

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 Republicans until recently had a majority in the municipality of Cesanatico, Italy. The recent elections changed all this. The Republicans now have but four seats and the Socialists sixteen!

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."

Teachers Getting Socialistic.

One of the most striking developments of the French Socialist movement at present, says the *New York Worker*, is the great increase in the number of Socialist teachers. At a recent congress of the French teachers held at Lille the Socialists were practically in control. A resolution

was presented providing that in the study of history the aim should always be the creation of a revolutionary attitude in the sense of the revolution of 1792. This was intended to be an expression of bourgeois radicalism, but it was thought that by the use of the word "revolution" Socialist votes might be caught by it. Socialists refused to be caught by this bait, but introduced and carried a resolution instead that history must be considered as a science, and not utilized for the development of any particular theory. A second also dealt with revolutionary phrases, but was in fact intended as endorsement of capitalistic patriotism. In response to this the Socialists introduced and carried the following resolution:

"The French teachers are unqualified defenders of peace, they have as their motto 'war against war,' but this does not prevent them from defending their country when it shall be the subject of a brutal aggression."

The reactionary press declares that this resolution is an endorsement of the international Socialist position and is attacking the teachers' organization. This organization, which includes 115,000 teachers, has voted to adopt the position of a trade union in its activity and to affiliate with the unions in other trades employed by the government.

Where the Church Stands.

The bishops, the preachers, the laymen, all are asking the question: What is the matter with the church? Why does it no longer attract men?

* * *

One Sunday, not long ago, in a rather large congregation, the writer was one of five men in attendance! Only five men in a large congregation!

This was an extreme case, no doubt. But who will deny that it is an example of a general symptom?

Men do not care for the church. That is not to say that men are no longer religious. True, the failure of the church to feed the religious hunger of the world is causing increasing numbers to lose faith in religion. But men who intelligently discriminate between merely human institutions and divine principles are just as religious as such men ever were.

* * *

It may answer the need of the family, but not of society; of the individual, but not of the mass.

Yesterday was the day of the circuit rider. The family was so loosely connected with the social body—men lived so far apart—that the preacher was forced to go far to find a small congregation. The sermon is the same today as then, except as to hell fire; but human society is different. Then the preacher warned his hearers against stealing purses—and it sufficed as to theft. Trade was a thing so simple, and the values were so obvious that each individual was competent to protect himself against iniquity in matters of barter. Then the purely social relations were few in kind, but the preacher laid down the law concerning them all.

Today the industrial life of the country is extremely social, and the individual is extremely dependent upon the integrity of the social mechanism for his equity in the final distribution. Will any man pretend that the distribution is equitable?

"What is the matter with the church?" This: The church has abandoned society to the tender mercies of commercial pirates, whose gifts have purchased silence from the clergy in general, and frantic support from some clergymen in particular.

Here and there a prophet cries aloud from the pulpit, unheard by the church at large, or, if heard, condemned as an agitator or a sensationalist! The whole secular world, recognizing the prevailing political and commercial diabolism, is boldly calling spades spades, but the clergy calmly and circumspectly continues to call spades "alleged mechanical instruments, used in excavating—perhaps!"

The preacher will valorously denounce the Sunday peanut peddler—and board the Sunday trolley car at the close of his sermon. He will cry anathema upon the boys who play ball on Sunday, and on the same day himself patronize a transportation system that chains multitudes to the wheel of toil seven days a week, year in and year out.

* * *

The preacher declares that his duty is to inculcate the fundamental principles of morality, leaving the practical programme to his hearers. Jesus commanded: Thou shalt not steal. But he did not end with merely stating a central principle; he went into the Temple, overturned the tables of the money mongers, and branded them as thieves.

What good is a principle that cannot be applied?

"What is the matter with the church?"

This: It strains at the gnats of individual peccadilloes, and swallows the camels of social diabolisms.

* * *

The hypocrite will pretend to scorn wealth; will characterize desire for wealth as sordid; will advise contentment with poverty; will denounce the poor for their unrest, on the one hand, and on the other will fly to the defense of the rich oppressor, while always his grovelling soul is drunk with the contemplation of the golden streets and jasper walls of the New Jerusalem! a city whose boundless wealth he dearly hopes to share; wealth that he is striving for, tooth and nail, by hook or by crook, to capture.

Justice demands that the social mechanism deliver to every one the equivalent of his contribution to the total of product. Or, to state it in another way: Justice demands that the social mechanism deliver to no one more than the equivalent of his contribution to the total of product. But the prevailing social mechanism delivers countless millions to some individuals, and leaves multitudes in abject poverty.

Some of the sheep are grazing in green pastures, beside the still waters, while many are famishing in the desert. But the shepherd dares not interfere, except to adjure the hungry bleaters to "be content with that condition in life to which," etc., ending with an infamous blasphemy!

And then he wonders why the poor don't go to church!

—Edward Howell Putnam.

THE CRIME OF CHARITY!

A few years ago, on one of the coldest mornings of Winter, I saw a long line of shivering, half-clothed, hungry-looking men and women standing in front of the Cook County Outdoor Relief Department. They had come with bags and baskets to receive the doles of supplies. They were the public paupers gathered from the most wretched homes and districts in Chicago. Some were shamefaced, silent and cowed; some were swearing, scolding and quarrelsome; others were fearful, anxious and hesitating; and some few gave evidence of decency, still holding fast to their self-respect. It was almost like a chain-gang marching under public gaze. Whatever there was of ignominy fell upon these unfortunates whose only crime was poverty. It is needless to point out the degradation, the levelling influence which this gathering together of the miserable exercises upon the more sensitive and respectable of the poor. It is a common, wholesale, degrading treatment of the poor which ends by destroying their self-respect and in many cases condemns forever the unfortunate applicants to a position of disrepute in the community. This is not true charity: it is brutality.—Robert Hunter, in "Poverty."

Rockefeller's "Survival of the Fittest."

By R. A. DAGUE.

The American Beauty Rose can be produced in the splendor and fragrance which bring cheer to its beholder only by sacrificing the early buds which grow around it. This is not an evil tendency in business. It is merely the working out of a law of nature and a law of God. * * * * The growth of a large business is merely a survival of the fittest. —John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

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The above paragraph is an extract from an article published by Mr. Rockefeller, Jr., in which he defends the present trust methods, and favors monopolistic schemes which will enable a few individuals to accumulate vast possessions and to hold what they get. According to that gentleman the trusts and the capitalists are the "Beauty Roses," and in order to produce the Standard Oil company and other sweet smelling flavors it is necessary to sacrifice the competitors, the farmer, the business man and the working people generally, as unripe "early business buds."

If the government owned the oil it could furnish it to the consumer at one cent per gallon, but according to Rockefeller's logic the law of God requires that the people be charged fifteen or twenty cents a gallon so that a "Rockefeller Rose" may be grown which annually takes a profit of \$60,000,000 out of the people. Mr. Rockefeller is a pious gentleman and a Sabbath school teacher. Every week he instructs his class informing them what are and what are not the laws and plans of God.

Now I do not interpret the teachings of Jesus as does Mr. Rockefeller. He says that Jesus favored war, and that it is God's law that

one bright strong man may crush his weak brother that he may build up himself. I do not so understand the teachings of the Great Teacher. He admitted that wars would come, but He said: "Woe to him through whom they cometh." He gave us the Golden Rule and over and over again condemned selfishness. While recognizing the existence of war and selfishness of the world, He preached against them and said: "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another."

He did not deny that the "law of TOOTH AND CLAW" PREVAILED AMONG ANIMALS, and fishes and REPTILES, but He gave the world a moral—a higher law.

There is a wide difference, it seems to me, between the teachings of Mr. Rockefeller and Jesus. The former wants the human family to forever work under the savage law that controls animals, while the latter appeals to men and women to rise above the instinct of tigers, and sharks, and reptiles, and get on the planes of fair-play, brotherhood and love.

Mr. Rockefeller seems to think that if nature, or God, has established a law of life for savage beasts that claw and fight till the "fittest" survive, then the same law should be obeyed by man. It does not seem to occur to Sabbath School Teacher Rockefeller that God having endowed man with reasoning powers, an upright form and a moral nature, has therefore placed him on a higher plane than the animal and requires more of him than he does of the hyena, the gorilla or the hog.

We condemn certain heathens for killing the girl babies because they are not of the "fittest" sex in earning a livelihood for the parents. How much better is Rockefeller's business theory of sacrificing the wage-worker, and people of small means, to the end that giant monopolies may be built up? His proposition to sacrifice the early buds in business means destitution, squalor and death to not only millions of girl babies, but boy babies of the poor, as well as the destruction of the parents also.

The trust promoters and rich monopolists are not to be condemned because they possess talent, but they are open to criticism if they use their ability to accomplish selfish ends only, and scheme to gain unjust advantages over their fellowmen. They deserve condemnation when they resort to the methods of the fox, the spider, and the shark in their efforts to become "Beauty Roses."

Suppose Mr. Rockefeller owned a farm and had five children. Four of them are of average intelligence, honesty and industry. Their labor produces sufficient to support the family. The fifth one—Johnny—is bright and crafty. He will not work, but is unexcelled as a schemer. He lays adroit plans, which he calls "business," to exploit his brothers out of more than half of what their labor and industry produces. Would Mr. Rockefeller approve of Johnnie's course and encourage him in his deep laid scheme to sacrifice his brothers that he might monopolize about everything the farm produces, and thereby blossom out as a "Beauty Rose" and be considered the "fittest" of the family? I am disposed to believe that even our Sunday school teacher Johnny Rocke-

feller would put a stop to such "business" as that in the Rockefeller family.

Now Uncle Sam has a farm, and oil, and coal, and iron mines, and numerous other things necessary for the support of his big family of 80,000,000. Should our uncle permit his smart and very sly boys like Johnny, and Ponty, and Andy, and Schwaby, and a few others, to gobble up nearly everything raised on the farm, and sacrifice the others as "early buds" in order that they may "shed their fragrance as Beauty Roses?" Well, just now it really does seem that uncle has been letting things go on about that way. But the "early buds" are beginning to inquire "who struck Billy Patterson;" they are commencing to "kick" against being sacrificed as early buds; they are asking if the "fittest" are really the idle schemers, while the UNFIT are the industrious and honest working people who are willing to live and let live.

Some of the brighter "early buds" are contending that the "fittest" economic system would be that which would guarantee "equal opportunities to all, special privileges to none," and that the "fittest" individual citizen is not the fellow who lays awake nights concocting schemes of stock-watering, board of trade gambling, etc., that he may get something for nothing, but the truly fittest man or woman in the work of laying broad and deep the foundation of the coming civilization are those who have consciences as well as brains—those who have no desire to be "Beauty Roses" if they have to trample their fellowmen under their feet to become such. The fittest government of the future will be a collective commonwealth, or Socialism, hence "a government of the people, by the peo-

ple and for the people." Monopolies, like Rockefellers' Standard Oil company, which rob the millions to enrich the few, will not be called "Beauty Roses," but will be remembered as abated nuisances and defunct excrescences on the body politic. The Sabbath school teachers of

the future will teach the children that the fittest man is the kindest and best man, and the unfittest man is the grasping, greedy, selfish individual who to make of himself a "Beauty Rose" works on the theory of "Every fellow for himself and may the devil take the hindmost."

Business Prosperity is not Social Progress.

By PROF. IRA W. HOWERTH, University of Chicago.

I.

"Business prosperity is not synonymous with social progress. Business has primarily to do with pecuniary profits; progress with life. The main question of business is, what are the profits? The main question of progress is, what doth it profit? The wastes of competition—the social waste of over-employment, of child labor, of war—do not necessarily restrict business prosperity. They do retard progress. Prosperity involves material gain; progress involves the fruits of it. In short, business prosperity is primarily a question of money; progress a question of men. One is a question of material wealth, the other a question of the commonweal.

"Now, it will hardly be denied that the industry of today 'is controlled by business exigencies and is carried on for business ends.' If it pays to manufacture shoddy goods, to adulterate the food of the people, to starve the bodies and stunt the minds of little children, *be assured it will be done.* England sells her opium to China, regardless of its effects upon the Chinese. Among the 'blessings of civilization' which America bestows upon 'inferior peoples' may always be found the fire water, which is more destructive

than fire and water. Imagine, if you can, a single way of making money, not legally prohibited, which is not now pursued. The meanest occupations, though not fairly representative of the business order, have the same end in view, namely, profits. Our industrial system is organized and conducted on the basis of the prosperity of those in control, *and not for the wealth and happiness of all the people.* Men are not in business 'for their health,' or for the wealth of anybody else. They ought to be in business for the commonweal.

"What does all this suggest? Does it not imply that the great industrial problem inclusive of all others on the industrial plane is, how may we transform the object of industry from industrial gain into the commonweal? How may we make industry conform to the demands of social well being? How may we subject the activities of the industrial world to the higher purposes of human life? It is the pride and boast of those who sing the praise of the modern order that most of our intelligence, enterprise and genius is devoted to business, to the perfection of the arts of material production through mechanical means. But to the man

who has grasped the true relation between industry and social welfare, between work and life, it is clearly our peculiar barbarism. For the intelligence, the enterprise and genius of men should be released in a large measure from industry to be devoted to the pursuits of literature, science and art. How shall we make the end of industry? that is the question.

"While we should agree, perhaps, that this is the fundamental question of our time, there is no agreement in regard to its solution. When men come to consider the method of solving the problem, they part company.

"The answer which some men give to the question is, 'Moralize the business man.' The fact that men pursue illegitimate occupations, that they produce commodities which do not produce life, that they take the highest profit a business will yield, that they grind down labor, that they reap success from the failure of others is proof, they say, of the low standard of business ethics. Competition is not to blame, but the methods of competition. All that is required, according to this view, is to induce the business man to be content with a fair profit, to treat his employes with proper consideration, to subordinate his greed for profits to his desire to promote the public good. This, they say, will solve the industrial question.

"Now, there can be no possible objection to moralizing the business man, or anybody else, for that matter. 'The leaders of industry, if industry is ever to be led,' says Carlisle, 'are virtually the captains of the world; if there is no nobleness in them, there will never be an aristocracy more.' But those who put this method forward as the method of humanizing industry, overlook

certain difficulties inherent in the competitive system. I do not refer particularly to the difficulties in connection with the process of changing human nature, though these themselves are discouraging. How long do you suppose it will be before the average business man will decline a profit that comes to him through the operation of the natural laws of trade? And yet, his refusal to do so produces a paradox in the industrial situation.

II.

"Suppose, for instance, that you are working for an employer, and at a given wage. The employer makes a profit on your work, otherwise you would not be employed at all. Now, suppose an increase in the number of laborers seeking work, what will be the effect upon your wages? Obviously they will fall on account of the increased competition. But is your work now less profitable to the employer than before? You work just as hard; your productivity is the same. Why, then, do you suffer a loss in wages? It is because the increased competition of labor makes it possible for the employer to take a higher profit, and he takes advantage of his opportunity. When, do you think, the average employer will be unselfish enough to resist the temptation? Here is the paradox of modern industry: The workers, anxious for leisure, cannot welcome the advent of more laborers to lighten their task. It is a case in which many hands do not make light work, but light wages.

"But this is not one of the difficulties to which I referred: In competitive industry the man who would succeed must observe the rules of the game. He cannot, as a rule, on the average and in the long run, practice a higher morality than

his competitors. If he is moralized too successfully, *he is driven out of the business.*

"Suppose, for instance, that an employer wishes to be generous to his employees and pay them more than the competitive rate of wages. He must meet the competition of other men in his business who adulterate or misrepresent their goods, or who fix the margin of profits by the payment of a niggardly wage. By such men he will be undersold in business and to be undersold in business is to be forced into bankruptcy. He must practice the tricks of his trade, or cease to compete. No matter how well disposed he may be, he cannot rise far above the morality of his meanest competitors and remain in the field of business. Honesty, with him, is not the best policy, or if it is so in the long run, he is often not able to run that long.

"So, if a laborer competing with his fellow laborers, wishes to be magnanimous to his employer and give him the best service of which he is capable, he is by no means sure to have his superior efficiency recognized by an increase of wages. He may find that his increased productivity not merely brings to himself no profit, but that it is employed as a lever to press down the wages of others.

"Thus we see that in a competitive system of unequal morality, it is extremely difficult for employer or employe to rise to a higher level of industrial honesty or productive efficiency. All must be raised together, and industrial progress through moralization, must be extremely slow.

"Moralizing the business man, then, a process of individual reform, needs to be supplemented by *collective effort* to improve the conditions of industry. All such effort

must finally take the form of legislation. Wise legislation can do much to restrict and improve the methods of competition, as long as competition lasts. As I have just shown, it is difficult in the present system to do right and easy to do wrong.

"Legislation should make it easy to do right and dangerous to do wrong. It should make the way of the transgressor hard. It should compel the unfair and tricky competitor to accept a higher standard of honesty. The man who adulterates his goods, for instance, and thus drives the honest man to dishonesty or out of business, ought himself to be forcibly retired from business to spend a vacation with his natural associates who wear striped clothes. The man who wrecks a corporation engaged in legitimate business under the impression that he is a smart financier, should be made to feel the smart of public indignation manifested through law.

"But this is easy to say. How is it to be brought about? How may the pursuit of profits be made identical with the effort to promote the commonweal? Some of you may perhaps answer, by doing away with the profit system.

"The chief difficulty in the way of promoting the commonweal by legislation is the conflict of the interests of the individual, or groups of individuals, and the common interests of humanity. Now consider the significance of this fact in the matter of legislating to promote the commonweal.

"A legislative committee, state or national, presents with its recommendation a bill framed in the interest of the public at large, socially necessary legislation, looking to the reduction of the hours of labor, the protection of women and children employed in industry, the regulation

of railway rates, the establishment of a parcels post, something demanded by the so-called public. Immediately the lobby of legislature or of congress is filled with the representatives of special interests, men whose profits, or wages, are affected

by the proposed change, seeking to defeat the proposed law. The public cannot have tariff reduction, railroad regulation, a parcels post, pure food, because certain powerful interests are affected. Capital is solicitous for the interests of capital.

The Horrors of "Peace."

By W. J. GHENT.

We hear much of the butcheries of war. Mr. Edward Atkinson and his fellow-antimilitarists are always opulent with statistics of casualties in armed conflicts; and in their violent denunciation of warfare are eagerly joined by the various peace societies, the Women's Christian Temperance union and such militant, though ephemeral, bodies. A prominent educator has characterized the Civil War as the Great Killing, and the popular imagination has been led to look upon it as a carnival of almost unexampled bloodshed. The militarism of gun and sword is denounced as though it were the greatest scourge of the race, and its horrors are pictured in the most lurid colors.

The horrors of *industrial* militarism, on the other hand, claim but scant attention. Under our present civilization, dominated by the ethics of the trading class, they are, by the overwhelming mass of the people, taken as a matter of course. And yet the fiercest and bloodiest of modern wars—excepting alone the present Russo-Japanese conflict—result in smaller losses in deaths, maimings and the infliction of mortal diseases than are caused by the ordinary processes of the capitalist system of industry. A modern Milton might appropriately remind us that

Peace hath her butcheries no less renowned than war.

If the Civil War is to be regarded as the Great Killing, it must be so regarded only in relation to other wars; for in comparison with capitalist industry as it obtains in the United States of America in this decade, the Civil War can only rightly be regarded as the Lesser Killing. It lasted, moreover, for but four years; while the killings and other casualties of our industrial militarism go on year after year in an ever-increasing volume. And as the Civil War eliminated the physically best of the race, so does the present system of industry eliminate the physically best. Only it does not stop there, but takes also the helpless and the weak.

Let us see what comparisons of casualties can be made. According to the figures in the Adjutant-General's office, the fatalities in the Northern Army during the four years of the Civil War (exclusive of deaths from disease) were as follows:

Killed in battle	67,058
Died of wounds	43,012
Other causes	40,154

Total.....150,224

Yearly average 37,556

There were also 199,720 soldiers who died of disease. There are no means of comparing the number of these fatalities with the fatalities from disease contracted in dangerous and unsanitary occupations. It is probable that they do not approximate one-tenth of the latter. But, since there are no available figures for comparison, they must be omitted from present consideration.

The losses of the Confederates will never be known. The records of their armies were but imperfectly kept, and such as were properly made were in many instances lost or destroyed. Even the strength of the Confederate armies is a matter about which there has been an unceasing dispute between Northern and Southern historians since the Civil War. It is not to be doubted that the Confederates suffered a greater morality relative to their numerical strength than did the Federals, for they were employed to the last available man on the firing line, whereas hundreds of thousands of Federals, held as reserves or stationed as guards, rarely saw the action of battle. In certain engagements, moreover, such as the battle of Chicamauga, the Confederate losses far exceeded the Federal losses. Assuming the purely arbitrary figure of 65 per cent of the Federal fatalities as representing the fatalities of the Confederates (exclusive of deaths from disease), we have a total of 97,645, or a yearly average of 24,411. Adding the figures for both sides we have an annual average of 62,112 fatalities occurring in a struggle to the death, wherein every device, every energy which men can employ against one another for the destruction of life were employed.

When we come to the statistics of industrial fatalities, we find some-

thing like the records of the Confederate armies. The figures are notoriously, confessedly incomplete, and often so much so as to be entirely misleading. Even the tables of railroad accidents compiled by the Interstate Commerce Commission are known to show totals far below the actual casualties. A writer in the New York *Herald* for December 4, 1904, has analyzed some of these tables and pointed out their defects. But, defective as they are, they furnish an approximate basis for comparisons with some of the sanguinary conflicts of the Civil War. The killings on interstate roads for the year ended June 30, 1904, are reported as 9,984; the woundings at 78,247. The State roads probably added about 975 killings and 7,500 woundings. To these may be added the casualties on the trolley lines, approximately 1,340 killed and 52,169 wounded. We have thus a basis for comparison with the losses at Gettysburg, Chancellorsville and Chickamauga:

Losses in Three Battles (both sides),
1863.

	Killed	Wounded
Gettysburg	5,662	27,203
Chickamauga	3,924	23,362
Chancellorsville ..	3,271	18,843
	12,857	69,408

Losses in Railroad Accidents, 1904.

	Killed	Wounded
Interstate roads ..	9,984	78,247
State roads	*975	7,500
Trolley lines	*1,340	52,169
	12,299	137,916

*Estimated.

The factories probably destroy more lives than do the railroads. But the figures are not obtainable. The statistics of factory casualties

given in Bulletin No. 83 of the Census Bureau are ridiculous. Were the factories placed under a Federal supervision law, and were their owners compelled to report accidents to the authorities, a vastly different condition would be revealed. For the coal mines, on the other hand, we have something like authentic figures. The United States Geological Survey reports the casualties in mining coal for the year 1901 as 1,467 killed and 3,643 wounded. Except for the low ratio of wounded to killed, this would make a fair comparison with any one of a number of important engagements dur-

ing the Civil War. Pennsylvania alone furnished an industrial Bull Run.

Battle of Bull Run, 1861.

	Killed	Wounded
Federals	470	1,071
Confederates	387	1,582
Total.....	857	2,653

Pennsylvania Coal Mines, 1901.

	Killed	Wounded
Anthracite	513	1,243
Bituminous	301	656
Total.....	814	1,899

How Nations Make Progress.

An acquaintance of mine who was a member of a woman's club happened to remark in my presence that at their next meeting they would discuss the subject, "Makers of Germany," and that this subject was especially fitting as they had been working on German life, history and politics for over a year. Upon hearing this I requested that she observe carefully the manner in which this subject was treated and report to me. This she did later, informing me that each member was assigned some prominent character in German history, as, for instance, Frederick the Great, Bismarck, Krupp, Virchow, William II, and that these members each read papers showing that these particular men made Germany what it has been from time to time, and what it is today: that they each proved by their arguments that the social conditions, the institutions, and the government of Germany were the resultant of the gigantic intellects of these individuals.

Now, why should anyone be so rude as even to comment upon what these ladies thought or did in their simple club life? The only reason I have to give is that they suggested to me the subject of this brief article. And why should an article on this subject be written? For the reason that it is very important that such opinions about the making of nations should be corrected if we are ever to make progress consciously. These erroneous notions have not entirely prevented progress in the past, but they have interfered with it, and have made the mass of the people unconscious of its source; they have clouded the minds of the people, and have caused them to halt in the march of progress when they should be marching forward; they have caused the people to believe in leaders, rather than to believe in themselves; they have been the cause of the disappointment in waiting for some Moses by blinding the masses to the fact that such leaders as Moses are of them, from them,

and are pushed to the front by them, and that the only way under heaven to find a Moses is to make one, and that this making is the result of the attitude of mind, the decided stand, and the action of the mass.

There is another form that this old worn-out idea about great men assumes. This form is the one peculiar to the religious mind and is usually stated in this way. God in his wisdom has raised up this or that great man to correct evils which had become so offensive that even God himself could stand them no longer. Now these same persons will argue at another time that man's will is free, and therefore he is responsible for all his acts; and yet they fail to see that these two ideas are contradictory.

If God raises up certain men to accomplish certain things, certainly these men, at least, are not free, for God has controlled them, because if He had not controlled them they might have been as bad as the others; and again they fail to see that if God controlled these men He could have as easily controlled others, and thus prevented the evil in the first place.

The fact is we are under law. Man is emerging from a state of ignorance, and unconscious control by his environment, to a state of light and conscious control of his environment, and the way for this control will be paved by class conflicts until the human family is economically free, that is, free in the things upon which life depends, then for the first time humanity will begin to consciously control its environment, and to probe into the future.

In this connection I quote from H. G. Wells' "The Discovery of the Future." (See Smithsonian Report, 1902, p. 386.) "Our thoughts, and

will, and emotions are contagious." Or, as he might have said, we suggestionize each other, and from this fact we should learn that if we ever hope to make our nation better to-day than it was yesterday, it will *not* be done by our saying this or that is an ideal plan, but it is impractical, it is impossible now. it will possibly be operative in the next thousand years. It will be done by our getting hold of a movement that we believe is right until that movement gets hold of us. By this attitude of mind we will make leaders by the hundreds.

Mr. Wells continues, "But everybody does not believe in the importance of the leading man. There are those who will say that the whole world is different by reason of Napoleon. But there are also those who will say that the whole world of today would be very much as it is now if Napoleon had never been born. There are those who believe entirely in the individual man, and those who believe entirely in the forces behind the individual man, and for my part, I must confess myself a rather extreme case of the latter kind. I must confess I believe that if by some juggling with space and time Julius Caesar, Napoleon, Edward IV, William the Conqueror, Lord Roseberry, and Robert Burns had all been changed at birth, it would not have produced any serious dislocation of the course of destiny. I believe that these great men of ours are no more than images and symbols and instruments, taken as it were, haphazard, by the incessant, and consistent forces behind them; they are the pen nibs Fate has used for her writing, the diamonds upon the drill that pierces through the rock. And the more one inclines to this trust in forces the more one will believe in the possibility of a

reasoned inductive view of the future that will serve us in politics, in morals, in social contrivances, and in a thousand spacious ways."

This now brings us to the point where we can state clearly our contention, and show the error of the opinion first mentioned. Nations are not made by one or more individuals, known as great men, who stamp their individuality upon the masses, and handle them as a potter would the impressionable clay. Just the opposite is true, the so-called great men are the product of a class; they are the expression of their class; they are pushed to the front by their class; and instead of these individuals making nations, institutions, or histories, what they are, these latter are made by the conflict of classes—the dominant class establishing for a time such a form of government as best subserves its own interests, and maintaining it until another class becomes powerful enough to threaten or overthrow it, when there comes a period of reform, partial progress, and finally total change.

It may at this point be a matter of interest to note that those who are often spoken of as makers of nations, and are considered factors in progress are in fact obstructors and stand in the way of progress; for their whole purpose is to suppress, to maintain the existing order, to keep all institutions safe for their own class, and all this they do as long as it is possible. Then again in nations like our own, where there is a large share of political freedom, those in political life who are often looked upon as great men, are in fact only mediocrity. They are the common ground upon which the majority can stand; they reconcile; they make compromises; they favor reform; they hold society together

until the class distinctions are clearly understood, and until the new and changed material and industrial conditions are plain to all. In this sense their service is very useful.

As illustrative of the manner in which class interests must be fought out, let us note that it is a rare thing to find a politician today, either great or small, who does not say he is in favor of labor unions, and yet for these politicians this is a recent state of mind. During the first half of the last century it was illegal to form a union, and frequent arrests were made of those attempting to do so. Now, who shall tell us the name of the great man that has established this force as a factor in making the future of this nation—this factor that has had to fight for every inch of the ground over which it has come to its present position. Not the great man, but the forces of material development and industrial progress are responsible for this factor.

It is a most significant fact that to speak of certain individuals as the makers of Germany does not seem so ridiculous as to speak of our own country in this way. Think of this just a moment. Who would be pointed out as a maker of the United States? Was it Washington who stood for political freedom, or was it an aroused and conscious class back of him that made political freedom possible?

Was the great Abraham Lincoln one? He was cut down in the hour of the nation's triumph and the government at Washington still lived. Why? Because the class that pushed him to the front, whose exponent he was, still lived. Two other presidents were cut down while in official life, making no more difference to the nation than the death of the humblest citizen. The reason for

this is apparent. Our liberal institutions give greater play for expression of the popular will, popular growth, and popular nation making, and as a consequence those individuals who are pushed forward by the different classes do not contrast so sharply. There is much less opportunity on the part of those in power to suppress the popular will, and as a consequence the will of the mass finds a wider expression.

The statement has been made, and it exemplifies the fact that I am trying to establish, that if in our national elections since we became a nation, the other party had been successful every time, we would today be about where we are in progress.

Now let no one imagine that this view nullifies the contention regarding the class conflict. It only proves it. In this country our officials, if they are wise, keep their ears close to the ground, and whenever popular sentiment is strong they begin to make plans to satisfy it, and besides, if they are not wise they are often looking forward to a re-election.

A few illustrations taken from some recent incidents in our political life may aid us. Prior to November, 1896, government rate making, government ownership, state and municipal management of industries were considered subjects for simpletons to cogitate upon, but no sane man had time for such foolishness.

Who is there today that will publish his ignorance by saying that some one or a few great men are responsible for the changed attitude of mind on these subjects? What has made these recent and radical changes in the minds of officials and legislators? The counting of the

votes in 1896, in 1900, in 1904, and the principles for which these votes stood, explain the whole situation. During these years the rising tide of popular indignation had been noticed. The conservative leaders fought it as long as they could, but at last they saw that they would have to do something or see their organizations destroyed, but they waited too long, for their half-way measures will not save them because the Socialist party has already taken a place in American politics, and stands uncompromisingly for the working class, thus again establishing the fact of the class conflict in making nations, institutions, histories, and governments.

What has made this a great nation? Political freedom; but this was not the thought of George III and the governing class of his time. What will make this a greater nation? Economic freedom. May this thought dominate our great men as well as all men.

I have been asked to explain how the class conflict can be made to account for the appearance of a master physician like Virchow; or a great inventor like Krupp. Certainly very little thought must make this clear. In all these conflicts, conditions and necessities arise which must be dealt with, otherwise the health of all may be endangered, or the power of the ruling class broken. If there had never been a class subjected to such conditions of living as caused a scourge of typhoid fever there would never have been the necessity for a Virchow to be sent by the German government to investigate, and as a result there would never have been a Virchow who was an authority on this malady. If humanity had never known war such a thing as a gun would be unknown,

and so would the inventor of the gun. With the space at my disposal, I cannot, even if it were possible, point out all the influences that are brought to bear in cases such as those just cited, but the general principle may be seen in the illustrations given.

In matters pertaining to the education of the race this same principle is observed. We have all heard the statement that this or that person has been greatly improved by "rubbing up against the world." The meaning here is that contact with other people develops and extends the character of the individual. Again we have heard that genius is the flower of the race. It is made by the race, rather than making the race, and by those who are advocating universal education we have been told that if the entire mass of the population could be educated to the degree now reached by our most brilliant minds, that immediately there would spring forth from the intelligent mass the buds and flowers—the geniuses, and the bright minds, just as superior to the average mass then as the genius of today is ahead of those around him. In view of this we cannot but regret the loss that the human family of the present is sustaining by its ignorance, its selfishness, its narrowness, its superstition, its fear.

S. L. H.

P. S. Since the above article was written, some radical changes have been announced in Russia. The reader will find it interesting to trace the events leading up to these, and by so doing he will find that the arguments made above hold in every case. Yet there are those who are saying that a certain one, Mr. Witte, is responsible for these changes. Nothing could be farther from the

truth. If there had not been a simultaneous uprising of the oppressed classes of Russia this leader, so-called, could have and would have done nothing.

The Socialists now have a representation of fourteen in the Swedish parliament instead of four. Creeping up on the enemy!

Philadelphians just now are learning a few things about their own capitalistically ruled community they didn't know before. A police superintendent has testified that as president of the Republican club of his ward it was his duty to see that repeaters were not molested, that every policeman in that district was forced to belong to the Republican ward clubs, and also that there were so many penitentiary birds being put on the police force that it was one of his duties to keep a watch over the rogues' gallery and take out the pictures of crooks when they were given positions on the force.

The enormous displacement of hand labor by machinery is strikingly instanced in modern dredging and excavating appliances. The great crane shovel, which cuts its way in canal digging through soil and clay and mire, will lift 3,600 tons a day under ordinary conditions, thus accomplishing the work of 2,400 men with hand implements. One of the great suction dredges, working in the harbor channel, will pump 3,000 tons of sand and silt in an hour, depositing its load hundreds of feet away as occasion demands. How many men and how much old time paraphernalia such a machine displaces are hardly to be estimated—*Daily paper.*

No Capitalists Are Required!

(The United States consul at Freiburg, Germany, E. Theophilus Liefeld, has just sent in an interesting report upon the remarkable degree of municipal ownership and control of public utilities in that city. Freiburg has 70,000 inhabitants and is in the grand duchy of Baden. The features to which he calls attention are briefly summarized below. They refer to the showing for the fiscal year of 1904.—Editor.)

Freiburg believes in the municipal ownership of every enterprise possible.

It has followed the idea for many years.

Freiburg controls:

Electric railways,	Cemetery,	Invalid insurance.
Gas works,	Savings bank,	Building lots.
Theater,	Orchestra,	Public kitchen.
Water works,	Daily newspaper,	Electric lights.
Schools,	Vineyards,	Infirmary,
Slaughter house,	Forests,	Fire department.
Pawnshop,	Stock company,	

These are conducted NOT NECESSARILY FOR PROFIT, BUT FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE INHABITANTS.

The city's indebtedness is \$7,178,-804. It is claimed that at a practical valuation the city's property would be worth twice its indebtedness.

The city sells its garbage. This department turned into the city treasury \$517 net.

The benefit-for-the-poor fund shows a surplus of \$1,896 out of \$68,549 in receipts.

Besides lighting its streets, Freiburg sold \$25,324 worth of light and \$3,727 worth of power to private parties, got \$2,702 for the use of its meters, and SHOWED A SURPLUS OF \$3,478, BESIDES PROVIDING POWER FOR THE ELECTRIC LINES.

The street railway system showed a surplus of \$3,300.

The gas works showed a balance of over \$3,500 on the right side of the ledger.

The cemetery turned over \$13,440 to the city treasury. THIS IN-

CLUDED THE SALE OF \$2,279 WORTH OF CASKETS TO NEIGHBORING TOWNS, and the transportation of bodies to the cemetery from the city. The bodies are taken to the chapel at the cemetery on the day of death. No funeral processions take place in the town.

* * *

A peculiar institution is the invalid insurance tax, an imperial institution which prevails all over Germany. THERE IS A TAX OF \$2.88, PAYABLE EVER THREE MONTHS, FOR EACH SERVANT. The tax may be paid in part by the servant or wholly by the employer. The year's total for Freiburg was \$14,932. In case of sickness the help are attended by specially appointed doctors or at the hospitals. There was no deficit.

THE PAWN SHOP SHOWED A SURPLUS of \$221. At the close of the fiscal year there were in pawn

articles upon which the city had loaned \$20,394.

Much revenue was from the public buildings for rental.

The city orchestra gives 128 regular performances. In summer the orchestra gives concerts several times a week in the parks. It is allowed two weeks' vacation, DURING WHICH TIME THE CITY HIRES ANOTHER BAND. The people must have their music.

The summer concerts on Sundays are free. The surplus from the orchestra of forty-four men was \$288.

* * *

The city pensions its officials and teachers and their widows and orphans. There was a \$2,288 deficit made up by the city.

THE CITY'S FIELDS ARE ENRICHED BY ITS SEWAGE. The receipts and outlay were each \$65,423. The agricultural products sold amounted to \$12,666 (a bad year): milk, \$11,829; manure, \$1,973; cattle sold, \$11,300. The city bought fodder to the amount of \$15,084, cattle \$12,518, and paid \$5,469 in wages. The value of the fields is estimated at \$214,432.

All larger animals must be slaughtered at the city abattoir. The fees collected for this amounted to \$23,074. Other receipts brought it up to \$44,798. The net receipts were \$6,761.

Admissions to the city gardens brought \$4,323. Other receipts made it \$7,173. Part of the money was spent for keep, for plants, for animals and for the orchestra fund.

The city contributes \$32,606 annually to the theater. The theater is not self-supporting, but the city takes the position that it is a necessity and WOULD AS SOON THINK OF MANAGING THE SCHOOLS AT A PROFIT AS

THE THEATER. The theater spent \$4,063 for management, \$38,384 for actors and singers, and \$5,474 toward the orchestra fund.

SERVES SUPPER FOR 4.8 CENTS.

Freiburg collects an "octroi" tax on all food products brought into the city. The amount was \$71,600.

THE "PEOPLE'S KITCHEN" AND DINNER FOR 5.9 AND 7.1 CENTS; soup, 1.4 cents a bowl, and coffee, 1.7 cents a cup.

The water department paid into the treasury \$71,315 and to employees \$5,366.

THE CITY SAVINGS BANK has 23,826 depositors and \$6,319,851 in deposits.

The robber barons of old used to keep a priest in their castles who would promptly square up with the Almighty, when the robbers came back from an expedition of rapine, murder and robbery. The modern highway robbers and masters of high finance follow the same course, and our modern priests, preachers and bishops very promptly extend their hands and shut their eyes.—Chicago Socialist.

The Socialist municipal council of San Remo, Italy, has refused to receive the Italian fleet or have anything to do with a government that could be guilty of such outrages as have recently occurred in Sicily. As the Socialists control 30 cities in Italy, they could make it awkward for the Italian government.

In 1901 it cost the McCormack Company \$42 to market their harvesters. The machines sell to dealers at \$95 cash. The farmers pay from \$115 to \$125 for them.

Pointed Paragraphs.

BY FREDERIC HEATH.

The man who votes for Hell has no right to complain when it overtakes him.

It has gotten so bad that our enemies are afraid to tell what they feel about us out loud for fear the man they talk to is also a Socialist.

The New York World got lost for something derogatory to say of the Socialists recently, so it wildly accused them of having millionaire leaders!

Government ownership and control of railroads would be much better for the people of this country than the present railroad ownership and control of government.

Because honest men have not been the fittest to survive under capitalism, there are those who believe they deserve the disaster that overtakes them. But there is another way to look at it. We must apply the law to the system itself. If the capitalist system is not fit to serve honest men, it must make way for a more honest system.

Bernard Shaw said amongst other things, in defending his play, "Mrs. Warren's Profession," from the charge of indecency, the following: "Mrs. Warren's Profession' exists because libertines pay women well to be evil, and often show them affection and respect whilst pious people pay them infamously and drudge their bodies and souls to death at honest labor. * * I have been striving all my life to awaken public conscience to this."

In Philadelphia in 1903 the ratio of arrests was one in every seventeen of the population.

Under the capitalist system the temptations are all the wrong way.

Under Socialism people would be constantly *tempted to be good!*

The approach of cold weather and the hardships it entails for the dispossessed class is resulting in a large increase in the number of men seeking enlistment in the army and naval service of Uncle Sam. The government complains of the growing number of deserters in the army and navy. Small wonder.

Elections for the second chamber of the Riksdag in Sweden have just been concluded. The "paramount issue" before the electors was the extension of the franchise and the adoption of proportional representation. The cable dispatches state that the result of the election will cause a deadlock in the Riksdag. The Socialists succeeded in winning fourteen seats, which is a gain of ten.

Christianity, founded on the precepts of Jesus, teaches men to be brothers.

Commercialism teaches men to pluck and victimize each other.

Modern christianity condones the capitalist system.

Oil and water will not mix. It is this fatal contradiction in the modern church that has robbed it of much of its power for good. It has produced the modern "commercial Christian," who looks pious and loves his brothers on Sunday, and skins them on week days.

And the real enemies of the church are the preachers who still preach individualism.

The meat packers in Chicago are now shown to have been behind the conspiracy to evade the Chicago pure food law. Oh, these "leading" and "eminently respectable" business men!

Testimony in an injunction proceeding in St. Louis has developed the fact that a number of oil companies parading before the people as independent and anti-Rockefeller have been making a profit of 300 per cent and that the profits were all sent on to the Standard Oil Company. Triumphant democracy!

A priest of St. Louis, who has just returned from a visit to Italy, says that the king is much worried over the steady advance of the Socialist movement and now sees "that his only safety lies in *union with the church*." But how about the safety of the church if it joins hands with the monarchy against the people? And the church in this country also needs to use caution.

"Where the mind is comparatively free—where people are able to enjoy the beauty and the repose of nature, and at the same time participate in the health giving sports of river and field, without the incessant strain upon the mind that the struggle for a living and the unhealthy amusements of the town involve—there is bound to be less lunacy."

Thus closes an interview with the specialist, Dr. Forbes Winslow of London in regard to the remarkable report just issued by the British lunacy commission.

Nature never intended man to be a ten-hour work-drudge and it visits its penalties on the race because he thus offends nature.

The new cure for consumption—merely an out door air treatment—shows that nature intended the hu-

man being to be a free liver in the sunlight instead of the cooped-up industrial prison bird that capitalism makes of him.

The commission's report showed that the greatest causes of insanity among the modern industrial society were "civilization," alcohol and cigarettes. Of this Dr. Winslow said:

"Alcohol must be given first place. No one could be found mad enough to deny that it is a brain poison; and the insanity due, directly or indirectly, to drink is appalling. Then there is the use of tobacco—in the shape of cigarettes particularly—is a very potent factor in the making of a lunatic."

Everything about this capitalistic society of ours is abnormal.

The habits of the victims of such a society are abnormal and Dr. Winslow tends to confirm this when he says that lunacy is practically unknown among Asiatics and the natives of Africa.

It is where capitalism has doomed the vast majority of the people to dreary, anxious, drudging and despairing lives, that the terrible spectre of insanity stalks in their midst.

And it doesn't excuse capitalism to lay the cause to the door of drink and tobacco.

In a normal society, where the people could live live-and-let-live lives over-indulgence would largely disappear, if not altogether.

Franklin observed that "if we do not hang together, we will hang separate." That fits the case of the modern wage worker to a T. Alone he is worse than powerless, and is quite likely to go down in the struggle. United he is all-powerful and it is his only way of industrial salvation. If the workers do not hang together they stand a good chance of dangling individually at the capitalistic rope end.



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.

The Marseillaise Hymn.

Des Moines *Register-Leader*: Above the cracking of the Cossack whips, the frenzied shouts of the strikers, the maddening yells of the revolutionary radicals and the intermittent discharge of firearms, there rises in plaza and prospect in St. Petersburg the sound of the Marseillaise. Crowds of excited workmen are parading the streets singing the inspiring hymn that has been the anthem of freedom in all European movements of liberation since the French revolution.

Some day the historian will write of the part the Marseillaise has played in the progress of civilization. It will be an interesting chapter of the world's history. For more than a century now the famous hymn has inspired men to throw off the yoke of the oppressor, to stand forth upright and free. Not a revolutionary movement in Europe since the streets of Paris ran blood that the Marseillaise has not rallied the people to the standard of freedom and sent them battling either to liberty or death.

The Traffic in Girls.

We have noticed the frequent references in the daily press of this city to the kidnapping and sale, or drugging and forcible detention, of young girls in houses of prostitution. The details, meager though they are, are sufficient to arouse the pity and hor-

ror of all men and women who have not been deadened by love of greed to every human instinct. We are assured that the authorities are making most strenuous efforts to bring the guilty ones to punishment. But can they do it? Or, more to the point, can they prevent the recurrence of such crimes? A study of the possibilities would make us heartsick indeed were it not for the Socialist solution to this and other crimes. What is more simple? *Remove the incentive; take the profit out of the business.*

Mothers and fathers, and you whose hearts bleed because of these conditions, have you thought what your daughter may have to face either through actual kidnapping or through that other remorseless energy, Hunger? Do you know that the very fact that she works for a living, which indeed her wage scarcely provides her, subjects her to the strong probability of an offer to "eke out her salary," or "get a living" in an easier way?

Could you ask for a more scathing arraignment of this social system than that such conditions flourish in its polluted soil?

How do you vote on election day—for or against the honor and purity of womanhood?—Edith Eddy Bradford.

The girls at Wellesley college are getting interested in Socialism, and Socialist books are in great demand.

SOCIALIST PLATFORM.

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

I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

II.

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

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

III.

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

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

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

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

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

IV.

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

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

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

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

V.

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

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

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

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