

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."

Vol. 3. No. 3. MILWAUKEE, WIS., NOVEMBER, 1904. Whole Number 23.

The reason why the Abolitionists brought the nation down to fighting their own battle is that they were really in earnest, knew what they wanted, and were determined to have it. Therefore they got it..... Give me fifty thousand men in earnest, who can agree on some vital question, who will plant their shoulders together, and swear by all that is true and just that for three long years they will put their great ideas before the country, and those fifty thousand men will govern the nation.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

"Big Socialist Vote," "Enormous Socialist Gains," "Debs Vote Phenomenal," "Socialists Jubilant,"—these are samples of the headlines by which the big dailies broke their long silence the day after the election concerning the first national campaign of the Socialist party of America. And since the election the same papers which had pursued the policy of ignoring the Socialist movement during the campaign, have been devoting columns to editorial discussion of "The Growth of Socialism," "The Conflict With Socialism," etc., etc. Some of these editorial effusions are highly amusing to the Socialist, evincing the crass ignorance of these paid writers who, being obliged to say something on a subject of which they know little or nothing, ransack their capitalist brains for an off-hand and ingenious explanation of the growing force of the mightiest movement of all time. One thing, however, the capitalist press seems now to understand, namely, that Socialism can no longer be ignored, that it is no mere "dream," but a hard matter-of-fact proposition that capitalism is "up against." From now on the lines will be clearly drawn and Socialism will grow with astounding rapidity.

The difference between Socialism and old party politics is something many persons do not yet understand, but it is the difference between a great cause—a world movement—an uprising of humanity in assertion of its rights and

the shuffling and scheming of office-holders and office-seekers for place and power at the expense of the common weal. This is illustrated in the fact that the day after election the campaign committee rooms of the Republicans and Democrats were deserted and the managers hurriedly closed up their respective headquarters, while the Socialist headquarters were the scene of renewed activity and preparation for carrying on the work of education on which Socialist success depends. The Socialist campaign of 1906 is already well under way and its success is as certain as is the growth of intelligence and independent political thinking among the masses of the people.

We made reference in our last issue to the increasing number of clergymen who are speaking out in behalf of economic justice, many of whom have since registered their convictions by straight Socialist votes. And now comes Rev. Willard B. Thorp, of the South Congregational church, Chicago, with a ringing message that sounds like the word of a true prophet. In an after-election sermon on "Dollars vs. Manhood," he said: "A far more serious problem than that of divorce is in the fact that thousands of young men and women are being kept from marriage and parenthood by the conditions of our industrial life. With all our boasted civil rights, the poor man is at a serious disadvantage in the courts today. The processes of law are too expensive for him. He stands helpless be-

fore the big corporation, which can appeal his claim from court to court. And the latest device, that of government by injunction, makes it possible to deprive him even of the fundamental right, guaranteed by Magna Charta, of being tried by a jury of his peers.

"Capitalism has formed its counter-organization to labor with the avowed purpose of reducing the labor unions to mutual improvement societies. And in the presence of that mighty money power organized labor stands no more chance than the Boers against the British Empire.

"But let no man imagine that this means that money is permanently enthroned above manhood. It means rather that we are approaching a struggle in comparison with which the uprising of the common people against the monarchs was a small thing. That Socialist vote which astonished the country the other day may prove to have been the most significant thing about the election."

The attitude of the religious press towards the movement for social justice is generally so equivocal as to merit contempt. But we are glad to note the following in an editorial in the *Christian Work*: There may be some things about Russell Sage than may not command unqualified admiration, but it must be admitted that he is a shrewd and farseeing man of business, and as such is entitled to consideration. Mr. Morgan has been quoted as saying that "more gigantic corporations are stored in the near future, some of which may overshadow even the steel trust." "If so," replies Sage, "then we may be also much nearer the end of it than the trust magnates dream of." This led Mr. Sage to make the following prediction: "In such an event the American people will revolt against them and there will be financial ruin the like of which this country has never seen—nor any other." This kind of talk usually comes from hotheaded agitators and professional alarmists, but in this instance it comes from one of the coolest and most deliberate of men and one whose associations and sympathies have been for many years with the wealthy. It is not the cry of a Socialist, but the deliberately formed conviction of one of the ablest of financiers. He may not be a prophet, but he certainly takes a statesmanlike and patriotic view of the trust problem when he says: "Combinations of all industries are a

menace to true government. Not only so, but they are the oppressors of the people." Mr. Morgan seems to have fallen under the delusion that the patience of the people may be tried indefinitely without danger of exhausting it, but it is a fallacy which even he may some day discover at a tremendous cost.

Louise Fiske Bryson, the woman specialist who has just completed an investigation into the child labor question in New York, says: "In this city 20,000 children, too tender to even know what work means, are at work, and stunted and diseased bodies are to be their heritage. They are old at seventeen; their lives are over at forty. And the pity of it is that no necessity, but greed—pitiless, grasping, selfish greed—is the source of this lamentable condition.

"Poor little things. They are rather 'damned' than born into the world. Under the conditions in which they are brought up it is producing a nation of dwarfs. To thousands of little children the country is free in only one sense: free to die in.

"My investigation has been as to the physical effect that work has upon the little toilers. It would make one's heart bleed to see what I have seen. The photographs which I have had taken of the little victims of this brutal system form a terrible indictment. I wish that I might make them public so that the whole world could be astonished at the evil that is going on right under its very eyes, and to which good men and good women are indifferent."

This is what "prosperity" under capitalism means. And we look in vain for either of the old parties to put an end to this infernal system, simply because "business is business."

In a panicky editorial on the remarkable Socialist vote in the late election, the *Minneapolis Tribune* says: "The growth of this party furnishes another reason why the Republicans cannot expect to repeat their easy victory of this year. We intend to dwell on these things, perhaps to the exhaustion of public patience, in order to enforce the lesson that the Republican party has got to behave itself for the next four years."

Socialism is revolutionary. Let there be no mistake about that. It is as revolutionary as light in the midst of

darkness, as truth in the midst of error, as peace in the midst of war, as love in the midst of hate. It is an uncompromising demand for honesty and justice and brotherhood in the midst of fraud, oppression and cut-throat competition. It is a revolt against all that is cruel and tyrannical and inhuman. But its method is frictionless and constitutional. Its motto is that of Lincoln, "Revolutionize through the ballot box."

Socialists will not fuse. Neither will they make any deals. Everybody please take note of this. The idea of our "fusing" with any capitalist party, dead or alive, Democratic, Populist, Prohibition or anything else, is too silly for anything. It simply betrays ignorance of the fundamental principles of International Socialism on the part of those who indulge in such nonsensical talk.

THE STRENGTH OF SOCIALISM.

In his famous debates with Douglas, Lincoln's great power lay in the position he assumed that the real issue between them was a moral one. The slavery question, he argued with tremendous force, was but one phase of "the eternal struggle between these two principles — right and wrong — throughout the world. They are two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time, and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, 'You work and toil and earn bread, and I'll eat it.' No matter in what shape it comes, it is the same tyrannical principle."

Precisely the same issue confronts us today in the struggle between Socialism and capitalism. Is wage-slavery with its grinding poverty and its foul brood of social iniquities right or wrong? Is it right that a few men should control the sources of life of a great people? Is it right that women and children should toil in factory and mine for a mere pittance? Is it right that the workers of the world should be robbed of the larger share of the product of their labor? These are the questions pressing for answer, as vital to the existence of the republic today as was that of negro slavery forty years ago.

And no sophistries of old party politicians, no threats of capitalist task masters can longer obscure the real issue. Socialism demands industrial emancipation and its demand is the demand of the social conscience. Its triumph is certain because it is RIGHT.

THE SOCIALIST REVOLT.

Jack London says:

In the history of man, Socialism is the first movement of men to involve the whole globe. None has been so widespread, so far-reaching. It is international and world-wide, limited only by the limits of the planet. It is an ethical movement as well as an economic and political movement, and, one may say, a religious movement as well. No political party, no church organization nor any mission effort has as indefatigable workers as has the Socialist movement. They multiply themselves, know of no effort or sacrifice too great to make for the cause, and "cause" with them is spelled out in capitals. Let these men tell what they are doing, what is their aim, and the Debs vote will take on greater significance. It is the working class revolt against the economic masters of the United States. How will the masters quell the revolt? That remains to be seen. But the masters must take one thing into consideration: There was never the like of this revolt in the world before. It is without precedent. It is a democratic revolt and must be fought out with ballots. It is not a strife of lockout and blacklist, strike and boycott, employers' associations and labor unions, strike-breakers and broken heads, armed Pinkertons and injunctions, policemen's clubs and machine guns. It is a peaceable and orderly revolt at the ballot box, under democratic conditions, where the majority rules. My masters, you are in the minority! How will you manage to keep the majority of votes? What will you, my masters; what will you do?

THE SWING OF VICTORY.

By EUGENE V. DEBS.

"The Social Democratic vote in every part of the country has been enormously increased. My advices are that Cook county, Ill., will give us at least 45,000 votes. The state of Illinois alone will probably cast a larger Socialist vote this year than was cast in all the United States four years ago. We have made remarkable gains in Milwaukee and elected worthy comrades to the legislature. It is too early to make an estimate of the total national vote, but enough is known to warrant the statement, that from this time forward the Republicans will have the Social-Democratic party to reckon with, and that the coming alignment will be between the Republican party representing the capitalistic interests, and the Social-Democratic party representing the working classes. As for the Democratic party, the eastern capitalists hit harder than they intended, and it can hardly be pulled together again, to serve as a twin to the Republican party to divide the working classes.

"Twice has the Bourbon Democracy of the south coupled up with the radical western wing of the party, and gone down to defeat. It then quit the radical element, and embraced the conservative element of the east, and has now been knocked in the head harder than before, and this ought to finish this moribund aggregation that has no principles and is only held together by its appetite for spoils.

"We will not see Mr. Roosevelt extract the fangs and silence the rattles of the trusts, and we will also see with what effect he will wave the wand of prosperity in the face of the impending industrial depression.

"From now on, every move on the political chess board, whether so designed or not, will be in the interest of Socialism, and promote the growth of the Socialist movement, and it is entirely possible that in four years more the Social-Democratic party may sweep the United States."

MOMENTOUS DAYS.

By ETHELYN BRYANT CHAPMAN.

He who awaits the scenes and acts of a play, with that absorbed attention which sweeps aside trivial surroundings, will hear at last, faintly sounded in the auditorium, but clear and summoning to the actors, the ring of a bell, which means "All ready for the first act. The Curtain is rising."

Some years ago, seated in the college theater of one of our millionaire endowed universities, I listened to a declamation, which won for the

deliverer the first honor: A year's scholarship; board and clothing *not* included; same *non-transferable*, and *non-negotiable*. It was a High School interstate contest, and the honor would have been an empty one to a poor man's child. A young girl was telling us the old story of "Once upon a Time, there was a Cause and a Man."

It was a dramatic account of the convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln for President of the

United States, and also a snap shot word picture of the state chairmen, as they announced their respective state votes.

Present that evening were white-haired men, who sat in that momentous convention, and the tumultuous waves of the storm of 1860, with their everlasting motion, lapped them into a tense silence of listening.

Others were present, a generation younger, who dimly recalled a few crises in that great struggle for Right, and the freedom of an oppressed people. Fredericksburg! Gettysburg! Vicksburg! Back it all came, in one great wave of psychological effect.

The open threat that *if elected by the people*, Lincoln should never live to take the oath of office. The election. The secret journey to Washington after his election. The inauguration. Sumter, and Surrender.

Chairman after chairman was described personally, as each announced the vote of his respective state, until—the man who as a delegate of the people, held through his state the balance of power, in a convention able to confer upon a man, the nation's highest gift arose, and recognized, said, "The state of—casts — votes for Abraham Lincoln."

Cheer after cheer rang through the great hall.

The bell had struck, and the curtain was slowly rising on the *Great Tragedy of the Civil War*.

To every soul which can pass through the experience and live, there comes the hour of *Gethsemane*; when alone, unaided from *without*, the born Leader must stand as the Defender of the tired helpless toilers, who can sleep while he prays.

Abraham Lincoln signed the *Proclamation of Emancipation* against the advice of some of his closest, truest friends: BUT HE SIGNED IT.

John Brown's raid was magnificently hopeless for the day, but eternally convincing as a factor in the final triumph of a principle.

Every event in the "*man resisting, God insisting*" struggle toward a "higher conscience" has contained a cause and a leader. A play and a star, with a host of capable earnest actors and helpers. Multitudes today, the world over, with throbbing hearts, are awaiting the action of the Great Problem Play, written by *God*, but to be played by players "*made in His own image*."

The bell struck long ago. We are well on with the prologue.

Some day—a *convention* will *nominate*, and the *people* elect a man, brave, human and fearless enough to *again* insist that the government at Washington is greater than that of any *state* in which constitutional rights are ignored.

He will antagonize his closest friends if necessary. He will make bitter enemies for "conscience's sake." Should he lose his life, he will *find* it. Will the play which surely follows the prologue again be distorted from an historical melodrama wherein every one save the villain is happy, into another historical *tragedy*? There were many years during which the Civil War could have been prevented. It is not a glorious thing to (after non-committal silence) applaud a successful leader who returns, safe, maimed or *under a pall*.

It IS a glorious thing to enlist under a banner, with *belief* in his purposes and principles, or to at least *watch* with him while he struggles for others.

THE DREAM THAT IS COMING TRUE.

By JOHN SPARGO.

A profound faith in the ultimate realization of human brotherhood and comradeship is implied by the very name we Social-Democrats bear. Good old Bronterre O'Brien, who in the rich mint of his powerful mind coined the phrase we do so proudly write for name upon our banners, sounded the very depths of our philosophy and sealed the heights of our faith when he declared, now more than sixty years ago, that Brotherhood could never be realized in the world until Liberty reigned in the world; and that Liberty could never reign in the world until the system permitting private ownership of socially necessary things was destroyed.

So when we today declare for the social ownership of all socially necessary things; when we denounce the system which makes private property master of the common life; when we urge our demands that the means of the common life, produced as they are by the common labor and experience of the world, be owned in common, we are more than a mere political party aiming at political supremacy.

We are the apostles of the great universal religious impulse, the faith of Humanity that the Brotherhood of Man shall yet be universally recognized.

Thus we proclaim our faith in the highways and the byways of the world and sing it in our songs. We are the heralds of the Golden Age of Peace. "The day is coming," we cry, "when the cannon's roar will be silenced by the Peace-Song of a free and glad world. The day is coming, its dawning is at hand, when Socialism triumphant will break down the last barrier that

keeps a single child from the fullest enjoyment of the vast heritage prepared for it through long centuries of pain and toil. The day is at hand when there shall be no man master of another's bread and life; when the words "master" and "slave" and all their hypocritical latter-day equivalents shall pass from human speech and memory. The day is nearer than most of us think or know when the ghoulish coining of little child lives into dividends shall cease and the tender babes be given their natural fellowship with bird and flower."

"Dreams! Dreams! Only dreams!" you say. Yes, we are dreamers and this is our great and glorious dream. But before you sneer at the dreamers or the dream, look at the great army of dreamers.

Yonder peasant on Russian steppe, bowed with oppressing toil, dreams that dream, sees that vision of a redeemed and revived world, and the load of his life is lightened. And that poor mother in Siberian exile, torn from the home where she was the love-crowned queen, could not hear the anguish of her lone exile but for the same vision.

In German workshops and gar-rison tired workers and pollied prisoners dream the same dream and their faces are lit of the same hope-light.

From the vineyards of France and from her cities comes sound of glad songs: They are singing of the same hope. And Italy and Spain join in the strain

From England's industrial hells and from the abysses of her great cities, those frightful dens of misery and squalor, a shout of increasing volume tells that they have

seen the same vision and dreamed the same dream as that which inspires the workers of our own land from the crowded tenements of New York to the crowded tenements of San Francisco; on the small New England farm and the great prairie wheat farm; in the coal mines that lie in the heart of the Alleghenies and the metaliferous mines of the Rockies.

In far off Australia tens of thousands of toilers, gathered from all climes and speaking all tongues, find inspiration in the same dream. It is life itself to them. And where Africa's millions gather in mine or factory, upon the cities' streets or the great karoo, the dream unites Boer and Briton, Kafir and White in one strong brotherhood.

And even mid the battles din where Russ slave and Jap slave fight till their blood mingles in one red stream at the bidding of their masters, the vision appears and hatred, ignorant, blind hatred, is banished from many a heart.

How vast the army of dreamers!

Time was when only the lone prophet in Israel dreamed such a dream or saw such a vision. He saw through the centuries the time to be "when the swords shall be beaten into plowshares and the spears into pruning hooks." He told of his vision, but men derided and cried out, "Dreamer of vain dreams!" The number of the prophets grew but slowly. The lonely Nazarene, homeless and poor; Campanella the Italian monk; Sir

Thomas More, Saint Simon and Fourier, Robert Owen and the brave German tailor, Wilhelm Deitling. So the line of the "dreamers" grew and spanned the centuries.

But not till the clarion call of the great twin spirits, Marx and Engels, called upon the workers of the world to unite did we realize that the power to make the vision real rested entirely with ourselves.

Now how the army of dreamers has grown! And how it grows! It is no longer the dream of the lone prophet or the poet. It is the dream now of millions in all lands, of all creeds, of all tongues. It is the dream of *nations* now. And as Lowell truly sings: "*The dreams that nations dream come true!*"

Aye, such dreams "come true." No power can prevent the fulfillment of the "dream" of the world's brain and heart. Our red flag, symbolizing as it does our world-kinship and fraternity and the seas of martyr blood shed for the cause, shall yet float in triumph from every state capitol in the land.

Aye and from the Capitol at Washington it shall proudly fly—to be answered from across seas by like emblems of the Socialist triumph of our comrades in Europe and Asia, Africa and Australasia.

"Softly sweet as living springs
Mighty hopes are blowing wide:
Passionate prefigurings
Of a world revived,
Dawning thoughts that ere they set
Shall possess the Ages yet!"

When it is to the interest of the worker to get as much for his toil as possible, so as to live decently and to bring up his family decently, even under the present system, while at the same time it is to the interest of the capitalist to get his labor as cheap as possible in order to make as big profits as possible, how under the sun can it be claimed that the interests of capital and labor are identical!

SOCIALISM, THE RULE OF THE PEOPLE.

By FREDERICK ENGELS.

First of all, a few remarks concerning the name of our party. It is called the Social-Democratic party. Our banner is that of Social-Democracy, or Socialism. Social-Democratic and Social-Democracy signify more than democratic and democracy. Democracy means, first, a government by the people; second, the society that is the outgrowth of such a government. Democratic demands are those which are sought through the sovereignty of the people.

The word democracy, derived from the Greek, is frequently translated, "rule of the people." This is not, however, wholly correct. At any rate it does not correspond with the logical conception of the idea of democracy. The "people" is composed of all the members of the state, and the whole cannot rule, since there is no one outside them to be ruled. A ruler necessarily presupposes a subject. Where there is no one to be ruled, because all have a part in the governing, there is, as a matter of course, no domination.

It is by all means a reasonable demand that all subjects of the state, minors naturally excluded, should have an equal part in the rule of the state, and, further, it cannot be denied that the carrying out of such a system would bring about the destruction of social misery.

Why not, then, merely retain the name democracy, which has a history? Just because it has a history. Since the rise of modern industrial society with the opposition of classes and class struggle, the banner of democracy has been made use of many times to veil the eyes of the people to the chasm that yawns between the divided classes of society.

Yes, we have lived to see the enemy of the working people fight them under the flag of democracy. Even in the mouth of those democrats who honestly wish the rule of the people to word democracy has an essentially narrowed sense, covering only the political and governmental sphere. It is this illogical conception, however, which exists at present, and the name democracy cannot therefore satisfy a party which really strives for the rule of the people, but has also perceived that the *governing is not the end, but the means*, that the end of the state is to secure to all its subjects the highest possible sum of well-being and that this end can be realized only through a just regulation of the necessary social labor.

In a word, Social-Democracy, Social-Democratic, expresses this view. Social signifies association, that is referring to society. Social-Democracy means the rule of the people in the province of the social relations of men as well as in that of politics, the just, wise, dignifying arrangement of state and society. Socialism is the science of society, the science of the irrational regulation of it at present and of the reasonable order to be brought about through us; Socialistic, in relation to this science, means developing in that sense; a Socialist, one who seeks to reorganize society according to the principles of Socialism—so that Socialistic and Socialist in the essentials mean the same as Social-Democratic and Social-Democrat.

To make the interests of the ruled subservient to the interests of the rulers is the foundation and purpose of rule—is the meaning of ruling. So long as there are rulers and ruled

it must be so, for rule is by its very nature exploitation. It follows therefrom that the interests of the subject people demand the transformation of the state from its foundation, according to their interest. It must cease to be the possession of a few persons of position and class and must become the possession of citizens with full and equal rights, of whom no one rules over the other, and none will be ruled by another.

For this the Social-Democracy strives. In place of the present class rule we will institute a free government of the people.

It will bring into existence an organization of the state and society, which, resting on the equality of all men, will choke the source of inequality, will tolerate neither ruler nor servant and will found a fraternal community of free men. In order to make this possible the present manner of production must be brought to an end. The economic basis of society—that is, the system of wage labor—must be transformed.

The mother of all social wealth, of all culture, is labor. Whatever we are and have, we are and have through labor. We have labor to thank for everything. Not our personal labor, at least only to an inconsiderable degree, but the general social labor. It is very possible indeed—and we see it frequently enough—to enjoy the blessings of culture without personal work; but it is also absolutely impossible for the most industrious and efficient worker with the most strenuous toil to live as men of culture live without the general social labor that first created culture and without which we were beasts, not men. From this we see the communistic nature of labor, its essentially associative char-

acter, on which all state and society rests. Labor has always had this communistic character, with the ancient slave and the vassal of the middle ages as well as with the modern wage earner. But he did not have the product of his labor, nor has he it yet. The ancient slave worked for his master, the mediæval vassal for the lord of the manor, and the modern wage slave works for the capitalist. Here is the inconsistency, here the injustice, to remedy which is the object of the Social-Democracy.

A Characteristic Contrast.

Democratic Candidate Hangs Idly Round the Hotel Pfister and Milwaukee Club, while the Social - Democratic Candidate works at Productive Labor.

Perhaps no one interested in politics spent election day with more apparent unconcern than Milwaukee's two candidates for governor, George W. Peck, the Democratic candidate, and William Arnold, who headed the Social-Democratic ticket.

Mr. Peck followed the usual routine of his daily affairs, except in a few instances. At 9 o'clock he voted in the First ward. He visited his friends at the Pfister hotel and the Plankinton house and spent some time at the Milwaukee club house. He also spent part of the day at the Democratic state headquarters and last night went there to receive the election returns.

Mr. Arnold, who is a printer, worked as usual throughout the day. He bore his accustomed smile as he went about his work with ink-stained hands, and never once appeared concerned as to how the election would go. Had any of his fellow workers been unaware of the fact that Mr. Arnold was a candidate for the office of governor of Wisconsin, he would never have guessed it.—Milwaukee Sentinel.

IS THE CHURCH AWAKING ?

By R. O. STOLL, Eau Claire, Wis.

As a significant sign of the "Trend of the Times" the attitude of the Church toward sociological matters may be noted by us with interest and profit.

In a recent convention of the Congregational ministers of this state held in this city, the drift of every discourse was toward Socialism. It was startling indeed to hear from the preachers an arraignment of the present-day church for its indifference in matters pertaining to the physical well-being of the toiling masses and the fact that the creed of the churches was and continues to be, the maintenance of the capitalistic system with its attendant plutocratic and autocratic powers.

Prof. Graham Taylor of the Chicago Commons, in a highly dramatic lecture charged the church with idly standing by with folded hands while the most savage brutality was continuously being enacted in our commercialism of today. While he did not entirely approve of the entire program of Socialism, Prof. Taylor deplored that every charge made against the church by the Socialists for its pious hypocrisy was literally true.

As a fitting finale our own Comrade Spence of Green Bay delivered a magnificent oration on the problems of the church in which he quoted the leaven of the Communist Manifesto. The old Simon-pure gospel preacher fairly gasped with surprise and astonishment and sadly shook his head at this, while the Socialists who were permitted to be present revelled in happiness in hearing the false ethical teachings

of the church so brilliantly exposed and impeached.

Rev. Jacobs of the Milwaukee Commons also had a message to his fellow members of "the cloth." Mr. Jacobs, formerly assistant factory inspector in this state, gathered some very valuable statistics. He showed absolutely that no relief could come from the efforts of the church as long as the present economic conditions prevailed. The gentlemen stated that one person of every six who works in the factories of Wisconsin is either a woman or a child and that in the city of Milwaukee the rate is one out of every four. Under such conditions what could home influences accomplish, what could the church do? In fact there were no homes worthy of the name for the large class of working people. Illiteracy had grown in Wisconsin from three percent to thirteen in a single decade. The gentleman's paper is worthy of publication by the Social-Democratic press for its valuable data.

A reverend gentleman from the southern part of the state felt called upon to dull the keen edge of Socialist sentiment which came to the surface at this convention. After reading an exposition of the tenets of Socialism, which was evidently taken from the writings of our own "Gene," he stated that society could be regenerated without resorting to the Socialist program. That the church was making for the betterment of humanity. To be sure the manly pride of the average laborer prevented him from attending church, because he had no means left to pay for its support and there-

fore the speaker recommended a system of profit-sharing as a means of assisting the laboring man to his own and recouping the church at the same time; but, the speaker asserted, "if the laborers share in the

profits they must help bear the losses and this would put an end to that plan," and thus the reverend gentleman floundered about hopelessly shipwrecked on the shoals of his own argument.

WHAT SOCIALISM MEANS.

By HARRY QUELCH, Editor Justice.

Socialism is a theory of a system of human society based on the common ownership of the means of production and the carrying on of the work of production by all for the benefit of all. In other words, Socialism means that the land, the railways, the shipping, the mines, the factories and all such things as are necessary for the production of the necessities and comforts of life should be public property, just as our public roads, our public parks, and our public libraries are public property today, so that all these things should be used by the whole people to produce the goods that the whole of the people require.

Socialists say that this is no utopian dream, but the necessary natural outcome of the development of society. It used to be supposed that anything like the collective carrying on of any enterprise was impossible because it was thought that the personal supervision and control of the owners was absolutely necessary to the success of such an enterprise. But we see today that the greatest undertakings are those which are owned by joint stock companies, in which the personal supervision of the proprietors is quite impossible, and in which the whole business is managed and carried on by paid officials, who might just as well be paid by the community to carry on the enterprise in the interest of the general body of the people as be

paid by a few wealthy men to carry it on for their profit.

Today goods are not produced to satisfy human needs; they are simply produced to provide profit for the class which owns the means of production. It is only for the sake of this profit that the property owning class owns these means of production. As a consequence, we have shoddy and adulterated goods produced. Also, as this profit is simply the difference between the value of the work which the working people do and the amount they receive in wages, the actual producers never receive the equivalent of what they produce, and therefore are never able to buy it back again. It happens, therefore, that, as the machinery of production increases and workmen are able to turn out more goods, they are thrown out of work, and they, with their wives and children, are in want and misery, not because there is any scarcity of the things they need, but because there is more of them than those who have produced them can buy.

Under the present system, therefore, the very increase of wealth is too often a curse to the wealth producers, simply because those who produce have no ownership in the means of production, and no control over the things produced.

Under Socialism, as the means of production would belong to the whole people, the whole people

would have control of the things produced. Every increase of wealth then would benefit the whole community. Under the present system increased wealth means increased luxury for the few and increased penury and suffering for the many. In a Socialist community increased production would mean more leisure, more wealth, more means of enjoying life, more opportunities for everybody.

By the discoveries of science, the invention of genius, the application of industry, man has acquired such power over nature that he can now produce wealth of all kinds as plentifully as water. There is no sound reason why poverty and want should exist anywhere on this earth. All that is needed is to establish a more equitable method of distributing the wealth already produced in such profusion. That is what Socialism proposes to do. The work of production is organized, socialized; it is necessary to socialize distribution as well.

What is to be done to supplant the present system by Socialism; to substitute fraternal co-operation for the cut-throat competition of today? The first thing necessary is to organize the workers into a class-conscious party; that is, a party recognizing that as a class the workers are enslaved through the possession of the means of production by another class, recognizing, too, that between these two classes there is an antagonism of interest, a perpetual struggle, a constant class war, which must go on until the workers become possessed of political power, and use that power to become masters of the whole material means of production. When that has been achieved, the war of classes will be at an end, because the division of mankind into classes will have dis-

appeared, the emancipation of the working class will have been accomplished and Socialism will be here.

Social-Democratic Cameos.

Our homes and lands are kept warm by a blanket composed of nine million mortgages.

We pay \$3.00 per year to educate the child and \$17.00 per year to keep the child's father drunk.

The ethics of Socialism are identical with those of Christianity.—Thomas Kirkup, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, article Socialism.

There are 180,000 square miles of coal lands in the United States that have never been worked. This land is held in reserve by the capitalists.

The morality Socialism teaches is by far superior to that of its adversaries.—Professor Francesco Nitti (*University of Naples*, "Catholic Socialism.")

The machinery of the nation is equivalent to 11,200,081 horsepower. Ten men can produce 1 horsepower, hence the machinery is equal to the labor of 113 million able-bodied men.

Our insane asylums contain 101,009 and our feeble-minded institutes contain 77,895 inmates. There was an increase of 600 per cent in insanity in the last fifty years.

Government and Co-operation are in all things and eternally the Laws of Life. Anarchy and Competition, eternally, and in all things, the Laws of Death.—John Ruskin.

Paupers in the United States in state institutions, 83,145; in benevolent institutions, 116,836; total, 199,981. Three million of our pauperized citizens apply to charity institutions for assistance each year. We have 2,500,000 professional tramps, aged from 7 to 70; 75 per cent are skilled mechanics, 63 per cent habitual drunkards, 82 per cent are under 40 years of age, and 61 per cent embrace some kind of religion.

Karl Marx is coming to rank with Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer as one of the three Titans of the scientific revolution.—Prof. Enrico Ferri (University of Turin).

Every Christian, who understands and earnestly accepts the teachings of his Master, is at heart a Socialist; and every Socialist ... bears within himself an unconscious Christianity.—Laveleye, "Socialism of Today."

The Social-Democratic party is the only party in Germany—be it said—which by its masterly generalship, its cohesion, and in many cases by the justice of its cause, has defeated the Kaiser whenever he has crossed swords with it.—C. von Schierbrand.

Perhaps, with the exception of Ricardo, there has been no more original, no more powerful, and no more acute intellect in the entire history of economic science, than that of Karl Marx.—Prof. Seligman.

The issue between Socialism and Individualism is, I believe, the leading issue of this age-weary modern world. The men to come will envy us, as sharers in a battle greater than the anti-slavery struggle; greater than any phase in the eternal battle of the race for liberty since the convulsion of the Protestant reformation set man free in the sphere of Religion, as Socialism promises to set him free in the sphere of economics. — Professor Vida Scudder (Wellesley College).

THIS OUGHT TO WAKE YOU!

That this nation is drifting away from the principles established by the founders of the republic, can not longer be questioned. Some time ago the Boston Herald, in commenting upon the rapid growth of Social-Democracy, had the following to say editorially:

"If such baleful manifestations can not be prevented by existing governmental methods, then, on the ground of self-protection, **SUCH CHANGES WILL BE MADE IN OUR SYSTEM OF POLITICAL CONTROL AS WILL GIVE THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT THE AUTHORITY AND POWER NEEDED TO CHECK THE GROWTH OF SOCIALISM. OF COURSE THIS WOULD MEAN THE END OF THE REPUBLIC AS OUR FATHERS FOUNDED IT.**"

The Des Moines Globe speaks with more brutal frankness when it says:

"Now is a good time for America to do away with her OLD, ABSOLUTE CONSTITUTION and adopt a form of government that will be logical with our new expansion ideas and will give ample protection to capital. A constitutional monarchy is probably the most desirable plan that we could adopt. Everything is right for the change. **We have a large army, and it can be increased under almost any pretext without causing alarm to the masses.** This country has been so prosperous that the voters **HAVE LOST THAT SPIRIT OF PATRIOTISM AND HONESTY** that are necessary to the successful operation of republics. The strong hand of discipline will have to be used to bring the masses to a full sense of their proper behavior."

In the above editorial comments, extracted from the columns of subsidized journals, you have the sentiments entertained by the class who live upon the exploitation of the laboring masses. The capitalist class are well aware of the fact that the functions of government are now in their hands, and they propose to use the powers of government to subjugate the masses. They know that the conditions that are being created through the greed of corporate brigands are arousing a discontent that menaces the fortress of organized wealth, and they furthermore know that the battle will soon be transferred from the industrial to the political field.—Miners' Magazine.

THE GROWTH OF SOCIALISM.

A Significant Editorial from a Milwaukee Daily.

A feature of the recent election that has given rise to a great deal of speculation in the columns of the daily press and manifest uneasiness among the leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties is the marked increase in the vote cast for Socialist candidates. Four years ago Debs received 87,000 votes. In the election this year he received in the vicinity of 600,000 votes. In Milwaukee more votes were cast for the Socialist candidate for president than were cast for the Democratic candidate. In Chicago the Socialists rolled up over 40,000 votes, completely wiping out the Democratic majorities.

In each election the Socialists have made great gains. Quite naturally the leaders of the Republican and Democratic parties, more especially the leaders of the Democratic party, are asking themselves: "Where will it end?" Will the Socialist vote continue to grow until in the cities and industrial centers it overcomes one or the other of the great parties, or is there a limit to its growth? Is it a spasmodic protest against existing conditions? Or is it a permanent movement? If it is a permanent movement, which of the great parties will it displace? These are the questions that the leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties are asking themselves. Others, who are apprehensive lest the Socialists should become a formidable political factor, are seeking the cause for the growing tide of Socialism. Some hold immigration responsible, others place the responsibility upon the failure of the government to regulate and control the trusts and corporations and safeguard the rights of the public. These explanations assume that the growth of Socialism is due more to a desire to make protest against certain phases of existing industrial conditions than to work radical change of the system itself. Without exception, these explanations are made from the point of view of the so-called middle class and utterly ignore the workingman's conception of where the wrong lies.

It is a mistake to assume that the Socialist movement is a recrudescence of Populism. The Populist movement was a middle-class protest. It was essentially a farmers' movement, though So-

cialistic in tendency. The Socialist party appeals to the "class conscious" workingman. It holds that the capitalistic system inevitably will wipe out the middle class as now constituted and create two classes—the great capitalists and their retainers. These retainers may be separated into various social classes, but economically they will constitute a single class of wage workers. The Socialists propose to abolish the capitalistic class, which, by the time capitalism has reached its culmination, will have become superfluous and separated from industrial direction, and place the ownership of the nation's means of production in the hands of the producing or wage-working class.

It is quite obvious that the future of the Socialist party depends upon whether its theory of industrial evolution is true or false. If the existing industrial system does not tend to eliminate the middle class, if it does not tend to concentrate the nation's wealth in the hands of a few, if the wage working class is not being constantly recruited from the ranks of the small manufacturer, merchant and farmer, then Socialism in the very nature of things can not be else than a spasmodic protest to go the way of other parties of protest that have flashed up and created a momentary disturbance and subsided as quickly as they arose. If industrial evolution, however, inevitably leads to the centralization of wealth and the elimination of the middle class, the Socialist party naturally will keep pace with the changing industrial conditions.

If the Socialist conception of industrial evolution is correct Socialism is inevitable, as inevitable as that the creation of man should follow when the forces were started in motion that brought forth life in its lowest form. It is much like making Darwin's theory a political issue. If the theory of evolution is correct, to vote that it is wrong would not in the least check the forces of evolution. If Debs had been elected president his election would not have brought about Socialism. If the Socialists had elected every candidate for office named by them Socialism would not have resulted, if the Socialistic theory of industrial evolution be correct. The theory itself would seem to require

that the Socialist political movement shall develop gradually and keep pace with the industrial evolution and be prepared when the "inevitable" time for a change of systems shall come to make the transition without friction or disturbance.—Editorial in Milwaukee Daily News.

A JUST COMMENT.

We take the following from one of our Catholic Exchanges:

In an article printed by the Catholic Transcript, reviewing the prominence of the labor issue in the recent election, it is predicted that there will now be renewed efforts to curb Socialism:

"The pulpits especially will ring with terrible anathemas and warnings against Socialism. Numerous priests and ministers who ought to know better, without taking trouble to investigate the truth of their charges, will paint awful pictures of what the Socialists want to do to various institutions. It matters very little to Americans what German or Italian Socialism means. The clergymen who want to be fair should investigate and find out for themselves what American Socialism stands for. The Social-Democratic brand of Socialism seeks only certain economic changes, many of which are favored by other radical parties. The Socialism denounced by the clergy is very much the same kind of an imaginary straw bogey as the terrible Red Woman of Rome, who used to thrill so many bigots with terror forty and fifty years ago."

THE SOCIALISTIC PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES.

There is almost no point of similarity in the history of the Social-Democratic party in the United States and the record of other third-party movements. That party has not reached its present proportions in nearly so short a time as sufficed for each of the others to attain a degree of strength which made them truly a menace for at least the time being to one or the other of the leading old parties. It has failed as yet to elect a governor or a single congressman or even a considerable number of members of state legislatures, though it has chosen a few mayors and members of city governments in various parts of the country. Nevertheless, it will have survived after the present campaign five national elections. Other parties which have stood for a single idea or which have in their birth and rise to power reflected popular discontent, have increased rapidly in numbers and, after a few emphatic successes at the polls, have passed completely out of exist-

ence either by an unconscious dissipation of their membership among minor parties, or by a more or less conscious fusion with one of the great parties. The Socialists alone have had a slow and gradual progress from insignificant beginnings. Whatever one may think of its propaganda or its future course, the impartial student of political movements can not avoid the conviction that it has reached its present proportions by normal and steady growth.—Charles Ferris Gettemy, in The World To-Day, November.

Bourgeois revolutions, like those of the eighteenth century, rush onward rapidly from success to success, their stage effects outbid one another, men and things seem to be set in flaming brilliants, ecstasy is the prevailing spirit; but they are short-lived, they reach their climax speedily, then society relapses into a long fit of nervous reaction before it learns how to appropriate the fruits of its period of excitement. Proletarian revolutions, on the contrary, such as those of the 19th century, criticise themselves constantly; constantly interrupt themselves in their own course; comes back to what seems to have been accomplished, in order to start over anew; scorn with cruel thoroughness the half measures, weaknesses and meannesses of their first attempts; seem to throw down their adversary only in order to enable him to draw fresh strength from the earth, and again to use up against them in more gigantic stature; constantly recoil in fear before the undefined monster magnitude of their own objects—until finally that situation is created which renders all retreat impossible, and the conditions themselves cry out: "Hic Rhodus, hic Salta!" Here is the rose, now dance!

—Karl Marx.

Capitalism gives the least pay to the hardest worker. Socialism would reverse it.

POINTED PARAGRAPHS.

By FREDERIC HEATH.

We do not blame the capitalists for skinning the people, but we do blame the people for supporting the skinning system.

Will some bright political economist please tell us why the hardest work and the smallest pay usually go together?

Dreamers, eh? The wish is father of the thought, with our capitalistic critics. It is just because we are practical that capitalism is roused to call names!

Father Mario Oddario, the priest-Socialist of Italy, says there are some priests of his faith who see a scarecrow in every new movement for the betterment of humanity.

The alarm now being uttered by the capitalist newspaper mouth-pieces over the steady growth of Social-Democracy is not a marker to what you will hear later on!

The Brauer Zeitung remarks that the Social-Democratic platform is the only political platform that does not discriminate against one capitalist and in favor of another.

In Indiana one divorce to each seven marriages! Indiana is a capitalistic state. If those people were to learn of Socialism it might reform them, and that would be just terrible!

A civilization in which the temptations to be bad vastly outnumber the temptations to be good is a vicious civilization. It presents a bad environment. We Social-Demo-

crats do *not* want to change human nature, but to change the present environment which is strangling all that is good in human nature and developing the worse passions.

When you hear a charge made against the integrity of the Social-Democratic movement, you ought, as a conscientious citizen, to investigate. The Socialists will give you every opportunity.

What can be done for the industrious dispossessed? Charity? how insulting! Teach him humility and resignation? That would be abominable. Discontent is a necessary factor to progress. There is only one sane remedy—stop dispossessing him. But to do that the capitalist system will have to be abolished—and it is going to be!

Railway managers admit that they charge in rates "all the traffic will bear." According to the official figures of the U. S. Department of Labor the cost of food increased 22 per cent from 1897 to 1903, and the cost of fuel and light 55 per cent! So you see the food and fuel gamblers are simply charging the dear people "all the traffic will bear." You may think such a system of managing the people's necessities is an ideal one, but we consider it downright thievery.

How do you like it, you sovereign American citizen, to pay \$8.00 a ton for coal? Eh, how do you like it! And yet it is entirely your *own* fault. If you had elected the *right* kinds of representatives in congress such an extortion would be *unheard*

of—your representatives would simply vote the robber barons out of their possession of the people's coal fields, even if it were expedient to pay actual cost for them, and people would cease to freeze to death in winter. Can't you take the hint!

There are 150,000 divorces in the United States yearly, and yet certain foxy gentlemen of the cloth are trying to make people think that Socialism would be against the family! It is capitalism that is against the sacredness of the family, but there is a studious effort in some quarters to hide the fact.

Edward Bellamy said, "Nothing can overcome the young giant of private monopoly, except the greater giant of public monopoly." And he expressed a world of truth in a brief sentence. It is our only way out. Modern conditions of business compel combination and concentration. Fighting the trusts is like tilting at windmills. The trouble with the people is not so much that there are trusts, as that they are not in them. Let the nation own the trusts!

Who says this is a nation of homes! In San Francisco, according to the government, census, 85 per cent of the people live in houses they do not own. In Philadelphia 88 per cent live in rented houses. In Milwaukee 84 per cent live in houses owned by others. In Chicago 89 per cent live in homes they do not own. In classic Boston 92 per cent of the people live in homes rented from the 8 per cent. In New York it is still worse—95 per cent live in unowned homes. And just to show that all sections of the country fare alike we may mention New Orleans,

where 83 per cent live in the houses of others, and Atlanta, where 88 per cent live under the roofs of others. In every way you look at it the state of life under the capitalist system shows that that system does not minister to the good of the people.

The professors of sociology in the Chicago University make use of the following table of the distribution of wealth in the United States:

Class.	Families.	Per Cent.	Average Wealth.	Aggregate wealth.	Per Cent.
Rich	125,000	1.	\$263,040	\$32,880,000,000	54.8
Middle ...	1,362,500	10.9	14,180	19,320,000,000	32.2
Poor	4,762,500	38.1	1,639	7,800,000,000	13.
Very poor	6,250,000	50.			
Total ...	12,500,000	100.	\$4,800	\$50,000,000,000	100.0

The working class produces the wealth—but another class possesses it!

England is becoming overburdened with its insane. London has 24,000 lunatics in her asylums. A specialist in mental diseases has called attention to the fact that the largest proportion of lunacy cases comes from the working class, and says: "The reason is obvious. The depressing influence of the monotonous grinding for existence in slum and underground dwellings and the resort to intemperance to secure forgetfulness of their woes, are the reasons, he says.

"Father Kerby recognizes that Socialism, like unionism, single-tax, Populism. Catholic and general reform activity, municipal leagues, etc., is caused by a general social unrest. Socialism has its justification in its criticism of the existing order. It cannot be overthrown by empty resolutions of public gatherings, but

must be overcome by abolishing the evils which it exposes."—*Portland Catholic Sentinel*.

Good! Go ahead and abolish the evils and among them the exploitation of labor. This will give the worker his full product, which will require the collective ownership of the machinery of production—and that is Socialism! Go ahead, and we'll help you!

Public utilities, owned by the people, have never been known to resort to political corruption. The boodling is always done by private business interests in control of public utilities.

Despite the activity of certain unscrupulous elements, it is a good commentary on the sense of the people that this office has received only one letter asking if there is any truth in the slanders so industriously circulated by this pack of filthy slanderers, and that that one letter is from a Social-Democratic woman, who doesn't believe the slanders, but thinks we ought to reply to the charge that under Socialism there would be a community of woman. A community of woman! Think of the moral degradation of a person who would peddle such a disgusting charge! A sot editor of a Citizens' Alliance fake labor paper can be excused, perhaps, for such indecent villification, but how can we excuse a man of the cloth from such a low bred attack? Let us speak as plainly as the English language will permit. Social-Democracy is an uplifting influence, a moral force applied to a world degraded by capitalism and its paid lackeys. It protects the right of conscience, the natural human desire to be clean and moral. It has never so much as suggested such a thing as a community of wo-

men, it is unalterably opposed to slavery of any sort, it wants the earth peopled with the noblest types of manhood and womanhood. It shudders at the prevalent immorality of the existing capitalist system, at the fact that thousands and thousands of women are led by it to sell their bodies in order to live. It is shocked that at the seat of our national congress it takes whole streets of houses of prostitution to satisfy the men the Republican and Democratic parties elect to Washington to make our laws. It is shocked that the same thing, only on a smaller scale, obtains at our state legislatures. It is shocked at the inhuman wages paid girls in store, factory and shop, at the immoral tendencies of the child labor pens. Social-Democrats hold for monogamy.

A more moderate tone was to be observed in an address on Social-Democracy that was made last week by Archbishop Messmer in one of the Milwaukee Catholic churches. On the purely economic questions a Catholic and a Socialist might agree, he said, in many instances. There were other parts of the Social-Democratic doctrine that were against natural law and religion, and were not economic questions, although claimed to be such. One statement he made, may be instanced to show that the archbishop has not yet grasped the central point of the Social-Democratic philosophy, which was that Socialism will "remove all private property." Social-Democracy would not abolish private property at all, quite the contrary. But it would abolish the private ownership of capital, which is quite a different thing. Capital is wealth used for the purpose of making profit through the labor of others—through the exploitation of labor.

We want to abolish the capitalistic wage system which only permits the worker a small part of his product and builds up colossal and dangerous fortunes for the capitalistic master class. We want to reverse the present state of things. We want the worker to be rich. Let the shirker to be poor.

The partnership between Capital and Labor, what is it? It is capitalism rather than capital that is Labor's "partner" in production, and a queer partner at that. Labor sweats and groans at its task and get enough out of the "partnership" to keep in working condition meanwhile, and to raise a family of other wage workers to keep the labor market supplied, and the balance of the product goes to capitalism, that abstract "partner" that requires so much and is never satisfied. Capitalism is like the devil fish, its tentacles reach in every direction and are covered with innumerable suckers. After they have sucked up the larger part of the worker's product as manufacturing profits, the other suckers get at what he retains as wages, and the coal sucker, the food sucker, the shelter sucker, the light sucker, the medicine sucker, the clothes sucker, etc., etc., fairly strip him of every penny. Social-Democrats do not feel a hatred of individual employers or firms, they know that their enemy is the capitalist system, and that they will have no relief until that system is abolished.

If you are a man of true patriotic fibre there must come a turning point in your life politically. Sooner or later disgust will set in and the capitalist parties in spite of their traditions will appear in their true colors. Why not make the present your turning point? Why not!

British Municipal Ownership.

The American who dreads municipal ownership for fear of its being used to create political machinery and rob the public, and who declares that we must first establish the merit system, may be astonished when he learns the extent of the development of British municipal trading under these conditions.

Seeking to learn "the other side" of municipalization in Great Britain, the investigator is at every turn referred to Mr. Arthur Kay, a distinguished citizen of Glasgow and head of the great merchandise house of Arthur & Company, as the arch enemy of municipalization. He is president of the Citizens' Union and the Taxpayers' Federation. When asked, "Do you think Glasgow should own and operate its trams?" he answered, "Certainly. The owning and operating of these tramways has been highly profitable and thoroughly satisfactory, the accounting is correct, and nobody opposes it."

"But you think the trams should be operated for profit in relief of rates?"

"Not at all. They should be run on a low factor of safety, and profits be sunk in betterments or reduction of charges."

"But this is Socialism?"

"Well, they call it Socialism—municipal Socialism."

And this from the gentleman who was to have given the final word against municipalization! In Great Britain there is opposition, not to municipal ownership as such, but only to its excesses.—Francis W. Parker, in *The World To-Day* for November.

The Vanguard and Herald 75 cents a year for both, except for subscribers in the city of Milwaukee, where the combination price is 90 cts. a year.



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.

WORLD VOTE BY YEARS.

1867	30,000
1871	101,000
1872	101,268
1874	352,220
1876	353,028
1877	494,364
1878	438,234
1881	373,850
1882	423,004
1884	666,150
1885	667,614
1887	931,454
1889	1,109,891
1890	1,794,606
1891	1,799,060
1892	1,798,391
1893	2,585,898
1894	2,914,506
1895	3,033,718
1896	3,056,873
1897	3,896,602
1898	4,515,591
1899	4,534,591
1900	4,874,740
1901	4,912,740
1902	5,253,054
1903	6,285,374

The Social-Democratic party is the only party in Germany at the present time, which has any claim to political respect. The devotion, the self-sacrificing spirit of the Socialist masses, impresses even those who are far from sharing their aims.—Prof. Theodor Mommsen (University of Berlin).

The true end of Social-Democracy, then, is in the first place ethical. It is not the subordination of man to the machine of State, but the use of the State for ethical, that is to say human, ends. Politics, it seems necessary to repeat, are rightfully subordinate to ethics. They exist for the sake of human life, and in the modern world human life is richer and wider than state life.—L. T. Hobhouse (Corpus Christi College, Oxford).

The answer of Socialism to the capitalist is that society can do without him, just as society now does without the slave-owner or feudal lord, both of whom were formerly regarded as necessary to the well being and even the existence of society.—William Clarke, M. A. (Cambridge).

The Socialist demands the greatest possible organization of the material basis of life that he may leave the greatest possible freedom to the life of the spirit, and maintains that the absence of freedom and variation in the one direction follows from the absence of organization in the other.—Sidney Ball (St. John's College, Oxford).

It rests with you either to palter continually with your conscience and in the end to say one fine day, "Perish humanity, provided I can have plenty of pleasures and enjoy them to the full, so long as the people are foolish enough to let me." Or, once more the inevitable alternative, to take part with the Socialists, and work with them for the complete transformation of society. A vast and most enthralling task; a work in which your actions will be in complete harmony with your conscience; an undertaking capable of rousing the noblest and most vigorous natures.—Appeal to the Young.

Socialism stands for the collective ownership of capital, that is, all the means of production and distribution, in the same manner as we have now the collective ownership of some capital: the parks, the water works, and, in various countries, the telephone, telegraph, and railroad (both street and national) plants, etc. But it stands for the private use and private ownership of the means of subsistence: clothes, furniture, books, pictures, etc.—Prof. Schaeffle (late Minister of Commerce, Austria).

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 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.

FOR THE DAWN OF A BETTER DAY!

The Workers all over the World are Banded Together
in the International Social-Democratic Movement.
If you are interested in the subject you will get the
whole situation and all the arguments in the most
representative Socialist paper in the United States, the

Social-Democratic Herald

FREDERIC HEATH, Editor.

Which presents each week Special signed contribu-
tions from the pens of

VICTOR L. BERGER

— AND —

EUGENE V. DEBS,

And a host of the best Socialists on both sides of
the Atlantic.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES.

12 Months,	- - - - -	50 cents.
6 Months,	- - - - -	25 cents.
10 Weeks,	- - - - -	10 cents.

Remittances should be made to the

Social-Democratic Publishing Co.

344 SIXTH STREET.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Books on International Socialism

Avelling, Edward. The Students Marx.....	\$1.00
Berger, Victor L. What Shall We Do to be Saved. 2c, per 100 ..	.50
Bax, E. Belfort. The Ethics of Socialism.....	1.00
— — Story of the French Revolution.....	1.00
— — The Religion of Socialism.....	1.00
Benson, Allan L. Confessions of Capitalism.....	.05
— — Socialism Made Plain	.10
Bernstein, Edward. Ferdinand Lasalle.....	1.00
Blatchford, Rob't. Britain for the British.....	.25
— — Merrie England	.10
Brown, W. I. Open Letter from a Catholic to Pope Leo XIII ..	.02
Carpenter, Edward. England's Ideal.....	1.00
— — Civilization, Its Cause and Cure.....	1.00
Debs, Eugene V. Liberty.....	.10
DeVille Gabriel. State and Socialism	.10
Dawson, W. H. Bismarck and State Socialism.....	1.00
— — German Socialism and Lasalle	1.00
Engels, Frederick. Conditions of the English Working Class ..	
— — Prison Labor	.05
— — in 1844	1.25
— — The Origin of the Family.....	.50
— — Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.....	.50
— — The same in paper.....	.10
Heath, Frederic. Socialism in America.....	.50
Kautsky, Karl. Life of Frederick Engels.....	.10
— — The Social Revolution	.50
La Fargue, Paul. The Evolution of Property.....	1.00
Liebknecht, Wilhelm. No Compromise.....	.10
— — Memoirs of Karl Marx.....	.50
— — Socialism, What it is, and What it Seeks to Accomplish ..	.10
Loria, Achille. The Economic Foundations of Society.....	1.25
Marx, Karl. Capital. Cloth, 847 pages.....	2.00
— — Revolution and Counter-Revolution	1.00
— — Wage Labor and Capital.....	.05
Marx and Engels. The Communist Manifesto.....	.10
Massart and Vandervelde. Parasitism, Organic and Social..	1.00
Morris and Bax. Socialism, Its Growth and Outcome.....	1.25
Plato. The Republic. Book I.....	.15
— — The same. Book II.....	.15
— — The same. Book III.....	.15
Robertus, Karl. Over-production and Crises.....	1.00
Rogers, J. E Thorold. Work and Wages.....	1.00
Schaeffle, Dr The Quintessence of Socialism.....	1.00
Simons, A. M. The American Farmer.....	.50
Sombart, Werner. Socialism and the Social Movement in the 19th Century	1.00
Vail, Charles H. The Socialist Movement.....	.10
Vandervelde, Emile. Collectivism and Industrial Evolution ..	.25
Wilshire, H. Gaylord. Trusts and Imperialism.....	.05

WE CAN SUPPLY ANY SOCIALIST BOOK.

**THE VANGUARD, 344 Sixth Street,
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN.**