

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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When you stop to think of it, every form of society thus far has been built up upon the antagonism of oppressed and oppressing classes.

The Baroness Bertha von Suttner, the winner of the Noble prize for the best efforts at discouraging war, (a prize of \$40,000), is a Social-Democrat. It was generally supposed that the award would go to Roosevelt, who has shown the happy faculty of being on both sides of the peace question.

If machinery is to take possession of the work that men rely on for their bread and butter, who is to take possession of the machines?

Shall they be privately owned, so that the people shall perish because of idleness, or shall the machinery belong to the people so that the benefits shall go to all who are industrious?

Don't you begin to see what Social-Democracy means!

Ingersoll once said that people prayed for the most impossible things. He once heard a man asking God to give Congress wisdom. This witticism has a parallel in the latest story of a boy whose father took him to the Senate gallery to watch the proceedings. The chap-

lain being pointed out to him, he said, "Oh, he prays for the Senate, doesn't he, dad?" "No," replied the father, "he gets up and takes a look at the Senate and then prays for the country."

The National Consumers' League recently looked into the condition of food-making in tenements. Miss Mary Sherman, who made the investigation, writes of it in "Charities and the Commons." A father, carrying his child ill of diphtheria, tended the macaroni making; a factory selling nut paste and "health foods" to groceries, jobbed out its sorting to tenement-homes complained of for their filth; in two rooms, a father, mother and three children slept by night and worked on candy by day. Miss Sherman says: "It is not only that home-work in food is dangerous to the health of the community, but it is poorly paid, and there is no limit to the hours of work for children. There is not only danger to those who buy cheap food, but to those who buy in the best stores." The same issue of "Charities" tells of a fine of \$800 on Philadelphia manufacturers, noted as "philanthropists," who kept 13-year old boys at work all night. Could anything be more rotten than this capitalist system.

7th Mar. 1916

Child Labor in the United States.

By IRA B. CROSS.

To the Reader:—

The following short sketch upon "Child Labor in the United States" contains nothing which is original. It is but a brief resume of what hundreds of men and women have written upon this important subject.

All that can be hoped, as a result of these few paragraphs, is that they may be at least a little assistance in stirring the people of the United States to untiring efforts in their struggle to abolish the terrible crimes which are being committed at the present time against the childhood of the nation.

Ira Cross.

I.

THERE has never been a time in the history of this country when there were no child laborers. In the early years of the Nineteenth Century we find the children working at different occupations scattered here and there among the cities of the Atlantic Coast. Not until ten or fifteen years ago, however, did the subject of child labor begin to appeal so strongly to the public as a crying evil which must be remedied. The rapid development of the resources of the nation, the introduction of almost human acting machinery, together with the growth of large manufacturing cities throughout all parts of the country, had resulted in greatly increasing the demand for child workers. This demand with its consequent abuses, has lately called forth overwhelming condemnation from the public press, has caused those interested in humanity's progress to devote their time and energy to checking its extension and has evoked many restrictive and beneficial laws from the majority of State Legislatures.

But even these, and other, remedial influences have not succeeded in reducing the percentage which the child laborers between the ages of ten and fifteen form of the total number of employes in gainful occupations. This percentage has slowly increased from 24.4 in 1880, and 25.9 in 1890 to 26.1 in 1900. The last figure assumes tremendous proportions when we realize that it comprises 1,750,178 boys and girls, mere children who have become nothing but cogs in the wheels of American Industry.

Suppose you were to witness a procession of America's workers! What would you see? Toddlers along behind the grimy miner, the sun-tanned farmer and the unhealthy factory employe, you would find every fourth marcher to be a child between the ages of ten and fifteen! Surely this would be a spectacle of which the citizens of the United States might well be proud! But stay! We have forgotten to include

in your procession those little tots under ten years of age who toil in the cotton mills of the South and in the sweat shops and homes of the North! Let us place these little workers into the line and the spectacle would then become so appalling that it would surely strike terror to the most hard-hearted of employers, and put to shame the laziest and most brutal of parents.

Suppose, at another time, you were to call up before you, in single file, only the child laborers of the nation, those one million, seven hundred and fifty thousand youthful workers! Let the procession pass very slowly, say ten children to the minute, for you must take a good look at each one, and perhaps ask them about their aged or widowed parents, which they are supposed to be supporting, if we are to believe the defenders of capitalism and Child Labor. Stand there from seven in the morning until six o'clock in the evening, with an hour for lunch, and how many hours do you think would elapse before the last of the marchers had passed your reviewing stand? You would watch the procession during all of Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, but of course you would want to go to church upon Sunday. You could then come back and remain at your post during all of the next week, and the next and the next! Yes, you could stand there in the rain and shine for forty-eight weeks and three days watching the child laborers straggling along in single file, and upon the two hundred and ninety-first day the last little ragged worker would have passed in review! what a pitiful sight it would be! What untold misery, suffering and want would be disclosed! Yet year after year we permit these conditions to exist which make these things possible and when an agitator raises his or her voice in behalf of these oppressed children, we call him a crank or a radical. We ridicule and scoff and jeer at the efforts of the reformers, but while we are doing so the children are crying.

"How long, how long, O cruel nation,
Will you stand, to move the world, on a child's heart, —
Stifle down with mailed heel its palpitant,
And tread onward to your throne amid the mart?
Our blood splashes upwards, O gold heaper,
And your purple shows your path,
But the child's sob in the silence curses deeper
Than the strong man in his wrath!"

II.

BUT in what trades do we find these little white slaves?

No industry is entirely free from their presence. We find them in all places. Where swiftly-running feet, nimble fingers and agile bodies are required, there it is that the largest number of children are employed. We see them in the home and upon the farm, in the textile mills and tobacco factories, in laundries and department stores, and in various other industries where, with the aid of machinery, childish hands and brains have displaced the strength and skill of the adult worker.

Textile Industry.

In no other trade does child labor play so important a part as in the textile industry. The demand for speed and dexterity has succeeded in drawing into the cotton, woolen and silk mills over 67,600 children, or more than 40 percent. of the total number of child workers in the factories of the United States. The ages of these youthful employes range from four to sixteen years. Large numbers of them fall below the age of ten, and many investigators attest the fact that hundreds are below seven and eight. Says one authority, "I have seen a boy under four years of age beginning his life of drudgery in the cotton mill by pulling yarn from the bobbins with which to make bands.**

During the early years of the textile industry in New England, a large number of child workers were employed in the factories, but of late, the increasingly stringent laws of public-minded legislators have succeeded in greatly reducing their ranks. It is to the South that we must turn if we wish to see the child slavery of the Twentieth Century in its worst possible form. Absorbed in the development of her lately-acquired industries, the South is blindly pushing onward to the conquest of the textile world, utilizing every force at her command to attain the much-desired end. No sacrifice is too great for her. The lives of babes, the joys and pleasures of childhood, the intelligence and health of her future citizens, are all cast into the commercial struggle. Little does she realize that she is piling up future disaster for her victims and her industries.

Unreliable as statistics are, they bear eloquent witness to the conditions which have arisen in the South within the last decade. Although child labor has greatly decreased in all the other sections of the country, it has more than doubled in the South. From 1890 to 1900 the number of children employed increased from 23,061 to 43,038, while in the cotton mills alone, the number has risen from 8,815 to 24,459.

This rapid increase partially explains the migration of the cotton mills from the North to the South. An unlimited supply of available child labor, practically freed from all legal restrictions, the absence of all factory laws; and an abundance of unexcelled water power, together with the close proximity of the cotton fields, have been the fundamental reasons for the investment of Northern capital in these new industrial regions, and for the rise of the New South to a prominent place in the textile world. This unprecedented development, accompanied as it is by the utter lack of all factory laws, has produced unheard of abuses. Says Elbert Hubbard, "I know the sweat shops of Hester street, New York; I am familiar with the vice, depravity, and degradation of the Whitechapel District of London; I have visited the Ghetto of Venice; I know the lot of the coal miners of Pennsylvania; and I know somewhat of Siberian atrocities; but for misery, woe, and hopeless suffering, I have never seen anything to equal the cotton-mill slavery of the South."

** Ashby, *World's Work*, Vol. II—1292.

Hundreds of little tots under ten years of age are found in these mills working twelve hours a day for a pittance so small that it would not suffice to keep a well-fed dog alive. In most cases the wages paid vary from 10 to 15 cents a day, and do not provide the child with comfortable clothing. Many of the more intelligent parents, after a short time, take their children from the factory because of the ill health which follows from this employment, and which always more than discounts the wages earned by the little ones.

According to the testimony before the Industrial Commission, "most of the factory hands come from the white people who have made a failure of farming and have moved to town." "On their arrival at the factory village the family is obliged to sign a contract promising the work of four or five members of the family before they are allowed to rent a cottage, or the children, from the sheer pressure of the habit of the place, have gone into the mill. Three little ones count more than one father, and are given a heartier welcome."*

Children too small to be left at home are brought by their mothers to the mill-room, and the factory floor, covered with grease and dirty lint, becomes the play-ground for many a child of toddling age. Almost before they are able to walk, they are taught how to piece ends and to doff, and there are many children found at this work whose words are not free from the babyish lisp. After having spent a few years in the mills, the little workers are employed as spinners and work from 6 in the morning until 6:30 at night, with but a half hour at noon in which to swallow a cold lunch. When, because of a rush of orders, the shops are forced to run all night, the children must endure the strain of night work, and are often kept awake by the watchful superintendent throwing a dipper of water in their faces.

The diminutive spinners run up and down incessantly before long rows of swiftly-revolving spindles, stopping now and then to patch together the broken ends of a thread. Weary from the ceaseless whirring of the spindles and breathing the hot close air of the factory room, the child sometimes becomes careless, and while stooping over the unguarded machinery, a hand slips accidentally from its work, and is crushed to pulp between the wheels. Accidents in the cotton mills are of frequent occurrence. Says Mrs. McFayden in the *American Federationist*, "In Huntsville, Alabama, just before I was there, a child of eight lost an index and middle finger of her right hand. Another child had lost her thumb. In one mill the doctor told me that he had personally amputated more than a hundred baby fingers mangled in the mill. A cotton merchant said that he had frequently seen mill children without fingers or thumb, sometimes without the whole hand."

The hot vitiated air in which these little slaves work, is filled with flying lint, which settles in the throat and upon the lungs, and this sooner or later causes consumption. A doctor in a Southern mill says that 10 per cent. of the children who go to work before twelve years of age, contract active consumption after five years' employment

* Ashby, *World's Work*, Vol. II—1200.

in the cotton factory. The sudden change from the warm mill-room to the chilly night air frequently brings on pneumonia and consumption. No cotton mill children look healthy. These small workers are already weakened by descent from parents whose youth and health were destroyed by this same factory life. They soon lose the healthy glow of cheek, the laughing eye and elastic step. They become sallow and narrow chested, with drooping shoulders, and their entire appearance is indicative of disease and ill health. Ignorant and neglected, they toil on day after day, looking forward to no brighter future than a continuous life of toil and misery. But the day soon comes when the fingers grow less skillful, and the feet less rapid, and the once useful child laborer in his turn is forced to give up his position to some other youthful worker who is beginning a life of dreary serfdom within the factory walls.

The ignorance of the cotton-mill employes is astonishing. "Beings they are with white skins, but more unlettered than the African, and with precious souls unawakened by any touch of ambition or spirituality." One author says that fully 50 per cent. of the employes can neither read nor write, and to have attended school for but one or two months is looked upon as something of which to be proud.

A large number of these cotton-mill children support able-bodied parents who have become too lazy to work. The latter, when young, were forced to support their parents, and they in turn expect their children to do likewise. "In cotton factory towns, hardly any man over forty is at work. His little children are in the factory while he totes the meals." Instances are often cited where fathers have become so shiftless that they have even refused to carry the meals to the children in the mills.

But what will be the final result of these horrible conditions existing among the cotton-mills of the South? While sacrificing the health and pleasures of her future citizens in the attempt to obtain a commercial position, she must not forget that cotton is now being raised in Africa, India and China. In the near future, cotton factories employing cheap labor will rise in these places, and the South will then lose her supremacy in the manufacture of the coarser qualities of yarn and cloth. Her only salvation, therefore, is to prepare her workers for the manufacture of the finer grades of cotton fabrics. Unless she does this, she will soon find that her uncivilized methods of manufacturing have prevented her from fulfilling the glorious destiny which now lies before her as an industrial portion of the United States.

Nor is it only in the Southern cotton mills that we find the most flagrant abuses in the employment of children. In the 1902 report of the Colorado Bureau of Labor Statistics, is to be found a description of the child laborers in the Overland Cotton Mills of South Denver. Says the report, "There are a great many children there who are sickly and undersized. Their faces are sallow and haggard. These little ones work from six in the morning until late at night, for which they receive from 40 to 95 cents a day. Consumption and kindred complaints are often found among them notwithstanding the immunity which our Colorado climate is believed to afford against diseases

of this kind. They seldom live to be more than eighteen years of age."

Such are the miserable conditions through which runs the life of the child laborer in the textile industry.

But the evils which accompany child labor are not limited to cotton mills alone; for there are various other industries in which boys and girls of all ages form the major part of the laborers.

Sweating.

The sweatshops with their fetid air and filthy surroundings claim a large number of the little workers. These shops are found for the most part in the large cities, such as Chicago, New York, Philadelphia and St. Louis, where vast numbers of foreign immigrants congregate, and it is interesting to note that children of pure American parentage are not found among these illiterate workers.

The shops themselves are usually located in worn-out tenement houses with narrow halls, dark stairways, and ill-ventilated rooms, where men, women, and children are kept busy all day long with the

"Stitch, stitch, stitch,

In poverty, hunger and dirt,"

upon pieces of wearing apparel. The children sew on the buttons, make buttonholes, fell long seams, and do the coarsest of the sewing. They sit at their work throughout the whole day and far into the night without a murmur of complaint, their hours of toil "limited only by their physical endurance and by the amount of work which they have at hand." The health of these child workers is of the very worst. Breathing the air polluted with the stench of vile pipes and the filth of unwashed human bodies, it is no uncommon sight to see girls and young men faint while working at their machines. "Sooner or later every little buttonholer is destined to develop a lateral curvature of the spine. Girls who sew for fifty and eighty cents a week and run foot-power machines incur both tuberculosis and pelvic disorders which are ruinous to themselves at present and to their children in the future."*

In many homes the children assist the mother and father in their daily work of sweating, by picking threads or sewing on buttons, thus adding their little mite to the maintenance of the family.

It has always been a very difficult matter to obtain statistics concerning the number of children engaged in the sweatshops, owing to the impossibility of locating the shops themselves. However, in Chicago, the State Factory Inspector estimated that in 1901 there were 2,416 girls employed in the garment-making trades.

Tobacco and Snuff Factories.

Many of the little workers are employed in the manufacture of snuff and tobacco. The United States Census of 1900 places the number thus engaged at 6,979. The smallest of the workers strip the tobacco leaf from the stem, while the older boys and girls are hired as rollers, bunchers or molders. This occupation is extremely injurious to the health of the children. The close hot air of the room is

* Report of the Ill. State Factory Inspector, 1894.

filled with the fine dry dust from the tobacco leaves, and is breathed into the youthful lungs, bringing on consumption, and throat diseases. The continuous contact with the tobacco leaves causes sores and skin diseases of every order, while many of the workers suffer from nervous and hysterical complaints, often ending in St. Vitus dance. The finger tips of the workers become shrunk, the nails leaden in color, and the eyelids inflamed. Palpitation of the heart is also a most common disease among the children, due partly to the fact that a large number of them are addicted to the use of tobacco itself.

In the tenement tobacco factories, we find the most miserable conditions of employment. The dirty and unkempt children handle and play upon the tobacco leaves, laid out upon the tables, floor and bed to dry. Filth and squalor are everywhere in evidence. Many of the little children eat, live, and work in the same room, crawling off to sleep upon a bed of rags in the corner, or perhaps even upon the tobacco itself. "The deadly effects of this employment are manifested in the pale face, the weak diseased bodies and impaired health of the child, who, if he lives to reach the years of manhood, finds himself a physical wreck from the poisonous nicotine with which the system has been saturated."* It is doubtful if the most "inveterate smoker would feel much relish for the cigar manufactured under such conditions. Yet hundreds of thousands go out yearly from these homes bearing in every leaf the poison of their preparation."**

Glass Factories.

The glass factories of Illinois, Indiana and New Jersey employ large numbers of children whose duty it is to carry the finished articles from the glass blowers to the cooling room. The boys are continually running back and forth with their baskets, dodging the long hot pipes of the blowers. Often a step at the wrong time brings them in contact with melted glass, or a bursting bottle scatters its sizzling particles far and wide, and it is no uncommon sight to see young children with heads and hands bandaged up, dodging here and there to escape the ever present danger. "The proportion of blind and partially blind children in glass making communities is usually large." "Children seven and eight years old work until 3 A. M. and then, scantily clad, go forth from their exhausting running in the hot air beside the furnaces into the cold morning air." It is not strange that many of these youthful workers soon contract pneumonia, consumption and other lung diseases.

Miscellaneous Occupations.

In Pennsylvania and other eastern coal states, boys of tender age pick slate from the freshly mined coal as it glides down the breakers.

In laundries the little workers sort and mark filthy linen, or work upon the unguarded mangling machines, too often paying the price of neglect on the part of the careless employer by the loss of fingers or hands.

* Report of the Wis. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1899-1900.

** Campbell. Prisoners of Poverty. 206.

The weaker and more deformed children are to be found in the box factories, where they are allowed to sit most of the day, while busy with their work. "Their distorted figures and pain-marked features stand out sadly in the dim light behind the long tables piled high with box shapes."* The unguarded machines often cripple the employe, while "the use of arsenical paper and rotting paste destroys the appetite and impairs the digestion,"**

We find the little workers gilding picture frames, stamping sheet metal, or packing candy. The mercantile establishments also require a large number of the little slaves, but the use of the pneumatic tube service and other mechanical devices is rapidly supplanting the breathless and pale cash boy and girl of the department stores.

The long hours of the child laborer are greatly increased by the time consumed in going to and coming from work. In many cases the child is forced to walk from one to five miles, and consequently must rise early in the morning in order to be on hand when the whistle blows. A good example of this was disclosed by the State Factory Inspector of Illinois in a pickle factory at Bowmanville of that state. Children ranging from ten to fourteen were obliged to leave their homes before four o'clock in the morning in order to be at the factory at half past six.

In discussing this subject of child labor one must not forget to mention those children whom we find upon the streets, the messenger and errand boys, the paper carriers with their shrill voices and vulgar talk or the little peddlers vending their strange wares with pleading tones. These diminutive workers soon acquire all the vice and depravity of the street, with the result that the jail and reform schools are filled with children who have been tempted into all manner of offences "from throwing stones through plate glass windows to picking pockets."

Nor should one forget the little tot who plows the fields, cultivates the corn or rakes the hay upon the farm. Thousands of children are taken from school and put to work upon the farm long before they have learned the three R's. The boys help with the out door work, and the girls perform household duties or take care of the smaller children. In the South the little ones are put to work in the field as soon as they are able to hoe cotton or strong enough to handle a plow.

Such is the life of the child workers in home and factory and upon the farm, whose days of childish pleasure are turned into days of ceaseless toil, whose youthful ambitions are stifled in the dull round of daily labor and whose entire life sooner or later becomes a monotonous existence.

*Am. Econ. Ass. Publications, 1890.

** Report of Factory Inspector of Illinois, 1895.

III.

WE have hastily reviewed those occupations in which child labor plays an important part, and have noted the evil effects of such work upon the health of the children thus employed.

Let us now turn and see those results, whether good or bad, which accrue to society from such employment.

For the child itself, we have seen the little cotton mill employe suffering the loss of fingers and health, the youthful glass worker severely burned or partially blinded, and the tobacco stripper doomed to lifelong invalidism because of the poisonous leaves over which he continually works. We have seen the little body becoming bent and crippled. We have noted how the head hangs, the step drags, the health deteriorates and how ere long the factory look and walk settle down upon the unfortunate victim. The factory work affects not only the laborers themselves, but their children as well. Ill health begets ill health and many a child owes its puny and weakened body to the early employment of its parents.

Placed in a factory when but mere infants, a very large proportion of these children can neither read nor write. "As time passes the less inclined is the child to make up for lost schooling, shame preventing attendance even when opportunity offers." The degree of illiteracy among the cotton mill employes of the South is astonishing. Taken from school after having attended for but one or two months, the child is practically ignorant of all things excepting those which pertain to the factory. As far as education is concerned, many might as well have been reared in the wilds of Africa. It is an undisputed fact that the negro sends his children to school while the illiterate white sends his into the factory and cannot be persuaded that he is "wronging his children in compelling them to work in order that he may loaf." Thus in those states where an educational qualification is required for voting, the rising intelligence of the negro threatens the political supremacy of the whites. Unless the South soon enacts prohibitory child labor laws, the whites will pay dearly for the sacrifice of their children's education, and we shall no longer see the "solid South" in the political world.

But more blighting and shameful than the mental and physical degeneration is the effect which the life among the factory employes has upon the morals of the little ones. Thrown into the company of adults who are acquainted with all the vices of city life, the children soon become accustomed to the vulgar talk and practices which shock the brain and heart even of older persons. Immoral stories, vile words and ugly outbursts of passion are but commonplace occurrences even in those factories where the sexes indiscriminately mingle. A child's store of moral teaching does not last long in such an atmosphere, and many a wrecked life can trace its beginning to such an environment. Evil habits are soon learned, while beer and tobacco become the everyday accompaniment of the worker's existence.

One most curious fact concerning the child laborer is that he does not remain in any definite occupation of any length of time. One day he is here and perhaps two days later he is at work in another factory

several miles distant. He learns no trade, for in this age of machinery it is useless for a youth to fit himself for a future life in any specific occupation. He glides through them all, becoming a jack of all trades and a master of none. A rather interesting example of this is mentioned by Alzina Stevens, formerly an assistant factory inspector of Illinois. "On August 23, 1893, I inspected a candy factory where I found eighty children under sixteen years of age. Their affidavits were inspected and sixty-three were found to be correct and stamped. On Sept. 8, another factory inspector visited the same place and found seventy-one children at work with sixty-five affidavits awaiting inspection. Only one of these bore the stamp of my previous visit of two weeks before."* Mrs. Kelley in one of her reports as factory inspector of Illinois says, "It is a matter of the rarest occurrence to find a set of children who have been working together two months in any factory. They are here today and gone tomorrow, and while their very instability saves them from the specific poison of each trade, it promises an army of incapables to be supported as tramps and paupers."

Another evil of child labor is that it results in a scarcity of domestic help. Girls are placed in the factory at an early age and consequently have no opportunity, and often no desire, to learn the art of cooking and house-keeping. When they arrive at the age when they can enter the home as servants they dislike to make the change, and furthermore are not prepared for such a move even though they should desire to do so.

Not only have the children displaced adult workers by means of machinery, but they have become one of the greatest causes for the reduction of wages. A man, with four or five children working in the factory or elsewhere, bringing in a few dollars each week, can afford to work at a lower price than a man who has no children thus employed. Prof. Bemis calls attention to the fact that the earnings of the entire family in the textile industries of Rhode Island and Connecticut, where women and children are employed, are no larger than in other industries, like those of the metal workers in western Connecticut, where only men are employed. Hon. Carroll D. Wright says, "Fathers at present rely, or are forced to rely, upon their children for from one-fourth to one-third of the entire family earnings, and the children under fifteen years of age supply by their labor from one-eighth to one-sixth of the total family earnings."

No good can possibly arise from the employment of children under sixteen years of age, excepting in very rare cases, and even then the evil effects of such employment upon the children far outweigh the remotest benefits which can be derived. For the child it means physical, mental and moral degeneration; for society, a race of crippled, illiterate and invalid citizens, supporting a band of capitalists who do not toil and who do not spin. In short it means the accentuation of those lines which each day are becoming more and more closely drawn between the workers and the employers; a sharpening of the class struggle.

* Arena Vol. 10—150.

IV.

Causes of Child Labor.

BEFORE taking up the discussion of the remedies for child labor, let us first investigate the numerous causes for its existence. Too many of our reformers and agitators rush into the solution of a problem without first having carefully considered the situation. In the case of child labor the causes are so various and so widely different that we must needs travel far into the subject in order to obtain an adequate grasp of this perplexing problem.

Child labor has always existed! But in the early days of society the child worked about the home. He was a helper to his parents, running errands for them, and assisting in many ways with their labor. Surrounded with all the influences of the home, this sort of work was but an education for him. He learned the use of hands and brain, became acquainted with the ins and outs of his father's trade and in many ways prepared himself for a future life of usefulness. To-day the situation is greatly changed. The home has been replaced by the dirty and grimy walls of the factory, the kindly atmosphere of the family has been exchanged for the immoral and revolting environment of the workshop, while the curses and abuse of the ever watchful profit-seeking employers have been substituted for the advice and instruction of the parents. The factory life today prepares the little workers for futures of uselessness rather than for lives of usefulness.

In many instances "the wife and the child now support the family while the husband and father, unable to obtain employment, remains at home and does the housework."* This has been due for the most part to the introduction of machinery. No longer is the strength and skill of men needed in many occupations. A woman or child can pull this or that lever and feed the machine with the raw material. The employer, eager to cut down expenses, realized this fact many years ago and began to substitute the child and wife for the father and husband. By this means he was enabled to undersell his competitor, and thus coin more riches for himself. As soon as one manufacturer introduced the practice, all the rest were forced to follow his example or suffer the disastrous result of his competition. It is because of these facts that we now find mere tots employed at almost every conceivable occupation. They can make money for the manufacturers. Dollars can be coined from their misery and ill health, while the sacrifice of their ambitions and future careers often means a fortune for the employer.

But at the bottom of the matter, it is not the fault of the capitalists that over 1,700,000 children are at work in the United States. The employer doesn't care who runs this or that machine so long as he gets his work done at the price which he is willing to pay. It is the fault of society, of the present system of industry, which forces men to use such inhuman methods in competing with others in the same line of business. Abolish competition in the economic world and you abolish child labor! Inaugurate a system of industry in

* 13th Annual Report Mass. Bureau of Labor—p. 11.

which the ability to make profits from the labor of one's fellow men is no longer the criterion of success, and the abuses of the factory system of today, which shock the brain and heart of humanity, will not exist.

On the other hand, many of the employers are sincere in their denunciations of child labor. Some have even gone so far as to erect schools and provide competent teachers where the public have failed to do so, in order that their employes might be given an education. Within the last few years, and of their own volition, the Georgia Industrial Association as well as the Cotton Manufacturers' Association have passed rules restricting the employment of children in their factories. But so long as one unscrupulous employer exists in the United States and hires mere babes to work for him, just so long will his competitors be forced to follow his example, and we shall continue to have the ghastly sight of stunted and maimed bodies of unhealthy children held up before the eyes of our Twentieth Century civilization.

I do not plead for the employer. Neither do I wish to beg Humanity's pardon for the numerous crimes which he has committed against it in the name of Competition and Profits. All that I can hope to do is to throw the burden of blame upon society itself, upon Capitalism, which has robbed the cradle of its treasures in order to satisfy the demands of a system of privately owned and operated industry.

The child itself is too often to be blamed for its employment. Many a little tot, scarcely old enough to read and write, grows tired of its books and studies, and prefers the dull round of factory life to the strict discipline of the school room. A capitalist said before the Industrial Commission some years ago, "I have repeatedly asked children in my employ whether they would rather remain in school or be in the mill, and I have never found one who would not rather be at work in the mill than go to school." While this statement of the employer perhaps puts the matter a little too strongly, I can say from my experience that this is too often the case. The little ones desire to work and earn money. They delight in the seeming freedom and excitement of factory life, so strongly in contrast with the restraining influences of the school room. Parents despair in their efforts to keep the child at his books and rather than have him roam the streets they consent to his employment.

Poor school accommodations must also be mentioned as a cause of child labor. From all over the United States comes the cry of the people for more and better public schools. In the South and West the accommodations are exceedingly poor, the length of term varying from two to four months, while many localities cannot boast of even this scanty provision for the education of the future citizens of the country. If no attempt be made to keep the child in school, it is natural to expect that he will sooner or later be found at work on the farm or in the factory. Teachers there are in plenty who take but little interest in the welfare of the children under their supervision, and who by this means discourage many from continuing their studies. It has sometimes happened that these supposed guardians of the ambitions of the young students have sent ten and twelve year old children

to the factory inspector with a written request that permits be given them so that they could go to work, because in each case the little one had proved to be incorrigible.* Such occurrences are truly a disgrace to our system of public education.

In times of panics and industrial depressions, when fathers and older brothers are out of work, the younger children are often taken from school and put at odd jobs which will add one or two pennies to the coffers of the family. When industry again revives, they have lost all desire to return to school and are soon numbered among the workers of the nation.

Many hirelings of capitalism defend the employment of children upon the grounds that in a large number of cases the youthful workers are the only support of widowed mothers and aged parents. But this excuse loses its force when it is learned that the children forced into the factory for this reason alone, comprise but about two percent of the total number at work in all occupations.**

It is indeed sad to be forced to confess that a large amount of child labor can be traced to the parents of the little ones. In the struggle for bread they look upon their offspring only as a means to an end. The meagre wages which the child may be able to earn mean more to them than its future career. It is the Present only which is important. The problem is to keep the wolf from the door NOW, and this is partly solved by placing the child in the factory at the earliest opportunity. As one author says, "They will do anything to deliver their children into the serfdom of the factory."*** They seldom hesitate to lie and swear falsely as to the age of their little ones, while cases have been frequently noted in which older children, who could read and write, have been substituted for those who could not in order that a working permit might be obtained for the latter. The Labor Commissioner of North Carolina says that the greatest grievance which they have in that State is the ignorant father who raises children just like crops and lives upon their labor.**** Parents about to leave for another State or for Canada, have been known to sell the permits of their children to persons who desired to place their children at work but can not do so because of the age requirement.

Thus it is that poverty and grim necessity force many a mother and father to sacrifice their children upon the altar of Greed and Profits for the sake of nothing more than the mere matter of getting bread and butter for the family.

There are many forces today in the United States working for the abolition of child labor. Public minded citizens of wealth and influence, trades unions, legislators, reformers, agitators, Socialists, and various committees in different parts of the country, are diligently striving to blot out this cursed evil from our industrial world. That they will succeed in doing much good must be conceded, but it must likewise be acknowledged that child labor can never be completely stamped out as long as men hire others to work for them. The pressure of competi-

* Ill. Factory Inspector's Report, 1904 - p. 12.

** Arena, Vol. 1 - p. 582.

*** World's Work, Vol. 2 - p. 1292.

**** Ind. Com. Reports, Vol. 7 - p. 496.

tion will always force the employer to buy his labor in the cheapest market, and as long as poverty exists, just so long will parents be forced to sell the energies and lives of their children to the modern captains of industry.

Much can be done by the passage and enforcement of stricter child labor laws. The age limit should be raised to sixteen years, and greater precaution taken to see that the laws are enforced. But with these extra precautions, should come compulsory education laws.

Child labor, however, is no longer necessary: Inventions can, and have taken the places of the children in many instances. The pneumatic tube service, for example, has displaced thousands of cash boys and girls, and with the passage of stricter laws, we shall see many more of such inventions being used to do the work now done by youthful wage slaves.

The National Child Labor Committee, an association organized for the purpose of fighting the employment of children, is doing a great work at the present time by educating public opinion upon the matter of child labor. Several states have passed laws because of the results of its agitation, while its disclosures of the miserable conditions of the child workers, have stirred the public powerfully.

Even today we see these forces at work making for the abolition of child labor. Much good has already been done, but so much remains to be accomplished! Even as we write thousands of little beings are suffering untold agony! Thousands of babes are living in want and squalor, toddling off to work in the early morn, only to return at eventide, weary and sick at heart. Day after day, and year after year, their lives and ambitions are sacrificed to satisfy the appetites of Greed and Profit. Cogs they are in the wheels of American industry, but how sadly does their misery mock the grandeur of our Twentieth Century civilization! As Prof. Ely has said, "We have at present an imperfect social organism. It moves forward, creaking and groaning, and splashes the blood of its victims over us all. Our food, our clothing, our shelter, all our wealth, is covered with stains and clots of blood." But saddest of all is the wail of the child as its life-blood spatters the whirring wheels of modern industry.

Workers of America! How long will you stand idly by and see the future of your class sacrificed because it is profitable for some to coin wealth from the misery of your offspring! How long will you permit grim necessity to force your children into mines and factories in order that position and prestige may be purchased for your masters at tremendous social cost!

The power to work a change is in your possession. You have the ballot! Have you the courage and manhood to use it for your interests? Dare you vote for the representatives of your class, for those men who stand for the abolition of child labor, or will you persist in voting for representatives of your masters, for men who believe in retaining the present system of privately owned industry with its thousands of child laborers, its crime and its destitution!

Workers of America! Which will you choose!

Society.

By WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS.

I looked and saw a splendid pageantry
 Of beautiful women and of lordly men,
 Taking their pleasure in a flowery plain,
 Where poppies and red anemone,
 And many another leaf of crimson,
 Flickered about their feet, and gave their stain
 To heels of iron or satin, and the grain
 Of silken garments floating far and free,
 As in the dance they wove themselves, or strayed
 By twos together, or lightly smiled and bowed,
 Or courtied to each other, or else played
 At games of mirth and pastime, unafraid
 In their delight; and all so high and proud,
 They seemed scarce of the earth whereon they trod.
 I looked again and saw that flowery space
 Stirring as if alive, beneath the tread
 That rested now upon an old man's head,
 And now upon a baby's gasping face,
 Or mother's bosom, or the rounded grace
 Of a girl's throat; and what had seemed the red
 Of flowers was blood, in gouts and gushes shed
 From hearts that broke under that frolic pace.
 And now and then from out of the dreadful floor
 An arm or bow was lifted from the rest,
 As if to strike in madness, or implore
 For mercy; and anon some suffering breast
 Heaved from the mass and sank; and as before
 The revellers above them thronged and prest.

Classes in Free America.

By VICTOR L. BERGER.

CAPITALISTIC papers have often asked: "Does the class struggle, of which Socialists talk so much, exist in the United States?"

Now I want to answer this question by asking another:

"Are there any classes in America to-day and what constitutes a class?"

A class is constituted by a group of people held together by the same economic social interests. In that sense we have classes in America as in any other civilized or semi-civilized country. If anything, the class distinction is even more pronounced in this country than in any other.

It is true that the Declaration of Independence, the document which is supposed to contain the cardinal principles of the American Republic and of the American mode of government, says right at the beginning, "All men are created equal" and are endowed "with certain inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

"All men are created equal." This may be true. But do they live equal? Do they die equal?

The child of the poor man is born in a hovel, surrounded by misery and poverty from his first moments. There are three chances to one that he will not survive his first year, and if he does, there is a life of misery before him. The dangers of sickness are ten fold as great as for the child of the rich. And if he safely passes all these perils, what life is there before him? A life of drudgery, ended by an early death which is often to be considered a boon since it saves the victim from the poorhouse. Usually this poor person has not even a claim on heaven, never having belonged to any church and knowing little or nothing about religion, which is more or less a costly article.

How about the child of the rich? He is surrounded by all comforts and protected with everything that paternal love and money can furnish. He grows up in comfort and security and receives an excellent education. His life is a round of pleasure, mingled perhaps with as much work as is necessary to health. And unless killed early by excessive luxury or riotous living, he can enjoy ripe old age, honored and loved by everyone as a good citizen and as a pillar of society. And if he gives money to charity and churches, when he dies he has a very good claim to a reserved seat in heaven.

"All men are created equal."

And do we not have classes in America?

Let us go a little into the statistics and investigate the distribution of wealth in the United States.

Dr. Spahr in his "Present distribution of wealth" (1896) made an examination of the surrogate court records of thirty-six counties in New York State, outside of New York City. Applying the proportion to the nation at large, he comes to the conclusion that seven-eighths of the families hold but one-eighth of the national wealth, while one per cent. of the families hold more than the remaining 99 per cent. He constructs the following table:

ESTATES.	NUMBER.	AGGREGATE WEALTH.	AVERAGE WEALTH
The wealthy classes, \$50,000 and over.....	125,000	\$33,000,000 000	\$264,000
The well-to-classes, \$50,000 to \$5,000.....	1,375,000	\$23,000,000,000	\$16,000
The middle classes, \$5,000 to \$500.....	5,500,000	\$8,200,000,000	\$1,500
The poorer classes, under \$500	5,500,000	\$800,000,000	\$150

It must be remembered too, that Mr. G. K. Holmes, expert on wealth statistics for the tenth census, found that 0.3 per cent of the people owned 20 per cent of the wealth; 8.97 per cent of the people, 51 per cent of the wealth; and 91 per cent of the people only 29 per cent of the wealth.

Now do we have classes in America?

And as to the *class struggle* let me quote *Carl Marx*:

"The history of the past is the history of class struggle. Freemen and slaves, patricians and plebians, nobles and serfs, guild members and journeymen—in short oppressors and oppressed—have always stood in direct opposition to each other. The struggle between them has sometimes been open, sometimes concealed, but always continuous. A never ceasing struggle which has invariably ended either in a revolutionary change of the social system, or in the common destruction of the contending classes."

The mere deepening of the class struggle going on in this country is by far the most hopeful sign of the times. It means resistance, it means regeneration.

And as in times of old, we again see society divided into hostile classes. Now we see on one hand the capitalist class, very small in number, with all the means of production in their possession; on the other side the working class, very large in number, with the labor power of their muscles and brains as their only possession. This labor power the workingmen must sell to the capitalist for hours, days or weeks in order to secure the means of subsistence.

These two classes have human interests in common but they cannot have a common class interests and never will have.

As the concentration of wealth goes on the working class—the proletariat—grows in America. And belonging to the same race, and having to some extent at least the same advantages of education and enlightenment, the proletariat is beginning to feel its dependence upon the capitalist class. Hence the beginning of the modern class struggle, everywhere that the capitalist mode of production prevails. Hence the organized attempt of resistance against the capitalist class.

And why should there not exist in the United States the same class struggle as in England, Germany or France? Wherein is the effect of machinery upon the working class different in this country than in Germany? Must not a man work in America as in England if he has no capital? Must not a person have money in America as in Europe in order to buy food, clothes and lodging?

The Social-Democrats did not invent the class struggle. They did not preach class strife. They simply realize the fact that it exists. And they have studied its history and know its nature, and point out its significance for the modern labor movement and for civilization.

The latest report from St. Petersburg is to the effect that the rebels who have been imprisoned are being shot by the officers so as to lessen the overflowing conditions of the prisons. About time for the Czar to attend another capitalistic Peace Congress, eh!

In order to catch up with our date of publication and bring The Vanguard out earlier in the month we make this the February-March issue. This will not affect the number of copies our subscribers will receive, all subscriptions being reckoned accordingly.

Pointed Paragraphs.

BY FREDERIC HEATH.

Don't lose a minute in getting at that friend of yours with a copy of Benson's "Socialism Made Plain". Its a winner every time!

A fight for principle is never lost. It succeeded educationally if in no other way. Be a Social-Democrat and you'll find it a victory in more ways than one.

President Duke of the Tobacco Trust kicked his wife out of bed. But its all right. A trust president is a modern king and "kings can do no wrong," you know.

Capitalism demands cheap labor. All the cheap labor territory the trusts can get its servants who run the government to annex to this country is added leverage to thwart the protective purpose of labor organization.

The Wellington (N. Z.) city council has decided to enter into an industrial agreement with the employes on the municipal tramways concerning wages and hours of labor. The agreement provides that all employes shall join the Tramway Union within one month of joining the service, and that disputes shall be decided by the appeal board.

In one of his vigorous attacks upon our commercial pirates, Dr. Washington Gladden tells the following story: A modern financier was robbed on Broadway the other day. A little urchin in sorry rags slipped up behind him and snatched his handkerchief from his pocket. Someone grabbed the boy—caught him red-handed. A crowd collected. A man said, "I will run for the police." But the financier fixed a sympathetic look upon the trembling little culprit. "Oh, let him alone," he said. "I began business in a small way myself."

DR. ROCINE'S DIET GUIDE



DR. VICTOR G. ROCINE.

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The eight-hour law is to be set aside in the case of the digging of the Panama canal. This is not because the work is easier than other work, for on the contrary it is almost deadly work, but it is because the expense will be great and our capitalist government would rather sacrifice the lives than dollars. If such a thing were possible that the canal had to be dug by the members of congress themselves it would be rather amusing to see how suddenly their ideas of the dignity and rights of labor would change.

Prof. Lombroso, the great criminologist says that millionaires are mostly ignorant and that they most of them get their bent for acquisition in early poverty. From this it can also be seen that a social system that starts out some of its people in poverty prepare the soil for still greater inequality and social injustice.

If the system were changed so that the exploitation of labor were impossible, brotherhood would be stronger in every human breast and no decent citizen would possess an avaricious passion to become wealthy at the expense of his fellows.

Human nature would not change, but inhuman nature would not be developed by society.

And that's what we Social-Democrats want.

One hundred years ago it took only a few months' wages to start a man up in business. In 1845 it took three years' wages. Now it takes five years' wages on the average.

These are not our figures, they were used by one of the professors of the University of Chicago.

They certainly show the trend of

the times, and what is in store for the small business class that is even now only hanging on by their finger nails.

The tragedy of the little modern shop keeper is an unrelieved one. The little shop keepers die off like flies, but there are always others rushing into the places made vacant in a despairing effort to escape from wage slavery, so that the middle class is actually being renewed while it is disappearing, paradoxical as that may sound.

A New York professional charity organization claims that there are men in the "bread lines" at some of the city bakeries who do not want work.

There are tramps who have gotten past the point where they are anxious to work for work's sake, also, but this doesn't remove the tramp class from the list of unmistakable symptoms of an unhealthy condition of society.

There are "bums" in every large city who live by their wits, just as many higher up in the social scale seek to do, and who strive constantly to live with as little exertion as possible, but the fault is not with them but an industrial system that exhausts and degenerates its victim class.

But, of course, your professional charity organization does not concern itself with economics.

What it delights in doing is to show, if possible, that the class it has to aid in an undeserving class.

It helps our capitalists to keep the victim class off their consciences!

The slave of the coming era will be the machine. Man will be freed. That's what Social-Democracy means.

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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