

THE VANGUARD.

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

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No. 1.

I venture to say that history does not afford anything like a parallel to the Socialist movement. There has been nothing like it. It is the only movement of modern times that has one drop of blood in it, one spark of fire, one ray of hope. Its face is toward the future. It has sprung from no momentary impulse. It is the product of no temporary passion. It comes not from the caves and dens of ignorance. It builds its fair structure on no foundation of tradition or superstition. Back of this Socialist movement, which is overspreading Europe and permeating America, are the greatest forces of history and life. It is the product of science, of knowledge, of freedom of thought, of democratic ideals and experience. Back of it is enlightenment, progress, power. It is the uprising of humanity. It is the utterance of that in human life which the priests of tradition and the politicians of expediency have never dreamed of. On its broad bosom float the hopes and joys and fulfillments of humanity. Nothing stays its course. It comes up the east like the dawn. It rolls onward to its fulfillment with the rhythm and swing of the planets in their orbits. Gravitation is not more elemental or sure than the triumph of this vast struggle of humanity for its long deferred rights. To know this movement, to breathe in its atmosphere, to co-operate in its consummation, is to live—nothing else is.

REV. WILLIAM THURSTON BROWN.

A vote for Socialism will not be thrown away.

The Co-operative Commonwealth is coming in our time.

"White flesh is cheap today! White souls are cheaper still."

A vote for Socialism is a vote for justice, for decency, for manhood and higher civilization.

Capitalism stands for exploitation and graft, for child-labor and prostitution, for ruined homes and blighted lives.

Theodore Mommsen, the great historian, recently said: "At the present time the Socialist party is the only great party worthy of respect." It is the party of social conscience.

In ten years, from 1890 to 1900, the Socialist vote of the world grew from 1,600,000 to 3,500,000. In the three

years, 1900 to 1903, the vote swelled to 8,000,000. This year—well, watch Socialism grow!

During the last years of her life, Frances E. Willard was an avowed Socialist. She saw in Socialism the only reasonable hope for the extermination of the liquor evil by the elimination of all profits from its management.

"The Socialists have for years been in control in the city council of Berlin, Germany," writes Wm. E. Curtis, in the Chicago Record-Herald, "and it may not be a coincidence only that experts in municipal problems are almost unanimous in the opinion that the city government of Berlin comes nearer to the ideal than that of any other great city in the world."

Objections urged against Socialism are due to ignorance of what it is and what it proposes to accomplish. And it is a common trick of capitalist politicians and preachers, when pretending to discuss Socialism, to talk of some-

thing entirely foreign to it. Thinking people are now detecting this fraud. Read up on Socialism and your prejudices will vanish.

Is Socialism a dream? No! It is the most practical and pressing political development of today. That is why it is worrying the old party politicians so much. They are at a loss to know how to answer its logic or stem the tide of Socialist sentiment that rises higher every moment.

Socialism does not deal directly with religion, but indirectly it has much to do with it and will greatly aid the cause of Christ. Socialists demand an industrial order in which the principles of true religion may be put into practice, as they cannot be under the present system of grab and graft. "Christianity is only possible in a society organized on the co-operative basis." If the churches took the teaching of Jesus seriously they would be in the vanguard of the Socialist movement.

Socialism does not deal directly with marriage, but indirectly it will do much to promote purer and happier relations in this direction. Ministers are just now discussing the increase of the "divorce evil," but it does not seem to occur to them that this has its real origin in the capitalistic system which has put marriage, with everything else, on the commercial basis. The hard conditions of existence drive thousands of women to enter the marriage state with almost the first man who offers himself regardless of love, with the result that before long the mistake is discovered and relief is sought in divorce. Not until woman is economically free will this "problem" be solved. Socialism, instead of abolishing marriage, will make the real love marriage possible for all.

Far from destroying the sanctity of the home, Socialism will make happier and more comfortable homes than are to be found today. Two-thirds of the families in the United States are compelled to live on less than \$900 a year, and yet our present productive power is such that if every worker received the full product of his labor, the average family might enjoy an income of at least \$4,000 yearly. Are you in favor of a system that will give you all you earn? Do you want all the wealth which you

produce by use of your brains and hands? Or do you prefer to give the Baers and Rockefellers and the big gamblers a cinch on over 50 per cent of all the creations of your labor? If you want your own and desire others to have their own, then you are a Socialist.

"We wonder at the growth of Socialism," says the Catholic Telegraph, "but have we any reason to wonder? Is it not growing fastest where the pulpits are continually preaching patience and resignation to labor and neglecting to tell capital that defrauding the laborer of his wages is a sin crying to heaven for vengeance?" Coming from a Catholic editor this is significant and encouraging. But will the editor please tell us how the laborer can possibly receive his own, the full product of his labor, and leave anything for the capitalists? And if labor is not entitled to all that it produces, then will he tell us who has a legitimate claim to the wealth produced by labor? ?

What do the capitalist parties propose to do toward abolishing child-labor, sweatshops, prostitution, etc.? Nothing. There is not a word in their platforms touching these matters for the reason that the conditions which produce these evils are precisely the conditions which produce dividends for the capitalist class. The legislation proposed by "reformers" of the La Follette type and the charity doled out by such "philanthropists" as Carnegie amount to nothing so long as the capitalist class possesses the tools of production and can regulate wages and prices so as to secure the larger part of labor's product. Even though the capitalists, from motives of humanity or self-interest, may make concessions concerning conditions of employment, the workers are little better off. "Wage slaves under better conditions remain wage slaves still." And wage slavery breeds misery and crime.

Here is a prophetic word from a recent sermon by Rev. E. G. Updike of the First Congregational church, Madison, Wis.: "We are entering, as a people, upon a great struggle, which will be an irrepressible conflict as surely as was the war which gave the slave his freedom. One party will have great power—the power of corporate wealth. It will be an oligarchy. The other party

will be of the people. The oligarchy will proclaim that civilization and all its glories will perish if the masses are permitted to gain control of all the means of wealth. The party of the people will go forward to meet the issue, and will do it in the name of patriotism. It will establish a government of the people and by the people and for the people. A commercialized government for a favored few will then be an impossibility. Every man must take sides in this conflict."

'GENE DEBS.

"And there's Gene Debs, a man 'at stands,
And jest holds out in his two hands,
As warm a heart as ever beat
Betwixt here and the judgment seat."

Thus writes James Whitcomb Riley, the celebrated "Hoosier poet," out of a life-long and intimate acquaintance with our great-hearted comrade and candidate for president on the Socialist ticket.

Eugene Field, "the children's poet," was also Debs' warm friend, and while the labor leader was undergoing imprisonment for principle, sent him many letters of brotherly sympathy. He was the first to offer bail for Debs during the trying days following his arrest under Cleveland's plutocratic administration. Speaking of him to a friend, the poet said: "Gene Debs is the most lovable man I ever knew. Debs is sincere. His heart is as gentle as a woman's and as fresh as a mountain brook. If Debs were a preacher, the world would listen to his eloquence, and that gentle, musical voice and sad, sweet smile would soften the hardest heart."

The following is taken from a recent issue of the daily paper of Terre Haute, the home of Comrade Debs: Yesterday afternoon a tall, commanding figure with the breezy and refreshing air of the plains attracted considerable attention at the Union Station. He was here but a few minutes, and left for Vincennes, where he lectured last night. It was Captain Jack Crawford, the poet-scout and one of the favorites of the lecture platform. "Is Gene Debs here now?" he asked a reporter who approached him. "Gene Debs is one of God's anointed sons—none better. I have never been able to see through Gene's political philosophy, but he is a lovely character—the very salt of the earth. He's a real man, I tell you. Real

men are scarce when you measure them up to the Gene Debs' standard. I have been with Debs a great deal in Chautauqua work and the more I see of him the better I like him. Been down south in a debate, eh? I sympathize with the other fellow. Well, here's my train. Luck to you. Give my love to Gene. Goody bye"—and Captain Jack was gone.

"Of all the speakers whom I have heard," says Rev. Frank Talmage, of Chicago, "there has not been one which came nearer to my idea of Abraham Lincoln than Eugene Debs."

STANDING PAT.

"We intend in the future to carry on the government in the same way that we have carried it on in the past." President Roosevelt's Letter of acceptance.

"It is possible to-day, with dollars, to 'steer' the selection of the candidates of both the great parties for the highest office in our republic, that of president of the United States."—Millionaire T. W. Lawson, in Everybody's Magazine.

"We have arranged the program for both parties, and are willing that the voters should exercise their choice of men."—James Buel, Secretary National Bankers' Association.

There you have it, in plain language—the open confession and boast of capitalism which ought to cause every American to blush for shame. Yet we are told that those who protest against this domination of the money power are "demagogues" and disturbers of the peace; and that we should "let well enough alone." What wretched sycophancy! What abject cowardice! If anything were needed to show the degradation of manhood wrought by capitalism, this miserable attitude furnishes it.

Shall we tamely submit? Shall we hold our peace? Shall we lie down and let plutocracy trample over us? Shall we continue to allow the manipulators of Wall Street to determine who shall be our highest officers and what shall be the legislation of Congress? Shall we continue to allow corporate greed to make its daily levy on food, fuel and our entire substance? This is what "standing pat" means. This is "the program for both parties" which Secretary Buel tells us has been "arranged." Let us answer "No!" with a million votes for the Socialist party.

MOVING TOWARD SOCIALISM.

By **EUGENE V. DEBS.**



few years ago the Socialist philosophy was spurned as irrational and impossible and its exponents were looked upon as foolish fanatics by thoughtful men in the United States.

During the last decade a profound change has taken place with reference to Socialism. Many thousands who once rejected it with scorn are now among its staunchest supporters. Newspapers, magazines and periodicals are discussing it; rulers, statesmen and politicians are worried about it; ministers, teachers and moralists are descanting upon it, and every day it becomes more apparent that a new and vital problem has presented itself.

The change in the popular mind in regard to Socialism is not due solely, nor even mainly, to mental processes. The many "converts" to the Socialist philosophy may not credit their intellectual faculties alone for seeing the light, but are indebted primarily, as a rule, to economic necessity, the growing insecurity in the means of making a livelihood as the result of the concentration of capital and other changes in the economic structure of society that are rapidly transforming our boasted republic into an industrial despotism.

No greater mistake was ever made than to suppose that Socialism is a dream and that "human nature" must be excluded before it can be realized. It is just because "human nature" is as it is that Socialism is inevitable.

Socialism is neither a dream nor a scheme, but a theory of society based upon the principles of social evolution, the trend of which is so clearly indicated in the changes daily taking place before our very eyes that the wonder is that any man with the ordinary power of observation can fail to see that the economic foundations of society are shaping for a superstructure of Socialism, and that it will be Socialism because it can be nothing else.

Not long after the congressional elections of 1902 the Rev. Lyman Abbott, taking notice of the great increase in the Socialist vote, said: "Socialism is inevitable." In a lecture recently delivered the same eminent divine rudely disturbed the calm in conservative circles by saying: "Our industries must be democratized; if different small bodies of men are to control all our domestic necessities, where goes our democracy? The democratizing of industry means the distribution of wealth. The labor problem can never be solved as long as one set of men owns the tools (machinery) and another set uses them. When all those connected with one industry become together owners and users, then will come the harmony and union which have been so long striven for."

The economics of Socialism are embodied in this revolutionary utterance. Production of wealth is now a social function and the means of production must be socially owned unless society is to disintegrate and civilization to turn backward toward barbarism.

The toolless worker is an industrial slave.

The tool-owning capitalist is an industrial master.

They are the dominant types of commercial society. They represent two powerful and antagonistic classes. There can be no permanent peace between them. The intervals of quiet are but breathing moments between outbreaks. Their economic interests are irreconcilable.

The violent and bloody upheaval in Colorado proves it.

The grewsome packing trades strike in Chicago bears witness to it.

The Citizens' Alliance and the trades union movement are the incarnation of it.

There is war between them to the death.

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Workers at last are waking. The cry that there are "no classes" in this country deceives them no longer.

It is true that President Roosevelt anathematizes the demagogues who "array class against class in the American republic," but it is barely possible that within a generation or two the demagogues and demigods of this day may exchange places.

The mine slaves of Pennsylvania are not in the same class with Harry Lehr and William Waldorf Astor, President Roosevelt to the contrary notwithstanding.

The development of the capitalist system has produced economic classes and arrayed them against each other in every civilized land on earth, be it autocratic Russia, monarchic Germany or free America. They differ only in degree of development.

In the presence of this world-wide evolution, to charge individuals with arraying these two classes against each other is like accusing the whitecaps on the crests of stirring up the mighty deep.

David M. Parry is doing as much to array class against class as any other individual, though he aims at the opposite effect.

The slave owners of the south were the chief instrumentalities in their own overthrow.

The tool owners of capitalism are being shaped for similar ends.

The late Senator Hanna was discerning enough to foresee what was coming when he predicted that the great struggle of the future would be between the Republican party and the Socialists.

It requires rare discrimination to choose between the Republican and Democratic parties. Ninety percent of the voters could not tell the platforms apart. There is scarcely an issue between them and certainly none, nor the shadow of one, so far as the working class is concerned.

Political parties express the economic interests of classes. The Republican party represents the dominant capitalist class, the Democratic party the small capitalists. The latter are being worsted as a class and their party is tottering on its foundations. It is today in all essential respects a Republican party. This is all that holds it together and even in spite of this it is disintegrating.

As the middle class crumbles the Democratic party tumbles.

In the coming phases of the class struggle there will be room for but two parties—namely, a working class party and a capitalist class party. The capitalists know that this political alignment is fatal to them and are doing all in their power to prevent it. But they are pitted against the inexorable laws of industrial evolution and sooner or later

the alignment will be made and the working classes will triumph over their exploiters.

The Republican and Democratic parties have united at every point where the one or the other was menaced by Socialist success. These are infallible signs of the coming political alignment based upon economic class interests. The capitalists will go to the Republican party and the workers to the Socialist party. The Democratic party will go out of business.

The waked-up workers of the country say it is a class struggle. The capitalists deny it. Every day's development emphasizes it. It is so clearly revealed in the packinghouse strike that only the purblind fail to see it. The capitalists are one. So are the workers. Their opposing economic interests separate them. What one gains is at the loss of the other.

Upon that basis they will sooner or later meet on the political battlefield.

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Every defeat on economic grounds recruits the army on the political field.

Trades unionists take their final degree in the Socialist party.

Capitalists are shortsighted when they rejoice over the success of a lockout or the defeat of a strike.

When the capitalists have won strikes enough the Socialists will have votes enough to retire them from business.

The armies of workers are becoming organized not only as a union of labor but, what is more, as a party of the working class. They need only to become conscious of their power as a class to abolish every form of servitude and rule the world.

The workers are just learning to vote as they strike—as a class and against the class that exploits them. They are being forced by economic necessity into consciousness of their class interests and in that ratio the Socialist party is growing.

Four years ago the Socialist party was credited with less than 100,000 votes. There will be an extraordinary increase this year.

Capitalist prosperity has reached its limit. Hard times are setting in. The vast surplus that labor produces and that labor needs but can not buy, periodically congest the market and then labor has to go idle, hungry and naked until the surplus can be worked off.

Production for use versus production for profit is the only remedy.

Men are better than millionaires and mendicants.

Homes are better than castles and hovels.

Freedom is better than despotism; and freedom for all is the mission of the Socialist movement.

Capitalism has almost run its course. The old system is breaking down. The Colorado and Chicago eruptions are symptoms of the degeneration that has attacked the body economic of the capitalist system and these eruptions are apt to spread over the entire body.

There is no cause for alarm. Society is but reconstructing itself and the process is eternal. These are transition days—eventful, stirring and full of promise for the working class and all mankind.

As long as there is a "working class" and a "labor market" there will be a class conflict that will preclude social peace.

When all are useful workers and all have equal opportunity to produce wealth and enjoy it there will be no classes and no animal struggle for existence.

This will be only when the workers own the tools and produce wealth for themselves. To procure these they must first secure control of government and this is why the labor question is essentially a political question. When the working class succeeds to political power it will be easy to put the workers in possession of their tools and emancipate them from wage slavery.

Industrial self-government is necessary to political self-government and both are vital to a free nation.

Ernest T. Kelly



CAPITALISM AT "WORK."

To Abolish this Cruel System, Vote the Socialist Ticket.

SOCIALISM MEANS FREEDOM.

By VICTOR L. BERGER.



HE first and greatest demand of man's nature is to be free. The second is the opportunity to better his condition. Freedom and opportunity make the pursuit of happiness possible. And happiness is after all the aim and object of all men.

Now, to begin with, are we free?

It is true, state constitutions, party platforms, preambles, etc., usually call the inhabitants of this country a free people. But to call a man free does not make him so. To call a country a republic does not mean that the people rule.

What does it mean to be free? For one to be master of the conditions of his own life, or at least to enjoy an equal right for an existence with everybody else.

What is it to be a slave? To be compelled to accept the conditions of another for the privilege of existing. Whoever controls the conditions by which I live is my master. If a man has to sell himself, i. e., his time, to another individual in order to make a living, his life depends upon somebody else. It is resurrecting slavery when my labor must sell like corn and cattle to the highest bidder. To show me a printed piece of paper wherein it is stated that I am free and born equal with my master means to mock my misery. It is foolishness to say that a workingman is free to accept the terms of the employer or to reject them. The laborer must accept. When the alternative is starvation or exile, it is preposterous to talk about freedom of contract. If the workingman were at least as sure of shelter, clothing and food as are his employers, then there would be some freedom of contract—now there is not. The necessity that compels me to toil for another makes me the owner's slave.

And in some aspects this modern form of slavery is even worse than the old one. The old slave was at least sure of getting work and being taken care of under all circumstances, even when sick or old. For, the chattel slave represented capital that belonged to his master. A good slave was worth \$1,500—or even more, sometimes—and a capitalist will take good care of a \$1,500 horse or a \$1,500 machine, we know. So the chattel slave got good medical treatment when sick and was cared for when old, for if he could not do much work he could do a little, which was better than nothing.

How about the wage slave? Does the employer, who often does not even know him by name, care when he is sick? Or when he is old? The employer loses nothing by his perishing. There are plenty waiting for a chance to take his place.

There are now about half a million workingmen idle all the year round—during the so-called “good times,” although willing to work and depending on work for a support of their families. There are now over three million men idle part of the year, during periods extending from six weeks to eight months, also during the “good times.” The number of unemployed reaches four millions during “hard times.”

Talk about patriotism. About the "Stars and Stripes." What is left the poor tramp but the "Stars and stripes? The stars above him when he camps in the free air in summer and the "stripes" upon him when he is sent to the house of "correction" in winter.

Talk about patriotism, and then look at the conditions in Colorado.

But they tell us that the economic side of it is the necessary effect of machinery. That machinery "saves labor."

But we ask: Did Genius brood over books and drawings, work about models and laboratories to lift the burden from the laborer's back and give the toiler time for mental feasts and domestic pleasures? Or did the genius of humanity intend that by his achievements millions of human beings shall be retired to their miserable abodes and die there of hunger and want?

That is provided they do not prefer to leave their homes and families and become tramps.

We understand that under the present economic system this can not be changed. That the workingman cannot get the full value of his product because the employer (the capitalist) must nowadays make a profit on the work of his laborers. That this is considered perfectly right and legal and necessary. That if the capitalist, the owner of the machinery and the raw material, does not see any profit in engaging workmen for the purpose of producing, he will not produce. That his selfishness is excusable and necessary.

If the spirit of selfishness is to predominate and control the entire human race—so are WE selfish. And since we cannot help ourselves individually, since the means of production are so concentrated now that only in collective form can they be returned to us, OUR selfishness has taken a COLLECTIVE FORM. And the progress of the age and the existence of civilization depends upon the success of OUR selfishness.

We must help all in order to help one. And that is our aim. That is the aim of Socialism. And if we cannot get all of it at once, we want to get as much of it NOW as we possibly can.

We Socialists protest against deifying cash and demonizing man. We fight against exalting the products of labor and degrading the laborer. We insist that a brave, industrious man, factory worker or farmer, who lives and loves, is worth infinitely more than a pile of gold or a package of greenbacks. We demand that even today in every industry requiring dead capital and living work—cash and labor—the MAN should be considered the more important of the two.

We resent refined brutality that excuses enforced idleness and its concomitant evils—misery, starvation and shame—by arguing that the "price of labor must be regulated by the law of supply and demand." If labor is to be regulated by the law of supply and demand then we, the producers, want to have the control of the supply and the demand. And there is only one way to do it, i. e., by public ownership.

STATISTICS FOR VOTERS.

By **EX-SEN. R. A. DAGUE, California.**

Since 1850 improved machinery has increased the productivity of labor forty fold. The late Mr. Gladstone said: "By the aid of machinery the manufacturing power of the world doubles every seven years."

Since 1850 the machinery of England has done the work of 700,000,000 men as they worked a century ago. According to the census reports of the United States the aggregate manufacturing power in 1900 was 11,300,081 horse-power, as compared to 2,000,000 horse-power in 1870.

Professor Huxley, discussing the marvelous productivity of the machine, said: "If this wonderful productivity of wealth is not to be used in bettering the condition of the working people but is to continue to pour into the pockets of the rich, then I would hail the advent of some kindly comet that would sweep the whole thing away."

The late Senator Hanna said: "The production in the United States is one-third larger than our consumption."

Senator Chauncey Depew in 1900 said: "The American people produced \$2,000,000,000 more than they consume. It is because of this surplus production of all civilized countries that the guns are thundering at the gates of other nations that foreign markets may be opened up."

Do the people who produce this vast surplus get the benefit of it? Let us see: Thos. W. Lawson, late partner of John and William Rockefeller, recently said that in a single deal made last year they made a clean profit of \$39,000,000.

Since 1897 the necessities of life have on an average advanced 39 per cent, while wages have on an average advanced but 10 per cent during the same period. The census reports show that the average annual product of each worker was, in 1900, valued at \$2,450, while the average wage he received was \$437.00. To get \$1.00 for himself the worker must create \$6.00 worth of value.

The statistics show that in 1850 the total wealth of the United States was \$3,000,000,000. The producers' share was 62½ per cent; the non-producers' share was 37½ per cent.

In 1904 the total wealth is about \$100,000,000,000. The producers' share is estimated at 10 per cent; the non-producers' about 90 per cent.

There are in the United States 16,000,000 families. 8,365,000 families live in rented houses, and the houses of 4,700,000 families are mortgaged.

Dr. Spahr, the statistician, says: "One per cent of the American people own 54 per cent of all the wealth."

Since 1850 crime in the United States has increased 600 per cent and insanity 700 per cent.

Dunn's Review estimates that 95 per cent of the smaller business men sooner or later fail.

Rabbi Hirsch, the scholar and orator of Chicago, says: "The powerful of earth should realize that we are in the midst of the same conditions that existed in France which brought on the Revolution. The rich and powerful classes in France refused to take warning from what was going on about them and relied upon the power which they fancied

they had. The revolution came like the eruption of a volcano, and we in America should take warning. Right now we are standing over a volcano which may burst forth with all the fury of Pelee."

What does the Republican party propose to do in the face of this alarming condition of things? Nothing worth mentioning except to continue maintain a high tariff. What does the Democratic party propose? Very little, except to maintain a tariff a little lower than the Republicans.

Members of both those parties are organizing "Citizens' Alliances" the object of which is to stamp out labor organizations, and to prevent working people from increasing their wages or shortening their hours of toil.

What does the Socialist party propose? It says the despoiling of the producers of wealth—the working people—must stop or this Republic will go down as have other governments, because the wealth and all the tools of production had drifted into the hands of the few. Socialism says: "Let the workers, either with head or havel—in every useful industry have the full product of their toil. Let the nation own the trusts."

Voter: What ticket will you cast November next?

Socialism is industrial democracy. Our present development of industry is all right, only it lacks the one humane and necessary ingredient: a collective ownership of the productive forces in order that those who work shall have the full return of their labors. The man who votes against this great change, votes to keep the workers in misery and torment in order that the few may surfeit on the toil of the rest.

SOCIALISM IN BRIEF.

By H. F. TITUS.

In one word, Socialism proposes to get Wealth for all. Plenty of the good things of life for everybody. A fine house to live in, fine furniture in it and fine lawns and trees about it. A table loaded with good things to eat. Abundance of clothing, comfortable and elegant. Opportunity and means to travel all over the world. Leisure to read and play and work. No poverty any more with its filth and sickness and vice. With all these things, Socialism will get the consequences of all these things, a natural human development, large, healthy, noble men and women, a happy, energetic, progressive race.

You say all this is a dream? No, no dream at all, but an immediate possibility. By means of the vast new machinery of this modern world, we can produce wealth enough for all without any trouble whatever. A modern cotton mill in place of the old hand-loom, a modern railroad in place of the old stage-coach, a modern Electric Light Company in place of the old candle-mould, a modern shoe factory in place of the old bench shoemaker, by means of these new appliances a man can produce a hundred or a thousand times as much wealth as in the times of our fathers.

There is no doubt at all about this. Modern inventions have so increased the productive capacity of civilized mankind that all men could have abundance of wealth by working only three or four hours a day.

Socialism proposes to get this abundance for all.

In order to get this abundance for all, we must do something. We are not getting it now. What shall we do to get it?

Socialism proposes something very definite to do. It is this: Take to ourselves these vast new inventions and use them for producing wealth for all instead of producing it for a few.

The only reason we are not all well off now is that a few people own these great modern tools and refuse to let us work at them except when they can make a profit for themselves. The fact is, not more than half of us are allowed by these capitalists, or great machine owners, to work even half the time. If we owned these factories and railroads and mines and mills ourselves and all of us worked at them to produce wealth for our own use and happiness, all the troubles of poverty would disappear at once.

The only thing that lies between us and the promised land is this private ownership of the means of producing wealth.

Therefore, what Socialism proposes to DO, in order to get wealth for all, is to take possession of the Instruments of Wealth Production and run them for the use of all.

There are some newspaper liars at large in Peoria, Ills., and as a consequence the Socialists who have been holding street meetings have been misrepresented in a most shameful way in the press. These papers have inspired some of the fool policemen in that city to make themselves officious, one of them interrupting a meeting and calling the speaker an "anarchist and a liar." Reminds us of the copper who stopped a meeting on the lake front, Chicago, where the Declaration of Independence was being read, saying, "I'll have no more of that anarchistic stuff, d'ye hear, you——!"

DEFINITIONS OF SOCIALISM.

The collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. A theory of society that advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed. (Webster's Dictionary.)

A science of reconstructing society on an entirely new basis, by substituting the principle of association for that of competition in every branch of human industry. (Worcester's Dictionary.)

A theory that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor and capital (as distinguished from property), and the public collective management of all industries. Its motto is: "Everyone according to his deeds." (Standard Dictionary.)

A FORTUNE BUILT ON MISERY.

"The Democratic party is prating of a return to 'Jeffersonian simplicity.' Shades of the great Thomas J. himself! You should see the home of Henry G. Davis, the party's Vice-Presidential candidate. It is a palace fit for an emperor. It surpasses in splendor every dwelling place in West Virginia save the home of the Republican United States Senator Stephen B. Elkins, who, by the way, is a son-in-law of Mr. Davis."

"While Henry G. Davis lives in a style that is truly royal, the poor miners who delve in the bowels of the earth and bring forth the wealth that pays for all the Davis splendor, are themselves housed like cattle. No dog or horse owned by Mr. Davis would be allowed to dwell for a day in the miserable shacks where the miners of his coal camp live. The rich man's dog and horse must have the comfort and convenience of life, but the poor human slaves who produce the rich man's wealth must be satisfied with a place to crawl into and sleep. Yet millions of workingmen by their vote next November will declare that the continuance of this pitiful economic contrast is right and proper."—M. W. Wilkins, Socialist organizer, now in West Virginia.

POINTED PARAGRAPHS.

By FREDERIC HEATH.

Martin Luther said that a plague was preferable to war. But both plague and war are inseparable from the capitalist system.

The sin and suffering of the wholesale human slaughter called war! The mingling of human depravity and suffering that is covered up by the panoply of rub-a-dub-dub and flying flags, and brass buttons and braid and padded shoulders and military discipline.

It is a funny position the churches are in, the churches that are founded on the teachings of Jesus. When they oppose Socialism in the interests of their wealthy members they stultify their own principles of brotherhood and unselfishness and show how faulty is their conception of those principles.

We don't blame Father Sherman for declaring that he was through speaking in Wisconsin. It is no wonder he quit in a panic. For his half-insane and frenzied ravings about Socialism disgusted even the people of his own religion and even turned some of them toward Socialism.

Here's an odd fact: Every man who spends his life in long daily hours of industry under the wage system is practically certain to die poor! He has a remote chance to escape poverty by some lucky stroke or speculation, or may invent something that will relieve him of the necessity for toiling for bread, but please note that it isn't industry that rescues him, but some chance by which he can cease being pro-

ductively industrious, while others yield up a tribute to him. If you had the interests of all the people at heart, could you by any possibility invent such a system!

Wisconsin Democrats, assisted by the corporation faction of the Republicans, have nominated ex-Gov. Peck for governor. Peck when governor before gave the state disgraceful administration including a dishonest roster contract job, by which money was to be stolen from the state treasury to keep a party paper alive.

Do you know what capitalist philanthropy is? Ever analyze it? It is worth doing. A very typical case of philanthropy "happened" in Milwaukee last week. The Northwestern Malleable Iron Works recently reduced the daily wages of its men twenty cents. Less than a week later it turned philanthropist and donated several hundred dollars to their basket picnic fund, and there are some among the employes who still think that they are in the company's debt! That was a stroke of simon-pure philanthropy, sure enough. It reminds us of a story. There was once a hunter who got lost in the woods and who was unable to shoot anything for food. Both he and his dog grew thin and finally when he could stand it no longer he hit upon a way to tide over the hunger pangs which both he and the dog suffered. With his hunting knife he hacked off the dog's tail and soon had it cooking over a little fire, ate half of it and *gave the other half to the dog!* Now in the grateful eyes of that dog.

that man was a top-notch of a philanthropist, and as he gnawed and gnawed on the vertebre of his own tail he stopped every little while to cast the most loving looks upon his master. You can apply the simile yourself!

Archbishop Messmer of Milwaukee made a Labor Day speech in Sheboygan before a Catholic society, Socialism being his theme. He would agree to the wisdom and the necessity for Socialism, he intimated, but for the fact that its real purpose was being withheld from the people, and was only known to an "inner circle." All rubbish, of course, but still a man of the archbishop's eminence can impose such nonsense on a good many people who regard him as a man who must know what he is talking about. The suppressed part of Socialism, he showed to be the Socialist hatred for private property, for religion, for the sacredness of the family, and the like. Socialism would take care of the children, he said, hence they were no concern of their parents and this left the people free to mate and unmate as frequently as they liked and so the family, under Socialism, would disappear! These are threadbare claims, and we have answered them time and again. Socialists hold that so far as the state is concerned religion is a private right of the individual, and must be respected as such. That story of Socialism taking the children away from their parents, thus disregarding the natural relation of parent to child and child to parent, never had a leg to stand on. No Socialist platform contains even a hint at such a thing, and the nearest to it that can be found in the private writings of Socialists, even

among the Bax sort, points out the probability that under Socialism the children would be not only compelled to go to school, but that society would also seek to safeguard them in their play-time from immoral contaminations, and to direct their play into channels where they could grow up wholesome, high minded and even athletic men and women. Some of the brainiest Socialists have written scientific books on the subject of the family. Such books were the private speculations of those who wrote them, but we have seen nothing in them that any man of scientific mind could not subscribe to. Instead of taking a stand against marriage and the home they take just the contrary stand, but they point out that marriage has always been influenced by the material conditions of the time and that therefore it would naturally, under the changed economic conditions of the Socialist commonwealth, undergo still further changes, due to the fact that woman would be no longer a dependent, and forced to sell herself into marriage to get a home. A home being easily provided, the number of the unmarried adults would be greatly diminished. Women would be no longer under the necessity to barter their virtue for bread and clothes, and prostitution as an institution of society would cease. People would marry for love, not for material considerations. Divorces for non-support would be naturally impossible, and the security and the permanence of the home would be vastly advanced. These slanders against Socialism which the archbishop is peddling were used long ago in Germany and were long ago exploded, and at the last election Social-Democracy made its best gains in the Catholic districts. The archbishop better take warning!

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.

M. H. D. asks whether I believe the rich of our day are less merciful than old-time nobility. Yes, I believe the new-rich more merciless, because they are born in the midst of the animal struggle for existence and do not inherit the aristocrat's sense of honor, his dignity, or his feeling of accountability towards dependents. The heredity and environment of the new rich is such that they have not outgrown the egotism of the animal whose first thought must, of necessity, be for self. This is why they oppress babies, instead of suppressing child-labor.

J. C. S. asks whether all classes of workers ought to be unionized "as the first step toward the Co-operative Commonwealth." I think labor unions have a tendency to make workers class-conscious most of the year, and in this they are helpful. Labor unions are a step upwards, in that the strong aid the weak. But the great need is to make workers understand that **the only place where they are invincible is at the ballot box.** Until they know this, they know precious little!

WHAT CAN WOMEN DO IN THIS CAMPAIGN.

Ours is a crusade after children, with life, liberty and the opportunity to pursue happiness as stakes. Personally I confess that all else which I do is but incidental. If we can educate the young before they become selfish self-seekers, they will act in unison a few years hence and bring freedom into actual being. All which the political organization can do in this presidential campaign is to educate. That is our work also, and it is well that we women organize and study politics that we may be able to teach children the reason for the establishment of true democracy.

The youths of today will be the majority voters of 1908 and 1912. Their

ballots will decide the fate of the nation then and the side that wins these young people to its banner is the side which will reap success. This is women's part of the battle, it is our great opportunity and can only be met by a determined organization of women. Only by thus preparing for the future can we ever expect to win. This is our special place in the movement, though some of us are so constituted that, in addition to this, we can do active campaigning,

Woman's love for women and children will prove the incentive which leads to unselfish deeds and sends her fearlessly against the foe of oppression: and where women lead, the men will follow. With women's force in evidence, Socialism will win. Without it, success can not come. We Socialist women must make our entire country a school of liberty, for we are living in one of the great epoch-making periods when governments must evolve higher or go down. Our land must be saved by as well as for the children, and mothers must fit them for the task. Dare we evade this duty, knowing that the future civilization of our land depends upon our present action?

This campaign of children's education is our work. Let us see that it is so well done that in every school and college in the United States there will be ardent young Socialists arguing for the rights of mankind, better government, purer civilization and a Co-operative Commonwealth. Thus shall we convert even the recreation grounds of our public schools into fields for the study of public questions which will be answered right. When we have done our work thoroughly, individual selfishness will no longer crystallize into laws, for such laws could not be if the ignorance of the people did not permit their existence.

"Socialism Made Plain," by Allan L. Benson. A big book for Ten cents.

The trust is not wholly evil. It is a labor saving invention, eliminating waste and competition, and as such will remain. But it must be made to serve the people, not to crush them. So long as it exists as a private monopoly it will continue to plunder and oppress. No amount of "regulation" at the hands of old party politicians who thrive on the profit system will avail. No so-called anti-trust law can be devised to over-match the cunning of the capitalists so long as they retain the means of wealth and thereby control legislation. Our only hope lies in the collective ownership of the tools of production by means of which the people will get the benefit of the trust. Trusts are here to stay. Shall they be private or public? That is the question. The Socialist answer is: "Let the nation own the trusts." This is scientific; it is inevitable. To work and vote for Socialism is the duty of the hour.

The Republicans boast that theirs is a "business administration." So it is. But just what "business" stands for under the present system is clearly shown by Lincoln Steffens in his remarkable articles in McClure's Magazine entitled "Enemies of the Republic." This is what Mr. Steffens says: "Our political corruption is a system, a regularly established custom of the country, by which our political leaders are hired, by bribery, by license to loot, and by quiet, moral support, to conduct the government of city, state and nation, not for the common good, but for the special interests of private business. Not the politician, then, not the bribe-taker, but the bribe-giver, the man we are so proud of, our successful business man—he is the source and sustenance of our bad government.... The trail of the political leader and the trail of the commercial leader are parallels which mark the plain, main road that leads off the dead level of the cities, up through the states into the United States, out of the political ring into the system, the living system of our actual government. The highway of corruption is the 'road to success.'"

Socialists do not believe in confiscation or "dividing up." On the contrary they are heartily tired of the present system under which the workers are obliged to "divide" every dollar they make with drones who create nothing.

Capitalism is essentially a system of confiscation by means of which the wealth created by generations of workers has been gradually passing into the hands of a few until the appalling situation confronts us of less than 10 per cent of the population owning more than 90 per cent of the wealth of the country. Socialists say it is time to put a stop to this. Socialism would render further confiscation impossible. It would restore the machinery of wealth production to its rightful owners—the whole people. It would deprive no one of his possessions except the power to force others to create wealth for him.

The article of Millionaire Lawson, in Everybody's Magazine, is another startling expose of the rottenness of the capitalistic system which both old parties are pledged to uphold. After showing how Rogers and Rockefeller "made" \$36,000,000 at a "stroke" which amounted to the boldest robbery, Mr. Lawson says: "There exists today, uncontrolled, in the hands of a set of men, a power to make dollars from nothing. By a financial trick the people can be absolutely plundered of their savings for the benefit of the few. At no time in the history of the United States has the power of dollars been as great as now. Freedom and equity are controlled by dollars. The laws which should preserve and enforce all rights are made and enforced by dollars." Nor is this the saddest feature of the situation. "On the other hand," he concludes, "I have had to know about the horrors, the misfortunes, the early hell, which were the awful consequences of the taking of this vast amount. I have had to know about the convicts, the suicides, the broken hearts, the starvation and wretchedness, the ruined bodies and lost souls which strewed the fields of the 'system's' harvest."

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THE VANGUARD, MILWAUKEE



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.

OPENING OF THE GREAT CAMPAIGN.

Extracts from Speech of Eugene V. Debs,
at Indianapolis, September 1.

Mr. Chairman, Citizens and Comrades:

There has never been a free people, a civilized nation, a real republic on this earth. Human society has always consisted of masters and slaves, and the slaves have always been and are today, the foundation stones of the social fabric.

Wage-labor is but a name; wage-slavery is the fact.

The twenty-five millions of wage-workers in the United States are twenty-five millions of twentieth century slaves.

This is the plain meaning of what is known as

THE LABOR MARKET.

And the labor market follows the capitalist flag.

The most barbarous fact in all christendom is the labor market. The mere term sufficiently expresses the animalism of commercial civilization.

They who buy and they who sell in the labor market are alike dehumanized by the inhuman traffic in the brains and blood and bones of human beings.

The labor market is the foundation of so-called civilized society. Without these shambles, without this commerce in human life, this sacrifice of manhood and womanhood, this barter of babes, this sale of souls, the capitalist civilizations of all lands and all climes would crumble to ruin and perish from the earth.

Twenty-five millions of wage slaves are bought and sold daily at prevailing prices in the American Labor Market.

This is the

PARAMOUNT ISSUE

in the present national campaign

Let me say at the very threshold of this discussion that the workers have but the one issue in this campaign, the overthrow of the capitalist system and the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery.

The capitalists may have the tariff, finance, imperialism and

other dust-covered and moth-eaten issues entirely to themselves.

The rattle of these relics no longer deceives workmen whose heads are on their own shoulders.

They know by experience and observation that the gold standard, free silver, fiat money, protective tariff, free trade, imperialism and anti-imperialism all mean capitalist rule and wage slavery.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

We are entering tonight upon a momentous campaign. The struggle for political supremacy is not between political parties merely, as appears on the surface, but at bottom it is a life and death struggle between two hostile economic classes, the one the capitalist and the other the working class.

The capitalist class is represented by the Republican, Democratic, Populist and Prohibition parties, all of which stand for private ownership of the means of production and the triumph of any of which will mean continued wage slavery to the working class.

The Republican and Democratic parties, or, to be more exact, the Republican-Democratic party, represents the capitalist class in the class struggle. They are the political wings of the capitalist system and such differences as arise between them *relate to spoils and not to principles.*

Under the administration of both these parties the means of production are private property, production is carried forward for capitalist profit purely, markets are glutted and industry paralyzed, workmen become tramps and criminals, while injunctions, soldiers and riot guns are brought into action to preserve "law and order" in the chaotic carnival of capitalistic anarchy.

Deny it as may the cunning capitalists who are clear-sighted enough to perceive it, or ignore it as may the torpid workers who are too blind and unthinking to see it, the struggle in which we are engaged today is a class struggle, and as the toiling millions come to see and understand it and rally to the political standard of their class, they will drive all capitalist parties of whatever name into the same party, and the class struggle will then be so clearly revealed that the hosts of labor will find their true place in the conflict and strike the united and decisive blow that will destroy slavery and achieve their full and final emancipation.

ATTITUDE OF THE WORKERS.

What shall be the attitude of the workers of the United States in the present campaign? What part shall they have in it? What party and what principles shall they support by their ballots? **And why?**

The Socialist party stands squarely upon its proletarian principles and relies wholly upon the forces of industrial progress and the education of the working class.

The Socialist party buys no votes and promises no offices. Not a farthing is spent for whiskey or cigars. Every penny in the campaign fund is the voluntary offering of workers and their sympathizers and every penny is used for education.

What other parties can say the same?

Ignorance alone stands in the way of Socialist success. The capitalist parties understand this and use their resources to prevent the workers from seeing the light.

Intellectual darkness is essential to industrial slavery. Capitalist parties stand for Slavery and Night.

The Socialist party is the herald of Freedom and Light.

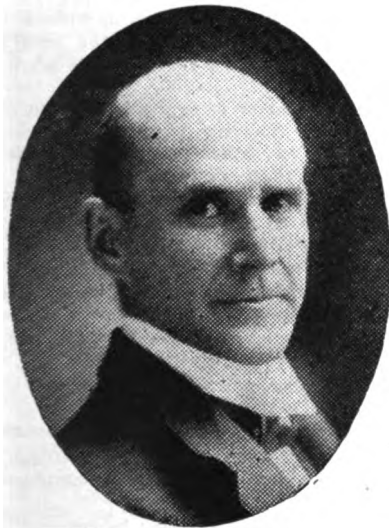
The Socialist party is uniting them upon the living issue: Death to Wage Slavery!

The ballot of united labor expresses the people's will and the people's will is the supreme law of a free nation.

The ballot means that labor is no longer dumb, that at last it has a voice, that it may be heard and if united must be heeded.

CAPITALIST PARTIES.

The Republican and Democratic parties are alike capitalist parties—differing only in being committed



to different sets of capitalist interests—they have the same principles under varying colors, *are equally corrupt* and are one in their subservience to capital and their hostility to labor.

The ignorant workingman who supports either of these parties forges his own fetters and is the unconscious author of his own misery.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Why should a workingman support the Republican party?

Why should a millionaire support the Socialist party?

For precisely the same reason that all the millionaires are opposed to the Socialist party, all the workers should be opposed to the Republican party. It is a capitalist party, is loyal to capitalist interests and entitled to the support of capitalist voters on election day.

All it has for workingmen is its "glorious past" and a "glad hand" when it wants their votes.

The Republican party is now and has been for several years in complete control of government. What has it done for labor. What has it not done for capital?

Not one of the crying abuses of capital has been curbed under Republican rule. Not one of the petitions of labor has been granted.

Read the national platform of the Republican party and see if there is in all its bombast a crumb of comfort for labor. The convention that adopted it was a capitalist convention and the only thought it had of labor was how to abstract its vote without waking it up.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

In referring to the Democratic party in this discussion we may save time by simply saying that since it was born again at the St. Louis convention it is near enough like its Republican ally to pass for a twin brother.

The labor platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties are interchangeable and non-redeemable. They both favor "justice to capital and justice to labor." This hoary old platitude is worse than meaningless. Justice to labor means that labor shall have what it pro-

duces. This leaves nothing for capitalist. Justice to labor means the end of capital.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS.

The Socialist party is not, and does not pretend to be, a capitalist party. It does not ask, nor does it expect the votes of the capitalist class. Such capitalists as do support it do so, seeing the approaching doom of the capitalist system and with a full understanding that the Socialist party is not a capitalist party, nor a middle class party, but a revolutionary working class party, whose historic mission it is to conquer capitalism on the political battle-field, take control of government and through the public powers, take possession of the means of wealth production, abolish wage-slavery and emancipate all workers and all humanity.

The people are as capable of achieving their industrial freedom as they were to secure their political liberty, and both are necessary to a free nation.

The capitalist system is no longer adapted to the needs of modern society. Centralization and combination are the modern forces in industrial and commercial life. Competition is breaking down and co-operation is supplanting it.

The hand tools of early times are used no more. Mammoth machines have taken their places. A few thousand capitalists own them and many millions of workmen use them.

All the wealth the vast army of labor produces above its subsistence is taken by the machine owning capitalists, who also own the land and the mills, the factories, railroads and mines, the forests and fields and all other means of production and transportation.

Hence wealth and poverty, millionaires and beggars, castles and caves, luxury and squalor, painted parasites on the boulevard and painted poverty among the red lights.

Hence strikes, boycotts, riots, murder, suicide, insanity, prostitution on a fearful and increasing scale.

The capitalist parties can do nothing. They are a part, an iniquitous part, of the foul and decaying system.

There is no remedy for the ravages of death.

Capitalism is dying and its extremities are already decomposing. The blotches upon the surface show that the blood no longer circulates. The time is near when the cadaver will have to be removed and the atmosphere purified.

CLOSING WORDS.

These are stirring days for living men. The day of crisis is drawing near and Socialists are exerting all their power to prepare the people for it.

The old order of society can survive but little longer. Socialism is next in order. The swelling minority sounds warning of the impending change. Soon that minority will be the majority and then will come the co-operative commonwealth.

Every workingman should rally to the standard of his class and hasten the full-orbed day of freedom.

Every progressive Democrat must find his way in our direction and if he will but free himself from prejudice and study the principles of Socialism he will soon be a sturdy supporter of our party.

Every sympathizer with labor, every friend of justice, every lover of humanity should support the Socialist party as the only party that is organized to abolish industrial slavery, the prolific source of the giant evils that afflict the people.

The overthrow of capitalism is the object of the Socialist party. It will not fuse with any other party and it would rather die than compromise.

The Socialist party comprehends the magnitude of its task and has the patience of preliminary defeat and the faith of ultimate victory.

The working class must be emancipated by the working class.

Woman must be given her true place in society by the working class.

Child labor must be abolished by the working class.

Society must be reconstructed by the working class.

The working class must be employed by the working class.

The fruits of labor must be enjoyed by the working class.

War, bloody war, must be ended by the working class.

These are the principles and objects of the Socialist party and we fearlessly proclaim them to our fellowmen.

We know our cause is just and that it must prevail.

With faith and hope and courage, we hold our heads erect and with dauntless spirit marshal the working class for the march from Capitalism to Socialism, from Slavery to Freedom, from Barbarism to Civilization.

SOCIALIST PLATFORM.

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

I.

WH, 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 propertied 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.