

THE VANGUARD.

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

Vol. 3. No. 11.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., JULY, 1905.

Whole Number 31.

Christianity, let us remember, is an attitude of mind, a habit of feeling, a condition of soul; it is not an institution. And the very gist of Christianity may quite as readily be embodied in Socialism as in any formal church; and Socialism, whenever it appears in any sincere guise, always has an aim in accord with Christianity—it aims at giving more freedom to the spiritual side of man, it aims at putting man's life under such outward conditions that he can practice virtue more easily and find happiness more readily in this life.

BLISS CARMAN.

Child labor is on the increase. According to the Milwaukee Sentinel's Washington correspondent, a report just made public by the census bureau shows on the whole an increase of 33 per cent in ten years in the number of children between the ages of 10 and 15 who work for a living. The returns to the bureau show that 1,750,178 children, boys and girls, are employed in this country and that practically every fifth child in the United States works for a living. Every third child-worker is a girl. The inevitable sequel to all this is too horrible to anticipate. Yet our capitalist politicians prate about "prosperity" and the "greatness" of "free" America!

The Springfield (Mass.) Republican says: "There is no doubt that Jesus, when he dealt with social matters, dealt with their essentials and not their incidentals. Were he living in the flesh today what would be thought of him? He would be no more welcome in the churches which are called after his name than he was in the synagogues of his Father's faith; he would be no more welcome to the men who are seeking their profit out of their fellows' necessities than he was to the rich men of Jerusalem. For now as then, the instrumentalities of the world are against the thing he lived to proclaim—the freedom and faith of mankind found in love alone."

Graft, graft, graft. And the surprising thing is not the extent to which corruption is found to exist in our commercial and political life, but that under such an inherently immoral and dishonest system conditions should not be ten-fold worse. According to capitalism "business" consists in getting something for nothing — securing the "surplus value" of labor—and using it again and again in further exploiting the producers of wealth. Socialism, which demands that each worker shall have the full product of his toil, can alone put an end to the shame of robbing and being robbed.

Another University professor has broken out and if not more careful he will soon have to take to the soap box to voice his free opinions. Prof. John H. Gray, of the chair of political economy in Northwestern University, says: "I am not in favor of murder, but give us the labor union with all its brutality and all its lawlessness rather than a continuation of the evils under which the workmen of today are compelled to labor." This is strong; but the professor ought to discriminate between mob violence incited by capitalists for the purpose of alienating public sympathy from the workers and the labor union. Labor unions are most law abiding. For brutality and lawlessness, the capitalist unions are more largely responsible than any other organization.

SOCIALISM IN CHURCH.

Ten years ago the appearance of a Socialist speaker on the platform of a church would have caused an uproar among members. Yet this is what occurred recently when Comrade Peter Miller of Evanston was asked to deliver an address before the Bible class of the First Congregational Church of that city on "The Relation of the Workingman to the Church." The incident serves to show the remarkable progress the movement is making and is especially encouraging to those who hope to see the church take an intelligent and courageous stand such as the founder of Christianity took in the cause of justice and brotherhood.

Comrade Miller began by saying that the indifference shown by the workingman was not antagonism, but was only a lack of interest in the efforts being made to bring him into the church. He said: "The great heart of the workingman today stands for righteousness, and he will subscribe to the teachings of Jesus Christ from beginning to end. The church of today stands, as it always has stood, for capitalism.

"I believe we can understand present conditions only from the study of economic history. No nation has ever gone to ruin through its workingmen. The opposite is true, and it has been the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few individuals that has caused nations to fall. Egypt went to decay when 2 per cent of her people owned 97 per cent of her wealth. Rome fell when 1,800 of her people possessed all her wealth, and the same is true of Persia and Babylon. The conditions in this country are becoming nearly parallel with those of those old nations.

"On the other hand, all the advancement the world has ever made has been through the struggles of the workingmen to get their just dues. None of the advancement has ever been brought to pass through the intervention of the church.

"In Chicago there are 19,000 children at work under 16 years of age, making from \$3.25 to \$4 a week and working twelve and fourteen hours a day. The state law requires that none under 14 years of age shall be so employed, but there are 7,600 employed who are under that age. The children have the affidavits of their parents that they are of the legal age. Conditions which compel

people to perjure themselves in order that they may obtain the necessities of life are not productive of good church members.

"When the workman attacks the church he realizes that the Carnegies, Morgans and Rockefellers are products of the conditions of the times, just as much as that the child of the slums is such a product.

"From the environments of the church one cannot well understand the condition of the wage earner. According to the last census there are 1,250,000 of people in this country who have no place in our productive industries, and if a man today is born of working parents the chances are one in a million that he will never get beyond the condition of the proletaiere.

"It is impossible today to do business along the lines of the Sermon on the Mount. A man who starts out in the principles of righteousness and to give fair returns is going to be crowded to the wall. Every line of business is regulated to a large extent by the most unscrupulous men in it.

"Previous to the establishment of Christianity there were two relationships among men—master and servant. Jesus came and established a new relationship, that of brother. After nineteen centuries of the teachings of the Man of Galilee, what do we find? The resources being concentrated in the hands of the few, and that the others have to beg the privilege of getting the means of livelihood."

The speaker concluded by declaring that the church would have to turn from the theologic to the economic, that the ceremonies and frills of the churches were non-essentials, and that in the church of the future, the church of the workingman, the question of belief in the immaculate conception or anything else would not be fundamental, but that the application of certain principles would be the church foundations.

Those who confuse "government ownership" with Socialism would do well to ponder the following Associated Press dispatch concerning the uprisings in Russia: "Government control of the telegraph lines and railroads makes co-operation among the discontented impossible." The value of government ownership depends upon who owns the government. See?

FOR OUR NEW READERS:

THIS COUNTRY is made up of working people, both industrial and agricultural, but is ruled by the capitalist class, which is numerically small. Being in control of the government, it runs that government in the interests of its class and against the interests of the working class, which is the people. We Socialists believe that the country should be ruled by the people in the interests of the people. That is why we established a government in the first place. We want the people to own it so that the political power can be used to begin the march to the co-operative system, called Social-Democracy. **All the means of existence are now owned by capitalists**, and yet the capitalist class makes up only about 12 per cent of the population, and a mere **ONE PER CENT** of it **OWNS OVER HALF THE WEALTH OF THE NATION!** The means of existence should be owned by the collectivity in order that the benefits should go to **ALL** instead of to a **FEW**.

Under the capitalist system the vast majority of mankind must sell themselves to the capitalistic owners of the means of production and distribution in order to live—and to live miserably at that.

The nation owns the post office and everybody is glad that it does. It ought to own all the trusts so that all may enjoy the benefits.

It ought to own all the means of production as soon as such industries have become sufficiently concentrated.

To bring this about the people—the workers—must get control of the political power. The Social-Democratic party (known as the Socialist party in some states, and nationally) is organized to bring this about—this and the abolition of capitalism. It insists that the industrious class shall be the wealthy class, and the idle class the poor class—but it will, in fact, abolish the poor class altogether. The Social-Democratic movement is **international**, but we expect it to achieve success in the United States first, because the capitalist system, which we mean to uproot, is best developed here. To show you that your interests lie with us we print the following:

Program of International Social-Democracy:

1. Collective ownership of all industries in the hands of Trusts and Combines, and of all public utilities.
 2. Democratic management of such collective industries and utilities.
 3. Reduction of the hours of labor and progressively increased Remuneration.
 4. State and National Insurance for the workers and honorable rest for old age.
 5. The Inauguration of public Industries to safeguard the workers against lack of employment.
 6. Education of **ALL** children up to the age of 18 years. No child labor.
 7. Equal political and civil rights for men and women.
- IF YOU BELIEVE IN THE ABOVE VOTE WITH THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS.**

For Whom is There Freedom.

By VICTOR L. BERGER.



ONE of the most common objections to Socialism is that it would take away the freedom of the people. Now I will say right here that this would be a very serious objection, and Communism at least is open to that objection. There may be also certain kinds of Socialism that would take away the people's freedom, but the Social-Democracy will never do it.

But as to freedom and liberty, who has liberty and who is free under the present economic system?

Some time ago, an employer who was on the witness stand gave the following definition of liberty:

"Why, liberty is the right of an American to do as he d— pleases." And he added, "This is the ideal of American manhood."

In one way, the man was right. Our present conditions have made it possible for a small class of Americans to do as they d— please, and that is looked upon by the press, the pulpit, and the schools as the ideal of American manhood.

Of course, it can never be real freedom. It may be the liberty of the libertine—of the slave, who has just got free—but it never is the freedom of the free man. The ex-slaves of the old Romans were called libertines, and when set at liberty they were noted for their licentiousness. They did "as they d— pleased."

If the capitalist right to oppress others is liberty, then our present capitalist liberty is right. Liberty of that kind, of course, can be used or abused, and our economic conditions set a premium upon the abuse by any ex-slave of the system who has become free.

But freedom as such can never be abused. Freedom is inborn with us, and the only trouble is, we cannot enjoy it, because a certain small class, the capitalist class—the libertines of the present economic system are absolutely at liberty. And they use their liberty to oppress us.

Freedom is closely connected with economic conditions. A man is not free who is dependent upon another for a job—for a chance to make a livelihood. Under the present economic system with its unbridled competition, only the successful are free. Only the successful can throw off the shackles of industrial slavery—and with this liberty they often become libertines, in every sense of the word. For further details, please read the columns of any metropolitan daily.

But we cannot live moral lives, unless we are free. Hence, freedom is the ideal of the Social-Democrats, and we will combat and defy anything and anybody, even within the Socialist movement and within the labor movement, that will curtail our freedom.

But who has freedom under the *present* economic system?

Take all the different classes of our people, and in all of them you will find the same lack of freedom—all except a handful of plutocrats, who have succeeded in gaining the monopoly of "liberty." All of the others, business men, farmers, and wage-earners, are not free.

Let us take the business men first. Now we all know that competitive business is by its very nature corrupt. Every sincere business man will tell you that it is impossible to conduct his affairs as an upright man and be successful, for the simple reason that it is always the unscrupulous rogue who sets the standard. It is the rascal who commences with adulterating goods, with using false advertising—but the honest man must follow suit. The same holds good for the manufacturer. It is the rascal who begins cutting the wages of the employes; endangering the lives of the workmen by neglecting to put up appliances for their protection, and employing the labor of women and children—but the honest man must strike the same pace.

Another suggestive fact. About 90 per cent of all business men at least once in their lives go into bankruptcy. Still another, the mammoth store—the department store—is continually wiping out small merchants, and the large manufacturing establishments and the trusts are doing the same thing for the small shops. So it is pretty clear that the business men, the merchants, the manufacturers are not free.

It is hardly necessary to add here that the professional class, lawyers, doctors, teachers, preachers, are not free. They are of course mainly dependent upon the other classes, and especially upon the class *with money*, for a living. Only in rare cases can they follow their own inclinations, and express their opinions without fear or favor. Surely, none of the men here mentioned can in any true sense be said to be free.

Now let us consider the farmers. In times of old, they were looked upon as the “free and independent class” par excellence. The present high prices for the staple goods of the farmers have for a moment relieved that class. They experience a temporary prosperity. But let us recollect the crisis of the nineties and the mournful story of the presidential election of 1896 when the poor farmers, burdened with debts and misery, like a drowning man clutching at the last straw, as a class voted for “free silver.” It was lucky for the farmers more than for anybody else that they did not succeed at that time—but this present prosperity is only temporary. It is based upon very good crops in this country, and failure of crops elsewhere—and upon wars, the Spanish-American War first, the Boer War next, and now the Russian-Japanese War. All of these conditions and circumstances will, of course, not always prevail. And then the farmers will deteriorate again. They are bound to deteriorate as long as the present economic system lasts. The farmers are the serfs of the trusts, the railroads, and the speculators. They are not free.

And how about the wage-workers? Are they free? We hardly need to answer. Think of the insecurity and dependance which day by day makes the workman subject to his employer's favors, and to every whim of his, first in order to obtain his daily subsistence, and second, in order to retain it. And must not a wage-worker give up his identity? He must identify himself with his master's private interest, no matter whether the master is inferior to him or not—nay, he must help him and obey him even when the master is a rogue who adulterates goods, or in other ways he carries on a warfare against society.

In other words, the wage system possesses this miserable feature which makes it so similar to ancient slavery, that the workman is used entirely for his master's private ends. This was the definition of slavery.

And how about those who have *no* work and cannot find any? Are they not in a still worse predicament? Are they free? Are they not the slaves of misery, hunger and every other ill? Surely no workman, whether employed or not, can be called free.

So to make a long story short, it is not so much the fact that there are rich and poor in the world under the present system, but the fact that the poor have to depend upon the rich for a living, that makes us all servants and slaves. It is the terrible economic power of the capitalist class that keeps us from becoming free. Only Socialism can help us. And we will become free only in the degree that we introduce Socialism and Social-Democratic measures into our system.

The Clergy and Economics.

By **FREDERIC HEATH.**

"When a preacher hits people's pocketbook or their conscience, they tell him to mind his own business." This is the confession of the pastor of a leading Milwaukee church. But it is only part of his castigation of the commercialization of the modern church. Further, he said:

"A well-known man in Milwaukee said that ministers have no business to be preaching such things as the ten commandments. Often ministers preach on bible history or doctrine in which people are not interested. Is the layman right about the ten commandments? Or are they too practical for him? Many like the church as a sailor likes port—for shelter. They want to be soothed, calmed and comforted and coddled. They want no subjects that hurt their revenues or make them think."

The ministers wonder why the workingman does not go to church and why the church loses its hold over them, and yet here and there there are some of them brave enough to look the facts in the face. They admit that the church is ruled by commercial ethics, but are at a loss to know why.

Perhaps the following from the writings of Karl Marx may throw some light on the subject:

"In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic 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."

In other words, people are largely ruled by what is known to scientists as "economic determinism." The economic interests of men give them their point of view. And the business man may be ever so holy, but he is pretty careful and insistent that his religion, especially as expressed in church organization, shall not stand in the way of his business and its infractions of the golden rule, the ten commandments and the cause of brotherhood.

And just now the press informs us one of the big citizens back of the attempted gas franchise steal in Philadelphia, to escape the wrath of the people, has fled to the *Holy Land*!

The church held it against Marx that his "economic theory of history" wrote him down a "gross materialist." Now the preachers of the church are themselves bringing testimony of the fact that economic interests even rule the church and set at naught the ten commandments. And the proof of the correctness of Marx's view is seen in the fact that bourgeois scientists, who long treated his writings with a class scorn, now sneakily appropriate his views. In proof of this one has only to read Prof. Seligman's "The Economic Interpretation of History."

The moral of all this, so far as our critical and fault-finding preachers are concerned, is that it is the duty of the church to study and analyse the capitalist system, to see it as an evolution and a temporary phase of civilization, and to look into the claim of the Socialists that the morals of the capitalist system are really immoral from the standpoint of Christ's teachings, and then, once convinced of the justice of this view, to cast aside all fear of rich pew-holders and endowments by human cormorants, and to attack the capitalist system as inimical to the true interests of a common brotherhood of man on earth.

But this calls for more courage than many of them possess.

* * * * *

The Rev. Mr. Beale, a Milwaukee Congregational minister, recently preached a sermon on Socialism. In the main the sermon was fair and we need not go into his points at any length. He recognized that capitalism was already passing, that competition no longer served to minister to society's best interests and that as a system it was unable to put bread in the mouths of many worthy people. He held that we were nearing the time when society would have to be organized on "some sort of a Socialistic basis." But he fell into the usual pit which seems to lie in the track of the preacher who takes up the subject of Socialism. It would not be enough to supply the people with bread, he said, as "great reforms must be accompanied by the spiritual element." It is so hard for a minister to discuss Socialism without saying substantially this very thing. And yet this complaint should not be directed at the Social-Democrats. It should be a self-accusation, for there is nothing to stop the ministers from supplying the people's minds with this spiritual element to keep pace with their conversion to Socialistic ideas. Socialism is primarily a bread and butter question. It is to organize society so that starvation will not haunt the lives of industrious people. It is to solve the bread and butter problem that people will be able to pay some attention to the things that grace a perfect life, and right here is where the preachers ought to be with us. If by "spiritual element" he means religious element, then he will agree with us that as Socialism is for all the people, religious, irreligious, Catholic, Protestant, Jew or Agnostic, it is the place of the Socialist movement to attend to its mere economic task and leave the matter of religion or no religion to each individual himself and to the churches. If, therefore, there does not grow up along-

side the Socialist movement a religious sentiment, the blame is not upon us, but on the churches. It is our conviction that man's material improvement will produce a spiritual improvement as well. That if man can take his mind off the bread question for part of the twenty-four hours of the day, he will have time for spiritual betterment. Few people have that today. Why have the great civilizations of history invariably been builded on some form of slavery, if not because the placing of the burden of work on slaves left the lucky portion of the people free to improve and to adorn their minds? If Socialism will give the race leisure, that leisure is sure to be put to good account. Self-improvement is a human passion. Socialism will provide this leisure, and we can trust the people to use it for the betterment of their minds and the refinement of society.

* * * * *

The rise of the Socialist movement all over the world is causing various churchmen and critics to scrutinize the status and achievements of the modern church with unusual frankness.

Two such fearless and searching criticisms by well known Englishmen are just now stirring up talk in Great Britain.

Frederic Harrison, in the *Positivist Review*, says that "in public questions, in politics, in legislation, in tone of public life, the organized Christian churches do not do good, but do evil." They are the instruments of the governments of the day, their tools, their creatures, he says, and are ever ready to bless war and to consecrate the cannon to their death-dealing mission. "The endowed, established and incorporated Christian bodies are found, whether Catholic, Episcopalian, Lutheran or Calvinist, to make, not for righteousness in nations, but for the ascendancy of classes, the rivalry of nations, and the maintenance of abuses."

The other criticism comes from a well known English churchman named Richard Heath. The churches are necessarily enslaved to the plutocracy of Christendom, he declares, and Socialism has come to do for the people "what the churches ought to have done." And he adds, "Socialism is, in fact, the modern version of Christ's Christianity, separated from all theology, all clericalism, all public worship, and from the very idea of the church . . . How are the British churches, so materialistic themselves, going to stem the tide of materialism, especially when that materialism preaches the social gospel they ought to have preached? What the outcome will be it is not possible to say, but how can we expect, under such circumstances, anything less than the eclipse of the churches?"

The fault is not ours. If the church has drifted away from Christ and is now the bride of Mammon, who is to blame but the church!

And what churchman has cause of complaint if a political party embodies the same morals in its platforms that shine forth from Christ's teaching? On the contrary, he should feel elated at the fact. And, besides, there should be no whine about materialism. Economics and politics have to do with material things. We should be given credit for leaving spiritual things to the domain of the church.

The Blight of War.

By Professor Ira W. Howerth, University of Chicago.

"According to Mulhall, the English statistician, the world destroyed in war, in less than ten years from the attack on Fort Sumpter, 1,400,000 lives and \$6,000,000,000 worth of property. In the comparatively insignificant war of England with the Boers, she lost 22,450 men and spent about 1,400,000,000, a price which ought to 'stagger humanity,' but which does not seem to have done so. If we are to accept the estimates of Edward Atkinson, and only the partisan will assert that they have been proven erroneous, the cost of war to this country alone for the seven years prior to June 30, 1904, was \$1,000,000,000, and the present fiscal year promises to add another half billion of expense. But the figures representing economic loss do not tell half the story. Nobody can calculate the debasement of character, the hatred engendered, the sorrow and suffering inflicted upon women and children, and the other incidental evils attending upon war.

"Now let us concede that war is sometimes necessary, that it develops in men certain desirable qualities, discipline, courage, the ability to act in concert with others, or in a word that war is a factor in social progress. Yet, this does not justify it from the standpoint of economy. The question is whether these qualities can now be developed in a more economical way, whether the benefits derived from war are worth the price paid for them. If they are not there must be a social cost, for when a good is derived from an expenditure greater than is actually necessary to obtain it, there is ob-

viously a cost. The test of cost is what might be done with the same means more wisely expended.

"Suppose that in our own country we had turned from war to the direct promotion of the pursuits of peace, can any doubt that the benefit would have been immeasurably greater? Cut the estimated war expenses of the last eight years in two, and there would still be enough to build the Panama canal, irrigate our western lands, and educate the 3,700,000 children in our country now without educational privileges; or if devoted to the science of preventive medicine, it would have lengthened the average of human life and have brought health and happiness into thousands of homes where now is disease and despair. I don't know how it may seem to you, but I cannot help thinking that it is better and wiser for the nation to spend money to save life than to destroy life.

"We launched more warships during the past year than ever before, by this or any other nation. We have now in commission 157 warships, to say nothing of torpedo vessels, tugs, sailing and receiving ships. We have under construction 47 war vessels, 14 of which are first-class battleships, and such a ship costs from four to six million dollars.

"What is the plea and justification for this expenditure? Why, that we may enjoy the proud consciousness of having the biggest navy in the world! But how long will we enjoy this distinction without renewed expenditure to enlarge our navy beyond the increase of

some rival nation? It is said also that a large navy is our best insurance against war. It tends rather to provoke war. Arms beget arrogance, embroilment.

"Our best insurance against war is justice, fair dealing, courteous consideration of the rights and claims of other nations, and charity for their weaknesses. 'Charity for all, and malice towards none.' You will pardon me if I say, with all due respect for its advocates, that I do not believe in the policy of the 'big stick.' I cannot bring myself to accept the doctrine that a nation, any more than a man, must undertake to whip everybody that offers an insult or resent with physical force every injury received. I choose rather to accept as a standard, though I do not pretend to measure up to it, the teaching of the man who said, 'Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you.' And I submit that it takes more courage to obey that injunction than it does to engage in a fight. Physical bravery is not the only or the highest bravery. Moral courage is superior to physical courage, and moral courage is what needs stimulating today. It takes more courage to keep out of war than to declare war. 'He that ruleth his own spirit is greater than he that taketh a city.'"

"Brains are better than battleships. It is better and safer for the nation to put money in men than in men-of-war. A good school is better than a fort, and the best army that a nation can have is an army of teachers. A battleship costs more than our congressional library. Which is the better investment? What constitutes the true greatness of a nation? The size of its army or the number of ships in its fleet?

No leader of thought has ever asserted it. All declare that the greatness of a nation depends upon the intelligence and character of its people, and these depend upon education."

Capitalism's Concern for the Home!

"Socialism would destroy the home!" howl the hypocritical apologists of capitalism. Yet Raymond Robbins says there are 60,000 homeless men in Chicago, and on top of this startling statement comes an announcement from Mayor Dunne himself that there are 10,000 "fallen" women in Chicago who are to be segregated in four distinct "red light" districts. Let the flannel mouths continue to holler about "destroying homes!" and when they get through ask them whether capitalism or socialism is responsible for the homeless millions at present. "Go now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you" for robbing widows and orphans.
—E.E.

First, as to the workers themselves. The main point is that they become clearly conscious of their own situation and that they recognize and respect their own inherent nobler nature.—Johann Jacoby.

Does wage-labor create any property for the laborer? Not a bit. It creates capital, that is, that kind of property which exploits wage-labor, and which cannot increase except upon condition of begetting a new supply of wage-labor for fresh exploitation.—Marx and Engels.

The Perils of Capitalistic Peace.

T. Gavan-Duffy in *Labour Leader*, London: Some great effort should be made to awaken the national conscience to the horrible carnage which, under the cloak of peaceful industry, is going on daily in our midst. The workers themselves hardly seem to realize how realistically they are being materially used up in workshop and factory, railway and mine.

"Peace," the poet told us, "hath her victory no less renowned than war," but peace hath also her casualties more devastating than war. The government return just issued giving the number of total accidents is quite as appalling in its gruesome revelation as any which has gone before, and makes an absolutely unanswerable case, not merely for compensation, but for such pressing amendment of the law as will assure to the wealth producers of our land a reasonable security of their lives and limbs. This return should also attract renewed attention to the question whether the present system of insurance against liability for accidents has not, by removing the individual responsibility of the employers, led to a laxity of control, a disregard for the safety of working plants, and a slovenly method of oversight which have appreciably increased the risks of the workers. The return does not profess to cover the whole of industries, but those only which in some form or other come under official cognizance; otherwise the number would have to be considerably increased. It is to be feared also that the official claim of a decrease of 170 fatal accidents in 1903, in comparison with previous years, can only be justified by the omission of figures which have

invariably had a place in previous returns. These in all probability will be found in the Home Office statistics of "inquests," and may be concealed, as hundreds of others are concealed, under the euphemistic nomenclature of "Deaths from misadventure." A miner, for example, is killed by a fall of roof; that is reported as "killed in the course of his employment," and compensation ensues. A shop assistant, reaching to high fixtures, falls off the ladder and breaks his neck; that is "death from misadventure," and not death "in the course of his employment," hence no compensation follows. Death is, however, none the less real.

The figures we have got are, however, sufficiently serious to arrest national attention, and call for immediate legislative action. The number of persons killed "in the course of their employment" during the year was 4,513. In 1898 the number killed was 3,810, an increase of 343 in 1903 over the figures for 1898. Covering the quinquennial period 1899 to 1903 the following appalling list represents the slain upon the field of peaceful industry:

Year.	No. Killed.
1899	4,458
1900	4,812
1901	4,626
1902	4,323
1903	4,513

Total.....22,732

A total of 22,732 killed at their work in five years! A mean average of 4,546 each year.

In proportion to the number employed, the shipping industry contributes by far the greatest levies to death "in the course of employ-

ment," the number employed being 247,381, and the number of fatal accidents covering the quinquennial period 8,324, an average of 1,665 deaths each year. Yet the action of the shipowners on both sides of the House of Commons has kept, and intends to keep, the sailors from any participation of the meagre benefits of the Compensation Acts. The next most dangerous trade is that of mining. During the five years 4,631 miners have been killed underground and 563 whilst working "about" a mine, making a total death-roll of 5,194. The British railways have long been regarded as death traps for certain grades of workers, such as shunters and goods guards. Out of 575,000 men and boys of all grades employed "on or about" railways in Great Britain, 2,633 were killed at their work during the past five years, a yearly average of 536. Strange to say, a Royal Commission recommended and Parliament has passed, legislation which would, if it were as effectual here as in the United States, reduce the number of fatalities.

A most serious side of this ceaseless death toll is that it is the workers alone who are killed. The young, the old, the feeble, and infirm are at home dependent upon the worker, who may at any moment be struck down dead at his work, and be carried a black, bruised, dead mass into the humble home which had been dependent on his earnings. Fifteen of these heart-breaking tragedies occur every day in our midst. One thing we can see almost on every hand—the widows and orphans of the dead workers left often to starve and pine and die in the wretched slums.

This surely is a worker's question. It brings home to him—puts into

words—the fear he must carry in his heart every morning or evening when he goes to earn his living, and it appeals to all that is best in his manhood, because it lays bare the responsibility which he owes to those dependent upon his labor, be they mother and sisters, wife or children.

"A growing Socialistic tendency among the American masses" is what most impressed H. Rider Haggard, the English novelist, during the course of a recent visit to this country. His words are being quoted by the newspapers in conjunction with Mark Hanna's oft repeated prophecy that "the great issue this country will have to meet will be Socialism," and are regarded in some quarters as indicating the dominant trend in American life at the present time.

The figures for the homeless poor census taken in 1904 in London have just been made public. The census shows that the officials found on that occasion 1,463 men, 116 women and 50 boys and girls walking the streets, while 100 men and 68 women were found asleep on staircases and in doorways, a total of 1,797. Later a more complete census was taken (on February 17 last) and showed 1,869 men, 312 women and children walking the streets, while 300 men had been given shelter in a tent of the church army. On the night the census was taken 901 men and 67 women had been turned away from the common lodging houses—738 because they had no money and 205 because there was no more room. Merrie England! Christian England!

Send for a copy of our complete Socialist book catalogue.

Gems from Debs' Speeches.

"Socialism stands for a new social order, based on collective ownership of property that is used for production for all the people, in other words, of property on which the welfare of the whole people depends. The workingman should not be exploited for the benefit of an individual or a corporation; he should own the tool which at present he only operates to produce wealth for others. The evil of the capitalist system is that it reduces the workingman to merchandise, to be bought and sold.

"The workingman ought not to blame the capitalist for this condition, for the workingman can change it if he will. The workingmen have just begun to think, they will soon begin to act; not violently, I hope, but peacefully, by the exercise of the ballot, that sovereign remedy for a people's wrongs. The workingmen are in an overwhelming majority, but, unfortunately, they allow themselves to be divided by alleged issues in which they really have no part."

* * *

"The competitive system ought to be abolished, not only in the interest of the working class, but in the interest of all humanity. The system affects the employer as well as the employee. Emerson well said that the master could rise no higher than the other end of his slave's chain. Man is a social being—every man depends upon some other man. Our relations toward each other regulate our conduct toward each other. If we are compelled to fight for daily bread, we must fly at each other's throats."

* * *

"The workingman and the capitalist are the only two classes today,

and the workingman is beginning to think there is no hope for him under the present system. He is dependent for work upon the capitalist; therefore, he works by permission, and as his existence depends upon his work, he is living by permission of the capitalist and all this is due to the workingman's own ignorance. He builds palaces, and he lives in a cabin; he builds palace cars and automobiles, and he walks; he makes silks and satins and his wife wears muslin or linsey-woolsey; now, if he has the intelligence and the skill to make all these things, why should he not have the use of them? But as long as you follow the advice of the capitalist politician, given to you in abundance at election time, you will stay where you are."

* * *

"I hope to do my part to hasten the day when war shall curse the earth no longer; when men shall not exploit their weaker fellowmen; when men shall work, not to enrich a few, but to satisfy their own wants; when the soul shall no longer be a slave to the stomach; when each man shall have the right to work and earn his sustenance."

* * *

"These changes are coming whether you want them to come or not. You cannot prevent them, no one can prevent them, because they are part of the industrial revolution that has been going on for centuries. They may be delayed but not prevented. The workers are getting together. The strike is the last resort to enforce a right, and every strike lost is a victory, because every loss means more Socialists. Every capitalist crushed out by the com-

petitive system means more recruits to the ranks of Socialism. Centralization, crushing of labor, mean an increase in the ranks of those wedded to the principal of collective ownership.

"Our aim is to transfer the great wealth producing agencies to the hands of the collective people. We are not anarchistic, but the contrary. Anarchy is the negation of government. Socialism is the perpetuation of government. Socialism is the belief in the welfare of all in common."

How Capitalism "Develops" the South.

By ROBERT HUNTER.

Not less than eighty thousand children, most of whom are little girls, are at present employed in the textile mills of this country. In the South there are now six times as many children at work as there were twenty years ago. Child labor is increasing in that section of the country. Each year more little ones are brought in from the fields and hills to live in the degrading and demoralizing atmosphere of the mill towns. Each year more great mills are being built to reap the profits which these little hands make possible. In one Southern town there are five great mills and five settlements of workers—"pestridden, epidemic-filled, filthy" settlements "to be shunned like the plague;" each with its poverty-stricken, hungry-looking wage-slaves; and each with its group of box-houses, looking all alike and built high above the malarial clay-mud. Tin cans, rubbish, filth, are strewn everywhere inside and outside the houses. The great mills shriek at 4.45. The men, women and children turn out of bed or rise

from mattresses on the floor, gulp down some handfulls of food, and leave the home for the mills. Sleepy, half-awake, frowsy girls, sleepy, yawning, half-dressed children, drowsy, heavy men and women hurry along in crowds to be in time to begin their twelve or more hours of continuous work. "The day in winter is not born when they start their tasks; the night has fallen long before they cease. In summer they are worked far into the evenings." And after the day of labor "they are too tired to eat, and all they want to do is to turn their aching bones on to their miserable mattresses and sleep."

In the worst days of cotton milling in England the conditions were hardly worse than those now existing in the South. Children—the tiniest and frailest—of five and six years of age rise in the morning and, like old men and women, go to the mills to do their day's labor; and when they return home, they wearily fling themselves on their beds, too tired to take off their clothes. Many children work all night—"in the maddening racket of the machinery, in an atmosphere insanitary and clouded with humidity and lint." It will be long before I forget the face of a little boy of six years, with his hands stretched forward to rearrange a bit of machinery, his pallid face and spare form showing already the physical effects of labor. This child, six years of age, was working twelve hours a day in a country which has established in many industries an eight-hour day for men. The twelve-hour day is almost universal in the South, and about twenty-five thousand children are now employed on twelve-hour shifts in the mills of the various Southern states. The wages of one of these children, however large,

could not compensate the child for the injury this monstrous and unnatural labor does him; but the pay which the child receives is not enough, in many instances, even to feed him properly. If the children fall ill, they are docked for loss of time. And if, "for indisposition or fatigue, they knock a day off, there is a man hired (by the mill) especially for this purpose, who rides from house to house to find out what is the matter with them, to urge them to rise, and, if they are not literally too sick to move, they are hounded out of their beds and back to their looms." The mill-hands confess that they hate the mills, and no one will wonder at it. A vagrant who had worked in a textile mill for sixteen years once said to a friend of mine: "I done that (and he made a motion with his hand) for sixteen years. At last I was sick in bed for two or three days with a fever, and when I crawled out, I made up my mind that I would rather go to hell than go back to that mill."

These are in part the conditions in the South in 1905—a half century after Lord Shaftesbury awakened England to the bitter wrongs of the children of the cotton mills, and over a hundred years after Thomas Jefferson defined the principle of democracy as "equal rights to all and special privileges to none." The South is keeping this principle by sacrificing her children's rights and guaranteeing to Northern capital the special privileges of cheap labor. The history of child labor, when written, will be a tragedy of toil in which the bodies of children are maimed and their minds dwarfed solely that we may have cheap labor, increased profits on our capital, and a slightly reduced cost of commodities.—From "Poverty."

The Philadelphia Expose.

We have received many a letter of protest from readers complaining of our claim that high society seethes with immorality. The Philadelphia exposures are a better answer than we could possibly give. As long ago as 1848 Marx and Engels, in their masterly dissection of capitalist society, in the Communist Manifesto, said of capitalist morality: "The bourgeois (capitalist class) has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation... Our bourgeois, not content with having the wives and daughters of their proletarians at their disposal, not to speak of common prostitutes, take the greatest pleasure in seducing each other's wives." This charge is vindicated in the Philadelphia disclosures.

On another page we have written of the Philadelphia raid. Since that was written there comes further details of the affair. We are told that of those captured in the dens of unlawful intercourse, there were a large number of "men and women whose names adorn the bluebook of society, who are well known figures in Newport, New York and Paris, and who had to use all their influence to keep their highly respected names from being trailed in the mire." And we are told that "over 100 are still in jail and they consist of clubmen, lawyers, business men whose names are well known, sports and highflyers, young scions of society from the Germantown (most aristocratic) sections, and, sad to relate, *in some instances their sisters, cousins and their aunts*. All day today there has been a continual struggle to obtain bail and to cover up scandals."

Some of the scenes when the plain clothes men raided the houses were almost beyond description. This is especially true of some of the room houses in the center and north-western sections of the city.

"Young girls were found in various stages of dishabille and their male companions were not better off so far as the quantity of clothing was concerned. Some of them were given opportunity to dress for the street, but there were others who were not dealt with so leniently and disarranged or incomplete toilets were the rule rather than the exception."

And the scene before the magistrates was one to excite the greatest pity and surprise. The little court-rooms were full of unmarried and married women prisoners of "quality."

"A continuual moaning and shuffling was kept up in the rear of the rooms. Ejaculations such as "Oh, God, judge, please let me go: I've got a husband at home," or, "I'm a married woman, judge, and am a respectable woman," were continually to be heard." The following, which we take from the dispatches, will give an idea of how representatives of the "better classes" were caught in the dens of gilded prostitution:

A tall, beautiful girl, who had been caught in a Thirteenth street house with an escort, was called before Magistrate Eisenbrown. She wore a white dress and her face was swathed in an automobile veil.

"What is your name?" asked the magistrate.

The girl stood, white as marble, without replying. The magistrate repeated the question.

"I shall give you no name," replied the girl. "It's all over now, and can do no good. It will be death for me in the end and death for my parents. I will only say that I was engaged to be married. I still feel that I am a good

women. It is too late to ask for mercy. Oh, my God—too late!"

"Officer, did you ever see this woman before?" asked the magistrate.

"Yes, your honor," whispered the officer. "She lives at No. — street. She is the daughter of —."

"Take her away quick. Put her in a carriage and send her home," exclaimed the horrified magistrate.

Philadelphia society is no worse than that in New York, Chicago and other large cities. And back of it all stands the corruptor, the capitalist system. The only possible way to get the human race back to moral normality lies in abolishing the system and bringing in, in its stead, the reign of Social-Democracy.

Social-Democratic Herald.

The third edition of "Socialism Made Plain," Allan L. Benson's great Socialist making book, has just come from the press and is ready for delivery on the accrued orders. The book has been revised, extra pages added and the type leaded, which greatly improves its appearance. A new cover type design by Ald. Welch of Milwaukee, who has a reputation among printers for artistic work of this sort, has been substituted for the old one, and a much better quality of paper has been used. Every mail brings enthusiastic comments on the book, and this enlarged edition is sure to increase the number. Every Socialist who has a working library should have one of the new edition, cloth bound, on his shelves. The cloth copies cost fifty cents, and the paper edition, owing to its increased bulk, will hereafter cost fifteen cents where sent by mail.

Labor will never get relief from capitalistic ferocity until it sends its own representatives to make the laws.

Pointed Paragraphs.

By Frederic Heath.

The real crooks who break the laws are the same crooks who *make* the laws!

The world is at last harkening to Social-Democracy. It ignored it as long as it could!

Intemperence is inevitable under the capitalist system. Men drink to drown their worries for the time being.

Under Socialism the yachts, the European travel and the automobile rides will go to the workers. As for the shirkers, there will probably be Lazy Asylums!

Socialism will make true individuality possible. The present system stifles it. Lives of monotonous sameness fall to the people who must take part in the daily lockstep of the dinner pail brigade.

The London *Clarion* confirms the report that socialism is making rapid headway in China. The *Clarion* says: "Dr. Sun Yat Sen has stated in Brussels that the Chinese revolutionary Socialists publish no fewer than 54 journals, and that there will shortly be news which will astonish Europe."

Under capitalism the daily press has to give up most of its space to detailing the "news" of crime, sharp practice, immorality and brutality. In this way the newspaper itself becomes a teacher of crime. Oh, how badly the world needs Social-Democracy!

There are only three modes of acquiring wealth, 1st Inheritance; 2nd Labor; 3rd Stealth.

Jack London, the author, has been so besieged by autograph collectors that he has hit upon a way to turn their fad to account for Socialism. He charges one dollar per and then obliges them to order through the party in California and the party keeps the dollar.

Talk about "peace on earth!" Just pick up a daily newspaper and see what is going on all over the globe! The man was right who said that Christianity was a good thing, but that the human race had not yet got round to practicing it. They have been nineteen hundred years thus far trying to make up their minds, and their minds have become less made up since the capitalist profit-making era came upon the stage of events than ever. No wonder they are willing that Socialism should come to the rescue!

"If a citizen of the United States dies from eating poisoned 'food,' why should not the president of the corporation of poisoners for dividends that manufacture that 'food' be arrested, tried and hanged, like any other poisoner? Why should he be exempt because he doesn't happen personally to know his victim?" says the editor of the Saturday Evening Post. We give it up. We do not know any reason why he should not be punished as a poisoner—except that he did it for profits, which are sacred under the capitalist system.

This is the season for leaving the hot cities and seeking recreation and new life at the various Summer resorts, at the seaside, near some mountain lake, at Waukesha, and so on. Now who needs such recreation if not the working class? To whom does society owe such a rest more? And the very fact that the industrious class in society cannot dream of taking such a rest—isn't that itself a terrible indictment of the capitalist system? We think so.

The people of Philadelphia do appear to have some of the spirit of revolt left in them, after all. For years the Republican rottenness that has ruled the city and made it the spoil of thieves in broadcloth, has been one of the shames of this country, and it seemed as if Philadelphia did not care. But the game of plunder was carried too far by the high-handed thieves and the explosion came. Now the plunderers pretend to have backed down. We have our doubts. The promptings of the capitalist system, acting on a class too "respectable" to be at the mercy of the police, does not permit of their sudden reformation.

Do you notice how silent the Catholic priests who were so loud in charging Socialism with being immoral are, now that those terrible exposures of the immorality of capitalist society in Philadelphia have been printed in the press! They were not honest in their criticisms. They know mighty well that Socialism will clean up the morals of the people by removing the commercial promptings to impurity. Their silence condemns them. The capitalist society they were working for stands revealed in all its abnormality.

"Ill fares the land, to hastening ills
a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men
decay"

wrote the poet Goldsmith in his "Deserted Village." Apply this to modern business life, and how complete the indictment. Over back of the fashionable streets where wealth accumulates in mansions and palaces, lurks the slum district, where the "Have-nots" exist in order that the "Haves" may live their lives of indolence.

What becomes of all the wealth the American wage slave is producing but is not allowed to keep! Watch the Sunday papers to see where some of it is going. For instance we read: "Mrs. Goelet gives dinner in honor of mother of future queen of Germany. One American guest wore a dress of spun silver and a corsage studded with rubies." "Rivalry of American women now living in London in securing nobility for their functions greater than ever seen before." "Miss Phipps of America, who will wed a peer, has rented Brook House from Lord Tweedmouth for a bridal home." "American society women, titled and untitled, dazzle exclusive Londoners at grand opera." "Gold and gems in gorgeous gown for Mrs. Perry Belmont." "American duchess gives fabulous prizes at polo tournament." And so on. And this great squander of wealth called into being by the aching backs and broken health of our great American slaves is but the merest drop out of the vast profits taken day by day from the workers and placed to the credit of the relatively small master class. But, of course, we know it is wrong to think of these things. The workers were made for work not for envying "their betters!"

Social Hell.

One day I visited the family of a man who had been prostrated by heat while at work with a street paving gang. They were a family of seven, living in a two-room apartment of a rear tenement. The day was in August and the sun beat down unintermittently and without mercy. The husband had been brought home a few hours before. The wife, in a distracted but skilful way, found pathways among the clamoring children. The air was steamy with a half-finished washing, and remnants of the last meal were still upon the table. A crying baby and the sick husband occupied the only bed. I had known before of five people sleeping in one bed; but I learned here that the father and oldest child usually slept on the floor. As I watched the woman on that day I understood a little of what it meant to live in such contracted quarters. To cook and wash for seven, to nurse a crying baby broken out with heat, and to care for a delirious husband, to arrange a possible sleeping place for seven—to do all these things in two rooms which open upon an alley tremulous with heated odors and swarming with flies from the garbage and manure boxes, was something to tax the patience and strength of a Titan.

In this instance the man had broken down and sickness is most serious when it attacks the breadwinner of a working-class family. The sickness of wife or child is far less terrifying. However painful the disease or distressing the consequences, the family's peace of mind is not shattered by the fear and dread of want. The man is not kept from his work, and his earnings, made more necessary by the sickness, may still supply the family's needs. The diseases which kill or under-

mine the health of the adults, especially the man, are the ones which strike terror to the heart of working-class families. Those which almost invariably cause death,—such as cancer, phthisis, Bright's disease, diabetes—as well as those which permanently incapacitate a workman,—such as apoplexy, paralysis, etc.—the many accidents in industry which cripple the body, and the diseases arising from certain dangerous trades, which permanently undermine the health, are the forms of sickness which generally mean for wage-earning families poverty and often pauperism. Such diseases affect the welfare of the whole family. They stop all earnings unless the wife is able, or one of the children old enough, to become a wage-earner. Sickness assumes a new and more terrible meaning when one realizes that the mass of wage-earning families are pathetically dependent upon some one person's health. Anyone familiar with the poor knows with what grim determination half-sick workmen labor under this heavy responsibility. An Italian workman dying of consumption once said to a friend of mine, who was urging him as a last hope to quit work and go to a sanitarium. "No! No! Me die not yet at all! Me gotta bringa de grub to ma chil'."—From "Poverty," by Robert Hunter.

You'll get no relief, Mr. Toiler, till Social-Democracy gives it to you.

Socialism stirs the hidden springs of human feeling and sympathy in a man and makes him truly a citizen and comrade. And yet the church—at least some portions of it—refuses to hail with joy this wonderful force for human goodness!



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.

Under the Flag of the "Free!"

[The writer walked through the East Side sweatshop district of New York City and saw children by the hundred crowding into the factories in the early morning hours, while above a number of these slave-pens floated the emblem of Liberty.—Author.]

Through the mists of early morning,
Hear the tread of childish feet.
See! They come from every alley,
These battalions of the street.
Do they come from homes of plenty,
Where content and beauty reigns?
No! From dingy, rented hovels,
Comes the rattle of their chains.

Into shop and mill and factory,
Sweep the childish slaves of need,
With their blood and brawn replenish
All the furnaces of greed.
See! Those youthful shoulders bending
Nearth the care of future years;
Here they are—For bread contending.
Cheeks still wet with baby tears.

In their eyes a faded firelight,
Bodies stunted; morals decayed:
Behold the laggard generation
Which our greed for gold has made.
Look! Thro' mills of Godless profit,
Goes the innocent from which
Is manufactured bloody dollars,
For the comforts of the rich.

And see! Above the sweatshops
Where these children dig their graves,
Triumphant on the breezes,
The flag of freedom waves.
Strange! Strange the constitution,
Demoralized the powers that be,
When above a crowded slave-pen
Floats an emblem of the free.—

D. M. Robbins, in International
Woodworker.

"It is a sweetly comforting thought," said Mr. Rockefeller at a recent prayer meeting, "that the requirements of God are only according as he has given us ability." Thus does John D. keep up the "religious" act and piously hold the Almighty responsible for his "ability." This may be "sweetly comforting," after the reading of McClure's magazine, but he cannot befuddle the ordinary sinner's mind with such a contemptible idea of divine "requirements" as Standard Oil rapacity represents.

One of the silliest charges made against Socialists is that they stir up "class hatred." On the contrary, they aim at the utter abolition of class hatred; not by ignoring the conditions which produce it, however, but by removing them, and providing equality of opportunity for all. Those who would perpetuate the present system are responsible for the existence of class hatred.

One thing is certain: If the labor saving machine lessened the profits of the capitalists it would not be introduced. But the working class, whose chances for employment it does lessen, have nothing to say about it. Perhaps it is well that this is so, for the improved machine, while an injury to them under the present system, is a means of lightening the toil of the world and all that remains to set matters right is to cut off the private ownership of the machine and to give all the benefit, through a common ownership.

Don't fail to read "Mass and Class" advertised on page 1.

See advertisement of "Mass and Class" on page 1.

SOCIALIST PLATFORM.

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

I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

II.

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

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

III.

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

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

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

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

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

IV.

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

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

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

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

V.

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

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

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

FOR THE DAWN OF A BETTER DAY!

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

Social-Democratic Herald

FREDERIC HEATH, Editor.

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

VICTOR L. BERGER

AND

EUGENE V. DEBS,

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

SUBSCRIPTION RATES.

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

Remittances should be made to the

Social-Democratic Publishing Co.

344 SIXTH STREET.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Books on International Socialism

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

Send for complete catalogue of socialist books, free for the asking.

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