socialism" to our book list. The price is 35 cents, and we bespeak for it a large circle of readers among Social Democrats.

THE KAISER'S PET BILL

Of course, Socialists can accomplish nothing through politics—that is, as long as they think they can't and are willing to leave the manipulation of the powers of government to capitalists and their political agents. But the Socialists of Germany have been up against the Kaiser and his pet strike bill with a result most discomfiting to the anointed William's lordly sway. It was the most extraordinary and important measure the Kaiser ever adopted as his own, but the arguments of Bebel and the work of the Social Democratic members of the reichstag, supported by the liberal element, put Mr. Kaiser and his pet bill in the clear and dampened the political ambitions of Prince Hohenlohe, who aspires to be another Bismarck. The outcome is the more bitter to the emperor because he had been compelled by public discussion to modify his demands prior to parliamentary consideration; for instance, he had threatened with imprisonment anyone who persuaded workingmen to strike. This was abandoned and the prospect of a term in one of his fortresses held up only to those engaged in the commission of more serious offenses.

But his concessions did not satisfy Socialists. They dumped him and his repressive bill in the lumber room of the reichstag. Now there is greater consternation than ever in court circles.

SOCIALISM IN FRANCE

There need be no misunderstanding of the present attitude of our French comrades towards an administration which, under normal conditions, everybody knows they would antagonize. The extraordinary peril in which the republic has lived for over a year, the conspiracies hatched by reactionaries, the awful test imposed upon the stability of her institutions by the Dreyfus case, the readiness of leading military men to throw the country into a revolution, and the cowardice of public men who have attempted to shield the army, all these things operated to bring together in harmonious action for the salvation of Dreyfus and the defeat of the reactionary forces, those elements in French society which stand for progress and justice. The true position for these elements was long since foreseen in the action of the brave Zola.

In assuming a position of importance in the new cabinet, Alexander Millerand, a representative French Socialist, follows Zola's courageous example to all Frenchmen who perceive how the cause of progress would be menaced by the triumph of the reactionary element. There is no question that Millerand's sole object is to aid to the extent of his powers, which it is conceded are great, in pacifying the country and tiding the republic over the tremendous crisis which threatens it. That done, Millerand and his associates will return to that work with which their names are indissolubly connected and with greater power than ever before labor for the overthrow of all forms of capitalist tyranny and capitalist government and the inauguration of the Socialist regime.

SCIENCE AND SENTIMENT ON THE MONEY QUESTION

BARREN ORATORY OF SILVERITES

The Demonetization of Silver a Result of the Economic System—Bimetallism is an Impossibility and Free Silver a Capitalist Fake Issue.

(Continued from last issue.)

The pure, plain and clear idea of money as a measure of value and nothing else was dominant in ancient Rome and Greece, states founded largely on slave production. The government alone had the exclusive right to fix the material shape and weight of money.

In 1792 the congress for the first time fixed the ratio between silver and gold at 15 to 1, corresponding to their respective market value at that time. The price of silver fell soon after that, the real ratio being 15 1/2 to 1.

This pamphlet is terse and able, and very interesting to all. SEYMOUR STEDMAN.

tween silver and gold. Other European countries followed her example. Silver was legally demonetized after it was practically demonetized by its market value as compared with gold.

This short review of the history of money in the world shows to every unprejudiced mind that gold monometallism is a logical, unavoidable consequence of the now prevailing mercantile or metallic system of money.

PACKINGTOWN

Chas. H. Kerr & Co. have published a 42-page pamphlet entitled "Packingtown," by A. M. Simons, price five cents, which describes graphically the loathsome lives of those who make this great establishment a world wonder.

The author shows how completely subdued the worker has become, and how futile the trade union (in itself) is as a relief, and how little the outside world knows of these serfs.

This pamphlet is terse and able, and very interesting to all. SEYMOUR STEDMAN.

A FRIENDLY TIP

When a branch of the S. D. P. is organized it should not sit down on its hind legs and wait for the clouds to roll by. Presumably it was organized to work and work it should.

APPEAL TO REASON

to come each week. Put the stamp on each copy and distribute them the day before your meeting. The cost will be low and the people will come.

THE REFERENDUM NOT AN UNMIXED BLESSING

(Concluded from page 1)

only judge political measures by their effect when they have come into operation; they cannot plan measures themselves, or foresee what their effect will be, or give precise instructions to their representatives.

I do not say that the referendum has no good points and that here and there it has not done good. I admit that such is the case.

ENTHUSIASM WITHSTANDS HOT WEATHER TRIALS

(Concluded from page 1.)

anniversary two weeks ago. The meeting arranged by the delegates to the Chicago convention was very successful and was distinguished by several incidents which the participants will not soon forget.

Our German comrades, Phillips, Dr. Ingemann, Funcke, and others, are working hard and keeping their paper, the Arbeiter Zeitung, to the front.

As a parting word in an already too long letter, let me say this: A year ago when I hied myself homeward from the Chicago convention I felt that the true Socialist party had at last been organized in America.

What can a Socialist do for Socialism? He can lend a hand and a little time every week to increase THE HERALD'S circulation.

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THE 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 conflicting interests between the 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 degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system, 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, and representing its economic, the other its political, 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 Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution through the restoration of 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 historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connections 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 maintained 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 all.

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, 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 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 a referendum and 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 it expects its coming through the deterring, united efforts of the workers of both cities 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 80 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.

DEBS' LECTURE ENGAGEMENTS.

- Oshkosh, Wis. June 24 St. Paul, Minn. June 25 Ashland, Wis. June 26 West Superior, Wis. June 27 Duluth, Minn. June 28 Madison, S. D. June 29 Aberdeen, S. D. July 2 Mayville, Mich. July 8

For full particulars concerning dates, etc., address L. W. ROGERS, Manager, Box 909, Chicago.

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