

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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Ah! this society is false. One day, and soon, the true society will come. Then there will be no more lords; there will be free living men. There will be no more hoarding of wealth, but there will be abundance for all. There will be no more masters, but there will be brothers. They that toil shall have. This is the future. No more prostitution, no more abasement, no more ignorance, no more beasts of burden, no more courtiers, no more kings, but light.

VICTOR HUGO.

The ridiculous notions still exploited by some pulpитеers concerning Socialism makes them the laughing stock of their community. A Methodist preacher in Los Angeles by the name of Fisher is the latest to make an exhibition of himself by declaring in a recent sermon that Socialists propose to "do away with all machinery," that they are "opposed to Christianity," and, to cap the climax, that "a fair example of Socialism is found in a prison." Think of people paying a man to talk such stuff and nonsense! But, perhaps, after all, this is just what he is paid for.

"Do you see that large department store?" said a rescue worker recently to a visitor in one of our cities. "In it 3,000 girls are employed at an average of \$3.50 per week. Upon that wage they are expected to live and appear neatly dressed in their places of work. They must pay room rent, board, car fare, and clothe themselves. Those who do not pay board help to support families at home. At best their life is one of hopeless, rayless poverty. The evil we seek to remedy comes almost as a matter of course. This store is but one instance of a whole system of things that drags down thousands where individual effort can lift up one." Year after year, day after day, the capitalist mill is thus grinding out misery and crime. And this is what is called "un-

exampled prosperity," which the country is "enjoying." Verily, it is unexampled. Was there ever such "prosperity" or such "enjoyment"?

It is something when the capitalist press recognizes, if only by way of amusement, the cruelty and shame of present social conditions. Here is Life's recent satire on child labor in Pennsylvania: "In declining to place any obstacle in the way of employment of very little girls in factories the legislature of Pennsylvania stands up manfully for the fullest measure of industrial progress. Sociologists long ago discovered that the younger the operative the less it costs, in proportion to his available working strength, to keep his body and soul together. That is to say, children are the cheapest help in the world. This is a wise provision of nature, and good for many millions of national wealth, provided all legislatures are as discerning and as brave as the legislature of Pennsylvania."

"The labor market." What does this expression mean? What but that labor is a commodity which may be bought and sold? And what is this but the essence of slavery, for in order to buy and sell "labor" there must be traffic in human flesh and blood? There is no such thing as a "labor market" that is not in effect identical with

"slave market." And it is not the Socialist alone who recognizes this fact. Even such a conservative writer as Prof. Albion W. Small, of the University of Chicago, says: "The laboring class, as a class, is more necessary to civilization than ever. The individual laboring man today, however, is haunted by the thought that he may any day lose his job. He feels that he has less certainty of keeping himself and family from starvation or pauperism than the average American slave had of living in comfort through old age. The freeman's freedom today is evidently a struggle with severer and more relentless contingencies than slaves, as a class, have encountered in civilized countries in modern times."

Object to Socialism, do you, on the ground that it would reduce men to a dull level, rob them of manly independence, and make life a monotonous round? Why, this is precisely why we object to capitalism. It destroys individualism, degrades manhood, and makes of man a mere machine. If you are in doubt read this from a recent address by Bishop Potter, of New York, who, by the way, is saying some good things these days: "Machinery is doing away with intelligence in labor. It is turning the laboring man into an idiot. Not long ago I visited a large factory in this state. The owner showed me around proudly, pointing out the manner in which labor was simplified. I saw a young man sitting before some sort of a large hammer with his legs crossed, and all his work consisted in shoving into an opening in the machinery a small piece of iron. He would turn the metal two or three times, throw it into a large box and take another piece. That was this man's work, day after day, week after week. No wonder that at night-time he drank, gambled and fought; otherwise he would go mad. How many of us would stand this and not cry out? Not one of us but would become a striker. Myself among the very first."

Good for Roosevelt! And good for the Socialists! Whatever the faults of our strenuous President, he cannot be accused of failure to "speak out in meeting." And now it is "Social-Democracy" that receives the benefit of his frankness. According to Jackson

Tinker, writing in Public Opinion, Mr. Roosevelt had an interview recently with the railroad magnates concerning control of rates, etc. He gave them warning that refusal on their part to consent to moderate regulation would precipitate Socialism. Here is an extract from Mr. Jackson's article:

"Then he (Mr. Roosevelt) summoned some of the railroad presidents again and told them frankly that he was convinced that they were standing in the way of their own best interests by not being willing to accept moderate regulation of railroads by Federal authority. 'Gentlemen,' he said, 'you are only inviting still more radical action—government ownership.' One of his visitors was shocked when the President, turning upon him in his abrupt manner, exclaimed: 'The Republican party will not go up against any more 'stuffed clubs' in a good while. The Democratic party will not try that game again in this generation.'

"'What then?' gasped his visitor.

"'Social Democracy,' came the astounding rejoinder. 'That will be their next move, unless we Republicans, with full power in the executive and legislative departments of the government, satisfy the people and reform existing conditions. If we don't do this, we shall be overwhelmed.'"

Of course we take no stock in Mr. Roosevelt's definition of Socialism as "government ownership," much less in the Socialism of the decadent Democratic party. But we are more than marking time when a Republican president is so far influenced by the growth of Socialist sentiment as to use it as a whip to bring his supporters into line and wring concessions from them in hope of postponing the inevitable.

Socialists preach peace and are accused of inciting strife. They condemn war and are denounced by the professed followers of the Prince of Peace. They insist upon the Golden Rule and are called infidels by the people who "believe" in Christ. They ask for simple justice and are berated as fools. They prove their position by statistics of the commercial world and government reports and are branded as liars. If they would only preach war, greed, oppression, fraud, and the whole capitalist code of "morality," what a respectable lot they would be!

INCENTIVE UNDER SOCIALISM.

The following from "Education and the Larger Life," by Hanford Henderson, furnishes such an excellent reply to the charge that Socialism will destroy ambition that we reproduce it here for the benefit of our readers:

"Nor is it true that when the social state, through association and co-operation, reduces the bread-and-butter problem to a minimum, to its proper place, it will rob a man of wholesome initiative and enterprise. The same argument might have been used against the suppression of the robber barons of the Middle Ages, or the Algerian pirates in the early days of the republic. The social state is not an entity outside the hearts of men, alternately coaxing and browbeating them. It is an expression of so much of the individual will as is common to all or to a majority of the community. The social state would mean, not that men had lost initiative and enterprise, but rather that they preferred to spend their initiative and enterprise in better and more social ways than by exploiting their neighbors, preferred to spend this force in the more interesting and delightful occupation of perfecting the self and realizing some of the magnificent possibilities of the present moment.. To give over the quest of profit and the Shylock view of life generally is not to give over initiative and enterprise. The experimentalists have given over profit, but I have painted them ill if I have not shown them to be a more daring and picturesque band of adventurers than ever went in search of the golden fleece. Every increase in strength, in beauty, in accomplishment, in goodness, brought about by the betterment of the life conditions through the amelioration and idealizing of daily toil, means increased power to use this lengthening leisure to advantage. One need not make personal trial of the shop-keeping and book-keeping and time-keeping and the various other forms of holding tight by which men waste and lose their lives, to see that on the very face of it such occupations are infinitely less worth while than art and science and letters, investigation and travel, religion and music, love and comradeship, field and forest, sunshine and fresh air, even than swimming and boat racing and tennis. The old remark that a man can be doing many worse things than making money

is a very cheap and nasty disposition of the august possibilities of a human life. When we realize the social state and so reduce the bread-and-butter toil to a minimum, we shall have time for this more moral and esthetic side of occupation. There is infinite opportunity for initiative and enterprise in the use of leisure. The carpentry of Jesus undoubtedly served Him and that limited number of persons who received of His good handiwork, but the beautiful ministry of His life came from His industrial leisure. The fishing of His disciples was certainly useful, but their world-service flowed out of the time they stole from their fishing, a service quite in excess of that of all the subsequent commercial enterprise of their fellow countrymen. It is out of the serenity and non-compulsion of industrial leisure that the great and good things of life have come. We are great cowards if we believe that the masses of our people, kept in health by a wholesome amount of daily toil, and once erect and alert with self respect, are going to squander a leisure to which they bring good health and high spirit and a social heart."

THE PEOPLE!

(Written in 1600.)

"The people is a beast of muddy brain,
That knows not its own strength, and
therefore stands
Loaded with wood and iron. The powerless hand
Of a mere child guide it with bit and rein;
One kick would be enough to break the chain.
But the beast fears, and what the child demands
It does, nor its own terror understands
Confused and stupefied by bugbears vain.
Most wonderful! With its own hands
It ties the gags itself, gives itself life and war,
For pence doled out by kings from its own store.
Its own are all things between earth and heaven;
But this it knows not, and if one arise
To tell this truth, it kills him unfor-
given." —Father Campanella.

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JACK LONDON SPEAKS OUT.

WHAT HE SAID TO UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA STUDENTS.

Yesterday morning I received a letter from a man in Arizona. It began "Dear Comrade," and ended, "Yours for the Revolution." I answered that letter this morning. I began "Dear Comrade," and I ended "Yours for the Revolution."

There are 500,000 men in the United States beginning and ending their letters as our letters were begun and ended. There are 1,000,000 men in France, 3,000,000 men in Germany, and 6,000,000 men in the world beginning and ending their letters as ours were begun and ended.

Now, what do these facts mean? They mean that the Revolution is here, now. We are in it. It goes on every day. No man can escape it. Oh, it is great! There has been nothing like it in the world before. Its battle cry is: "*Working men of the world, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain.*" Our Revolution was a merely local thing compared with this. The English Revolution was a merely local thing compared with it. And so was the French Revolution. This Revolution is as wide as the earth. Its men clasp hands around the globe. *The Japanese Socialist hails the Russian Socialist, and the German Socialist hails the French Socialist with the same word that we California Socialists hail each other with, the noble word, COMRADE.*

But why are these men Socialists? What is that drives them unceasingly to work for the Revolution; to go to prison for it, to go into exile for it, to die for it?

When I was in London writing my book, "The People of the Abyss," I went down to Kent with a London cockney to pick hops. One night when going to bed I stripped. My chum looked in wonder at my brawny body glowing with health, and then at his own scrawny body, white and lifeless. He said, holding out his arms and legs, "They are so because I hadn't enough to eat when I was a boy." But this man is only one of millions. In London 1,800,000 people live on the poverty line and below it, and another 1,000,000 with one week's wages between them and pauperism. In Europe 60,000,000 people suffer from hunger and want.

Here is a statement from the celebrated English scholar, Frederick Harrison: "To me, at least, it would be enough to condemn modern society as hardly an advance on slavery or serfdom, if the permanent conditions of industry were to be that which we behold: that 90 per cent of the actual producers of wealth have no home that they can call their own beyond the end of the week; have no bit of soil, or so much as a room that belongs to them; have nothing of value of any kind, except as much old furniture as will go in a cart; have the precarious chance of weekly wages, which barely suffice to keep them in health; are housed, for the most part, in places that no man thinks fit for his horse. * * * * If this is to be the permanent condition of modern society, civilization must be held to bring a curse on the great majority of mankind."

Here is a book about our own land, written by a man who left his home of wealth to live among the poor. He is a university man, and a trained investigator. His name is Robert Hunter. His book is called "Poverty." It has just been published by the Macmillans, and costs \$1.50. Read it.

Mr. Hunter says:

"There are probably in fairly prosperous years no less than 10,000,000 persons in poverty; that is to say, underfed, underclothed and poorly housed. Of these about 4,000,000 persons are public paupers. Over 2,000,000 working men are unemployed from four to six months in the year. About 500,000 male immigrants arrive yearly and seek work in the very districts where the unemployed are greatest. Nearly half of the families in the country are propertyless. Over 1,700,000 little children are forced to become wage earners when they should still be at school. About 5,000,000 women find it necessary to work and about 2,000,000 are employed in factories, mills, etc. Probably no less than 1,000,000 workers are injured or killed each year while doing their work, and about 10,000,000 persons now living will, if the present ratio be kept up, die of the preventable disease, tuberculosis."

I might go on for a long time quoting Huxley, Alfred Russell Wallace, Mill, Spahr, Brooke, Downtree and others. It is the facts cited and those found in the books of the men above, and the glorious ideas of Socialism that keep the revolutionists unceasingly at work—that keep them ever young.

About three years ago I went into the Klondike. I saw there a body of Indians, called the Innuits. There is an immense difference in

time between them and us. They are still in the Bone Age. Yet those men are all, in good times, well provided for; in bad times they suffer, but they all suffer together. How is it with us? We have, as I said before, a body of 10,000,000 men, women and children in poverty always—we who are the greatest producers the world has ever known: we, who by machinery make one man produce cotton cloth for 250 people, woollens for 300, and boots and shoes for 1,000. What do we call the industrial system we are under? We call it the capitalist system. What do we call its managers? We call them capitalists. I say then that the capitalist system which has so grossly and criminally mismanaged our industrial life must be swept away, and the Socialist system be put in its place.

But you ask me: "What are you Socialists going to do? What are you ideals and ideas?" I answer: "*We propose to destroy present-day civilization, that is, capitalist civilization, with its brutal struggle of man with man for life—by the ballot which is free, be it forever remembered—and replace it by a better civilization, a civilization whose principle shall be 'EACH FOR ALL AND ALL FOR EACH.'*"

My friend, George Sterling, speaking at the Ruskin club to the Round Table, "Why Am I a Socialist," said: "I am a Socialist because Socialism is the one clean, noble and live thing in the world today worth fighting for." Now, mark you, Mr. Sterling did not say that Socialism is the only clean and noble thing in the world today, there are many clean and noble things in the world today. He said: "*Socialism is the one clean, noble and live thing in the world today worth fighting for.*"

And yet as I look over the universities of my land today, I see the students asleep, asleep in the face of the awful facts I have given you, asleep in the greatest revolution that has ever come to the world. Oh, it is sad! Not long ago, revolutions began, broke out, in Oxford. Today Russian universities seethe with revolution. I say to you then: "Uni-

versity men and women, you men and women in the full glory of life, here is a cause that appeals to all the romance in you. Awake to its call. Line up! Line up! All the world despises a coward. Read our books. Fight us, if you do not agree with us. But, by all that is brave and strong, show your colors! Line up! Line up, I say!"

FIRST CLASS IN SOCIALISM.

A STUPID LOT TO TEACH.

(The class is in a state of actual objection, heavy reluctance, or entire indifference, but the subject is compulsory in the course of events.)

Teacher: "What is Socialism?"

The Politician: "Anarchy."

The Millionaire: "Robbery."

The Manufacturer: "Laziness."

The Average Man: "Why, it's what these low-down foreigners want because they were so down-trodden at home. We don't want it. It's paternalism. We're Americans."

The Average Woman: "Oh, it's perfectly awful! It's free-love and the children brought up by the state, and everybody wear the same clothes, and no nice houses of our own, and all eat at a common table. I think it's simply immoral and disgusting."

Teacher: "That'll do. I cannot attend to any more answers this morning. It is quite evident that none of you have given the lesson any attention. I should have thought that your preceding studies would have left you better prepared."

Teacher (To the Politician): "What have you learned from the study of government?"

Politician: "How to take care of myself, of course."

Teacher (To the Millionaire): "What have you learned from the study of economics?"

Millionaire: "How to take care of myself, of course."

Teacher (To the Manufacturer): "What have you learned from the study of industry?"

Manufacturer: "How to take care of myself, of course."

Teacher (To Average Man): "What have you learned from the study of business?"

Average Man: "How to take care of myself, of course."

Teacher (To Average Woman): "And you, my dear—you whose life is passed in the sacred precincts of the home—in the devoted service of the family—what have you learned from the study of—of—well, of your household duties?"

Average Woman: "How to get somebody to take care of me, of course!"

Teacher: "Well, it appears that you have not found in the course of events any preparation for our present study. The course is obligatory, however, and no other preparation is sought in addition by most of our pupils.

"So I shall have to make these lessons very thorough or you will not be able to pass the final examination. I will devote this morning to answering your answers. If I find any of you giving these astonishing answers again I shall be obliged to repeat this lesson at greater length.

"Which of you said that Socialism was anarchy?"

Politician: "I, sir. It's all one."

Teacher: "Do not repeat that error again! You may differ in opinion as to the use and value of systems of human society, but to be misinformed as to the facts is not worthy of this advanced class. Let me explain. Anarchy, as you might easily have learned from your dictionaries, means no government. Socialism, to put it into clear opposition, means all government. Can you remember that?"

Politician: "Yes, sir. But, sir—great Scott—what a time we'd have! Politics everywhere! All business a part of government! Everybody a politician! Wouldn't we get rich!"

Teacher (dryly): "Excuse my checking your raptures. But may I ask from whom you get your money now—from fellow officials or business men outside?"

Politician: "Why, from the men outside, of course—that's what we want to get in for!"

Teacher: "Exactly. And when all business men are 'in,' from whom would you derive your revenue?"

(Politician relapses into deep thought.)

Teacher: "Who said 'robbery?'"

Millionaire: "I did. 'Tis, too. They want to divide up everything and let nobody get rich."

Teacher: "What books of eminent Socialists have you read?"

Millionaire: "None, sir. I wouldn't read such trash. I'm a busy man, sir."

Teacher: "Where did you get your information as to this definition of Socialism?"

Millionaire: "Why—why—from common report, sir. Everybody knows that's what they mean."

Teacher: "I am astonished that a man of your acumen and business training should form a judgment on so important a matter from such unreliable sources. I must correct each of these errors briefly, and leave you to substantiate my explanation from the reading I shall give you. Socialism, my child, does not mean the taking away from any man of anything that he has honestly earned. (Millionaire squirms uneasily.) It is not at all a question of the division of property, but of the multiplication of property. It is a system of organized industry which will increase wealth enormously, and in whose benefits all will share—you among them!"

Millionaire (muttering to himself): "I don't want to share! I want it all!"

Teacher: "What's that you say?"

Millionaire: "I said, sir, that—that it wasn't fair to give a man what he hasn't earned."

Teacher: "Is that your honest opinion, sir?"

(Millionaire considers.)

Teacher: "Who said 'laziness'?"

Manufacturer: "I, sir. Sheer, stark laziness. They won't work. You can't make 'em work. And they want the earth."

Teacher: "When you lose a 'hand' by any accident how do you arrange to get another?"

Manufacturer: "Arrange! Well, I like that! Why, sir, there's always extra help standing around. Every man in the mill's got a dozen relatives he wants to place—the foreman has a waiting list a yard long. I don't have to 'arrange' much."

Teacher: "You do not advertise, then?"

Manufacturer: "Advertise! Well, I guess not! I did once, and I couldn't get into the yard the next morning from the crowd."

Teacher: "Then it would appear that there are still some men willing to work. Any Socialists among your hands?"

Manufacturer: "Not one. I took great pains to find out and asked 'em all. They won't get taken on in a hurry, either—not in my trade!"

Teacher: "But they were willing to work as long as you would let them. Now, where is the laziness you mentioned?"

Manufacturer: "Why, all these tramps and bums and loafers, sir, and walking delegates—the country's full o' them."

Teacher: "But what have they to do with Socialism?"

Manufacturer: "Why—why—it is these people, sir, who won't work and who want to be supported without work—by the state."

Teacher: "Your ideas are extremely vague. The state is the people, and the people must work or they would have nothing. Socialism means that every man and woman shall work—each according to his ability—and shall be provided for, each according to his deed."

Manufacturer (muttering): "A man ought to have all he can earn himself—for himself."

Teacher: "Take away the 'hands' from your business and how much can you earn—yourself?"

"But that is enough on that point. Now, you little fellow here who talked about the low-born foreigners and paternalism. There is a little more sense in your remarks than in the others. You have at least read or heard or thought a little, and I will answer you more fully. The social movement of today is felt in each civilized country, but varies in form according to the local conditions.

"What form this great social question will take in America will be modified, of course, by our special condition. You do not have to take your Socialism from any 'low-down foreigner.' By the way, what did you say your name was?"

Average Man: "Mallory, sir."

Teacher: "And your father's?"

Average Man: "O'Mallory, sir."

Teacher: "And your mother's?"

Average Man: "Kaufmann, sir."

Teacher: "Yes, thank you. We won't press the matter further.

As I was saying, we need not take our Socialism from any foreign country. America has her own form of this great fact, and it rests with the citizens of America to make it as free and democratic as they choose.

"Now, my dear little girl, who thinks Socialism immoral. Let me explain to you if I can.

"Where did you get your ideas of Socialism?"

Average Woman: "Why, from the papers and what the people say—and there was an article in the 'Babies' Home Journal' that was very convincing, and John says to let such things alone."

Teacher: "It is too late today for me to cover all the ground I should have to make this clear to you, but I will tell you some plain truths and you will have to read up about them afterward. Socialism is an economic theory and has no concern with marriage. But in the prosperity which Socialism brings marriage will be benefited, like everything else. Every one will be able to marry when they are fit. The children will not be 'separated from their mothers,' nothing can ever do that. But no mother need ever see her children suffering for lack of food or care. There will be no compulsion whatever as to clothes and houses, but everyone will have these conveniences more generally than they do now. A common table is not in the Socialist programme, whatever changes the evolution of household economics may bring about. When every citizen is well born and well reared, when there are no crime-producing causes among us as now, the morality of the world will improve enormously. I am aware that these remarks do not dislodge the ideas in your head, but in time I hope to reach you. Now for reading before your next lesson let me recommend one little book. It is a short, clear, simple work. It is neither for nor against Socialism, but describes it. The author is not a Socialist. It is Schaeffie's 'Quintessence of Socialism.' You can get it at the public library, or your book-seller will order it for you."

Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

An American millionaire named Jordan has just leased Inverary castle in England, the home for centuries of the Campbells—since the Fourteenth century, in fact. America started democracy in the world, you know, threw over king and queen nonsense and the "nobility" and proclaimed every citizen an uncrowned king—and yet our nobility can knock out the foreign nobility every time when the weapons are	the good little metal dollars! As we with our "democracy" produce more powerful money-lords than England with its hereditary grafts, it is about time for the quality of England to wake up to the fact that "democracy" is a better game than their own. And it would make little difference to the English subjects. It is just as easy to starve as uncrowned kings as it is to starve as the creatures of 'Is Royal 'Ighness!
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OUR TASK AND TRIUMPH.

By EUGENE V. DEBS.



F by its fruit we know the tree, so by the same token do we know our social system. Its corrupt fruit betrays its foul and unclean nature and condemns it to death.

The swarms of vagrants, tramps, outcasts, paupers, thieves, gamblers, pickpockets, suicides, confidence men, fallen women, consumptives, idiots, dwarfed children; the disease, poverty, insanity and crime rampant in every land under the sway of capitalism rise up and cry out against it, and hush to silence all the pleas of its *mercenaries* and strike the knell of its doom.

The ancient and middle-age civilizations had their rise, they ruled and fell, and that of our own day must follow them.

Evolution is the order of nature, and society, like the units that compose it, is subject to its inexorable law.

The day of individual effort, of small tools, free competition, hand labor, long hours and meagre results is gone never to return. The civilization reared upon this old foundation is crumbling.

The economic basis of society is being transformed.

The working class are being knit together in the bonds of co-operation, they are becoming conscious of their interests as a class, and marshalling the workers for the class struggle and collective ownership.

With the triumph of the workers the mode of production and distribution will be revolutionized.

Private ownership and production for profit will be supplanted by social ownership and production for use.

The economic interests of the workers will be mutual. They will work together in harmony instead of being arrayed against each other in competitive warfare.

The collective workers will own the machinery of production, and there will be work for all and all will receive their socially due share of the product of their co-operative labor.

It is for this great work that the workers and their sympathizers must organize and educate and agitate.

The Social-Democratic movement is of the working class itself; it is from the injustice perpetrated upon, and the misery suffered by this class that the movement sprung, and it is to this class it makes its appeal. It is the voice of awakened labor arousing itself to action.

As we look abroad and see things as they are, the capitalists entrenched and fortified and the workers impoverished, ignorant and in bondage, we are apt to be impressed with the magnitude of the task that lies before the socialist movement, but as we become grounded in the socialist philosophy, as we understand the process of economic de-

terminism and grasp the principles of industrial and social evolution the magnitude of the undertaking, far from daunting the socialist spirit, appeals to each comrade to enlist in the struggle because of the very greatness of the conflict and the immeasurable good that lies beyond it, and as he girds himself and touches elbows with his comrades his own latent resources are developed and his blood thrills with new life as he feels himself rising to the majesty of a man.

Now he has found his true place, and though he be reviled against and ostracized, traduced and denounced, though he be reduced to rags, and tormented with hunger pangs, he will bear it all and more, for he is battling for a principle, he has been consecrated to a cause and he cannot turn back.

To reach the workers that are still in darkness and to open their eyes, that is the task and to this we must give ourselves with all the strength we have, with patience that never fails, and an abiding faith in the ultimate victory.

The moment a worker sees himself in his true light he severs his relations with the capitalist parties, for he realizes at once that he no more belongs there than Rockefeller belongs in our party.

WHY WOMEN WANT TO VOTE.

The day is fast approaching when the popular prejudice against politics for women will be folded in its winding sheet and laid to rest along with Salem witchcraft and free silver.

Granting that women as a whole do not desire the ballot, they will be eventually driven to demand it whether they want it or not. And the reason is this: The average workingman is loud in his denunciation of women's competition with men in the different trades and professions. Let me ask you (with apologies to Mark Twain) why is it thus? In other words, why do women compete with men? Do you think the average woman enters the factories, the shops, the mills, or takes in washing because she likes to work eighteen hours a day? Say, Mr. Laboringman, is that your idea of the women who stand beside you every morning waiting for the mill gate to open? Do you think the

"lady book-keeper" or typewriter that you see hustling down town with her noon lunch, disguised in a music roll, keeps books or pounds a typewriter just because she wants to keep you out of a job? You know she does not. She does it for the same reason that you grab your dinner pail and run when the whistle blows.

Because she has to.

And why does she have to? If she is a single woman, she has to because father and mother have too many helpless little ones at home to be able to do much for a girl that can work and take care of herself. And the young man who loves her, and whom she loves, dares not ask her to be his wife because his wages are so small that they will barely suffice for one. He sees no immediate prospect of earning enough for two. And so the girl that should be at home with her mother, or keeping house for herself and the

man she loves, is compelled to compete with you for a chance to earn her own living. And she is not to blame, for she has never had a voice in making that which men call the laws that govern her.

If she marries the man she loves under the impression that what is barely enough for one can be made to do for two, she soon finds out her mistake. But still for a while she clings to the two poor rooms they call home and tries to squeeze along. But bye and bye a baby or two come along and, with sickness and added expense, the debts and duns begin to trouble them, and the married woman, whose feeble strength should be employed at home, and who ought to be sheltered by her husband's love and care, is found by your side in the mill working for six cents an hour. And why? Is it because her husband is not willing, yes, anxious, to work eight hours a day and six days in a week that she may stay at home and take care of the children? No. It is because her husband, no matter how willing he may be, cannot earn enough to take care of them all, and so she must help him or see the babies starve at home. And she will work for small wages in order to help her one particular John, regardless of the fact that by so doing she throws some other woman's John out of a job altogether.

And she is not to blame, either, because the ballot which is the only remedy for this great and growing evil is denied to her, and you will not use yours in her defense.

Though she sees the evil, she is powerless to record a protest against it. Are you blind that you cannot see or a fool that you cannot understand why women want to vote?

Belle Davis.

How the Product Slips Away from the Workers.

POPULATION.	WEALTH.
Poor Families $\frac{7}{8}$	Poor Families $\frac{1}{8}$
Rich Families $\frac{1}{8}$	Rich Families $\frac{7}{8}$

"Seven-eighths of the families of this nation held but one-eighth of the national wealth," in 1900.

—Dr. C. B. Spahr, "The Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States."

The man doesn't live who would not be the gainer by Socialism. Even the richest of the rich could well give up their life of grasping greed and wariness against the other greedy-guts for a life of plenty, health, culture and tranquility.

Socialists are not out for revenge for the crimes of capitalism, but for justice. The enormity of the wrongs done the race under the capitalist system renders an adequate revenge impossible, even if it were desired. What revenge could compensate for the waste in real living which people all about us suffer? To large numbers of people the earth is little better than a dungeon—they are simply serving time on earth at hard labor, in order that an imperious few may lead butterfly lives!

A NOTABLE EDITORIAL.

FROM THE COSMOPOLITAN.

[The following taken from the January Cosmopolitan magazine shows that at least one magazine editor of this country dares to look ahead and to think out of the beaten bourgeois rut. It is Socialistic in spirit, and although a Social-Democrat would add a little here and there, we give it to our readers just as it was written, and with the belief that they will keep in mind the fact that it is written by a man who has no affiliation with the militant Socialist movement, and that they will therefore recognize it as one of the "shadows" that coming events are casting before:]

"A System of Political Economy will yet dawn which will Perform as well as Promise. Which will rain the riches of Nature into the laps of the starving poor."—Sir John Byles.

Do you believe that this is possible?

What are the conditions which stand in the way of the realization of this prophecy?

Formerly it was impossible because of the limited production; because those things necessary for life—food and clothes—were produced with difficulty and insufficiently. Today machinery and scientific method have so increased production that in the United States the question most eagerly discussed is: "How to Prevent Overproduction." According to our crude and cruel ideals of trade there is in the world "too much wheat and corn, too much cotton, too much woolen goods, too much lumber, too many bricks, too much iron and steel, and too much of everything that goes toward the comfort of human beings." Not how to distribute these riches of nature, but how to prevent

overproduction, is the absurd problem which exercises the commercial wisdom of the age.

If we would understand the problems of production and distribution, we must carefully analyze the conditions which prevail: The causes which lead to the so-called overproduction and the causes which retard both scientific production and equitable distribution.

As a preliminary to clear thinking we must start with these two axioms:

I. There can be no such thing as overproduction until every man, woman and child the world over is comfortably clad, living in a comfortable home with healthful surroundings, and provided with sufficient food to nourish the body properly.

II. There can be no scientifically regulated production until, approximately, all waste is eliminated from our scheme of work.

The truth of the first axiom need not be argued. We may then proceed to the question of waste under our present system of production; we may go further and venture the assertion that more than one-half of all human effort is wasted. We find this loss arising:

First. Through duplication of effort. Everywhere men are spending their days in work which, organized upon a scientific basis, could be reduced one-half, one-third, one-fourth, one-fifth or even one-tenth. Take, for instance, New York city: there are ten times as many apothecaries as would be required to furnish all the drugs dispensed. There are along the same streets of New York at least one hundred and fifty miles of shops, furnishing supplies, all of which could be better selected, more economically delivered and

sold at a vastly cheaper price from central depots properly established. In this one hundred and fifty miles of shops an army of men and women stand in many of the smaller ones through twelve, fourteen and even sixteen long hours waiting for business. Three-fourths of their labor is unproductive, because the system is one handed down from the booths of the barbaric ages.

Next to this class there is one even more formidable. It, too, is a relic of the days of savagery, when the competition for the limited supply of food was so violent that the most terrible crimes were committed in order to secure it. Fully one-fourth of the entire population of the world is employed in enforcing law. Because, through the stupidities of our system of distribution, there remain classes of people so miserable as to be willing to commit crime in order to obtain food or other property—this, too, at a time when there is plenty for all, when there would be no necessity for any man's plundering his neighbor if only a trifling part of the effort now spent in the law were concentrated upon working out a scientific system of distribution.

The system of the law embraces the standing armies of the world, with their endless train of horrors, of which we are now having a fair sample at Port Arthur. Then come the police forces of the cities; then the array of sheriffs and constables, with the distressing train of miseries which follow in their wake, permitting the cunning and the strong to prey upon the weak. Then come the judges and the employees of the courts. Finally the vast array of lawyers—a profession which in every community absorbs the ablest brains and those splendid talents which should be given to the work

of organization and production. If the United States could comprehend the loss to its resources through this one condition, the public would stand appalled. Not only the loss of brains which should be otherwise engaged, and which if so otherwise occupied would add hundreds of millions to the wealth of the country, but we have the immense tax upon industry made by the courts—the time consumed by manufacturers, farmers, merchants and the workers generally in preparing and conducting law-suits. Add to this the energy taken away from its legitimate pursuits by the necessity of defending law-suits, made possible through the complications of the law, or through that class of unconscionable practitioners of the law, so well recognized in every community.

Then comes another class—that of the world's idlers; taking pride in the fact that they do not labor; holding the prejudices of the savages whose women did the work and whose warriors loafed—this class still believing that idleness is a badge of superior quality—this class which, thanks to the power of the modern press, is being rapidly diminished, at least in the United States, where even the richest families take a pride in having their children engaged in useful pursuits.

Lastly, we come to the large numbers of men and women who live upon the labor of others by taking advantage, by sharp practice, or in ways more legitimate but nevertheless unnecessary under any proper scheme of organization.

This briefly covers the four classes whose labor is lost to the world. We now come to the consideration of loss through unscientific methods in manufacturing, in farming and in transportation.

The great trusts are rapidly teaching us what can be done by concentration of interests in the hands of intelligent men. The financial powers which control these institutions seek the best brains. No one man is allowed to have unlimited sway. The consulting boards bring to bear upon the manager's conduct the criticism of their united wisdom, while the execution, in order to secure greater virility, is left in his hands. Plants in unfavorable locations are abandoned, old machinery is thrown on the scrap-heap. Every effort is concentrated upon producing the maximum of product, both in quality and quantity, at the minimum of price.

The gain in crops demonstrated at agricultural stations as the result of scientific farming, gives an idea of what the world is losing in this direction. The rapid changes in railway methods suggests what the world has yet to gain in transportation. The accomplishment of Birmingham and other English cities in the way of ownership of public utilities, and the recent scandals in New York municipal affairs, point the way to other future economies.

Having advanced thus far, we are now ready to proceed to our methods of distribution, which may be considered under these heads:

First. The discrimination through purchased legislation in favor of individuals, permitting the accumulation of vast fortunes at the expense of the public. The methods of procedure and the causes which operate to secure these illegal results, are coming to be so well understood that they need not be argued here. The fact that during the recent election there was a change of a hundred and twenty-five thousand votes between the Republican presidential candidate on the

one side, and a Democratic candidate for governor on the other, indicates that the American people are becoming alive to the necessity for action at the polls.

Second. The comprehension by the general public of the axiom that the welfare of the state lies in the prosperity of the general worker, rather than in the wealth of the few.

Third. The power of public opinion in insuring the rights of women to just wages, the rights of the downtrodden to protection, and generally, the sentiment against sweat-shop methods, child-labor and peonage, in whatever form.

Having studied the defects of our civilization, we now come to the question of how they may be overcome. The answer is:

First. By the education of the people: true education, not along the lines handed down to us from past ages, but education in that knowledge which is of most worth, which is necessary to right thinking and right living. The results of our educational progress thus far may be measured in this way: Where there were twenty men taking an active interest in the public welfare fifty years ago, there are today a hundred thousand—each of these just as intelligent, just as earnest, just as determined, as was any one of the twenty half a century ago. As education enlightens the individual to dispel darkness and error, the world must progress with giant strides. Therefore, education comes first.

Second. By a better comprehension of the great problems of organization in your children and your children's children.

Third. By increased wisdom in legislation, insuring the equal rights of all before the law; removing the

restrictions upon commerce, simply-fying legal forms, making it more difficult for the "sharper" to use the law to harass the worker, and ensuring exact and just systems of taxation.

Fourth. By perfecting the transportation of parcels and passengers, and bringing the cost to the individual to its lowest possible terms; permitting trade to be conducted at the least cost and the denizens of the great cities to reach the country, and add the healthful cultivation of small pieces of land to their other occupations.

Lastly. By proper organization of social intercourse—removing the savagery which takes no account of the sufferings of the individual—establishing personal relations upon the plane of highest regard for the rights of others; and by removing that temptation to crime which is so largely the creation of want, and which could not exist if comfort were brought into the lives of all.

This, in brief form, is the statement of our national problem. What can YOU do toward the accomplishment of these ends for your own sake, for the sake of your children and of your children's children?

—John Brisben Walker.

ANOTHER EDITOR AWAKING.

Said Karl Marx: "In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch." This is a clear setting forth of the materialistic conception of history, that some of the priests are getting red in the face about. And yet it is to just this viewpoint

that our historians are moving. Says the Kansas City Star in an editorial:

"It happens that four elaborate histories of the United States are now issuing from the press, while a fifth has been announced. In length they range from ten to twenty-eight volumes, and at least two of the five promise to be of the first rank. No such comprehensive productions have been undertaken before. Bancroft, Windsor, Schouler, Henry Adams, McMaster and Rhodes have treated only special periods of American history. The works now publishing are to begin with the discovery and to come down to modern times....

"Another and a more interesting reason for the rewriting of history is the change in the conception of the **meaning** of the word that has come in recent years. History is no longer considered to be merely "past politics." It is more and more regarded as the record of man's social activity. If civilization, as Mathew Arnold said, is the complete humanization of man in society, so is history the account of his **doings** in the community. And since these are **chiefly determined by the necessity of making a living**, so history is becoming in larger measure **a chronicle of the effects, direct and indirect, of economic forces.**

"The modern historian can not, for instance, regard the Revolution as caused by the capricious tyranny of a willful government. He traces the causes of irritation in the restrictions on trade and manufacture that were a part of the regular colonial policy of the age. He shows the development of a distinctive temper bred of the conditions of life in the New World. From these and similar considerations he points out that a rupture was inevitable, though not, perhaps, the accompanying war.

"Again, in dealing with the slavery question, the modern historian does not praise the north and censure the south. He points out that slavery flourished where economic conditions made it profitable and that it declined where it was not easily put to industrial use.

"The economic interpretation of history, which was first elaborated by Marx in the middle of the last century, has given a new impetus to historical studies. Thus it happens that American history is now being written on an elaborate scale and from a new point of view."

POINTED PARAGRAPHS.

By FREDERIC HEATH.

The rich invest the country, the poor "infest" it!

There is only one way to head off Socialism: That is to stop education. The Messmers and the Quigleys know this!

You think you do not take any stock in Socialism. But how do you know, unless you give it a careful investigation?

The fittest to survive under the capitalist system are the capitalists, and even they are forced to be at each other's throats!

It's no wonder Socialism makes men blink by its brightness when they have been leading a mole-like existence under capitalistic conditions.

Dr. Harris, the petrified head of the U. S. department of education, says Socialism is impossible. But his actions belie his words, for he is trying to head it off.

The United States is now great in two things: Capitalism and crime. The one follows upon the plunder-morality of the other just as famine follows British appropriation in India or Ireland. Last year there were 24 murders committed in London, the world's metropolis. Last year in Chicago—about one-fifth as large as London—there were 128 murders. The figures for New York city we do not have. There's food for thought in those figures, Mr. Hysterical Patriot!

Roosevelt's impetuous cry about "race suicide" so far as it concerned the working class, was not based on a scientific grasp of the situation, for the cry that should have come first would be against the system that makes people too poor to support big families. That settled, there would be no race suicide. Wrong also are the New York women who have now come out in *favor* of "race suicide," as shown by the following despatch:

New York, Jan. 25.—The Women's Society for Political Study discussed the injustice done to children in large families where parents are unable to support them properly, and after due consideration of those present came out strongly in support of "race suicide."

"We are wasting sympathy," declared one speaker, "on people who surround themselves with large numbers of little ones when they cannot possibly feed them. Let the parents starve if they bring paupers into the world."

How infinitely brutal! Nature's command to go forth and multiply has now become a crime. An abnormal social system begets abnormal view points.

Burton Holmes, the Travelogue lecturer, devotes an entire lecture this season to showing how the wealthy class of London enjoys itself. It is a startling series of pictures that are presented, and it is seen that in the world's metropolis are almost countless families who are as care-free as butterflies and to whom life is a long drawn paradise,

with every wish and whim gratified so far as the ladling out of money can accomplish it—a class of people almost sated with pleasure, who get added enjoyment from the hungry and wistful interest which their comings and goings extract from the common herd, and for whom, in a word, Socialism has practically arrived, so far as the ability to enjoy culture and elegance with a minimum of effort is concerned. It is a dazzling picture, but—it *has an obverse side!* Mr. Holmes shows it, too. It is squalid, pinched, unspeakable East London, with its dreadful delapidation of men and morals, its almost unbelievable degeneration and chronic despair. Mr. Holmes urges his audience to get Comrade Jack London's "People of the Abyss," and read it, in order to have a complete idea of the wretchedness of the dispossessed hordes of London's awful East Side. London's aristocracy finds its counterpart on a smaller scale in all parts of the world, in democracies as well as monarchies, republics as well as kingdoms. Everywhere the same process is at work by which the few luxuriate in wealth wrung from the many. *There can be no rich class anywhere without a poor class to support it.* London "quality" exists upon fleecings from the workers of the entire empire, including India and South Africa, and even some of their tentacles reach over to this country, for America has long been a choice field for "investment,"—America, the home of western "Democracy!" The capitalist system is founded on robbery, the robbery of the workers, and the Socialistic fight to abolish that robbery and to substitute for it a system under which all will be rich and have clearer consciences than the pampered drones of London, provided

they are willing to do their share of the work, is the big fight of the Twentieth century. It is a fight that can have but one ending—unless people go stark, staring mad!

The Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow preached a sermon in Cincinnati recently on the condition of labor in this country, based on some remarks made by President Eliot of Harvard college. President Eliot was quoted as saying:

"I have lately had occasion to think a good deal about the conditions of labor in our American society, and the saddest thing that I have learned is the lack of the happy spirit of labor in American industries. That is a most pathetic and lamentable thing. * * * What is the cure for this prodigious evil? It is the bringing into American industries of the method and spirit of the artist. The artist rejoices in his work; it is the chief satisfaction and happiness of his life."

Not a prodigious remedy, said Mr. Bigelow, for so prodigious an evil. There is a lack of happiness in the work of the American people. This is a prodigious evil. The cure for it is to introduce happiness into the work of the American people. A truly remarkable suggestion!

With this kind of reasoning, what problem need stump us? Poverty is a prodigious evil. The cure for it is riches. Intemperance is a prodigious evil. The cure for it is temperance. Sickness is a prodigious evil. The cure for it is health.

If the American workman is not happy, why not? The last bulletin of the Labor Bureau furnishes some official statistics which have a bearing on the subject.

In Indiana the wages of 48,225 employes were investigated, and the average was found to be \$8.77 a week. Eight thousand four hundred and ninety-four carriage workers were found to receive an average of \$6.98 a week. The average for nearly 2,000 paper mill hands was found to be \$6.57 a week. Conditions were better in Illinois. The average weekly wage of 80,881 employes in this state was found to be \$9.70. In Missouri the average for over 10,000 investigated drops to \$8.70 a week. In this state there were three free employment bureaus that received over 15,000 applications for positions. They were compelled to send 5,000 of these applicants away into enforced idleness.

In this same report, the Labor Commissioner informs us that the employes of the woolen mills of New Jersey get \$6.43 a week. The factory hands in Pennsylvania were found to get \$9.28 a week. The anthracite coal miners made \$9.53 a week. And the men who have not the privilege of mining coal, but who are able to get jobs as helpers merely, made an average weekly wage of \$5.89.

Now, suppose we take one of these \$5.89 a week men. Call up a picture. A miner's hovel. Six small children. Why not? Eight mouths to feed. Flour, shoes, clothes, school books to buy. Rent to pay. Five dollars and 89 cents a week. Just slip into his boots. How would you like to put your hand on that man's shoulder and say:

"My man, I perceive that you do not go about your work happily. This is a prodigious evil. Now the cure for this is simple. You should become a kind of artist. You should have no end of enthusiasm for this

\$5.89 job of yours. In a word, if you are not happy, the cure is to be happy."

But then, it would be a waste of words. How could a miner, who has never been to a university to study logic and political economy—how could he hope to catch the force of that?

CAPITALISM'S INFERNO!

New York, Jan. 12.—Dr. A. S. Daniel, of the New York Infirmary for Women, told the members of the Woman's Municipal League today that an eighteen months old child had been found employed in a sweatshop and that the little one's worth was calculated by its mother at 50 cents a week.

Dr. Daniel addressed the league on "Illegal Sweatshop Work." She said that children as young as four years of age were regularly employed in some of the thirty-three trades which the law allows to go on in tenement rooms.

"Some time ago a child of one and one-half years was brought to the New York Infirmary for treatment," said Dr. Daniel. "After some days the child's mother came for her and took her away. At that time the mother said that she needed the child's services following her trade of passementerie making, in her tenement home. She said that the child's services were worth 50 cents a week to her."

Send The Vanguard to your friend for a year—50 cents.



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.

Every charge that capitalism makes against Socialism and every dire prediction as to what would befall the individual and society under Socialism finds complete answer in the fact that there is not an evil known among men which cannot be traced directly to the door of capitalism itself. Indeed we are so accustomed to the wrongs inherent in the present order of things that we do injustice to human nature and still attribute to it the weakness and wickedness which are really the result of social conditions imposed for ages by the ruling class. It is to the credit of human nature that men make as good a showing as they do in spite of the enormous burdens placed upon them. Yet this triumph of human nature is no reason why we should continue to submit to injustice and allow the crushing process to continue. In his admirable work, "Mankind in the Making," H. G. Wells says: "At present it is a shameful and embittering fact that a gifted man from the poorer strata of society must often buy his personal development at the cost of his posterity, he must either die childless and successful for the children of the stupid to reap what he has sown, or sacrifice his gift—a wretched choice and an evil thing for the world at large—this is a stupid superstition that genius will out in spite of all discouragement. The fact that great men have risen against crushing disadvantages in the past proves nothing of the sort; this roll call of survivors does not more than give the measure of the enormous waste of human supidity has achieved."

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CAPITALISM vs. SOCIALISM.

An Acrostic.

Capitalism.

C reates confusion, induces broil,
A ntagonies those who toil,
P lucks from them what they produce,
I n return gives them abuse.
T yrannical, nefarious,
A nd renders life precarious;
L eaves in its wake the social slime—
I ntemperance, poverty, and crime.
S upports the vicious and the vile,
M isrules in a flagrant style.

Socialism.

S imply means the termination
O f slavery and exploitation.
C hristianity applied
I n a sense, both deep and wide.
A dvocates the present need,
L iving to be life indeed:
I nstalls justice, represses greed;
S tands for all in life that's good.
M eans universal brotherhood.

James M. Rundle, in Brisbane (Australia) Worker.

THE SIZE OF IT.

(Author unknown.)

Up in the morning and work all day,
Just for the grub of tomorrow to pay:
Work tomorrow for meat to carve—
Got to keep working or else I'll starve.
Work next day for a chance to sup—
Just earn money to eat it up:
Next day after it's root or die—
Habit of eating comes mighty high.

Next week too, it is just the same—
Never can beat the eating game.
Working on Monday for Tuesday's bread:
Working on Tuesday to keep me fed—
Thursday, Friday, Saturday, too,
Same old game and it's never new.
Don't want to kick or make a fuss,
But blamed if it isn't monotonous.

SOCIALIST PLATFORM.

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

I.

WE, the Socialist Party, in convention assembled, make our appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole society.

To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are alike false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great propertied interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take unawares the right of the worker to a vote or a voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself or for the common good.

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

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

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

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

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

II.

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

The socialist movement therefore is a world-movement. It knows of no conflicts of interest between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

III.

The socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world-process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery, as its portion.

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever

and whenever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long since ceased to be individual. The labors of scores, or even thousands, enter into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two distinct classes; and from it has sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interest, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

IV.

The socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve itself. The captains of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of this developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

Into the midst of this strain and crisis of civilization, the socialist movement comes as the only saving or conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the socialist movement. The socialist party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall be by the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for

profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together, and that opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

V.

To the end that the workers may seize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government, and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Socialist Party pledges itself to watch and work in both the economic and the political struggle for each successive immediate interest of the working class, for shortened days of labor and increases of wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, and of franchise and land values, the proceeds to be applied to the public employment and bettering the conditions of the worker's children, and their freedom from the workshop; for the equal suffrage of men and women; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, and the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist and increase the like powers of the worker.

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our fellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and complete emancipation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America, and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause, to cast their lot and faith with the Socialist Party. Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow-workers is at once an appeal for their common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and those which we represent to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe that we are but preparing the soil of the economic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.

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