

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. 4. MILWAUKEE, WIS., DECEMBER, 1904. Whole Number 24.

The great question of the day is the question of labor. The political question is solved. The Republic is made, and nothing can unmake it. The social question remains. Terrible as it is, it is quite simple; it is a question between those who have, and those who have not. The latter of these two classes must disappear, and for this there is work enough. Look you, there is a people and there is a world; and yet the people have no inheritance, and the world is a desert. Give them to each other, and you make them happy at once. Astonish the universe by heroic deeds that are better than wars. Does the world want conquering? No, it is yours already; it is the property of civilization; it is already waiting for you. — VICTOR HUGO.

Enlargement of The Vanguard.

Pursuant to announcement made some months ago, we are now about to enlarge **THE VANGUARD** by a series of special numbers, from time to time, which, in addition to the usual editorial features, will contain complete treatises on various phases of the Socialist movement.

The first of these special issues will be our January number, in which "Socialism and the City," by Winfield R. Gaylord, will appear. This will be a timely and valuable discussion of civic problems from the Socialist point of view.

All subscribers to **THE VANGUARD** will receive these special numbers without extra charge. Subscribe now that you may not miss any of them.

"If suddenly," says Ruskin, "in the midst of the enjoyment of the palate and lightness of heart of a Christmas dinner party, the walls of the room were parted, and through their gap the nearest human beings who were famishing and in misery were born into the midst of the company feasting and fancy free—if, pale from death, horrible in destitution, broken by despair, body by body they were laid upon the soft carpet, one beside the chair of every guest, would only the crumbs of the dainties be cast to them—would only a passing glance, a

passing thought, be vouchsafed to them? Yet the actual facts, the real relation of each Dives and Lazarus, are not altered by the intervention of the house-wall between the table and the sick-bed—by a few feet of ground (how few!) which are, indeed, all that separate the merri-ment from the misery."

~

"Peace on earth, good-will among men." To put these words into actual practice, to abolish war, to promote brotherhood, to establish justice, to secure the possession of the earth for all, to enable men to live the life of men, to substitute a co-operative commonwealth for a system of selfish profit and cruel strife—this is what Socialists are seeking to accomplish. And so they celebrate this Christmas season by a renewal of activity all along the line in a great world campaign for the new social order in which men, instead of trampling upon one another in a mad struggle for existence, will bear one another's burdens and so fulfill the law of Christ.

~

"Suffer little children to come unto me," said the great-hearted Founder of Christianity whose birth is commemorated this month, Yet throughout Christendom millions of child-slaves are annually crushed to death under the wheels

of capitalism at the hands of professed followers of the Nazarene. To make the travesty worse those whose hands are red with infant blood will assemble in costly churches, arrayed in fine garments representing wealth wrung from child-labor, to "worship" Him who said, "Who so shall offend one of these little ones, it were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and that he were cast into the depths of the sea". "Why call ye me 'Lord, Lord,' and do not the things I say".

When appealed to in the name of humanity, what is the answer of capitalism concerning its murder of the children? It is simply that it cannot run its factories at a profit without child labor. And when outraged society would invoke the "strong arm of the law" in behalf of the innocents, capitalism is ready to bribe legislatures, to buy the "best legal talent", to obstruct and contest every remedial measure, while it "Silences" the voice of both Republican and Democratic parties concerning the foulest blot on the civilization of today. Socialism alone stands forth as the protector of childhood and the defender of the home.

President Roosevelt in his message to Congress points with Republican pride to our continued "prosperity", while authentic reports as to child labor in the country show it to be on the increase and make reading which can scarcely be equalled for horror. One feature of it is thus described: "Depriving a little boy of his sleep for years and stopping his natural growth through long hours of night labor—and this for a pittance—produce a class of little old men at twenty who are simply not human. They are not immoral, but nonmoral. They are worse than degenerates. They are "reverts," degraded, animal and half imbecile. Their physical and mental destruction is the revenge of Dame Nature for the violation of the sweetest of her laws—the growth and development of youth." But what of the system which breeds these "reverts"? What of the people who uphold it? What of the vaunted "prosperity" built upon it? Can any nation or individual hope to escape the "revenge of nature" for such violation of human life? Better far that every factory in the country should be closed tomorrow than that we should "enjoy" any more of this horrible "prosperity."

The Message of Socialism to the Church.

The steady growth of Socialist sentiment among the clergymen of the country ought to be an answer to those who, either ignorantly or maliciously, continue to make the charge that Socialism is antagonistic to Christianity. **Instead of in any way opposing Christianity, Socialism is the logical economic expression of the religion of Jesus, and its general acceptance by the Christian ministry is merely a question of candid study of Socialist principles and a sincere effort to realize the Christianity of Christ.**

A most effective address on "The Message of Socialism to the Church," was recently delivered by Rev. J. Stitt Wilson before the Congregational ministers of San Francisco. So clearly and forcefully did the speaker present the matter that we gladly give place on our editorial page to the following excerpts:

I can grant you any degree of superiority you may wish to give to the spiritual over the material interests. And then I will demand your consideration of the material interests that are still absolutely fundamental to human life. I will grant you that a man's life does not consist in the abundance of things which he possesseth, but you must grant me that he must have things, nevertheless—food, clothing, shelter—after he has read your text to its utmost meaning. I will grant you that 'man cannot live by bread alone,' but you must grant me that he cannot live without bread.

Bread, and all that is signified by that wonderful word in the form of human needs and comforts, we must have. But our bread does not fall as manna from heaven. In order to get that bread we must labor. And in order to labor we must have access to the material resources of nature, and the mechanical equipment for labor.

This struggle of men today for bread, for labor, and for access to the material resources whence that bread comes and to which that labor is applied; this struggle presents us with the great labor problem, which rocks civilization to its very foundation. From this struggle the Church cannot escape. To its solution you are summoned.

Now Socialism confronts this awful struggle in the name of the working class. And I wish to hold your thought clearly to this one point, that Socialism is not any of the fifty things ignorant critics make it out to be. Socialism is

a plain, unmistakable economic program to be carried out by the working class through political action, by the ballot box and legislative enactment. Socialism presents an organized social movement and a social program to abolish the unnatural elements of this struggle and make men forever free from the tragedy of our bread-getting.

Statistics show that already one per cent. of the families in America hold more of the results of labor than the remaining ninety-nine per cent. One single corporation, according to one of its self-confessed accomplices, plundered the people of over one hundred millions (\$100,000,000) of dollars in the last five years!

"By their fruits ye shall know them" is as true of social and economic systems as it is of individuals. You cannot gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles. Neither can you gather love, peace, mercy, tenderness, brotherly kindness; in short, the human and Christ virtues, from the operations of a system that in its very basis provides for and in its practice demands the development and fruition of the very opposite passions of men.

Place the land and the machinery and all products of all toil open to the mad gamble of private property seekers and exploiters of men for private profit; place the very bodies of men, women and little children as mere marketable commodities to be hired "whenever and wherever" the masters of the market shall dictate, to be paid "whatever compensation" the industrial monarchs shall choose; turn 80,000,000 of people loose in that struggle—a struggle from which there is no exemption, a struggle imposed by nature and necessity—give us, I say, that kind of a basis for our bread-getting, and inhumanity and cruelty in that struggle is inevitable.

We Socialists, then, demand of the disciples of Jesus that you attack this capitalist system, so cruelly inhuman and unchristian in its operation. At least we demand of you that if you refuse to struggle with us against it, never to use the name of Jesus as an apology for the crimes of competitiveness. We demand of you that the oppressor shall not deal out to the working class a double curse in the exploitation of men by carrying the profit-bag in one hand the Bible, the cross and the sacrament in the other. For it may be truly said that capitalism is the only considerable anti-

Christ of modern times. All the other great forms of public wrong that curse and blight us are either fathered or mothered and nourished by this one gigantic anti-Christ—the competitive system.

Let me remind you, also, that the members of your flocks are unescapably involved in this inhuman and unchristian strife. Their individualistic piety grants them no release. The social system involves them in its meshes either as agents or victims of its wrong, irrespective of their professions, their piety or their prayers. In the battle for bread, life is reduced to the lowest common denominator, capable of measuring all without exception. For once, let us thank God, the pilgrim to the delectable mountains of spiritual safety cannot escape from this City of Destruction with His pack on his back to save His own soul. He is bound to the race with unbreakable social bonds. Every bite of bread he eats, every garment he wears, every coin that passes through his hands, the sacrament of our common humanity, is tainted with the poison of this system. And there is no spiritual inoculation that can render the church member or the clergy immune. They, too, are sinners with us in this social strife and competitive war of man against man. And with us they must confess the social guilt and expiate the social sin.

Apostles of Christ, can you apologize for or defend a system which grows disgusting and deadly even to its votaries? We Socialists ask you men who profess to teach the truth of Him who came to proclaim liberty to captives and to make men free, to attack this plutocratic tyranny. Stand, not for mammon, but for men. Plead the cause of the people. We invite the clergy and the Church to join with us in overthrowing this subtle tyranny that is sapping the foundations of constitutional liberty, making Christianity a joke, and enslaving the working class under the specious promises and masks of "prosperity."

The Socialist reads out of the agencies and activities of the present tyranny the truth that shall make us free. Socialism, therefore, declares that the people must proceed as rapidly as votes can be counted and law enacted to transfer the basic industrial equipment of the nation from private individuals and the capitalist class to the nation, to the people, to social or collective ownership, to be or-

(Concluded on page 22.)

World's Fair from Socialist Standpoint.

By S. L. HOOVER.



WITHIN ten years this nation has given to the world three of these gigantic markets of progress. After Chicago, 1893, the magnitude of the undertaking, and the magnificence of the completed exposition were upon every tongue. All who visited this exposition felt that something hitherto unknown had been accomplished, and now, 1904, when there is scarcely a feature that has not been excelled at St. Louis, there is not half the comment, nor half the expressed satisfaction that another great triumph for material progress has been made a fact, Chicago, 1893, made St. Louis, 1904, easier of accomplishment. We have come to consider such enterprises as these, as matters of fact, and fell confident that we can repeat them whenever occasion demands.

The readiness, willingness and ease with which this nation does these great things has been explained by different persons by giving such reasons as seemed proper to them from their respective points of view. Some have attributed it to the vast natural resources of the nation; others to the mixed population, giving breadth of view, and variety of plan and design; and still others to the nation's newness, its spring-tide, so to speak. If none of these explanations seems to be correct to the Social-Democrat, it must be remembered that his view point is so much above that of the average man of today that he sees things in a clearer light, and in a more nearly perfect relationship, and for this reason is without doubt better fitted to offer an explanation of the fact just sug-

gested. He sees the cause of the nation's greatness as no other person can see it, and he therefore maintains that he can explain this greatness in one word—freedom. He sees in political liberty, religious liberty, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience, elements for making the individual a true, strong and courageous man, and a body of such men must make any nation invincible and able to do whatever it sets its heart upon.

Russia is as favored in natural resources as is this nation, but if two or three of her young people are seen standing on the streets engaged in conversation, they are immediately dispersed by police, or arrested, and hereby hangs a tale. All initiative, personal pride and ambition are crushed out even before the child has reached its maturity. Submission to authority and that often of the basest sort, has rendered it impossible for such a nation to accomplish anything good or great, or that will make for human progress. The South American Republics have much the same population that makes up our nation, and they have not reached the age where decrepitude should set in, but they are only republics in name, for absolutism and church domination are the rule, and the people are denied their freedom and kept in ignorance of their rights.

But the Socialist is progressive. He sees still further. He knows there is another freedom—economic or industrial freedom which is the next step in human progress, and that if this nation is balked in its onward march the time will soon be here when the days of this nation's

greatness will be numbered, and such an accomplishment as the one beheld at St. Louis in 1904 can only be a picture of the memory.

In an effort to learn how this exposition was made, various official reports were read, and conversation was held with a number of persons. From all these sources came the statement of the all important services of a small group of men known as the Exposition Builders, one of whom as President was receiving a salary of fifty thousand dollars per annum. When an effort was made to discover whether one man or a few men really made this exposition, the informants spoke of the fine executive ability of these men, especially the president, saying that he had gone to Europe, secured an audience with many crowned heads, and had succeeded in having them make appropriations and exhibits that had been considered impossible, even prevailing upon one to send the private presents, very costly, of his deceased mother.

The Socialist would naturally find much that would require careful analysis in the statements made concerning these Exposition Builders. For instance, was it the executive ability of any one man, or set of men, that caused any nation to make an appropriation or an exhibit? Was it not rather the great nation this man represented that determined these crowned heads in whatever action they took, and was it not their desire for the friendship of this great nation that caused them to vie with each other in lending their aid to the enterprise? If this contention is not the correct one, then those who believe that executive ability can do wonders must explain why it did not cause Russia to do for the exposition what Japan has done.

The Exposition Builders is the subject that is under discussion, and this is certainly a proper subject for this paper, but to the Socialist the Exposition Builders were not one man, nor five men, but every mind that conceived a design, a pylon, a quadriga, a facade, a novelty, and every hand that wrought to make these conceptions real, whether this labor was used in the hidden structural parts or in the finished and perfected forms. At every turn the eye fell upon the work of an exposition builder in the form of well graded walks, roadways and transportation lines; in the rich, green sward with its acres of landscape gardening and its plats of floral magnificence; in the immense buildings with their architectural beauty; in the exhibits within these buildings, representing handy work that defies description; in the illumination that entrances. Who can spend even a week beholding such scenes, and not have added a resource of inestimable value to his life? Who can attend such an exposition as this and not be a better citizen? There are none. *And the fact that this is so, and that the vast majority of these Exposition Builders, especially those who MADE and are making the exhibits DID NOT SEE THIS EXPOSITION* and cannot expect to see one fills the Socialist with deep regret and inspires his whole soul to work with unabated zeal for that economic freedom which will make possible such expositions of progress and civilization as to-day are not even imaginable, and to which all may go who will.

A gentleman whose name would at once be recognized as a business man of unusual success and rare wisdom for this capitalistic age, publicly advised every working man and woman in the United States to visit

this exposition and enjoy its industrial and educational benefits. He no doubt did this because he believed the nation would be the gainer thereby. This same man gave over two thousand of his employes a free trip to the exposition. Neither he nor his firm are philanthropists, but business men, and they did this because they say it is profitable. If these men know this concerning their business, certainly the Socialists are right when they contend that the nation would make unprecedented progress if it were possible for every worker to be so secure in his economic life that he and his family could hope to enjoy occasionally at least such opportunities.

It is the rankest folly to say that no such monuments to progress would ever be undertaken under the Co-operative Commonwealth. On the other hand, instead of their being constructed in such a temporary manner that six months is as long as they can safely stand, under a Socialist system everything would be permanent, and the greatest skill and art would everywhere greet the visitor. Then these expositions would remain open from one year to another and new exhibits would be added from time to time, thus showing any advance in processes, methods and products. All would have an opportunity to attend, and would return home with new ideas and ideals. Invention, discovery and learning would be stimulated because it is possible only for the man who works with his hands to make practical and useful application of his ideas.

The writer met and talked with many visitors at the exposition. Excepting those living in St. Louis and in close proximity, he found very few of those whom he designated as the real builders of the exposition. As a type of the majority of the vis-

itors, two illustrations will suffice. The first was a gentleman with his wife and two daughters from New Zealand. They had already been in this country three months, and expected to tour Continental Europe, reaching their home again in about another year. Their income arose from a rent roll, and they were outspoken in their condemnation of the Seddon Government, saying that New Zealand was the garden spot of the world, but the bad government would ruin it all.

The other was a retired merchant and his wife from New Jersey. They had recently made their business over to two sons, and as they put it, they were now as free as air, so that they could come and go at their pleasure. This indeed is the Socialistic ideal, only he wants it to extend to all. He sees that it is possible to do the world's work, and when the work is done to feel free to enjoy a trip of this kind without worrying about the business at home, or the necessities of life. He is willing to work while some one else is enjoying the exposition, provided some one else works while he is enjoying it.

When the Socialist sees the marvelous ingenuity and skill of a people like the Japanese in that vast display of useful and pretty things of all kinds, he is pained deeply to know that in this the twentieth century such a people are being slaughtered by thousands, and in turn are slaughtering their neighbor, thereby destroying labor power beyond calculation, and he cries out, O that men would learn that they must guarantee the freedom of the whole man each to the other, if real life, civilization and progress are ever to exist upon the earth; if war, misery, disease and suffering are ever to cease.

This article would grow into a volume if an attempt was made to write of all the suggestions of the Co-operative Commonwealth which incidents at the exposition made, and so only a very few will be given simply to show how rapidly we are traveling that way. In the first place, the exposition itself was possible because of co-operation. It had the whole nation, the entire state of Missouri, the city of St. Louis back of it. In all this is shown what can be done through the collective body even today when this idea is not given a full and fair chance.

An exhibit that was of intense interest to the Socialist was an illustration from life of the workings of a manufacturing plant into which much of the co-operative plan had been projected. The manner of dealing with the idle boy and girl who are such a nuisance about the factory was shown. They were put to landscape gardening, prizes were offered, and instead of becoming criminals they were made useful to society and a joy to themselves.

The plans for making the home life of these workers pleasant, comfortable and healthful, and the plans for making the work in the factory safe and healthful were all illustrated, and the claim was made by the owners of this factory that notwithstanding the extra cost for all they did it repaid them on the investment in the more intelligent and better service. Here is the Socialist contention proven even under capitalism, and under a very imperfect system of co-operation. If this firm testifies to the good results of this partial betterment of a few workers, what immense results would accrue to all when every worker was made happy by the full product of his toil.

In the Palace of Manufactures was the fulfillment of Bellamy's

prophecy of the paper garments, soft and downy, yet durable and very inexpensive. The visitor was informed that a company had already been organized to put these garments on the market and would do so in a few months.

In the Palace of Agriculture one could not help but think again of Bellamy in reference to the food of man under the Co-operative Commonwealth. Everywhere was seen new vegetable products which would supply all demands of the body. The writer was told that a company with a capital of one million had been organized to put the nutritious banana on the market in the form of flour, a drink called banana coffee, and several other products. He was allowed to sample many of these new vegetable foods and as "the proof of the pudding is in the eating," he must confess that they served remarkably well as a physical support, for certainly anything that will give the needed strength to a visitor at one of these expositions must not be despised. At any rate, the thought could not be driven from the mind that it is only a question of time when those bloody, cruel, filthy scenes that the writer beheld a few days previous at the Union Stock Yards might still be seen among a barbarous, primitive people, but certainly not in the land of civilized man.

In the United States Government Building was seen the results of investigations and experiments in almost every conceivable line, plant and animal industry, forestry and so forth. The facts and information from this source is free to all. The investigators had been paid average salaries for their services, but held no monopoly on the results of their experiments, and made no profit from them. Here are the principles

of Socialism working so smoothly, so advantageously to all, and yet we hear some misinformed ones say that Socialism will not work.

The question is often asked how will the farmer be benefited by Socialism? In a hundred ways the answer to this question was suggested at the exposition. Just a few must suffice. Here was exhibited the most improved machinery for every operation on the farm. But a small percentage of the individual farmers use even a single piece of this machinery because in the first place it is adapted for farming operations on a large scale where thousands of acres are involved, and in the next place financial and economic reasons make it impossible for the small farmer to own but little of the machinery he could use. This idea was so well illustrated in the matter of butter making. At one place the implements of the past, the old-fashioned churn, the skimming ladles, and other primitive articles were exhibited. By the side of these were the separators, the motors, the testing implements, and so forth, of the modern creamery. Here is another of our cardinal principles illustrated, the writer exclaimed. The small farmer cannot afford to own a creamery, or scarcely a piece of machinery in it. The day of small individual effort in matters pertaining to our physical and economic life is passing. The age of extensive, collective effort is here.

The profit taking craze which has reached its climax in our time and which is the chief agency in turning the minds of our people toward Socialism was in evidence on every hand, but at the booth of one exhibitor in particular the opportunity was given to see it in its direct relation to every consumer. The writer played the part of a groceryman, and

a certain make of scales was shown to him, so sensitive that a grain of coffee would cause them "to break," and at once set an electric bell to ringing which would continue to ring until all excess weight was removed and the equilibrium was restored. The agent in charge explained that by the old clumsy scales of former days, by the down weight system, the dealer was giving anywhere from a half ounce to an ounce of excess weight. Immediately the thought came. This is our contention. Exact justice to all, even to a grain of coffee, but how rudely the writer was shocked when a little later the demonstrator asked whether he placed his sugar, coffee, tea and so forth in the sacks before weighing. No, in the scale pan, was the reply. "Well, now there is where you lose again. Why not sell your sacks at eight cents every time you sell a pound of sugar, at twenty-five cents every time you sell a pound of coffee, at forty cents every time you sell a pound of tea?" Now you have it. This is exact justice under capitalization. It becomes so exact that it insiduously passes over on the side of profit.

And now to keep this article within reasonable bounds, it must be brought to a close after calling attention to the observation that the Bontocs, the scalp hunting Philipinos, were there, and there was no evidence to show that their keen desire to add scalps to their string had in any manner abated. They were simply not allowed to do so because they were in a country where the majority do not think scalp taking is best for all. There is a bit of philosophy in this last paragraph, if the reader will just study it out.

"Socialism and the City" in the January Vanguard.

SOCIALIST ETCHINGS.

By FREDERIC HEATH.

Socialism means a chance to really live. The poet has told us that "some men are dead who are walking about," and there are a good many dead people serving their time out on earth, working day in and day out and living in shacks and hovels—mere work machines for the benefit of the capitalists who deplete them at all opportunities. Socialism will bring a wholesome higher civilization, one that will not be a libel on Creation, for all will be able to participate in it.

It cost the two capitalist parties twenty-three millions of dollars to conduct their campaigns to get the votes of the working men of the country, without whose aid they could have no hope of keeping possession of the people's government. Twenty-three millions! Pretty steep, that. And one thing is certain, those twenty-three millions could not come out of the jeans of the working men, hence they came, of course, from the coffers of the great wealth interests, from the big capitalists who can only thrive as the workers they pluck are in misery. The very life blood of the workers is stolen by the shirkers and then used to filch the workers' votes away from them. And just now there is uneasiness in the capitalist camp at the unmistakable signs that the workers are waking up. The great gain in the Debs vote everywhere looks pretty bad for the future and they know it.

Karl Marx was a man of superior talents, a deep and analytical thinker and one of the master minds of the last century, could have had a life of ease and luxury if he had been willing to prostitute his talents and serve the capitalist interests with his pen. He refused to do so and instead threw himself into the cause of the workers. He was exiled from Germany and for years while he was composing his great work, "Capital," lived in chronic starvation in London, and when his baby died had not the money to buy a coffin. The accounts of the suffering of the little band of exiles in those awful days makes as sad reading as will be found in the annals of the Social-Democratic movement. Today no such sacrifices for principle is required, although all Social-Democrats make sacrifices, so that our appeal to you to join in the work of emancipation does not call on you to undergo any great hardship. Get in line!

What have you accomplished, Mr. Workingman? asks the traveler from Mars. And the workers proudly point to all the fine mansions, the automobiles and steam yachts, the big factories, the splendidly graded streets, gilded restaurants and suburban villas, the fine clothes worn by the capitalists, the railroads, the canals, the Atlantic liners, the stores full of luxuries, etc., etc. And where do you live, Mr. Workingman? comes the next question. Then the smiles of the workers disappear and they point sadly to the back streets, to the alleys, to the fetid tenements and the unsanitary cottages in the rear. And

where are your clothes and finery and how do you live? continues the questioner. And the workers point to the sun-faded garments that cover their bodies, then to the pine dinner tables, the cheap adulterated foods, the stewed coffee of coffee essence and reused coffee grounds, the overworked wife and neglected children, the badly heated rooms in Winter, the food without ice in Summer, the unpaid doctor's visits, etc., etc., etc. Oh, the shame of the worker! But the capitalistic soothing syrup that he has been imbibing through press and pulpit these many years is wearing off. His eyes are opening.

The impulse of men under the capitalist system is to make merchandise out of their talents, their shrewdness and everything else they can possibly force into the scales. Make! Make! Make! Employ sharp practice if possible, swindle within the law if necessary. Prostitute yourself. Lie, if it pays. Business morality has become a stench in the nostrils, and the big business man, with his silk tile and his private pew in church, has been completely exposed as the author of civic corruption, the procuring cause back of boodling, besides being part of the class that exhausts and impoverishes the industrious members of society. Certainly the working people have never been charged with any such crimes to our knowledge. But while everyone else is bargaining and making merchandise of their abilities and their foxiness, how about the workers? They by their toilsome industry produce the wealth of the nation, but instead of making merchandise of that fact, instead of driving a bargain with the buyers of labor power that will net them the handsome living they are clearly entitled to, they submit to a bad bargain, exchange their vast product for mere existence wages, and go through life ragged and forlorn and ignoble. A bad bargain! A very bad bargain, and it is time to change it!

Who can measure the iniquity of child labor or society's crime against childhood which the enforced poverty of the parents entails? A city is a bad place in which to bring children up at best, but when a child is forced to spend its play time of life in close city streets, in slummy neighborhoods, in contamination from pavements and alleys alive with filth, strewn with cigar butts, the expectorations of sickly humanity, and other forms of impurity that a city cannot escape, it is a melancholy, a terrible indictment of the prevailing economic system. Instead of little baby fingers coming in contact with city filth and baby lungs breathing in contaminated city air, those fingers should be dirty with the clean dirt of country field or lane and the little lungs should be storing up benefit from the aromatic breezes of wood and meadow and sunny orchard. The city resident districts of the rich form a fair substitute for the country play grounds, it is true, but we are speaking of the children of the working class, not of the children of the rich. Now, do not imagine that the wrongs of the slum baby will go unrevenged. Nature does not forgive a violation of its laws, and there is a terrible retribution ahead for all this wrong. When society makes slum babies out of its youngest

citizens the crime is avenged finally. It is a serious and a terrible thing to brutalize the rising generation, and the penalty will have to be paid in one way or another.

Thomas W. Lawson, the Boston millionaire high finance king, who is turning "states evidence" against former pals, follows up his attack on the big insurance companies by a second broadside in the December Everybody's Magazine, that is a veritable bombshell in the camp of the crooks who manipulate the vast sums taken up annually all over the country in the shape of insurance premiums. These men gamble in the great surpluses the companies roll up! The exposure is making such a hubbub that the reorganization of the managements of the largest insurance companies in the country seems inevitable. The puppets of the companies are making a guerilla warfare on Lawson in the hope of shutting his mouth, but it only goads him on in his purpose of exposure, and his facts are startling. In a word, the big men of the insurance companies are using the millions of their premium holders to speculate in high finance and to enrich themselves. If Mr. Lawson's facts are true, it would appear that there is no one of the largest companies that is secure from a sudden crash due to frenzied speculation and manipulation! It behooves policy holders to "get busy" and pretty quick, too.

To give some idea of the amazing interweaving of high finance interests, entanglements and dangers of the three companies—the Mutual Life, the New York Life and the Equitable Life—we give here-with a copious extract from Mr. Lawson's account, slightly edited for the sake of brevity. It is as follows:

"First, the three companies I have named have absolute possession of property and money in the form of assets of over \$1,000,000,000—more than half the combined assets of all the insurance companies of America, and indirectly through their affiliated institutions of an additional sum, the aggregate of which is much greater than all the national banks of America and the great financial institutions of Europe, such as the Banks of England, France, and Germany. The three have a ready cash surplus of almost \$200,000,000, which is greater than the combined capital of the Banks of England, Russia, France, and Germany. The income of these three companies is, each year, \$100,000,000 greater than the combined capitals of the Banks of England, Russia, France, and Germany—about \$250,000,000, \$200,000,000 of which is taken each year from their policy holders in the form of premiums. Yet from out of this income there is returned to their policy holders each year in dividends less than \$15,000,000, and in total payments of all kinds not over \$100,000,000. And yet these three companies pay out each year in what they call expenses to keep the concerns running \$50,000,000, paying to the officers of the companies \$3,000,000 in salaries, almost \$1,000,000 to their lawyers, and a number of millions in various forms of advertising.

"Second, the three companies are absolutely steered and controlled from a common centre, and the men who do the steering and controlling are the 'System's' foremost votaries, Henry H. Rogers, William Rockefeller, James Stillman, and J. Pierpont Morgan, through George W. Perkins, a partner in J. Pierpont Morgan & Co. Mr. Rogers, vice-president of the Standard Oil Company, is a trustee of the Mutual Life and a director in one of the largest trust companies owned by the three great insurance companies, the Guaranty Trust Company of New York. William Rockefeller, vice-president of the Standard Oil Company, is a trustee of the Mutual Life and director in the National City, —the 'Standard Oil'—Bank. James Stillman is a trustee of the New York Life,

and president of the **National City**,—the '**Standard Oil**'—Bank of New York. George W. Perkins, partner of J. Pierpont Morgan & Co., is vice-president and trustee of the **New York Life** and a director in the **National City**—the '**Standard Oil**'—Bank; while John A. McCall, the president of the **New York Life**, is a director in the **National City**—the '**Standard Oil**'—Bank.

"These great institutions own a majority of the capital stock or absolute control of a number of the leading banks and trust companies of New York and elsewhere; and such ownership shows conclusively the linking together of the three insurance companies. For instance, the **Equitable** owns more than a majority of the stock of the **Mercantile Trust Company** of New York, of a book value of about \$4,500,000 and a market value of almost \$13,000,000; and of the **Equitable Trust** of New York, of a book value of \$5,500,000 and market value of \$9,000,000, and of the **Bank of Commerce** of New York, of a book value of about \$8,000,000 and a market value of over \$9,000,000; and in the directory of the **Mercantile Trust** of New York and **Equitable Trust** is E. H. Harriman, one of the leading '**Standard Oil**' men and one of the active votaries of the '**System**,' while in the directory of the **Bank of Commerce** are the president of the **Mutual Life** and seven other trustees of the **Mutual Life** and three of the trustees of the **New York Life**.

"The **Mutual Life** owns stock of the **Bank of Commerce** of a book value of \$4,500,000 and a market value of \$7,500,000; of the **United States Mortgage & Trust Company** of a book value of \$2,000,000 and a market value of \$4,500,000; and of the **Guaranty Trust Company** of New York of a book value of \$1,250,000 and a market value of \$5,500,000. The directors of the **United States Mortgage & Trust Company** consist of eight trustees of the **Mutual Life**, including its president, and two trustees of the **Equitable Life**, while in the **Guaranty Trust** directory is the president of the **Mutual Life**, Henry H. Rogers and E. H. Harriman, '**Standard Oil**' votary and director in the **Equitable**.

"In addition to these financial institutions, the **Mutual Life** has about \$20,000,000 of its funds invested in the stock of twenty-five other trust companies and national banks, while the **Equitable** has about \$10,000,000 invested in some fifteen other trust and banking institutions.

"Third, the absolute control of the three great companies, and through them of their subsidiary financial institutions, while supposed to be in the hands of the policy holders is entirely beyond their regulation, as all policy holders of the three companies give over complete control of their companies to the '**System**' through the following machinery: All policy holders of the **New York Life**, on accepting a policy, sign away their rights in the form of a proxy which runs to the president, John A. McCall. All those in the **Mutual Life** do the same through a proxy which runs to President McCurdy, and the **Equitable Life's** control lies in the \$100,000 of capital stock which is almost entirely owned by the men who elect themselves to control and manage the company.

We conclude by giving this comment by Mr. Lawson:

"Therefore, you will see that I fully comprehend that this, which you claim to be, and which undoubtedly is the greatest power on earth, is absolutely, for all practical purposes, *in the hands of three men*, and that anyone who attempts to do anything contrary to what this power will allow, will find himself opposed by practically unlimited money, which can be used first to corrupt all sources, including state insurance law enforcers, and then to keep such corruptions from the policy holders by subsidizing the press. In other words, you see that I fully comprehend that I, or any man, or any body of men, would be absolutely helpless in an attempt to correct present evils, if they exist, unless we can do two things: First, show to the policy holders of the great insurance companies that they are absolutely in the hands and at the mercy of 'one man,' and that, next, this 'one man' is unscrupulous."

A Russian lieutenant, who escaped from Port Arthur, gives us the following information illustrative of the *nobility* of war. In passing over a battlefield in that vicinity he encountered many evidences of the utter fiendishness of the murderous struggle called war. Two bodies, lying close to each other, attracted his attention among others, and on inspection he found that one of them, a Japanese soldier, had his teeth brought together in the throat of the other, who was a Russian, with his face bathed in clotted blood that had spurted from the horrible mortal wound. The Russian had his long bony fingers on the eye-sockets of the Jap and had forced one eye-ball out upon the latter's cheek! They had tortured each other to death most horribly. And these men were, of course, both working men of their respective countries, who had never met before and had no possible personal grievance against each other. They had killed each other at the behest of their respective rulers. This country is being turned into a military nation and a naval power as fast as the capitalist interests that control the government can accomplish it, and efforts are now well along to use the public schools to teach the murderous military spirit, for a people that believe in war will sanction almost anything that is done by military rulers.

Social-Democrats have set themselves the world-wide task of rooting out slavery from human society, not only the practice of it, but the very idea that it is justifiable. But, says the man of bourgeois mind, "Slavery was wiped out long ago. The serfs were liberated in Russia by the goodness of the Czar, and in this country we went to war to abolish it, and Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation finished the business. There is no slavery throughout civilized Christendom." Yet, on the contrary, slavery is all about us and will be so long as the capitalist system, with its competitive wage system rules the land, and keeps the control of work in the hands of an exploiting class. The negro slavery that was abolished in the early sixties was only a drop in the bucket as against the vast wage slavery that has kept increasing since that time, and it was certainly more humane, for the slave holders provided their slaves with clothes, shelter and food and security against want. Moreover, while it was degrading and repugnant to our sense of right, there was very little suffering under it and the slaves lived out their normal lives and scarcely realized their economic situation. The slavery of to-day is hideously merciless. A large percentage of its victims land in poor houses, insane asylums, jails, charity hospitals, brothels, or die before their allotted years from exhaustion and the diseases fostered by our industrial civilization. It is a big task we have set ourselves, the blotting out of human slavery and the abolition of economic insecurity, but the forces of society are with us and we cannot falter on the way. We are right. We will not give up. And we can almost see the final victory, so splendidly has the fight advanced.

CAPITALIST MORALITY.

As Exposed in "Frenzied Finance."



IN the December Every-body's Magazine, Thomas W. Lawson, in a most astounding broadside, has brought to a climax his repeated charges of dishonesty and bribery against the kings of finance. His latest accusations are made without the mincing of words.

He tells of the buying and selling of the Massachusetts legislators. He says:

"The Massachusetts legislature is bought and sold as are sausages and fish at the markets and wharves. That the largest, wealthiest, and most prominent corporations in New England, whose affairs are conducted by our most representative citizens, habitually corrupt the Massachusetts legislature, and the man of wealth among them who would enter protest against the iniquity would be looked on as a 'Class Anarchist.' I will go further and say that if in New England a man can be found who will give over six months to turning up the legislature and the Boston municipal sod of the past ten years, and does not expose to the world a condition of rottenness more rotten than was ever before exhibited in any community in the civilized world, it will be because he has been suffocated by the stench of what he exhumes."

The startling facts are revealed by Lawson of how a great bribery syndicate, headed by H. M. Whitney, broker, brother of the late William C. Whitney, ex-Secy. of the Navy, operated from rooms in the

Parker house, Boston, where the legislators were taken and bought. and how lists of the prices of the various legislators were kept:

"At the head of Whitney's forces was his lawyer, George T. Towle, big of brain, ponderous of frame, and with the strength of an ox. When a lieutenant had reported that Senator This or Representative That would not come into camp, Towle, with an oath, would simply say: 'Take me to him, and I'll have his vote in ten minutes or there'll be occasion for a new election in his district tomorrow!'

"It is a Beacon Hill tradition that for years Towle on final-payment day would have the members of the Massachusetts legislature march through his private offices one at a time, and, handing each of them their loot, would proclaim: 'Well, you're settled with in full, aren't you? That represents your vote on—— and on ——.' Then he would loudly identify the bill and the particulars of the service, while behind a partition with a stenographer would be Mr. Patch, his secretary, who after the notes had been written out would witness the accuracy of the stenographer's report. When the legislature assembled again, old members, the same story goes, would be requested to call on Towle to renew acquaintanceship. Then he would allow them to look over his memoranda 'just to keep 'em from being too proud,' as he gently phrased it. Subordinate to Towle and Patch was a long line of **eminently respectable** lawyers known all over the Commonwealth as 'Whitney's attorneys.' These men participated at nominations, orated at elections, and took care of the finer preliminary details. The first line of attack was composed of practical politicians of various grades—ex-senators or representatives, and local bosses, who were known as 'Whitney's right hand men.' **Below these** were the ordinary lobbyists, the detectives, and runners, who kept 'tabs' on every move and deed, day and night, or the members of the legislature. This was the Whitney machine, and it worked together with that fine solidity and evenness which can only be attained with lots of practice and much success.

"It is seldom the public is given an opportunity of seeing a picture, drawn to life, of the legislature of one of the greatest states in the Union in the act of being bribed to grant the votaries of 'frenzied finance,' for nothing, those things which should and do belong to the people, and for which the system's votaries would willingly pay millions of dollars if they were compelled to.

"Headquarters for Whitney's Massachusetts Pipe Line were opened at Young's Hotel, Parlors 9, 10, and 11, Rooms 6, 7, 8, second story front. Parlors 9 and 10 were the general reception room, while 11 was for the commander himself and the holding of important and 'touchy' interviews. The Rooms 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 were used for educational purposes. In the morning the place was deserted, but at noon the parlors began to fill up with the different members of the 'Machine' and their friends, trustworthy members of the legislature. A little later an elaborate luncheon would be served, the supernumeraries eating in one room, Towle and his chiefs and the legislators in the other. There the gossip of the morning session was exchanged and the work laid out for the afternoon legislative and committee sessions. Another interval of silence and peace until at 5.30 the real business of the day began. Mr. Patch was generally on the ground first, carrying the books in which the bribery records were kept, for be it remembered that the efficiency of the Whitney machine was largely due to the thoroughly systematic manner in which its operations were conducted. Nothing was left to chance or to anyone's memory. In turn, the subordinates presented careful reports of the day's transactions. At 6.30 Mr. Towle would go over these documents, 'sizing up' the actual results for submission later to the chief himself. Between 7.30 and 8.30 the 'Machine' dined; the remains of the feast having been removed, the doors were locked and the books brought out.

"If an outsider could possibly have obtained the entry to the headquarters of The Whitney Massachusetts Pipe Line, say at 9 o'clock any evening during the session, this is what he would see: In Parlor 10, seated at a long table a dozen of Mr. Towle's chiefs, all in their shirt-sleeves, smoking voluminously; before each a sheet of paper on which was printed a list of the members of the legislature; against every name a blank space for memoranda.

"As each man reported, the other chiefs and Towle discussed the details, and when a decision on disputed points was arrived at, Towle would make a memorandum on his blank, and the chief concerned recorded the order in the little note-book which each carried. All reports in at last, Towle retired to Room 11 and speedily returned with the 'stuff,' consisting of cash, stock, puts, calls, or transportation tickets, which he dealt out to the chiefs to fulfill the promises they had made for the day. It would be obvious to the outsider, as soon as he had learned what was being dealt in, that a large proportion of the members of the Great and General Court of Massachusetts had bargained with the different members of the 'machine' to sell their votes not only in committee but in full session of the legislature, that the price was to be paid when the votes were cast, though something was invariably exacted on account, to tie the bargain. Payment seemed to be made in cash, calls on Bay State Gas or Dominion Coal, or transportation on any of the railroads in the United States or Canada. The latter appeared to be a class of remuneration Towle favored, probably because it cost nothing."

Lawson rather goes Steffens several points better in his exposure of American corruption by our big business interests. It certainly is a story that still startles us, even after we have read of corruption in other states and municipalities. For years and years the people of this country have spoken of the criminal classes, meaning the petty wretches whom poverty has forced into thievery and house-breaking. But we are coming to see who the term criminal class properly refers to. It is our "eminently respectable" class that is found back of our big crimes. The big business man is the beau ideal of American crookery, to coin a serviceable word. And it all flows naturally from a wrong social system, as evil fruit is gathered of an evil tree. Compared to the petty crook who has been forced into thievery by the exploitation of labor by the capitalist system, and who

steals to live, the millionaire "eminently respectable" leading citizen, who does not have to steal to live, is a criminal many times over. And especially so as his style of dishonesty flourishes by corrupting the very font of government. It is only a step along the same road from trading to cheating, from making profits out of things to making profits out of legislation. The business conscience is bringing this nation down to humiliation and moral bankruptcy. A new social conscience, coming from the wage workers, must be substituted. The express train of the people is nearing the point where two tracks take the place of one, one is the track to Social-Democracy, the other the track to chaos. We need the new conscience to make the decision as to which of the two tracks we are to take.

Socialism grows continually and surely because the seed is right and the soil is ready.

Elsewhere in this issue we print an exposure of the patent medicines that are largely compounded with cheap whisky. This will enable you to catch the humor of the thing when you read flaring testimonials given the patent medicine proprietors by preachers, temperance workers and club women!

The beauty and the costliness of competition is indicated by the advertising bills that are paid each year by those who strive to get ahead of their competitors and thus escape bankruptcy. Statistics show that two billions of dollars, that is, two thousand millions, are spent in the United States yearly to meet the expense of advertising. It's a costly system!

THE VALLEY OF WOE.

The earth is wide and broad areas of its surface have not yet been conquered by culture, but offer room and food for innumerable men. By systematic nursing the natural productivity of our planet has been increased a hundredfold by man, earth's youngest son.

Art and science, the noble twins who sprang from genius, were awakened in their harmonious association with their elder sister, labor, nature's master, she whose innermost motive they explored and pressed it into her service.

Man today moves mountains should they cross his paths, he literally rams the means to his end from the sod; his hands nowadays execute things which the wildest imaginations of the ancient would not have dared to give the gods credit for.

The results of culture form a cup which runneth over with all that tends to make man happy and contented. No man need plague himself from early morn till late at night in order to produce his wants for food. A few hours daily today represent the equivalent of a week's work in times gone by. Fire and water, electricity and magnetism, chemistry and mechanics have relieved and superseded man's muscles a thousandfold.

These are not mere gorgeous words, but facts that may only be denied by a fool. But when thou strutteth through the land where dost thou encounter the joys of Paradise which such a situation would have us anticipate? Where?

Whether you look about in monarchies or republics, in the Frigid or Torrid Zones, every moment your eye is offended by apparitions hiding misery, need and woe, by human beings and things heralding Evil

and Destruction, by scenes creating deep injustice, the foregrounds if which are spread with vice and crime, and for a basis have tombs of marble full of gold and decay.

Your path may lead over meadows steaming with the blood of assassinated men sacrificed to the war moloch.

You behold the wounded, the crushed, the dead—man and beast intermingled, strewn about over a wide surface. Horrid groaning, whining and howling shock your ears. The crop has been destroyed where formerly the peaceful citizen drew blessing-promising furrows. The cannons of war have torn the land. Thick masses of agrarians flee from burning villages into the woods to pitch camps among the animals of the thicket.

Not far from the battlefield a crowned head musters his victorious army. Bewitching music penetrates the atmosphere and warriors cheer him, who but a short while previous had hounded their brethren to perdition in order to be able to fish for a new pearl for his diadem in the torrent of warm human blood. Slaves dedicated to death salute Caesar.

In the Metropolis your eyes are enchained by a gorgeous palace from the ample rooms of which shine splendor and luxury. Magnificent vehicles roll forth and perfumed figures appear loaded with all the splendor capable of being offered by 5 continents.

One of those balls has commenced where a hospitable croesus of modern times must spend a half a million if he would keep up his standing.

Outside the masses move. Hardly one of ten wears a whole suit of clothes, many a one among them

has not enough to pay his lodging for the coming night.

You wander to the Exchange to view the powerful, who dance around this poisoned tree. They speculate and calculate: Will wage slaves produce in future more or less surplus? The answer to that question raises and depresses the stocks. The anticipated exploitation of the future must bring interest in advance for the present.

All tricks, kinks, lies, intrigues and deceit are thrown into the gambling by the lookers and the jobbers in order to correct the decisions of the Goddess of Fortune. One, smilingly, pockets \$100,000, another drives cold lead into his brain. All respectable citizens and people.

A few strides across the street bring you into the palace of justice. A wise judge receiving daily \$25 for drowsing rubs the "Katzenjammer" from his eyes by lecturing a tramp and opening jail for the same to occupy one year because he stole bread and sausage instead of drowning himself.

With important features the chronists of the press register the case and praise the holy order—Freiheit.

Of all the assertions made by Socialists, none have been more completely verified than the statement that the last vestige of difference between the Republican and Democratic parties was ultimately bound to disappear, and the recognition of this fact is now almost universally noted.—N. Y. Worker.

❧

Socialism, alone, of the score of political parties and factions in the German Empire, has great ideals and aims, and it, alone, is a living and growing force, throbbing with power, with hope, and with faith in its own destiny.—von Scheirbrand.

Alarming Growth of Socialism.

The Socialists are claiming that at the recent election they polled over 600,000 votes, and they are much elated over this showing. It is claimed by the Socialist leaders that they have now votes enough to give them legal standing in two-thirds of the states.

Whether there is a future for the Socialist party in the United States or not, the future itself will have to tell. The movement seems to be growing at an **alarming rate.**

What The Post desires to call attention to is that the Socialists have made no headway in the South and are not likely to. The movement is virile only in those states which seem to have settled strongly in the Republican column.

Where the privilege runs riot, Socialism finds its greatest strength; where economical government and Jeffersonian simplicity is maintained, as in the South, Socialism finds little encouragement.

The Republican party is responsible for what Socialistic sentiment there is in the country and will be responsible if the movement ever becomes formidable enough to dominate the government.

If the trusts continue to increase their power in the government, it will not be many years before Socialism will be a force that must be reckoned with.

How can anybody who believes in present economic conditions answer the Socialist? When practically all the railroads in the country are controlled by a single head, the Socialist says: "If modern conditions require a consolidation of railroad managements, then it is best for the government, representing all the people, to own and operate the roads in the interest of the people who pay the freight rates rather than in the interest of a few men. The government has already taken charge of the postal service, and it can as well conduct the railroads."

When the Socialist sees a small group of men controlling the output of coal, the Socialist says: "Nature through her processes has made the coal for the benefit of the people and not for the purpose of making a trust rich. If a few men can operate the mines and control the price of coal, it would be better for the government to acquire these natural resources and utilize them for the benefit of all the people and distribute it by means of government railroads, the

orders for such supplies being transmitted by United States mail or by a United States telegraph."

"If there is to be a tobacco trust, it ought to be the government," says the Socialist, "for it is just as practicable for the government to have a monopoly of the tobacco as for Japan to control such monopoly."

As for the beef trust, the Socialist will say: "Beef is one of the necessities of life and an article of general consumption. No set of men should be permitted to fix the price and extort from the millions of consumers; it would be better for the government to operate the packing houses in the interest of all rather than a few should rob the many."

It is needless to multiply supposititious cases. It is finally coming to such a choice unless some way is found to destroy the trusts and restore competition and individualism in all lines of business. And when the country is finally driven to that choice, something is very likely to happen, as the consuming masses will not forever be willing to remain the victims of the caprice and avarice of aggregated wealth. If individualism must be given up, it **would be better for society to have it merged in the government** than have it stifled and destroyed by the greed of aggregated wealth.

The strange thing about it all is that these men, so shrewd and farsighted in every thing else, can not see that they are bringing about the very condition which they affect to oppose and are setting the example that makes more Socialists than all other influences combined.—Houston (Tex.) Daily Post.

Collier's Weekly, which makes claim to independence and capitalistic non-partisanship, pays its respects to the crookedness of the two capitalist parties. Of the Republicans, it says:

Republican policies are determined, in many of their most important aspects, by a small coterie in the senate. The king of this group is now connected, by the marriage of their children, with John D. Rockefeller, with whom, besides, he has had close business relations for many years. The man who, although not the leader of the bunch, is its ablest member, is a statesman who has in many ways good ideals, but who

receives \$50,000 a year as attorney for a railway, was helped into politics by the railroads, and has been in their employ as a lobbyist. Another member, also with much to his credit, has been a lobbyist, and a party boss. A fourth is a man of education, a historian, but a partisan of the most undiluted brand.

The senate controls legislation and bullies the house. These men control the senate and divide the power with the executive. Money, therefore—in its modern fighting form of corporations—is unmistakably over-represented in Republican legislation. Business aggregations ought to be represented. Everybody's interest should have a hearing—the rich as well as the poor—but the trouble is the rich are grossly over-represented. If the Democrats are the party of confusion and no policy, the Republicans are the party of the duca's stamp.

January Vanguard will be special number containing "Socialism and the City" by Winfield R. Gaylord. Order supply now

Briefly stated, the Marxian position amounts to this: All wealth is the result of labor applied to natural objects.... Labor is the father and earth the mother of all wealth. Capital is that part of the product which is set aside for reproductive purposes. In itself it is part of the product of labor. The total product, therefore, is due to labor and belongs to labor. In private hands, however, capital becomes not only a means of reproduction, an accessory to labor, but also a means for exploiting labor. All wealth, therefore, which goes to others than the workers is so much robbery of labor. It is in antagonism to this robbery of labor that modern Socialism takes its stand. It insists upon the class antagonism necessarily arising from this exploitation and robbery of labor through the class ownership of the means of production, and aims at the extinction of this class struggle by the emancipation of the proletariat and the abolition of the class ownership of the means of production.—Justice, London.

Order a supply of our January issue now.

THE "PATENT MEDICINE" CURSE.

Extract from an article by Edward Bok, in the Ladies' Home Journal.

The Alcohol in "Patent Medicines."

The following percentages of alcohol in the "patent medicines" named are given by the Massachusetts State Board Analyst, in the published document No. 34:

Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound	20.6
Paine's Celery Compound	21.
Dr. Williams's Vegetable Jaundice Bitters	18.5
Whiskol, "a non-intoxicating stimulant"	28.2
Colden's Liquid Beef Tonic, "recommended for treatment of alcohol habit"	26.5
Ayer's Sarsaparilla	26.2
Thayer's Compound Extract of Sarsaparilla	21.5
Hood's Sarsaparilla	18.8
Allen's Sarsaparilla	13.5
Dana's Sarsaparilla	13.5
Brown's Sarsaparilla	13.5
Peruna	28.5
Vinol Wine of Cod-Liver Oil	18.8
Dr. Peters's Kuriko	14.
Carter's Physical Extract	22.
Hooker's Wigwam Tonic	20.7
Hoodland's German Tonic	20.3
Howe's Arabian Tonic, "not a rum drink"	13.
Jackson's Golden Seal Tonic	19.6
Mensman's Peptonized Beef Tonic	16.5
Parker's Tonic, "purely vegetable"	41.6
Schenck's Seaweed Tonic, "entirely harmless"	19.5
Baxter's Mandrake Bitters	16.5
Boker's Stomach Bitters	42.6
Burdock Blood Bitters	25.2
Greene's Nervura	17.2
Hoodland's German Bitters, "entirely vegetable"	25.6
Hop Bitters	12.
Hostetter's Stomach Bitters	44.3
Kaufman's Sulphur Bitters, "contains no alcohol" (as a matter of fact it contains 20.5 per cent of alcohol and no sulphur)	20.5
Puritana	22.
Richardson's Concentrated Sherry Wine Bitters	47.5
Warner's Safe Tonic Bitters	35.7
Warren's Bilious Bitters	21.5
Faith Whitcomb's Nerve Bitters	20.3

Gaylord's "Socialism and the City", complete in January Vanguard. Order now.

(Continued from page 5.)

ganized democratically and operated on the principle of co-operation.

This socialization of industry is the only answer to the cry of labor. It is the hope of the world. And if the church only knew the day of her visitation, this socialization of industry, as rapidly as human energy, and zeal, and genius, can accomplish it, is a veritable second coming of Christ. It is at least one divine event toward which the whole long past has moved. If the Church of America could be aroused from the hypnotic spell of a materialistic, mammonistic and plutocratic age, this plank of the Socialist movement—the socialization of industry—would sound like the call of God to go up and possess the land, and to “bring my people out of the house of bondage and out of the land of the oppressor.”

Our national platform states our proposals thus:

(1) “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 a conscious organization of society.

(2) “Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall by the people in common be owned and administered.

(3) “Socialism means that the tools of employment shall belong to the 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 be all workers together and that all opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.”

I do not hesitate to say that this is the only platform in America that has the purpose of Christ writ large in an economic program. Nor do I hesitate to say that this is the only platform that an apostle or a disciple of Christ can consistently vote for.

I challenge the moral and spiritual teachers of America to duplicate the Socialist platform in any other platform ever written in American politics. Here is a philanthropy that is not the price of blood. Here is humanitarianism that smacks not of vain-glorious charity. If the Church really means to abolish the sufferings of mankind, here is a program before you which we could not dishonor

by even comparing it with that of any other political party.

The message of Socialism to the Church is therefore a summons to spurn all policies and platforms of parties defending and supporting the present system and to vote for the Socialist movement, its platform and its candidates.

At the Pure Food Congress at the St. Louis World's Fair a United States government chemist displayed a long silk ribbon dyed in squares of the most beautiful hues and contrasts, and explained that the dyes used to turn it from a white ribbon into one of varied hues were taken from various adulterated foodstuffs secured in open market. The foods he had drawn upon were bread, mustard, candy, jelly, pickles, preserves, butter, canned goods, catsups, pepper, chocolate, tea, vinegar, etc., etc. Each hue reflected the venality of business under the capitalist system in a most tell-tale way. And it is not in poisonous aniline dyes alone that the crime of food adulteration finds expression, but chemical poisons such as formaldehyde, salicylic acid, pyroligneous acid, benzoic acid, ammonium fluorid, sulphites, abrastol, boric acid, beta naphthol, etc., are other helps to profit making at the expense of the health and very lives of the consuming public. A fine thing is the business conscience!

In Milwaukee a grafting official got free by paying a small money fine for having taken a thousand dollar bribe, while an alderman who took an \$80 bribe got a year's imprisonment. The evenness of capitalist justice is proverbial!

A. REINHARD, Scientific Optician

206 GRAND AVE.
We make glasses.

We prescribe glasses. Artificial Eyes inserted

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 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
DeVillie 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
Liebknicht, 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.**