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THE VANGUARD

AUGUST, 1904.



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has done as a scientific inquirer into the economic move-
ment of modern times, as the philosophic historian of the
capitalistic era.—Encyclopædia Britannica*



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Magazine of Modern Thought and Social Progress.

J. M. A. SPENCE, Editor, Green Bay, Wis.

The Vanguard is published monthly by the Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Co., 344 Sixth Street, Milwaukee, Wis. Application is made for entry at the Milwaukee Post Office as second class mail matter.

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Yet newer strength we borrow,
And where the Vanguard camps to-day,
The rear shall rest tomorrow."

VOL. 2.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., AUGUST, 1904.

No. 12.

In the early days of our race the Almighty said to the first of our race: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." And since then, if we except the light and air of heaven, no good thing has been or can be enjoyed by us without first having cost labor. And inasmuch as most good things have been produced by labor, it follows that **ALL SUCH THINGS OF RIGHT BELONG TO THOSE WHOSE LABOR HAS PRODUCED THEM.** But it has so happened in all ages of the world that some have labored and others have, without labor, enjoyed a large portion of their fruits. **THIS IS WRONG AND SHOULD NOT CONTINUE.** To secure to each laborer **THE WHOLE PRODUCT OF HIS LABOR, OR AS NEARLY AS POSSIBLE,** is a worthy object of any good government.—**ABRAHAM LINCOLN.**

The Presidential election promises to be a very tame affair so far as the old parties are concerned. The daily newspapers report little interest and enthusiasm among the men who furnish the "sinews of war" for the reason that they have unbounded "confidence" in both parties to do nothing that will disturb present "prosperity." There will be a sham battle between the Republicans and Democrats for the presidency, but no matter which wins the "great financiers" will remain secure in their reign of greed, fraud and robbery.

The Socialists, on the other hand, are making a vigorous and effective campaign with the prospect of polling a vote that will at once fulfill the prediction of Mark Hanna that the next great contest would be between the Socialists and Republicans. There is no live issue between the Democrats and Republicans. This is as the capitalists would have it. Their partyism is a cloak for "business" as one of them admitted when he said that in Democratic states his corporation supported the Democratic party and in Republican states it threw its "influence" with the Republicans, but everywhere it was for itself. The capitalist is in politics for the purchase of privilege. And just now he is so fully in control of both old parties that no mat-

ter which way the election goes he has a "sure thing." The World Today states the situation rightly when it says: "Destroy partisanship as it now exists and instead of being Democrats and Republicans we shall be Socialists and anti-Socialists." The new alignment is coming rapidly. The Socialists hail it with delight. They want the issue squarely drawn.

"There are fifty men in the city of New York," says Senator Depew, "who can in twenty-four hours stop every wheel on all the railways, close every door of all our manufacturing, lock every switch on every telegraph line and shut down every coal and iron mine in the United States. They can do this because they control the money which this country produces. The control of the money clothes its possessors with absolute power over a nation's industries." Referring to this remarkable admission on the part of Mr. Depew, a writer in the Arena exclaims: "What a travesty on the declaration that this is a government 'of the people, by the people, and for the people,' when fifty men can make beggars of seventy millions of people in twenty-four hours!" Next to this loss of independence, the most aggravating fact in the situation is that the men whom capitalism is placing over us as

our real masters and the arbiters of the nation are men who gain their power merely by the faculty for getting money, a faculty which in all ages and climes may exist in association with the meanest qualities of heart and soul. Of all forms of class government, an aristocracy based on wealth is the worst. Of all atrocities a plutocracy is the most belittling to manhood and the most dangerous to every interest of morals and religion.

Socialism is the simple straightforward proposition that the men who do the world's work shall have the full product of their labor. The reason why they cannot possibly obtain this under the present system is that the capitalist class control the machinery of production and are willing that the workers should receive only "living" wages which too often mean "starvation" wages. The amount and value of these wages depend upon how little the workers can subsist upon and on the price the capitalist puts upon the goods which the workers have produced and have to buy back from the capitalist. Hence the labor union alone cannot secure justice for the toiler. Even when the demand for higher wages is granted it is more than offset by the higher price which the worker is obliged to pay for the necessities of life. Not until the people own collectively what they use collectively can the workers obtain what they are entitled to. And be it remembered that the working class also built the machinery of production, that they furnished the brains to invent and run it, and that they created the capital which the capitalist is said to have "invested" but which really represents what has been unjustly withheld from the working class. The capitalist's part in the transactions of the present industrial system consists in "making money" by what is commonly called "shrewdness." But boiled down to hard fact it simply amounts to getting a portion (and the larger portion) of other men's labor without giving any equivalent for it. And this, no matter by what name it goes among "business" men, is dishonesty. Socialism proposes to make it impossible for men to "earn" money by wholesale plunder. Its motto is: "Everybody according to his deeds." And the object of the Socialist party is "not to confiscate other people's property, but to stop confiscation entirely."

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

We have before us a copy of the Chicago Interior, one of the most widely-circulated of church papers, in which a writer, discussing the "Domestic Service Problem," says: "What has been brought about the present attitude of women towards domestic service? Are not women of the upper classes chiefly to blame? — — — The lower classes have followed this leading as far as possible." Here is an admission of the division of society into two distinct classes, which this writer calls "upper" and "lower." (And this in a "Christian" journal.) Much of what follows is highly amusing to the Socialist who must not be expected to sympathize too keenly with the "afflicted ladies" who cannot understand why their "help" will not remain with them "even though they are willing to pay good wages—far more than the same girl could earn in a factory etc." Of course the trouble is largely due to the fact that the "hired girl" belongs to a lower class than the "lady of the house" who makes the class lines painfully apparent to her. She may be very kind and generous, but never forgets that she does not belong to the same "station" in life which the "servant" occupies. So we may talk about the "dignity" of labor and boast of our democratic spirit, but class consciousness, of which this is but an instance, stands out prominently in our every day life.

Again, to those who are given to repeating the assertion that "the interests of the laborer and the capitalist are identical"—a commonplace that is heard in Republican and Democratic campaign speeches, we commend the following from Bishop Potter: "I have stood by the open excavation of the underground railway in New York city, looking at the men digging. They have told me that they got \$2 a day for fair days when the work could go on. Living is expensive in New York. These men are not the submerged; they are the men of brawn and health. They are the labor. I have gone through the corridors of the fashionable hotels at midnight hours and looked on the diners and winners, with liveried waiters obsequiously serving viands of all kinds. These are the 'employers.' Are the interests of the two classes mutual? Can easy going optimism conjure up any relation between the two? Can any bridge span the chasm between them? When I go

through our factories and see fine, able-bodied men, dexterous, earnest men working nine hours a day every day and every year a life through, fashioning the uncouth raw material of wood and metal and marble into house material, I ask myself, 'Will the laborer have any of these polished and luxurious appliances in the home of his family, or will they only go to the well-to-do, into the mansions of the rich—the employer class? Are the interests of the laborer and capitalist mutual?' Is there any mutuality where one makes and the other enjoys?"

Yet it is a common remark of the apologists for the present industrial system that in this country "we must recognize no class divisions." President Roosevelt and Secretary Cortelyou have both made a strong point of this in their recent addresses though in the same breath they admit the existence of classes by reference to "rich and poor." And Socialists have been severely criticized because they have insisted upon a frank recognition of the class struggle, not to intensify class hatred, but to put an end to it. But our observation has been that nowhere does the class feeling manifest itself in such a pronounced form as among the very persons who deprecate any reference to a class struggle. It would seem that the motive for this hypocritical attitude is none other than the fear that the workers may come to see where their class interest lies and unite to assert their rights and abolish the injustice from which they suffer. This fear is the Socialists' hope. They do not create the class struggle, but they do seek to awaken the class consciousness of the workers that they may act together and demand that the special privileges which have produced these artificial distinctions among men shall cease to be.

What could more clearly demonstrate the character of the class struggle than the attitude of the packers in the present Chicago strike? Men are asked (and it appears that large numbers are so hungry and naked, so near want that they are willing) to put themselves under the yoke of these money lords for the pittance of \$6.50 a week, a wage upon which a man cannot live as an American citizen should, much less support a family. Many a man spends more than this per day on luxuries while the laborer is expected to meet all his household expenses with the same amount. The daily papers tell us that

Nelson Morris has left on an extended tour of Europe and that one of the Armours is hobnobbing with princes and entertaining royalty on one of the most magnificent yachts ever built. The money which these millionaires are using, of course, rightfully belongs to their employees who are now demanding a slight increase in wages. What can these two classes have in common?

To the Socialists, therefore, the growing tension between employers and employed, between capitalist and laborer, emphasizes the famous saying of Karl Marx that "the history of all society thus far is the history of class strife," and that it will continue to grow in virulence until "in place of the old capitalist society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all." When, by means of the peaceful revolution of the ballot box, as Marx says, "the working class will have become the ruling class and have swept away the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class."

Under Socialism there will be no masters, no slaves. The competitive class struggle will give way to mutualism and goodwill. Justice will be possible. All men shall have the full product of their toil. That this is the only solution of the social problem is daily becoming clearer to thinking men. The present strikes and lockouts are, as President Donnelly says, convincing thousands of people that our economic salvation lies in the Co-operative Commonwealth. And they will vote the Socialist ticket.

The anti-trust planks in the platforms of the Repubercatic parties and the anti-trust legislation of the capitalist Congress are about as effective as the fence we heard of the other day which is made of such crooked rails that every time a hog crawls through he comes out on the same side.

The Vanguard is a Socialist-maker. There will be nothing better for propaganda purposes than our Campaign Edition—next month. See announcement elsewhere and order at once.

SOCIALISM AND THE HOME.

By VICTOR L. BERGER.



SOcialism is the natural outcome of the capitalist system. It is made necessary by the development of economical conditions; we shall have to comply with the new requirements, or our civilization will perish. And all of our institutions will by necessity have to conform with the new form of society, if they are to survive. Yet human society, being a living organism, *grows* from one phase of civilization into the other. It always retains what is good and possible. And from this standpoint alone the attacks heaped upon Socialism on account of its alleged antagonism to the home and of the family are ridiculous. Neither the Socialists, nor anybody else could "abolish" the home and the family. Some of the early Christians tried to do so—but they failed. They only succeeded later on in establishing monasteries and nunneries—and founding asylums. And it is especially ridiculous when the Roman Catholic clergy—which is supposed to be without families and without homes of their own—accuse the Socialists (who have families and love them) of such intentions. The truth is the contrary.

Every man with a heart in his bosom should bless the advent of Socialism, simply on account of its effect on the lot of the woman. It will raise woman higher than Christianity ever did. Of course, I am acquainted with the caricature written by that German defender of capitalism, Eugene Richter, who in his "Sozialistische Zukunftsbilder" (Pictures of the Socialistic Future) tries to show how families are forcibly torn asunder, the husband being sent to one end of the country, the wife to another, and the children into the public nurseries. And that is the book from which our clerical friends get their wisdom on the "Socialistic future." But the truth is exactly the reverse. The "home and family" cry of our capitalistic advocates is a hypocritical sham. It is now that families are broken up. It is our *present* system that compels the wife and the daughter to go to the factory and the store and compete with the husband and father, where all three together do not earn more than the man did when alone. The home is not "abolished" but is—Hell. Socialism will have precisely the opposite effect. It will take wives and daughters out of the stores and factories and restore them to their homes.

Undoubtedly, some of the early Utopists are slightly responsible for the caricature, since they intended that *all* women should work in the public service, every one even to do her share of manual labor—thereby

completely ignoring the idea of "*function*," the idea that everybody is to do the particular work for which he or she is best adapted by nature, sex, and training.

No. Modern Socialists have never claimed that *all* women will be in the service of the collectivity. In fact I do not believe that the majority of them ever will be, except in the sense then that they will be mothers and wives. But woman will have *equal opportunities* with man—she does not have them now—we know that man does not have equality of opportunities. And since woman under Socialism will have her "economic equality," this will make her the master of her fate. And this will not only be nominal—it will be such that she will be able to realize it whenever she thinks fit.

In other words in Socialist society most women will want to marry as now. I suppose, that as now so then the married woman, daughter and mother will want to be supported by husband, father and son. I am not a Bellamyite, I am for individuality, for privacy, and if Socialism were an enemy of these I should not advocate it.

But we must not overlook other features of Socialism. Kitchen drudgery for instance will pass away. In the center of every block in the cities and even in the villages in the midst of farms, the public kitchens with the most modern improvements, run by electricity etc., will be established, where food suiting every taste will be prepared, which will be quickly carried or sent into every home, if so desired. Of course, all of these are detail pictures of the future which I dislike to discuss. But it is evident that married women when they get all this leisure, will wish to utilize part of it in the service of the Commonwealth as physicians, teachers and other innumerable occupations which that Commonwealth will render necessary.

And besides, while in Socialist society most women will want to marry as now, there will be then as now the exceptional women who dislike marriage, or who have a particular aptitude for public service—they will be furnished *suitable* work. And furthermore, whenever a married woman, or a daughter will get tired of her dependence, all she will have to do is to ask to become a public functionary. As I stated before, Socialism will give every woman her full economic independence.

Therefore, I say, woman will not only be restored to home, but enabled to *form* a home. It will be the immense benefit of Socialism that it will enable every young loving couple to marry. Every man will not only be enabled, but *encouraged* and *persuaded* to marry *when young*. And this fact: that the *young* men marry is one of the greatest preservers of chastity with any people.

And lastly, these two benefits:—that all men marry young, and that all women who desire it will be furnished their occupation and proper remuneration by Socialist society—*will* radically abolish not only prostitution, but also that far greater evil of *commercial marriages*. The Mormons even have proven that prostitution can entirely be abolished—although the Roman Catholic church has never done so, as a matter of fact, it has never flourished so much as under the rule of the church in the middle ages and is even now in full bloom in Spain, France, Italy, and Belgium, Catholic countries every one of them—but to be exact, it was the other good Christians who have restored prostitution to Utah. For it is surely the most shocking effect of our capitalistic system that it has degraded the marriage relation into a property relation and that this marriage often being a semi-prostitution itself always needs the full prostitution as a complement. And while it is bad enough that men are made means to others greed, it is surely worse that women are made means to their lust.

Socialism will do nothing less than tear prostitution up by the roots. Why should the Roman Catholic clergy oppose this? I say that this alone ought to be a sufficient blessing to move all pure men and especially those who believe in marriage and in raising a family to vote and fight for Socialism. It will be the salvation, and there is none other.

Victor L. Bergh.

This country is groaning under the terrible corruption that infests its halls of legislation, but back of that corruption is found the "leading" citizen, the man of business, the man of investments and interests. Personally he might not bribe a legislator, but there are plenty of go-betweens to be had, and so the lobby exists and gets its nourishment from his pocketbook. Whenever the public gets sufficiently aroused to hold mass meetings, who sits on the stage as an honorary vice president but your very same "leading" citizen, looking so honorable, so virtuously anxious to see corruption throttled! He's an awful fraud.

—*Social-Democratic Herald*.

Teddy Roosevelt, who is a firm believer in the human slaughter called war, wrote in one of his books that "in the long run a Quaker might be as undesirable a citizen as a duelist." Roosevelt is a man of dangerous ideals.

The St. Louis cordage company has imported 25 Porto Rican girls to take the place of men requiring living wages. The girls will get 50 cents a day. More "benevolent assimilation" at the expense of the working class!

WHY FARMERS SHOULD BE SOCIALISTS.

By CARL D. THOMPSON.

No one who loves justice should fear Socialism. There are very great and very good reasons why *all should be Socialists*. But there are special reasons, and especially strong ones why farmers should be. Following are only a few of them:

1. *Socialism will make the farmer more secure in the possession of the land and he needs to use.*

It will not take the farmer's farm away from him. On the contrary capitalism is allowing the capitalists to monopolize more and more of the land, so it is becoming harder and harder for those who wish to enter farming to get the land; and harder for those who have it to keep it. 300,000,000 acres of land in the United States are already owned by foreign and domestic capitalists. The free land of the government is all gone now, and this is the first time in human history that this has been so. The railroads have gobbled up millions of acres; the coal, iron, gold and silver and oil trusts have millions more; the lumber trusts millions more; foreign landlords have millions more. And they are all reaching for still more. And on top of all this some few farmers more fortunate than the rest, shrewder, more successful—get rich and so stand with the capitalists and also use capitalistic methods to exploit the others. They retire. Tenants take their place and have to pay rent.

So the problem of how to get and keep the use of land grows more difficult every year.

Socialism would have all the public lands kept for the use of the people. Railroad grants would be recovered for the people; so also

foreign holdings; public irrigation plants would be built to reclaim arid land and this held for the people; rivers would be diked so as to reclaim millions of acres of alluvial land now destroyed by floods. All this would be for the people and those who wanted land could get it on easy terms, without becoming slaves to private capitalists.

The farmer on the farm would be left in possession of the farm he wished to use.

2. *Under Socialism the farmer could get proper and necessary machinery at cost of producing it.* The great international harvester trust, the steel trust and other monopolies concerned in the manufacturing of farm machinery, would be owned and operated by the government under Socialism. The farmer would therefore get his machinery at cost of production.

Under the present system, for the wagon that costs \$15.00 to make the farmer pays \$70.00. For the binder that costs \$47.00 to make the farmer must pay \$125.00; for the fork that costs 16 cts. to make the farmer must pay \$1.00. And so on. Because the private machinery trust must have profit. Under Socialism all machinery would be manufactured and sold at cost. Therefore the farmer could get better machinery and more of it, and thus his labor be greatly lightened and its effectiveness greatly increased.

3. *Under Socialism the farmer would have a better and a certain market.* After the farmer has raised his produce it brings him no return until he gets it marketed. And there's another rub. On the way to market the farmer meets several

"circumstances." The first is the storage monopoly—they hold him up for storing his grain. Next he encounters the railroad companies. They charge him 10 times what it costs for freight. And then finally if he succeeds in running the gauntlet and gets his stuff to the market he finds when he gets there that the market is "unsteady." It is unsteady, because the gamblers on the stock exchange are manipulating it. But it is unsteady for another and deeper reason.

The market depends upon the consumption or demand of the people. 15,000,000 of the people are wage earners. Capitalism is robbing them of half the products of their toil. Hence they haven't the money to buy the things the farmer brings to market. So the robbery of the wage earner destroys the farmer's market, or tends to do so.

The private monopoly, such as the meat trust, stands between the farmer and the wage worker, between the producer and consumer, and robs them both. On a single day it puts down the price of cattle to the farmer and puts up the price of meat to the consumer.

Under Socialism the railroads would be owned and operated by the collectivity. The farmer could ship his produce at cost of transportation. Elevators would be owned by the government. Storage at cost. Stock yards, slaughter houses, etc., and packing houses would be owned by the people. Thus the farmer could get his products to the consumers without being robbed at every step of the way by some private monopoly.

But most of all, every laborer under Socialism will be getting the full products of his toil. They will therefore be always able to buy the meat and bread the farmer raises

and so his market is secure. The wage worker and the farmer—the workers need Socialism.

4. *Under Socialism all the necessities of life the farmer must buy will be cheaper.* The farmer must have sugar. The sugar trust is exacting enormous dividends of the people. The farmer must use oil, coal, lumber, nails, wire, clothing. All these and a thousand more things the farmer must have. But they are in the hands of the trusts. He must pay monopoly prices.

Under Socialism all these trusts would be owned by the people, and their products brought to all without the profit to the idle. All unearned incomes would be eliminated. The farmer would get what he must buy at cost of production. And therefore the cost of his living would be greatly reduced.

How to Get Socialism.

But how is the farmer to get these things? There is but one way. He must join the working class in their struggle for Socialism. And there is but one way to get Socialism. First of all the powers of government must be wrested out of the hands of the capitalist class. They control the political parties of today. They thereby control the legislatures, the courts and the officials, both city, state and national. The capitalists are organized. The people are not. The capitalists supply the campaign funds that elect men to office. Therefore they control these men when elected.

So capitalism controls the government.

The working class must control the government.

But neither the farmers nor the wage earners can accomplish this alone. The whole voting strength of the agricultural class is only 40

per cent of the voters of the nation. The wage workers are only about 25 per cent. Neither can win alone. Both, united, are invincible. Wage workers will not join in a farmers' fight. Farmers will not join in a wage workers' fight. But both will join in the Socialist party, for Socialism saves them both. Socialism is their only salvation.

So the workers of the farm and the factory, workers of the country and city, of railway, mine, river and forest—the workers of the world must unite. They must form a solid working class political party. They must safeguard it against fusion, against compromise, and against treason, by reason of the initiative and referendum and imperative mandate. They must put the control of the party in the hands of its members and keep it there. All this the Socialists do. The farmer must join the Socialist party and help us establish the Cooperative Commonwealth. For 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 towards the conscious organization of society.

The Countess of Warwick was importuned by the British Social Service Institute to make common cause with it, and from her reply we select the following, as showing her undoubted clearness of vision:

"The experience and thought of some years have brought me to the very definite conclusions: 1. That the disinherited must work out their own salvation. 2. That they can do this only by combination. 3. That if the full meaning and possibilities of combination are to be realized by

the workers, we must begin with the children, and bring within the reach of all the best educational opportunities. Such, then, being my convictions, I find coming to my hand much more work than, with other duties, I have ability to cope with, in joining with those who, with a self-sacrifice that is Christian in the highest sense, are working to build up the great labor movement, which is slowly, but surely, bringing a message of hope to the victims of an unjust social system." The words of the countess ought to be brought to the attention of some well-meaning reformers we could name in this country. They need the message badly.

Empty Stomachs vs. Millions.

A significant occurrence of the great textile strike in Fall River, Mass., where 20,000 poorly paid textile workers are pitting their empty stomachs against millionaire mill-owners to resist a reduction of wages, is announced in a dispatch that just previous to the ordering of the strike 17 families applied for admission to the county poorhouse. This great Eastern contest bids fair to expose the greed and inhumanity of capitalism as thoroughly as the Colorado struggle, with differences only in minor degree. It is a brutal system where men, women and children who produce the wealth are compelled to suffer that those who produce nothing but confiscate everything should enjoy all fruits of others' toil.—Cleveland Citizen.

How Socialism will Deal with Loafers and Tramps.

By ROBERT BLATCHFORD.

"Under Socialism, what would you do with loafers?" some critic may ask. Remember that Socialism is not offered as a perfect system of life, but only as a very great improvement over the present system. The word loafer, I take it, means one who sponges on the earnings of other people. A loafer, then, may be a tramp without a shirt to his back, or he may be a landlord with a rent roll of half a million a year.

It is stated that there are over a million adult males in the United States in receipt of large incomes who never do any kind of work. In the Co-operative Commonwealth these men might continue idle, but they certainly would not continue rich, nor would they continue to be known as "gentlemen." Besides the million well-paid and well-fed loafers who are at present supported by the earnings of the poor, there are now in this country immense numbers of paupers, beggars, tramps and criminals, and also a large army of unemployed workers. But before I tell you what Socialism would do with all these people, I must tell you what is doing with them now. Do you suppose that society does not support these loafers? They live. What do they live on?

All wealth is won by labor, is it not? Then all tramps, thieves, paupers, beggars and parasites live upon alms, prison-allowances or plunder, and all the means of support are produced by the labor of the working poor. Under our present system we not only feed and house these loafers, but we go to the expense of masters, matrons, doctors, wardens and police, all of whom

have to be fed and paid to wait upon and care for them.

Next, with regard to the unemployed—most of these people manage to exist, and they exist at the expense of those who work. Note one or two facts: these people can do nothing for their own support and many of them through want and shame and enforced idleness, become criminals or tramps. This is not only a waste of power, it is also a wicked and disgraceful waste of human souls.

Now let us see how things would work under Socialism.

We will divide our present loafers into two classes—those who could work but will not, and those who would work and cannot. So long as it is possible for a willing worker to be forced into idleness, so long will there exist a reason for the giving of alms. Why do we relieve a beggar in the street? Because we are never sure that the man is a shirker, because we always fear that his penury may be due to misfortune and not to laziness. In a socialistic state this doubt would disappear—socialism will provide work for all. Therefore, in the Co-operative Commonwealth every man who was able to work would be able to nobly live. This fact being universally understood, no able-bodied man could exist without working. A beggar, tramp, or educated parasite, would be nothing but a shameful loafer, and not a hand would be held out to help him. The answer to the beggar or drone would be, "If you are hungry go to work." If the man refused to work he must starve—or, in disciplinary mercy we might call

a shirker "sick" and send him to the sanitarium-shop for the "work cure."

The answer, then, to the question, "What would Socialists do with the loafers?" is that the dictum, "If a man will not work, neither shall he eat" will be rigidly enforced. Socialism will reform the thief, make a man of the beggar and cure the lazy; whereas under our present conditions we make them into criminals, paupers, or "gentlemen."

According to Bulletin No. 51 of the United States Department of Labor, it takes \$149 to buy as much coal as \$92 would buy ten years ago.

It takes \$118 to buy as many vegetables as \$78 would buy eight years ago.

It takes \$121 to buy as much lumber and other building material as \$90 would buy seven years ago.

It takes \$112 to buy as much in a drug store as \$87 would buy nine years ago.

In men's clothing it takes \$109 to buy as much as \$88 would buy seven years ago.

In women's dress goods it takes \$106 to buy as much as \$88 would buy seven years ago.

And, on an average, \$113 in your pocket today will not buy as much as \$89 would buy seven years ago.—

The Associated Charities of Milwaukee is much disturbed at the increase of abandoned families, but getting its funds from capitalists it does not dare to inquire into the real cause, and therefore lays it at the door of "pure cussedness." When men can scarcely support themselves on modern slave-pen wages, the marvel is that there are any American homes left at all.

"BUSINESS."

Trades unions are an object of attack on the part of "business" man. Men are in "business" for profit. The only use that men have for "business" is the opportunity it offers to get profit. Profit is something that attaches to a thing, or to things, in trade over and above what the thing costs to produce—that is, over and above what labor adds to the value of raw material. In other words, "business" is the art of getting something for nothing. In the processes of "business" it is the producer of things who gets skinned. He produces for one dollar what he cannot buy back for less than five. "Business," at bottom, is a fraudulent scheme for benefitting a few at the expense of the many. And "business" is much worse, as we shall see by looking a little further.

"Business" drives love and peace from the family.

"Business" converts brothers and sisters into bitter enemies.

"Business" drags the family into courts of justice.

"Business" causes a large proportion of 50,000 divorces annually.

"Business" is, therefore, responsible for the destruction of the home.

"Business," furthermore, causes enormous wastes in litigation.

"Business" is the procuring cause of murders and suicides.

"Business" peoples the jails, penitentiaries and lunatic asylums.

"Business" is the cause of corruption in public life everywhere.

"Business" is the idolatry of profit, rent and interest, and the class which suffers most in the operation of "business" methods is the working class.

If the working class got its own, "business" would be unknown.—Metal Workers' Journal.

"Socialism Made Plain," by Allan L. Benson. A big book for Ten cents. It will make thousands of converts

EUGENE V. DEBS: THE MAN.

AN INTERVIEW WITH OUR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE.

(From the *Terre Haute Star*.)

The greatest living scientist, Alfred Russell Wallace, writing from Parkstone, Dorset, England, last March paid the highest possible tribute to a Terre Hautean when he said: "Eugene Debs is a great man. With a few more such to teach and organize the people the cause of justice must prevail."

It has only been a few years since the name of Debs was synonymous with anarchy, according to the popular conception, and daintily scented men felt tainted in his presence. Today he is a candidate for president of the United States. He has lectured in almost every college in the country. He has attained a remarkable personal popularity in conservative Boston. He has averaged a speech a day for the last ten years *and has come to be understood*. However much men may disagree with his policy, they can not help but love the man. And in Terre Haute where he is best known the name "Gene Debs," is spoken with an affectionate inflection on the "Gene."

That the readers of *The Star* might have a better acquaintance—a fairer acquaintance with this unusual and interesting man a representative of the paper spent three delightful hours at Mr. Debs' home on north Eighth street the other afternoon. There was nothing on the outside of the house to suggest a spirit of anarchy or disorder. Vines half hid the porch, flowers bloomed beside it. A canary bird outside the door made the air melodious.

The Library.

And in the library while awaiting Mr. Debs a rapid survey of the room told a similar story of refinement, order and culture. On the wall hung pictures of Hugo and Beethoven. On the mantle stood bronze busts of Rubens and Rembrandt. On the book shelves were the choicest books that have been bequeathed to the world by the geniuses of the ages. Hugo, Locke, Balzac, Shakespeare, Scott, Burns, Goethe, Browning, Swift, Ebers, Michelet, Maeterlinck, Ingersoll and similar authors told of a literary taste that explained the owner's personal popularity with so many of the literary giants and artistic men of the present day. Mr. Debs, who had been down town, entered the room with his arms full of papers and in his characteristically breezy fashion made his visitor feel unusually at home.

"Let's go up to my den," he said, with a smile, and up we went. It is a pleasant north room. Here is another library in which books on Socialism predominate, a work table covered with papers and manuscript. Close beside the table is a sewing machine and work table where Mrs. Debs works. It was an ideal arrangement.

With modesty, and at the reporter's request, the candidate for president and foremost Socialist in America told the story of his early struggles for an education. He went to work when 14 years old in the Vandalia shops, and at 16 was firing an engine. And yet he is to-

day one of the few men in public life whose utterances are literature. How did he do it? In answer to this impertinent question Debs smiled and then looked serious. He told feelingly of his intense humiliation when he quit school and realized that his class-mates were going ahead of him; of how hopeless the future looked, and black. He came to the conclusion that he would have to educate himself. For eighteen months, while firing an engine at night, he studied by day, read the best literature, history, poetry, magazines. In company with others he helped form the Occidental Literary club and became its most enthusiastic member.

"I hear that The Star had some reference to my speech on 'Patrick Henry,' he observed smiling. 'I had almost forgotten it. It was the most terrible experience of my life. The club had arranged for a public meeting at Corinthian hall at the northeast corner of Third and Wabash. The place was packed. Father McEvoy was on the program and I expected him to take up most of the time. My consternation was heartrending when I learned that he was not to speak, and that the whole burden was on me. I remember how great beads of perspiration came out on my forehead. The sight of the audience almost paralyzed me. The audience was sympathetic and made it as easy as possible, and when I concluded they saw how crest-fallen I was and pushed about me and told me how I had distinguished myself. I knew better, and that night I went home through the alleys. But like all the rest, I determined that one day they should hear me really speak."

Elected to Legislature.

For thirteen years Mr. Debs was secretary and treasurer of the Grand

Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers. In 1884 he was elected to the legislature.

"And how did you become a Socialist?" was asked.

Again he looked serious and intense. The light—a peculiar light—came into his eyes. He thought a moment and replied:

"It was when the A. R. U. strike failed. I was in jail. And while in jail I thought and read. My whole life had been devoted to the cause of organized labor. I realized then that when the final test came that capital would always triumph—because it has the government. I concluded that permanent help could only come through the overthrow of the capitalist system. Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee, teacher of German in the schools there, brought me Karl Marx's "Capital." Here it is now (and he took it off a shelf). Here is the inscription. That man Berger and that book "Capital" converted me. And as soon as my mind became receptive it all came to me in a flood. Socialism is today my religion."

It was a short time after this that Debs became intimate with the brilliant New York journalist, John Swinton, who died about a year ago. Swinton was at heart a Socialist. He realized the herculean nature of the task that Debs had set himself to do.

"Have you the courage?" he asked.

Debs assured him that he had, and was prepared for anything that might come.

"Oh yes," answered Swinton, "I could always stand to have those I attacked turn upon me. I expected that. But when those I loved and had worked for turned upon me, it was that that broke my spirit. Can you stand that?"

Again a firm affirmative reply.

"How long will you live?" asked Swinton. "You will be dead in two years."

"I shall live until I fulfill my mission, whatever that may be," said Debs.

About a year ago Debs stood by the bedside of the dying Swinton and received his benediction.

Future of Socialism.

"And what of the future of your cause?" was asked by the reporter.

"A remarkable change is taking place. We are now admitted to the great metropolitan press. The Independent and the Literary Digest have written me for articles. This will be an epoch-making year for Socialism. The article of Lawson on 'Amalgamated Copper' will make thousands of Socialists. The capitalists themselves are destroying themselves."

"How do you account for your popularity in conservative Boston?" was asked.

"I must tell you of my experience before the Twentieth Century club, the most exclusive of Boston," he replied with a smile. "It was just after the strike when most people thought I was a monster of depravity. I spoke before a packed house in Faneuil hall. The next day I received a note from Edwin B. Mead, editor of the New England Magazine, saying that he had heard me and would like to have me talk before the Twentieth Century club of which he was president. When the time came it was ladies' day. We all sat down to the table. The cream of Boston was there. Mead had me next to him. No one knew who I was. At length Mead rose and said that he had a guest for whom he asked indulgence—one much hated and misunderstood. He then introduced me.

He Charmed Boston.

"You should have seen the expression on those people's faces. It was just such an occasion as breaks a man all up or brings to the surface all his latent strength. I realized that they hated me and didn't know why. And I never felt more kindly toward people in my life. In five minutes I had dispelled that hate. And at the end of forty minutes I concluded they were my friends, and are my friends today."

He then went on to pay a glowing tribute to the spirit of Boston.

"I see you have Dixon's books—'The Leopard Spots' and his attack on Socialism," observed the reporter.

"Dixon is brilliant, resourceful, but sentimental, and his books will not have a permanent place in literature," he said forcibly. "No man can write his name in immortal letters who takes the ground that one race was created to be the bondsmen of another race." Then followed one of the most bitter attacks on slavery—and most brilliant—the writer ever heard.

"It does not matter that the Creator has sown with stars the ether and decked the earth with countless beauties for man's enjoyment. It does not matter that air and ocean teem with wonders of innumerable forms of life to challenge man's admiration and investigation. It does not matter that nature spreads forth all her scenes of beauty and gladness and pours forth the melodies of her myriad tongued voices for man's delectation. If liberty is ostracized and exiled, man is a slave, and the world rolls in space and whirls around the sun a gilded prison, a doomed dungeon, and though painted in all the enchanting hues that infinite art could command, it must stand forth a

blotch amidst the singing spheres of the siderial heavens, and those who cull from the vocabularies of nations, living or dead, their flashing phrases with which to apostrophize liberty are engaged in perpetuating the most stupendous delusion the ages have known. Strike down liberty, no matter by what subtle and infernal art the deed is done, the spinal cord of humanity is sundered and the world is paralyzed by the indescribable crime."

An Admirer of Hugo.

"I notice you are an admirer of Hugo," was the next impertinent observation.

"Ah, he was the champion of 'Les Miserables.' He was a great soul. He was always on the side of those who needed him. Do you remember in 'The Man Who Laughs' the bitter satire on man? The wolf and the man—and the man's plea to the wolf, 'And whatever you may do, Homo, never degenerate into a man?'"

"Mitchell's 'French Revolution' I believe is about the only work on the subject tinged with Socialism," suggested the reporter.

"No, Gronlund's 'Ca Ira' is more so. He was a great genius—Gronlund. I knew him well. He literally famished. He came to this country and lectured. Just after I got out of jail he gave me the manuscript of his book recently published by Stone, but I was too poor myself to do anything with it. A short time before he died he wrote me that Hearst had given him a position on his New York paper. In it he pathetically said that he could now at least feed his poor body, and said that many times he had contemplated suicide."

"How do you dissipate?" was asked. "You are fond of the drama, I believe?"

"Oh, very fond of the drama. If I had the time I would be a constant patron of the drama. I think the stage is one of the great educators. It has the great advantage over some educational agencies of entertaining and refreshing while instructing and elevating. You can rest your body and nourish your spiritual organism. I believe the stage has a great future. It is evolving, undergoing great changes, and is to become a generally recognized factor in the intellectual and spiritual development of the race."

Just now Mr. Debs is working seventeen hours every day. He is at work at five in the morning and works until ten at night. After a cold water bath he begins work and continues until breakfast. During the day he writes. From seven at night until ten he reads. Mrs. Debs is companion and advisor—a charming woman. James Whitcomb Riley, who is a great friend of Mr. Debs, has been a frequent guest at the Debs home.

Mr. Debs shows his French extraction in his conversation. He is intense, enthusiastic, eloquent, fluent, and much given to gestures. He speaks all over—so to speak—with his hands, arms, body. His eyes are wonderfully expressive. And whatever he may be politically, he is a charming, fascinating and very lovable man personally.

"Sorry I have no cigar to offer you," he said apologetically, as the reporter was leaving. "Will have one next time. Well, it's good-bye and good luck, and come again."

If instead of paying wages in money the workers were paid with a fraction of their product it wouldn't be so easy to fool them as to the iniquity and the robbery of the wage system.

POINTED PARAGRAPHS.

By FREDERIC HEATH.

The few have much; the many have little. Can you conscientiously defend such a system?

Slaves have a habit of hugging their chains, some of them. Are you one of that class of beings?

A person in pain is sick. Every groan that rises from the walks of the workers is a certificate that the social system is sick.

Pitiful indeed is the case of the man who thinks he knows all about Socialism from reading capitalistic editorials.

The capitalists' public spirit is centered in his pocketbook. Watch and see if this is not true in all his actions.

Nearly twelve thousand boys under 16 are employed in the coal mines, according to official reports. And the plutes boast that this is a Christian nation!

Thousands of gaping corpses of workingmen lie stark upon the Eastern battlefields, workingmen of Russia and workingmen of Japan—a testimonial to the "merciful" workings of the capitalist system.

The *worth* of war! "Great Conflicts are Still Necessary to Human Progress," says Progress of Minneapolis. But it fails to explain that the reason why wars are still necessary is because we live under the capitalist system. It is by means of wars that capitalism extends its domain and therefore its ability to run its full course.

The national convention of the Federation of Catholic Societies by resolution urged Catholic workingmen to form rival unions to the established trade organizations, in order to divide and therefore weaken the trade union movement in the interests of capitalism.

Postal automobiles are being put to use in Denmark. This is much better than making the street cars a part of the mail system and thus enabling the companies to hide behind the government when its wage slaves muster up spunk enough to rebel at inhuman conditions of work.

The Russians lost one thousand men at Kiao Tung. Think of the expense, the solicitude and the labor that it took to bring these thousand men to the perfection of manhood, and think of the homes their death leaves unprotected! And these men were forced to go out to try to shoot down others with whom they had no quarrel whatever, and whom they had never met before. Strange, isn't it!

After hammering away for several months, and being ready for several further moves, the Socialists in the Milwaukee city council have forced the ice combine, which threatened the public health by its extortions, to come down in its price. But the capitulation of the ice barons will not end the struggle for municipal ice. The legislature will be appealed to for the necessary permission for the city to engage in the ice business and the agitation will not cease until the city is free of the yearly menace of the icy-hearted capitalists.

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 IT OVER.

W. S. B. asks if Socialists are ignorant of the fact that "competition is the life of trade." Space will not permit lengthy discussion of this question in this issue, but I would remark that trusts seem to disprove this old statement. As to her query as to what could take the place of competition in a Co-operative Commonwealth, I reply: Emulation, which is the soul of the trade of life, as it will better the condition of all.

B. E. C. wishes to know whether I seriously believe that most women reason differently than men. Most certainly I do. As a class, we are prone to reason from I to us. It takes much training to enable us to reason abstractly.

L. B. C. asks whether I think the old parties would, under any possible combination of circumstances, give us women suffrage. Yes, I believe that when the combined strength of the old parties is not sufficient to ward off Socialism, one or both will gladly give suffrage to women, as they will believe this is throwing a large *conservative* force against the new movement. This is one of many reasons why I consider it a vital matter that we educate women to see the injustice of present conditions now.

J. T. B. asks why I dwell so often on the dark side of present conditions, instead of painting the time which is to be. A good physician

diagnoses the case before prescribing. There are too many women who do not yet know that there is any disease in the body politic. They must be forced to see the truth. No, I am not a pessimist, quite the contrary. I *know* a brighter day is coming and it is darkest just before dawn.

N. M. wishes to know if I can give her some figures as to rates of payment on ready made clothing. She has come to the correct source, for I think I know what sweat shops (and their substitute the tenement system) are as well as any woman in the United States. Most humane beings would feel uncomfortable if they could investigate the system under which the clothes upon their backs are made. Trousers that retail for seven and eight dollars a pair are made by women who receive fifteen cents a pair for all sizes over 32 in. length; thirteen cents for men's sizes shorter than this; eleven for youths. This is the average throughout the U. S. for the better sorts of such piece-work sent out from factories. The women who do this work provide their own sewing-machines and fuel to heat their irons. Not infrequently they climb four or five flights of stairs to get a bundle of these trousers—each bundle containing three pairs. Omitting any deduction for time spent in going for and returning the work, the woman does not live who can finish more than six pairs in an eighteen hour day. At this maximum rate

she cannot make more than five cents an hour, out of which she must pay for wear and tear on her machine, and her own living expenses. No other article of men's wearing apparel (of the ready-made variety) pays so well as trousers. I'll refer to rates on women's clothing in a later issue.

B. T. wishes a simple "catchy" method of stating overproduction in a way apt to fix itself in the minds of an unthinking audience. Years ago I came near losing an editorial position by giving a definition which I yet see no reason to change. The one I then gave was: "Over-production is under-consumption. It means that workers are reduced to beggary, not because of any exhaustion of nature's resources, but because they have done too much work. That people starve because there is too much food waiting to be sold; go naked, because too much cloth has been manufactured; freeze, because too much fuel has been mined. This is over-production, which shuts down work and expects the worker to hibernate, or live on charity, until such time as this surplus has been used by the more fortunate, or until a few thousand folk can be killed off in some benevolent war which will open up foreign markets."

C. C. S. asks why I recommend McClure's pamphlet on Socialism. Because it is a most excellent single-sitting exposition of facts. Read it and you will agree with me.

S. H. inquires: "Why do you Socialists say workers are worse off sometimes when wages are higher?" If I earn three dollars a day under circumstances which permit me to live comfortably on two, I can save one dollar each day. If I earn four dollars under conditions which ne-

cessitate the expenditure of every penny of my earnings for the same comforts, I am three hundred good dollars worse off at the end of the year in which I earn four a day than I am when I earned three dollars. Have you seen Carroll Wright's latest statement as to prices of commodities? Look that up and then remember that the real wage can only be measured by its purchasing power.

MR. BRYAN'S POSITION.

Friends and countrymen, let's trust him—

Let's endeavor to elect him,
Though he's not a man of truth—
Though his cause is far from just;
I have put away all rancor
As I promised them I would,
I am for the splendid ticket,
Though it isn't any good.

Let us gird ourselves for battle—
But I hope we cannot win—
Let us pray to be successful,
Though success would be a sin;
Let us give the people's banner
Unto him to nobly bear,
But it's dangerous to do it,
For he isn't on the square.

Let us wave our hats for Parker,
The poor tool of foxy Dave;
Let us rest our hopes upon him,
Though he's Mammon's cringing slave!
Let us raise him up to power,
Help to send him whooping through,
But remember—here I warn you—
You'll be sorry if you do.

—S. E. Kiser.

About the only remaining difference between the Republican and Democratic parties is well illustrated by the following story: Two farmers in the country met one morning when farmer Duncan (who is a Democrat) said to farmer Blosser (who is a Republican): "Say, Blosser, a Democrat broke into my smoke-house last night and stole a half hog." "I am surprised to hear you admit," said Blosser, "that a Democrat would steal. How do you know the thief was a Democrat?" "Because," replied Duncan, "had he been a Republican he would have taken the whole hog."

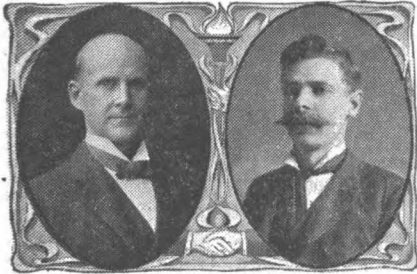


Socialist Headquarters.

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 and in Minnesota as the Public Ownership Party.

NATIONAL SECRETARY: WILLIAM MAILLY, Boylston Bldg., 269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

SOCIALIST TICKET:



FOR PRESIDENT:

EUGENE V. DEBS of Indiana.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT:

BEN. HANFORD of New York.

SOCIALIST PARTY NEWS.

Comrade Debs will formally open the campaign at Indianapolis on Thursday, September 1st and plans are under way to make the meeting a record breaking one in every respect. All the locals in Indiana are being invited to participate. Dates following Indianapolis are already arranged as follows: Sept. 3, Louisville, Ky.; 4, Joint Demonstration by Cincinnati, Covington and Newport; 5, Erie, Pa. (Labor Day); 6, New York City; 7, Baltimore, Md.; 8, Wheeling, W. Va.; 11, St. Louis, Mo.

Comrade Debs will then go South filling seven dates in the principal industrial centers of Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas and Texas, after which he will start west from Kansas City, for the Pacific coast. He and Hanford are booked for a monster meeting in the Chicago Auditorium on Oct 17, the only meeting at which both candidates will speak together.

After Hanford has filled dates in the South and West he will return to the East, speaking in that territory until

he makes Chicago for the joint meeting on Oct. 17. He will then go into the western states while Debs is in the East and finishing the campaign on the Pacific coast.

Except at a few important points, Hanford will not visit the same cities where Debs is booked. In the meanwhile all the cities and towns must not expect to get either or both candidates during the same campaign, as it is impossible for them to visit all the places that want them.

The Debs and Hanford lithographs and buttons will soon be ready for shipment. Comrades should wait to see these before buying elsewhere. They will be the best in quality and the cheapest in price, besides being the official lithographs and buttons of the campaign.

Franklin H. Wentworth has placed himself at the disposal of the National Headquarters for lecture dates from Sept. 1 until Nov. 7. From Sept. 1 to 15 he will work under the direction of the New York State Committee. Wentworth can give at least a month in the Western States and applications should be filed at once.

John Spargo is booked on his Western tour as follows: Aug. 29-31, New York State; Sept. 1, Franklin, Pa.; 3, Cleveland, O.; 4, Toledo, O.; 6, Chicago; 7, Rockford, Ill.; 8, Dubuque, Ia.; 11, Omaha, Neb.; 13, Denver, Colo.

The national secretary is preparing to issue Comrade Debs' speech at the opening meeting of the campaign at Indianapolis in booklet form, uniform with "What Workingmen's Votes Can Do" and "Speeches of Acceptance," but with 32 pages. The booklet will be ready Sept. 2 and can be sent in to be filled on that date. Price 5 cents, \$2.00 a 100, prepaid. Every local should order at least 100 copies at once and literary agents should order a supply as there will doubtless be demand for it.

"The dead level proposed by Socialism" is a figment of the capitalist mind. It has no existence in the teaching of a single accredited exponent of scientific Socialism. Those who throw off such phrases exhibit their ignorance of the whole subject. Yet a religious weekly commences an article with the sentence: "Socialism would reduce all men and all classes of men to the same level." It would be difficult to state more accurately what Socialism would **not** do, for it aims to put an end to the present dead level of wage slavery and give all men equal opportunity to rise according to their individual ability and worth. The Chicago Record-Herald rightly says that "individualism is threatened with extinction under the present system." Is it too much to ask the religious press to study Socialism before it attempts to, discuss the matter?

There is danger of a rupture in the Republican fold in North Dakota, judging from the following from a party organ of that state: "What is anarchy? It is simply without or against government. The very trusts that rob the people of this country are anarchists. They defy not only the moral laws, but the actual statutes of the country. Believe us, brethren, anarchy—the horrid, bloody anarchy of Europe may never get a footing here—but a worse than that is with us. The life of one ruler, or one statesman may be taken and still the nation may live. But take the nation's life away in the continual infringement of the nation's rights and laws and we are with an anarchy that cannot be curbed or controlled. Who fears a few filthy, wild talking, hard drinking plotters in some dark haunt in a city? Who may not fear the well-groomed, clear-headed rascal who sits in his office and boldly advances to do as he will regardless of what the people will?... Socialism has won for itself a very respectable place amongst us. The fact of the matter is that Socialism is going to win more of a place than ever unless this anarchy is curbed. If men will not conduct the great industries without allowing their greed to lead them on to anarchy some day the people will put in power a set of Socialists who will place the coal mines, the railroads, the oil wells, the telegraph, the telephone and a hundred other great enterprises in the hands of the government."

Babies or Dogs, which?

Chicago, Aug. 6.—"Take mother out of the packing house, so we can have her care at home." Two hundred little children, dressed in white and waving tiny flags, bore this appeal on placards as they marched at the head of the women workers in the strikers' parade of 40,000 unionists that surrounded the beleaguered packing town in formidable but peaceable array today."—Press Dispatch.

You innocent baby, don't you know that if your mother was given time to hold you in her lap, as she would love to do, that some of her sisters would not be able to hold jewelled dogs in their laps. You little anarchist, do you want to uproot the foundations of society!—New Time.

Under the guise of fighting Socialism, certain clerics who rule the destinies of the Federation of Catholic Societies are stirring up a fight on the public school system which is bound to react on them with no little force. These men believe that school education that is not saturated with their dogmas opens the minds of our youth and makes them reasonable enough to recognize the truths of Socialism, and their idea of education consists in stuffing the children with their dogmas when they are not yet matured in judgment, thus confessing their own fear that said dogmas cannot appeal to people when their reason has become mature. They ought to have more faith in their religion than that!

SOCIALIST PLATFORM.

Adopted by the National Convention of the Socialist Party,
Chicago, May 5, 1904.

I.

WE, the Socialist Party, in convention assembled, make our appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver 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 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 property 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 capitalists 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 itself. 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 by 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 which 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.

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