

IN THIS "INCENTIVE" UNDER SOCIALISM

ISSUE :

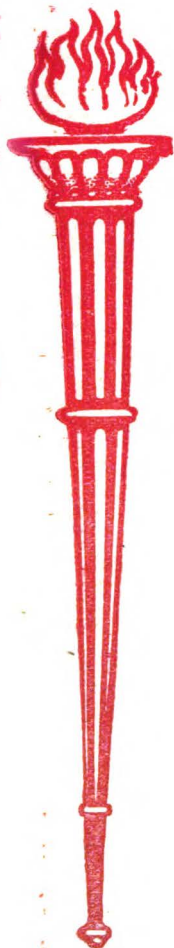
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Vol 2
No 8

THE VANGUARD

APRIL, 1904



YES, you are as orthodox
as the devil, and you
think to compound for the
neglect of your wronged
brothers and sisters by a
little sentiment and a few
offerings to their and your
Father in heaven.

—John Wesley.

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The VANGUARD

"We're beaten back in many a fray,
Yet newer strength we borrow,
And where the vanguard camps today,
The rear shall rest tomorrow."

VOL. 2.

GREEN BAY, WIS., APRIL, 1904.

NO. 8

You find willing slaves and hypocrites in every organization. They it is who make hell on earth a reality. Oh, you who wish to help bring peace on earth, dare to think for yourselves; then do your duty by word and deed; show the poor people that the way to real freedom lies in having a will of their own and making good use of it. When the truth is taught to the young, poverty and all hell conditions will be done away with, and heaven will be found right here. False teaching is what keeps us in hell here, and no one knows where such teaching will land us.

—James Russell Lowell.

"When one observes the rapid growth of Socialism," says the Catholic Tribune, "and the gradual decomposition of the old parties under the fire of effective argument of Socialism against the existing system of political economy, the situation urges upon every intelligent citizen the question: What is to be done?" Good! Thank you for your candid admission! Just beginning to find out that Socialism is not a mere Utopian dream, but that you are up against the "real thing," eh? Yes! Socialism is coming.

"Aid the dawning, tongue and pen;
Aid it, hopes of honest men;
Aid it, paper—aid it, type—
Aid it, for the hour is ripe."

The Socialist movement rests on a sound economic basis, but it is also an ethical movement. Socialism is fundamentally a demand for justice, economic justice, and justice is essentially moral; it is the very soul of morality. Furthermore, Socialism, tho strictly scientific and in accord with evolution, is also profoundly spiritual in its character and trend. For as the full import of evolution is grasped we are learning that spiritual facts and forces are as much the product of evolution as material developments are. As Herbert Spencer has pointed out so clearly, there is such a thing as "the evolution of

love." The bare and unmoral struggle for existence so marked in the lower animal world comes to an end with man in virtue of his reason and moral sense. John Fiske calls the elimination of purely selfish strife "a fact of unparalleled grandeur." Altruism is the law of human life and welfare. "No man liveth unto himself." And Socialism simply demands that industry be organized "in accordance with the nature of things and our growing knowledge of it." It is thus in agreement with the great word of science, which is *law*, and the sum of all religion, which is *love*.

A list of real estate owners in Greater New York has been recently compiled by Haas and Isador, contractors. It shows that out of a total population of over 3,500,000 inhabitants there are just 19,000 real estate owners, or 8,000 less than eight years ago. That means that the property-owning class of New York is somewhere about one half of 1 per cent of the total population. "Who Owns the United States? Under this title a writer in the *World's Work* makes the startling announcement that "one twelfth of the estimated wealth of the United States is represented at the meeting of the board of directors of the United States Steel Corporation when they

are all present. They control corporations whose capitalizations aggregate more than nine billions; an amount, (if their capitalizations are real values) equal to the combined public debts of Great Britain, France and United States. Socialism will stop this "dividing up" process.

THE WORKING CLASS BASIS

Socialism is essentially a working class movement. There are a number of reasons for this and chief of all because it is the interests of the workers that are involved. Other motives besides that of economic interest may, of course, actuate individuals in all classes; but as a rule, and taking classes as a whole, it is the economic interests that determine the direction of class movements. So long as one class enjoys, thru ownership of the means of production and distribution, the privilege of living off the labor of another class,—so long that class, as a class will feel that Socialism would be opposed to their interests. As a class, therefore, they will oppose it.

Again, the class, who, as a class, are not yet convinced that there is no hope of success in life for them in the lines of petty capitalism, i. e., thru the ownership and operation of small stores, shops, and industries,—these also will naturally oppose Socialism. At least they will be uncertain. However, when an individual of this middle class is crushed out by the combined forces of capitalism, or when by reason of observation and reflection he sees his inevitable doom as a small owner, he may then join the working class in their struggle. But until this economic experience or the consciousness of its inevitability comes to him the middle class man lacks the steady in-

fluence of the force of economic interest.

It is the laboring class that has behind it the constant and steady pressure of economic interest driving them in the direction of Socialism. And of all forces that influence human action it is now quite generally conceded that the most universal, far reaching and powerful is that of economic concern. It underlies and accompanies all others. Sometimes others may appear prominent, or may be so emphasized as to obscure the economic, but it is certain to be involved. This being the case, there is one class, and that constituting the great majority of human society, upon whom is acting constantly the supreme force drawing them and driving them to Socialism. This is the working class. And for these reasons they form naturally and logically the basis of the Socialist movement.

However, we need not be too rigid or narrow in our definition of this class. It includes, as Liebknecht says, "all who do not live off the labor of others." It excludes only those who "live by reason of ownership", as Simons points out. And this would include much more than the distinctly wage-earners. It would include also the professional class, for example, the school teachers. And organized labor is beginning to realize this larger inclusion of the term. The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor has recently issued an appeal, "To the Public School Teachers of the State of Wisconsin," in which they submit a very clear argument to show that, "if the public school teachers of the state desire to better their economic condition, thru legislation or otherwise, they must make common cause with those whose interests lie parallel to their own,—the wageworkers."

With this understanding of the

term "working-class" it is quite clear that within its ranks may be found, not only numbers but intellectual and moral resource quite sufficient for the mighty task which the workers of the world have undertaken in Socialism. There will be individuals from the other classes who will join and aid us supplying "fresh elements of enlightenment and progress." But they will not, if they understand the case, ask any modification of the Socialist program in order to make it serve or save their class. And the workers will certainly not consent to such a modification should they ask it.

Socialism must ever stand upon this working-class basis,—viz: that the least and the lowest creature that toils shall have absolute justice, that every one shall be protected as a worker, that the element of living in idleness by reason of ownership of what some one else must use shall be eliminated. Under Socialism all shall be workers. They shall perform some kind of useful service and as none will be permitted to live off the labor of others, every worker will have the full products of his toil. Thus justice will be done to all classes and full compensation made. This program of the working class we hail with joy, and to it the noblest and the best of every class will give their hearts and hands.

"Out of thine own mouth do we judge thee thou wicked capitalism. What could more completely exhibit the vileness of the present system than the following from that blatant champion of monopoly and greed, the New York Sun. In a recent issue it says: "The official labor statistics of Indiana have just been issued and they show the average daily wage paid by the corporations to skilled labor to be \$2.43; unskilled, \$1.33; boys, 71 cents; women and girls, 93

cents. The individual or partnership industries pay girls and women an average of 87 cents. The minimum wage must be left to the imagination. And yet the vast majority of these women are as respectable as those robed in purple and fine linen. There must be an awful accounting some day of those who reward virtue with rags, hunger and cold. Let him or her who is tempted to cast a stone at fallen women think of that average of 93 cents a day."

"Look at the signs on the Rochester factories, 'Small boys, small girls, wanted,'" said Mrs. Mabel Kennon, when speaking before the Rochester Labor Lyceum. "A Rochester inspector says he can find work for 150 little boys and 150 little girls every day, at times when it is hard to find work for one man. As long as child labor continues every intelligent wage-worker will refuse to be the parent of a large family. A factory worker's wife said to me recently: 'If we had children they would have to go to work in the factory very likely. We working people offer up our children to commerce just as surely as the mothers of India sacrificed their children to the heathen gods.'"

But what does capitalism care so long as dividends are paid? The climax of the shameless hypocrisy of our so-called "Christian civilization" is reached, however, when these same dividends, wrung from the sweat and blood of the child-slaves of America, are used to support an official Christianity which, while condoning the accursed system that robs the American home, sends representatives to teach the mothers of India to be kind to their little ones—mayhap they in turn will fall a prey to greed for gold instead of religious superstition, for capitalism is an octopus that reaches out and lays hold on human life everywhere. But Socialism is an international movement that will one day destroy this devilish monster. Since the above was written the legislature of Iowa, by a vote of 55 to 35, has voted down a bill to abolish child labor in the factories of that state. "Workers of the world unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain."

WAR: ITS CAUSE AND CURE

By PROF. THOS. E. WILL



WO thousand years have passed since "Peace on earth, good will toward men" was proclaimed; yet never were the armaments so vast or the war budgets so crushing, and the Christian nations are of all the most warlike. Why is this?

War is two-fold: Industrial and military.

Military war is fought with bullets, bayonets and battleships. Industrial war is fought with strikes and lockouts, with boycotts and injunctions, with stocks and bonds and rebates.

Homestead and Hazelton, Cripple Creek and Telluride illustrate labor war. The battle of giants over the Pennsylvania and Northern Pacific railways illustrates capitalistic war. Why the fight?

In industrial war the reason is plain. The bone of contention is money. Laborers want more wages; capitalists want more profits. Railroads and factories are fought for as a means of winning wealth.

Have you thought that military war has the same root cause as industrial war? What was the cause of the Boer war? Cecil Rhodes wanted the Cape to Cairo railroad and the opportunity to exploit Central Africa. He needed money. The money lay in South Africa in the gold fields and diamond mines. The Boers were in the way. The British government was invoked to push them aside. Hence the war.

Why the Cuban insurrection and the Spanish-American war? Seligman, in his "Economic Interpretation of History," (page 86), says, "It is no longer open to doubt that the Cuban insurrection, and thus indirectly the Spanish-American war, was the outcome of the sugar situation." From this came the Philippine war. Why? Senator Beveridge told us in his senate speech scattered broadcast under the caption, "Under God." That which was "under God" was the almighty dollar. There was money in the Philippines. "Duty and destiny" demanded that we seize them.

Then the Panama coup, which would mean war were not we so large and Columbia so small. The New York World's recent expose, with names, dates, facts and figures, shows that back of that was a syndicate which had purchased the shares of the old Panama canal company and sought to unload them at enormous profit. All the other steps in the subsequent proceedings were a part of the program of the syndicate.

Next, the far eastern war. The "bone" is Corea. Russia seeks an outlet. Baffled at the Bosphorus and Afghanistan, she has sought the Pacific. Vladivostock is frozen much of the year. Corea would be an ideal outlet, and base against China. Why does Russia want an outlet? That she may sell her goods.

But Japan is interested in Corea, too. She desires to work off there her surplus population and surplus goods; hence the clash.

But the surplus? Senator Depew explained it at the Philadelphia convention in 1900. He said "What is the tendency of the future? Why this war in South Africa? Why this hammering at gates in Pekin? Why this marching of troops from Asia to Africa? Why this parade of people

from other empires and other lands? It is because the surplus production of civilized countries of modern times is greater than civilization can consume. It is because this over production goes back to stagnation and to poverty. The American people produce \$2,000,000,000 worth more than we can consume; and we have met the emergency and, by the providence of God, by the statesmanship of William McKinley, and by the valor of Roosevelt and his associates; we have our market in Porto Rico, we have our market in Hawaii, we have our market in the Philippines and we stand in the presence of 800,000,000 people with the Pacific as an American lake."

Senator Hanna said, in his speech in the senate, Dec. 13, 1900: "The production in the United States is one third larger than our consumption."

Why have we surplus products? The census statistics of wealth distribution show that 9 per cent of the families of the United States own 29 per cent of the wealth, while 52 per cent own only 5 per cent. We produce for buyers. The rich buy what they want, and stop. Then production, profits and wages must stop unless other markets can be found. These we seek at the point of the bayonet and the muzzle of the gatling gun. Military war is a fight for the dollar.

The cure? Remove the cause. Transfer our industries from private to public ownership and control. Produce not for profit but for use. What then? Labor wars will cease, for the workers will control the products. Capitalistic wars will cease for the same reason that feudal wars ceased in the early modern period. Feudal lords were deprived of their private armies. When the Rockefellers, Morgans, Goulds, Cassatts and Carnegies are deprived of the means of warfare, the industries and their armies of wage earners and Pinkertons, they, too, will cease warring.

When we produce for use rather than for profit we will have no 'surplus.' Our producers will be our consumers. Hence we will not need to conquer foreign markets and fight for "outlets." Thus international wars will end and we will realize the poet's dream:

"When the war drum throbs no longer,
And the battle flags are furled,
In the Parliament of Man,
The Federation of the World."

THE STRENGTH OF SOCIALISM

By C. E. ORDWAY



THE virtue, strength and beneficence of a person, an institution, or a reform movement is often best expressed by the enemies it has. This is eminently true of Socialism. It has received the compliment of being maligned and attacked and ignored just as Christianity, the abolition of slavery, the doctrine of evolution and all other great movements for human betterment in the fields of science, religion, industry, economics and politics were when they were first introduced and espoused. The extent to which Socialism has been and is still misunderstood, misrepresented and perverted by its opponents is strong evidence of its fundamental soundness, its inherent importance, its growing power. While on the other hand the weakness of its antagonists has been shown to the best possible advantage by their trumped up charges

and feeble arguments both for their own position and against that of Socialism. In the political field this is particularly the case, especially in the strongholds of the party. The injunction of the lawyer, "no case yourself, abuse your opponent" has been followed by the other political parties with surprising exactness and to the full limit, and also by the recreant and renegade of the Socialist school as well. But in every instance this method of procedure has resulted in a boomerang and Socialism has stood forth after each attack more sturdy, modest and powerful. This is because of its fundamental nature, that is, its foundation in the bed-rock principles of real civilization, and the indestructibility of its spirit which is that of justice, righteousness and truth among humanity.

Socialism in its spirit is as one has well said "the struggle for a righteous social system against a blind acquiescence in things as they are, the intelligent, keen spirit of social reconstruction against the respectability and conservatism of all existing privileges." This spirit of the larger humanity and the truer civilization, they that be against it cannot crush. Capitalism is powerful, but it is sordid and material, and cannot cope successfully, in the long struggle, with Socialism, which is ethical and spiritual representing as it does, in the struggle for economic equity and industrial emancipation, the higher forces in the evolution of the race and of the social order. This spirit flows from the great heart of the people and is the expression of the smothered sense of brotherhood and the nobility of work and represents this struggle of the Proletariat and of justice and equality and human liberty, political and industrial, toward the light, and the realization of the full-orbed day of human happiness and achievement, the Co-operative Commonwealth, and the united family of man.

What Hinders Socialism?

Judge W. E. Richardson, of Spokane, says:

Nine out of every ten men outside of the insane asylums would be Socialists today or in less than a year if it were not for prejudice. There is something for Socialists to learn from this fact. You may be a simon pure, class conscious, revolutionary scientific Socialist from now to the day of your death, but until you learn how to disarm and overcome the prejudice against Socialism that now exists in the minds of the majority of people, you cannot be a successful worker in this cause. Tact, sympathy, common sense, forbearance, patience, courtesy—these are as necessary as scientific knowledge.

All Socialist workers should ponder this well.

To meet the situation is the special mission of THE VANGUARD.

There is nothing like it to break down prejudice and start people thinking.

It is making many converts to the cause.

**IF YOU WANT TO MAKE SOCIALISTS
SOW THE COUNTRY WITH VANGUARDS**

THE SUPREME ISSUE

By FRANKLIN H. WENTWORTH



WE have been so persistently schooled in the idea that the progress of the world and the development of human character depends upon the strife of every man against his fellow, that we have never paused long enough to reflect that man may be something more than an animal, and that it might be possible for him to respond to a higher ethic.

Now, when we question ourselves as individuals, we find there is naturally no hatred in our hearts against our fellows. Man is not made for hatred, he is made for love. His natural state is not love of warfare, but of comradeship. When he questions his own heart and conscience the idea that character can be built by conflict is abhorrent to him. When he sees that in the world there is enough and to spare for all, a vision comes to him of a comrade world and his heart throbs with a noble passion to express the brightest and best that now lies dormant in his nature. But as he looks out upon human society, he finds it so organized that the expression of brotherhood is impossible. He may live and die if he will, but if he must live he must fight.

I cannot be a brother to the man who owns my bread. The very fact of such relationship forbids it. Love takes flight at any possibility of coercion.

Now, it is obvious that a few can never enslave a million and make them carry by physical imposition. The chain by which the masses have been bound is not wrist or ankle, but about the character of the mind. It is their ignorance.

For twenty-five years the Congress of the United States has not dealt with a single great principle affecting the welfare of the producing classes of this country. Its halls have merely been the arena in which strong private interests have contended for supremacy, ignoring the working classes altogether. Hat in hand and on bended knee the representatives of organized labor have had to lobby for the barest recognition, when a single manifestation of the collective will at the ballot box would have swept the matters out of political life. Congress is to-day engaged in discussing tariff, penisons and how to abolish trusts without hurting them.

I refuse to admit the saying that the world is less barbarous than under conditions of savagery. Among savages little children starve only when there is a famine, but here in America they starve because there has been too much produced.

Who that has eyes to see will not discover that the prating of equality and the cry that there are no classes in free America springs from the desire to conceal from the common life the truth that there is no equality and that classes do exist?

No life can be sacred until all life is sacred. To degrade a single man in all the world is to keep all the world in the dark.

It is grossly insolent to say to a working man that he is getting higher wages than he received last year. It is unspeakable impudence to say to the man whose children need bread that civilization has given him a

public library.

It is not a question of the workers being better off than they were last year, or the year before, it is a question of getting what they earn. If they are getting a single penny less than the entire product of their labor, they are being robbed and society will some day answer for it. But in a country where the laws are made by the ballot, they cannot be robbed except by their silent or implied consent.

No large body of men have ever yet seen the real evil or the real remedy of prevailing social conditions of to-day. But now the development of the capitalist system itself is operating to eliminate the middle class as a confusing factor.

Socialism has neither originated nor precipitated the class struggle. It has merely called attention to what already exists, with the hope that by understanding it it may some day be ended forever. Nor does it inspire Socialists' hearts toward their enemies. The success of the Socialist movement demands that the two classes shall be kept clearly defined. It is only by keeping the capital class free from its historic disguise and refusing to be influenced by its standard of morals, education and judgment, that the working class can ever make headway toward its peaceful overthrow. It must regard every attempt at reform, however well meant, as menacing to its success, if such a reform in any way confuses the issue or diverts attention from the fundamental social wrong, ownership of the common sources of life by a few.

Stupified by their long period of moral density the working men cannot readily comprehend that in demanding the full product of their labor the working class is not violating any right, but is simply assuming its own. Instead of the much discussed dividing up, which the capitalist class seems to fear from Socialism, the proposal of the working class is to stop it. They have been dividing up the privileges of idleness too long.

The capitalists of to-day are endeavoring to quell the Socialist movement by giving away presents to their employes, increasing salaries, offering stock and placing old age pensions as a reward for diligent and faithful labor, covering a period of a stated number of years.

Every industry of the United States of sufficient magnitude for consideration is to-day on a basis of suicidal inflation. Millions of fictitious stock have been issued. The interest charges made upon the American people exceed the amount of surplus resources of the entire Nation. The obligation laid by capitalists upon the American working class cannot be paid in a thousand years of constant toil. Sooner or later the hour of liquidation must come. A crash that will shatter the world's financial system is inevitable.

But the thing of the greatest importance to the Socialist movement is not that this crash is inevitable, but that it may at any time be deliberately precipitated by the will of a few men. If the capitalist should will to do so it could throw the American government into the hands of a receiver to-morrow.

Now, if all the resources at present employed to sidetrack or confuse the Socialist movement should fail; if in spite of all the wire pulling in the dark, the lieutenants of capitalism should make up their minds that the case is becoming desperate and nothing except desperate expedients

at last could save them, they would precipitate this crisis in an instant, to destroy the Socialist movement before it is ready to meet it.

Here is the capitalists' resource above all others which the Socialist has more to fear.

The world waits for the collective will of the common people. Through long centuries it has waited for a movement of the people that should at last lift the race above class, state and Nation. It should include in comradeship the lowest man upon the earth, which should reach out to all the world. Such a life we must build if the world is raised out of its present savagery.

THE SLAVE OF IGNORANCE.

Once, as in dreamy mood I strayed
Along a splendid hall of art,
I saw one picture on the wall
That burned its import on my heart;
That fixed its meaning in my soul,
And stamped its impress on my mind;
For in that picture I beheld
The toiling millions bound and blind.

The canvas held the burly form
Of Hebrew Samson at the mill,
Docile and ox-like trudging round
Obedient to a masters will.
His captors mock him at his toil,
And jeer his eyeballs dulled and seared:
Oh, where has fled the dauntless pride—
The god-like strength that made him feared?

Oh Samson! thou art but a type
Of Labor, thru the weary years
Treading the ceaseless round of toil,
In want and unavailing tears;
Thy masters mock thee, and despise
Thy patient strength on which they feed;
Thy feeble protests they ignore
In haughty overmastering greed.

Slave of the mills of Privilege,
Scourged on by Poverty and Dread,
The selfishness of ages weights
The crown of thorns upon thy head;
The greed of all the years has bound
The fear of want about thy brow;
A serf thou wert in ages past,
Wealth owned thee then—*it owns thee now!*

Oh slave, by Ignorance enthralled,
Uplift thy visage to the light!
The sun of Reason shines for all,
Look up—its beams will give thee sight!
Thou hast the power to shape the world,
To make it what thou'dst have it be,
There is no need of other power
Than thine own Will to make thee free.

—ROBERT T. W HITELAW

INCENTIVE TO INDIVIDUAL EFFORT UNDER SOCIALISM

By A. L. BENSON, Editorial Writer of the Detroit Times

An address delivered Sunday, Dec. 27, 1903,
before the Men's Class of St. Joseph's Mem-
orial Church, Detroit.



THE question of what incentive there would be to individual effort under a Socialist form of government, which holds all forms of useful labor equally valuable to society, has long been a favorite objection with those who are profiting greatly from capitalist government, as it has always been a stumbling-block to those just entering upon the study of the Socialist philosophy. All things being great or small, either by comparison with each other, or with some other thing, perhaps I can best impress upon you my belief that Socialism would present a greater incentive to human endeavor than ever existed by comparing the incentive to work that would be given by Socialism to the incentive to put forth useful effort that exists under capitalism. And in doing so, I should like to be permitted to quote some figures contained in Bulletin No. 49, issued in November, 1903, by the Bureau of Labor at Washington, which can be obtained without charge by any one desiring it, upon request to the Department of Commerce and Labor.

This report covering the period from 1890 to 1903, was based upon reports from 2,567 workingmen's families, distributed among all sections of the country, none of the heads of which were in receipt of an income of more than \$1,200 a year. The average number of persons in a family being a fraction over five, and there being in each case two or more wage-earners, the report shows that the average annual income of such families was \$827. The purpose of the report being to ascertain the cost of living, as compared with wages received, the interesting fact is given that the average annual cost of the necessities of life for each of the families enumerated was just \$768, or

\$55 less than the amount of wages received by each.

Now let us see what incentive to life-long toil is held out by these figures to the average American family, and in this connection, the fact should be considered that the families referred to in this report of the Bureau of Labor are in reality more fortunately circumstanced than the majority of families with one wage-earner, who according to the census reports of 1900, is in receipt of only \$437 a year for his toil. Suppose that a man were to become a wage-earner at the age of 21 years and work steadily until he reached the age of 50 without any sickness in his family, or any enforced idleness. With an excess of receipts over necessary expenditures of \$55 a year, it is apparent that he would have, at the age of 50, as the result of 29 years of unremitting toil, the magnificent sum of \$1,595. Nor are these figures, based as they are on the experiences of a few widely scattered families, misleading when applied to all families. For the same census figures issued by our government in 1900, show that 69 per cent of the population do not own their own homes. And I assume that the instinct to own one's own home, which is so strong in the American character, would cause every man to hold the title to the roof over his own head if he were financially able to do so.

Now what would be the incentive to work under Socialism? Let the figures issued by our own capitalist government tell you. We will say that the average cost of living would be just the same under Socialism that it is under capitalism—\$768 a year. The average man, inspired by no hope that he will be able to save more than \$1,595 in 29 years, nevertheless produces \$2,450 of value each year, so our census reports tell us. Socialism, by destroying the wastes of competition and eliminating the profits of private ownership, would give each worker his entire product, thus ena-

bling him to save NOT \$55 A YEAR, BUT \$1,682 A YEAR, AND IN 29 YEARS, INSTEAD OF SAVING ONLY \$1,595, HE WOULD SAVE \$48,778!

Do you think the average man would consider that his incentive to work had been materially decreased if he were assured that living and working as he does now, he could save \$48,778 in the years between 21 and 50, instead of a beggarly \$1,595, which he now has if he never spends a cent for enjoyment or has any bad luck?

But perhaps you are saying that nobody wants to be an average man—a mediocre man, if you please, that every man of bounding blood and throbbing brain considers himself an exception to the general run of human beings who needs only the opportunities presented by capitalism to develop him to the uttermost. Ah, that is the will-o-the-wisp that has been dangled before the eyes of humanity since the dawning of the first day of capitalism. It is like the delusive hope that Napoleon thundered to his legions when he sent them flying over the Alps and into the Italian peninsula with his word for it that "In every soldier's knapsack is the baton of a marshal," if he would but bare his breast to the foes of France and fight hard enough. And today, our own "captains of industry" are urging us on in the same way to the greatest possible productivity: "Work hard for a fifth of your product; work long and never say die and you may become a millionaire" like Mr. Schwab, Mr. Morgan or somebody else who started in poor and managed to secure a fortune. But the results of our pitiful attempts to emulate these worthy gentlemen make Napoleon's shadowy promise to his men seem very real; since Napoleon DID make a score or so of marshals out of his 100,000 soldiers, while capitalism has made only 5,000 millionaires and mult-millionaires out of 76,000,000 of people. Doesn't it strike you that there is something excessively cruel about a system of industry that holds out such magnificent possibilities and such miserable realities: about system that takes the boy from his mother's side and nerves him up to high-tension toil by the hope that industry and frugality may give him plenty, aye, even lux-

ury in his old age, when the cold facts are that he will be given only 31 chances in 100 even to own the humblest sort of a home? Yet knowing these facts, men DO find an incentive to work under capitalism.

The fate of the average man, under capitalism, to lifelong toil for a pittance in excess of the actual cost of living having been pretty well established, not only by the figures I have quoted you, but by what must have been the observations of each of you, it seems to me that the only question for solution, in connection with the discussion of this subject of "Incentive," is whether government should exist for the purpose of promising the welfare of the average man or the exceptional man. I take it that all governments are established, in theory at least, for the purpose of securing the greatest happiness for the greatest number. And to me, it would seem especially appropriate that a government like ours that is ruled by majorities, should seek by every available means, to conserve and promote the welfare of the majority, which, as our census and labor bureau reports show, is overwhelmingly composed of average men—men who are given each year in the form of wages only \$55 more than it costs to live.

The average man—the weakling if you please—surely needs the aid of his government to obtain for him common justice more than does the brilliant man to secure the utmost products of his brilliancy. No one, I take it, would seriously contend that our government should be maintained for the primary purpose of promoting the welfare of the "exceptional" gentlemen like Mr. Rockefeller, who constitute but 5,000 of our 76,000,000 of population. Nor does it seem to me that the exceptional man should be very much downcast at his outlook when he considers the fact that if, under Socialism, he were to receive for his labor only what the commonest ditch-digger would receive, he would nevertheless be in receipt, of an income that would enable him to retire at the age of 50, with a bank account of \$48,778, provided he were willing to live as the average American now lives. But if this prospect should dishearten the exceptional man, I can only say that in my opin-

ion, it would be better that he be disheartened than that the average men, who compose 95 per cent of the population, should continue to be compelled to work for a wage that represents only one fifth of the value or their product.

If we assume that the "exceptional" man—the man who is now conspicuous principally because of his ability to appropriate the products of others—WOULD become discouraged under such conditions, I must admit that to that extent Socialism might diminish the incentive to individual effort. It seems to me, however, that I have heard some who are not Socialists express the desire that something be done to curb the incentive to activity of a few of the exceptional men that are now prominent in finance and industry. But I cannot admit that the prospect of having \$48,778, instead of \$1,595, over and above living expenses, as the result of 29 years' labor, would deprive the average man of the desire to do at least as much as he does now.

If it would, perhaps we could increase the present incentive to labor by decreasing wages and increasing the cost of living still more. If a part of one's product is more desirable to the producer than the whole of it, why not spur the worker on to greater efforts still by giving him only one-tenth of the value he creates instead of one-fifth of it? Such a program would certainly not meet the opposition in certain quarters that has been engendered by the Socialist plan to give the worker ALL he produces, with nothing left for the idler, be he rich or poor.

In conclusion, I may say that I think the fear that Socialism would lessen the incentive to individual effort will largely disappear when the world gets a little better understanding of "what is mine and what is thine" and sees the folly of wrecking body, brain and soul in the pursuit of wealth that is not needed. I believe that the great majority of men want only what belongs to them. To teach

men where their rights end and those of others begin is therefore the most important work that Socialists have to do. For civilization has advanced just in proportion to the extent that men have learned to be just to one another. Individually, we no longer share the belief of our early ancestors that might make right, but we nevertheless do some very strange things. We take interest and rent without any apparent realization of the fact that capital, in itself, never produced anything and that these additions to our wealth therefore came from the unrequited sweat of labor. And we take profit with as little concern as if it were not economically as bad to accept more than cost for an article as it is to "raise" a \$1 bill to \$2. The fact that a bread famine makes thousands of persons willing to pay \$10 a barrel for flour that is ordinarily sold for \$5 a barrel affords no moral justification for charging the higher price. Yet all profit—that is, the excess of price over cost—is based upon nothing but increased demand and is therefore an economic crime. Mind you, I am not blaming individuals for taking interest rent and profits, I am only criticising the system under which injustice is done, believing as I do that the average man need only to know what is right to do it. Certainly conditions would be incomparably worse than they are if the desire of the majority were not to do as nearly right as they know how.

When men learn the simple truth enunciated by Ernest Crosby, that when one man "gets something that he didn't produce, it inevitably follows that another man produced something that he didn't get;" and that he who would amass wealth in excess of his legitimate needs is as foolish as would be the man who would covet the ocean because he was thirsty, I take it that there will be little to destroy the incentive of the individual to work in a system that merely contemplates exact justice for all with its inevitable result of plenty for all.

BOOM THE VANGUARD

"THE VANGUARD will catch and stick where other Socialist papers will not," writes one comrade. If you want to help the cause boom THE VANGUARD's circulation. Four subscriptions for one dollar. Get up a club at once. Send in as many names as you can at 25 cents each.

WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT

WENONAH STEVENS ABBOTT, Editor

Under this caption, inquiries will be answered as rapidly as possible. Communications for the editor should be addressed to Station M, Chicago.

Let's Talk About It

S. E. A., W. B. and others have requested me to state my attitude as regards the Socialist party and various shades of Socialists. I have decided to meet this squarely and as that uses up space, I must omit other inquiries this month. I wish it understood that I speak for myself alone and not for those who may work with me.

First then, let me say that I regard our present economic system as Hades, but I do not believe in eternal damnation, nor have I forgotten the old Hindoo assurance: "Just to thy wish, the door of Heaven is found open before thee through this glorious unsought fight which only fortune's favored soldiers may obtain."

Because of our interdependence, none of us can obtain an earthly paradise until all have it, so it behooves us to work together. I, for one, am willing to work with all those whose efforts are expended for this purpose just as far as we can work harmoniously, and when we reach that place where our methods are utterly apart I still say to each and all: Good fortune attend you in your path, and may you and I accomplish much in the ways best suited to our natures.

This being true, I watch with interest the methods of Industrial Socialists, Christian Socialists, Agnostic Socialists, and any and all other Socialists. I believe that all have a work to do, that many are doing a work for which nature has not fitted me, and that the fact of their existence proves their need. For that which counts for the ultimate good in them, I am thankful. Toward that which seems to me a waste of effort, I am charitable—knowing that not one of us has yet grasped all of Truth, but each must work with that portion in his keeping.

I believe a Co-operative Commonwealth as sure to come as that the sun will rise tomorrow; but I think there are two possible results and

two methods by which it may be ushered in. I deem it within the realms of possibility that the new system might come to us when we were only bigoted liberals, and that this would be only a chance of tyranny. I feel that it may come through bloodshed. It appeals to me as true that education is the only safeguard against these two evils, for which reason I welcome the spread of Truth in any and all channels which open or can be opened. This it is which makes me a "liberal" (as one comrade states) in all that affects the work among women and children. I want them to see the truth. If they can most master it by having it made amusing, so be it. If they must see the world's pain and search for truth in an effort to relieve it, well and good. If they are so self-centered that a personal appeal must be made, make that. If you can only reach the head by working through the heart, take that route; and if the path leads through the stomach, take advantage of that. WAKE THEM UP. After you accomplish that Herculean task, give them strong scientific food; but do not become discouraged when you find that intellectual babes can not digest meat. Try milk instead. If it is pure and wholesome, it will help them thrive and prepare them for your own diet.

As I believe the revolution must come by the ballot if it is to work for good, I am an ardent political Socialist of course; and no one had cause to doubt my loyalty to the party organization, in which (as the comrade above referred to states) I am a "conservative." But he is mistaken in thinking that my attitude as regards the purely educational work contradicts this. The make-up of the political organization may yet be a question of life and death, since it may be the buffer which will avert war. This being true, I disapprove of a wideopen admittance of those who are only sentimentally in sym-

pathy with us and who have no knowledge of the history, scientific aspects, tactics and aims which actuate the political movement I have seen an influx of this kind of members almost disrupt a Local which had been doing good work. The party is a political army, organized for the peaceable capture of the government; and it should be guarded against those self-seekers who bring into it the trickery of politicians. That is the secret of my conservatism.

But the woman's movement, being merely educational, could only be temporarily sidetracked by any overcharge of emotionalism and the good gained by association more than counterbalances this possibility. So I gladly hail as a comrade any woman who realizes the need of a new order of society based upon Justice instead of strife. I willingly work with her wherever we can be mutually helpful—in the W. N. S. U. and out—frankly discuss with her those points which we see from differing standpoints, and grant her right to her opinions as I to mine. Because one is a Trinitarian, another a Unitarian, and a third a Pantheist is no reason why we should not work together in all which shortens the distance to the common goal. So I see nothing but good in the formation of women's clubs for economic study whether the line be ethical, scientific, or industrial. Each earnest seeker will discover something of good: something which can be shared with all others and make all the richer.

Possibly because at different times in my life I have been forced to be class conscious on both sides of the economic fence, I believe in great freedom of thought and a recognition of the fact that there never was a question which had only one side. If a Co-operative Commonwealth stands for anything in this world, it stands for human brotherhood. Let's begin to practice it a bit (just to get accustomed to it) and agree to disagree amicably on all points where we can not agree. Do let's ignore differences whenever they are side issues: and fight together to the last ditch for the vital matters.

This may seem a very personal sort of an answer to make to these queries; but I feel that the misunderstanding as to my attitude may work

for harm to the woman's movement and, as I am to be its president for another year, it seemed unfair to shirk it. If I did not believe there was need for more than one kind of work to this end, I should not spend my hours of "recreation" in the labor of organizing women and educating children. When all children are born with adult brains, all women evolve to a knowledge that before they are women they are human souls, I shall take a rest. Until then, I can not.

"If I knew you and you knew me—
If both of us could clearly see
And, with an inner sight, divine
The meaning of your heart and mine—
I'm sure that we would differ less
And clasp our hands in friendliness;
Our thoughts would pleasantly agree
If I knew you and you knew me."

SOCIALIST WOMEN, COME TO W. N. S. U. CONVENTION.

The last week in April or early in May, the W. N. S. U. will convene in Chicago. At this writing the exact date has not been fixed, but it will be so related to the date of the political convention that women can attend both without unnecessary lay-over expenses.

The chairwomen will be members of the W. N. S. U., but this is the only restriction. All Socialist women (without regard to membership in the Union) will be equally welcome to take part in all discussions. While we hope our brother comrades will feel free to attend, they cannot be given the floor except by vote of the house. This is not because of any ill-will toward menfolk, but because some of our women do not feel free to participate in debates in which men take part; and this is to be primarily a woman's convention.

No routine business will receive attention in open session, which is to be educational in that it will give us an opportunity to exchange views and find out where we disagree, and why. Business matters not of general interest can be transacted in executive session of the Natl. Com. Those Socialist women who have disapproved of the Union are especially invited to attend and take part in discussions. Members of the Union are sufficiently liberal to permit all a frank expres-

sion of opinion.

Among the topics proposed for discussion are: the need of separate organization of women; why such clubs should be united in a national organization; why such an organization can do better work when not affiliated with the political movement; whether such a union needs a president—a discussion in which the present president will take the negative, so none need fear personal ill-feeling resulting from candor; best methods of interesting young people in rational economics; accounts of some odd methods which have been effectually used by women.

Those Unions and Members-at-large who have pledged money to the organization fund are requested to communicate promptly with the Cor. Sec'y and Treas., stating whether they are willing that this money be applied to the expenses of this convention and paying it as soon as possible. It has seemed to the Natl. Com. that it would bring better results expended in this way than in any other.

WOMAN'S NATIONAL

SOCIALIST UNION.

Members in those states not yet organized and which have no State Representative, should promptly send suggestions to the Pres. Members of the Natl. Com. are requested to send in their nominations for Supts. of Depts at once, in order that the referendum may be taken and departmental work be placed in the hands of those who will have charge of it this year. W. S. A.

The Chats with Young Folk is crowded out this month but will begin again in the May issue and appear regularly thereafter.

Study Of Parllamentary Usages.

Women's clubs exist in every city, town, and village the country over, so women are getting a good deal of experience in conducting meetings of these various organizations and are everywhere becoming good parliamentarians.

Many women in small organizations dislike the business meetings and consider them tedious and stupid. The main reason is because they

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This book is without doubt the best explanation of modern Scientific Socialism to be had in any language. It is simple enough to be understood by any reader of ordinary intelligence, and it not only covers the ground ordinarily treated by the writers on Socialism, but also classifies and analyzes a mass of new facts showing how individual production is giving way to capitalist production and gives straightforward answers to the difficult questions of how the necessary capital is to be acquired and how wages are to be adjusted under a collectivist system. The various objections to Socialism, new and old, are answered in a way that is simply crushing.

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know so little of parliamentary law that they take little part in transaction of business. 'It is on account of this ignorance that it "drags its slow length along" and becomes uninteresting and wearisome. To change this and make the business meeting lively animated and full of interest, every member should be well grounded in parliamentary u. and feel a personal responsibility ... taking an active part in the transactions. You will always find a wide-awake and enthusiastic organization where the business is dispatched with promptness and in an orderly, parliamentary manner.

It is not an onerous task to accomplish these results. If every Union would devote ten minutes of each meeting to methodical systematic study of parliamentary usage, and the chairman enforce the rules as learned; in short time these would be model organizations and the business hour would be as much enjoyed as the literary program. We always enjoy what we do well, while slovenly methods in any work, even in conducting our meetings, reacts unpleasantly and unprofitably upon the mind.

In the study of parliamentary usage, I would advise going slowly. One step at a time and much drill in each step before taking another, is the only real road to perfect mastery.

I would be pleased to hear from the various Unions throughout the country as to their efforts and advancement in this department, and if I can be of service I shall be glad.

Mary E. Garbutt, Supt., Dept. Parliamentary Law, W. N. S. U., Los Angeles, California.

"Paid," an Afro-American sympathizer, is a bright little booklet published monthly by Nora E. H. Siegel, Box 740, Los Angeles, Cal. 25 cents a year. 5 cents a copy. Taking for her text the words, "God draws no creed nor color line; all things are His, in Him,—Divine," the editor, profits against the continued use of the terms "master and slave" and advocate Socialism as the solution of the negro question.

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Vanguard Press,
Green Bay, Wisconsin.



Frances E. Willard ON SOCIALISM

Look about you, the products of labor are on every hand; you could not maintain for a moment a well-ordered life without them; every object in your room has in it, for discerning eyes, the mark of ingenious tools and the pressure of labor's hands.

But is it not the cruelest injustice for the wealthy, whose lives are surrounded and embellished by labor's work to have a superabundance of the money which represents the aggregate of labor in any country, while the laborer himself is kept so steady at work

that he has no time to acquire the education and refinements of life that would make him and his family agreeable companions to the rich and cultured? The reason why I am a Socialist is just here.

I would take, not by force but by the slow process of lawful acquisition, through better legislation as the outcome of a wiser ballot in the hands of men and women, the entire plant that we call civilization, all that has been achieved on this continent in the four hundred years since Columbus wended his way hither and make it the common property of all the people, requiring all to work enough with their hands to give them the finest physical development, but not to become burdensome in any case, and permitting all to share alike the advantages of education and refinement. I believe this to be perfectly practicable, indeed, that any other method is simply a relic of barbarism.

I believe that competition is doomed. The trusts, whose single object is to abolish competition, have proved that we are better without than with it, and the moment corporations control the supply of any product they combine. What the Socialists desire is that the corporation of humanity should control all production. Beloved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it is the higher way; it eliminates the motives for a selfish life; it enacts into our everyday living the ethics of Christ's gospel. Nothing else will do it; nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood.

Oh, that I were young again, and it would have my life! It is God's way out of the wilderness and into the promised land. It is the very marrow and fatness of Christ's gospel. It is Christianity applied.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY exists for the sole purpose of abolishing the "cruel injustice" spoken of by Miss Willard. It demands that the workers shall receive the full product of their labor—their private property. It aims to extend and secure personal rights. It will put a stop to "confiscation" by ending the system which now compels the masses of the people to "divide up" their earnings until the nation's wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few. It will save the home by securing each worker an income sufficient to maintain a family in comfort and send his children to school instead of the factory. It will abolish "graft," child labor and prostitution—the direct results of capitalism. If you want simple justice, industrial peace and a higher civilization, **VOTE THE SOCIALIST TICKET.**

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SOCIALIST HEADQUARTERS



To achieve the objects of Socialism, the American Socialists have formed the Socialist Party, now organized in all the States of the Union. In New York and Wisconsin, this party is known, for legal reasons, as the Social Democratic Party.

NATIONAL SECRETARY: WILLIAM MAILLY, Rooms 303-304, McCague Bldg., Omaha, Neb.

National Convention, Chicago, May 1, 1904.

ENORMOUS GAINS

**Milwaukee Socialist Vote
18,953--18 Socialists
Elected**

**Old Party Politicians Baffled and Alarmed--
Socialists Jubilant and Have
Already Commenced Fall
Campaign**

A foretaste of the surprise in store for the country next fall is given in the result of the municipal election in Milwaukee where the Social Democrats elected 10 aldermen, 4 supervisors, 2 justices, 2 constables and polled 15,333 votes for Victor L. Berger, candidate for mayor. The vote for Mr. Wilke, candidate of the Socialist Labor party, 3,650, the bulk of which was doubtless intended for Mr. Berger, makes the total Socialist vote 18,953, an increase in the vote of two years ago of 10,319. This result was achieved after the hottest campaign ever known in Milwaukee where the lines were tightly drawn and the issues clearly presented. The democrats carried the city, re-electing Mayor Rose by a vote of 23,515. Mr. Goff the republican candidate polled 17,603, the Socialists thus forging ahead to a second place in the poli-

tics of the city and securing the balance of power in the city council. As the campaign proceeded and the strength of the Socialists became evident, Mayor Rose ignored his republican opponent and directed his attention to what he termed the "danger that threatened the city" through the probable election of Mr. Berger. He declared his readiness to withdraw and support Mr. Goff, rather than allow Mr. Berger to win, thus virtually admitting the Socialists claim that the interests of the two old parties are identical.

Commenting on the result the Milwaukee Sentinel (republican) says:

"The strength of the social democratic party, under the leadership of aggressive men, gave to the campaign elements of uncertainty, baffling alike to the politicians and to the voters generally. The enormous increase in the vote of the social democratic party indicates that a new element has come upon the field to assertively dispute the right of the democrats and republicans to dominate the politics of the city of Milwaukee."

"Scarcely had the excitement attending the election died away yesterday than the leaders of the social democratic party were making new plans to continue the political fight they had conducted with so much vigor during the last few months. The fall campaign is to be launched at once, and predictions are made that big gains will be made in the November election."

TELLURIDE

One of the most dastardly outrages ever perpetrated in America occurred on the night of March 14, at Telluride, Colo., when one hundred members of the Citizens' Alliance armed themselves with Winchesters and revolvers, scoured the town and took from their homes by force seventy-five union men and sympathizers. The men were herded in a vacant store until 2 a. m. when they were marched to the depot, loaded into the two special coaches and deported to Ouray, the capitalist mob firing a volley with their guns as the train departed. Among those who were thus expelled was Comrade A. H. Floaten, president of the People's Supply Co., and a leading Socialist worker. As he was retiring, a little after 10 p. m., his house was broken into, partly undressed, he was dragged through the streets and beaten repeatedly over the head by his captors. Mr. Floaten is a peace-loving law-abiding American citizen whose only offense is that of sympathy

[Continued on Page 26.]

MINNESOTA STATE NEWS

S. M. Holman, retiring state secretary, issued a letter to the Comrades of Minnesota from which we take the following:

"It is proposed to keep from two to four organizers in the field after the middle of May until election; also the State Lecture Van. The State Executive Committee thinks this is not only possible, but absolutely necessary if Minnesota is to keep pace with other states in the great movement for the uplifting of humanity which is sweeping the country. Secretaries are therefore requested to bring this to the attention of every comrade of their respective locals, and every believer in Socialism in the state is asked to make contributions to the state fund. We ask all who can afford it, to make a regular monthly subscription from now until election."

Three town elections were held in the state in the month of March resulting in a splendid showing for the cause. At Wrenshall the entire Socialist ticket was elected. At Ada our ticket received 71 votes out of a total of 271. At Carlton 26 out of 112. The result at Ada is very gratifying, as the election occurred at a bad time of the year, most of the members of the local being away from town, in the lumber camps etc.

Carlton has developed into a splendid local. There was scarcely a Socialist in that town until Comrade Klein organized them last December.

State organizer Klein's dates are as follows: Graceville, April 6; Barry, 7; Wheaton, 8; Fargo (N. D.) 9-11; Moorhead, 12, 13; Hawley, 14; Rellog 15, 16, 17; Fergus Fall, 18, 19; Alexandria, 20, 21; Brooten, 22; Willmar, 23, 24.

Rev. Carl D. Thompson begins his Minnesota tour at Duluth, April 11. The Comrades of the State will be delighted to know that he is coming again. There is no abler exponent of Socialism on the platform today. Comrade Thompson's dates, so far as arranged, are: Duluth, April 11, 12, 13; Two Harbors, 14, 15; Wrenshall, 16; Scanlon, 17; Carlton, 18, 21; Grand Rapids, 19, 20.

Comrade George R. Kirkpatrick begins work in this state April 15. His dates thus far arranged are Albert Lea, April 15; Oakland, 16, 17; Austin,

18, 19; Spring Valley 20. Secretary J. J. Jacobsen, of Iowa, writes that Comrade Kirkpatrick has created more enthusiasm in that state than any speaker they ever had.

Many of the locals signify their intention of putting a local, county and congressional ticket in the field next fall. These counties are Polk, Norman, Crow Wing, Otter Tail, Ramsey, Hennepin. St. Louis, Lake, Mower, Rice, Aitken, Roseau and others.

Comrade J. E. Nash, the new State Secretary, is working about 18 hours a day.

There will be a hot time for capitalism all along the line in Minnesota this year.

Secretaries of locals are requested to send a complete list of the members of their respective branches to THE VANGUARD.

To the Socialists of Minnesota:—

I take great pleasure in recommending to the Comrades of this state the monthly magazine, called THE VANGUARD, published at Green Bay, Wis., by Comrade J. M. A. Spence.

This magazine occupies a unique position among the many splendid publications issued in the interest of the Socialist Party. It deals largely with the ethical aspects of the philosophy of Socialism, a field not fully covered by any other Socialist publication.

While dealing with Socialism from the ethical view point, it nevertheless stands out boldly for scientific, class-conscious Socialism, and the Socialist Party.

The Comrades of this state will be pleased to know that Comrade Carl D. Thompson has been secured as associate editor.

The magazine will also be of special interest to the Comrades of this state as the editor has agreed to publish monthly the progress made in this state by the organization. This information will be of great value to all Minnesota Socialists, as they will become acquainted with the work that is going on in their own state. This fact alone should be a sufficient inducement for every Comrade to subscribe.

I would suggest that you send Comrade Spence any items of interest from your locality for publication.

Any assistance you can render to increase the circulation of THE VANGUARD will, I believe, be a great aid to the Socialist Party in this state. Yours fraternally,

S. M. Holman.
Minneapolis, Minn. March 31st. 1904.

A SELECT LIST OF BOOKS FOR SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA

PRICE FIVE CENTS EACH

The Real Religion of To-Day.

By Rev. William Thurston Brown. Shows how the Socialist movement embodies a that is vital in religion. "Real religion is something which finds a man, rather than something which he finds. It is the great, deep undercurrent which sets toward justice and truth and love. It is not the business of men to learn its creed. It is their business to respond to its compulsion."

Rational Prohibition

By Walter L. Young. An address before a meeting of temperance workers showing that it is impossible to suppress intemperance so long as people can make a profit out of selling liquor, and that the only rational prohibition is abolishing the profit system.

Woman and the Social Problem.

By May Wood Simons. Explains that the political and domestic subjection of women is due to their economic subjection to the men of the capitalist class, that political liberty alone would be of no real benefit to women, and that their complete emancipation can only be brought about through Socialism.

Socialism and the Home.

By May Walden Kerr. Tells how all the essentials of a happy home are destroyed by capitalism; how the economic dependence of women results in loveless marriages and equally degrading subjection outside marriage; how the one hope of woman's emancipation is in Socialism, and how women can help to hasten its coming.

Socialism vs. Anarchy.

By A. M. Simons. Explains the world-wide difference in aim and method between Socialism, which seeks through the united political action of the working class to transform government, and anarchism, which seeks through violence to abolish government.

The Man Under the Machine.

By A. M. Simons. A condensed and simple exposition of Socialism. Contents: The Life of the Workers Today; How the Laborer's Trouble Came; The Class Struggle; The Laborer of To-morrow. Over 30,000 copies already sold; just the book to give a new inquirer.

Socialism and Farmers.

By A. M. Simons. Proves that the farmer, instead of being independent as he supposes himself, is in fact a piece-worker at the mercy of the capitalists who control the means of bringing his product into the form in which it can be consumed and to the place where it is needed at the time when it is needed. The author shows the utility of money reform schemes and the real unity of interest between the farmer and the wage-worker.

Wage-Labor and Capital.

By Karl Marx. The great Socialist philosopher's theory stated in his own words. This is not an abridgment or extract from "Capital," but a translation of an essay by Marx, in which the theory of surplus value is explained in as simple a way as the nature of the subject permits.

The Mission of the Working Class.

By Rev. Charles H. Vail. A history of the growth of the Socialist movement. "Industrial democracy being in the line of evolution is certain of attainment. Democracy has already been obtained in politics and religion, and industry is passing through similar stages of development. The time has come for the manual and mental workers to unite and strike for liberty."

Socialism and Trade Unionism.

By Daniel Lynch, President of Union No. 11, Boston, Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America. With this is printed Trade Unions and Socialism, by Max S. Hayes, editor of the Cleveland Citizen. This booklet explains the present friendly relations between the organized Socialists and the Trade Unions.

The Kingdom of God and Socialism.

By Rev. Robert M. Webster. Shows by a careful study of New Testament passages that in each case the term "Kingdom of God" points to a new social order such as the Socialist Party is endeavoring to establish. Effective for propaganda among religious people.

Any of the above 5 cents a copy; 6 for 25c; 14 for 50c.; 30 for \$1.00; 100 for \$2.25. One kind or assorted. Postage paid. Address

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THE VANGUARD IN THE LEAD

Thank you! Thank you! Comrades, for your many kind words concerning The Vanguard. Here are a few samples from scores of letters received during the past month from all parts of the country:

"The Vanguard grows in my estimation and affection." Herbert A. Hodge, Jackson, Mich.

"Send me a dozen subscription cards. The Vanguard fills a necessary place." Dr. L. West, Monett, Mo.

"I could not possibly get along without The Vanguard, so send renewal of my subscription for two years." L. W. Wing, Joplin, Mo.

"I consider The Vanguard the best radical paper published today in such limited form as to be popular." Rev. Owen R. Lovejoy, Mount Vernon, N. Y.

"I want to say that I READ and LIKE The Vanguard. Your 'roast' of Dr. B., 'A False Prophet' was fine. Those fellows deserve all you give them. Hit 'em again." Rev. A. Noll, West Milton, Pa.

"The Vanguard is one of the most effective concealed weapons I have ever carried," F. A. Wilson, Angus, Minn.

"Your noble monthly is the best propaganda literature that can be placed in the hands of religious people." Dr. J. H. Giles, Dover, Tenn.

"The Vanguard above all other Socialist publications is the one I prefer to get subscribers for. It can be passed on after read and will not disgust those who have never read up on the subject of Socialism. If it could reach every family in the United States, it would mean three or four times more strength for our cause." R. W. Dawson, Fertile, Minn.

Of course we are gratified to know that our efforts are appreciated and that The Vanguard occupies such an important place in the Socialist movement as these responses indicate.

Again we call upon the comrades everywhere to put their shoulders to the wheel.

All together, for an increase of 10,000 in our circulation within the next sixty days.

This will enable us to put into effect plans we have in mind for further improving our magazine and making it more effective in the great struggle for social justice in which we are engaged.

We can secure these 10,000 new subscribers if each of you will do your fair share.

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newal) at the club rate of 25 cents, we will give a copy of Labriola's *Essays*. For 40 subscriptions, a copy of Marx's *Capital*. For 50 subscriptions, both of these valuable books. See advertisement on page 20. This is a splendid opportunity to secure two great works that ought to be in every Socialist's library and the same time do most effective service for the cause. To secure these premiums, subscriptions must all be sent at one time and cash must accompany the order.

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[Continued from Page 22.]

izing with the miners whose conduct throughout the present strike has been admirable. Speaking of his treatment Mr. Floaten says: "We did not submit to violence and wrong because we were cowards, but because we thought it right to obey the laws and to conduct ourselves in a peaceful and orderly manner."

At this writing the deported men have not been permitted to return to their families and the Citizens' Alliance declares that they will not be permitted to return peaceably. Judge Stevens promptly granted an injunction restraining anyone from interfering with their return but before the injunction could be served Governor Peabody declared the county under martial law and ordered troops to Telluride, thus forestalling the action of the court; and now that martial law has been declared no officer of the court can serve the injunction.

Thus does capitalist anarchy override the law, defy the courts trample upon the rights of citizenship and use the highest function of government to serve its diabolical end.

NOTES

The Appeal to Reason will issue a daily edition in Chicago during the meeting of the national convention.

At the recent town election the Socialists of Stoughton, Mass., cast 439 votes as again 552 for the Republicans and 205 for the Democrats.

In the local election in Braintree, Mass., the Socialist party polled over 30 per cent of the total vote. Both old parties combined on a "Citizens' " ticket.

South Dakota Socialists held their convention and nominated a complete ticket. Freeman Knowles, of Dead-

wood, in the candidate for governor. Headquarters were moved to Aberdeen and Samuel Lovett was chosen state secretary.

Antonio Labriola, who died at Rome last month, was one of the greatest interpreters of Marxian Socialism in all Europe. His masterpiece, "Essays on the Materialistic Interpretation of History," has passed through several editions both in Italy and France, and has lately been translated into English by Charles H. Kerr. It is advertised elsewhere in this issue of THE VANGUARD.

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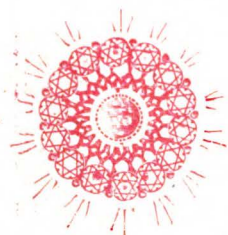
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