

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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The existence of great fortunes is prima facie evidence of social injustice. . . . The existence of such fortunes is an enormous peril to a democratic state; and they could never have been accumulated, in a democracy, without a great deal of social and political rottenness; and the men who have taken advantage of such conditions, or have, perhaps, helped to create them, in the building of their fortunes, are entitled to be regarded as the most dangerous enemies of society.

WASHINGTON GLADDEN.

The above utterance is from the able speech of Dr. Washington Gladden, before the Congregational Missionary Board at Seattle, in which he entered his protest against Rockefeller's "tainted money." Dr. Gladden is moderator or official head of the Congregational churches of the country and his words carry great weight among people of all denominations. It is one of the most encouraging signs of the times that such influential ministers are being aroused to the dangers of capitalism and its deadly effect upon the religion. There is nothing today which so cripples the work of the churches and all effort toward moral and social betterment as the commercialism which is eating at the very heart and conscience of the nation. Socialism will provide conditions in which Christianity will be possible and open the door for the greatest revival of real religion the world has ever known.

If the principles of Christianity prevailed in society, the present disparities could not exist, pinching

poverty in the midst of abounding wealth, hovels of wretchedness within a stone's throw of palaces of luxury. And still the preachers, for the most part, regard poverty as of divine appointment in the case of the majority of men, regard the rich and powerful as the special objects of divine favor, and go on droning out cant phrases about the "dispensations of providence" and the "blessings of poverty" which are to be accepted in a submissive spirit with the assurance of a "starry crown" in some other world. Such suggestions are imbecile and blasphemous. Carlyle called poverty the Englishman's hell, and it is hell to everyone who has to endure it. It is a curse and the most prolific cause of crime. For ministers to talk to wronged and hungry people about the blessings of their lot is the rankest rubbish that ever was dished up in the name of religion. And for them to speak of the injustice of social conditions as the will of God is the surest way to breed atheism and contempt for all religious institutions. Happily the people are coming to have too much

sense to accept all the nonsense of the pulpit, and, in due course of time, "economic determinism" will "educate" the preachers.

Professor Bascom of Williams college, formerly president of Wisconsin State University, has an article in a recent number of The New York Independent, entitled "A Social Forecast," in which he declares that the time has arrived "for another deal in human rights, and one more approach toward the kingdom of Heaven." Professor Bascom rightly says that the ideals of political and social equality have taken too firm a hold of the minds of men to be shaken off and the people will not much longer submit to the tyrannies now being imposed upon them by corporate wealth. Without committing himself to Socialism, nor predicting just how the impending change is to come about, Dr. Bascom's discussion of the situation logically points to industrial democracy as the solution of the problem. One thing is certain, Socialism is the only peaceful method of political deliverance for us. It is this or a devastation of blood tenfold worse than the French Revolution. Our salvation lies in educating the people in the principles and aims of Social-Democracy. And this is being done at an encouraging rate.

Grover, Grover, more of Grover! This time the illustrious ex-occupant of the White House writes in the "Ladies Home Journal" to say that he deems woman suffrage "unwise" because the large number of "disreputable, ignorant and thoughtless" women would outvote the "thoughtful" ones. Such is the "argument" which this erstwhile

"democratic" leader uses in an article placed before a million American women. What must these fair readers think of him, anyway? His assertion is nothing short of an insult which ought to be resented by every decent man and woman. But Grover simply hands out a sample of capitalistic logic, abuse, and arrogates to his class that superior wisdom and goodness which sees, as he says, "peril in agitation" for a larger measure of democracy. Verily, for it means the finish of his graft.

Those in a position to know tell us that the real reason why Dr. Gladden's resolution against acceptance of "tainted money" was tabled at the meeting of the American Board is that the members of the Prudential committee, which accepted Rockefeller's gift, are nearly all millionaires and any vote of disapproval of the oil king's methods would reflect upon themselves. Great is "economic determinism," even in the councils of the Most High. (?)

James J. Hill, the railroad magnate, recently celebrated his sixty-seventh birthday and has been giving to the newspapers some of his ideas concerning the qualities requisite for success in the present time. Incidentally Mr. Hill preaches some good Socialist doctrine when he says: "What we ought to teach in college and church and home is the healthy doctrine that nobody in this world has a right to live without work; nobody has a right to exist on the energies of another." This sounds like what we have heard, lo, these many years, in Socialist meetings: "All men must do their share of the world's work, and to the worker belongs the full product of

his toil." But Mr. Hill goes us one better than that. He further says: "There is something in the condition of the times which drives men into acting together,—this dominant spirit is the strongest force in the economic life of our country today." Thus do our capitalist friends, when talking frankly on social conditions, substantiate the Socialist philosophy.

Three cheers for the Japanese Socialists! In a "special cable dispatch to the Minneapolis Tribune" appears the following bit of news:

"Socialism has spread at an alarming rate in the Mikado's land since the war began, and having made his peace with a foreign enemy the Mikado will now have a more dangerous and insidious foe to fight in the country itself.

"In spite of the oppressive laws which are in force in Japan, and which are even stricter than those of Russia, the Japanese Socialists have continued to make the autocracy of the Mikado appear ridiculous in the eyes of the people and opened the eyes of many to the injustice of the present system, which they claim is unworthy of a nation which prides itself upon its high grade of civilization.

"With an enormous debt to pay off, and with revolutionary Socialists to fight at home, Japan will have plenty to do for years to come, and the European nations having colonies in the far east have nothing to fear from her while the recent conflict has taught them not to underestimate the powers of the ambitious little brown men."

Again, three cheers for our little Jap comrades!

It is reported that a Mrs. Scott, once housekeeper for John D. Rockefeller, lies paralyzed in a poverty-stricken home in San Francisco, and that appeals in her behalf have been made to pious John on the ground of her former years of faithful service, but without avail. The man who is worth \$500,000,000

could only spare \$25 which was sent many months ago and of course is all gone now. Whether true or not, this is only what might be expected from the man whose pathway is strewn with the wrecks of human lives and happy homes, whose greed and lawlessness have made his name a byword and hissing in the land, though his "charities" are blazoned abroad as were those of the Pharisees of old. Yet Rockefeller is but a type of the selfishness and hypocrisy of the capitalist system. As he truly avers, his methods are but those of "legitimate" business. Hence Socialists are not after Rockefeller as an individual. He is a miserable creature, the victim of a vicious social order. We are fighting the whole system which breeds such money-maniacs and blights humanity.

Socialism is permeating the world very rapidly. According to the view of Prof Hall, of Union Theological Seminary, New York (see article in this issue of *The Vanguard*) the vitality of Socialism is far greater than that of institutional Christianity. It is doing the work which the churches have failed to do. Considering the conditions of the so-called Christian world, after nineteen centuries of church influence, it must be admitted that the nominal followers of Christ have little to show for their "preaching". It is a notorious fact that poverty, intemperance, prostitution, child-slavery, political corruption and all the abominations of desolation are found at their worst under the very shadow of the Christian church. Socialism could not possibly do better than supplant such a lifeless, juiceless system of religion with one filled with enthusiasm for humanity and a higher civilization.

This it is doing, as Prof. Hall points out. It is today the best propaganda of the real gospel of Christ. It is doing more than all the churches to bring about the kingdom of heaven on earth. And no church can prevent its triumph.

Don't be afraid of being called a Socialist. On the contrary you ought to be glad to bear the name. What is Socialism? It is the common weal; it is serving the interests of the whole people; it is taking hold of the machinery of society and running it for the benefit of all instead of a few. It is securing justice, freedom and happiness for mankind. Is this anything to be ashamed of? Is it not something to be proud of? Socialism, as 'Gene Debs says, is the noblest word in the vocabulary. Be a Socialist. Be a man; and take your stand squarely for honesty, decency and humanity.

AS IT IS IN HELL.

"And in the last days a triple-headed dragon shall devour the people; and the monster's heads, each ravenous and rapacious, shall be called Rent, Profit and Interest."

* * *

Scene: A magnificent mansion fronted by velvet lawns with singing fountains, facing a broad avenue shaded by lofty trees.

Persons: The Lady, a beautiful woman, gowned in silks, with diamond flashing rings and golden ornaments. The Poet, a man of uncertain years with a mysterious light in his eyes that told of converse with the heart of things.

The Lady—I was at the church of the Holy Spires, yesterday.

The Poet—I, too, was there.

Lady—Oh, the soul lifting music! It bore my soul to celestial heights—as if I heard the chanting of angels around the throne!

Poet—When the great organ pealed I heard the wail of the wretched, the sob of the infant stifled for the want of pure air and moans of the dying in the foul room of the tenebment.

Lady—How horrible! What brought such morbid fancies to mar the sweet concord of that sacred place?

Poet—I knew that from the most hideous dens of the seething nether-world came the rents that gilded the shrine of and decked the altar of this temple of Mammon: That from abused souls was wrung the gold that paid for the pealing music.

Lady—Who can search the source of things we have? It would poison our joys. Let us accept the things God sends us without question.

(An old woman goes by, dirty, foul and ragged, with a large bundle upon her back.)

Lady—How disgusting! Why can not the poor be clean? Their filthiness repels sympathy.

Poet—It takes time and wealth to be clean. This woman is a sweater's wife and a sweater's mother. Twelve persons in two small rooms, eat, sleep, work and die. There is no time to waste in keeping clean. Ever the specter of Rent, side by side with the Hunger-Wolf clutches at their throats. Even the craving for food is never satisfied. Personal pride perishes. Only the animal desire to exist lives. They are the scape-goats for the "lilies of the field."

Lady—Why do men pay so little for their labor?

Poet—That they may make Profit.

Lady—Why do they so long for profit that they "grind the faces of the poor?"

Poet—That mansions like this may be built. By forcing thousands

into filthy dens the despoiler may have a palace. They are unclean that you may wear diamonds. The blood from a million cements these stones.

Lady—I take nothing from them. I receive money for investments. You are mad to speak thus to me!

Poet—Nay, I am sane. It is you who are mad to wear the gauds of selfishness and to take, unrequited, the toil of the humble.

(A little girl goes by with strange, wolfish eyes and a gray face. Her feet are bare and a tattered gown covers her. An apple core lies in the gutter. She grasps it and devours it greedily.)

Lady—Did you see that? Even the children are as swine! It makes me sick to think of ones eating that foul refuse!

Poet—You might do the same in spite of your daintiness.

Lady—Never!

Poet—She has had nought since yesterday morn. Her parents came from the mountains to work in the great mills and the fever carried them into the jaw of Death. The mills gather the children, also. She toiled among the shifting shuttles, twelve long hours a day for a dollar a week. The hot sun flamed upon the metal roof, the dust and lint rose thick and dense, the throb, throb of the accursed machines pounded their way into the brain of the child, until it seemed as if great hammers were beating at her temples, keeping time with the pulsations of the mighty engines. Near the end of the day the walls went round and round before her eyes and the machines reeled in a devil's dance through the dust-filled atmosphere in mocking glee. The little one staggered and the tiny hand caught in the merciless cogs. Then they turned her from the factory's door; for commercialism has no use

for cripples. Now she chores and runs errands for other miserable slaves of the machines—a slave of slaves—fed yesterday—today glad for the foul morsel the streets contain.

Lady—Why do men let these things be?

Poet—That large interest may come from their investments. The many suffer that the few may revel in unholy luxury. The little ones feed on the refuse of the streets that you may have strawberries in January.

Lady—It is not true! It is not true, I have nought to do with it!

Poet—This home cost a million. Your jewels are worth thousands. Your silks cost hundreds. What did you do to obtain them?

Lady—Nothing, my father gave them to me.

Poet—How did he get them?

Lady—He bought them with profits from his business.

Poet—And these profits came from whom?

Lady—I do not know. I take the things God meant me to have. I have not sinned to obtain them. The misery and the crime of the world is not my work.

Poet—No, but it is the work of a system black with wrong. You profit by this system, selfishly, and take no thought of the evil wrought to others. Your life of silent approval condemns you.

(A great tumult is heard in the city. Shots are fired. Smoke spirals curl high into the air as if fires were breaking out. A horseman covered with blood and grime rides recklessly up the street.)

The Rider—Fly, fly, the rabble is in insurrection, and killing and burning!

Poet—(Quotes)—

"The world is very evil;
The times are waxing late;
Be sober and keep vigil;
The Judge is at the gate."

Lady—Merciful Heaven, can we not escape?

Poet—It is too late; we are surrounded. See, they have cut the rider down!

Lady—Will they have mercy?

Poet—Who knows, when have they received mercy? We have sowed the wind, let us reap the whirlwind without flinching.

Lady—What shall we do? What shall we do?

Poet—Nothing, as you said, let us accept that which God sends us without question.

Frank Stuhlmann.

Our Thieves In Broadcloth.

By EUGENE V. DEBS.



HE recent disclosures in the affairs of the Equitable Assurance Company furnish a series of object lessons rich and juicy with food for meditation.

The most "eminent" financiers, statesmen, promoters, politicians and moralists in the land are in the list of thieves and grafters who, if justice were done—which, of course, is a very foolish "if"—would all go to the penitentiary, not as common criminals, but as professional cracksmen, caught in the act of rifling the contents of the bank vaults of the people.

The list includes such well known Christian gentlemen—gentlemen and thieves—as Levi P. Morton, Chauncey M. Depew, August Belmont, Robert T. Lincoln, degenerate son of his illustrious sire, George Gould et al.

There are more than twenty multi-millionaires in the gang.
Of course!

That is the way to get rich in capitalism and these are the buccaneers who are held up by the public press—while they hold up the people—as paragons of purity, and models of manhood who were once poor, and unaided and alone "worked" their way from poverty and obscurity to wealth and fame.

One of our humorists, commenting on the experiments that are being made to produce, by grafting, a seedless apple, said that the gentlemen above named and their pals were engaged in the larger and far more important work of producing, by grafting, a cashless insurance company and a coinless community.

These gentlemen are the very cream of capitalist society; they represent the highest expression of its ethics and morals.

Caught in the act of robbing the unsuspecting people while admonishing them to be virtuous, honest and law-abiding, a snap-shot at the group reveals at a glance the brazen affrontery and vulgar duplicity of these rich and respectable rascals.

With them stealing is a fine art.

They are at once the best and the worst specimens of their system, the capitalist system, conceived in crime, brought forth in corruption, developed in robbery and perpetuated in slavery.

In this system to take from another clumsily and by force to satisfy an actual want or a pressing need is theft and punished accordingly, but to organize a gang of pirates in high life and for these pirates to concoct their conspiracies to rob the whole people of all they have is an achievement in finance and statecraft of such dazzling brilliancy as to merit the highest commendation.

Here we have a complete vindication of the theory of economic determinism.

Morals are but the reflex of economic conditions. The most eminent specimens the capitalist system has produced prove to be its most conscienceless scoundrels, its most colossal thieves.

The reason for this is self evident. The capitalist competitive system is essentially immoral, brutal, hypocritical and heartless.

These capitalist sand-baggers all attend church and solemnly join in the prayers that God Almighty may increase the opportunities of the prevers.

What a picture; And what an invitation for Jesus Christ and his rich man's cat-o-nine-tails!

Since the eruption of Equitable Assurance the pus has been flowing like tides of lava down mountain sides. It is the tapping of but one of the ulcers of capitalism. The rest are equally ripe and will be reached in due order.

Down with the capitalist system! Down with the exploitation of the working class! Down with the rich and respectable robbers!

Up with the working class! Up with the Socialist Republic! Up with Freedom and Humanity.

The end of the old and the beginning of the new are near.

The Socialist Point of View.

By FREDERIC HEATH.

The Rev. D. Dorchester of the Christ Methodist church in Pittsburg recently said in a sermon that the best thing in trusts and the only thing that justified their existence was "the principle that Socialists had advocated for years, viz., The regulation of production so as to prevent the destructive wastes entailed by blind competition." It was probable, he said, that the trust was a way station on the way to Socialism and that our multi-millionaires are only the hod-carriers and bricklayers of an economic structure which shall eventually pass into the hands of the community and be administered for the common good.

This was a disinterested and frank admission. Over against it we have an interested opinion, expressed by one of the Parry crowd at the recent convention of that Labor crushing aggregation -- Pres. Samuel Spencer of the Southern Railway—who said: "The remedy for cor-

porate evils lies not in suppression nor in undue governmental regulation nor in governmental control. Suppression by statute has been tried, and has failed. Governmental regulation beyond the limits of correcting irregularities and abuses, means a paternalism which will sap only the energies and initiative of the individual, but must retard the development of the country, and may possibly threaten the foundations upon which free government is based. The remedy lies in the intelligent and thorough recognition of the benefits to be derived from large corporate instead of small individual activity; it lies in throwing the searchlight of public knowledge and public scrutiny upon all corporate action and methods which can, by illegal abuses and discriminations, inflict injury and injustice upon others of equal rights; it lies in wise and judicious laws in respect to the formation of corporations, the amount and character of their capitalization and the scope of their corporate powers, and in a system of governmental supervision and inspection which can successfully detect and punish all infractions of the law."

These two views are interesting as showing what the people are now thinking about in relation to the social question. The first represents the view of men who have no industrial or capitalistic interests at stake to bias their convictions. The other shows how the capitalistic mind, in spite of its financial interests, has to yield some points from the old Manchester school philosophy of let-alone.

Both are tributes to the all-powerful on-coming of the Socialist philosophy and of Socialism itself—both are new standpoints forced upon the minds of the people by the propaganda and the unshakable arguments of the Social-Democrats of this country. Both are signposts that tell us unerringly the way that social evolution is proceeding. We Socialists are already reaping the mental rewards for unflinching advocacy of right relations and of complete justice to labor.

The use of imported Chinese laborers is a something for our capitalists to hanker after, although secretly, especially in view of the incessant labor troubles which the capitalist system compels. The exclusion of the cheaper grades of oriental labor from this country was due to public sentiment and not to any very robust wish of the capitalists, and so one is not at all surprised to read in the despatches from Washington that "that portion of the Bureau of Immigration which has to do with the exclusion of the Chinese *has become demoralized*" and the fact that it has become demoralized in spite of the fact that the head of that department is ex-labor skate Frank P. Sargent, the Judas who framed up the play by which Roosevelt was admitted into one of the railway brotherhoods and enabled to make campaign bait for gudgeons out of the fact of possessing a union card, is also not a surprise. It is stated that at present the immigration inspectors "are afraid to apply the law strictly for fear that complaints will be made against them and their dismissal ordered." All of which simply shows anew how necessary it is for the working class not only to have real representatives in the government, but to have them under working class instead of capitalistic political control.

A stock objection to Socialism is that it would produce a sameness in life by interfering with individuality and the right to live in individual freedom. It would make people dress alike and live in dwellings that are monotonously alike, say the all-wise critics.

Now, no Socialist who is at all well grounded in his Socialism attempts to say just how people will live when society has evolved to the Socialistic system.

He does not know.

The most he can say is that in all probability the habitations of the people will be sufficiently related to each other to make economies in service possible. There may be communal kitchens for various groups of dwellings, or a communal dining room, or these things may be left entirely to the whim of the individual, giving him the chance to elect whether he will maintain the completest privacy in his domestic affairs, or whether he will mingle with others so far as his gastronomic interests are concerned.

The Socialist who is ready to tell you in positive language just how every relation of life will be under Socialism, is either new in the movement, or reckless, or stupid.

As well might an individual a few centuries ago when the feudal system was in complete existence have assumed to have knowledge as to just how things would be after feudalism was succeeded by the present capitalistic system. It is certain, however, that all possible economies will be resorted to, not to the discomfort of the people, or because of authority from above, but because for their own comfort and convenience they will themselves insist on it.

The bugaboo of monotonous sameness need fool no one. The fact is that it is the present system that is forcing a sameness on the people, as you can see by looking at the row after row of brownstone fronts in the fashionable quarters of large cities, or row after row of workmen's cottages, each the exact counterpart of the others, to be seen in all manufacturing districts, the monotonous and uncomfortable flat habitations increasing so rapidly, the growing habit of the rich of taking up their quarters in hotels where privacy at meals is impossible, the monotony of Fashion's edict that all men shall dress alike and wear clothes of a cut peculiar to a year or a season on pain of social disrepute in case of failure to comply. Socialism will really bring individuality.

There used to be safety to the masses of the people in the fact that the self-interest of the capitalists pitted them against each other and thus kept them from exerting their full collective blood-sucking power against humanity. But that was before the trust stage of capitalist development had been ushered in. Now the capitalists are so interre-	lated in their raid on the common wealth, produced by labor, that an harassed society is fast turning to Socialism as the only possible means of escape in sight and the only rational one. ~ See that that other fellow gets a chance to correctly understand Socialism, also.
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Socialism, the New Christianity.

PASSAGES FROM A STRIKING ARTICLE IN NORTH-AMERICAN REVIEW, BY PROF. HALL OF UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

In Socialism, a new hope and a new faith have found definite expression. In view of such possible rivalry, it is highly suggestive that the economic world conditions to-day reproduce, in many ways, those which so greatly farthered the spread of an organized and dogmatic Christianity. Now, as in the days of Rome, the world is physically united, as it has not been since the fall of the Empire. Since then, not until the last century was travel as safe and as frequent as in the days of Roman domination. Now, as then, the world is intellectually under the dominion of a common stock of ideals and methods. What Greece did for the Roman world, experimental science does for us. Now, as then, three tongues give any teacher the ears of the world's real leaders, and the wide extent of the world's dominion gives a freedom of utterance which the smaller conditions of life made impossible before, and which reminds the student of the really astonishing liberty of speech permitted by Rome. Moreover, now, as in the days of the Empire, the land open to exploitation is rapidly passing into a few hands, and the city population increases at the expense of the country as it did in the days of Nero, and equally to the alarm of the responsible power-possessing class.

The economic factors that shaped so largely the fortunes of early Christianity have never been fully dwelt upon. But the modern historian is beginning more and more to recognize the fact that the Old Catholic Church rose to power be-

cause, under existing economic conditions, it was the only organization with sufficient strength among the proletariat to reorganize the bankrupt world. Moreover, the whole history of organized Christianity is to a great degree dominated by that inherited responsibility. It is noteworthy that the strain and tension of that day Hatch finds reproduced in our own. Not indeed, that Christianity was the only organization among the proletariat:

"The Roman world was over-spread with religious societies. There was no longer any fixed religion, but there were religions in plenty There were none, especially of the lower classes of the people, who did not belong to some union of the kind. . . . The members of the societies were even formed into a sort of general brotherhood."

In fact, the Christian Church fell heir to a mass of proletarian organizations in a manner only comparable to the way in which today Socialism is falling heir to trades unions and reform agencies of even middle class origin.

Something, however, had happened in the religious world of lower class Rome. As Sohni says: "Their heaven had been emptied of its gods." Just that has happened in the home of Marxian Socialism. In Germany, the narrow dogmatism of a formal and middle class state church has left the workingman to his fate. And into the breach Socialism has rushed. The day in which the Socialist lecture hall is taking the place of the church be-

gins to alarm even the dull leaders of a decaying orthodoxy. Says Mr. Austin Lewis, one of the most thoughtful and sane Socialist writers:

"In Berlin today, five out of six people, who are to be seen on the streets going to some meeting or other, are going, not to church, but to hear addresses from the platforms of the Social-Democrats upon the rights and duties of the working classes. When their children have acquired the habit of substituting the lecture hall for the church, the latter will no longer confront a careless proletariat with no religion, but a sturdy proletariat with a very definite, if materialistic, substitute for a religion, with an organization, with speakers who are at least as able as the theological colleges can produce, and without any doubt as to their working class sympathies."

What gives Socialism an incalculable advantage over all trades unionism and independent societies is its tremendous organizing faith in a final world conquest. Going out of the close and often sordid air of trades union squabbles into the atmosphere of Socialist idealism, even the calm and hostile critic must feel the force of this faith in the great unseen dream of an ultimate and complete victory. This uplifting vision was what marked the message of early Christianity, as over against the most effective and most democratic of the other religious unions. These offered, indeed, temporary refuges, promising to every member some warmth and shelter while he lived and a decent burial when he died. The Christian guild was profitable both for this life and the life to come and stirred men's blood by the promise that

soon, no man could tell how soon, the meek, the oppressed, the poor and the slave would inherit the earth, and would reign triumphant, where they were now suffering seemingly final defeat in life's battle.

Out of this proletarian character, so strongly marked in the early church, came another peculiarity which also is noteworthy in Marxian Socialism. A possessionless class is not only a relatively unstable population, but one in which national feeling is weak. The Christian or Socialist group is bound to become cosmopolitan in sympathy. The group is no longer based on geographical considerations; the organizing conception is a common discontent and a common hope. The proletariat of the days of Jesus, like the proletariat of today, felt itself cut off from national ambitions, and class feeling became stronger than all national feeling. The common burden of economic inferiority acted powerfully in detaching the various possessionless classes from the old group lines, and bringing them together in a new solidarity of common interest. This could not happen without a struggle in the days of Jesus. Paul's principal battle was for just such a new solidarity on the basis of a common faith. He felt, and rightly felt, that the future of Christianity was staked on that issue.

In precisely the same way, the old National Socialist Party of Germany, now decently buried, was an attempted protest against the cosmopolitan character of the Social-Democracy. It was an utterly vain attempt, and died an ignominious death.

The National Socialist Party failed to take into account an entirely new standard of valuation,

produced by the very conditions of the proletariat life and hope.

The real strength of Socialism is not its dogmas, but its faith in a supersensuous reality, *a profound faith in a coming reign of its ideals of righteousness.*

Thus, in all attempts to understand the rapidly swelling tide of Socialist enthusiasm, it must be steadily remembered with what we are dealing. *No intellectual defeat of the political economy of Karl Marx will have any more effect upon Socialism than the philosophic sneers of ancient Rome at the miracle stories of early Christianity.*

The really vital question before the existing order today is: How far is it ready to meet the tremendous strain of changing economic conditions, or how far is it really as rotten as Socialist enthusiasm proclaims it to be? If the Socialists are right, and to them fall the responsibilities of reorganizing a weary and outgrown civilization, then it is to be devoutly wished that they may become accurate students of the rise of the Old Catholic Church, and that they would more carefully guard themselves against the dangers that beset it in the hour of its victory. If the existing order is to maintain itself, then it must find some more zeal-inspiring dream than any yet on the horizon of either feudal Romanism or individual Protestantism.

Yes, of course, capital and labor are partners, as our capitalistic spell-binders like to make labor believe, but we notice that when a machine is invented to displace labor, the capitalists forget all about that partnership business and turn the workers adrift without even a word of regret.

Pointed Paragraphs.

BY FREDERIC HEATH.

Count that day lost whose low, descending sun views at thy hand no worthy convert won.

The new Socialist conscience is getting possession of men. The public view is changing. Conduct formerly viewed as shrewd is now correctly regarded as clear crookedness, and the veneration for the rich without questioning how they get their riches is fast falling away.

The nations of the globe are now preserving an armed peace. An armed peace, just think of it, you Christians. And yet some of you, because of your commercial, mammon interests, are trying to block the effort of the Socialists to apply a little Christianity to modern life. Don't like to take your own medicine, it appears!

Banker Bigelow, who stole millions and is now getting soft work as a government prisoner at the Leavenworth penitentiary, was naturally violently opposed to Socialism. He felt that it meant theft and that it would "impair the purity of the home." Now his library has been inventoried preparatory to auctioning it off and such a large number of obscene books were found in it that it had to be divided so that no improper book should be offered for sale and thus get the administrator into conflict with the purity laws of the land. So you see how hollow were both of Bigelow's reasons for opposing Socialism. Bigelow himself was both a thief and immoral. And Bigelow is like a good many others of 'em!

The Wastes of Competition.

BY PROF. IRA W. HOWERTH, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

"Said Aristides to Themistocles in days of old, 'It is for us to struggle both now and even, which of us shall perform the greatest services for his country.' These patriotic Greeks cooperated, and at the same time illustrated the competition on a high level.

"The competitive system of industry, however, is competition on a lower level. It is characterized by the struggle of men, and groups of men, for private gain. It is therefore essentially selfish. *The gain of one usually means the loss of another*, the success of one, the defeat of another, and it does not necessarily mean the more efficient service of the successful, for private profit is not synonymous with public good.

"I shall admit at the outset that competition is now and has always been a means of progress. Notwithstanding its selfishness, it educates certain intellectual and moral qualities, such as thrift, foresight and enterprise, which are of social value, even though devoted to selfish ends. But what I do not admit is that these virtues are adequate compensation for the brutalizing effects and social cost of competition. Man, such as he is, and civilization as we find it are largely the products of the struggle for existence. Nature, 'red in tooth and claw,' the path of history strewn with wrecks of nations, and the defeated and trampled victims of modern industrial life bear witness to the severity and cruelty of this struggle. The struggle will continue. Undue severity and all cruelty must be eliminated. Struggle, not strife, is the law of

human advancement. Some have said and do now say, that competition is the law of progress. This also I deny. Competition is not a law, but a means, and there is a vast distinction. Competition promotes activity, which is essential to progress, but competition is not the only means of promoting it. To call competition a law of nature, is to imply that progress cannot be secured without it. But to realize that it is a means of progress, and a means only, is to perceive that it may be supplanted by other and more efficient means. The law of progress, I repeat, is struggle or action, and struggle is not identical with competition. It may be against nature, and so without a moral element. The men who strive to conquer the forces of nature and turn them into channels of human advantage, as for instance the pioneer, the inventor and the productive laborer, have all the struggle necessary to their development without a competitive combat with each other. Competition in the absence of other incentives, promotes activity, but so does a bull dog after a tramp. The more intelligent society becomes the more must it endeavor to displace competition by less brutal and wasteful methods of progress.

"Turning to the social cost of competition, we are met by the cost due to the industrial rivalry of nations which is the most frequent occasion of war. War, as a rule, is now waged for markets, and as long as the sale of goods is regarded as the chief object in life, armies and navies will be necessary. But war is competition writ large.

Wastes of Competition.

"I submit then that there is social waste in our present military expenditures. We ought not to be expending \$265,000,000 a year for war, and \$225,000,000 for education—\$25,000,000 to put brains into people and \$265,000,000 to blow them out!

"The money loss due to strikes and lockouts during the 20 years prior to 1900 was \$396,000,000; the annual expense of advertising is in the United States between six and seven hundred million dollars. A large part of which is a social cost because employed merely in diverting trade from one man to another, that is, in business war.

"What then of the future of industrial competition? I have already said that the competitive principle is a constituent element of social life. We cannot 'do away with it.' We can only hope to raise its manifestations to a higher level. This can be done because it has been done. The rigor and brutality of earlier industrial war has been mollified somewhat by sentiment, by custom and by social regulations. Instead of piracy and the black flag we have 'frenzied finance.' Men no longer cut the throats of their rivals in business. They cut their prices and though they may accomplish the same result, it is in a more refined way. They no longer starve out a competitor by stealing his bread; they secure a special privilege, or withhold the opportunity to work and the starving takes care of itself. They are no longer permitted to sell a competitor into slavery; they undersell him and get to themselves credit for being public benefactors. Bad as it is, this is an improvement on the old regime. It is worse to be sold than to be under-

sold. The industrial world does move. The progress of the race must manifest itself here. All progress consists in 'the progressive socialization of the lower functions, the stoppage of lower forms of competition and of the more brutal qualities in order that a larger proportion of individual activity may be engaged in the exercise of higher functions of competition upon higher planes and the education of higher forms of fitness.'

"If this is true, and I think it is, our competitive system of industry will be progressively socialized, especially that part of it known as machine industry, and reduced to public routine so that men may be progressively released from the deadening grind of present industry to devote more time to the cultivation, by competition, if you please, of the higher qualities of manhood, so that the laborer will cease to be a drudge and become a man; so that there will be less work and more life."

For the fiscal year just closed the United States exported products valued at over five hundred millions of dollars. A great deal of the products could very well have been used by the people at home, only they were too poor to buy them. Yet the fact that the people are rendered too poor by reason of their own industry to buy back the useful things their own industry has produced proves beyond the shadow of a doubt to anyone having a capitalist mind that this nation is enjoying unprecedented prosperity. Just study over this a bit. It may wake you up!

If you don't get Socialism, Socialism may get you.

Old Age Pensions in Australia.

The system of old age pensions, at present confined to New South Wales and Victoria, must be regarded in the light of an experiment, and its adoption by the commonwealth government will depend largely on the success of the working details and the means of obtaining the necessary funds, the latter necessary involving some form of additional taxation, through the federal customs, says a Sydney, N. S. W., letter to the New York Times.

In New South Wales the old age pension scheme, as sanctioned by the state parliament, specifies a pension of £20 (\$130) a year, and by £1 for every £1 of income above £26 a year, and by £1 for every £15 of property that the pensioner possesses. Where a husband and wife are each entitled to a pension, the amount is fixed at £19 10s a year each, unless they are living apart under a decree of the court or a deed of separation, when the full sum of £26 will be allowed. Persons under 65 years of age but over 60 years are entitled to pensions if they are incapacitated by sickness or injury from earning their livelihood, but debility due merely to age is not considered as an incapacitating sickness.

The pension system came into force on Aug. 1, 1901, at which date 13,957 pensions were granted, involving a monthly payment of £28,037 (\$140,185). The pension list gradually increased as persons entitled to claim made good their rights, and on July 1 the number of pensions was 22,252, the monthly pension bill being £44,362 (\$221,810).

This was the highest point attained, and from that date onward there has been a gradual decline, both in

the number of pensioners and the amount payable. In August, 1904, the number was 20,438, and the monthly payments £40,617 (\$203,085). This is the lowest point reached since the pension system has been in full operation. The average annual pension is now about £23 16s and it has varied little since the pension system came into force.

In Victoria the system is slightly different. The average weekly income of a claimant during the six months immediately preceding the grant of a pension must not have amounted to 8s per week (in New South Wales the sum allowed is £1 per week); he must also have made reasonable efforts to provide for himself, which is not necessary in New South Wales, where the pension is granted in consideration of old age, and a citizen may enjoy his pension on attaining the age of 65 whether he is able to work or not; indeed, the law allows him to supplement his income to the extent of 10s per week in the case of New South Wales, the total income being enjoyed by the pensioner may, therefore, in that state amount to 20s per week.

When a claimant, although he has attained the statutory age of 65 years, appears to be physically capable of earning or partly earning his living a pension may be refused or fixed at a lower sum than 8s. The statutory maximum of pensions is diminished by 6d per week for every £10 of savings accumulated by the claimant, or by the value of the board and lodgings which he may receive, such value being taken at 5s per week.

Relatives—if the father, mother, brother, sister, or child—are re-

quired to assist in the maintenance of the pensioner, where their means are sufficient to allow them to do so; otherwise they will have to prove their inability to aid in the cost of supporting their relative.

The granting of pensions depends upon whether any money is available to pay them, the total amount being fixed by the state parliament at £150,000 (\$750,000) per annum. The number of persons of 65 years of age and upward resident in the commonwealth on June 30, 1904, was estimated at 159,300, but it is believed that the actual figures are lower.

The principal reason for the system being federalized consists in the fact that residence of twenty years in the case of Victoria, and of twenty-five years in the case of New South Wales is a condition precedent to the granting of a pension. There are a large number of persons who have been twenty-five years in Australia, but whose time has been spent in two or more states, and who therefore, would not under any state system likely to be put into operation be entitled to a state pension. These persons would be eligible under a federal system to receive pensions in virtue of their residence in Australia.

The estimated cost of a federal system, based on the New South Wales rates, would be £1, 476,000 (\$7,380,000) per annum, or if persons between the ages of 60 and 65, incapacitated by reason of physical infirmity from earning their livelihood were included, about £1,630,000 (\$8,150,000.)

It was anticipated by the introducers of the old age pension system that there would be a reduction in expenditure on poor relief, especially on asylums, but the expectation was without reasonable foundation, the

classes of people affected by the two systems of relief being essentially distinct; consequently little or no reduction in the expenditure on poor relief can be traced to the establishment of the old age pension system.

"No Sentiment in Business."

Work that is, on the whole, useless or detrimental to the community at large may be gainful to the business man, and to the workman whom he employs, as work that contributes substantially to the aggregate livelihood. This seems to be peculiarly true of the bolder flights of business enterprise. In so far as its results are not detrimental to human life at large, such unproductive work directed to securing an income may seem to be an idle matter in which the rest of the community has no substantial interests. Such is not the case. In so far as the gains of these unproductive occupations are of a substantial character, they come out of the aggregate product of the other occupations in which the various classes of the community engage. The aggregate profits of the business, whatever its character, are drawn from the aggregate output of goods and services. —Veblin's "Theory of Bus. Enterprise," pp. 63 and 4.

The man who takes out a life insurance policy these days certainly has courage.

The morals of capitalism are not outraged by the fact that commerce must be extended by murder.

A civilization that requires peace commissions has not yet emerged from the darkness of barbarism.

Business System Inherently Dishonest.

We take the following highly significant expression from the editorial columns of the *Homiletic Review*, published by Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York, and a leading religious publication:

A prominent New York clergyman prophesies that "the next great revival held in this country will have as its dominant note the question of ethics," and sees in the controversy that is now raging in regard to the propriety or impropriety of accepting "tainted" money for religious purposes "the first sign of this revival." His words suggest a profitable train of thought. That the public conscience is roused, as never before, to a sense of the dishonesty practised by many great business corporations is apparent. Questions of industrial ethics are being discussed on every hand. Books by Henry D. Lloyd and Ida M. Tarbell have been taken from the shelves to furnish indictments of the Standard Oil Company. Mr. Lawson's astounding revelations of the methods of "frenzied finance" are being eagerly read, from month to month, and the quarrel that is rending the Equitable Life Assurance Society has supplied columns of newspaper material all the way across the continent.

The issues are complex, but there are outstanding facts. One fact, in particular, has impressed itself on the public mind. There is an insane individualism in American life today. Men act as if the accumulation of property were the only end of existence, and as if any means were permissible in realizing that end. In too many cases there is a disposition on the part of political and social leaders to overlook entire-

ly the sacredness of fiduciary responsibilities. Standard Oil magnates have won power and money by ruthlessly crushing out rivals, by trampling the law under foot, by claiming special privileges. Officers of insurance corporations have betrayed trust funds by using them to promote their own interests. In its fundamental aspect, the problem is simply one of old-fashioned selfishness—that is, the putting of the interests of *self* before the interests of the common weal.

In questions so clearly involving ethical issues, the pulpit can remain silent only at its peril. If it avoids the really vital problems of life, it abandons men when they need it most, and will in its turn be abandoned. It may rightly hesitate to pronounce verdicts on complicated industrial questions, but it can not renounce its moral mission. It can, and must, insist that the ethical standards which rule private life shall rule business life also.

One of the paradoxes of modern society is bound up in the fact that the collective conscience is so much duller than the private conscience. We do as nations what we would never dream of doing as individuals. A man who could not be induced to kill his neighbor, whatever the provocation, marches out in war time, with a clear conscience, to kill somebody else's neighbor. A man who is a model of the virtues in his domestic life loses every restraining scruple in his business dealings. Mr. Rockefeller, when questioned recently as to how he reconciled his business transactions and his moral principles, is reported to have made the significant reply: "The Standard Oil Company is not a philan-

thropy. It is a business conducted along the lines that are laid down in the business world as being those of today." In these words he exposed the heart of the whole problem. And just because the standards of the "business world" are held to justify disregard for law and the rights of others, it is the imperative duty of the pulpit to indict those standards, and to use all its influence to supplant them with other and higher standards. *It may be that an investigation of business conditions will lead to a realization of the fact that the dishonesty of our*

day is inherent in our competitive system. In that event, it will become the duty of the pulpit to accept the new alternative, and to turn men's faces toward a cooperative society, which, being itself ethical, will make it possible and practical for each individual to live out his highest ethical ideals in conformity with the whole social order.

The new move to organize the Socialists in the colleges and universities indicates just a little something, eh!

NO HOPE FROM CHARITY!

HOWEVER merciful and kind and valuable the works of the charitable and the efforts of those who would raise up again the pauper and the vagrant, they are not remedial. In so far as the work of the charitable is devoted to reclamation and not to prevention, it is a failure. Not that anyone could wish that less were done in the direction of reclamation. The fact only is important that effort is less powerful there than in overcoming the forces which undermine the workers and those who are struggling against insurmountable difficulties. It is an almost hopeless task to regenerate the degenerate, especially when, if the latter are to succeed, they must be made to take up the battle with those very destructive forces which are all the time undermining stronger, more capable, and more self-reliant men

than they. The all-necessary work to be done is not so much to reclaim a class which social forces are ever active in producing, as it is to battle with the social or economic forces which are continually producing recruits to that class. The forces producing the miseries of pauperism and vagrancy are many, but none are so important as those conditions of work and of living which are so unjust and degrading that men are driven by them into degeneracy. When the uncertainties, hardships, trials, sorrows, and miseries of a self-supporting existence become so painful that good, strong, self-reliant men and women are forced into pauperism, then there is but little use in trying to force the paupers and the vagrants back into the struggle. —Robert Hunter, for years a social settlement worker among the city poor.

The Church Should Welcome Socialism.

In the preface of Gibbon's *Roman Empire*, that great work indispensable to the student of history, the editor, Rev. M. H. Milman, cites as its most radical defect the fact that Christianity receives no embellishment from the magic of Gibbon's language, and the glories of Christianity touch no chord in the heart of the writer. Its divine origin was dexterously eluded.

Leaving aside the question as to whether a theologian or god-worshipper can write history, we quote Gibbon: "The theologian may indulge the pleasing task of describing religion as she descended from heaven, arrayed in her native purity; a more melancholy task is imposed upon the historian: he must discover the inevitable mixture of corruption which she contracted in a long residence upon earth among a weak and degenerate race of beings." The Socialist goes farther. Not only do we find the cause of the error and corruption in religion to be in the weak, degenerate condition of the people, but we explain the reason for this weakness. It is not because of original sin—the devil in all mankind. Man is not originally or essentially evil. But the adjustment of mankind's relations, in the producing and distributing of the means of living, has, in the social systems of the past and present, not only favored a tendency toward corruption, but enforced it. It has been easier for mankind to live by killing, capturing, enslaving, or exploiting each other than in any other way. Why? Because of the limited amount of food, clothing, etc., produced, and the monopoly of these means of life by a ruling class. In this lies the "gradual but rapid de-

parture from the primitive simplicity and purity of Christianity, still more from its spirit of "Universal Love," which Milman deplores.

With production so facile at the present time that we produce too much, the one great cause, then, of the corruption, weakness and unhappiness infesting the world, lies in monopoly, that is, private ownership. It is really easier to co-operate today than to compete, but not enough people recognize the fact to put the principles of co-operation, now in operation to a limited extent, into greater effect.

As Socialists we can say to the church, Welcome the issue of Socialism! You may work for 2000 years more to reform the hearts of men, but just as sure as a social system endures which enforces every crime in the whole gamut, your fight is a fruitless one.

Milman sounds a warning that the Christianity of every age must beware lest by its narrow views, its lack of wisdom, and its want of charity, the true cause of religion be disparaged. This applies equally well to the cause of Socialism.

We Socialists put our trust in our articles of faith. We believe in the infallibility of our principles. We suffer many inconveniences for the sake of our tenets. Some of us become almost worshipful, and some intolerant. We oppose strenuously all who object or disagree, whether within or without our ranks. People with vivid imaginations see in the future a general movement, Socialism, composed of sectarian movements fighting each other and in their zealous discussions of questions as vital to the present stage of social



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.

development, as whether the whale really swallowed Jonah is to Christianity, the work of Socialism lapses, and the great ideal fades from view.

Let us hope that the future historian may not have to chronicle: "Our want of wisdom, narrow views, our want of charity!"

Gladys Vera Lamb.

Low Cunning, Yet Refined.

The law of mind as it operates in society as an aid to competition and in the interest of the individual is essentially immoral. It rests primarily on the principle of deception. It is an extension to other human beings of the method applied to the animal world by which the latter was subjected to man. The method was that of the ambush and the snare. Its ruling principle was cunning. Its object was to deceive, circumvent, ensnare and capture. Low animal cunning was succeeded by more refined kinds of cunning. The more important of these go by the names of business shrewdness, strategy and diplomacy, none of which differ from ordinary cunning in anything but the degree of adroitness by which the victim is outwitted. In this way social life is completely honeycombed with deception.—Lester Ward: "Psychologic Basis of Social Economics."

Is Not a Question of Usefulness!

The outcome of this recital then is that wherever and in so far as business ends and methods dominate modern industry, the relation between the usefulness of the work (for other purposes than pecuniary gain) and the remuneration of it is remote and uncertain to such a degree that no attempt at formulating such a relation is worth while. This is eminently and obviously true of the work and gains of business men in whatever lines of business they are engaged. This follows as a necessary consequence of business management.—Veblen's "Theory of Business Enterprise," page 63.

Insufferable Militarism!

The colonel of a German regiment sent for all the sergeants, and said "There will be an eclipse of the sun tomorrow. The regiment will meet on the parade ground in undress. I will come and explain the eclipse before the drill. If the day is cloudy the men will meet in the drill-shed as usual." Then the sergeants drew up the order of the day, thus: "Tomorrow morning, by order of the colonel, there will be an eclipse of the sun. The regiment will assemble on the parade ground, where the colonel will come and superintend the eclipse in person. If the sky is cloudy, the eclipse will take place in the drill-shed."—Ex.

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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