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THE VANGUARD

MAY, 1904



THE remedy for shortages of democracy is more democracy, Liberty needs new liberties more than new markets. Government of the people by the people and for the people is only half the truth. The other half is industry of, by and for the people; this means industrial democracy or Socialism.

—Henry D. Lloyd.

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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., MAY, 1904.

NO. 9

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it.

Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"The times seem to be ripening for avowedly Socialist legislation," says Benjamin Kidd. "Socialism has ceased to be a mere theory and is fast becoming an economic necessity." Had Mr. Kidd been present at the great Socialist Convention just held in Chicago he would have had his eyes opened still wider and been forced to the admission that the day is at hand when Socialism will not only be an economic necessity but an industrial reality.

Read carefully the Platform of the Socialist Party adopted unanimously at the National Convention. (Page 22.) It is a clear, concise, masterly statement of the fundamentals of Socialism, destined to rank high among the classics of the movement. Read it again and again till you have grasped its full meaning; read it to your neighbor; then go to work in earnest to propagate this glorious gospel of humanity thru which "this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom."

We believe in the Golden Rule, not merely as an ideal philosophy but as a working law of life, as the only law that is workable, wise, safe. And therefore we believe in an industrial

system that will make it possible for men to succeed in business without trampling upon the rights of their fellows. That the present industrial system is immoral and breeds corruption is now so generally admitted that we need hardly press the assertion of H. M. Hyndman, "Capitalism has no ethic." But if any one should call this in question after reading Lincoln Steffens article in McClure's Magazine for April let him ponder well the following from the Wall Street Journal which is surely authority on "business" and capitalist politics as well:

"The fact of the matter is that the conventions of the 'business world' expressed in law, have simply replaced the exercise of mere brute force, leaving the article of the decalogue against stealing expressed only so far as the stealing is accompanied by actual physical force or absolute fraud. Beyond this the moral law finds no expression in the law of business."

We recently had the pleasure of listening to a lecture by Prof. Raymond, of the University of Chicago, on "Berlin, or Socialism vs. Militarism," in which the speaker set forth in striking fashion, by means of stereopticon views, the rise and growth of Socialism in Germany and stated with perfect frankness the Socialist position. Before beginning his lecture, Prof. Raymond took occasion to say (referring to a letter that had

been written by some timid individual to President Harper requesting that he be muzzled) that the University of Chicago, while not accepting responsibility for the utterance of its teachers, allows them great latitude of speech. We were pleased to hear this statement. And from the lecture that followed we were convinced that this is the case. In further support of our conclusion comes the deliverance of Prof. Albion W. Small as follows:

"At present society is willing to let the owners of capital, like those who inherit it, loaf around. The time will come when the idlers will get no reward, and the semi-idlers will only get reward for what they do. The non-producer should not be entitled to one cent. Every man who desires work should be entitled to what he earns. The economic doctrine of the productivity of capital is a fallacy. In other words, the only incomes to which individuals as such have an essentially moral claim are virtually the wages of labor."

In the interest of fairness we make the above statement concerning the University of Chicago. It has its vulnerable points, and we do not hesitate to condemn in unsparing terms the iniquities which its millions serve to cover up, but nothing is gained by misjudging or misrepresenting our opponents.

WHAT WE STAND FOR

THE VANGUARD stands for Socialism and the editors deem it sufficient to say this without any adjectives before or after.

There are those who are confused upon this subject and feel it necessary to define their particular view of the matter by declaring themselves to be either Marxian, Fabian, Opportunist or Christian Socialists. It seems to us that such classifications arise from a partial understanding of Socialism. As there cannot be a Christian mathematics that is different from a secular mathematics, so there is no Christian Socialism that is different from the Socialism of Karl Marx. Some may in-

terpret Socialism in a manner that makes it appear to be hostile to religion. But it is safe to say that such an interpretation is no essential part of the Socialism of Marx. Others may undertake to modify the fundamentals of Socialism so as to make it seem compatible with certain theological tenets. But the theories that result from such confusion are not Socialism, whatever else may be said of them.

There is but one Socialism, and that is based upon scientifically demonstrated truths. The credit for the discovery and propaganda of the fundamental doctrines of this philosophy is due to a great multitude of thinkers and writers but chiefly to Karl Marx and his immediate co-laborers. Three fundamentals underlie the philosophy, viz--(1) the economic interpretation of history, (2) the surplus value, which is the result of the capitalistic exploitation of labor, and (3) the class struggle, which capitalism has produced and which is the social force already at hand, available to be used, interpreted and directed by the Socialists to the end that Socialism may be inaugurated. This is usually called Marxian Socialism. There is no other Socialism. Whoever does not understand and firmly grasp these fundamental facts of our present social order does not yet thoroughly understand Socialism. And whatever is taught which is less than the synthesis of these mighty truths is less than Socialism.

Moreover, there is but one political party that represents this philosophy, the Socialist Party; and whatever others may do, we who edit this paper feel and have felt for years that our place, our membership, our influence, our service and our votes belong to this party. For, whatever its faults, it is the expression of the

international struggle for the higher social order of economic justice.

There are those who think that one cannot accept this philosophy of Socialism with its economic basis, its grasp of the materialistic facts of social life and the rest, and still believe in the teaching of Jesus. But we feel differently. To us, Socialism is the *logic* of Christianity. To us Jesus was and must ever be the friend of the poor and the oppressed. His philosophy can by no manner of means be interpreted as in any sense opposed to the struggle of the working class for justice. Indeed, to us the one all-important point in the records of the life of Jesus, of Isaiah, of Moses and the great characters of Bible history is their supreme and unflinching devotion to the cause and interests of those who toiled. We feel that to follow their example means for us to join ourselves to the working class movement of our time. And the study of the labor problem of today reveals Socialism as the highest ethical, economic and political expression of the working class movement that has appeared in human history.

THE VANGUARD stands for the ethics of Socialism which are identical with the ethics of Christianity. It stands for the Socialist Party of America which is the political expression of the class struggle for justice and brotherhood. It is this synthesis that makes the gospel whole and Socialism the most exalted ideal of modern times whose aim is the emancipation of all classes from the thralldom of capitalism and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

It is a duty which every man owes himself and his country to study the principles of Socialism. Socialism is coming and the sooner you understand it the better.

"OBTAINING POSSESSION"

T. B. Walker, whose name is famous to all Minneapolis people, has obtained possession of the vast timber tracts in Northwestern California, lapping into Oregon, and is now called "the lumber king of the world." There is sufficient timber to last sixty years. He will build a rail-road 200 miles long to connect this timber region with the railroad now connecting California and Oregon.

J. W. Lawrence, a Minneapolis man, has discovered vast coal mines in Petaluma county, forty miles from San Francisco. The discovery was made only about 90 days ago, and the coal is already being mined. It is taken from the mountain and hill sides and is most as easy to mine as potatoes.—LOS ANGELES NEWS.

This is one way the people are robbed of what belongs to them. The big capitalist or the rich corporation "obtains possession"—note the smoothness of the expression—of the elemental resources, the forests in this case. These are then exploited. The timber is cut down and sold back to the people, and then, after all the elemental wealth is stripped off the land, the rocks and stumps are given back to the people to work up into "happy homes." And if it should happen that there should be even a chance of under-lying beds of ore—iron, copper, or other—then this will be "reserved" to the capitalist. In such cases the land, after being stripped of its timber, is sold to the gentle "common people" with the "mineral reserve" as is the case in all northern Wisconsin and Michigan. That is, the people may buy the *surface* rocks and stumps but the possible underlying wealth of nature they may not buy. That belongs to the rich.

If there be any justice in the universe, God and nature did not intend that the forests should grow, the oil wells flow, the copper, iron, silver and gold be inlaid for the benefit of a few,—to be ruthlessly plundered and the leavings thrown to the multitudes. And yet the "shrewd" the "cunning," the "far seeing" must be rewarded for their "sagacity" and the price is paid by the tedious toil of countless creatures who curse the grudging ground that God made rich with resource.

Socialism will stop this plunder.

WHEN LOVE CONTROLS

When love of man controls the human heart—
 When life seems desolate if others grieve,—
 Then all the future fair cannot deceive
 The soul far-seeing as it threads the mart.
 'Twill hear the harsh command to poor, "Depart,"
 Though hissed in undertone; 'twill see them leave—
 And instantly—as hoping no reprieve:—
 And tears for harrassed humans then shall start.

When Love controls we will resent these blows
 That break the spirit, 'base the body poor.
 What word is this that issues from our souls
 Seduced to preaching by the ease that flows
 Unstinted through our lives—Shall *these* endure
 Our telling, "God, for good, your life controls?"
 EDWIN ARNOLD BRENHOLTZ.

MANUFACTURER AND SOCIALIST

JUST a homely sort of a man, a good comrade, is Mr. N. O. Nelson—the kind of a man that meets you one minute and shakes your hand, and whose hand the next minute is on your shoulder. In the scramble of strong men for wealth he has scrambled well. But in the scramble of good men for justice and humanity he has scrambled equally well. He is a millionaire; he is also a Socialist. And he is not afraid to say that business for profit only is immoral. Nor does he say it softly and to himself, but from the high places where all may hear.

"So you want to hear of village Leclair," he said. "Well, to begin at the beginning, I have been manufacturing for thirty years. Strikes first interested me in the labor question, and led me to the study of economics. From this study, and from my experience as a practical employer, I arrived at profit-sharing, which I adopted in my business sixteen years ago. But I speedily discovered that this was not enough. The city I regarded as a human hot-house, hospital and graveyard—no place for men and women to live and work, or children to be born and reared.

"So, twenty-five miles from St. Louis near Edwardsville, on the Illinois highlands, I bought 125 acres of rolling ground and built my factories. There are six of them, fire-proof and hygienic, with showers and lunch tables and all possible accommodations for the workers."

As I listened, I recollected what H. E. Armstrong once said of Mr. Nelson "Mr. Nelson happens to be one of those men who would rather give his employees an interest in his business than squeeze them to endow institutions."

"But are you perfectly satisfied with profit-sharing, Mr. Nelson?" I asked. "Do you consider it the panacea for all industrial and social ills?"

"No," he answered, weighing his words carefully. "Profit-sharing is a transient phase only of the evolution of production. It is better than the unshared profits of the employer. It is recognition merely, of the

worker, and of the worker's interest and right in what he does—a partial measure of justice, so to say."

"Profit-sharing, because it depends willy-nilly, on the action of the employer, can never become a world system. Co-operation, or Socialism, will simply be all the people doing what the few people are now doing at Leclaire."

"Then you believe the workman is entitled to the product of his toil?"

The millionaire's head nodded emphatically.

"Precisely! Precisely!"

"Then, what is your opinion of trades-unionism? Can the unions gain for the worker the full product of his toil?"

Again he weighed his word carefully. "The trade unions are absolutely necessary today. I am heartily in favor of them. They are extremely useful now for the protection of the workers. They have done and are doing a vast deal of amelioration. But they will never gain for the worker the full product of his toil, and for this reason: trades unionism does not aim to put the workman in possession of the machinery of production; and NOT UNTIL THE WORKMAN OWNS THE MACHINERY OF PRODUCTION MAY HE OWN WHOLLY THAT WHICH HE PRODUCES."

JACK LONDON.

WHO PAYS WAGES?



ALMOST every defense of the capitalist attempts to show that he pays wages. "If it were not for the capitalist who pays the wages, what would the poor workingman do?" is the question which, in one form or another, is hurled at every one who dares to question the sacredness of our present social institutions.

It is generally claimed that these wages are paid out of the "savings which it is presumed the capitalist has accumulated by more than ordinary thrift and industry. We will not stop to question where the capitalist got what he has at the present time. If we did, it might lead us into rather unsavory paths, for, as Karl Marx has well said, "Capital comes into the world dripping with blood and dirt at every pore," and the origin of capital in every country has been a story of child slavery, wholesale thievery and exploitation of mankind.

But let us take things as they are with the capitalist in full possession of the capital of the world. Even then does he pay wages?

A hundred years ago a weaver used a hand-loom with which he could not weave more than five or six yards per day. A modern weaver watches thirty-two Northrup looms, every one of which is spinning from three to four hundred yards of cloth per day. Even more striking comparisons could be made in some departments of the iron and steel industry.

The modern laborer comes into an improved factory or mill and in the first half hour he produces two or three times as much as he could have produced in an entire day with the simple tools of his grandfather. In this first half hour he has produced his wages.

But before he could get the opportunity to use these tools to produce

his own living he was compelled to enter into a wage contract to work for eight, ten or twelve hours longer. During the second half hour he produces enough to pay for the share of superintendence, depreciation of the plant, replacement of new machinery, etc., which falls to his machine. For two or three hours longer, perhaps, he works to meet the wastes of our present system. He produces enough to pay his share of the \$2,000,000,000 spent every year in advertising in America, to pay for building of one hundred plants where one would have done the work, to pay for carrying goods back and forth over the same territory in order to meet competition, etc.

Having done all this, he then works on for some time longer to **PAY PROFITS TO THE CAPITALIST.**

So we see that, so far from the capitalist paying wages, the laborer not only produces capital in the first place, but reproduces it day after day as he works, creates his own wages, pays for superintendence, depreciation, wear and tear, meets all the outlandish wastes of competition and finally produces all the great sums that go as profits to the capitalist class. On the profits thus produced by the laborer the capitalist piles up funds to constitute a basis for future exploitation. When in a few years this surplus value has become the private property of the individual capitalist it will be explained by some few apologists of capitalism as a fund out of which capitalist generously pays wages to the poor laborers.

The Socialist denies the necessity for the existence of a great social class simply for the purpose of owning and receiving the surplus value produced by the workers. The Socialist believes that the laborers who are capable of using the productive forces and natural resources of the earth, to feed and house the people of the world, are also capable of collectively owning that with which they produce this wealth, as well as the finished product.

A. M. SIMONS

THE BASIS OF SOCIALISM



THOSE who suppose that Socialism is the result of unrest are greatly mistaken. This is a favorite cry with its opponents, who seem unable to understand that it can have any other meaning. They try to prove that this unrest is unjustified, or, admitting that there is cause for it, they insist that Socialism is not the true remedy. We are ready to admit that there is much of unrest and discontent in the country, and that it has its influence in causing men to turn to Socialism. But it must not be understood that Socialism has no other foundation, and that when the discontent has passed away Socialism will disappear with it. The fact is that Socialism is affirmative, progressive, based on modern science and in harmony with the deepest instincts of human nature. All the human sciences, those that deal with man in any of the phases of his existence, are essentially Socialistic in their conclusions. This may not be recognized by the men who interpret them, and who are extending their province by means of research; but, nevertheless, this is the truth in regard to them, a fact which

will soon be recognized by thinking men. The economic conditions of life are also compelling men to accept Socialism, for in that only is found the social interpretation of the vast growth of industrialism and the consequent combination of industrial interests. Not the less does the spirit of brotherhood and altruism, ever growing more powerful and effective, make in the direction of Socialism.

Here are affirmative causes enough for the rapid growth that Socialism is making in all the progressive countries of the world. These causes are largely or entirely ignored by those who are attacking Socialism, and in this they show their failure to comprehend the influence it exerts over individuals as well as great masses of men. While it offers a hope of larger rewards and opportunities to some men it gives greater ideals and incentives to others, and to those who think deepest a scientific assurance that co-operation is the great affirmative law of life into harmony with which all human affairs must be ultimately brought.

Not being based on a spirit of unrest or on passing conditions of the industrial world, Socialism is destined to live on until it conquers universal acceptance. It is based on ultimate facts of life, while that which opposes it has no other foundation than personal greed. As society is stronger than the individual, so is Socialism more powerful as a motive than individual enterprise. Competition is being more and more outgrown as an industrial principle, while collectivism is in every direction becoming deeply rooted as a social influence.

The fact is that Socialism is a product of human needs, the most powerful and universal that operates in the life of man. It is essential in order that individuality may have an opportunity to develop the full measure of its capacities, not in a few men, but for all. Individual initiative is stunted and abortive in most men without its sanction and incentive. Personal freedom is denied to the majority until it proclaims their liberation. Collective action can alone give to man full industrial freedom and opportunity, true ethical motive and stimulus.

GEO. WILLIS COOKE

SUNDAY SOCIALIST MEETINGS

WHEN Jesus was on earth he was constantly hounded by a band of Pharisees who upbraided him for helping and healing the people on the Sabbath. His answer to the charge was as follows: "Is it lawful on the Sabbath to do good, or to do harm? to save a life or to destroy it?"

Socialism comes to bring justice to the earth. We do not espouse this cause for a pastime. We are here that the workers of the world may be delivered from the most insidious oppression that humanity ever suffered. We have come "to do good" This task is the sacred task of our lives.

We must make haste. We must work every day because our duty is a sacred duty.

We readily understand why it is that politics in the old sense is not fit for Sunday (or any other day for that matter!) But we are not politicians in the old sense. We are not blackening the reputations of

individual men. We are not interested in another set of individuals securing public office. We desire that the political powers be obtained by an organized movement of the producers of all wealth, so that those who build the houses shall inhabit them and those that plant the vineyards shall eat the fruit of them.

Sunday is our day of greatest opportunity. Then the toilers have a little leisure. We can get our message to them, because they have time to listen.

So on this day of rest we are going to raise our voices on behalf of the men and women who work at starvation wages, on behalf of the countless thousands of children whose lives are stunted and crushed in factories, on behalf of the toilers whose homes have been confiscated by a ruthless capitalism which knows no God but Profit. Let the hypocrites, as of old, cry, "It is unlawful." We reply with Jesus: "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath."

F. G. STRICKLAND.

PASTOR CHRISTIAN CHURCH,
PARDEEVILLE, WIS.

OUR "BENEVOLENT" ASSIMILATORS

"Hands up!" shouted the road agent.

As he was going through the pockets of the passengers one of them remonstrated. "This is very hard," said he, "to give up——"

"Nonsense!" shouted the road magnate. "If it were not for us leisure classes there would be no demand for your watches."

"But you give us nothing for them," urged the discontented passenger.

"I have organized the production of valuables," replied the captain of industry, "consider what a waste it would be to pick all your pockets separately."

"But we don't want our pockets picked," said the agitator.

"I am charging only what the traffic will bear," returned the capitalist.

"I leave your clothes and enough food to last you till the end of the journey; besides, I leave you free to earn more valuables."

"This is simple theft—benevolent assimilation, I mean," said the passenger.

"I give you permission to use the road. What more do you want, you demagogues?"

"We want to control our own highway."

"If you controlled the road yourselves the dear public would be robbed. Much better to leave the highways to professional highwaymen."

"We——"

"You forget the immense sums I have given to the public by handing back purses and bags when I took the valuables; that, as Comrade Rockefeller says, 'is paying wages, which is the best sort of giving.'"

"But——"

"I am only taking what you have now, whereas the trusts take mortgages on all you may ever have."

"But you have no right at all to anything we produce."

"I am holding it only as a trustee," said the leading citizen, "and I have founded a library with my gains."

BOLTON HALL.

MAX NORDAU'S CRITICISM OF SOCIALISM



MAX NORDAU in an article, "Socialism in Europe" in the March (1904) *Cosmopolitan*, criticises Socialism brilliantly, adversely but sophistically,

Mr. Nordau evinces broad knowledge of the subject and there is a suspicion of sympathy for the laboringman, but his arguments are not unassailable.

He admits "the arrogance of the rich and the misery of the poor" but adds the popular but false platitude that "they have always existed." With our present light on the past history of the race, Mr. Nordau knows that inequalities in human conditions have been endured only for the past six thousand years while our race has been fully two hundred thousand years in existence.

Then he presumes to judge of what he calls an "unconfessed desire" on the part of the Socialist "to enjoy privileges," and adds, "But his vague hope is that he may lead an ornamental, lordly existence with very little work or without work at all." If this were his ambition it would not be entirely without precedent. We have today persons and classes who lead idle lives at the expense of others' toil. But the able critic gives no proof that it is a Socialist aim. In fact his phrase "lordly existence" strikes with incongruous discord the doctrines of men who aim to abolish all classes and to obliterate, if possible, all arrogance. To idle is not inherent in human nature. Every child is active. They would always love to work if labor were made honorable and the conditions attractive. Under our present artificial ideals, to do useful work for bread is considered degrading, the confession of failure. It is this false ideal and our imperfect methods of instructing the young that make labor in many cases distasteful. Activity is natural. See the athletics of the leisure class, the handwork of privileged women, and the incessant activity of children. Were it possible that the human race could be maintained in

comfort and luxury without work we could look to the inventing of some means of labor for the sinewy delight it gives. He judges meanly of man who believes that he longs to relinquish the stern joy of doing.

Perhaps the weakest of Mr. Nordau's criticisms is where he says: "In the case of strong peoples, under energetic men in epochs of general progress, Socialism gains no ground. In the case of weakened nations, of flabby indolent men, at times of national decline, it is eagerly adopted and spreads widely." The facts of the history of Socialism as adduced by Mr. Nordau himself disprove these conclusions. The present is an age of progress, of virile nations, of strong individualities, and the greatest fact in the history of this time is the growth of Socialism. The movement is international but is strongest in the greatest nations. England is an apparent tho not real exception to this and will be mentioned again, while Germany first promulgated the Socialist philosophy and today leads the Socialism of the world. Germany, teutonic, practical, vigorous and profound, to whom we go for our latest science, our most practicable mathematics, our highest art: Germany with our hundreds of students at her universities; with the world's muscial pilgrimages to Bayreuth, and literary homage to Weimar. "Under energetic man" etc., yet Socialism was first defined in Germany when Bismark was leading for Prussia, and Von Moltke was fighting for that land, not to mention the virile genius of Karl Marx himself, who at such cost to personal considerations made his lucid analysis of historic institutions on which Socialists build.

Again, Mr. Nordau says: "Weakly neurasthenic men, muddle-headed, people accuse a government" or others causing unequal conditions. He is correct in this. Socialism recognizes the inequalities and explains them as a social stage, an epoch thru which we must pass before we merge into something higher. No man, men, class of men, government or other institution is the cause of pre-

sent inequalities but rather the result of them, and when human society shall have attained its next step in progress much that is unworthy in our present life will be left behind.

Again does the learned critic lucidly state a fundamental truth when he says: "the work of strong individualities, who by means of their own efforts within the limits of the existing social and economic organization, reach wealth and comforts, is in no way a solution of the problem which Socialism pretends to solve." This is one of the brilliant passages in his criticism and shows his grasp of the situation. But when he has admitted this, behold the contradiction in his statement: "Strong, clear-headed men proclaim 'help thyself,' and soon again admitting that this helping oneself (which is too often done by wronging others) "is an egotistical effort which has only in view the improvement of the individual lot in life." And he also adds "Self-help is possible to the single man up to a certain point only." This from the pen that but a moment before by the charm of suggestive rhetoric held up the aphorism "Help thyself" as a motto to be written in rubrics. While "Help thyself" is indeed a wholesome advice, it is no answer to the party that is striving to give every man an opportunity to help himself. The quintessence of the Socialist ideal is a state where it will be possible for every individual to help himself to realize the best, the noblest that there is in him. Mr. Nordau realizes as every intelligent person must that in our complex society any real help must come by first helping all. And the teacher who places any selfish appeal before this is falling into error, I care not how "strong and clear-headed" he may proclaim himself.

When Mr. Nordau has admitted the necessity of collective effort, he follows it with naming trades unions as the remedy, and cites England as a place where, he says, they have been effectual. Now it scarce needs be said that trades unions are in their nature limited. It detracts nothing from the courage, tenacity and good purpose of the strikers to say that they are often defeated and never obtain more than a partial victory. They strike and sacrifice to help, not all workmen, but all union men. In

this they are broader more generous and more just than Mr. Nordau's heroes who proclaim from the house-tops "Help thyself," but yet lack the cosmic consciousness which is yet to teach them where their salvation lies. If strikers are not violent, yet violence exerted by one side or the other generally accompanies them, and for the cost in money we have the recent example of the strike in Colorado where a sum equal to one third of the taxable property of the state has already been wasted. Troops have been employed with all the intensity of feeling that armed opposition produces. And when all will be over, little if anything will be gained, much will be lost and nothing will be settled. If the questions between them could be permanently adjusted we would not count the cost. But with all the expense, irritation, violence and impotence of the strikes, Mr. Nordau recommends them as preferable to the ballot in settling disputes. He counsels workmen to strike, bitter and wrathful tho the strike be, rather than in peace and with dignity to step to the ballot-box, and vote for a program that stands for justice for all. Which, ask we, is the saner, the dreamer whom he derides or the character that he vaunts as strong, yet admits to be a coward; who dares not enter the political contest lest the prize be not quickly won, and who therefore votes to further postpone the day of victory—votes to maintain a system that imposes suffering upon himself? Even gentlemen like Nordau anticipate this suffering and in the plenitude of their pity say: "You have the strike which the law allows."

With regard to the effects of the trades unions in England, they have helped conditions there, but look at the horrors of the East End in London and then ask if the question of labor has been settled in England. In fact so serious are the results of the extravagances of the rich and privations of the poor that they are leading to the debasement of the race, and Great Britain has been forced to lower the physical standard required in her army. But before one presumes too far on the statement that Socialism takes no root in English soil, we must remember that all of English politics is not revealed

on the surface. England is in some respects a political paradox. A free nation yet ruled by a king. A democratic people yet tolerating nobles. A progressive people yet with the garb of conservatism. A broad just people (tho sometimes swayed by the political trickster as which nation is not) and when the time comes for the rapid advance of Socialism, the English people will be at one with the great growth of our social institutions.

Mr. Nordau has the commendable temerity to differ with some of the arguments of the late Spencer, and to affirm that the will of the majority should rule, at least to the extent of permitting them to satisfy their just wants. This being granted it remains for defenders of the present system to devise some way by which this most salutary end may be accomplished. No one would contend that it is now even approximated. Socialism offers a remedy that is scientific not because Engels or any other of its advocates "drapes it in a mantle of pretended science" but because its assumptions may be proved with as much accuracy as a problem in Euclid. It will not long suffice for its opposers to cry out "theorist" or "mystic," for the philosophy of Socialism is not of the stuff of which dreams are made.

Again, Mr. Nordau shows that Socialism was proclaimed thirty-five years ago, that it has spread to every civilized nation of the earth, to every state of our republic, and to many of the islands of the sea; that it flourishes everywhere and that in many places it is the strongest minority party. Then he declares triumphantly that it has not yet realized its aims. No, it has not. As well might one point to a ten year old boy as one that had been nurtured for a decade, and is not yet a man, or to an egg that has been sixteen days in an incubator and was not yet a chicken. It needs no exegesis to prove that these developments take time. Socialism is not a doctrine in the minds of a few men who seek to establish it by their teaching. It is a step in the evolution of the race, a new form of production and distribution, and we are helped more by the development of industrial forces than we can possibly be by any amount of proselyting. No

one isolated city can establish Socialism. It must be done by an entire nation. Our present elaborate organization of industry, with its close concentration and its surplus products annually growing greater, is a more accurate index of the coming of Socialism than is a count of Socialist votes.

Then the able critic speaks with conscious pride of "three grand institutions, assurance against sickness and accident and old age pensions of workmen." Where do we find these institutions? In some generous republic? No. In England with her vaunted trades unionism? No. But in Socialistic Germany. Many Socialists, it is true, scorn to accept these crumbs, but the exploiters prefer to reduce the tax rather than contest the principle. In the case of these "grand institutions" the funds are procured for the assurance by the workmen paying one third of the premium and the employer paying the other two thirds, and for the pensions, the government, employer, and workman each paying a moiety. Now if the working-men are receiving all that they earn as wages, it is a palpable injustice to the employers to oblige them to pay an assurance premium or any part thereof for the laborers. No man who loves justice should point to such a scheme with approval. On the other hand, if the laborers are not getting what they earn but only a part of it, and if the greater share, or any part, however small, of their earnings is retained by the capitalist, then there are sufficient reasons why the workmen should scorn to accept these scraps thrown to them by the beneficent paternalism of the German state. Mr. Nordau speaks of the "disinherited masses." We readily grant that there are such, and is it not a reproach to their manhood to counsel them to forbear to use any honorable means to secure a restitution?

The discerning critic says that "the lot of the proletariat is better than it was a generation ago" and hopefully adds that it may become still better a generation hence. It is a little difficult to be dispassionate with such a statement. Would the gentleman deny to the working people, who are the greater part of the human family, a right to the benefits of the growth of the race?

Would he establish a new primo-geniture with the capitalists for oldest sons? With our wealth of inventions, discoveries and improvements wrought out almost entirely by the workers themselves—improvements that have made production easier a thousandfold, he says: "Be quiet; seek not political advantage; you are better off than your fathers were." The sophistry in this is that it is irrelevant. The question is one of simple justice. Are the workers now getting substantially what their labor produces? If not they would rearrange the world's industries so that they may. They have their case prepared. Their complaint is the Socialist platform filed with every government in the civilized world; their witnesses are present conditions; their counsel the well informed Socialists. The capitalists offer for their defense—an answer? No. An array of evidence tending to disprove what we allege? No. Witnesses of any kind? No. But their learned counsel comes into court and says in substance: "We admit

you are 'disinherited.' When you are on the point of perishing from need, or when your sense of right is stung by our injustice, you may strike. We can easily quell you by our armed force. Where you press your legal suits too vigorously (as in Germany) we will throw you out a few crumbs. Not many; only enough 'to keep the wolf from the aged workman's door.' But we advise you to dismiss your suit. True it has (in the words of Mr. Nordau) 'already in thirty years wrought greater ameliorations than all the wisdom of statesmen and philosophers of thousands of years.' But we do not like it. It is 'theoretically absurd' for it would deprive us of our profits and make it impossible for us to continue 'to lead an ornamental, lordly existence.'"

This is the present status of this gigantic suit for fundamental justice between man and man. The voters are the jury. The Socialists wait in serenity for the verdict. They can afford to wait.

AGNES HALPIN DOWNING.

CAPITALIST PATRIOTISM

[With undiminished respect for the memory of Sir Walter Scott.]

Breathes there a man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said:
"Let's grab some nation's native land!"
Who hath not massacred and burned,
Wasted and ruined, ere he turned
From robbery on some foreign strand?
If such there breathe, go, mark him well!
He makes no water tortures swell;
High though his talents, wide his fame,
Patriot his soul as wish can claim—
Yea, be he Honor's second self,
His worth and intellect we'll shelf,
And make a hero of some clown,
Who bawls: "Let peace-makers go down
To the vile dust from whence they sprung,
All drawn, all quartered, and all hung!"

BERTRAND SHADWELL.

Capital is the most terrible scourge of humanity; it fattens on the misery of the poor, the degradation of the worker, and the brutalizing toil of his wife and children: just as capital grows, so grow also pauperism, that millstone round the neck of civilization, the revolting cruelties of our factory system, the squalor of great cities, and the presence of deep poverty seated hard by the gate of enormous wealth.

KARL MARX.

ON THE FIRING LINE TWO GREAT BOOKS.

When capitalist robbery ceases, the occupation of being "good to the poor" will be one of the lost arts.—ERIE PEOPLE.

The plutocrats keep on telling us that Socialism is an impractical dream, and Socialists keep on carrying one town after another and increasing their vote at every polling place.—CHICAGO SOCIALIST.

Every time you hear a man declaring that Socialists when once elected to office will be as crooked as the old parties, it is an evidence that such a person has lost faith in human honesty under the present system!—LABOR.

Rev. Frank Dixon, a brother of Rev. Thos. Dixon, who recently delivered his lecture on "The Curse of Socialism," at Ottawa, has turned down the offer of the Ottawa, Chautauqua Assembly board for a debate on the subject of Socialism, Eugene V. Debs to argue in defense of that belief. In other words, Mr. Dixon is afraid to tackle Debs—KANSAS AGIGATOR.

"I'm not a Socialist, and don't mean to be one, but I read everything about Socialism I run across. It has a fascination for me," said a certain business man some weeks ago. Two weeks later he was at the Social Democratic headquarters buying books on Socialism, and took away with him some pamphlets for distribution! But he still claimed he was not converted. The day after election he was beaming. "Well," he said, "WE cast a fine vote, didn't WE!" And so it goes—SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

A Kansas republican paper, in commenting on a Socialist speech, said: "The speaker, while pitiless in laying bare the class antagonism now existing, and insistent in demanding a better social system, never descended to bitterness or vilification." Of course not. The Socialist knows the cause of all our woes and the remedy as well. He knows that men are made in the image and likeness of God, and it is a vile system that makes demons of them. He has right, truth and justice on his side. It is the capitalist politician who abuses and vilifies.—THE TOILER.

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—THE—

Vanguard Press,
Green Bay, Wisconsin.

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.

W. N. S. U. CONVENTION.

The Convention of the Woman's National Socialist Union was called to order soon after 10 a. m., Friday, April 29, in the lodge room of the People's Institute, Chicago. The President announced that she had greetings for the convention from Comrades Mary E. Garbutt, Pres. of Los Angeles Union, and Phoebe Fogh, Sec'y of Salt Lake City Union. After these cheery messages were read, Corrine Brown was elected chairman for the day, and Josephine Conger was elected Secretary.

Before taking up the regular order of business, Mrs. Abbott asked and received permission to offer two resolutions one being a mandate binding all chairmen to enforce the parliamentary "no personalities" law, the other debarring any introduction of religious teachings and discussions—on the ground that all shades of religious belief were represented by the membership. Both resolutions were unanimously adopted.

The attendance being light—as usually occurs in any morning meeting in which working-women are concerned—it was decided to take up the least important motions first, reserving special topics for later sessions. About a dozen motions had been sent in by members unable to be present, and these had been so numbered that the discussion of one would naturally lead to the next. Five motions were offered and discussed, then referred to a Committee on Resolutions with orders to report at opening of afternoon session.

Corrine Brown called the afternoon session to order promptly at two o'clock. Frances Proutt was elected Secretary *pro tem*. Getrude Breslau Hunt read the report of Resolutions Com. as follows:

Your Com. reports the following resolutions favorably:

Moved, That the time has come when it would be wise for the W. N. S. U. to abolish the offices of Pres.

and Vice Pres., which have always been tentative.

Moved, That the W. N. S. U. elect a General National Organizer, whose duties shall be defined in the constitution.

Moved, That members-at-large must become auxiliary to the state organization as soon as their states are organized, instead of continuing auxiliary only to the Natl. organization.

Moved, That the legislative department of the W. N. S. U. devote itself to collecting data as to the legal disabilities of women—including the denial of the ballot, inability to own their children, inequality of sex protection, inability to control their earnings and property, etc.—with a view to using the information thus obtained in awakening the interest of women in political action.

Moved, That we could do better work as an organization if we struck from the name of the Union the word Socialist and substituted something less offensive to the public.

Moved and carried that report be accepted and resolutions considered *seriatim*.

Mrs. Abbott spoke in favor of the first motion, explaining the original need of a Pres. and stating that her work had been more in the line of an organizer than the name indicated. There was considerable difference of opinion as to the wisdom of this motion, but it finally carried.

It was informally stated that the Resolution Committee had believed that the duties of the General Natl. Organizer ought to be similar to those which have been the portion of the Pres., with the exception of presiding at conventions (which Mrs. A. had already declined to do on the ground of it being contrary to Socialist ideas.) The second motion carried without discussion.

Miss Conger desired the word "must" struck from the third motion and "will" substituted, but did not offer this as an amendment. When it was explained that in the form

which she suggested it already forms a part of the constitution, but that there had been some inquiry and misunderstanding regarding it, she withdrew her suggestion and the motion was adopted as read.

The fourth motion was one that the Com. had substituted for another which had been referred to it at the morning session, with the request that such action be taken. The substitute was adopted without discussion.

Mrs. Abbott moved to amend the fifth motion by striking out the words "something which is less offensive to the public" and substituting therefor "other word," giving as her reason that, if a change was to be made, it would not be from any deference to the public or fear of their dislike for the present name. This amendment was unanimously adopted, and the amended motion brought out some ardent discussion from members and non-members. It transpired that there were those among the party-at-large who believe in the work which is being accomplished by the Union and approve of its existence, but have opposed the organization because they consider that none but the political party (or other organizations controlled by the party) should use the name Socialist. Economic League was the name suggested by Irene Smith; Salt Lake City Comrades had suggested Liberty Lovers; and the comrade who sent in the resolution had preferred Social Science Club. This resolution was finally referred to the Natl. Com. with a request that it be considered at the earliest possible opportunity.

The most important resolution of the whole convention (in point of interest) was then offered:

Moved, That the separate organization of women is conducive to the good of the Socialist cause, tends to upbuild the party organization, and must be done if the sex is not to be a drag when a Co-operative Commonwealth is initiated.

The discussion of this motion was intensely interesting, as many non-members of the Union attended the session for the express purpose of taking part in it. May Wood Simons made the strongest argument against such an organization and all felt the charm of her manner, though those conversant with the work of the

Union immediately discovered that she had an utterly mistaken impression regarding it. Most of us agreed with her in her line of reasoning, but even non-members of the Union quickly realized that she was arguing against something which has no existence, not against the Union as it really is. She had a notion that women who were dissatisfied with the party were withdrawing and forming a rival organization, whereas in every place where a local Union exists it has helped the party organization. She spoke of members of the Union not paying dues to the party, failing to understand that the Union is designed to reach and educate women not ready for the party, with a view to strengthening them by association with clear-cut Socialist women. (All the members of the Union in convention at the time were paying dues in the party and carrying the additional burden of the Union in order that they might reach those whom the party methods can not.) She believed that most clubs of women are dilettante affairs and that all women can do better work by holding fast to party lines.

Irene Smith, of Washington, also spoke in opposition to the Union, though she acknowledged the splendid work which has been done by a local organization of women in which she has been a moving spirit.

Anna Ferry Smith stated that when the California Socialist Union was organized she attended the convention for the express purpose of "knocking the pins out from under any tridling affair." (The California convention was also a mass meeting, in which all Socialist women had equal right to the floor, without regard to membership in the Union.) She had spoken against the organization when this question came up at that time, but as she was sufficiently liberal to hear all sides of a question, so had attended every session, been thoroughly converted to the belief that the Union had a work to do, joined it before the State Convention adjourned, and is now organizer for the State of California.

Lucinda B. Chandler said: "Why should women be inferior to men? The framers of the law or custom that made women subservient to men were uneducated. The women of today, thanks to the Socialist party,

are being enlightened and demanding equality. Let this Union continue to advance the principle of that higher industrial system, the Co-operative Commonwealth. Let it educate the young in these truths. It is the kindergarten which will make our future Socialists. It is doing good, and by all means let us have it."

Gertrude B. Hunt declared that present conditions are slavery for women, who have not the way to right their wrongs. In the home and out, she believed in equal rights and privileges for men and women. She felt that if the W. N. S. U. had never rendered any other service to the cause of Socialism than to bring together the group of women present, it had given good reason for its existence.

Mrs. Woodward said: "Politically we are non-existent. Present-day civilization holds up its hands to women and says 'Thus far shalt thou go and no farther.' It would seem as if the women are not wanted; even in our own broad party the 'glad hand' is seldom extended to us. But the dawn of true equality is at hand."

Corinne Brown: "We wish that people would get rid of the idea that women are organizing to antagonize the male portion of the Socialist party. I am not yet a member of the Union, but I was glad to see the women organize and helped them. This is not a rival organization. It is a feeder to the general movement."

The President gave a summary of the original causes of the Union being formed and something of that which it has already accomplished. She disapproved of mere sentimentalists being admitted into the party organization (which she considers an army for the peaceful capture of the government) but believed this Union a school which will train them for good work in the political movement. She reminded the comrades that the new converts, if admitted to the political organization, may outvote the scientific members who thoroughly understand the why and wherefore of methods and tactics.

Other points brought out in the discussion were: Many women still regard all things political as unclean, but know this capitalistic system is wrong, and they should be so educated that they may be fit to teach the young the truth. Many Socialist

women, members of the party, are incompetent to teach Socialism, have never had any systematic study, and do not obtain this in the party Locals. Many Socialist women who had not attended Locals, after joining the Union come heartily into the party. There are male comrades who are unwilling for their wives to attend business meetings of party, or take any active part in political matters. There are women who are diffident, or unfamiliar with parliamentary usage, who are inactive even when they do attend Locals. There are Locals where women are not welcome. There are homes in discord, because the wives dislike politics and misunderstand their Socialist husbands' attitude. There are women who can not be reached by cool reasoning but must have an appeal made to their sympathies before interest in economic conditions can be aroused.

(To be continued.)

Matter intended for the Women's Department has been crowded out this month to make room for the above report. This will be concluded in our next issue after which the regular features will again appear.

THE FEARFUL PRICE.

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST occasionally prints a Socialist sermon, unwittingly. In a late issue the editor said:

Dividends—profit—conquest of the market—these and similar phrases are the sacred passwords nowadays. In the minds of too many, any, course that tends or seems to tender to the production of material wealth is not only excusable but actually right. Cutting wages, employing children who should be at school, unearthy factories and stores, defiance of law, bribery and corruption—anything and everything, provided only that wealth is produced.

What a miserable, bestial blindness! What a loathsome confusing of means and end! What a repulsive forgetfulness that wealth is only valuable, only desirable, only tolerable, in so far as it produces and tends to produce men and women clothed in the full dignity of the human race!

The toad beneath the harrow knows
Exactly where each tooth-point goes;
The butterfly upon the road,
Preaches contentment to that toad.

—RUDYARD KIPLING.



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, Boylston Bldg., 269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

NATIONAL CONVENTION

Greatest Gathering in the History of American Socialism

**United, Strong and Enthusiastic Party Adopt
Constitution and Platform and Nom-
inate Debs and Hanford.**

The greatest convention of Socialists ever held in America, a gathering which marks an epoch in the history of the movement, was in held Chicago, May 1-6. Representatives were present from every state in the union; men and women of various trades and callings; carpenters, printers, miners, ministers, doctors, editors and lawyers were among the delegates. Americans, English, Irish, Germans, French, Scandinavians, Japanese and negroes met together in the name of justice, representative of the character and scope of the Socialist Party which makes no discrimination on account of race, color, creed or sex. Yet it was pre-eminently a convention of workers, and the dominant desire throughout was to unite the toilers of the world in the demand that capitalistic exploitation of labor shall cease and our industries be operated for the common good.

In point of intelligence, grasp of economic facts, ability to handle the great problems before it the gathering must have been an revelation to the most prejudiced capitalist mind, while in moral tone we venture to say that no purer, nobler body of men and women ever convened on American soil. The "bum" and "booze" element so much in evidence in old

party conventions was conspicuous by its absence. Smoking was prohibited during all the sessions. The discussions, tho heated at times, were, without exception carried on with the evident desire to get at the right thing and the results in every instance were highly gratifying to the editors of the THE VANGUARD.

(Our space does not permit of an extended report of the proceedings. Those wishing to secure such a report in convenient form for preservation will find it in the May issue of the International Socialist Review, a "Special Convention Number." Price 10 cents, postpaid, at our office.)

Nearly ever delegate elected was present when the meeting was called to order by Secretary William Mailly.

The Socialists of Wisconsin presented a beautiful silver gavel for use in this and succeeding conventions which was greeted with enthusiasm.

The chairman elected for successive days were as follows: James F. Carey, Mass.; Morris Hillquit, N. Y.; N. A. Richardson, Cal.; F. Sieverman; N. Y. William Mailly, Neb. S. Stedman Ill. Charles Dobbs, was elected Secretary with F. X. Waldhorst, Ala. and Ira Cross, Wis., assistants.

The banquet tendered the delegates by the Cook County Comrades, at which 700 were seated, was a delightful and inspiring occasion. Able speeches were made by B. Berlyn, Ben Hanford, Wm. Mailly, A. M. Simons, Jas. F. Carey, G. D. Herron, Chas. Heydrick, H. F. Titus, Ida Crouch-Hazlett, Gaylord Wilshire, and Sen Yoe Katayama, a Japanese Socialist.

The following cablegram evoked prolonged applause:

"To the National Convention, Socialist Party of America! All Hail to the Convention assembled for the important work of choosing presidential candidates. Three cheers for the international movement!

Executive Committee Social-Democratic Party of Germany.

A reply was ordered sent to Germany which read as follows:

"Socialists of the United States of America return fraternal greetings of German com-

rades, wishing them ever greater victories over the common enemy of the working class."

The adoption of a new constitution and platform was the most important business transacted and occupied considerable time. Both documents, finally accepted by unanimous votes, reflect great credit on the convention, place the organization on a firm basis and set the principles and program of Socialism before the American people in clear and convincing fashion. The platform, printed in full below, is a splendid statement of the Socialist position, and will win to its support thousands of lovers of justice and liberty:

THE PLATFORM

WE, the Socialist Party, in convention assembled, make our appeal to the American people as the defenders and preservers of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole of society.

To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are alike false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great proprietary interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take unawares the right of the worker to a vote or a voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public school, the pulpit and the press, the arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths

in which our institutions were founded. But under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings to ever become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces, above its subsistence wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

Socialism comes to so organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of being, thought and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

II.

As an American Socialist Party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national but international, both in organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries, and of the so-called patriotisms which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending capitalists for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

The socialist movement therefore is a world-movement. It knows of no conflicts of interest between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

III.

The socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world-process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery, as its portion.

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever and whenever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long since ceased to be individual

The labors of scores, or even thousands, enter into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two distinct classes; and from it has sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interest, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

IV.

The socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve it. The captains of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of this developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change reveal that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

Into the midst of this strain and crisis of civilization, the socialist movement comes as the only saving or conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the socialist movement. The socialist party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall be the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together, and that opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

V.

To the end that the workers may seize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government, and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Socialist Party pledges itself to watch and work in both the economic and the political struggle for each successive immediate interest of the working class; for shortened days of labor and increases of

wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, and of franchise and land values, the proceeds to be applied to the public employment and bettering the conditions of the worker's children, and their freedom from the workshop; for the equal suffrage of men and women; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, and the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist and increase the like powers of the worker.

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our fellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and complete emancipation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America, and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause, to cast their lot and faith with the Socialist Party. Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow-workers is at once an appeal for their common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and those we represent to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe that we are but preparing the soil of the economic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.

The most remarkable demonstration of the convention occurred when Eugene V. Debs and Ben Hanford were nominated. Comrade Debs was absent from the hall at the time and Comrade Hanford spoke first, concluding as follows:

Now, Comrades, you have the greatest privilege that any people on the face of the earth ever had. In all previous revolutions, none of them ever had it in its power to do anything more than liberate a certain group of people, or a little nation of people, but this movement proposes to free every man and every woman and every child on the earth, wherever they may be, for all time. This movement is not only worth living for, but it is better worth dying for than any other movement in the world. To bring about the furtherance of this thing I say to you let your hearts be as true as

steel, put your whole power into action, and we will have Socialism in our time and in our country. (Prolonged cheering and applause.)

The introduction of Comrade Debs, later on, witnessed the climax of the enthusiasm. When quiet had been restored he spoke in part as follows:

Comrade Chairman and Comrades: In the councils of the Socialist party the collective will is supreme. Personally I could have wished to remain in the ranks, to make my record humble though it might be, fighting unnamed and unhonored side by side with my comrades. I accept your nomination, not for any honor it confers because in the Socialist movement no comrade can be honored, except as he honors himself by fidelity to the movement. I accept your nomination because of the confidence it implies, because of the duty it enforces. I can but wish that I may in a reasonable measure meet your expectations, that I may bear aloft the banner of the working class, that as your representative I may prove myself worthy to carry the standard of the only party that proposes to emancipate my class from the slavery of the ages.

I have the honor to stand in the presence of an historic convention. I would that Carl Marx might be here today. I would that La Salle, that all the men who have wrought and struggled for the cause might be with us. I wish that it were possible for them to share in the glories of this occasion.

We are today upon the eve of battle. We are ready for the conflict. We are eager for the fray. We depart from here with the endorsement of a convention that challenges undisputed the approval of the working class of the world. The platform upon which we stand is the first American utterance upon the subject of international Socialism. Hitherto we have reiterated, we have followed, now for the time in the American movement we have realized the American expression of the movement. There is not a line or a word of that platform that is not revolutionary, that does not stand precisely and clearly as the expression of the American movement.

We leave this convention to throw down the gauntlet, to challenge the capitalistic oppressor.

There is a Republican party, the dominant capitalistic party of this time, the party that has its representative in the White House, the party that dominates both branches of congress, the party that controls the supreme court, the party that absolutely controls the press, the party that is absolutely in power in every department of our activity. In consequence we find corruption rampant, and congress has adjourned before the time of adjournment because it dare not face, but has merely postponed, the inevitable.

There is a Democratic party, a party that has not stock enough left to proclaim its own bankruptcy, an expiring party that stands upon the crumbling foundation of a dying class, a party that can't unite, a party that is looking backward and hoping for the resurrection of the men who gave it inspiration a century ago; a party that is trying to vitalize itself by its ghosts. Thomas Jefferson would scorn to enter a Democratic convention. He would have as little business there as Abraham Lincoln would have among the Republicans. If they were living

they would be delegates to the convention. The Socialist party meets these two parties face to face without the semblance of apology, throws down the gage of battle, declares there is but one solution of the labor problem, that is by the complete overthrow of the capitalistic system.

You have honored me in the magnitude of the task you have thrust upon me. I can simply say that obedient to your call I respond. I will serve you to the limit of my capacity. I will bear the standard aloft where the battle waxes fiercest. I shall not hesitate as the opportunity comes to me to voice the emancipating gospel of the Socialist movement. I shall be heard in the coming campaign as often, as decidedly, as revolutionarily, as uncompromisingly, as my ability, my strength and fidelity to the movement permit. I realize that for the first time in the history of ages there is a working class movement. On this occasion above all others, my comrades, we are appealing to ourselves, are bestirring ourselves, we are arousing the working class, the class that through all the ages has been oppressed, crushed, and has suffered, for the one reason that this class has lost the consciousness of the power that would get it the mastery of the world. The most hopeful sign of the times is that the man of this class is waking up, and when through the agency of the Socialist movement he becomes completely conscious of that power, he will overthrow the capitalistic system. To consecrate my small power to this great work is my supreme ambition. I can hope only to do my part so well my comrades, that when the final verdict is rendered, will say, "He was not a candidate for president, he did not aspire to hold office, but he did prove himself worthy to be a member of the Socialist party. He has a right to a place in the international movement of the world." I thank you from the depths of my heart for your confidence. We shall meet again, we shall meet often, and when we meet finally, it shall be to ratify the coming of the Socialist republic. (Tremendous cheering and long continued applause.)

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MINNESOTA STATE NEWS

(The Secretaries of Locals in Minnesota are requested to send in brief items on interest concerning the work in their localities. Address, THE VANGUARD, 45 S. 4th. St., Minneapolis, Minn. or Green Bay, Wis.)

Comrade Kirkpatrick, who has been at work during the past month in the southern part of the state, is doing effective service. He is a fine speaker, a capable organizer, and the cause is certain to be greatly advanced by his efforts.

Comrade Thompson reports remarkably successful meetings everywhere with large additions to the membership and the formation of county organizations in preparation for the fall campaign.

After putting in another busy month with gratifying results, **Comrade Klein** attended the Chicago Convention as delegate and from there went on a trip east. He will visit Cincinnati, Buffalo, Troy, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington, returning to take up his work again in June.

The organizers report that THE VANGUARD is proving most valuable in the movement. Many Comrades are at work getting up clubs declaring it the best thing they have ever used for propaganda.

Secretary Nash was too busy with office work to attend the National Convention.

Granite Falls—Comrade Klein had splendid meetings here and organized a fine local.

Ortonville—Opera House was filled at Klein's meeting which resulted in a good local being organized. Comrade Crawley is a hustler for the cause and Ortonville is on the Socialist map for good.

Graceville—The largest crowd ever known to attend any political meeting here was that which turned out to hear Organizer Klein when he spoke recently and formed a good local.

Moorhead—Klein's meeting here resulted in a solid local and preparations for a county organization. F. W. Bosshard is a "worker."

Fergus Falls—We have an active local here, also two Socialist papers, one English and one Norwegian. A county ticket will be nominated. F. W. Downing is a tower of strength to the movement.

Willmar—The meetings here by Comrade Klein were a success. Good local. Comrade Gilbertson keeps everlastingly at it and the cause grows steadily stronger.

Duluth—There are now three branches in Duluth.—English, Finnish and Polish.—All in promising condition. Three meetings held by Comrade Thompson recently were remarkably well attended and the lectures widely reported in all the capitalistic papers.

Two Harbors—The local doubted its membership during the Thompson meetings. The Socialists declare that they have the largest political meetings ever held in their city. The interest and enthusiasm is magnificent.

Carlton Co.—A complete county organization has been perfected here. The comrades from Wrenshall, Scanlon and Carlton met on April 17. A county Central Committee was elected as follows:—Chairman, Dr. O. S. Watkins; Sec'y, H. Foxton, Box 113, Carlton; Chas. Slickman, T. O. Sanby, C. J. Brathbery Ed. Anderson, and Thos. Halliday. Address all communications to H. Foxton, Box 113, Carlton.

Harmony and enthusiasm were the characteristics of the convention. It was decided that Comrade Kirkpatrick should be engaged in the county for two full weeks,—as it was found that there were open doors in every direction. The comrades believe that one of the possibilities of next fall is to carry Carlton Co.

Wrenshall—The Socialists have every thing their own way at Wrenshall. They hold all the offices and have nearly 75 per cent of the vote. There is no hall large enough to hold the audiences that gather at the meetings. Music forms a very delightful part of their programs.

Scanlon—Notwithstanding adverse conditions there is a very determined movement here. The comrades are hard workers and splendid meetings are held. One of the comrades has just built a hall which will be a sort of home for the Socialists hereafter.

Grand Rapids—Altho organized but a short time our Socialist local sold tickets to the Thompson meetings and filled the hall the first night. Watch us grow!

Acksley—Comrade Thompson spoke here Saturday and Sunday April 23—24. At the close of the Sunday afternoon meeting a local of 21 members was formed, dues paid for the current 3 months and everything put in line for a great work. In the evening at the invitation of the Congregational minister of the place Comrade Thompson spoke in the church which was packed.

Pequot—This little place claims the largest local in the state outside of Minneapolis—47 dues paying members. However, Carlton local will pay this month on 51. We understand, Pepuot declares she will do even better. At this point all but one or two of the members are farmers. The secretary J. S. Schaffer was a black-listed A. R. U. man.

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Many readers of THE VANGUARD have expressed surprise at the low club rate of 25c. which we have made for yearly subscriptions, and have rightly estimated that it is impossible to publish the magazine at such a price. Had it not been for receipts from advertising we could not have maintained this rate. But even so we have felt morally bound to reject a large amount of objectionable advertising offered and the receipts from this source have grown proportionately less while on the other hand the subscription list has been running up at a rapid rate involving increased obligations.

We must now adopt one of two courses, namely, throw our columns open to all kinds of advertising or adhere strictly to a subscription rate of 50c; and 40c in clubs of four or more. We unhesitatingly decide upon the latter course and we believe our decision will meet with the general approval of our readers. THE VANGUARD is well worth 50c a year and we are persuaded that our subscribers would much prefer paying this than have our pages disfigured with unsavory announcements.

To give our workers a fair chance to secure new names at the 25c rate, however, we will hold to it for one month longer.

July 1, the higher price will go into effect.

We have still on hand a supply of Postal Subscription cards at 25c which may be had at the old rate till the supply is exhausted. These may be purchased now and will be good for yearly subscriptions at any time either before or after July 1. But beginning July 1 the price of Postal Subscription cards will be 40c in lots of four or more. This will be our lowest club rate. Those who wish to take advantage of the present 25c rate should act promptly.

The following were the delegates elected by referendum from Wisconsin to the National Convention:

Victor L. Berger, W. Gaylord, E. H. Thomas, H. J. Ammann, F. Heath, E. Seidel, J. W. Born, F. Brockhaus, R. O. Stoll, J. Hunger and J. M. A. Spence.

The alternates were Ira Cross, E. T. Melms, H. Tuttle, H. Luther, W. A. Arnold, F. J. Weber, H. W. Bistorius, W. H. Phelps, W. Kaufman, R. Elsner and Dr. W. C. Young.

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