

# THE VANGUARD.

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

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"It is the phenomeon of the age that millions of people throughout this great country of ours come of their own free will to the shearing pens of the "system" each year, voluntarily chloroform themselves, so that the "System" may go through their pockets, and then depart peacefully home to dig and delve for more money that they may have the debasing operation repeated on them twelve months later." Thomas Lawson.

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A thing that is giving the capitalist press the cold shivers is that the Social-Democrats are in a perpetual campaign and that now that election is over they are at it again with renewed zeal. Old party workers have to be paid to work and then swindle those that pay them, whereas a large fraction of our work is unpaid, steady going and irrepresible. Indeed, many of the workers practically pay money out of their own pockets in order to work. That is what happens when a great principle is at stake. But the capitalist press shakes its head ruefully—it wonders where it's to end, and it is at a loss how to deal with an army that moves on such lines.

Alfred Russell Wallace said:

"The crowning disgrace is that with a hundred fold increase in our powers of wealth, production adequate to supply every rational want of our whole population many times over, we have only succeeded in adding enormously to individual wealth and luxury, while the workers are on an aver-

age as deeply sunk in poverty and misery as before. I am convinced that the society of the future will be some form of Socialism, which is organization of labor for the good of all. Just as the post-office is organized labor for the benefit of all."

The slander bearers of the Catholic church, who form what might be aptly called the Catholic A. P. A., are after all doing us a service, which they little suspect. In the initial days of the Republican party, the county was flooded by insulting handbills, that were industriously circulated, with the heading: "Fremont, Free Labor, Free Love." The perpetrators of this outrageous fabrication persisted in their work until it became simply spent powder. The lying had become overdone; the people saw through it, and the lies recoiled on the heads of those who uttered them. It is always so. The calumniators of Social-Democracy are following in the footsteps of the clerical filth-throwers of Germany, who only succeeded in bespattering

their own cause. They lost the trust of the people—and Social-Democracy went from one success to another, casting over three million votes in the last election, and showing the greatest percentage of gains just in the Catholic districts! The clerical filth-throwers in this country, with their lay assistants, will accomplish just what the early enemies of the Republican party and the anti-Socialists of Germany accomplished—more than nothing. We say more than nothing, advisedly, because unknowingly they are helping what they hope to retard.

Thomas Bernard Gardner, once ranking with Murat Halsted and other leading journalists in this country, is now an inmate of a poor house in California; and yet, he probably in his time took his little sneer at Socialism and tried to discourage it. Fate under capitalism is cruel indeed. When Tom Gardner was a leader in journalistic circles on the Pacific coast it was the era of top hats, frock coats and boutonnieres for newspaper men of the first rank and lots of hobnobbing with princes, diplomats and the leaders of the traveling world. But capitalism took Gardner's fortune away from him to distribute it to other more successful players at the game of "business," and Watson, bleached with his seventy years, hid himself in an out of the way almshouse.

That Roosevelt has not been able to down his inborn love of being boss and that it has more or less caused a mistrust of him by the interests that have spent large sums of money these many years in getting the government departments into shape acceptable to themselves, seems to be born out by the claim of the New York Journal of Com-

merce that "the president's most intimate biographer has admitted that Secretary Gage left the Cabinet because the president began to issue his orders direct to the bureaus of the department, instead of communicating them through the secretary." But it is not the headstrong habits of Roosevelt in this direction that concerns the people so much. Vastly more dangerous is his undoubted love of soldiery and war for the glory there is in it. Should the internal conflicts between capitalism and Labor become so grave as to make such a step necessary the capitalists through press and pulpit would not shrink from calling for a military despotism and would find Roosevelt the man for the hour.

"The socialism of today dreams of an ideal social state, where exact and universal justice will be done; a state of universal prosperity, where there is no unnatural wealth and no helpless poverty. That is a Christian ideal. Every man who accepts a philosophy of Jesus ought to pronounce himself to that extent an ardent Socialist, but that state of human society cannot be brought about through political parties and campaigns. It can be brought about only by the regeneration of the human heart. The idea, therefore, of modern socialism as being brought about by political agencies is the wildest and most irrational dream.

"That ideal will be reached and become a sublime reality when the world accepts Jesus in fact and not in a half-hearted and unintelligent way, as is done now.

"How could there ever be such a thing as social or political injustice to a human being on earth if men sincerely and honestly accepted the doctrine of the golden rule?

The above is from a sermon preached in Milwaukee on Christmas day by the Rev. Sherman P. Young. And we should like to ask *why* men do not "sincerely and honestly" accept the doctrine of

the Golden Rule? Leave out the workers, whom the preachers usually preach at and consider the business men from which class pillars of churches are secured. Why don't they observe the Golden Rule? Why do they bribe councils and legislatures? Why do they sell adulterated goods? Why do they dodge taxes? Why do they fill their factories with woman and child labor? Why do they water their stocks? Why do they gamble in the stock exchange to get wealth away from others? Why do they fight the union and its efforts to secure living wages and better citizenship for the working class? Why do they sell goods under false representations? Why do they give short weight? Why do they practice business deception? Why do they say there is no sentiment in business? Why do they say that in business it is each man for himself—and the devil take the hindmost? Isn't it because there is some strong, compelling motive back of life and conduct under the capitalist system? If all the preaching of the golden rule these hundreds of years has only resulted in unscrupulous and dishonest business lives, in wolfish, neck and neck struggles, in the crushing and exhausting of labor for profit, doesn't it show that, much as people would like to be good, they secretly *feel that they cannot afford to be!* If goodness of conduct can only be brought about by the regeneration of the human heart, where is the result of 2,000 years of preaching? It simply shows that that preaching has been against the stream instead of

with it. And no wonder, when that stream gives forth the immoral song of capitalism that competition and strife make for individual well-being—and the devil take the hindmost!

The Social-Democrats are "irrational dreamers" enough to say: Change the system of competition to one of co-operation and mutual good will and brotherly love! Change the system so that it will *pay* to be good instead of paying to be *bad!* Man is naturally good. He hates to skin his neighbor, or to live by sharp practice, or rent, profit or interest, or by exploiting the labor power of others. Let us make goodness possible, and let the Rev. Young help us to get people to want a new system!

#### OUR POISONED FONT OF GOVERNMENT.

From a Washington despatch: The ex-members of the house and the senate, many of whom hang around Washington, are always utilized to the full extent as they have admission to the floors of the house and senate, and thus are able to buttonhole any member whenever they want to get at him. More than one of these ex-members makes a good living on a big salary by looking after the legislative interests of corporations. The clerks of senators and members are also pressed into the service. The secretary of one senator claims to have made \$30,000 in a few months looking after the legislative and departmental interests of the asphalt trust.

We make this prediction: Milwaukee will not get a municipal electric lighting system until the Social-Democrats give it one.

## Socialist View of War.

Socialists, the world over, are uncompromisingly opposed to war. One of the prominent planks in the platform of International Socialism is a demand for world-peace.

The false patriotism which capitalist and military parties put forth as a pretext for war is seen by the Socialist to be but a means whereby these interested classes reap profit from the blood of the masses. With the spread of Socialism this disguise will be torn off and the common people of all nations will see clearly that they have nothing to lose and everything to gain by abolishing capitalist rule and substituting therefor a world federation of peace and good will.

Our great Italian comrade, Enrico Ferri, thus states the Socialist view of war:

The aim of war is robbery and murder is its means. Here is the positive truth affirmed by the Socialist doctrine of economic determination. The Russo-Japanese war is its brilliant confirmation.

Why do Russia and Japan make war?

The soldiers—that is, the Russian and Japanese workingmen—kill each other through a psychological automatism; they are pushed, they kill and die. That is all.

The military chiefs go to war because it is their trade, to make their career, to win honors and money. "You are badly fed and nearly naked," said Napoleon Bonaparte in his proclamation to the French army at the beginning of the Italian campaign. "Well, I will lead you into a rich country, where you will find glory, honors, and wealth." That is clear enough, it would seem.

But the Russo-Japanese war was not decided upon either by the sol-

diers or by the military chiefs. The capitalists, the proprietors, the contractors, the bankers, are behind the curtain.

Why is there war? Only because they want to steal Manchuria and Korea. And they do not even conceal this robber aim. They add, naturally, the necessity of defending their own commercial and industrial development. But the simple and common truth is that they want to steal, to steal territory, to steal personal wealth.

And when the brutal fact comes to confirm so conspicuously the Socialist truth, that the aim of war is robbery and murder is its means, is it possible that there is a single Socialist, a single man of good sense, who is not against war?

While the pacifist, the good-hearted man, limits himself to a protest, the Socialist adds the work of propaganda and exploits the brutal fact to root more and more in the brain and heart of the workingmen the hatred of wars and the conviction that they must not march, to kill and be killed for the profit of the capitalists, who stay at home and care only to reap the spoils, stained with the proletarians' blood. Spoil and death, double advantage for capitalism.

The thing is so evident, as I write these lines, here in Paris, in the midst of the nationalistic campaign in favor of "Holy Russia"—the Russia of murderous Tsarism, for every human creature that thinks freely—I believe that the French people will never be pushed to march for the Russo-Japanese war. It will not march, this noble proletariat, because the spell is over. The truth is here evident, irresistible: The aim of war is robbery, and murder is its means.

## STEADY GAINS IN GREAT BRITAIN!

An analysis of the returns of the municipal elections to hand show that Social-Democratic Federation candidates—standing as avowed Socialists and with a definite thorough-going Socialist programme—contested 39 seats and were successful in twelve. In addition to these two were returned unopposed, making 14 S. D. F. men elected out of 41 put forward. We have gained nine seats and lost none. In the 39 contests our candidates polled a total of 21,225 votes, or an average of 544, against a total vote of 32,900 polled by our opponents of all shades in the same constituencies. While we have thus succeeded in winning nearly a third of the seats contested we have secured over two-fifths of the total votes cast. This is a most encouraging result—a veritable triumph, when we bear in mind the tremendous forces with which we have had to contend, and how ready our opponents were to pour out money like water in electoral extravagance wherever they thought they were threatened with defeat. In some cases, in spite of the Corrupt Practices Act, bribery and corruption ran rampant, unblushingly and blatantly deriding our slender resources. Nevertheless, two-fifths of the electors, where they have had the opportunity, have voted for Socialism and for Socialist administrators. We have not included the I. L. P.\* candidates, who were, generally speaking, no less successful than our own. Some of these ran as avowed Socialists, some are described as I. L. P., some simply as “Labour,” so it is difficult to distinguish them. But we are dealing here simply with S. D. F. men who were candidates, and the votes cast for them.—Justice, London.

\* The above only gives the gain for one of the two Social-Democratic Parties in the United Kingdom. The Independent Labour Party is also Socialistic. — Editor Vanguard.

### How One Church “Reaches” The Poor.

Says the Chicago Advance, one of the foremost religious journals of the country: “Trinity church, New York, one of the wealthiest churches in the city, reaches a vast number of the common people and the poor through its branch churches and its missions. And it will always be the case that Christianity, by the provident virtues which attend it, will tend to improve the worldly weal of

those who practice it, and so will lift its members above the wretched condition of the Godless poor.”

This sounds so exceedingly pious and indeed praiseworthy that (even though it carries a cruel slur on the so-called “Godless poor”) it seems a pity to puncture the “provident virtues” of these “good” people of Trinity church. But nothing in these days is secure from Socialist scrutiny and in this case, as in others, investigation shows that things “philanthropic” are not what they seem.

There is another side to the story of the "mission work" of Trinity church. It was told some time ago by Felix Adler, for several years president of the New York tenement commission. He said, in an address at Carnegie Music hall, that for years they had been trying to get a law passed in the state of New York for the betterment of tenement house buildings in New York City. He had headed a deputation to the legislature year after year and had explained to the members the necessity of such a bill, but somehow when it came to a vote it was always defeated. He told them how the great tenement building sheltered hundreds and hundreds of souls with only one single water faucet for the whole in the court behind the building, and there those men, women and children from the very highest stories as well as the lowest had to go to that single faucet. Women that worked all day in the factories had to go there and wait in a line for the others, stand there waiting, and then fill a bucket and walk to the top floors, and how necessary it was for cleanliness, for morality and for civilization that water should be brought into every apartment. That was one of the principal things they were trying to do. He said he went one year and found the legislators willing to pass such a law as that. They said it ought to be done, but just before it came to a vote he received a dispatch from Albany, saying, 'Come down, that bill is in danger.' He went down, and he found that some one had been down from the city and had been tampering with the legislators. He said: "Whom do you think it was? Do you think it was the politicians of New York City? They are guilty of much, but they are not guilty of that

this time. Do you think it was a saloonkeeper? They are never very anxious for people to get much water, but this time you will have to excuse them; they are not guilty this time. Do you think it is the slums of the city that are corrupting the legislators down there? Not at all. Who was it? Who was it? It was the trustees of Trinity church—Trinity church, which is the largest holder of tenement property in New York City today."

The Chicago Advance is unfortunate in its mention of a church to illustrate "how to reach the poor."

### THE REFINEMENT OF CRUELTY

To an audience of a thousand unemployed workingmen on the Bowery, waiting for a plate of soup and a cup of bad coffee at the hand of "Christian charity," Pastor Wagner lectured last week on "The Simple Life." Could Hell produce more ingenious cruelty than this? And this is what capitalism produces. The two really fearful things about it are: First, that Wagner no doubt sincerely believed he was doing good; second, that the half-starved wretches had not spirit enough to hoot him for the insult he gave them.—New York Worker.

The cost of living continues to go up, while enormous numbers of workingmen are unemployed and living up their scanty savings. According to "Dun's Review," prices were about 1 per cent higher on Dec. 1 than on Nov. 1 and about 2 per cent higher than they were a year ago. All of which goes to show that "we" are prosperous.—Worker.

## WHAT THE PARTIES STAND FOR.

By EUGENE V. DEBS.

**P**OLITICAL parties, like all other human institutions, are subject to the laws of evolution. The Republican party of Theodore Roosevelt is vastly different from the Republican party of Abraham Lincoln. The Democratic party retains only the name given it by its founders. Once divided upon vital issues, these two parties are now so nearly akin to each other that the great trusts in control of the government are supremely indifferent as to whether the one or the other succeeds to power. In the next few years they will become one, or, at least, the dominant elements of both will unite in the same party. The evolution of capital and labor will make this inevitable.

Political parties express the material interests of those who compose them. Great economic issues divide the people politically and determine their party alignment. In the development of the present capitalist system society has been mainly divided into capitalists and wage workers. Between these two economic classes there is war. This conflict is the vital and paramount political issue of the day and upon this issue the people who have the intelligence to understand it are dividing according to their material interests.

The late Senator Hanna had the political foresight to discern the approaching party alignment on the basis of Labor vs. Capital and warned the Republican party that its next great struggle would be with Socialism.

The Socialist party is the child of the class struggle. It was born of the necessity of the working class and is the party of that class as against the capitalist class.

The labor question is essentially a political question.

The capitalist class rule because they have control of government. The working class are preparing to profit by their example. Numerically they are overwhelmingly in the majority. They have simply to unite and act together politically as a class to put themselves in control of government and emancipate themselves from wage slavery.

At the last election this working class party asserted its national power. The showing was sufficient to command universal attention. Henceforward the working class are a distinct factor of increasing influence and portentous meaning in the politics of the nation.

Superficial observers express their surprise and conclude that it is but a flash on the political horizon and that the Socialist party will soon go the way of all "reform" parties. Their delusion will soon be dispelled. As the contest proceeds they will note that the Socialist party is a party of revolution, not of reform; that it stands for the revolutionary idea of collective ownership of the means of wealth production and the overthrow of the wage system and that no reform of the present order of society, however radical or sweeping it may be claimed to be, will satisfy its class-conscious supporters now counted by hundreds of thousands and soon to be numbered by millions.



Moreover, the Socialist party is founded in the bedrock principles of scientific socialism. It understands the process of social evolution and philosophically prosecutes its propaganda and bides its time. It deludes itself with no promise of premature victory. It has no itching for office. Spoils have no temptation for it. This revolutionary party has but one mission and that is the political unity of the working class to wrest the government from the capitalistic class as the necessary means of abolishing the capitalist system and achieving industrial freedom and social injustice.

This party knows no such word as fusion. The merest hint at compromise is rejected with scorn and indignation. No concession that any capitalist party might offer would turn the Socialist party the breadth of a hair from the clear-cut course through which it is hewing its way to ultimate victory.

The Social-Democracy is composed of working men and women who have come into consciousness of their class interests. It is a party of thinkers and the only party in which the rank and file are supreme. This party has no use for a political Moses and can never be misled or sold out by ignorant or corrupt leaders.

The shibboleth of the movement is: "Workingmen of all countries unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain." Since these great words flashed from the lips of Karl Marx half a century ago they have been caught up by the workers of one nation after another, until the international Socialist movement now girdles the globe and more than eight millions of wage earners are keeping step to the pulse beats of their coming emancipation, which they know full well can be achieved only by themselves.

The present economic conditions are a denial of peace and order and if they had tongues would cry out in protest and hail the impending change. The extremest wealth and the most abject poverty run riot side by side. Periodical industrial depression turns thousands of workers into loafers, vagabonds, tramps, outcasts and criminals. Everything is done for profit. The very machine that labor invents to lighten its burden becomes in this system the means of throwing it into the street as a useless commodity, to find its way at last into the gulf of hell.

Private ownership of the means of life has reduced millions to hopeless poverty, ignorance, vice and crime.

In the light of Colorado, Fall River and the Packingtown hells what supreme hardihood to charge Socialism with breaking up the home, disrupting the family, polluting the marriage relation and destroying the religious life of the people! These things are being done at an appalling rate every hour in the day in the very system these false accusers are supporting and of which they are the pliant tools or the miserable mercenaries.

What is it that Socialism proposes? Simply that the tools workingmen made and use and upon which their very lives depend shall be owned by themselves that they may fully produce the things that are required to keep themselves and families in comfort and health. This is what



Socialism means, and when it comes to pass all the world will be the better for it.

Frances Willard, great soul that she was, understood it clearly when she declared that Socialism and only Socialism would put an end to intemperance and poverty. The trend of the evolution is toward Socialism. The economic basis of society is shaping for the change. A new social order is dawning. The centralization of capital and the organization of labor are paving the way to the Socialist republic. Capitalism and competition have had their day. Socialism and co-operation are next in order. This will mean society free from class rule and all the world at peace.

Very simple is the program of the Socialist party: The organization of the working class for political conquest. When the working class succeed to power the rest will follow as a matter of course. The capital of the country will have been completely centralized, the middle class decimated and competition practically eliminated, and at this point the people will be ready for the transfer of the means of production from private hands to the people in their collective capacity.

*The sooner the trusts dispossess the people the sooner will the people dispossess the trusts.*

Then exploitation of class by class will cease—rent, interest and profit will be no more. Wealth will be produced by social labor in such abundance as to satisfy all human wants. Then leisure, light, virtue and joy instead of idleness, darkness, misery and death.

A new era will dawn in the destiny of the race. In the words of Engels, "mankind will rise from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom."

Obstacles there will be, and many of them, but however formidable they may be they will have to yield to the international revolutionary movement of the working class to abolish the last form of industrial servitude and dedicate the world to freedom and joy.

## Will Socialism Frighten Capital Away.

Old and crusted Tories and Liberals are fond of uttering the parrot cry "Socialistic legislation frightens away capital." Does it? Not in New Zealand, at any rate. According to official statistics this is the splendid result of twelve years' Socialistic legislation in New Zealand:

|                               | Increase.   |
|-------------------------------|-------------|
| Population .....              | 177,148     |
| Wealth (public and private).. | £94,828,035 |
| Production .....              | 10,315,323  |
| Land Value (unimproved)..     | 16,688,309  |
| Land Value (improvements)     | 19,007,862  |
| Imports .....                 | 5,029,142   |
| Exports .....                 | 4,066,143   |

There is a decrease in the number of acres held for pastoral purposes by 1,005,908, but this is accounted for by the increase in the number of acres held for agriculture by 4,976,711. For the financial year 1903-4 they had a surplus of over £750,000. Capital had not been driven from there. In South Australia the capitalist has had at least fifty years without the dreadful labor member, and what is the position? Some unemployed, some over employed, poverty, prostitution, sweating, and other evils; the control of capital getting into fewer hands.—London Clarion.

A Terre Haute daily paper has made the discovery that 'Gene Debs drops into poetry occasionally, and the other day surreptitiously got possession of some verses written and dedicated by the great orator to his father, Daniel Debs, who in his younger years was an inveterate hunter. The verses show that Whitcomb Riley has a rival not to be despised. The verses are as follows:

When the frost is on the pumpkin,  
And the rabbit's in the oats;  
When the quails are in the stubble,  
A tunin' up their throats;  
When the dog is keen and frisky  
Sniffing in the atmosphere,  
The old nimrod's optics glisten,  
And he's mighty glad he's here.  
When the hunter's in the stubble,  
And the rabbit makes a spurt;  
There's a bang and smell of powder,  
And the rabbit bites the dirt.  
When the dog begins to stiffen,  
As he sniffs old Bobby White,  
The old hunter's heart throbs keenly  
With rapture and delight.  
When the rabbit's on the table,  
With the noodles mountain high;  
When the jaws begin to water,  
As the picture greets the eye;  
Oh, 'tis then the hunter's family  
Is a hale and happy group.  
When the frost is on the pumpkin,  
And the rabbit's in the soup.

### DOPED FOR PROFIT.

Truly, one may say of food commodities in Liverpool that

Things are not what they seem.

In a volume of reprinted articles from the "Liverpool Journal of Commerce," by T. Myddleton Shallcross, an architect, one learns that food is dreadfully adulterated in the city on the banks of the Mersey. Here is a table of proved adulterated of foods, etc.:

| Description of Samples.    | Percentage of adulteration. |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Almonds, ground .....      | 25                          |
| Black current wine.....    | 50                          |
| Bread and butter.....      | 33 1-3                      |
| Buttermilk .....           | 100                         |
| Cream .....                | 35.71                       |
| Elderberry squash .....    | 100                         |
| Ginger, ground and whole.. | 3.7                         |
| Ginger wine .....          | 57.14                       |

|                         |        |
|-------------------------|--------|
| Jams .....              | 25.92  |
| Lard .....              | 22.72  |
| Lemon squash .....      | 100    |
| Lime juice cordial..... | 60     |
| Mace, ground .....      | 20     |
| Margarine .....         | 9.52   |
| Mercury ointment .....  | 36.36  |
| Milk, new .....         | 11.18  |
| Pepper, black .....     | 100    |
| Pepper, white .....     | 21.62  |
| Peas .....              | 55.5   |
| Raspberry wine .....    | 50     |
| Rice, ground .....      | 20     |
| Shrimps, potted .....   | 33 1-3 |
| Sweetmeats .....        | 3.03   |
| Vinegar .....           | 16.6   |
| Wine, fermented .....   | 100    |
| Zinc ointment .....     | 57.14  |

Mr. Shallcross considers that, throughout the entire range of municipal activity, Liverpool has been deficient in enterprise—though doubtless he would exonerate the tramways and lighting departments. As a result, the death rate of the city has risen from 21.6 per 1,000 in 1901 to 24.5 at the present time.—Clarion.

### BEHIND ALL THE FACTS.

No man can be really free while another man controls his job. We cannot be a truly free people, nor can we have lasting peace and harmony, so long as a part of the people are dependent on the will of others for permission to work. No matter what laws and constitutions may say, no matter what pleasant phrases about liberty and equality and unalienable rights we may hear on the Fourth of July, this hard fact remains, that back of all political questions is the economic question, the bread-and-butter question, the question of getting a living; and if some men, under the forms of legal freedom and equality, have actual power to prevent others from getting a living or to dictate the conditions under which they may be allowed to work, they wield a power of oppression as great as that of feudal lords or holders of chattel slaves.

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## WHO GETS THE WEALTH?—By Frederic Heath.

"We produce wonderfully; we *distribute* abominably."—Victor Hugo.

That the great working class of this country is turning out vast wealth that it is not able to keep under the present system, goes without saying. The productivity of labor with modern industrial methods and the modern machinery that has sprung from its great inventive genius, are factors that the world marvels over. The canting hypocrits and foxes of the capitalist parties beguile their hearers with the story of America's achievements in a productive way, and certainly, it is common knowledge that one man to-day can with modern methods turn out a vastly greater product than he could in the past. What then becomes of this wealth, since the wage-worker gets only his wage back, and isn't even able to keep that out of the channels that flow toward the master class. In order to prove the Social-Democratic contention that the product of labor goes to the capitalist class, thus impoverishing the working class, we must be able to show that the capitalist class has this massed up and accumulating wealth, and is actually in possession. Work as hard as he will, the wage worker yet groans for the decent comforts of life and finds added to his bitter lot the Hell of having to witness his loved ones in distress and without the advantages that make for complete citizenship. Sometimes he commits suicide in utter despair, or, in some cases, after sickness has brought him to the greatest extremity, becomes callous and drifts in criminal directions.

We produce wonderfully—but how is that product distributed? That is the question!

It is still too early to get the facts from the last national census. The labor of digesting the facts which it presents is an immense one, and would require days and weeks and months of unremitting research and computation. The work will be done doubtless in time but in the interim we are largely left to deal with the facts that were secured from the census of 1890. Perhaps it is better so, as we shall not be open in the slightest to the charge of over statement or exaggeration of facts. For everyone knows that the concentration of wealth has been greatly intensified since 1890, especially as this is the day of the trust development come to flower, and also, as we find from the census of 1900 that the average wage of the productive worker in the United States fell from \$445 to \$437 in the ten years between 1890 and 1900. So let us take the conservative figures of the census of 1890.

One of the statisticians connected with the taking and assembling of that census was Mr. George K. Holmes a man of recognized statistical ability. He set himself the task of figuring out the extremes of class wealth and poverty from the facts revealed by the census and published the result of his labors in the Political Science Quarterly for December, 1893. He estimated the total wealth of the country in 1890 at sixty billions of dollars and the total number of families at 12,690,152, which showed that if the wealth were equally divided between the families (as some particularly stupid critics of Socialism still insist that Socialism proposes!) it would give each family \$4,728. Instead, he found that, to use his own language, "Ninety-one per cent. of the 12,690,153 families of the country owned no more than

about twenty-nine per cent. of the total wealth, and that NINE per cent. of the families *owned about SEVENTY-ONE per cent. of the wealth!*" And among the nine per cent. of the families that owned the seventy-one per cent. of the wealth, he found that the further concentration—taking cognizance also of the N. Y. Tribune's list of 4,047 millionaires—showed that THREE-HUNDREDTHS OF ONE per cent. of the families owned TWENTY per cent. of the wealth! He also showed that more than half of the people, that is, fifty-one per cent., owned no more than *five* per cent. of the wealth. Allowing five persons to a family, he showed that for 57,969,435 of the people the average per capita wealth was only \$299!

Several other statisticians have also grappled with the problem of the national wealth distribution, with the notable result that they

come to practically the same conclusions in regard to the growing stratification of wealth. One of these was Chas. B. Spahr, one of the editors of the Outlook Magazine, who in 1900 published his well known book on "The Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States." From it we take some further light. Mr. Spahr got the same result that Prof. Holmes did, but from different facts. In 1892 the New York legislature decided that the surrogate court should keep a public record of all estates, real or personal, which had to officially be adjudicated or probated. This soon presented an exceptional field for the statistician, and with the help of the clerk of the court Mr. Spahr began to collect and compare the facts that would form an accurate basis for his calculations. The following table was the final result of his labors:

The Holmes Table of Wealth Distribution.

| Class.            | Families.  | Pr. ct. | Av. Wealth. | Aggregate Wealth. | Pr. ct. |
|-------------------|------------|---------|-------------|-------------------|---------|
| Very rich.....    | 125,000    | 1.      | \$264,000   | \$33,000,000,000  | 50.8    |
| Rich.....         | 1,375,000  | 11.     | 16,000      | 23,000,000,000    | 35.4    |
| Middle class..... | 5,500,000  | 44.     | 1,500       | 8,200,000,000     | 12.6    |
| Poor class.....   | 5,500,000  | 44.     | 150         | 800,000,000       | 1.2     |
|                   | 12,500,000 | 100.    | \$5,200     | \$65,000,000,000  | 100.    |

From the above table we find that 99 per cent of the families of the country *own less than half of the wealth of the country!* Or, to quote Mr. Spahr's own words:

"The conclusions reached, therefore, are as follows:—Less than one-half the families in the America are *propertyless*; nevertheless seven-eighths of the families hold but one eighth of the national wealth, while one per cent of the families hold more than the remaining ninety-nine."

In the Forum for September 1889 Thomas G. Shearman, basing his estimates on a close study of the Boston tax returns, presented the following table of wealth distribution in the United States:

| Class.    | Families.  | Aggregate Wealth. | Average per family. |
|-----------|------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Rich .... | 182,090    | \$48,867,000,000  | \$238,135           |
| Middle .. | 1,200,000  | 7,500,000,000     | 6,250               |
| Working.  | 11,620,000 | 11,215,000,000    | 968                 |
|           | 13,002,090 | \$62,082,000,000  | \$4,775             |

From the above it appears that Mr. Shearman has put his line

dividing the middle from the working class rather high, for \$968 is a high average for the savings of the typical wage worker. Commenting on the table, Mr. Shearman says: "Forty thousand persons own one-half of the wealth of the United States; while one-seventieth part of the people own over two-thirds of the wealth. It may be safely assumed that 200,000 persons control 70 per cent of the nation's wealth, while 250,000 persons control from 75 to 80 per cent of the whole. The United States of America are practically owned by less than 250,000 persons, constituting less than one in 60 of its male population."

Mr. Shearman made the interesting experiment of recasting his table in accordance with the British income returns. This would have given the rich families an average of but \$186,567 each, the middle and working class remaining the same. The plain fact is that even fifteen years ago the aristocracy of the United States was wealthier per family than the aristocracy of King Edward's empire! And this in spite of the vast colonial plundering and pillaging of Johnny Bull—the plundering of the work slaves of this country is much more profitable! It costs less, too, for colonies are expensive things to keep in subjection.

In the United States senate in 1891, the late Senator Ingalls made the following reference to the Shearman table: "Mr. President, it is the most appalling statement that ever fell from the lips of man. It is, so far as the results of Democracy as a political experiment are concerned, the most terrible commentary that was ever recorded in the books of time. Our population is sixty-two and a half millions, and by some means, some device, some machina-

tion, honest or otherwise, some process than cannot be defined, less than a two-thousandth part of our population have obtained possession of more than one-half of the accumulated wealth of the country, and have kept out of penitentiary in spite of the means they have adopted to acquire it!"

Senator Ingalls professed ignorance of how the concentration of wealth was accomplished. Many an humble Socialist factory operative could have told him!

Eltweed Pomeroy, well known in the Direct Legislation movement, also investigated the wealth distribution question. He published the result of his work some years ago in the Arena magazine. His table for England showed that 1.6 per cent of the people owned 54.2 per cent of the wealth. He then investigated Massachusetts, making use of the labor reports, the probate records, registration reports, etc., and with further investigations and comparisons used the results as applicable to the whole country. Here is his table worked out in diagram form for the year 1900:

## POPULATION.

|                                                        |
|--------------------------------------------------------|
| Rich Class .65<br>Well to do 1.85<br>Middle Class 6.50 |
| Lower Middle<br>11.5                                   |
| Poor 7.5                                               |
| Very Poor 72.                                          |

100.

## WEALTH.

|                                     |
|-------------------------------------|
| Rich Class 58.                      |
| Well-to-do 20.25                    |
| Middle Class 15.                    |
| Lower Middle 6.<br>Poor Classes .75 |

100.

## THE WEAKNESS OF SENTIMENT.

The poverty of the poor is the stock-in-trade of the professional philanthropist and the sensational journalist. They are not Socialists, as a rule; Socialism would destroy their means of existence. But they are used to administering "moral shocks," which serve as a piquant sauce to the jaded palates of the rich, sated with the cloying pleasures of fashionable life. The rich simply revel in the misery of the poor—not that they are pleased for the poor to be miserable, but because it affords them the opportunity of cultivating the virtues of benevolence and charity, which otherwise would have no outlet and would wither and die from desuetude.

"The poor ye have always with you;" and the rich hold this to be a blessed dispensation of Providence for the cultivation and development of their own moral sense, as well, of course, as providing them with servants and cheap labour.

The only appreciable effect of "shocks to the moral sense" of the rich has been their own moral benefit. The good little children of the rich are taught in their "prunes and prism" schools to be kind to the poor and all other dumb animals. What would they do if there were no poor? Poverty does not shock them greatly—at most it leads them to "thank the Goodness and the Grace, etc."—it is part of the eternal fitness of things.

Shocks to moral sense, indeed! How many such shocks there have been, and how little they have effected! How many years ago did Tom Hood write his "Song of the Shirt," and in how many millions of ears has it rung?

With fingers weary and worn,  
With eyelids heavy and red,  
A woman sat in unwomanly rags,  
Plying her needle and thread—  
Stich! stich! stich!

In poverty, hunger and dirt,  
And still with a voice of dolorous pitch—  
Would that its tone could reach the  
Rich!—

She sang this "Song of the Shirt!"

"Would that its tone could reach the Rich!" indeed. I wonder how many thousands of times its tone has reached the rich; yet the picture is as true as ever it was when Tom Hood wrote the poem.

More than 20 years ago a shock to the moral sense of the rich was administered by the publication of a pamphlet by the Rev. A. Mearns, called "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London," and dealing with the terrible conditions under which the poor of London were housed. Soon after that—so keenly felt was the shock, followed as it was by vigorous Socialist agitation—a Royal Commission was appointed to consider the matter, and to-day—such is the effect of a shock of this kind—overcrowding is worse than ever; we talk of a house famine as a matter of course, and Justice Grantham and other philanthropists are proposing corrugated iron dustbins as cottages for the working-class!

Shocks to the moral sense of the rich neither prove nor disprove the class war, but if they result in serious enquiry into the cause of social ills, its existence is demonstrated. This, however, they seldom do; they generally only promote charity, which covers a multitude of sins of its own breeding. A woman of fashion is shocked to read of the death from overwork of a young girl at a

fashionable dress-maker's during the pressure of Ascot week, and forswears smart dresses for ever. The only appreciable result is a falling-off in the work of some fashionable modiste and maybe another addition to the ranks of the "unfortunates." A capitalist is shocked by the physical and moral degradation due to his exploitation of a certain number of the working-class. He closes his works and retires to live in humble comfort. The only appreciable result is a considerable addition to the numbers of the unemployed. No; revolutions are not to be made with rose-water nor earthquakes cured with Beecham's Pills; neither will the evils arising in modern society from the conflict of material interests be remedied by a few shocks to the moral sense of the well-to-do.

For the capitalist as capitalist is a beast of prey; and it would be as reasonable to expect to moralize the wolf or the tiger as to moralize the capitalist. It is not out of any special antipathy to the working-class that the capitalist exploits them. I have no doubt that if the capitalist could see the victims of his exploitation living happy, joyous lives in spite of exploitation, he would be rather pleased than otherwise. In just the same way I have little doubt that the wolf who had ravaged the flock overnight would be quite delighted to see the same flock as sleek, peaceful and unharmed after as before he commenced his depredations. But this, in the nature of things, is impossible. Therefore, the economic pressure of his self-interest over-rides all other considerations, and no appeal to his moral sense will deter him from making war upon the sheep.

The out-of-work suicide; the dock-er; the starving sempstress; the poor woman making match-boxes at

five cents a gross are regular stock shockers, trotted out from time to time to move the pity of the well-to-do, and give them the occasion for that "good cry" which they frequently find so salutary. If they did not find this occasion for weeping in their newspapers they would have to go to the theatre for it. But their weeping betokens no change in social conditions; their sympathy is too frequently that of the walrus for the oysters:—

"I weep for you," the walrus cried.  
"I deeply sympathise!"

With sobs and groans he sorted out those of the largest size,  
Holding his pocket handkerchief before his streaming eyes!"

—Tattler.

## FREE TO CHOOSE ?

It is just because leading statesmen persistently ignore the fundamental facts of the modern town life of the manual working class—because it is still complacently assumed, as it was a century ago, that the wage earning occupant of a slum tenement is "free" to select his own environment—that these slums are still with us, to an even greater extent than in Cobden's days, demoralizing actually a larger number of lives than they did when Lord Shaftesbury first made us aware of them. Our cities, the enforced dwelling places of two-thirds of our race, are, with all our boasted improvements, for lack of efficient regulation and adequate public expenditure, mere whited sepulchres, their main thoroughfares and comfortable quarters swept and garnished, whilst behind are horrors which we have as yet made only the feeblest efforts to combat.—Sydney Webb, in the Independent Review.



## WANTON WASTE.

Fort Gaines, Ga., Dec. 28.—The farmers and merchants of Clay county met today, decided to burn their share of the 2,000,000 bales of surplus cotton and help restorep rices. A starter was made today when a bonfire was made of cotton on the streets of Fort Gaines. The object is to show that the farmers are ready to sacrifice a few bales for the benefit of the masses. Excitement is increasing.

Such a criminal, such a shameful thing as the above could only happen under the sanctified capitalist system! The people need clothes, but what of that! The market must be kept strong! Under capitalism cotton is not grown because the people need cotton, but simply because it can be sold in the market. You ought to be proud of such a crazy, criminal system!

I venture to say that history does not afford anything like a parallel to the Socialist movement—There has been nothing like it. It is the only movement of modern times that has one drop of blood in it, one spark of fire, one ray of hope. Its face is toward the future. It has sprung from no momentary impulse. It is the product of no temporary passion. It comes not from the caves and dens of ignorance. It builds its fair structure on no foundation of tradition or superstition. Back of this Socialist movement, which is overspreading Europe and permeating America, are the greatest forces of history and life. It is the product of science, of knowledge, of freedom of thought, of democratic ideals and experience. Back of it is enlightenment, progress, power. It is the uprising of humanity. It is the utterance of that in human life

which the priests of tradition and the politicians of expediency have never dreamed of. On its broad bosom floats the hopes and joys and fulfillments of humanity. Nothing stays its course. It comes up the east like the dawn. It rolls onward to its fulfillment with the rythm and swing of the planets and their orbits. Gravitation is not more elemental or sure than the triumph of this vast struggle of humanity for its long-deferred rights. To know this movement, to breathe in its atmosphere, to co-operate in its consummation, is to live—nothing else is.—Rev. William Thurston Brown.

Says Laurence Gronlund, in his book "Ca Ira": "It can be said of the plutocrats of all countries, that they have been weighed in the balance and everywhere found wanting. Nowhere have they paid the least attention to their duties as rulers, but everywhere they have used the opportunities which their rule gave them to farther their private interests exclusively. That is so well shown by that eminently middle class, or plutocratic institution, the public debt. During the Middle Ages, when the state was in extraordinary need of funds, the rulers—the nobles and clergy—often put their hands into their own pockets and gave the needful amount to the state as a present. Now the public debt of France is immense; indeed, threatening the state with bankruptcy. This debt is all due to French citizens, to persons of the middle (the commercial class is here referred to) classes. Whenever the state needs more funds, either for a war or public works, these middle classes are ever ready,

aye, *anxious*, to put their hands in their pockets and *loan* their money to the state. The ruling middle classes have so arranged matters that they can make these loans at highly usurious rates; for instance in 1871 they handed over to the state eight francs, and received in return a bond for a hundred francs."

Patriotism with the plutocratic class generally spells "*main chance*," in the United States as well as in France!

Father Sherman says Socialism is "Hell's lowest vomit." As against that vulgar characterization we will put the following from a much better source:

"Commercialism makes Christianity impossible; the attempt to reconcile them can lead to but one single result—hypocrisy. Social-Democracy, on the contrary, makes Christianity possible; moreover, it is the only political system which does."—Edmund Kelly, M.A., Columbia University.

The king of England has intimated to Gen. Booth of the Salvation Army that he looks on the work of the army with approval. A knighthood for the General is even hinted at as a future possibility. The king's action is a proper one from his standpoint, for the Salvation Army plays a most important part in the capitalist economy. The tendency of the system is to inevitably produce an undercurrent or substratum of lost humanity, and such a substratum is always a menace to the security of the class in power. Gen. Booth goes among these people and cheers them up, tells them if they would not drown their sorrows in drink that they would enjoy a nor-

mal life and gain the smile of God, and that the king loves them and when they are in the sorest distress will give them a great feed upon a certain day—and let them starve the other 364 days of the year! He don't say anything of letting them starve, but that's what they get, as a matter of fact. And Booth practices hypnotism upon all those who will listen and makes it easier for them to suffer the great social wrong that pushes them down to slum and gutter, and all this keeps them in bounds and tractable and the king and the vested interests heave great sighs of relief and feel more secure against their despoiled victims turning upon them with mob fury. Truly the king ought to smile upon Booth. Why not!

### SOCIETY UNDER CAPITALISM!

Yesterday a city firm received no fewer than 998 applications in response to an advertisement for a clerk. The salary offered was 30 shillings (\$7.50) per week.—London Daily News.

### How the People DO Prosper!

The impartial observer can scarcely claim that the Bible produces so marked an effect upon the daily habitual life of those who profess to guide their conduct by it as Socialism does upon its adherents. The strength of Socialism in this respect is more like that of early Christianity as described in the New Testament.—Prof. Richard T. Ely.

We respectfully refer the above to Archbishop Messmer and the dishonest politician who is leading in carrying out the archbishop's political plans.

## A SCOURGE OF LABOR.

By FREDERIC HEATH.

Consumption, the great devastator of the working class, is beginning to get something of the attention it deserves from scientific and economic students. Tuberculosis is essentially a poor man's disease, and it is making fearful inroads into the population of this country, principally in the congested portions of the cities, but also to some extent in the farming districts of the poorer class, where the houses are closed tight in Winter and the occupants to save fuel avoid ventilation, and where also for cheapness sake they live on salt-embalmed pork and other unnatural foods.

We note, with some pleasure, that learned circles are coming to see that consumption is not a disease which once "caught" must necessarily run its fatal course, but that it is simply nature's fight against wrong conditions and unhealthful ways of living, nature's protest, in fact, against bad housing, the breathing of too much house air, the eating of wrong and poisoned foods, and the working in dusty and unsanitary factories. There is a vast amount of educating necessary in order that people may know what to avoid in these directions, and no better way could be suggested than that the children be taught it in the schools. Let our school boards take the subject up and let text books be prepared on the question. There is no time to be lost, for human lives are at stake.

In this connection we would urge our readers, especially those of the factory worker class and those who must live the usual existence of the modern wage worker, to buy the January number of McClure's Magazine and to read the article on "Tuberculosis: The Real Race Suicide," which covers some fifteen pages with instructive reading about the "great white plague." The magazine costs ten cents, so that almost anyone can afford it. "Tuberculosis," it tells us, "is not, as was believed a few years ago, a mysterious and inevitable fate. Modern science has shown us that the environment which man makes for himself, the habit of life which he practices, determines his liability to the disease. Tuberculosis is the chief cause of death throughout the world. Its one serious source of infection is from man to man by the sputum expectorated or coughed up; but although communicable in this way, it is not, in the ordinary sense, contagious." A careful consumptive, who understands that his sputum is to be destroyed and not expectorated about where it can dry and get into the air as dust for others to breathe into their lungs, is never a public peril, it says. The article holds to the theory that the bacillus of consumption is the means by which the disease is spread, and says that an ordinary consumptive coughs up about seven billions of these bacilli in a day. Sunlight kills them, so that ordinarily spitting into the street is not a source of public danger. But sputum upon sidewalks where it has not dried and been acted on by sunlight, is easily tracked into our homes by walking on the street, and once trodden into carpets or rugs may be calculated to make up a part of the dust that the house wife, who usually breathes through her mouth, draws in at each sweeping. Here again, the danger of these little microscopi-

cal germs depends on conditions. If the person breathing them is weakly and in a run down physical state, they are likely to find favorable soil for growth, and a case of consumption is slowly developed. This, of course, is the view of medical science. While we do not fully share it, the fact remains that it is the person in good health, whose living habits are proper, who need have no fear of contracting the disease. The article in McClure's states that in tuberculous hospitals the nurses, who are often persons who have been cured of consumption, stand in no danger of contracting the disease, because the expectorations from the diseased lungs of the patients are burned up, and the surroundings are kept in a sanitary condition—there being less danger of contagion there than outside their walls..

The article makes this point, which is interesting and should put consumptives on their guard against the creosote-poison quacks who are always ready to take a consumptive's money and then ship him off to "a better climate" when he has become so bad that cure is impossible, that there are no specific remedies for consumption nor sure-cure drugs or poisons. The only cure that has really been found of value is the fresh air cure. Best of all it is cheap. Consumptives, warmly clad, have slept out doors Summer and Winter, and breathed out door air as many hours of the twenty-four as possible, and cures have been wrought in all cases where the patient had not let his case run until his vital forces were completely broken down. A clean body, food that is not irritating to the stomach by means of spices, peppers, alcohol, or drugs or narcotics of the tobacco order, careful attention to breathe nature's air at first hand, well ventilated bedrooms—all this is necessary to re-establish the right relations that nature demands, if our consumptives are to regain their health. "Drugs are practically useless, patent medicines, with their testimonials either faked entire, or wrung from sufferers by blackmail, are cruel swindles and in many cases criminally harmful. Fresh air, sunlight and good food (this means as natural food as possible, cutting out coffee, tea, vinegar, mustard, chemical leavens, also meat to quite an extent) will save any case of tuberculosis that has not progressed too far—and nothing else will."

We shall refer to this subject again. In the meantime we would point out this fact, that consumption is itself part of the present labor question, for it is devastating the working class, and its severity is increased by the capitalist system, which locks up the workers in dusty factories away from nature's sunlight and weakens their powers of resistance to disease by imposing inhuman tasks upon them.

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An animated discussion is going on at Aston, England, owing to the action of two members of the town council, Messrs. J. Haddon and J. E. Berry, in refusing to drink to the health of the king at the mayoral banquet a few days ago. Councillor Haddon says that, as a Socialist, he could not respond to the toast, and if he could have left the room while it was being drunk he would have done so. He could not leave the room conveniently, so he had to remain. He would rather lose ten thousand seats than lay himself open to a charge of inconsistency.



## 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: J. MAHLON BARNES, 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 | 5,233,054 |
| 1903 | 6,285,374 |

The editor of the Vanguard is on an extended trip in California. While giving a series of lectures at San Diego he was taken suddenly sick and has been unable to attend to the work on the paper.

The present edition of the Vanguard has been hurriedly prepared for the editor by Carl D. Thompson and any shortcomings should be pardoned in view of the sickness of Comrade Spence which has made it impossible for him to assist.

The Wisconsin Socialists are showing unprecedented activity in the organization of their state. New locals are being organized in every section.

Comrade J. Mahlon Barnes of Pennsylvania has been elected National Secretary of the Socialist party to succeed William Mailly.

Minnesota comrades are stirring the ground for a great harvest. Thomas Van Lear is touring the state with splendid success.

Socialism is the topic up for discussion all over this land today, anybody who helps on this discussion be he common mortal, priest or capitalist editor, is a friend, and we gladly acknowledge the fact.

Milwaukee Social-Democrats had the record crowd at their carnival in the big Exposition building—over 12,000 people, by actual count of the tickets taken in at the door—and the politicians' jaws are agape with dismay. They are beginning to "see their finish," all right!

Reports state that the German government is now in favor of state ownership of canals, coal fields and so on. The working class is organized in Germany, that's why. The more the working class gets power through organization and a concerted use of the ballot, the more the rulers discover that public ownership is a good thing. The thing is working, all right, only the workers must keep at it.

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

## SOCIALIST PLATFORM.

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

### I.

**W**E, 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 proprietary interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take unawares the right of the worker to a vote or a voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself or for the common good.

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

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths in which our institutions were founded. But under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings to ever become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working

class produces, above its subsistence-wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

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

### II.

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

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