

THE VANGUARD



OCTOBER, 1906

We ask justice and fight injustice. We seek free labor and fight wage-slavery. We seek peace and order and combat the murder of the people, the class war and social anarchy.

William Lloyd Garrison

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THE VANGUARD

"We're beaten back in many a fray,
Yet never strength we borrow,
And where the Vanguard camps today,
The rear shall rest tomorrow."

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The Month's Story.

Bryan's Last Word

It is much the same as his first word. His New York speech was nearly a repetition of his earlier utterances. He sees no deeper than to call for "the extermination of the trusts, root and branch." Years of experience, years of watching the concentration of wealth at home and abroad, has taught him nothing better than this.

He admits, "The Socialist, asserting the economic superiority of the monopoly, insists that its benefits shall accrue to the whole people, and his conclusion cannot be denied if the superiority of monopoly is admitted." Why, bless your simple, unscientific soul, Friend Bryan. The "economic superiority" of the trust has been thoroughly proved by the fact of its success. Here is a case of the survival of the economically fittest. Not a small manufacturer or dealer who has gone down under the Jugernaut car of the trusts, but will tell you that his weakly organized business was no match for the trust's superior organization. "Can ye not read the signs of the times?"

But Mr. Bryan has added one new verse to his old song. He inserts even this with a little hesitation. "I do not know," he admits, "that the country is ready for this change" to the public ownership of railroads. "I do not know that a majority of my own party favor it." And judging from the howl which goes up from the Democratic leaders, to say that Mr. Bryan's party does not favor it, is putting the case with ludicrous mildness. From Gov. Folk, the reformer, to Senator Bailey, the tool of the trusts, all unite in hooting down the idea of public ownership. And Henry Waterson says it is "un-American and un-Democratic." So that settles it.

By the way, when Japan recently saw the need of a system of publicly owned railways, the shrewd little yellow men did not object that this would be un-Japanese. No, in spite of their huge war debt, they are going right ahead to secure such a system. What a pity that a big new republic like Yankeeland should have to take lessons in progress from a little old Oriental kingdom!

We did have a slight hope that Bryan and his party might steal a little Socialist thunder. We thought they might possibly take some of the kindergarten instruction off our hands, and leave us free to teach the more advanced lessons of Socialism. But it seems that is too

much to expect. The Democrats will not stand for the public ownership of the railways, because it would mean the "centralization" of the big campaign contributions into the coffers of the Republican campaign committee.

* * * * *

The German Example The public ownership of railways, at best, is only a piece of Socialism. And it is even possible for the government to own the railways while capitalism still stands unshaken, as for instance in Germany.

Yet even in Germany the government ownership of the railways is an advantage to the people. And above all, it serves to disprove that silly old objection to Socialism, that "ownership by the people would destroy enterprise and discourage progress."

It is a curious fact that at the beginning of the railway era, England was the great industrial power of the world, while Germany was poor and industrially insignificant.

Now the tables are being turned. England has lost her prestige, and Germany is becoming the great industrial nation of Europe.

And experts who are anything but Socialists declare that this change is partly due to the different transportation system of the two countries—to the privately owned railroads of Britain and the governmental railways of Germany.

When the railways were introduced, Great Britain's system of canals was the foremost in Europe, as they were the oldest. Her climate and her mild winters, which kept her canals and rivers open all winter, gave her a great advantage for inland transportation by water. Her artificial as well as her natural waterways were therefore extremely valuable.

But the railways of Great Britain—privately owned—wanted to cut out the competition of the canals. The views of the English railway kings were just like the views of the American railway king Vanderbilt in regard to the Erie canal, which he summed up in the famous dictum, "The public be d—d." They bought up or leased certain canals which formed an indispensable part of the canal route, and took to destroying the traffic on the adjoining canals by enforcing maximum rates and other expedients. Thus they ruined the other canals and were able to buy them up at a cheap price. In this way the canal system of Great Britain fell into decay.

The German railways on the other hand, not being privately owned property, made, of course, no fight against the German waterways. Germany has constructed a splendid canal system just in the same period that British canals lost their importance. Germany built 1901 kilometres of inland canals between the years 1871 and 1900, and has immensely improved her rivers. The tonnage of the German inland fleet in 1902 was nearly five million tons.

So much for private ownership promoting "enterprise!"

As for the efficiency of the railways themselves, the state railways are ahead. Even in point of speed, although a few show trains on British lines are still faster than are the show trains on German lines.

the average speed of passenger trains is, according to a high German authority, considerably greater in Germany than it is in Great Britain.

Moreover, the growth of the German railways since 1886 has been 55.5 per cent. of its mileage, while the growth of the British privately owned railways was 23.6 per cent. during the same period.

On the German roads, passenger and freight charges have been lowered all round. The wages of the German railway employes have been raised considerably all round. Yet the financial result of the state railways has become more satisfactory from year to year, largely owing to good management. The net earnings of the state railways for 1903 in Prussia paid the interest on a state debt of over \$1,700,000,000 and also its redemption fund. And over and above this there remained a clear balance of about \$50,000,000 which went to lighten the taxes.

Now we do not claim the state railways of Germany as a Socialist institution. They are controlled by the government, not by the people. But we give these facts and figures simply to show the absurdity of the claim that private ownership "stimulates enterprise."

Why not trust the American people? Are they too stupid to manage their own affairs?

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Why Men The circuit court of Milwaukee may soon be compelled, under mandamus proceedings, to decide whether a special election shall be held in Milwaukee on the question of high versus low license. What stand should Socialists take on this problem?

Drink

Now Social-Democrats have this peculiarity, that they always prefer to cut out the root of an evil rather than to lop off its branches. So the first question for us to settle is—what are the sources of the drink evil?

One cause of drunkenness is the rush and fever of our modern mode of living. The workingman has so little time for rational and genuine pleasures, that he naturally tries a short cut to happiness and oblivion of his troubles. If we can cure disease by taking medicines, why not cure sorrow by taking whisky? It is exactly the impulse of the suicide who drinks carbolic acid, and in fact intoxication is temporary suicide. The very same social and economic reasons which explain the increase of suicide in our modern society also explain the increase of drunkenness.

The man who leads a normal life with leisure for rest and rational recreation, and who is not so constantly fatigued that he cannot enjoy them, will have no occasion for drunkenness. Life will be pleasant enough for him without the temporary relief of stimulants. Such will be the conditions under the Socialist system. Then also the better education which will be given to all, will increase their capacity for enjoyment and greatly enlarge the circle of their pleasures. Under present conditions the thoughtful man is not surprised at the increase of suicide and intemperance. He is rather struck with the patience and endurance of the working class, which in general bears its trials so bravely.

But the profit system in the sale of intoxicants is the chief cause of drunkenness. It has had the same effect as the profit system in the sale of all other commodities. Profits in the making and selling of clothing have led to extravagance in dress and all the unhealthy and absurd monstrosities with which women load themselves. Profits in every industry lead to an unnatural and forced production, and an attempt to get rid of the product by some unnatural means. Thus profits in the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks have caused drunkenness.

The Social-Democratic party offers therefore no nostrum for the cure of the drink evil, knowing that this evil will naturally cure itself under Socialist conditions. The Social-Democracy aims to place humanity under conditions that will make for honesty, for temperance, for purity, for moral, mental and physical health, by surrounding men and women with an environment which will make it natural to lead good lives, instead of the present system, which makes a high standard of morality well-nigh impossible.

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The Racine Case

The long drawn-out labor case of Racine has come to an end at last. As might have been anticipated, labor lost. Judge Fowler laid \$6,000 damages upon the Racine Trades Council and 80 to 100 union men. Moreover he not only decided that the posting of an unfair list is illegal, but also that any contract given by labor organizations or their agents to employers which compelled the conducting of a "closed" shop, and the placing of the union label on all goods there manufactured, was invalid as infringing on constitutional provisions.

These anti-labor decisions are getting pretty common. And they will grow still more common and still more impudent if labor, smitten on one cheek, meekly turns the other also at the very next election.

When the sheep, in their quarrel with the wolf, allow the fox to take the judge's seat and settle the case, this proves only one thing—that they are sheep.

Men do not gather grapes from thorns, nor figs from thistles. Nor can we hope to get anything but capitalistic decisions from capitalistic judges.

There is no hardship in this. It is a simple law of nature.

* * * * *

John F. Dietz

The severest criticism on our present method of administering "justice" is the almost universal sympathy for John F. Dietz. The people evidently believe that a good shot-gun is a surer means of justice than a court of law. And it is a sharp commentary on our system when men really believe that.

Now it is nothing new for the people to side with picturesque outlaws. The Robin Hoods and the Rob Roys were always popular

idols. But they lived in defiance of kings and feudal lords, the oppressors of the people. The poor peasant's heart beat freer as he listened by the winter fire to ballads and tales of Robin's Merry Men, for their bold deeds inspired him with the hope of successful rebellion against his feudal tyrants.

But the officers of the law whom Dietz defies are—or are supposed to be—the agents and creatures of the people who rejoice in their discomfiture. The people chose them, the people, theoretically, made the laws and established the courts of justice. And with all this, the people feel that the poor man's chance of getting any justice from them, when a big corporation stands in the way, is slimmer than his purse after the lawyers have bled it.

All this the people know. Still they go through the same motions of electing judges and sheriffs and legislators. And then, when the hero of Thornapple Creek holds them all at bay, the public applauds.

A wise guy is your average American citizen!

Socialism For Peace.

By EDWARD SLADE

Two ministers, one a Unitarian and the other a Congregationalist, have said to the writer that the Socialist and labor movements are doing more to forward the cause of international peace than the whole body of orthodox Christianity put together. A similar admission is made by the secretary of the Canadian Peace society and other frank-spoken leaders in the anti-militarist movement.

That an institution founded by the Prince of Peace should throughout fifteen bloody centuries have sanctioned violence on an extensive scale and condemned it when committed on a small scale can only be accounted for by the contradictions of human nature, which seldom submits to the code of morals which religion has placed over it. But that this same institution should remain apathetic toward a movement inspired by the Christian ideal

while secular movements are working heart and soul in it can not be explained by any other theory than that the church is bound by tradition and lack of energy to inaction. But whatever its cause, the fact remains that the Clergy as a body are doing very little to hasten the time when swords will be beaten into ploughshares and the nations cease to learn war any more.

But if the church sleeps, other bodies are at work. Trades unions, woman suffragists, peace societies, and last, but not least, the International Socialist Party, are damming the waters that are to sweep away armaments and war.

So far as I know, the Socialist party alone of political organizations has incorporated in its platform a clear-cut statement of its attitude on arbitration and disarmament. Socialists all over the world demand that international

disputes be settled, by the humane method of arbitration, that armies and navies be abolished; that nations live at peace with one another. But they do not demand, as do some over-zealous anti-militarists, immediate disarmament. That proposition is so impracticable and foolish that it should not be entertained for one moment. What is demanded in our program is that national militia displace standing armies until such time that all danger of war is sunk into oblivion. It is the wish of every Socialist minded person that civil government should supercede military government. That reason and humanitarianism should supplant passions and brutality.

That Socialists are sincere in their desire for world peace is shown by the history of their agitation. The Utopias of the earlier Socialists, of Saint Simon and Fourier in France, and Robert Owen in England, provide not only for industrial harmony but for international brotherhood. It is a fact that all famous Socialists are pronounced internationalists. Lassalle and Rodbertus, it is true, were inspired by a national spirit, but their patriotic sentiments were as superior to jingoism as philosophy is superior to superstition. Karl Marx founded the first international workingmen's society and gave birth to a movement which bids the workingmen of the world to unite and overthrow a society which submits them to exploitation and inferiority under all flags of whatever color. Socialists, indeed, are constantly charged by petty bourgeois writers with lack of patriotism, and the charge is not without an element of truth. Genuine Socialists have shaken off the petty provincialism which still

dominates some of the most brilliant minds and extend the glad hand of fellowship to people of every clime and color. The international sentiments which inspire us are much stronger than those of the "old piece of bunting" kind.

Socialists are frequently charged with being mere talkers, mere dreamers, but the action taken by the International Socialist Party proves that they are men of action. At the suggestion of our French comrades the international party has unanimously adopted a scheme that will make our protest against war as effective as possible. When the clouds of war hover in the sky the Socialist parties of the disputing countries will act jointly to prevent a conflict by bringing the utmost pressure to bear on their governments and by rousing public sentiment to such a pitch as to force the issue at stake to be arbitrated. In the meantime, Socialist parties all over the world will exert their power to prevent the outbreak of hostilities. And we Socialists have it in our power to prevent war. We are of the working class, and the working class is rapidly rallying around our banner, and this is a fact which rulers dare not ignore. As soon as the workers refuse to shoot down their fellow workers and be shot down by them, the ruling caste must either quit the profession of murder or hold duelling tournaments on their own account. The creatures who toil are the pawns played with on the battle-field, and when these creatures cease to be pawns and become *men*, the blood of humanity will no longer saturate the soil of mother earth.

If further evidence is required of the earnestness of Socialists in the peace movement, one might cite the

recent Moroccan controversy. It will be remembered that when France and Germany were on the brink of war, the Socialist parties of these countries exchanged greetings and proclaimed to their governments that the proletariat of Germany and France would not unsheath the sword against each other. When Norway and Sweden underwent divorce, the Socialists and Trade Unionists of these Scandinavian kingdoms swore friendship to each other. The Socialist municipal council of San Remo, Italy, refused to officially receive the Italian fleet which had been operating against Sicily, and many Socialists in France have been imprisoned for anti-militarist demonstrations. Even our enemies must admit that there are no more ardent workers in the cause of peace than Socialists and the labor unions. The workers, so long despised as brutes, are in the vanguard of the greatest humanitarian movement of to-day.

Socialism stands for peace, industrial as well as international, and the triumph of Socialism will sound the death-knell of militarism. The Socialist state will be self-sustaining, and being self-sustaining, it will not need to bully foreign peoples into buying its produce. To-day the life of nations depends largely upon their commerce, upon their ability to sell their surplus produce in foreign markets. Hence we find that the dynamic force behind all great modern wars is *business*. Business, that is to say, the conflict of national interests, brought about the Spanish-American war, the Boer war and the

Russo-Japanese war, and an analysis of the causes of the wars of the Nineteenth century and of most of the great wars of history will establish the fact that war has its origin in the competitive and profit system of industry. Had there been no gold in South Africa, the corpses of twenty thousand robust Englishmen would not now lie buried in the veldt of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Did Korea not possess colonizing and marine advantages, Russia and Japan would never have grappled each other by the throat. Cut-throat competition is not limited to individuals within states; it is waged with equal, nay, greater ferocity between states. The cudgel has been laid aside in private competition, but fire and sword are still used in the economic struggle for existence that prevails among nations. War is simply the most brutal aspect of the universal competition that prevails in modern society.

Socialism will abolish war by abolishing competition; it will establish international peace by establishing international harmony. When nations have no longer need of wresting from each other markets for their produce they will not club each other out of mere deviltry. The clergymen who paid tribute to Socialism by saying that it was the greatest factor in the peace movement were right. Socialism will force governments to keep the peace and by uniting the proletariat of the world will ensure the fraternity of all races within the next half century.



Real Social-Democracy

By VICTOR L. BERGER



AS I have often said, whether with or without social reform we cannot escape Social-Democracy. The co-operative commonwealth is the aim towards which, from a law of nature, the entire political and economical development of modern times is moving.

A Social-Democracy is the goal of the evolution. And not by any means a far distant goal. Nor is it the *last station* on the road which humanity will have to follow. Progress will never stop.

The Social-Democracy is the *next* station. We are speeding toward it with the accelerating velocity of a locomotive on the road.

It is only a convincing confirmation of this view, that the "*social question*" now stands everywhere

in the foreground of public discussion.

We all know from history that an old order of society was always doomed, when its appointed guardians and supporters felt called upon to make the demands of the adherents of the new order their own, —when they tried to steal the revolutionist thunder, as the saying is.

Of course, LaFollette, Bryan, Hearst, etc. want to "steal our thunder" for exactly opposite purposes from ours. They want to *preserve the system*.

* * *

But we are *revolutionists*.

We are *revolutionary* not in the vulgar meaning of the word, which is entirely wrong, but in the sense illustrated by history, the only logical sense. For it is foolish to expect any result from riots and dynamite, from murderous attacks and conspiracies, in a country where we have the ballot, as long as the ballot has not been given a full and fair trial.

We want to *convince* the majority of the people. As long as we are in the minority we of course have *no right to force our opinions upon an unwilling majority*.

Besides, as modern men and true democrats, we have a somewhat less romantic and boyish idea of the development of human things and social systems. And we know that one can kill tyrants and scare in-

dividuals with dynamite and bullets, but one cannot develop a system in that way.

Therefore no true Social-Democrat ever dreams of a sudden change of society. Such fanatic dreamers nowhere find more determined opponents than in the ranks of the true Social-Democrats.

* * *

We know perfectly well that force serves only those who have it, that a sudden overthrow will breed dictators, that it can promote only subjection, never liberty.

We even propose a *general arming* of the *people* as the *safest* means of *preventing sudden upheavals* and of preserving democracy.

The Social-Democrats do not expect success from a *so-called* revolution—that is, a smaller or bigger riot—but from a *real* revolution, from *the revolutionizing of minds*, the only true revolution there is.

Yet we do not deny that *after* we have *convinced the majority* of the people, we are going to use force *if the minority* should *resist*. But in every democracy the majority rules, and *must* rule.

It is clear that this revolution of the minds cannot be brought about in a day or two, nor can it be arranged according to the pleasure of a few. It can only be attained by patient work and intelligent organization. Therefore the Social-Democrats concentrate their whole force on agitation and organization. The Social-Democratic leaders in every country as a general rule are matter of fact, cool-headed persons. The Social-Democratic troops are known to be the best disciplined in existence.

* * *

Up to a certain point, therefore, the tactics of the Social-Democrats and the social reformers are *exactly the same*. Both build upon the past historical development and take into consideration the present conditions.

The Social-Democrats absolutely refuse to break off the thread of history at any one place. No Social-Democrat ever dreams of introducing a year 1 and beginning a new era with it, as did the fathers of the great French Revolution—which was indeed entirely in harmony with *their* “*a priori*” and doctrinaire methods.

The Social-Democrats leave the making of the calendars to *other people*.

But the tactics and the aims of the Social-Democrats do indeed *differ* from those of the social reformers in one *essential* point. The Social-Democrats never fail to declare that with all the social reforms, good and worthy of support as they may be, conditions cannot be radically and permanently improved.

* * *

We Social-Democrats say, we are willing to accept and help on every social reform. But we also say that social reforms are but installments by which we must not allow ourselves to be bribed; that full economic freedom will only be achieved by Social-Democracy.

Yet as a *stepping stone*, as a *transition*—and even as a *necessary stepping stone* and as an *indispensable transition*—*social reforms* of all kinds are fully and wholly recognized by the Social-Democracy.

We recognize their usefulness and necessity even when we do not agree with the motives of the promoters and leaders of social reform. We are willing to accept these reforms, even when we disagree about their speed and the methods to be employed.

On the other hand, while the social reformers and the Social-Democrats therefore have many points of contact, they *always will form and must form two entirely different parties*. And it is not arbitrary or willful that the Social-Democrats all over the world constitute a distinct, separate party. It is absolutely necessary. And it does not in any way exclude the possibility of making common cause with social reform parties in legislatures and city councils for this or the other good measure. But to keep our party organically *separate and intact* is a demand of *clearness and truth*, which after all have great importance in political life as everywhere else.

* * *

The Social-Democrats do *not* in the least expect to "make history," as certain ignorant and fanatical impossibilists dream of doing. What we aspire to is much more modest, more matter-of-fact, and therefore more reliable and more substantial.

We want to observe closely the course of things, the development of economic and political conditions. We want to find out, if possible, where this development leads. Then, supported by this knowledge, we want to put ourselves in line with the march of civilization, so that civilization will carry us, instead of crushing us, which it would do, if—knowingly or not—we should stand opposed to it.

* * *

Thinking workmen and thinking men of any class become Social-Democrats not because we like to be "different" from other people. Not because a man by the name of Karl Marx has "invented the co-operative commonwealth" and painted it as gorgeously as possible—which by the way he did *not* do. We are Social-Democrats because we have recognized that the economical development of the present capitalist system leads toward Socialistic production. Not that we wish to urge upon humanity "our" Socialist Republic, but that the *Socialist Republic* has urged itself upon us as the *next stage of civilization* and will urge itself some day upon *all civilized humanity*.

And once *granted* that the Socialist Republic is the *necessary* product of our economical development, the question of the *possibility* of carrying out the demands of the Social-Democracy appears very *naïve*, and indeed absurd. That which *must* come by *necessity* is for that very reason *possible without further question*.

Victor L. Berger

Let the People Rule.

By ALLAN L. BENSON



WE purpose to make this a government *of* the people. We purpose to make this government as responsive to the will of the people as a ship is to the movements of its rudder. It is not such a government now. Your law-makers do not make the laws you want made. They do not repeal the laws you want repealed. And if they were to pass and the president were to sign a bill tomorrow that would permit the trusts to take even the shirt off your back, you could not help it. The bill would have become law and the shirt would have disappeared before you could do anything. And even then, what could you do? You could wait until the next election and elect new law-makers. The new law-makers might betray you, just as the old ones did—they frequently do. Or you could try to overthrow the gov-

ernment by force of arms, if you could find enough others who wanted to plunge the country into civil war. And you do not want war any more than we Socialists do—you are as peaceful as we are, and, like us, want only to be permitted to live and work at peace and not be robbed of what you produce.

Now mind you, we contend that the public ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth would prevent all of this kind of dishonesty by removing the incentive that now causes it. But we also take into consideration the fact that legislators who are not dishonest, and who have no incentive to be so, may yet be stupid; they may not realize what the people should have so well as the people themselves may know; or they make serious blunders by passing bills that the people do not want to become laws. And desiring, as we do, that we shall have a government that shall mirror the desires of the people as faithfully as a placid lake mirrors the trees on its shore, we have provided for these possible occasional shortcomings on the part of those who will make our laws.

Here is what we propose:

We would have the constitution of the nation, of every state and the charter of every city provide that the people, if they should so desire, might vote directly on bills that they wished to become laws and that when approved by a majority of the voters, such bills should become laws without any action on the part of the congress, state legislature, or municipal council.

We should also give the people the constitutional right to vote on any bill already passed by any legislative body and repeal it if a majority of the voters did not want the law to be enforced.

And we should furthermore give the people the right to recall any officer before the expiration of his term of office and elect a new officer in his place, provided a majority of the voters decide to do so.

These measures are contained in every national Socialist platform and known as the "Initiative," meaning the right of the people to pass laws for themselves if their lawmakers be negligent; the "Referendum," meaning the right of the people to have laws already passed referred to them to be vetoed or upheld, as the people might choose; and the "Right of Recall," meaning

the right of the people to rid themselves immediately of an incompetent or a dilatory representative without waiting several years for his term of office to expire, during which time laws desired by the people might not be obtainable.

These Socialist measures would put the people right at the helm of the government. If your congress will not pass the law you want, pass it yourself. If your congress pass the law you do not want, repeal it yourself. If your aldermen, your mayor, your state legislator, your governor, your senator, representative, or even your president persistently refuse to do what you elected him to do, *put him out*. And do not wait for his term of office to expire several years hence, *put him out now*.

Horrible New York.

By MAXIM GORKY

Maxim Gorky has written his impressions of America. The article will appear in the August number of *Appleton's Magazine*. He thus describes New York:

Far out on the shore, silent and dark "skyscrapers" are outlined against the fog. Rectangular, with no desire to be beautiful, these dull, heavy piles rise up in the sky, stern, cheerless and morose. In the windows of these prisons there are no flowers, and no children are anywhere seen. These structures elevate the price of land to heights as lofty as their tops, but debase the taste to depths as low as their foundations. It is always so. In great houses dwell small people.

From afar the city looks like a huge jaw with black, uneven teeth. It belches forth clouds of smoke into the sky, and sniffs like a glutton suffering from overcorpulency. When you enter it you feel that you have fallen into a stomach of brick and iron which swallows up millions of people, and churns, grinds and digests them.

The people walk along the pavements. They push hurriedly forward, all hastily driven by the same force that enslaves them. But their faces are calm, their hearts do not feel the misfortune of being slaves; indeed by a tragic self-conceit they yet feel themselves its masters. In their eyes gleams a

consciousness of independence, but they do not know it is but the sorry independence of the ax in the hands of the woodman, of the hammer in the hands of the blacksmith. This liberty is the tool in the hands of the Yellow Devil—Gold. Inner freedom, freedom of the heart and soul, is not seen in their energetic countenances. This energy without liberty is like the glitter of a new knife which has not yet had time to be dulled, it is like the gloss of a new rope.

UNHAPPY NEW YORK

It is the first time that I have seen such a huge city monster; nowhere have people appeared to me so unfortunate, so thoroughly enslaved to life, as in New York. And nowhere have I seen them so in love with this huge plantamagoria of stone, iron and glass, this product of the sick and wasted imagination of Mercury and Pluto. And looking upon this life, I began to think that in the hand of the statue of Bartholdi there blazes not the torch of liberty, but the dollar.

The large number of monuments in the city parks testifies to the pride which its inhabitants take in their great men. These statues covered with a veil of dirt involuntarily force one to put a low estimate upon the gratitude felt by the Americans toward all those who lived and died for the good of their country. The mammoth fortunes of Morgan and Rockefeller wipe off from memory the significance of the creators of liberty—Lincoln and Washington.

"This is a new library they are building," said some one to me, pointing to an unfinished structure surrounded by a park. And he added importantly: "It will cost \$2,000,000! The shelves will measure 150 miles!"

Another gentleman told me, as

he pointed out a painting to me: "It is worth \$500."

After commenting on our lack of artistic feeling and culture, Gorky continues:

I am never in the least dazzled by the amount of money a man possesses; but his lack of honor, of love for his country, and of concern for its welfare always fills me with sadness. A man milking his country like a cow, or fattening on it like a parasite, is a sorry sort of inspiration. How pitiful that America, which they say has full political liberty, is utterly wanting in liberty and spirit! When you see with what profound interest and idolatry the millionaires are regarded here, you involuntarily begin to suspect the democracy of the country. Democracy and so many kings. Democracy and a "higher society." All this is strange and incomprehensible.

All the numerous trusts and syndicates, developing with a rapidity and energy possible only in America, will ultimately call forth to life its enemy, revolutionary Socialism, which, in turn, will develop as rapidly and as energetically. But while the process of swallowing up individuals by capital, and of the organization of the masses is going on, capitalism will spoil many stomachs and heads, many hearts and minds.

Speaking of the national spirit, I must also speak of the morality of the nation. That side of life has always been a poser to me. I cannot understand it; and when people speak seriously about it, I cannot help but smile. At best, moralist to me is a man at whom I wink from the corner of my eye, and, drawing him aside, whisper in his ear:

"Ah, you rascal! It isn't that I am a skeptic, but I know the world, I know it to my sorrow."

Man is by nature curious. I have more than once lifted the lid of the moral vessel, and every time there issued from it such a rank, stifling smell of lies and hypocrisy, cowardice and wickedness as was quite beyond the power of my nostrils to endure.

I am willing to think that the Americans are the best moralists in the world, and that even my grandpa was a child in comparison. I admit that nowhere else in the world are there to be found such stern priests of ethics and morality, and, therefore, I leave them alone. But a word about the practical side. America prides itself on its morals, and occasionally constitutes itself as judge, evidently presuming that it has worked out in its social relations a system of conduct worthy of imitation. I believe this is a mistake.

AFFECTING AMERICAN SOCIETY.

The Americans run the risk of making themselves ridiculous if they begin to pride themselves on their society. There is nothing whatever original about it; the depravity of the "higher classes of society" is a common thing in Europe. If the Americans permit the development of a "higher society" in their country, there is nothing remarkable in the fact that depravity also grows apace. And that no week passes without some loud scandal in this "higher society" is no cause for pride in the originality of American morals. You can find all these things in Europe, also.

I must yet mention the fact that in America they steal money very frequently and lots of it. This, of course, is but natural. Where there

is a great deal of money there are a great many thieves. To imagine a thief without money is as difficult as to imagine an honest man with money. But that again is a phenomenon common to all countries.

HORROR OF THE EAST SIDE.

A magnificent Broadway, but a horrible East Side! What an irreconcilable contradiction, what a tragedy! The street of wealth must perforce give rise to harsh and stern laws devised by the financial aristocracy, by the slaves of the Yellow Devil, for a war upon poverty and the Whitechapel of New York. The poverty and the vice of the east side must perforce breed anarchy. I do not speak of a theory; I speak of the development of envy, malice and vengeance; of that, in a word, which degrades man to the level of an anti-social being. These two irreconcilable currents, the psychology of the rich and the feeling of the poor, threaten a clash which will lead to a whole series of tragedies and catastrophes.

America is possessed of a great store of energy, and therefore everything in it, the good and the bad, develops with greater rapidity than anywhere else.

The children in the streets of New York produce a profoundly sad impression. Playing ball amidst the chaos of the tumultuous city, they seem like flowers thrown by some rude and cruel hand into the dust and dirt of the pavements. The whole day long they inhale the vapors of the monstrous city, the metropolis of the Yellow Devil. Pity for their little lungs, pity for their eyes choked up with dust!

I have seen poverty aplenty, and know well her green, bloodless, haggard countenance. But the horror of east side poverty is sadder than

everything I have known. Children pick out from the garbage boxes on the curbstones pieces of rotten bread and devour it, together with the mold, and the dirt, there in the street in the stinging dust and the choking air. They fight for it like little dogs. At midnight and later they are still rolling in the dust and the dirt of the street, these living rebukes to wealth, these melancholy blossoms of poverty. What sort of fluid runs in their veins? What must be the chemical structure of their veins? Their lungs are like rags fed upon dirt; their little stomachs like the garbage boxes from which they obtain their food. What sort of men can grow up out of these children of hunger and penury? What citizens?

America, you who astound the world with your millionaires, look first to the children on the east side, and consider the menace they hold out to you! The boast of riches when there is an east side is a stupid boast.

However, "there is no evil without a good," as they say in Russia. country of optimists.

This life of gold accumulation, this idolatry of money, this horrible worship of the Golden Devil already begins to stir up protest in the country. The odious life, entangled in a network of iron and oppressing the soul with its dismal emptiness, arouses the disgust of healthy people, and they are beginning to seek for a means of rescue from spiritual death.

COMPARED TO EUROPE.

And so we see millionaires and clergymen declaring themselves Socialists, and publishing newspapers and periodicals for the propaganda of Socialism. The creation of "settlements" by the rich intel-

lectuals, their abandonment of the luxury of their parental homes for the wilds of the east side—all this is evidence of an awakening spirit; it heralds the gradual rise in America of the human life. Little by little people begin to understand that the slavery of gold and the slavery of poverty are both equally destructive.

The important thing is that the people have begun to think.

After all that I have said, I am involuntarily drawn to make a parallel between Europe and America. On that side of the ocean there is much beauty, much liberty of the spirit, and a bold, vehement activity of the mind. There art always shines like the sky at night with the living sparkle of the imperishable stars. On this side there is no beauty. The rude vigor of political and social youth is fettered by the rusty chains of the old Puritan morality bound to the decayed fragments of dead prejudices.

Europe shows evidence of moral decrepitude, and, as a consequence of this, skepticism. She has suffered much. Her spiritual suffering has produced an aristocratic apathy, it has made her long for peace and quiet.

America has not yet suffered the pangs of the dissatisfied spirit, she has not yet felt the aches of the mind. Discontent has but just begun here. And it seems to me that when America will turn her energy to the quest of liberty of the spirit, the world will witness the spectacle of a great conflagration which will cleanse this country from the dirt of gold, and will shine like a magnificent cut diamond, reflecting in its great heart all the thought of the world, all the beauty of life.

The Muse of Labor.

By EDWIN MARKHAM



I come, O heroes, to the world
gone wrong.

I bring the hope of nations; and
I bear

The warm first rush of rapture in
my song,

The faint first light of morning
on my hair.

I look upon the ages from a tower;

I am the muse of the Fraternal
State;

No hand can hold me from my
crowning hour?

My song is Freedom and my step
is Fate.

The toilers go on, broken at the
heart;

They send the spell of beauty on
all hands;

But what avail? The builders have
no part—

No share in all the glory of their
hands.

I have descended from the Alcayne;
I am the Muse of Labor and of
mirth;

I come to break the chain of infamy
That Greed's blind hammers
forge about the earth.

I have descended from the Hidden
Place,

To make dumb spirits speak and
dead feet start;

I feel the wind of battles in my face,
I hear the song of nations in my
heart,

I stand by Him, the Hero of the
Cross,

To hurl down traitors that mis-
spend His bread,

I touch the star of mystery and
loss

To shake the kingdom of the liv-
ing dead.

I wear the flower of Christ-life for
a crown;

I poise the suns and give to each
a name;

And through the hushed Eternity
bend down

To strengthen gods and to keep
souls from blame.

I come to overthrow the ancient
wrong,

To let the joy of nations rise
again;

I am Unselfish Service, I am song;
I am the Hope that feeds the
hearts of men.

I am the Vision in the world-
eclipse,

And when I set the bugle to my
lips,
The youth of work-worn races
will return.
I am Religion, and the church I
build
Stands on the sacred flesh with
soft impact,
In me the ancient gospels are ful-
filled;

In me the symbol rises into Fact.
I am the maker of the People's
bread,
I bear the little burdens of the
day;
Yet in the mystery of my son I
tread
The endless heavens and show
the stars their way.

Own the Machines.

By FREDERICK HEATH



Aristotle, the Greek philosopher, is quoted to the effect that slavery would disappear when machines could be found to do the work. They would solve the labor question.

But time has sped on and brought us the machines, and instead of work slavery being at an end, the labor question is with us the greatest of all questions. Aristotle evidently left out one factor in his calculations—the *ownership* of the machines. He doubtless supposed that the machines would belong to the laborers who used them and that, hence, the product of labor would go to the laborer. At first this was the case, for when hand tools were invented they were small and could be owned by the workmen and the resultant product belonged to the worker himself, and he was

therefore measurably free and independent.

But the hand tools were but the first feeble efforts at machinery. When steam was discovered tools were straightway invented to be run by motive power, tools (machines) that consequently became more and more complicated and called for joint labor instead of single-handed labor. And so it was impossible for the individual worker to own the machine he worked with. The machinery, the factories and the forces of labor all became the possession of the capitalists, and the workers, forced to compete with each other for the chance to work under the new conditions, had to be content with a wage. Thus the great modern labor question has developed.

The modern labor question is simple enough. All that stands between the workers and the wealth they produce is this factor of the private ownership of the machinery of production, that is, capitalism. Production is social, but the ownership of industry is individual. Right relations are lacking. The result is what might be expected. Misery for the workers, with a degraded place in society, and vast wealth for the capitalists, with the control of the government and pretty much everything else in sight.

But the awful struggle for a decent living which the workers endure to-day *can be changed*. We must help on the conditions that are moving toward higher and more just organization of industry, and keep away from the capitalistic efforts at trying to patch up the present bad system for its own security. Labor must get down to business and look out for its own interests, economic, political and social, and help on the change which we are beginning to feel all about us.

Every Labor Day is bringing us nearer the great perpetual Labor Day when the burden of drudgery will have been thrown on machinery with the benefits going to the workers instead of the shirkers, and when a few hours daily toil will give to each person the right to *live* in happiness instead of worry, time to improve the mind, time to enjoy family life, and time to rise to the grandeur of complete citizenship.

Labor must free itself by means of a class-conscious ballot, and in freeing itself it will free all mankind.

The papers tell us of a piece of stock market manipulation by "King Edward," the other day, in which he cleaned up a nice little profit of sixty millions inside of a few hours.

The "King Edward" referred to is Edward H. Harrison, the railroad Croesus. And it is certainly a good sign when the newspapers get to calling him a king, for these heavy capitalists are the real kings of our time. The old trash on the European thrones are now the merest figure heads.

And think of sixty millions in a few hours! They are the boys that know how to play the game, and if you are a failure and have to live on chuck steak and shelf worn bargains in canned goods, it simply

shows you are "no good" and are "neglecting your opportunities."

A rascal wrapped himself in an American flag and turning to the policemen who were on his track Denied them to Desecrate Old Glory. Instantly they stood still and the people cheered their patriotism.

You can write your own moral to the above fable, bearing in mind that the rascal referred to stands typical of the capitalist system itself.

Across the brow of the large majority of men under the present system, if you could only see the letters, appears the word: "Failure." And mankind is getting ready to brand that same stigma across the brow of the capitalist system itself!

The Great Speech of Jules Jaures.



Jules Jaures is the most brilliant of the Socialist members of the French Chamber of Deputies. He is a powerful orator as well as a splendid leader. To Jaures belongs the credit for having gotten justice for Dreyfus.

The Minister of the Interior has said that we aspire to abolish all past effort of the human race, and that we consider as a negligible quantity all anterior conquests of man over nature, injustice, and evil. What a misconception is this! For there is no party more profoundly penetrated than ours with the idea of evolution. What we say to justify Socialism, is not only, is not even chiefly, that it realizes an idea of superior justice, but that it is the culmination, the accomplishment of all the former efforts of men. It is because men, and especially the men of modern times, have won to

a dawn of light, a beginning of liberty, that we tend by this light and liberty towards a higher justice. It is because science has created a vast mechanism, grouping and combining the efforts of men, that the workers have conceived the possibility of a social order equally co-operative. It is because the rights of men have entered into the political constitution, that the proletariat has formed the hope of realizing them also in the economic system, in order to rescue the producers from a condition of servitude which is beneath the rights of men as proclaimed by the Revolution. And while we thus conceive of human progress precisely as an evolution you accuse us of destroying progress! What we say is, that the fruit is ripe and the hour has come to pluck it; but we do not, therefore, despise the flower, nor seek to destroy the root.

Environment Maketh Man.

You make it a grievance against us that we seek to realize a new social mechanism, enabling human faculties to develop more largely and more harmoniously. You tell us that the individual is the only living force, and that there is only one way to reform human societies, which is by reforming the individuals. You, the man of science, the doctor, you isolate the individual organism from its social environment. It is you who proclaim this most strange and chimerical of abstractions. From the individual to the environment and from the environment to the individual there

is an action and reaction whose laws are the laws of human progress. (M. Clemenceau: "Yes, but it is the individual who makes the environment") And it is the environment makes the individual, the individuals' limits and means of action, and urges them—compels them, if they would live—to transform themselves. Your doctrine of absolute individualism, your doctrine which pretends that social reform is contained entirely in the moral reform of the individual, is the denial of all history's progressive movements, a denial of the French Revolution itself. Did that pretend to affect only the individual? It had been preceded by half a century of moral preaching by philosophers, and an encyclopædic education of minds; but the march of philosophy in individual consciences would not alone have ended in the transformation of a world had not other great minds realized the necessity of transforming and recreating the environment.

In those days, too, there were conservatives who said to the men of the Revolution: "You seek to transform the exterior conditions of human life. But there is only one vital point, and that is the individual mind. Leave things to develop themselves. Leave consciences and minds to their own silent interior evolution." But the others answered with a thunder-clap which transformed the environment and whose vibration is felt amongst us to this day. . . .

Radicals Limp in our Track.

For my part, I have faith in the power of our ideals. I do not flatter myself that I shall in one day convert all minds to which they are repugnant, but I rely upon the demonstrations of experience. In 1884 when discussing economic

problems in this tribune, M. Clemenceau was formally opposed to the obligatory principle in the matter of social insurance. His ideal only went so far as subvention at the cost of the State for those workers who by free initiative insured themselves. Now he accepts that obligatory principle which was then formulated only by a handful of militant Socialists. Thus little by little our ideas progress and penetrate, and by the virtue of experience I count on the same force of penetration for all our doctrines.

The Repression of the Mine Strike.

That is why on tragical occasions (such as that of the miners' strike) I have asked the working classes to have patience and to make sacrifices beyond what many of our Socialist friends thought reasonable or wise. It has ever been my hope that the growth of Republican liberty and of the workers' legal rights would enable them more surely to attain their ends and to dispense with violent means. And though after this long patience I astonish you by protesting against the policy which you have pursued, it is I who ought to be astonished that after eight years of Republican effort, the working classes, who have helped the Republic out of so many formidable crises, have found themselves confronted by methods more restrictive than those applied to them by two former Governments. We have asked the working classes to organize legally in order to escape all temptation to violence; but, Monsieur the minister of the Interior, we are not, and cannot be, the dupes of the hypocrisy of the governing classes. What they understand by the maintenance of order, what they understand by the repression of violence, is the repression of all the workers' mistakes and excesses, the repres-

sion of the workers' power that the field may be cleared for the violence of the masters.

The "Violence" of the Poor is the "Fact" of the Rich.

Ah, gentlemen, there is a strange disposition to forget the contradiction of sense between the meaning of certain words as applied to masters and to men. The conditions of the fight are terribly difficult for the men. Violence, in their case, is a thing obvious, palpable, and punishable. A threat is heard and noted. An act of brutality is seen and remembered. An attempt at intimidation is pounced on and dragged before the judges. But the masters, to exercise a violent influence, have no need to resort to disorderly gestures, or tumultuous speeches. A few men gather together behind closed doors, in security, in the intimacy of an administrative council, and without raising their voices, like diplomats chatting round the table of green baize, they decide that the reasonable wage shall be refused to the workers, that those who still maintain the fight shall be barred out, hunted, marked by imperceptible signs recognizable by all masters, for the employers' universal vindictiveness. This makes no noise. It is the murderous work of the machine which in its belting, its cranks, and its knives seizes the living man, and noiselessly scrunches him.

Capital Commits No Crime.

The same distinction arises in the pursuit of responsibilities. As the act of working-class violence is brutal, it is easy for the judge, with a few witnesses, to establish and to punish it, and therefore, the period of strikes is automatically accompanied by repeated convictions.

But when it comes to the deep and murderous responsibility of the

great capitalists, it disappears in a sort of obscurity. You were saying, Monsieur the Minister, that we accused you of hiding a corpse. No, we have not accused you of hiding one corpse, but there are 1,400 corpses at Courrieres which capitalist society is engaged in concealing. You yourselves are not sure of being able to disentangle the responsibility. But this monstrous fact persists that it would have sufficed to suspend the descent into the mine for a few days pending the exploration of the fire, and that this was not desired, and that by this error and recklessness, this avidity, 1,400 human lives were sacrificed. And your judges seek, your inquirers grope. It is only for the workers that there is no seeking and no groping; they are dragged before the judges and condemned.

The Strike a Moral Force.

And at what price, when they struggle, is victory possible to them? You have said that strikers fight not for the elementary right to life, since they had lived to the eve of the strike on the wage given up.

But, I ask you, what meaning do you attach to life? You who have been speaking of moral reform of the individual as the very condition of social reform, I ask you, what would be to-day the life of our industrial proletariat, what would be their material and moral condition of existence, to what degree of social, physical, intellectual, and moral abjection would they have fallen, had they not from time to time, by effort on effort, by degree to degree, vindicated their claim by struggle, by strikes, to a little more well-being, a little more bread, a little more leisure, and a little more liberty? What would their lives have been? Theirs would have been the animal life, the existence of beasts.

These men, then, in fighting, *become one of the forces of civilization*, and there is this that is great, admirable, and beautiful in them, that they fight not only for themselves but for their comrades, for their whole class; that they fight, and frequently sustain the fight, knowing well that they themselves must be beaten, but knowing also that they are preparing better conditions for later efforts and for new generations. There you have devotion, disinterestedness, morality, interior reform, individual value. But what would you have these men think when, devoting themselves for all, waging a fight whose victory shall be the victory of all, they find at their side other workmen, destined to share with them in victory, but who refuse to participate in the effort? Ah, I won't accuse these others. They bear the weight of fatalities stronger than the weak wills of men. But I ask you again what can be the feeling, what must be the revolt of those who, sacrificing themselves and knowing themselves unable to win victory except by the unanimous will of their class, see a section of the workers turning against labor emancipation, and through excess of misery, playing the game of the capitalist? They are captives fettered to the same chain, and the more brave can only attempt to free themselves by trying to drag along with them the companions who resist their efforts.

We are for the Bottom Dog.

Well, it is because the conditions of the working class struggle are thus unfavorable to the workers that we seek to redress the false balance by—I say it boldly, gentlemen—systematic partiality. On the side of the employers weighs all the force of gold, the time forces which are always on the side of those who

do not suffer, the force of cohesion and easily realized unanimity, all the force of legal immunity assured by the complicity not of men but of institutions; and when the scales which weigh the destinies of labor and capital are thus falsified, when the whole social influence falls on the workers to crush them, we go to them, we lift them up, we tell them they have right on their side, and we deal severely with Governments that preen themselves on the false equilibrium of a systematical impartiality, which they violate sooner or later at the expense of the working class.

For the People or Against the People?

Every time that you, Monsieur the Minister, have mounted this tribune to oppose us, the defenders of the workers, as in this present manifestation against the very heart of Socialism, you have been sustained by the reactionary Right.

M. Clemenceau: You alone are not Socialism. Those are Socialists outside your party. You are not the good God.

M. Jaures: And you, Monsieur the Minister, are not even the devil. But on behalf of our minority, and therefore very modestly, I say there must be conclusions. The era of exceptional difficulties has begun. The part of your task which you are about to tackle is particularly arduous. You are going to find before you the maximum of resistance, which you can only overcome by the maximum of action on the maximum programme of the Republican majority. Thus far you can only overcome forces of the past, forces of the Church—great and powerful as they are—by the combined action of the democracy of workers and peasants, and, largely of

the Republican bourgeoisie. I will not do the latter the injury of supposing that it will wholly pass to the party of reaction as soon as its money privileges are put to the question by your fiscal or social reforms, but you must be very simple or very blind if you think that you can count for these reforms upon the absolute support of all those who had sustained you in your anti-clerical work. There will be defections and desertions. You see it already in the campaign which has been started to alarm interests, to determine the fall of quotations and the exodus of capital. Face to face with this difficulty, gentlemen, what are you going to do? Either you will be debilitated by the exodus not only of capital, but also of a portion of your political force, or to supplement that force you will be compelled to appeal hardily and vigorously to the whole of this working and peasant people, including proletariat, artisans, and small bourgeois. I tell you that you will not be able to realize half your programme unless you gather up the whole of the live forces of democracy; and this you will only be able to do by protecting bills of immediate and wide efficacy far exceeding what the tone, the accent, and the form of your declaration seems to promise.

I tell you that unless you propose without delay a general and progressive tax that will sensibly relieve the peasantry, unless you thus invoke from the peasant class the complement of support that you will need to make up for the defections of the

bourgeoisie, you will give yourselves up to political impotence.

Nationalization is the Remedy.

It is not enough for you to propose an international conference to prevent the evasion of capital. I praise you for that, but it will not suffice. If you would exercise real control over revenues and legacies, if you would avoid being duped and robbed, you will have to proceed to nationalize the banks, the credit establishments, and, as M. Clemenceau was proposing, the ministerial services. You will be led to break the centre of resistance of these economic powers which already threaten and defy you. A young and distinguished writer on the "Action Libérale" has already warned you. He has told you: "We Conservatives have lost our political power, but the economic power remains with us, and we must know how to use it." To smash this menace, to answer this challenge, you will be compelled to let the nation's hand grasp the great mechanism of railways and mines which is the central spring of the country's economic activity.

I point out these claims, not with the object of arbitrarily lengthening your programme, but because all these efforts are bound together; because you are entering a battle wherein you will either proceed to defeat through incomplete and ineffective projects that only irritate and do not conquer the enemy, or you will arm yourselves completely with strong organization of all the forces that the enemy will try to wield against you.

The root of all oppression is economic dependence upon the oppressor.—Bebel.

The people must come to their own! They must take actual possession of those things that properly belong to them.—John Swinton.

Proletarians of all countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains! You have a world to gain!—Marx and Engels.

Is there one single, useful or necessary duty performed by the capitalist today which the people organized could not perform better for themselves?—Justice.

The trades union is the organization of labor which fights for the improvement of the workingman's condition on the field of the present order of government and society—Bebel.

The industrial economy which divides society absolutely into two portions, the payers of wages and the receivers of them, the first counted by the thousands and the last by the millions, is neither fit for nor capable of indefinite duration—John Stuart Mill.

Trusts will always be enemies of the people. No law can hold them in check. The only way out is to nationalize all great industries—Geo. Bernard Shaw.

Consistency.

By J. L. McCREERY

Said a robber to a preacher,
 "You're in need of cash, I hear:
 "I will give you some to meet your
 "Pressing" needs the coming
 year."

"Thank you, and the Lord who
 sent it,"
 Said the preacher in reply:
 "Though dishonesty may taint it,
 "Sinners may complain—not I."

Said the robber to the preacher,
 "Please accept another gift:
 "Here's a horse—a lovely creature
 —Splendid pedigree, and swift;

"Young, but gentle." said the
 donor;

"At a very recent date
 "Stolen from his former owner,
 "Living in a neighboring State."

Said the preacher, "Sir, you blunder
 "Counting me into your plan
 "For unloading stolen plunder—
 "I am not that sort of man."

Said the robber, "You're a scholar,
 "So you can explain, of course,
 "Why you take a stolen dollar,
 "But refuse a stolen horse!"

"Men cannot break that vital law of the social organization, the law of equal freedom, without penalties in some way or other coming round to them. Being themselves members of the community they are affected by whatever affects it. Upon the goodness or badness of its state depends the greater or lesser efficiency with which it administers to their wants, and the lesser or greater amount of evil it inflicts upon them, they feel the cumulative result of all sins against the moral law, their own sins included, and they suffer for those sins not only in extra restraints and alarms, but in the extra labor and expense required to compass their ends. The citizen must see that his own life can become what it should be, only as fast as society becomes what it should be. In short, he must become impressed with the salutary truth that no one can be free till all are free; no one can be perfectly moral till all are moral, and no one

can be perfectly happy till all are happy." — *Herbert Spencer*.

Liverpool, one of the civilized cities of the world is referred to as the "city famous for its poor." Think of a city being *famous* for its poor! Is civilization a failure? Has our progress of the past centuries been in vain? It would seem so when cities become famous for the number of their population to whom all the advance of the centuries has been inadequate to get for them decent living conditions. A great civilization ours, when vast numbers are shut out from partaking of it.

We are just entering the densest belt of Dark Ages of Capitalism. From it we shall emerge into the light of Socialism. The signs about us are abundant that capitalism is breaking down. Social evolution marches on. One social system succeeds another, just as the man is the heir of the boy. Capitalism must go!

Shots at Capitalism.

President Roosevelt is reported as saying: "I have little respect for a man who does not put himself in a position to provide and retain enough material means to support comfortably those who are dependent upon him." My admiration for Teddy, never over large, is growing beautifully smaller every day. The trouble with our strenuous president is that he talks too much—shoots off his mouth at random without weighing well the meaning of his words. He seems to be a very impulsive cuss, and if he were the editor of a great paper like *The Leader Clarion* he would have to eat his words every week. When a man says he has no respect for a man who can't make money, he says, in substance, that he has a profound contempt for at least 75 per cent. of the American people.—Silver Joe Konkell in *Superior Clarion-Leader*.

In reply to a question we may say that it isn't Socialism that will take away the incentive of the people. Capitalism is the guilty one. What does the capitalist treadmill do to the millions it controls? Does it leave them much incentive? It herds men and women and children in factories, prescribes the standard of their homes—or the hovels many of them have to call homes—tells them what food they can and what they cannot eat, hands out the quality of clothes they are permitted to wear, in fact, makes routine of their entire waking hours. It allows them no initiative and no opportunity to exercise such a faculty.

Socialism will come to the res-

cue. It will give every industrious person leisure to use the understanding, to exercise the mental faculties and the wholesome ambitions. It will give them time in which to plan and to acquire praiseworthy purposes. The bread and butter duty to society will be the least of their duties to their kind and to their community.

After bearing all kinds of injustice and official imposition the postal clerks of the country have formed a labor union and affiliated themselves with the A. F. of L. The clerks have been the Cinderellas of the postal system. While the carriers were smart enough to band together and get shorter hours and to force more respect from their superiors, the clerks have been worked long hours without extra pay, sometimes putting in ten and eleven hours—the rule being that they must continue at work till all the mail on hand is sorted. The men stood this sort of thing till there was nothing left for them but to organize, and once the idea of forming a union developed, there was nothing to stop it. They will go through fire and water to maintain their rights, now.

The national organization has just been perfected at Chicago. Previously local unions had been formed at St. Louis, Louisville, Milwaukee, Chicago, San Francisco, Salt Lake City, and other cities. E. D. Gotra of Chicago was chosen president of the national organization and J. E. Pfifer of Milwaukee secretary. An amusing incident in connection with the formation of the national body was that Post-

master Busse of Chicago immediately left in hot haste for Washington to consult the powers that be about it. But from all the evidences the national government will not dare to interfere with the men's right to organize for mutual protection. The organization of the clerks will doubtless be followed by other grades of postal employes, for they are all learning that as long as the government is in the hands of capitalist politicians they must be on the defensive.

The scientists are now passing the commercialism of the present day under their merciless lenses. Here is what Prof. Lester Ward says about the foundation of business in his "Pure Sociology:"

Deception may almost be called the foundation of business. It is true that if all business men would altogether discard it, matters would probably be far better even for them than they are, but taking the human character as it is, it is frankly avowed by business men themselves that no business could succeed for a single year if it were to attempt single-handed and alone to adopt such an innovation. The particular form of deception characteristic of business is called shrewdness, and is universally considered proper and upright. There is a sort of code that fixes the limit beyond which this form of deception must not be carried, and those who exceed that limit are looked upon somewhat as is a pugilist who "hits below the belt." But within those limits every one expects to suggest the false and suppress the true.

Collier's Weekly: "Among the 55 Labor men who have just been elected to Great Britain's Parliament are nine miners, seven railroad men (engineers, brakemen, navvies), five factory hands, four printers, three shop clerks, two carpenters, two gas workers and general laborers, two steel smelters, two shipwrights, one barge builder, one cooper, one furniture maker, one watch case maker, one laster, one blacksmith and one agricultural laborer. These men enter the great hall of William Rufus and sit, many of them in workingman's dress, as successors to Hampden, Pitt, Fox and Gladstone. No more important or significant event has been flashed across the wire from England in fifty—perhaps in a hundred—years. It is doubtful if any more significant event has occurred in the world during the same period."

What must we think of the position of William Jennings Bryan, who tells the vast welcoming crowd in New York that he is in favor of public ownership "where competition is impossible!" Almost every school boy knows that the main feature of modern industrial evolution is business concentration, and business concentration means the elimination of competition to just that extent. So that if Mr. Bryan will stand by the logic of his assertion he is not far at variance with the Socialists, who also hold for collective ownership of all industry when it has had enough of competition eliminated to make such socialization possible.

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