

THE VANGUARD

A Magazine of Modern Thought
and Social Progress.



EDITED BY J. M. A. SPENCE.



VOLUME III.

September 1904 — September 1905.



MILWAUKEE:
SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PUBLISHING CO.,
344 SIXTH STREET.

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J. M. A. SPENCE, Editor, Green Bay, Wis.

The Vanguard is published monthly by the Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Co., 344 Sixth Street, Milwaukee, Wis. Application is made for entry at the Milwaukee Post Office as second class mail matter.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

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THE VANGUARD.

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

VOL. 3.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., SEPTEMBER, 1904.

No. 1.

I venture to say that history does not afford anything like a parallel to the Socialist movement. There has been nothing like it. It is the only movement of modern times that has one drop of blood in it, one spark of fire, one ray of hope. Its face is toward the future. It has sprung from no momentary impulse. It is the product of no temporary passion. It comes not from the caves and dens of ignorance. It builds its fair structure on no foundation of tradition or superstition. Back of this Socialist movement, which is overspreading Europe and permeating America, are the greatest forces of history and life. It is the product of science, of knowledge, of freedom of thought, of democratic ideals and experience. Back of it is enlightenment, progress, power. It is the uprising of humanity. It is the utterance of that in human life which the priests of tradition and the politicians of expediency have never dreamed of. On its broad bosom float the hopes and joys and fulfillments of humanity. Nothing stays its course. It comes up the east like the dawn. It rolls onward to its fulfillment with the rhythm and swing of the planets in their orbits. Gravitation is not more elemental or sure than the triumph of this vast struggle of humanity for its long deferred rights. To know this movement, to breathe in its atmosphere, to co-operate in its consummation, is to live—nothing else is.

REV. WILLIAM THURSTON BROWN.

A vote for Socialism will not be thrown away.

The Co-operative Commonwealth is coming in our time.

"White flesh is cheap today! White souls are cheaper still."

A vote for Socialism is a vote for justice, for decency, for manhood and higher civilization.

Capitalism stands for exploitation and graft, for child-labor and prostitution, for ruined homes and blighted lives.

Theodore Mommsen, the great historian, recently said: "At the present time the Socialist party is the only great party worthy of respect." It is the party of social conscience.

In ten years, from 1890 to 1900, the Socialist vote of the world grew from 1,600,000 to 3,500,000. In the three

years, 1900 to 1903, the vote swelled to 8,000,000. This year—well, watch Socialism grow!

During the last years of her life, Frances E. Willard was an avowed Socialist. She saw in Socialism the only reasonable hope for the extermination of the liquor evil by the elimination of all profits from its management.

"The Socialists have for years been in control in the city council of Berlin, Germany," writes Wm. E. Curtis, in the Chicago Record-Herald, "and it may not be a coincidence only that experts in municipal problems are almost unanimous in the opinion that the city government of Berlin comes nearer to the ideal than that of any other great city in the world."

Objections urged against Socialism are due to ignorance of what it is and what it proposes to accomplish. And it is a common trick of capitalist politicians and preachers, when pretending to discuss Socialism, to talk of some-

thing entirely foreign to it. Thinking people are now detecting this fraud. Read up on Socialism and your prejudices will vanish.

Is Socialism a dream? No! It is the most practical and pressing political development of today. That is why it is worrying the old party politicians so much. They are at a loss to know how to answer its logic or stem the tide of Socialist sentiment that rises higher every moment.

Socialism does not deal directly with religion, but indirectly it has much to do with it and will greatly aid the cause of Christ. Socialists demand an industrial order in which the principles of true religion may be put into practice, as they cannot be under the present system of grab and graft. "Christianity is only possible in a society organized on the co-operative basis." If the churches took the teaching of Jesus seriously they would be in the vanguard of the Socialist movement.

Socialism does not deal directly with marriage, but indirectly it will do much to promote purer and happier relations in this direction. Ministers are just now discussing the increase of the "divorce evil," but it does not seem to occur to them that this has its real origin in the capitalistic system which has put marriage, with everything else, on the commercial basis. The hard conditions of existence drive thousands of women to enter the marriage state with almost the first man who offers himself regardless of love, with the result that before long the mistake is discovered and relief is sought in divorce. Not until woman is economically free will this "problem" be solved. Socialism, instead of abolishing marriage, will make the real love marriage possible for all.

Far from destroying the sanctity of the home, Socialism will make happier and more comfortable homes than are to be found today. Two-thirds of the families in the United States are compelled to live on less than \$900 a year, and yet our present productive power is such that if every worker received the full product of his labor, the average family might enjoy an income of at least \$4,000 yearly. Are you in favor of a system that will give you all you earn? Do you want all the wealth which you

produce by use of your brains and hands? Or do you prefer to give the Baers and Rockefellers and the big gamblers a cinch on over 50 per cent of all the creations of your labor? If you want your own and desire others to have their own, then you are a Socialist.

"We wonder at the growth of Socialism," says the Catholic Telegraph, "but have we any reason to wonder? Is it not growing fastest where the pulpits are continually preaching patience and resignation to labor and neglecting to tell capital that defrauding the laborer of his wages is a sin crying to heaven for vengeance?" Coming from a Catholic editor this is significant and encouraging. But will the editor please tell us how the laborer can possibly receive his own, the full product of his labor, and leave anything for the capitalists? And if labor is not entitled to all that it produces, then will he tell us who has a legitimate claim to the wealth produced by labor? ?

What do the capitalist parties propose to do toward abolishing child-labor, sweatshops, prostitution, etc.? Nothing. There is not a word in their platforms touching these matters for the reason that the conditions which produce these evils are precisely the conditions which produce dividends for the capitalist class. The legislation proposed by "reformers" of the La Follette type and the charity doled out by such "philanthropists" as Carnegie amount to nothing so long as the capitalist class possesses the tools of production and can regulate wages and prices so as to secure the larger part of labor's product. Even though the capitalists, from motives of humanity or self-interest, may make concessions concerning conditions of employment, the workers are little better off. "Wage slaves under better conditions remain wage slaves still." And wage slavery breeds misery and crime.

Here is a prophetic word from a recent sermon by Rev. E. G. Updike of the First Congregational church, Madison, Wis.: "We are entering, as a people, upon a great struggle, which will be an irrepressible conflict as surely as was the war which gave the slave his freedom. One party will have great power—the power of corporate wealth. It will be an oligarchy. The other party

will be of the people. The oligarchy will proclaim that civilization and all its glories will perish if the masses are permitted to gain control of all the means of wealth. The party of the people will go forward to meet the issue, and will do it in the name of patriotism. It will establish a government of the people and by the people and for the people. A commercialized government for a favored few will then be an impossibility. Every man must take sides in this conflict."

'GENE DEBS.

"And there's Gene Debs, a man 'at stands,
And jest holds out in his two hands,
As warm a heart as ever beat
Betwixt here and the judgment seat."

Thus writes James Whitcomb Riley, the celebrated "Hoosier poet," out of a life-long and intimate acquaintance with our great-hearted comrade and candidate for president on the Socialist ticket.

Eugene Field, "the children's poet," was also Debs' warm friend, and while the labor leader was undergoing imprisonment for principle, sent him many letters of brotherly sympathy. He was the first to offer bail for Debs during the trying days following his arrest under Cleveland's plutocratic administration. Speaking of him to a friend, the poet said: "Gene Debs is the most lovable man I ever knew. Debs is sincere. His heart is as gentle as a woman's and as fresh as a mountain brook. If Debs were a preacher, the world would listen to his eloquence, and that gentle, musical voice and sad, sweet smile would soften the hardest heart."

The following is taken from a recent issue of the daily paper of Terre Haute, the home of Comrade Debs: Yesterday afternoon a tall, commanding figure with the breezy and refreshing air of the plains attracted considerable attention at the Union Station. He was here but a few minutes, and left for Vincennes, where he lectured last night. It was Captain Jack Crawford, the poet-scout and one of the favorites of the lecture platform. "Is Gene Debs here now?" he asked a reporter who approached him. "Gene Debs is one of God's anointed sons—none better. I have never been able to see through Gene's political philosophy, but he is a lovely character—the very salt of the earth. He's a real man, I tell you. Real

men are scarce when you measure them up to the Gene Debs' standard. I have been with Debs a great deal in Chautauqua work and the more I see of him the better I like him. Been down south in a debate, eh? I sympathize with the other fellow. Well, here's my train. Luck to you. Give my love to Gene. Goody bye"—and Captain Jack was gone.

"Of all the speakers whom I have heard," says Rev. Frank Talmage, of Chicago, "there has not been one which came nearer to my idea of Abraham Lincoln than Eugene Debs."

STANDING PAT.

"We intend in the future to carry on the government in the same way that we have carried it on in the past." President Roosevelt's Letter of acceptance.

"It is possible to-day, with dollars, to 'steer' the selection of the candidates of both the great parties for the highest office in our republic, that of president of the United States."—Millionaire T. W. Lawson, in Everybody's Magazine.

"We have arranged the program for both parties, and are willing that the voters should exercise their choice of men."—James Buel, Secretary National Bankers' Association.

There you have it, in plain language—the open confession and boast of capitalism which ought to cause every American to blush for shame. Yet we are told that those who protest against this domination of the money power are "demagogues" and disturbers of the peace; and that we should "let well enough alone." What wretched sycophancy! What abject cowardice! If anything were needed to show the degradation of manhood wrought by capitalism, this miserable attitude furnishes it.

Shall we tamely submit? Shall we hold our peace? Shall we lie down and let plutocracy trample over us? Shall we continue to allow the manipulators of Wall Street to determine who shall be our highest officers and what shall be the legislation of Congress? Shall we continue to allow corporate greed to make its daily levy on food, fuel and our entire substance? This is what "standing pat" means. This is "the program for both parties" which Secretary Buel tells us has been "arranged." Let us answer "No!" with a million votes for the Socialist party.

MOVING TOWARD SOCIALISM.

By **EUGENE V. DEBS.**



few years ago the Socialist philosophy was spurned as irrational and impossible and its exponents were looked upon as foolish fanatics by thoughtful men in the United States.

During the last decade a profound change has taken place with reference to Socialism. Many thousands who once rejected it with scorn are now among its staunchest supporters. Newspapers, magazines and periodicals are discussing it; rulers, statesmen and politicians are worried about it; ministers, teachers and moralists are descanting upon it, and every day it becomes more apparent that a new and vital problem has presented itself.

The change in the popular mind in regard to Socialism is not due solely, nor even mainly, to mental processes. The many "converts" to the Socialist philosophy may not credit their intellectual faculties alone for seeing the light, but are indebted primarily, as a rule, to economic necessity, the growing insecurity in the means of making a livelihood as the result of the concentration of capital and other changes in the economic structure of society that are rapidly transforming our boasted republic into an industrial despotism.

No greater mistake was ever made than to suppose that Socialism is a dream and that "human nature" must be excluded before it can be realized. It is just because "human nature" is as it is that Socialism is inevitable.

Socialism is neither a dream nor a scheme, but a theory of society based upon the principles of social evolution, the trend of which is so clearly indicated in the changes daily taking place before our very eyes that the wonder is that any man with the ordinary power of observation can fail to see that the economic foundations of society are shaping for a superstructure of Socialism, and that it will be Socialism because it can be nothing else.

Not long after the congressional elections of 1902 the Rev. Lyman Abbott, taking notice of the great increase in the Socialist vote, said: "Socialism is inevitable." In a lecture recently delivered the same eminent divine rudely disturbed the calm in conservative circles by saying: "Our industries must be democratized; if different small bodies of men are to control all our domestic necessities, where goes our democracy? The democratizing of industry means the distribution of wealth. The labor problem can never be solved as long as one set of men owns the tools (machinery) and another set uses them. When all those connected with one industry become together owners and users, then will come the harmony and union which have been so long striven for."

The economics of Socialism are embodied in this revolutionary utterance. Production of wealth is now a social function and the means of production must be socially owned unless society is to disintegrate and civilization to turn backward toward barbarism.

The toolless worker is an industrial slave.

The tool-owning capitalist is an industrial master.

They are the dominant types of commercial society. They represent two powerful and antagonistic classes. There can be no permanent peace between them. The intervals of quiet are but breathing moments between outbreaks. Their economic interests are irreconcilable.

The violent and bloody upheaval in Colorado proves it.

The grewsome packing trades strike in Chicago bears witness to it.

The Citizens' Alliance and the trades union movement are the incarnation of it.

There is war between them to the death.

* * * * *

Workers at last are waking. The cry that there are "no classes" in this country deceives them no longer.

It is true that President Roosevelt anathematizes the demagogues who "array class against class in the American republic," but it is barely possible that within a generation or two the demagogues and demigods of this day may exchange places.

The mine slaves of Pennsylvania are not in the same class with Harry Lehr and William Waldorf Astor, President Roosevelt to the contrary notwithstanding.

The development of the capitalist system has produced economic classes and arrayed them against each other in every civilized land on earth, be it autocratic Russia, monarchic Germany or free America. They differ only in degree of development.

In the presence of this world-wide evolution, to charge individuals with arraying these two classes against each other is like accusing the whitecaps on the crests of stirring up the mighty deep.

David M. Parry is doing as much to array class against class as any other individual, though he aims at the opposite effect.

The slave owners of the south were the chief instrumentalities in their own overthrow.

The tool owners of capitalism are being shaped for similar ends.

The late Senator Hanna was discerning enough to foresee what was coming when he predicted that the great struggle of the future would be between the Republican party and the Socialists.

It requires rare discrimination to choose between the Republican and Democratic parties. Ninety percent of the voters could not tell the platforms apart. There is scarcely an issue between them and certainly none, nor the shadow of one, so far as the working class is concerned.

Political parties express the economic interests of classes. The Republican party represents the dominant capitalist class, the Democratic party the small capitalists. The latter are being worsted as a class and their party is tottering on its foundations. It is today in all essential respects a Republican party. This is all that holds it together and even in spite of this it is disintegrating.

As the middle class crumbles the Democratic party tumbles.

In the coming phases of the class struggle there will be room for but two parties—namely, a working class party and a capitalist class party. The capitalists know that this political alignment is fatal to them and are doing all in their power to prevent it. But they are pitted against the inexorable laws of industrial evolution and sooner or later

the alignment will be made and the working classes will triumph over their exploiters.

The Republican and Democratic parties have united at every point where the one or the other was menaced by Socialist success. These are infallible signs of the coming political alignment based upon economic class interests. The capitalists will go to the Republican party and the workers to the Socialist party. The Democratic party will go out of business.

The waked-up workers of the country say it is a class struggle. The capitalists deny it. Every day's development emphasizes it. It is so clearly revealed in the packinghouse strike that only the purblind fail to see it. The capitalists are one. So are the workers. Their opposing economic interests separate them. What one gains is at the loss of the other.

Upon that basis they will sooner or later meet on the political battlefield.

* * * * *

Every defeat on economic grounds recruits the army on the political field.

Trades unionists take their final degree in the Socialist party.

Capitalists are shortsighted when they rejoice over the success of a lockout or the defeat of a strike.

When the capitalists have won strikes enough the Socialists will have votes enough to retire them from business.

The armies of workers are becoming organized not only as a union of labor but, what is more, as a party of the working class. They need only to become conscious of their power as a class to abolish every form of servitude and rule the world.

The workers are just learning to vote as they strike—as a class and against the class that exploits them. They are being forced by economic necessity into consciousness of their class interests and in that ratio the Socialist party is growing.

Four years ago the Socialist party was credited with less than 100,000 votes. There will be an extraordinary increase this year.

Capitalist prosperity has reached its limit. Hard times are setting in. The vast surplus that labor produces and that labor needs but can not buy, periodically congest the market and then labor has to go idle, hungry and naked until the surplus can be worked off.

Production for use versus production for profit is the only remedy.

Men are better than millionaires and mendicants.

Homes are better than castles and hovels.

Freedom is better than despotism; and freedom for all is the mission of the Socialist movement.

Capitalism has almost run its course. The old system is breaking down. The Colorado and Chicago eruptions are symptoms of the degeneration that has attacked the body economic of the capitalist system and these eruptions are apt to spread over the entire body.

There is no cause for alarm. Society is but reconstructing itself and the process is eternal. These are transition days—eventful, stirring and full of promise for the working class and all mankind.

As long as there is a "working class" and a "labor market" there will be a class conflict that will preclude social peace.

When all are useful workers and all have equal opportunity to produce wealth and enjoy it there will be no classes and no animal struggle for existence.

This will be only when the workers own the tools and produce wealth for themselves. To procure these they must first secure control of government and this is why the labor question is essentially a political question. When the working class succeeds to political power it will be easy to put the workers in possession of their tools and emancipate them from wage slavery.

Industrial self-government is necessary to political self-government and both are vital to a free nation.

Ernest T. Kelly



CAPITALISM AT "WORK."

To Abolish this Cruel System, Vote the Socialist Ticket.

SOCIALISM MEANS FREEDOM.

By VICTOR L. BERGER.



HE first and greatest demand of man's nature is to be free. The second is the opportunity to better his condition. Freedom and opportunity make the pursuit of happiness possible. And happiness is after all the aim and object of all men.

Now, to begin with, are we free?

It is true, state constitutions, party platforms, preambles, etc., usually call the inhabitants of this country a free people. But to call a man free does not make him so. To call a country a republic does not mean that the people rule.

What does it mean to be free? For one to be master of the conditions of his own life, or at least to enjoy an equal right for an existence with everybody else.

What is it to be a slave? To be compelled to accept the conditions of another for the privilege of existing. Whoever controls the conditions by which I live is my master. If a man has to sell himself, i. e., his time, to another individual in order to make a living, his life depends upon somebody else. It is resurrecting slavery when my labor must sell like corn and cattle to the highest bidder. To show me a printed piece of paper wherein it is stated that I am free and born equal with my master means to mock my misery. It is foolishness to say that a workingman is free to accept the terms of the employer or to reject them. The laborer must accept. When the alternative is starvation or exile, it is preposterous to talk about freedom of contract. If the workingman were at least as sure of shelter, clothing and food as are his employers, then there would be some freedom of contract—now there is not. The necessity that compels me to toil for another makes me the owner's slave.

And in some aspects this modern form of slavery is even worse than the old one. The old slave was at least sure of getting work and being taken care of under all circumstances, even when sick or old. For, the chattel slave represented capital that belonged to his master. A good slave was worth \$1,500—or even more, sometimes—and a capitalist will take good care of a \$1,500 horse or a \$1,500 machine, we know. So the chattel slave got good medical treatment when sick and was cared for when old, for if he could not do much work he could do a little, which was better than nothing.

How about the wage slave? Does the employer, who often does not even know him by name, care when he is sick? Or when he is old? The employer loses nothing by his perishing. There are plenty waiting for a chance to take his place.

There are now about half a million workingmen idle all the year round—during the so-called “good times,” although willing to work and depending on work for a support of their families. There are now over three million men idle part of the year, during periods extending from six weeks to eight months, also during the “good times.” The number of unemployed reaches four millions during “hard times.”

Talk about patriotism. About the "Stars and Stripes." What is left the poor tramp but the "Stars and stripes? The stars above him when he camps in the free air in summer and the "stripes" upon him when he is sent to the house of "correction" in winter.

Talk about patriotism, and then look at the conditions in Colorado.

But they tell us that the economic side of it is the necessary effect of machinery. That machinery "saves labor."

But we ask: Did Genius brood over books and drawings, work about models and laboratories to lift the burden from the laborer's back and give the toiler time for mental feasts and domestic pleasures? Or did the genius of humanity intend that by his achievements millions of human beings shall be retired to their miserable abodes and die there of hunger and want?

That is provided they do not prefer to leave their homes and families and become tramps.

We understand that under the present economic system this can not be changed. That the workingman cannot get the full value of his product because the employer (the capitalist) must nowadays make a profit on the work of his laborers. That this is considered perfectly right and legal and necessary. That if the capitalist, the owner of the machinery and the raw material, does not see any profit in engaging workmen for the purpose of producing, he will not produce. That his selfishness is excusable and necessary.

If the spirit of selfishness is to predominate and control the entire human race—so are WE selfish. And since we cannot help ourselves individually, since the means of production are so concentrated now that only in collective form can they be returned to us, OUR selfishness has taken a COLLECTIVE FORM. And the progress of the age and the existence of civilization depends upon the success of OUR selfishness.

We must help all in order to help one. And that is our aim. That is the aim of Socialism. And if we cannot get all of it at once, we want to get as much of it NOW as we possibly can.

We Socialists protest against deifying cash and demonizing man. We fight against exalting the products of labor and degrading the laborer. We insist that a brave, industrious man, factory worker or farmer, who lives and loves, is worth infinitely more than a pile of gold or a package of greenbacks. We demand that even today in every industry requiring dead capital and living work—cash and labor—the MAN should be considered the more important of the two.

We resent refined brutality that excuses enforced idleness and its concomitant evils—misery, starvation and shame—by arguing that the "price of labor must be regulated by the law of supply and demand." If labor is to be regulated by the law of supply and demand then we, the producers, want to have the control of the supply and the demand. And there is only one way to do it, i. e., by public ownership.

STATISTICS FOR VOTERS.

By **EX-SEN. R. A. DAGUE, California.**

Since 1850 improved machinery has increased the productivity of labor forty fold. The late Mr. Gladstone said: "By the aid of machinery the manufacturing power of the world doubles every seven years."

Since 1850 the machinery of England has done the work of 700,000,000 men as they worked a century ago. According to the census reports of the United States the aggregate manufacturing power in 1900 was 11,300,081 horse-power, as compared to 2,000,000 horse-power in 1870.

Professor Huxley, discussing the marvelous productivity of the machine, said: "If this wonderful productivity of wealth is not to be used in bettering the condition of the working people but is to continue to pour into the pockets of the rich, then I would hail the advent of some kindly comet that would sweep the whole thing away."

The late Senator Hanna said: "The production in the United States is one-third larger than our consumption."

Senator Chauncey Depew in 1900 said: "The American people produced \$2,000,000,000 more than they consume. It is because of this surplus production of all civilized countries that the guns are thundering at the gates of other nations that foreign markets may be opened up."

Do the people who produce this vast surplus get the benefit of it? Let us see: Thos. W. Lawson, late partner of John and William Rockefeller, recently said that in a single deal made last year they made a clean profit of \$39,000,000.

Since 1897 the necessities of life have on an average advanced 39 per cent, while wages have on an average advanced but 10 per cent during the same period. The census reports show that the average annual product of each worker was, in 1900, valued at \$2,450, while the average wage he received was \$437.00. To get \$1.00 for himself the worker must create \$6.00 worth of value.

The statistics show that in 1850 the total wealth of the United States was \$3,000,000,000. The producers' share was 62½ per cent; the non-producers' share was 37½ per cent.

In 1904 the total wealth is about \$100,000,000,000. The producers' share is estimated at 10 per cent; the non-producers' about 90 per cent.

There are in the United States 16,000,000 families. 8,365,000 families live in rented houses, and the houses of 4,700,000 families are mortgaged.

Dr. Spahr, the statistician, says: "One per cent of the American people own 54 per cent of all the wealth."

Since 1850 crime in the United States has increased 600 per cent and insanity 700 per cent.

Dunn's Review estimates that 95 per cent of the smaller business men sooner or later fail.

Rabbi Hirsch, the scholar and orator of Chicago, says: "The powerful of earth should realize that we are in the midst of the same conditions that existed in France which brought on the Revolution. The rich and powerful classes in France refused to take warning from what was going on about them and relied upon the power which they fancied

they had. The revolution came like the eruption of a volcano, and we in America should take warning. Right now we are standing over a volcano which may burst forth with all the fury of Pelee."

What does the Republican party propose to do in the face of this alarming condition of things? Nothing worth mentioning except to continue maintain a high tariff. What does the Democratic party propose? Very little, except to maintain a tariff a little lower than the Republicans.

Members of both those parties are organizing "Citizens' Alliances" the object of which is to stamp out labor organizations, and to prevent working people from increasing their wages or shortening their hours of toil.

What does the Socialist party propose? It says the despoiling of the producers of wealth—the working people—must stop or this Republic will go down as have other governments, because the wealth and all the tools of production had drifted into the hands of the few. Socialism says: "Let the workers, either with head or havel—in every useful industry have the full product of their toil. Let the nation own the trusts."

Voter: What ticket will you cast November next?

Socialism is industrial democracy. Our present development of industry is all right, only it lacks the one humane and necessary ingredient: a collective ownership of the productive forces in order that those who work shall have the full return of their labors. The man who votes against this great change, votes to keep the workers in misery and torment in order that the few may surfeit on the toil of the rest.

SOCIALISM IN BRIEF.

By H. F. TITUS.

In one word, Socialism proposes to get Wealth for all. Plenty of the good things of life for everybody. A fine house to live in, fine furniture in it and fine lawns and trees about it. A table loaded with good things to eat. Abundance of clothing, comfortable and elegant. Opportunity and means to travel all over the world. Leisure to read and play and work. No poverty any more with its filth and sickness and vice. With all these things, Socialism will get the consequences of all these things, a natural human development, large, healthy, noble men and women, a happy, energetic, progressive race.

You say all this is a dream? No, no dream at all, but an immediate possibility. By means of the vast new machinery of this modern world, we can produce wealth enough for all without any trouble whatever. A modern cotton mill in place of the old hand-loom, a modern railroad in place of the old stage-coach, a modern Electric Light Company in place of the old candle-mould, a modern shoe factory in place of the old bench shoemaker, by means of these new appliances a man can produce a hundred or a thousand times as much wealth as in the times of our fathers.

There is no doubt at all about this. Modern inventions have so increased the productive capacity of civilized mankind that all men could have abundance of wealth by working only three or four hours a day.

Socialism proposes to get this abundance for all.

In order to get this abundance for all, we must do something. We are not getting it now. What shall we do to get it?

Socialism proposes something very definite to do. It is this: Take to ourselves these vast new inventions and use them for producing wealth for all instead of producing it for a few.

The only reason we are not all well off now is that a few people own these great modern tools and refuse to let us work at them except when they can make a profit for themselves. The fact is, not more than half of us are allowed by these capitalists, or great machine owners, to work even half the time. If we owned these factories and railroads and mines and mills ourselves and all of us worked at them to produce wealth for our own use and happiness, all the troubles of poverty would disappear at once.

The only thing that lies between us and the promised land is this private ownership of the means of producing wealth.

Therefore, what Socialism proposes to DO, in order to get wealth for all, is to take possession of the Instruments of Wealth Production and run them for the use of all.

There are some newspaper liars at large in Peoria, Ills., and as a consequence the Socialists who have been holding street meetings have been misrepresented in a most shameful way in the press. These papers have inspired some of the fool policemen in that city to make themselves officious, one of them interrupting a meeting and calling the speaker an "anarchist and a liar." Reminds us of the copper who stopped a meeting on the lake front, Chicago, where the Declaration of Independence was being read, saying, "I'll have no more of that anarchistic stuff, d'ye hear, you——!"

DEFINITIONS OF SOCIALISM.

The collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. A theory of society that advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed. (Webster's Dictionary.)

A science of reconstructing society on an entirely new basis, by substituting the principle of association for that of competition in every branch of human industry. (Worcester's Dictionary.)

A theory that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor and capital (as distinguished from property), and the public collective management of all industries. Its motto is: "Everyone according to his deeds." (Standard Dictionary.)

A FORTUNE BUILT ON MISERY.

"The Democratic party is prating of a return to 'Jeffersonian simplicity.' Shades of the great Thomas J. himself! You should see the home of Henry G. Davis, the party's Vice-Presidential candidate. It is a palace fit for an emperor. It surpasses in splendor every dwelling place in West Virginia save the home of the Republican United States Senator Stephen B. Elkins, who, by the way, is a son-in-law of Mr. Davis."

"While Henry G. Davis lives in a style that is truly royal, the poor miners who delve in the bowels of the earth and bring forth the wealth that pays for all the Davis splendor, are themselves housed like cattle. No dog or horse owned by Mr. Davis would be allowed to dwell for a day in the miserable shacks where the miners of his coal camp live. The rich man's dog and horse must have the comfort and convenience of life, but the poor human slaves who produce the rich man's wealth must be satisfied with a place to crawl into and sleep. Yet millions of workingmen by their vote next November will declare that the continuance of this pitiful economic contrast is right and proper."—M. W. Wilkins, Socialist organizer, now in West Virginia.

POINTED PARAGRAPHS.

By FREDERIC HEATH.

Martin Luther said that a plague was preferable to war. But both plague and war are inseparable from the capitalist system.

The sin and suffering of the wholesale human slaughter called war! The mingling of human depravity and suffering that is covered up by the panoply of rub-a-dub-dub and flying flags, and brass buttons and braid and padded shoulders and military discipline.

It is a funny position the churches are in, the churches that are founded on the teachings of Jesus. When they oppose Socialism in the interests of their wealthy members they stultify their own principles of brotherhood and unselfishness and show how faulty is their conception of those principles.

We don't blame Father Sherman for declaring that he was through speaking in Wisconsin. It is no wonder he quit in a panic. For his half-insane and frenzied ravings about Socialism disgusted even the people of his own religion and even turned some of them toward Socialism.

Here's an odd fact: Every man who spends his life in long daily hours of industry under the wage system is practically certain to die poor! He has a remote chance to escape poverty by some lucky stroke or speculation, or may invent something that will relieve him of the necessity for toiling for bread, but please note that it isn't industry that rescues him, but some chance by which he can cease being pro-

ductively industrious, while others yield up a tribute to him. If you had the interests of all the people at heart, could you by any possibility invent such a system!

Wisconsin Democrats, assisted by the corporation faction of the Republicans, have nominated ex-Gov. Peck for governor. Peck when governor before gave the state disgraceful administration including a dishonest roster contract job, by which money was to be stolen from the state treasury to keep a party paper alive.

Do you know what capitalist philanthropy is? Ever analyze it? It is worth doing. A very typical case of philanthropy "happened" in Milwaukee last week. The Northwestern Malleable Iron Works recently reduced the daily wages of its men twenty cents. Less than a week later it turned philanthropist and donated several hundred dollars to their basket picnic fund, and there are some among the employes who still think that they are in the company's debt! That was a stroke of simon-pure philanthropy, sure enough. It reminds us of a story. There was once a hunter who got lost in the woods and who was unable to shoot anything for food. Both he and his dog grew thin and finally when he could stand it no longer he hit upon a way to tide over the hunger pangs which both he and the dog suffered. With his hunting knife he hacked off the dog's tail and soon had it cooking over a little fire, ate half of it and *gave the other half to the dog!* Now in the grateful eyes of that dog.

that man was a top-notch of a philanthropist, and as he gnawed and gnawed on the vertebre of his own tail he stopped every little while to cast the most loving looks upon his master. You can apply the simile yourself!

Archbishop Messmer of Milwaukee made a Labor Day speech in Sheboygan before a Catholic society, Socialism being his theme. He would agree to the wisdom and the necessity for Socialism, he intimated, but for the fact that its real purpose was being withheld from the people, and was only known to an "inner circle." All rubbish, of course, but still a man of the archbishop's eminence can impose such nonsense on a good many people who regard him as a man who must know what he is talking about. The suppressed part of Socialism, he showed to be the Socialist hatred for private property, for religion, for the sacredness of the family, and the like. Socialism would take care of the children, he said, hence they were no concern of their parents and this left the people free to mate and unmate as frequently as they liked and so the family, under Socialism, would disappear! These are threadbare claims, and we have answered them time and again. Socialists hold that so far as the state is concerned religion is a private right of the individual, and must be respected as such. That story of Socialism taking the children away from their parents, thus disregarding the natural relation of parent to child and child to parent, never had a leg to stand on. No Socialist platform contains even a hint at such a thing, and the nearest to it that can be found in the private writings of Socialists, even

among the Bax sort, points out the probability that under Socialism the children would be not only compelled to go to school, but that society would also seek to safeguard them in their play-time from immoral contaminations, and to direct their play into channels where they could grow up wholesome, high minded and even athletic men and women. Some of the brainiest Socialists have written scientific books on the subject of the family. Such books were the private speculations of those who wrote them, but we have seen nothing in them that any man of scientific mind could not subscribe to. Instead of taking a stand against marriage and the home they take just the contrary stand, but they point out that marriage has always been influenced by the material conditions of the time and that therefore it would naturally, under the changed economic conditions of the Socialist commonwealth, undergo still further changes, due to the fact that woman would be no longer a dependent, and forced to sell herself into marriage to get a home. A home being easily provided, the number of the unmarried adults would be greatly diminished. Women would be no longer under the necessity to barter their virtue for bread and clothes, and prostitution as an institution of society would cease. People would marry for love, not for material considerations. Divorces for non-support would be naturally impossible, and the security and the permanence of the home would be vastly advanced. These slanders against Socialism which the archbishop is peddling were used long ago in Germany and were long ago exploded, and at the last election Social-Democracy made its best gains in the Catholic districts. The archbishop better take warning!

WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT.

WENONAH STEVENS ABBOTT, Editor.

Under this caption, inquiries will be answered as rapidly as possible.
Communications for the editor should be addressed to Station M, Chicago.

LET'S TALK IT OVER.

M. H. D. asks whether I believe the rich of our day are less merciful than old-time nobility. Yes, I believe the new-rich more merciless, because they are born in the midst of the animal struggle for existence and do not inherit the aristocrat's sense of honor, his dignity, or his feeling of accountability towards dependents. The heredity and environment of the new rich is such that they have not outgrown the egotism of the animal whose first thought must, of necessity, be for self. This is why they oppress babies, instead of suppressing child-labor.

J. C. S. asks whether all classes of workers ought to be unionized "as the first step toward the Co-operative Commonwealth." I think labor unions have a tendency to make workers class-conscious most of the year, and in this they are helpful. Labor unions are a step upwards, in that the strong aid the weak. But the great need is to make workers understand that **the only place where they are invincible is at the ballot box.** Until they know this, they know precious little!

WHAT CAN WOMEN DO IN THIS CAMPAIGN.

Ours is a crusade after children, with life, liberty and the opportunity to pursue happiness as stakes. Personally I confess that all else which I do is but incidental. If we can educate the young before they become selfish self-seekers, they will act in unison a few years hence and bring freedom into actual being. All which the political organization can do in this presidential campaign is to educate. That is our work also, and it is well that we women organize and study politics that we may be able to teach children the reason for the establishment of true democracy.

The youths of today will be the majority voters of 1908 and 1912. Their

ballots will decide the fate of the nation then and the side that wins these young people to its banner is the side which will reap success. This is women's part of the battle, it is our great opportunity and can only be met by a determined organization of women. Only by thus preparing for the future can we ever expect to win. This is our special place in the movement, though some of us are so constituted that, in addition to this, we can do active campaigning,

Woman's love for women and children will prove the incentive which leads to unselfish deeds and sends her fearlessly against the foe of oppression: and where women lead, the men will follow. With women's force in evidence, Socialism will win. Without it, success can not come. We Socialist women must make our entire country a school of liberty, for we are living in one of the great epoch-making periods when governments must evolve higher or go down. Our land must be saved by as well as for the children, and mothers must fit them for the task. Dare we evade this duty, knowing that the future civilization of our land depends upon our present action?

This campaign of children's education is our work. Let us see that it is so well done that in every school and college in the United States there will be ardent young Socialists arguing for the rights of mankind, better government, purer civilization and a Co-operative Commonwealth. Thus shall we convert even the recreation grounds of our public schools into fields for the study of public questions which will be answered right. When we have done our work thoroughly, individual selfishness will no longer crystallize into laws, for such laws could not be if the ignorance of the people did not permit their existence.

"Socialism Made Plain," by Allan L. Benson. A big book for Ten cents.

The trust is not wholly evil. It is a labor saving invention, eliminating waste and competition, and as such will remain. But it must be made to serve the people, not to crush them. So long as it exists as a private monopoly it will continue to plunder and oppress. No amount of "regulation" at the hands of old party politicians who thrive on the profit system will avail. No so-called anti-trust law can be devised to over-match the cunning of the capitalists so long as they retain the means of wealth and thereby control legislation. Our only hope lies in the collective ownership of the tools of production by means of which the people will get the benefit of the trust. Trusts are here to stay. Shall they be private or public? That is the question. The Socialist answer is: "Let the nation own the trusts." This is scientific; it is inevitable. To work and vote for Socialism is the duty of the hour.

The Republicans boast that theirs is a "business administration." So it is. But just what "business" stands for under the present system is clearly shown by Lincoln Steffens in his remarkable articles in McClure's Magazine entitled "Enemies of the Republic." This is what Mr. Steffens says: "Our political corruption is a system, a regularly established custom of the country, by which our political leaders are hired, by bribery, by license to loot, and by quiet, moral support, to conduct the government of city, state and nation, not for the common good, but for the special interests of private business. Not the politician, then, not the bribe-taker, but the bribe-giver, the man we are so proud of, our successful business man—he is the source and sustenance of our bad government.... The trail of the political leader and the trail of the commercial leader are parallels which mark the plain, main road that leads off the dead level of the cities, up through the states into the United States, out of the political ring into the system, the living system of our actual government. The highway of corruption is the 'road to success.'"

Socialists do not believe in confiscation or "dividing up." On the contrary they are heartily tired of the present system under which the workers are obliged to "divide" every dollar they make with drones who create nothing.

Capitalism is essentially a system of confiscation by means of which the wealth created by generations of workers has been gradually passing into the hands of a few until the appalling situation confronts us of less than 10 per cent of the population owning more than 90 per cent of the wealth of the country. Socialists say it is time to put a stop to this. Socialism would render further confiscation impossible. It would restore the machinery of wealth production to its rightful owners—the whole people. It would deprive no one of his possessions except the power to force others to create wealth for him.

The article of Millionaire Lawson, in Everybody's Magazine, is another startling expose of the rottenness of the capitalistic system which both old parties are pledged to uphold. After showing how Rogers and Rockefeller "made" \$36,000,000 at a "stroke" which amounted to the boldest robbery, Mr. Lawson says: "There exists today, uncontrolled, in the hands of a set of men, a power to make dollars from nothing. By a financial trick the people can be absolutely plundered of their savings for the benefit of the few. At no time in the history of the United States has the power of dollars been as great as now. Freedom and equity are controlled by dollars. The laws which should preserve and enforce all rights are made and enforced by dollars." Nor is this the saddest feature of the situation. "On the other hand," he concludes, "I have had to know about the horrors, the misfortunes, the early hell, which were the awful consequences of the taking of this vast amount. I have had to know about the convicts, the suicides, the broken hearts, the starvation and wretchedness, the ruined bodies and lost souls which strewed the fields of the 'system's' harvest."

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THE VANGUARD, MILWAUKEE



Socialist Headquarters.

To achieve the objects of Socialism, the American Socialists have formed the Socialist Party, now organized in all the States of the Union. In New York and Wisconsin, this party is known, for legal reasons, as the Social Democratic Party and in Minnesota as the Public Ownership Party.

NATIONAL SECRETARY: WILLIAM MAILLY, Boylston Bldg., 269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

SOCIALIST TICKET:



FOR PRESIDENT:

EUGENE V. DEBS of Indiana.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT:

BEN. HANFORD of New York.

OPENING OF THE GREAT CAMPAIGN.

Extracts from Speech of Eugene V. Debs,
at Indianapolis, September 1.

Mr. Chairman, Citizens and Comrades:

There has never been a free people, a civilized nation, a real republic on this earth. Human society has always consisted of masters and slaves, and the slaves have always been and are today, the foundation stones of the social fabric.

Wage-labor is but a name; wage-slavery is the fact.

The twenty-five millions of wage-workers in the United States are twenty-five millions of twentieth century slaves.

This is the plain meaning of what is known as

THE LABOR MARKET.

And the labor market follows the capitalist flag.

The most barbarous fact in all christendom is the labor market. The mere term sufficiently expresses the animalism of commercial civilization.

They who buy and they who sell in the labor market are alike dehumanized by the inhuman traffic in the brains and blood and bones of human beings.

The labor market is the foundation of so-called civilized society. Without these shambles, without this commerce in human life, this sacrifice of manhood and womanhood, this barter of babes, this sale of souls, the capitalist civilizations of all lands and all climes would crumble to ruin and perish from the earth.

Twenty-five millions of wage slaves are bought and sold daily at prevailing prices in the American Labor Market.

This is the

PARAMOUNT ISSUE

in the present national campaign

Let me say at the very threshold of this discussion that the workers have but the one issue in this campaign, the overthrow of the capitalist system and the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery.

The capitalists may have the tariff, finance, imperialism and

other dust-covered and moth-eaten issues entirely to themselves.

The rattle of these relics no longer deceives workmen whose heads are on their own shoulders.

They know by experience and observation that the gold standard, free silver, fiat money, protective tariff, free trade, imperialism and anti-imperialism all mean capitalist rule and wage slavery.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

We are entering tonight upon a momentous campaign. The struggle for political supremacy is not between political parties merely, as appears on the surface, but at bottom it is a life and death struggle between two hostile economic classes, the one the capitalist and the other the working class.

The capitalist class is represented by the Republican, Democratic, Populist and Prohibition parties, all of which stand for private ownership of the means of production and the triumph of any of which will mean continued wage slavery to the working class.

The Republican and Democratic parties, or, to be more exact, the Republican-Democratic party, represents the capitalist class in the class struggle. They are the political wings of the capitalist system and such differences as arise between them *relate to spoils and not to principles.*

Under the administration of both these parties the means of production are private property, production is carried forward for capitalist profit purely, markets are glutted and industry paralyzed, workmen become tramps and criminals, while injunctions, soldiers and riot guns are brought into action to preserve "law and order" in the chaotic carnival of capitalistic anarchy.

Deny it as may the cunning capitalists who are clear-sighted enough to perceive it, or ignore it as may the torpid workers who are too blind and unthinking to see it, the struggle in which we are engaged today is a class struggle, and as the toiling millions come to see and understand it and rally to the political standard of their class, they will drive all capitalist parties of whatever name into the same party, and the class struggle will then be so clearly revealed that the hosts of labor will find their true place in the conflict and strike the united and decisive blow that will destroy slavery and achieve their full and final emancipation.

ATTITUDE OF THE WORKERS.

What shall be the attitude of the workers of the United States in the present campaign? What part shall they have in it? What party and what principles shall they support by their ballots? **And why?**

The Socialist party stands squarely upon its proletarian principles and relies wholly upon the forces of industrial progress and the education of the working class.

The Socialist party buys no votes and promises no offices. Not a farthing is spent for whiskey or cigars. Every penny in the campaign fund is the voluntary offering of workers and their sympathizers and every penny is used for education.

What other parties can say the same?

Ignorance alone stands in the way of Socialist success. The capitalist parties understand this and use their resources to prevent the workers from seeing the light.

Intellectual darkness is essential to industrial slavery. Capitalist parties stand for Slavery and Night.

The Socialist party is the herald of Freedom and Light.

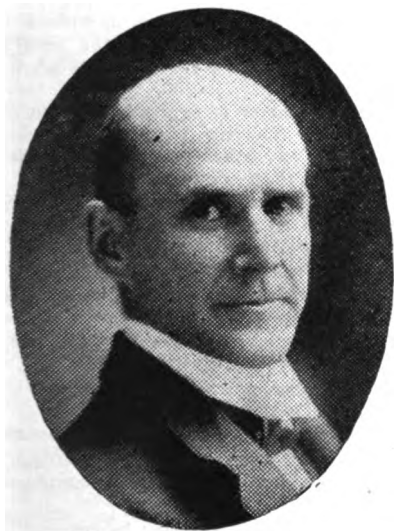
The Socialist party is uniting them upon the living issue: Death to Wage Slavery!

The ballot of united labor expresses the people's will and the people's will is the supreme law of a free nation.

The ballot means that labor is no longer dumb, that at last it has a voice, that it may be heard and if united must be heeded.

CAPITALIST PARTIES.

The Republican and Democratic parties are alike capitalist parties—differing only in being committed



to different sets of capitalist interests—they have the same principles under varying colors, *are equally corrupt* and are one in their subservience to capital and their hostility to labor.

The ignorant workingman who supports either of these parties forges his own fetters and is the unconscious author of his own misery.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Why should a workingman support the Republican party?

Why should a millionaire support the Socialist party?

For precisely the same reason that all the millionaires are opposed to the Socialist party, all the workers should be opposed to the Republican party. It is a capitalist party, is loyal to capitalist interests and entitled to the support of capitalist voters on election day.

All it has for workingmen is its "glorious past" and a "glad hand" when it wants their votes.

The Republican party is now and has been for several years in complete control of government. What has it done for labor. What has it not done for capital?

Not one of the crying abuses of capital has been curbed under Republican rule. Not one of the petitions of labor has been granted.

Read the national platform of the Republican party and see if there is in all its bombast a crumb of comfort for labor. The convention that adopted it was a capitalist convention and the only thought it had of labor was how to abstract its vote without waking it up.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

In referring to the Democratic party in this discussion we may save time by simply saying that since it was born again at the St. Louis convention it is near enough like its Republican ally to pass for a twin brother.

The labor platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties are interchangeable and non-redeemable. They both favor "justice to capital and justice to labor." This hoary old platitude is worse than meaningless. Justice to labor means that labor shall have what it pro-

duces. This leaves nothing for capitalist. Justice to labor means the end of capital.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS.

The Socialist party is not, and does not pretend to be, a capitalist party. It does not ask, nor does it expect the votes of the capitalist class. Such capitalists as do support it do so, seeing the approaching doom of the capitalist system and with a full understanding that the Socialist party is not a capitalist party, nor a middle class party, but a revolutionary working class party, whose historic mission it is to conquer capitalism on the political battle-field, take control of government and through the public powers, take possession of the means of wealth production, abolish wage-slavery and emancipate all workers and all humanity.

The people are as capable of achieving their industrial freedom as they were to secure their political liberty, and both are necessary to a free nation.

The capitalist system is no longer adapted to the needs of modern society. Centralization and combination are the modern forces in industrial and commercial life. Competition is breaking down and co-operation is supplanting it.

The hand tools of early times are used no more. Mammoth machines have taken their places. A few thousand capitalists own them and many millions of workmen use them.

All the wealth the vast army of labor produces above its subsistence is taken by the machine owning capitalists, who also own the land and the mills, the factories, railroads and mines, the forests and fields and all other means of production and transportation.

Hence wealth and poverty, millionaires and beggars, castles and caves, luxury and squalor, painted parasites on the boulevard and painted poverty among the red lights.

Hence strikes, boycotts, riots, murder, suicide, insanity, prostitution on a fearful and increasing scale.

The capitalist parties can do nothing. They are a part, an iniquitous part, of the foul and decaying system.

There is no remedy for the ravages of death.

Capitalism is dying and its extremities are already decomposing. The blotches upon the surface show that the blood no longer circulates. The time is near when the cadaver will have to be removed and the atmosphere purified.

CLOSING WORDS.

These are stirring days for living men. The day of crisis is drawing near and Socialists are exerting all their power to prepare the people for it.

The old order of society can survive but little longer. Socialism is next in order. The swelling minority sounds warning of the impending change. Soon that minority will be the majority and then will come the co-operative commonwealth.

Every workingman should rally to the standard of his class and hasten the full-orbed day of freedom.

Every progressive Democrat must find his way in our direction and if he will but free himself from prejudice and study the principles of Socialism he will soon be a sturdy supporter of our party.

Every sympathizer with labor, every friend of justice, every lover of humanity should support the Socialist party as the only party that is organized to abolish industrial slavery, the prolific source of the giant evils that afflict the people.

The overthrow of capitalism is the object of the Socialist party. It will not fuse with any other party and it would rather die than compromise.

The Socialist party comprehends the magnitude of its task and has the patience of preliminary defeat and the faith of ultimate victory.

The working class must be emancipated by the working class.

Woman must be given her true place in society by the working class.

Child labor must be abolished by the working class.

Society must be reconstructed by the working class.

The working class must be employed by the working class.

The fruits of labor must be enjoyed by the working class.

War, bloody war, must be ended by the working class.

These are the principles and objects of the Socialist party and we fearlessly proclaim them to our fellowmen.

We know our cause is just and that it must prevail.

With faith and hope and courage, we hold our heads erect and with dauntless spirit marshal the working class for the march from Capitalism to Socialism, from Slavery to Freedom, from Barbarism to Civilization.

SOCIALIST PLATFORM.

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

I.

WH, 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.

THE VANGUARD.

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

Vol. 3. No. 2. MILWAUKEE, WIS., OCTOBER, 1904. Whole Number 22.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that **WHENEVER ANY FORM OF GOVERNMENT BECOMES DESTRUCTIVE OF THESE RIGHTS IT IS THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO ALTER OR TO ABOLISH IT AND INSTITUTE A NEW GOVERNMENT, LAYING ITS FOUNDATIONS ON SUCH PRINCIPLES AND ORGANIZING ITS POWERS IN SUCH FORM AS MAY SEEM MOST LIKELY TO EFFECT THEIR SAFETY AND HAPPINESS.**—From the Declaration of Independence.

"This country," said Lincoln, "cannot remain half slave and half free." Paraphrasing this declaration, Dr. Lyman Abbott says: "We cannot have a country part democratic and part autocratic. We cannot do away with combinations; the question is whether they shall be democratic or autocratic." In other words, the issue before us today is whether the nation shall own the trusts or the trusts own the nation. Socialism we must have or capitalism and despotism.

The awful slaughter in the far east continues and thousands of lives are being sacrificed to the "honor" and "glory" of capitalist governments. No matter which side wins, the common people of Russia or Japan will reap no benefit therefrom. Their reward will take the form of increased burdens of taxation, to say nothing of homes broken up and women and children thrown on the "labor market" to suffer further exploitation. Socialists the world over are uncompromisingly opposed to war. International Socialism, which moves on a pace, will bring world peace.

It is encouraging to note the number of clergymen who declare their intention of voting for Debs and Hanford.

There is a strong growing Socialist sentiment among the ministers of the country. And little wonder, for these men are beginning to realize that the church is suffering from the blight of capitalism. Commercialism determines its code of ethics, and its prosperity depends upon how "easy" the preacher goes on the "vested interests" which furnish its financial support. The souls who have courage to speak out are still rare, but they are increasing. Socialism will free the pulpit and give the preacher back his voice.

Those who suppose that the Socialist movement can be checked by the puerile policy of ignoring it are very far out in their reckoning, though this seems to be the method agreed upon by the old party speakers and newspapers. The associated press dispatches are so well censored that no mention is being made of the immense meetings which Debs and Hanford and other Socialist speakers are having everywhere. These meetings exceed in attendance those of any other party, the largest halls in the country being packed with audiences of from 2,000 to 6,000, and this in spite of the fact that an admission fee is usually charged. The enthusiasm at these meetings, generated by devotion to a great cause, is in marked contrast

to the paid enthusiasm of the old parties, provoked by brass bands, the blind partisan appeals of office holders and the vulgar demonstrations of political pap suckers. The attitude of the daily press in this regard is another indication of its complete servility to capitalism. Socialism will win without its hiringling support.

To those who still pin their faith to the editorial utterances of the daily press we commend the following from an address delivered in San Francisco, August 1, by Mr. Hammond Lamont, managing editor of the New York Evening Post: "The late Colonel Patrick Henry Winston, of Spokane, eager to mold the public mind, bought an interest in the Spokane Chronicle and became editor. At the end of twelve months he remarked, 'Sir, for a year I have been editor,—editor-in-chief, sir,—of the Spokane Chronicle, and in all that period I have expressed my free and unbiased opinion on no subject of the slightest consequence.'" This is taken from Mr. Lamont's address which he himself, on request, reduced to writing for publication. Talk about the liberty of the press! The only absolutely free press in this country today is the Socialist press. It is the only journalism which the money power does not control. Ever the religious papers are under the paralyzing influence of mammon, their complicity in current gambling enterprises and their dependence on corrupt "business interests" being painfully evident from a glance at their advertising columns.

A significant confession of capitalism is noted by Comrade Seymour Stedman of Chicago when he points out that "in giving the items incident to the defeat at the stock yards, the Chicago Chronicle says that the estimated loss of the packers was seven millions and the estimated loss to the workers in wages was four millions. Thus, according to the Chicago Chronicle, for every seven million dollars worth of wealth created by the employees of the stock yards who are now on strike, they have received but four million in return for their effort. In other words, every time a man in the stock yards earns eleven dollars, the packers give him four dollars and keep the other seven for themselves. Why the working class should be so insane as to turn over more than one-

half of the wealth they create to the capitalist class is difficult for a man with any sense to understand."

REASONS WHY:

Writing in the Arena for October, Rev. George E. Littlefield, a prominent clergyman of Massachusetts, summarizes his reasons for voting the Socialist ticket in November as follows:

First: Socialism means economic security to every worker; substituting co-operation and equal opportunity for competition and class privilege. No "dividing up," as the "Standard Oil Crowd" does it, no drones, and saving the present enormous waste will assure all an easy and plentiful livelihood.

Second: Socialism will prolong human life and make it happier. The workers average thirty-nine years; capitalists, fifty-five years. When the people is its own capitalist, the treadmill of toil and the worry of loss will be eliminated, so that the average life will be nearer the Psalmist's three-score-and-ten, and happier on account of all these reasons.

Third: Socialism will foster nobler incentives. When our present chief incentive—the desperate scramble for the dollar—ceases, the incentives of art, truth, craftsmanship and social service will be released. Rational emulation will displace brutal competition.

Fourth: Socialism will help evolve a higher individualism. As the plant unfolds its beautiful individuality in a carefully cultivated garden better than when cast along the stony, trampled wayside, so humanity—God's soul-flowers—will develop best in the social garden of Socialism.

Fifth: Socialism will advance morality. The present system is dishonest, for it allows a cunning capitalist class, by means of rent, interest and profit, to exploit the toiling masses, and breeds every form of corruption; graft, swindling, gambling, robbery and murder, as well as national sneak-thievery—sneaking through Panama and thieving from the Filipinos. Socialism will cease plundering and patching a rotten system and substitute justice for injustice, placing the premium upon the Golden Rule instead of on the anarchy of "every one for himself and the devil take the hindmost."

Sixth: Socialism will make religion real. Every known form of religion, including Christianity, at a certain stage

of its development, has been perverted to sanction the social system of some ruling, exploiting class. The perversion causes the grossest materialism and atheism under sacerdotal disguises. This hypocrisy will be removed, and the soul of man will naturally flower out toward Divine love when economic righteousness is established.

Seventh: Socialism will secure the home, save women from shame, and stop the sacrifice of children to the Moloch of commercialism.

Eighth: Socialism will make for temperance. The saloon will go out of business when the incentive of profit is removed, and men will less crave stimulants when we have more wholesome conditions of life.

Ninth: Socialism will purify politics and perfect true democracy. The efforts of the "outs" to get in, and of the "ins" to stay in, and the bribery of business, besides the fact that there is but one office to some four hundred seekers, corrupts politics. When all are "ins"—every one has a governmental position—and the social ideal of civil service is raised, and business cannot bribe, politics will become truer to the definition: "The public welfare." Government of the rich, by the rich, for the rich will be replaced by government of the people, by the people, for the people.

Tenth: Socialism will abolish war. International comrades in a world-wide Co-operative Commonwealth will not kill one another.

Eleventh: Socialism will settle the labor question and thus avert another possible civil war. Industrial partners will not strike against themselves.

Twelfth: I am a Socialist because Socialism is inevitable. Capitalism and wageism, like two cobras, will crush each other. Besides, economic evolution shows that as slavery gave way to feudalism, and feudalism to modern capitalism, so capitalism must give way to Socialism. Economic evolution also points out that first came the single proprietor; then partnership in business; then the corporation or partnership of partners; then the trust or partnership of the corporations, and now finally must come the merging of the trusts into a greater partnership, through the public ownership of all the means of production and distribution—the People's Trust, or Socialism. Either this, or else the world goes back into the melting-pot through another dark age of despotism.

"Roosevelt is like a King."

New York, Sept. 8.—William Waldorf Astor, expatriated American and loyal subject of King Edward, had a late breakfast at the Netherlands today. He evinced little interest in questions put to him until President Roosevelt's name was mentioned.

"Great man, great man!" he exclaimed in answer to a request for an opinion. *"He is more nearly a monarch than any man ever in the White House."*

"Mr. Morgan is a great man, a great business man, and if the American people will rely on his judgment in electing their president they will prosper. Mr. Roosevelt, it is understood abroad, will take care of those beggars in South America and see that they pay their European debts. This is very gratifying to Englishmen. Just such a strong hand is needed to *bring those republics to their senses.*"

Blessed is even now our privilege. We have our choice, to live as individualists, and on our death-bed look back in despair on a dreary, hateful life of playing, or, as Social-Democrats, fill our existences with those serious moods that make the grand tone of life, and in the hour of death stand on the mountain-top as it were, and see with entranced eyes the rays of the sun that will soon illuminate the dark valleys below. I deem it worth ten crucifixions to win for my memory (as a Socialist) a fraction of the adoring love which millions of the noblest men have felt for Christ.—Gronlund.

Every city of over 4,000 population has its slum districts.

THE ISSUE CLEARLY STATED.

By EUGENE V. DEBS.



HERE are those who sneeringly class Socialism among the "isms" that appear and disappear as passing fads, and pretend to dismiss it with an impatient wave of the hand. There is just enough in this great world movement to them to excite their ridicule and provoke their contempt. At least they would have us think so and if we take them at their word their ignorance does not rise to the level of our contempt, but entitles them to our pity.

To the workingman in particular it is important to know what Socialism is and what it means.

Let us endeavor to make it so clear to him that he will readily grasp it and the moment he does he becomes a Socialist.

It is our conviction that no workingman can clearly understand what Socialism means without becoming and remaining a Socialist. It is simply impossible for him to be anything else and the only reason that all workingmen are not Socialists is that they do not know what it means.

They have heard of Socialism—and they have heard of anarchy and of other things, all mixed together—and without going to any trouble about it they conclude that it is all the same thing and a good thing to let alone.

Why? Because the capitalist editor has said so; the politician has sworn to it and the preacher has said amen to it, and surely that ought to settle it.

But it doesn't. It settles but one thing and that is that the capitalist is opposed to Socialism and that the editor and politician and preacher are but the voices of the capitalist. There are some exceptions, but not enough to affect the rule.

Socialism is first of all a political movement of the working class, clearly defined and uncompromising, which aims at the overthrow of the prevailing capitalist system by securing control of the national government and by the exercise of the public powers, supplanting the existing capitalist class government with Socialist administration—that is to say, changing a republic in name into a republic in fact.

Socialism also means a coming phase of civilization, next in order to the present one, in which the collective people will own and operate the sources and means of wealth production, in which all will have equal right to work and all will cooperate together in producing wealth and all will enjoy all the fruit of their collective labor.

In the present system of society, called the capitalist system, since it is controlled by and supported in the interest of the capitalist class, we have two general classes of people; first, capitalists, and second, workers. The capitalists are few, the workers are many; the capitalists are called capitalists because they own the productive capital of the country, the lands, mines, quarries, oil and gas wells, mills, factories,

shops, stores, warehouses, refineries, tanneries, elevators, docks, wharves, railroads, street cars, steamships, smelters, blast furnaces, brick and stone yards, stock pens, packing houses, telegraph wires and poles, pipe lines, and all other sources, means and tools of production, distribution and exchange. The capitalist class who own and control these things also own and control, of course, the millions of jobs that are attached to and inseparable from them.

It goes without saying that the owner of the job is the master of the fellow who depends upon the job.

Now why does the workingman depend upon the capitalist for a job? Simply because the capitalist owns the tools with which work is done, and without these the workingman is as helpless as if he had no arms.

Before the tool became a machine, the worker who used it also owned it; if one was lost or destroyed he got another. The tool was small; it was for individual use and what the workingman produced with it was his own. He did not have to beg some one else to allow him to use his tools—he had his own.

But a century has passed since then, and in the order of progress that simple tool has become a mammoth machine.

The old hand tool was used by a single worker—and owned by him who used it.

The machine requires a thousand or ten thousand workers to operate it, but they do not own it, and what they produce with it does not go to them, but to the capitalist who does own it.

The workers who use the machine are the slaves of the capitalist who owns it.

They can only work by his permission.

The capitalist is a capitalist solely for profit—without profit he would not be in business an instant. That is his first and only consideration.

In the capitalist system profit is prior to and more important than the life or liberty of the workingman.

The capitalist's profit first, last and always. He owns the tools and only allows the worker to use them on condition that he can extract a satisfactory profit from his labor. If he cannot do this the tools are not allowed to be used—he locks them up and waits.

The capitalist does no work himself; that is, no useful or necessary work. He spends his time watching other parasites in the capitalist game of "dog eat dog," or in idleness or dissipation. The workers who use his tools give him all the wealth they produce and he allows them a sufficient wage to keep them in working order.

The wage is to the worker what oil is to the machine.

The machine cannot run without lubricant and the worker cannot work and reproduce himself without being fed, clothed and housed; this is his lubricant and the amount he requires to keep him in running order regulates his wage.

Karl Marx, in his "Wage, Labor and Capital," makes these points clear in his own terse and masterly style. We quote as follows:

"The free laborer sells himself, and that by fractions. From day to day he sells by auction, eight, ten, twelve, fifteen hours of his life to the highest bidder—to the owner of the raw material, the instruments of work and the means of life; that is, to the employer. The laborer himself belongs neither to an owner nor to the soil; but eight, ten, twelve, fifteen hours of his daily life belong to the man who buys them. The laborer leaves the employer to whom he has hired himself whenever he pleases; and the employer discharges him whenever he thinks fit; either as soon as he ceases to make a profit out of him or fails to get as high a profit as he requires. But the laborer whose only source of earning is the sale of his labor power cannot leave *the whole class of its purchasers*, that is the capitalist class, without renouncing his own existence. He does not belong to this or that particular employer, but he does belong to the *capitalist class*; and more than that: it is his business to find an employer; that is, among this capitalist class it is his business to discover *his own particular purchaser*."

Coming to the matter of wages and how they are determined, Marx continues:

"Wages are the price of a certain commodity, labor-power. Wages are thus determined by the same law which regulates the price of any other commodity.

"Thereupon the question arises, how is the price of a commodity determined?

"By what means is the price of a commodity determined?

"By means of competition between buyers and sellers and the relations between supply and demand—offer and desire.

"* * * * Now the same general laws which universally regulate the price of commodities, regulate, of course, *wages, the price of labor*.

"Wages will rise and fall in accordance with the proportion between demand and supply; that is, in accordance with the conditions of the competition between capitalists as buyers and laborers as sellers of labor. The fluctuations of wages correspond in general with the fluctuations in the price of commodities. *Within these fluctuations the price of labor is regulated by its cost of production; that is, by the duration of labor which is required in order to produce this commodity, labor-power.*

"Now what is the cost of production of labor power?

"It is the cost required for the production of a laborer for his maintenance as a laborer.

"* * * The price of his labor is therefore determined by the price of the bare necessities of his existence."

This is the capitalist system in its effect upon the working class. They have no tools, but must work to live. They throng the labor market, especially when times are hard and work is scarce, and eagerly, anxiously look for some one willing to use their labor power and bid them in at the market price.

To speak of liberty in such a system is a mockery; to surrender is a crime.

The workers of the nation and the world must be aroused.

In the capitalist system "night has drawn her sable curtain down and pinned it with a star," and the great majority grope in darkness. The pin must be removed from the curtain, even though it be a star.

But the darkness, after all, is but imaginary. The sun is marching to meridian glory and the world is flooded with light.

Charlotte Perkins Stetson, the inspired evangel of the coming civilization, says:

"We close our eyes and call it night,
And grope and fall in seas of light,
Would we but understand!"

Not for a moment do we despair of the future. The greatest educational propaganda ever known is spreading over the earth.

The working class will both see and understand. They have the inherent power of self-development. They are but just beginning to come into consciousness of their power, and with the first glimmerings of this consciousness the capitalist system is doomed. It may hold on for a time, for even a long time, but its doom is sealed.

Eugene P. Orsz

THE CHURCH IN BAD COMPANY.

That there is a partnership between modern Christianity and the capitalist system, dishonest and immoral as it is, is a fact easy of proof. William E. Curtis writes from Japan to the newspapers that before the advent of Christianity there drunkenness was practically unknown. And he says, "That is something to think about. Is Christianity a failure in its influence over the personal habits of mankind? Why is it that the heathen behave so much better than those who have the light of the gospel? At one time early in the modernizing of Japan, her statesmen seriously contemplated making Christianity the state religion and organizing a state church like the established church in England. That was thirty years ago, and perhaps something might have come of the proposition had not the embassy of wise men who went around the world studying foreign affairs and customs advised against it on the ground that there was so much more crime, vice and poverty in London, Paris, Rome, Vienna, New York and other great Christian cities than in Tokyo and other heathen cities of Japan. And the contrast still grows in the most striking manner." Of course it is environment that largely shapes the man, and while it will not be contented that it is Christianity *per se* that produces the slums and the human demoralization in the capitalist cities, still Christianity is the religion of capitalism and is made to play an important part in the subjugation of the world in the interests of capitalism. Capitalism dominates it and demoralizes it and corrupts it with money. It uses it as a cloak; it uses it to justify all its crimes. There is no capitalistic war so terrible that the Chris-

tian priests on either side cannot be made to contend that the army of their particular side is the favorite of God and under his personal direction. In the conflicts between capital and labor, no matter how great the extremity of the workers and how just their grievances the preacher in most cases is ready with his sermon from the text, "Servants obey your Masters."

Let us see what the relation between capitalism and the church is:

When capitalism seeks to expand and to subjugate weaker races it first sends out missionaries of the gospel to convert the people it wishes to commercially capture. The rest follows as a natural consequence. For years the missionaries worked in Japan and China. Today Japan is a rich field for the capitalists and increasing numbers of factories are changing the people from a measurably free out-door race into a people held captive by the plucking process of capitalism, with the more luckless of the young men and women being herded in wage slavery and locked up during the daylight in great factories which rapidly turn them into consumptives. When they break down they are ruthlessly cast aside and a new set of victims placed at their tasks. The conditions there are most deplorable, for capitalism with its conscienceless greed sucks the very life blood of the poorer classes.

In this country, we find the church ever ready to justify by adroitly chosen texts the exploitation of the workers by the capitalist profit system. We find it through its priests telling the people that the conditions of master and servant are God-ordained, and that the trials of the poor do not make much difference, anyway, as God has prepared a glorious hereafter for the sufferers and no matter how much they suffer on earth by the greed of Christian business men, it will be all made good after they die. Naturally the capitalists have made the most of this, and as Hanna said, look to the church to keep the people submissive while the capitalist system continues to operate and draw its increase. The capitalist regards religion as a soothing syrup for the exploited workers. He is therefore most willing to help the building of more churches and to contribute to church funds, and this liberality of his has produced a thankfulness on the part of the church that he also makes valuable use of. It drives the poor man out of the church, however, and will in time revenge itself on the church. The thankfulness of the churches helps him to use religion as a cloak, and he can squeeze or overtask his employees week days to the limit of human endurance and then preserve the brightness of his halo by looking very pious on Sunday. He can lie, cheat and steal and dodge taxes and still remain a pillar of the church if he will only show some religious activity on Sundays. Or, if he be a Rockefeller or a Schwab, he can apportion a small fraction of his stealings to the church and the flow of grace is never denied him.

And all this clearly shows how completely the church has been taken over by capitalism and made to serve its ends. The church has become a capitalistic bulwark, and it is ingenious enough and evil enough to actually use the words of Jesus and the early Christians against wealth inequality to justify wealth inequality, based on the

plundering operations of capitalism, itself. Nor has the church in many instances hesitated to use its accumulations as capital and to thereby fatten itself on the fleecings of the workers under the capitalist wage system, by drawing an increase out of the people.

In the case instanced by Mr. Curtis, the Japanese were sharp enough to see these things and to see that if Christianity did not itself produce crime, vice and poverty, it was at any rate a party to the despoiling of the workers by the capitalists governed by the capitalist system. In other words, the Japs could see that the church practically held the working people while capitalism was plucking them. And that the plucking of the workers precipitated a certain fraction of them into poverty, crime and vice. The church will not redeem itself until it admits that the procuring cause of crime, vice and poverty is the capitalist profit system and the competitive wage system, and not only admits it, but arrays itself aggressively against these causes in order that there may be in fact the peace on earth, which it is so fond of singing about.

The church must decommercialize itself, and get back to its original guilelessness.

—Frederic Heath.

MISAPPREHENSIONS CONSIDERED.

By ROBERT BLATCHFORD.

It is no use telling you what Social-Democracy is until I have told you what it is not. Those who do not wish you to be Social-Democrats have given you very false notions about Socialism, in the hope of setting you against it. They have brought many false charges against Socialists in the hope of setting you against them. So you have come to think of Social-Democracy as a thing foolish, or vile, and when it is spoken of, you turn up your noses (instead of trying to see beyond them) and turn your backs on it.

A friend offers to give you a good house-dog; but some one tells you it is mad. Your friend will be wise to satisfy you that the dog is *not* mad before he begins to tell you how well it can guard a house. Because, as long as you think the dog will bite you, you are not in the frame of mind to hear about its usefulness.

A sailor is offering to sell an African chief a telescope; but the

chief has been told that the thing is a gun. Then before the sailor shows the chief what the glass is good for, he will be wise to prove to him it will not go off at half-cock and blow his eye out.

So with Social-Democracy: before I try to show you what it really is, I must try to clear your mind of the prejudice which has been sown there by those who wish to make you hate Socialism because they fear it.

As a rule, my friends, it will be wise for you to look very carefully and hopefully at anything which politicians, or employers, or capitalist editors call bad or foolish, because what helps you hinders them, and the stronger you grow the weaker they become.

Well, my friends, the men who have tried to smash your unions, who have written against you, and spoken against you, and acted against you in all great strikes and

lock-outs, are the same men who speak and write against Social-Democracy.

And what have they told you? Let us take their commonest statements, and see what they are made of.

They say that Socialists want to get up a revolution, to turn the country upside down by force, to seize all property, and to divide it equally amongst the whole people.

We will take their charges one at a time.

As to Revolution. I think I shall be right if I say that not one Socialist in fifty, at this day, expects or wishes to get Socialism by force of arms.

In the early days of Socialism, when there were very few Socialists, and some of those rash, or angry, or unthinking men, it may have been true that Socialism implied violence.

But today there are very few Social-Democrats who believe in brute force, or who think a revolution desirable.

The bulk of our Social-Democrats are for peaceful and lawful means. Some of them hope to bring Socialism to pass by means of a reformed government; others hope to bring it to pass by means of a newer, wiser, and juster *public opinion*.

I do not think a revolution is advisable. Because, firstly, it would be almost sure to fail; secondly, if it did not fail it would put the worst kind of men into power, and would destroy order and method before it was ready to replace them; thirdly, because a state built up on force is very likely to succumb to fraud.

I do not believe in force, and I do not believe in haste. What we want is reason and right.

The men who would come to the top in a civil war would be fighters

and strivers; they would not be the kind of men to wisely model and patiently and justly rule or lead a new state. Your barricade man may be very useful—at the barricades; but when the fighting is over, and his work is done, he may be a great danger, for he is not the man, usually, to stand aside and make way for the builders to replace by right laws the wrong laws which his arms have destroyed.

Revolution by force of arms is not desirable, nor feasible; but there is another kind of revolution from which we hope great things. This is a revolution of thought. Let us once get the people, or a big majority of the people, to understand Socialism, to believe in Socialism, and to work for Socialism, and the real revolution is accomplished.

Our real task is to win the trust and help of the people, and the first thing to be done is to educate them.

Next: As to seizing the wealth of the country and sharing it out amongst the people. We do not propose such a thing.

Yet, how often have you been told that Socialists want to have the wealth equally divided amongst all? And how often have you been told that if you divided the wealth in that way it would soon cease to be equally divided, because some would waste and some would save?

Another charge against Socialists is that they are Atheists, whose aim is to destroy all religion, and all morality.

This is not true. Many prominent Socialists are Christians, not a few are clergymen. Many capitalist party leaders are Agnostics or Atheists.

The charge of Immorality is absurd. Social-Democrats demand a higher morality than any now to be found. They demand perfect hon-

esty. Indeed, it is just the stern morality of Socialism which causes ambitious and greedy men to hate Socialism and resist it.

Another charge against Socialists is the charge of desiring Free Love.

"Free Love," I may say, means that all men and women shall be free to love as they please, and to live with whom they please. Therefore, that they shall be free to live as "man and wife" without marriage, to part when they please without divorce, and to take other partners as they please without shame or penalty.

I believe there is not one Socialist in a hundred who would vote for doing away with marriage, or for handing over the children to the state. I for one would see the state further before I would part with a child of mine. And I think you will generally find that those who are really eager to have all children given up to the state are men and women who have no children of their own.

Now, I submit that a childless man is not the right man to make laws about children.

Many of those who talk the loudest against free love do not even know what love is, or have not sense enough to see that just as love and lust are two different things, so are free love and free lust very different things.

Again, you are not to fall into the error of supposing that the relations of the sexes are all they should be at present. Free love, it is true, is not countenanced, *but free lust is very common.*

It may be a very wicked thing to enable a free woman to give her love freely; but it is a much worse thing to allow and even at times compel (for it amounts to that, by force of hunger) a free woman to sell her

love—no, not her love, poor creature, the vilest never sold that—but to sell her honor, her body, and her soul.

I tell you, men, I would do a great deal for Socialism if it were only to do that one good act of wiping out for ever the shameful sin of prostitution. This thing, indeed, is so horrible that I never think of it without feeling tempted to apologize for calling myself a man in a country where it is so common.

There are several other common charges against Socialists; as that they are poor and envious; that they are ignorant and incapable men, who know nothing, and cannot think; that, in short, they are failures and wasters, fools and knaves.

These charges are as true and as false as the others.

I think I may claim that Socialists are in the main honest and sensible men, who work for Socialism because they believe in it, and not because it pays, for it seldom pays at all, and it never pays well; and I am sure that Socialism makes quicker progress amongst the educated than amongst the ignorant, and amongst the intelligent than amongst the dull.

As for brains: I hope such men as William Morris, Karl Marx, and Liebknecht are as well endowed with brains as—well, let us be modest, and say as Mr. Roosevelt or Judge Parker.

But most of the charges and arguments I have quoted are not aimed at Socialism at all, but at Socialists.

Now, to prove that many of the men who espouse a cause are unworthy is not the same thing as proving that the cause is bad.

Some parsons are foolish, some are insincere, but we do not therefore say that Christianity is unwise or untrue. Even if most parsons

were really bad men we should only despise and condemn the clergy, and not the religion they dishonored and misrepresented.

If you find a Socialist who is foolish, laugh at him; if you find one who is a rogue, don't trust him; if you find one "on the make," stop his making. But as for Socialism, if it be good, accept it; if it be bad, reject it.

"The high and world-wide honor of this destiny must occupy all your thoughts. Neither the load of the oppressed, nor the idle dissipation of the thoughtless, nor even the harmless frivolity of the insignificant, are henceforth becoming to you. You are the rock on which the church of the present is to be built.

"It is the lofty moral earnestness of this thought which must with devouring exclusiveness possess your spirits, fill your minds, and shape your whole lives, so as to make them worthy of it, conformable to it, and always related to it. It is the moral earnestness of this thought which must never leave you, but must be present to your heart in your workshops during the hours of labor, in your leisure hours, during your walks, at your meetings, and even when you stretch your limbs to rest on your hard couches, it is this thought which must fill and occupy your minds till they lose themselves in dreams."—Ferdinand Lasalle, *The Workingman's Programme*.

Rich shirkers and impoverished workers are inevitable under the workings of the capitalist system.

Why is it that the Social-Democratic party can keep clean and the capitalist parties cannot? Because the Social-Democrats stand for ideals and the old parties for deals!

"GET OFF HIS BACK."

The Incubus sat on the Workingman's shoulders.

"Get up," said the Incubus, as he stuck in his spurs. "This is a question as to whether we or the miners are to run our business."

"But I cannot keep on carrying you unless I get more to eat," said the Workingman.

"You have a full dinner pail," said the Incubus, as he ordered a bottle and a bird. "As for me, although God in His infinite wisdom has given me control of the property of this country—I get no more than board and clothes."

"But," objected the Workingman, "I often do not get that."

"I will give you a library to carry on your back," said the Incubus.

"How could the likes of me get a chance to read?"

"Be content," said the Incubus, "in that station of life to which it shall please me and God to call you."

"But you grow heavier all the time," said the Workingman.

"Every man has a chance to do as I do," said the Incubus. "Why don't you get up here? There's plenty room at the top."

"I think," said the Workingman, "it was intended that both of us should walk."

"That," said the Incubus, "is blasphemy. If I should get off your back it would shake the foundations of society."—Life.

Ever stop to think that a system that dooms its industrious members to anxiety and want and heaps uncounted wealth in the laps of non-workers is an abomination? Can you by any subtlety persuade yourself that wealth should go to the idle instead of to the industrious?

THE WOLFISH MOTTO IN BUSINESS.

By FELIX ADLER.

The saying of the Romans, that "Man in his relations to his fellow man acts like a wolf," is a favorite one of the pessimists. It is a libel on human nature if it is regarded as covering the whole ground; but it is a burning truth if it is regarded as accurately describing one aspect of man's behavior.

The wolfish motto is: Go ahead and assert yourself. Gain your point, no matter at what cost to others. Forge ahead, with the same indifference to what lies in the way and what is crushed as that of a soulless automatic machine which rolls with its heavy weight over the paving stones or over a child's body.

A man who makes it his principle simply to get on, no matter who suffers, no matter who is trodden underneath, leads an unnatural life. We make so much of the injury that such human wolves inflict upon others that it is well to take notice of the injury that such a man does to himself.

The infinite pity of it! I do not know whether I should not pity the man who does these monstrous wrongs even more than the person who suffers them.

As one who cares for humanity cannot fail to be filled with grief that there should be such monsters of men, men capable of better things, fine men, full of energy, men of great qualities in certain directions, men capable of being noble specimens of the species—that such men should make wolves of themselves, is that not a pity?

A man who tries to win at the expense of others necessarily becomes one-sided. The only way to become

many-sided is to enter into the ends and interests of others.

The selfish man is narrow. His thoughts always run in the one groove. His aim is always the same thing—the gaining of wealth. He has no thoughts left for anybody else. He is like a person who lives in a cage—like a wild thing who moves up and down and cannot get out of his cage, which he has built around himself.

What if the cage is built with bars of precious metal, is it any the less a cage? Is it not a pity that a human being should be thus caged—bound up in stocks, in oil or cotton, or steel, or railroads, so that his whole mind is infected with it, so that he becomes atrophied in every other direction—a human monstrosity?

Is that a natural life to lead? For him the great composers have not written their charming music. He is all too busy and too impatient to listen to it. Even while he is at the opera, his thoughts are in Wall street.

I want to take the point of view entirely of the man himself who has adopted the wolfish rule. I want him to consider with me to what a condition he is reducing himself. With this fixed idea to gain, gain, gain, is he not becoming a monomaniac?

Would it not be better for him if he could say: "Henceforth, my brother, I will not trample on thee. I will not endeavor to drain the life out of thee. I will not make myself a wolf. I will not narrow my own life by attempting to feed on thee and flourish at thy expense. I will

try to grow only through the generous process of seeking to assist thy growth."

Will this new principle take the place of the other? I do not expect that it will in the twinkling of an eye. I do not expect that the world will suddenly be changed.

I believe that the bad world will still go on stumbling on its rough and dusty road. I believe that the strong nations will still throttle the weaker nations. I believe that the weak will still go down and perish in the night, and that their cry will not be heard.

But I believe that it is possible to form a nucleus of right-minded persons, who shall gradually become the leaven that shall leaven the whole

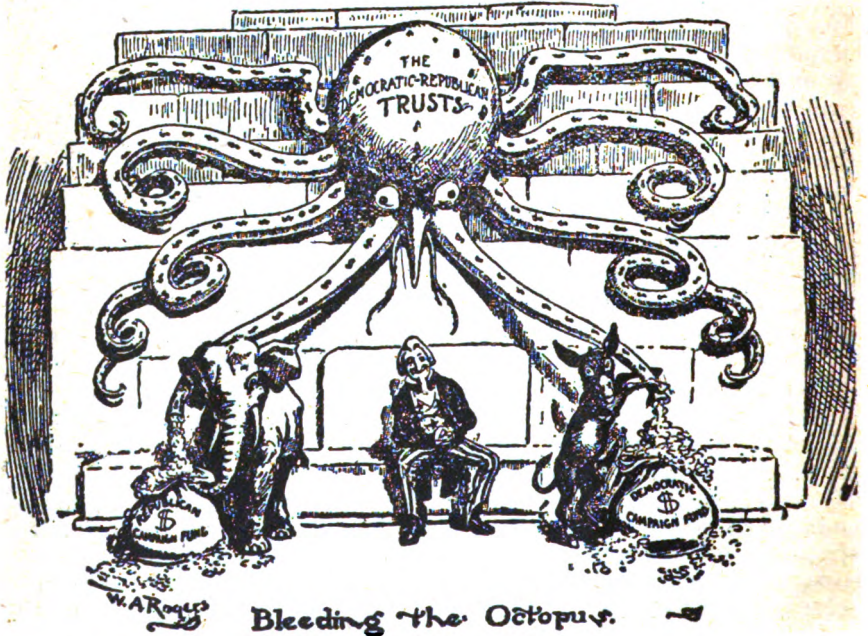
lump. I believe that the light will encroach upon the darkness, and I believe that it is our concern to see to it that at least a ray of that light shall shine into our hearts and enlighten our lives.

WHO DARE DENY!

"WE HAVE ARRANGED THE PROGRAM FOR BOTH PARTIES, AND ARE WILLING THAT THE VOTERS SHOULD EXERCISE THEIR CHOICE OF MEN."—James Buel, Secretary, National Bankers' Association.

Both tickets are acceptable to the capitalist class. Is either acceptable to the working class?—N. Y. Worker.

WHERE CAPITALIST PARTY FUNDS COME FROM.



A Tell-Tale Cartoon that appeared in the "New York Herald" (Democratic) and the "Chicago Record-Herald" (Republican).

POINTED PARAGRAPHS.

By FREDERIC HEATH.

Robbery is vastly more prevalent now than at any time in the world's history, only the robbers have discovered that it is safer to rob by mental force than muscular force!

"The Socialist Danger.—Problem causes alarm to Wisconsin politicians," reads a first page heading in the Chicago Chronicle. The Chronicle can sometimes tell the truth, it seems!

More people were killed and maimed on the railroads of the United States last year than have thus far been killed and wounded in the Japan-Russian war. What a fine manager capitalism is!

A capitalist daily in Buffalo says editorially that "the main cause of the high cost of living is the high cost of labor." That is a very tell-tale statement, it indicates the true capitalist belief in the justice of low wages.

Seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars was squandered by the government for the sham war manœuvres at Manassas recently. That is to say, it cost nearly a million! And in every city in the land are children who go hungry to school.

It is a privilege to have been born in the present stage of the world's history. The present is a more remarkable time than any in history and the man who has true patriotism—not merely the commercial kind—will be an actor in the great social change that is impending.

There can only be logically two parties in this country. Parties come into existence to express class interests. The capitalist system divides the people into two classes, the capitalist class and the working class. Therefore there can logically be but two parties, each representing one of these classes.

Is it the capitalist who employs labor, or is it the demands of the people that compels work? Think this over and see at which end of the question you arrive. The fact is that, in the large view of the subject, the capitalists are interlopers, they are an interference with the relation between producer and consumer. In times of old the robber barons built their castles on the cliffs overlooking the highways where the commerce of the time moved from market to market and by might of arms exacted a tribute from all who passed. Capitalism today trenches itself in a similar way!

Under Socialism young people would undoubtedly marry earlier than they do now. Under capitalism inability to support a wife deters a large proportion of young men from marrying at just the time when such a union would safeguard them from immoralities that exact their penalties and that through contamination and heredity taint society. And this state of things also calls for a large number of morally wicked women to minister to it. The capitalist system is an enemy of the home, and this is one of a myriad of reasons why it must be abolished.

The growth of Socialism has been the marvel of the age. Not a country that deserves the name but has its Socialist agitators at work. There are Socialists in China, there are Socialists in Paraguay, there are Socialists in Alaska. Some of this growth may have been through contagion, so to say, but most of it has been generated in the locality where it appears, for Socialism is the child of capitalism and capitalistic conditions produce it. It carries with it the hope of the future, and people have only to be shown what it really is to welcome its growth.

We take the following from the speech of Comrade Dan. White, of Massachusetts, in Milwaukee last week:

"I was born and raised a Roman Catholic, and still worship God according to the rules of that church, and despite Bishop Messenger I expect to die a Roman Catholic. While I am willing to take religious instruction from the clergy and yield to no man in my respect for them, in political and economic matters I will do my own thinking. You need not fear the clergy, they have no right to dictate to you how you shall act in these matters."

And White isn't the only one!

What Lent is for the religious man a national political campaign is for the voter, especially the voter who belongs to the vast army of the dispossessed. It ought to be a period of introspection, of self-scrutiny. The duty of voting is a sacred one. It is the voter's duty to put aside all unworthy motives and to decide with himself, honestly and in the light of patriotism—true patriotism, not the flag-worshipping, cheap,

jingoish sort—how he should express himself at the ballot box so as to serve the people's real interests and promote their welfare. The man who belongs to the army of the dispossessed and yet who allows capitalist class spell binders or capitalist class editors to lead him into voting to continue the government power in the hands of the wealth interests, the capitalist class, is a bad citizen, a traitor and an abettor of the crushing weight of woe that capitalism keeps piling up upon the backs of the industrious.

Political "business administrations" are awful frauds. About the only "business" they produce is boodling. A specialty of "business administrations" is the giving away to corporations of franchises of great value. In this case also there is "business"—it is the "business" which the corporation has to transact personally with the members of the administration which some unfeeling people call boodling. The enormity of this sort of serving of the people is shown from time to time when a man like Dowie, who really is a business man, gets after the railroads. Just now the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul road has made a bargain with Dowie by which for the valuable right of running through his holy town of Zion City, the road must pay the prophet the sum of \$101,000, enough and to spare to pay off Dowie's court indebtedness now due which promised at one time to wreck his holy plans. Dowie's city has a population of about 8,000 inhabitants and is not a terminal point. Using this as a basis of calculation, you can figure the value of the free grants to railroads which city aldermen are in the habit of presenting to the railroad companies.

There was great applause at the International Congress when two of the vice-presidents, Katayama of Japan, and Plechanoff, of Russia, publicly shook hands.

Mr. Katayama, speaking in English, said: "I am glad to find a delegate here from Russia, with which country our own is waging one of the most disastrous wars that have ever done violence to the fraternity of nations. Japanese Socialists ever since 1893 have expected a Socialist revolution in Japan."

M. Plechanoff, in replying, said that the Russian people did not desire war, but the government, which was the enemy of the people, provoked Japan by its adventurous and despotic policy. Continual disasters were now Russia's just reward. Even if Russia should be victorious, M. Plechanoff said, the Russian people would be the victims, but Japan was removing one of the feet of the colossus of despotism.

The congress unanimously adopted the following resolution proposed by a French delegate:

"At this moment, when Tsarism is stricken by war, the Socialists here greet the Russian and Japanese proletariat, sacrificed and massacred by capitalism and governments, and rely upon Socialists everywhere to oppose by all means in their power the extension or continuation of the war."

The Marxian theory of surplus-value, briefly stated, amounts to this: That the difference between what the workers receive for their labor and what they produce by their labor constitutes a 'surplus-value'—i. e., a value for which the capitalist has not paid, and which is the source from which rent, profit, and interest are derived. That being so, any reduction of the working day is, other things being equal, a reduction in the time during which this surplus-value is being extracted, and, consequently, a reduction in its bulk.—Justice, London.

THE MAN WITH THE DOUGH.

Bowed by the weight of capital,
He leans
Upon his bank,
And gazes on the ground
That looks to him to people it
With all producing industries;
He fills the emptiness of ages
With his energy.
And on his credit bears
The burden of the world
That needs his strength;
Wealth makes him dead
To doubting and despair.
A thing that grieves not
And who always hopes,
Stolid and Stunned,
The brother to the ox
Is raised by him
To higher brotherhood.
Who loosens and lets down the jaw
That chews up poverty?
Whose hand slants back the tide
Of panic and defeat?
Whose breath blows out
The light of failure and decay?
The man with the "dough."
And don't you forget it.

—Wm. J. Lampton.

IT'S EASY TO GET STRONG.

People—average people—the masses, pity, or sympathize with, or tolerate or even hate, weakness.

They respect Strength. Nothing but strength commands their respect.

A million votes for Debs and Hanford will be evidence of the strength of the Socialist party and of Socialist principles.

Hereafter the Socialist party will be respectable in the eyes of the people—because of its strength.

Then the people will investigate Socialism, respect it, flock to it.

Every vote for Debs and Hanford adds strength to the Socialist party.

The masses may sympathize with Socialism now. They will respect its strength after Nov. 8.

Every Socialist vote has the moral weight of twenty votes for the old parties. Now is the time to work.

C. J. Lamb.

A day of disaster for any nation will surely dawn whenever its society is divided into two classes—the unemployed rich and the unemployed poor—the former a handful, the latter a host.—Daniel Webster.



Socialist Headquarters.

To achieve the objects of Socialism, the American Socialists have formed the Socialist Party, now organized in all the States of the Union. In New York and Wisconsin, this party is known, for legal reasons, as the Social Democratic Party and in Minnesota as the Public Ownership Party.

NATIONAL SECRETARY: WILLIAM MAILLY, Boylston Bldg., 269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

SOCIALIST TICKET:



FOR PRESIDENT:

EUGENE V. DEBS of Indiana.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT:

BEN. HANFORD of New York.

Wisconsin Social-Democratic Candidates:

FOR GOVERNOR:

WILLIAM A. ARNOLD, of Milwaukee.

FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR:

H. J. AMMANN, of Kiel.

FOR SECRETARY OF STATE:

R. O. STOLL, of Eau Claire.

FOR STATE TREASURER:

HENRY LUTHER, of Sheboygan.

FOR INSURANCE COMMISSIONER:

ARNOLD ZANDER, of Packwaukee.

FOR RAILWAY COMMISSIONER:

HARRY E. BRIGGS, of Milwaukee.

Platform of Wisconsin Social-Democrats.



THE Social-Democratic party is the American expression of the international movement of modern wage workers for better food, better houses, sufficient sleep, more leisure, more education and more culture. Those who work with hands and brain are the producers

of all wealth, but as laws are now made in the interests of property and the men who own property, the rights of the workers are ignored, although they are in the great majority.

Electricity, steam and many modern inventions have struck the death blow at production on a small scale. Production on the largest scale makes monopoly a necessary condition. Monopoly is here, whether we wish it or not. The only question is whether it shall be a public or private monopoly.

The Social-Democratic party demands that the production of this country shall be taken away from the control of a small number of irresponsible men whose only aim is to exploit us to the last limit of our endurance.

* * *



THE Republican and the Democratic parties do not today differ in any essential points. Formerly the Republican was the favorite party of capitalism, but since the trusts have captured the Democratic party at St. Louis nationally and again at Oshkosh as far as this state is concerned, there is hardly any other difference between the two than that the Democratic party tried to outbid the Republican party in its deference to capitalism. As for Gov. La Follette, he is powerless against the trusts and capitalists, because as a good Republican and as a lawyer he cannot consistently oppose property rights of any kind. These rights are more sacred to all so-called reformers than the rights of man; but, alarmed by the growing strength of Socialism, and either unable or unwilling to admit that it is the logical consequence of capitalism, they are now trying to get around Socialism by the use of phrases that to them sound "socialistic." Yet none of the reformers dare to attack the only vital point in the present economic system: the private ownership of the means of production and distribution.

And as for the Democratic party, the less said the better. By recent industrial developments it has lost its economic basis. Since the abolition of negro slavery it has lost its political life. It is now simply the stamping ground for the most crooked politicians and political and other thieves in America. Tammany Hall is the type of the only flower that can blossom on that soil, and it has been repeated in endless varieties in every city from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Any man voting that ticket votes for men who have to leave the city whenever the grand jury convenes.

* * *

THE trust question is a national question, but in state affairs also the Social-Democratic party stands for every radical change that will bring more wealth, more culture and more safety to the masses of the people. The Social-Democratic party believes in self-government for cities; in a just and equitable taxation, and in the highest development of a reasonable public service. We also demand better legislation for the protection of life and limb in factories and mines, the public ownership of public utilities as a fact and not as a mere phrase, and protection against hardship and misery in old age—not as a charity, but as a right. If we get the political power in this state we will carry out these and other Social reforms.

But we call attention to the fact that the measures we urge are in no way a cure for all the existing evils, nor are they all Socialist institutions. They are to be viewed rather as mere palliatives, capable of being carried out even under the present conditions. Under no circumstances should the people rest content with palliatives of this kind. The people should move onward to the conquest of all public powers, to an entire change of the present system for one which will secure to the people collectively the blessings of our modern inventions, and a standard of civilization and culture hitherto unknown in history.

* * *

WITH this in view the Social-Democratic party of the state of Wisconsin in convention assembled reaffirms its allegiance to the principles of international Socialism, and declares its adherence to the platform of the national Socialist party adopted at the convention

in Chicago and pledges itself at the present time to the following:

1.—That the state legislature, the governor and our representatives in congress shall take such action as is calculated to bring about the nationalization of all the trusts, notably the coal trust, the meat trust, the oil trust, the sugar trust, the farming machinery trust and others of the same kind, and pay the actual value for the same.

2.—That the state legislature, the governor and our representatives in congress shall take such action as will be calculated to bring about the national ownership of the railroads, telegraph, telephone, express companies and steamship lines, and pay the actual value of the same.

3.—That the state legislature, the governor and our representatives in congress shall take such action as will be calculated to enact a law, granting every wage worker over 60 years of age, who has earned less than \$1,000 a year and has been a citizen of the United States for sixteen years, at least, a pension of not less than \$12 a month for the rest of his life.

4.—That no city in Wisconsin shall have the right to sell, lease or give away public franchises. Provided, however, that in cases where existing laws or extreme necessity make a franchise absolutely unavoidable, the granting of the franchise must be submitted to a referendum of the voters of the respective city or township for a decision before it may be granted. That every city shall have the right to take possession of all its public utilities by paying to the present owners the price of the properties involved, as fixed by an impartial jury, the same not to include any franchise values; and that every city and township shall have the right to issue bonds up to the amount of 5 per cent of the entire tax valuation for that purpose.

5.—That the state legislature, the governor and our representatives in congress shall take steps calculated to bring about the enactment of a national law by which the government of the United States will lend the cities and townships money on bonds issued by said cities and townships up to 50 per cent of the assessed valuation. Such loan shall be made in legal tender and without interest, the refund to take place in twenty years in equal shares. This money shall have its intrinsic value se-

cured by the bonds and the assessed valuation of the city or township that receives the loan, and it shall be canceled with the bonds as fast as the loan is refunded.

6.—That the state legislature, the governor and our representatives in congress shall take the initiative to the effect that the United States constitution be so amended as to abolish the United States senate, which is a bulwark of capitalism and trustocracy. Furthermore, we demand that the United States judges shall be elected by the people of their respective districts, for terms not to exceed six years—this in order to make an end of government by injunction. We also demand that all elective offices, the judges included, shall be made subject to the imperative mandate, and to a recall by the expressed wish of three-fourths of their constituency.

7.—That the state shall provide free school books and school utensils to the pupils of the public schools, and also to parochial and private schools who shall under certain legal conditions as to standards of instruction make demand for the same books. We also demand legislation enabling school districts in the country to give better school facilities and free transportation to and from school for the children.

8.—That laws be enacted limiting the working day of youths under 21 years of age and women of any age employed anywhere in Wisconsin to eight hours a day, and prohibiting the employment in any factory, store, workshop or mine, of children under 16 years of age.

9.—That every city or township shall have the right to establish a public coal yard and a public ice house, where coal and wood and ice shall be sold to the citizens at cost. Cities and townships shall also have the right to establish public abattoirs (slaughter houses) and to issue bonds for that purpose.

These are the demands of the Social-Democratic party in Wisconsin. We call upon every intelligent voter of this state, regardless of race, nationality or religion, to join the Social-Democratic party, vote its ticket, build up its organization, and stand shoulder to shoulder for a better order and a higher civilization. And especially to the economically oppressed we call in the words of the immortal Karl Marx:

"Proletarians of all countries unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to gain."

THE MORALS OF A CHRISTIAN KING!

"The King Can Do No Wrong!"

Maitre Labori, the famous French advocate, whose name was on everybody's lips at the time of the Dreyfus affair, is at present in Spain on a very delicate mission.

He has gone to St. Sebastian, the summer residence of the Spanish court, as the legal representative of illegitimate children of the late King Alphonso XII, whose mother was an actress of unusual beauty.

At the death of the king an annuity was granted her in return for the restitution of a number of compromising letters written to her by the king.

The children who live in this city, are now making a claim against the estate of their father. M. Labori asked to be received in audience by the present king, but was refused. He has now appealed to M. Jules Cambon, the French ambassador to Spain.

The results of the conference are not yet known, but it is thought that the present king of Spain will satisfy the claimants rather than have his father's reputation sullied by a lawsuit.—Ex.

SOCIALISM WILL CLEAN UP THE MORALS OF MARRIAGE.

John D. Rockefeller's grandchild will inherit 2 billion dollars.

Six per cent of the people, or the capitalist class, own 82 per cent of the wealth; 19 per cent of the people, or the middle class, own 15 per cent of the wealth, and 75 per cent of the people, or the working class, own 3 per cent of the wealth.

Commercialism makes Christianity impossible; the attempt to reconcile them can lead to but a single result,—hypocrisy. Social-Democracy, on the contrary, makes Christianity possible; moreover, it is the only political system which does.—Edmond Kelly M. A. (Columbia University).

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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THE VANGUARD.

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

Vol. 3. No. 3. MILWAUKEE, WIS., NOVEMBER, 1904. Whole Number 23.

The reason why the Abolitionists brought the nation down to fighting their own battle is that they were really in earnest, knew what they wanted, and were determined to have it. Therefore they got it..... Give me fifty thousand men in earnest, who can agree on some vital question, who will plant their shoulders together, and swear by all that is true and just that for three long years they will put their great ideas before the country, and those fifty thousand men will govern the nation.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

"Big Socialist Vote," "Enormous Socialist Gains," "Debs Vote Phenomenal," "Socialists Jubilant,"—these are samples of the headlines by which the big dailies broke their long silence the day after the election concerning the first national campaign of the Socialist party of America. And since the election the same papers which had pursued the policy of ignoring the Socialist movement during the campaign, have been devoting columns to editorial discussion of "The Growth of Socialism," "The Conflict With Socialism," etc., etc. Some of these editorial effusions are highly amusing to the Socialist, evincing the crass ignorance of these paid writers who, being obliged to say something on a subject of which they know little or nothing, ransack their capitalist brains for an off-hand and ingenious explanation of the growing force of the mightiest movement of all time. One thing, however, the capitalist press seems now to understand, namely, that Socialism can no longer be ignored, that it is no mere "dream," but a hard matter-of-fact proposition that capitalism is "up against." From now on the lines will be clearly drawn and Socialism will grow with astounding rapidity.

The difference between Socialism and old party politics is something many persons do not yet understand, but it is the difference between a great cause—a world movement—an uprising of humanity in assertion of its rights and

the shuffling and scheming of office-holders and office-seekers for place and power at the expense of the common weal. This is illustrated in the fact that the day after election the campaign committee rooms of the Republicans and Democrats were deserted and the managers hurriedly closed up their respective headquarters, while the Socialist headquarters were the scene of renewed activity and preparation for carrying on the work of education on which Socialist success depends. The Socialist campaign of 1906 is already well under way and its success is as certain as is the growth of intelligence and independent political thinking among the masses of the people.

We made reference in our last issue to the increasing number of clergymen who are speaking out in behalf of economic justice, many of whom have since registered their convictions by straight Socialist votes. And now comes Rev. Willard B. Thorp, of the South Congregational church, Chicago, with a ringing message that sounds like the word of a true prophet. In an after-election sermon on "Dollars vs. Manhood," he said: "A far more serious problem than that of divorce is in the fact that thousands of young men and women are being kept from marriage and parenthood by the conditions of our industrial life. With all our boasted civil rights, the poor man is at a serious disadvantage in the courts today. The processes of law are too expensive for him. He stands helpless be-

fore the big corporation, which can appeal his claim from court to court. And the latest device, that of government by injunction, makes it possible to deprive him even of the fundamental right, guaranteed by Magna Charta, of being tried by a jury of his peers.

"Capitalism has formed its counter-organization to labor with the avowed purpose of reducing the labor unions to mutual improvement societies. And in the presence of that mighty money power organized labor stands no more chance than the Boers against the British Empire.

"But let no man imagine that this means that money is permanently enthroned above manhood. It means rather that we are approaching a struggle in comparison with which the uprising of the common people against the monarchs was a small thing. That Socialist vote which astonished the country the other day may prove to have been the most significant thing about the election."

The attitude of the religious press towards the movement for social justice is generally so equivocal as to merit contempt. But we are glad to note the following in an editorial in the *Christian Work*: There may be some things about Russell Sage than may not command unqualified admiration, but it must be admitted that he is a shrewd and farseeing man of business, and as such is entitled to consideration. Mr. Morgan has been quoted as saying that "more gigantic corporations are stored in the near future, some of which may overshadow even the steel trust." "If so," replies Sage, "then we may be also much nearer the end of it than the trust magnates dream of." This led Mr. Sage to make the following prediction: "In such an event the American people will revolt against them and there will be financial ruin the like of which this country has never seen—nor any other." This kind of talk usually comes from hotheaded agitators and professional alarmists, but in this instance it comes from one of the coolest and most deliberate of men and one whose associations and sympathies have been for many years with the wealthy. It is not the cry of a Socialist, but the deliberately formed conviction of one of the ablest of financiers. He may not be a prophet, but he certainly takes a statesmanlike and patriotic view of the trust problem when he says: "Combinations of all industries are a

menace to true government. Not only so, but they are the oppressors of the people." Mr. Morgan seems to have fallen under the delusion that the patience of the people may be tried indefinitely without danger of exhausting it, but it is a fallacy which even he may some day discover at a tremendous cost.

Louise Fiske Bryson, the woman specialist who has just completed an investigation into the child labor question in New York, says: "In this city 20,000 children, too tender to even know what work means, are at work, and stunted and diseased bodies are to be their heritage. They are old at seventeen; their lives are over at forty. And the pity of it is that no necessity, but greed—pitiless, grasping, selfish greed—is the source of this lamentable condition.

"Poor little things. They are rather 'damned' than born into the world. Under the conditions in which they are brought up it is producing a nation of dwarfs. To thousands of little children the country is free in only one sense: free to die in.

"My investigation has been as to the physical effect that work has upon the little toilers. It would make one's heart bleed to see what I have seen. The photographs which I have had taken of the little victims of this brutal system form a terrible indictment. I wish that I might make them public so that the whole world could be astonished at the evil that is going on right under its very eyes, and to which good men and good women are indifferent."

This is what "prosperity" under capitalism means. And we look in vain for either of the old parties to put an end to this infernal system, simply because "business is business."

In a panicky editorial on the remarkable Socialist vote in the late election, the *Minneapolis Tribune* says: "The growth of this party furnishes another reason why the Republicans cannot expect to repeat their easy victory of this year. We intend to dwell on these things, perhaps to the exhaustion of public patience, in order to enforce the lesson that the Republican party has got to behave itself for the next four years."

Socialism is revolutionary. Let there be no mistake about that. It is as revolutionary as light in the midst of

darkness, as truth in the midst of error, as peace in the midst of war, as love in the midst of hate. It is an uncompromising demand for honesty and justice and brotherhood in the midst of fraud, oppression and cut-throat competition. It is a revolt against all that is cruel and tyrannical and inhuman. But its method is frictionless and constitutional. Its motto is that of Lincoln, "Revolutionize through the ballot box."

Socialists will not fuse. Neither will they make any deals. Everybody please take note of this. The idea of our "fusing" with any capitalist party, dead or alive, Democratic, Populist, Prohibition or anything else, is too silly for anything. It simply betrays ignorance of the fundamental principles of International Socialism on the part of those who indulge in such nonsensical talk.

THE STRENGTH OF SOCIALISM.

In his famous debates with Douglas, Lincoln's great power lay in the position he assumed that the real issue between them was a moral one. The slavery question, he argued with tremendous force, was but one phase of "the eternal struggle between these two principles — right and wrong — throughout the world. They are two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time, and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, 'You work and toil and earn bread, and I'll eat it.' No matter in what shape it comes, it is the same tyrannical principle."

Precisely the same issue confronts us today in the struggle between Socialism and capitalism. Is wage-slavery with its grinding poverty and its foul brood of social iniquities right or wrong? Is it right that a few men should control the sources of life of a great people? Is it right that women and children should toil in factory and mine for a mere pittance? Is it right that the workers of the world should be robbed of the larger share of the product of their labor? These are the questions pressing for answer, as vital to the existence of the republic today as was that of negro slavery forty years ago.

And no sophistries of old party politicians, no threats of capitalist task masters can longer obscure the real issue. Socialism demands industrial emancipation and its demand is the demand of the social conscience. Its triumph is certain because it is RIGHT.

THE SOCIALIST REVOLT.

Jack London says:

In the history of man, Socialism is the first movement of men to involve the whole globe. None has been so widespread, so far-reaching. It is international and world-wide, limited only by the limits of the planet. It is an ethical movement as well as an economic and political movement, and, one may say, a religious movement as well. No political party, no church organization nor any mission effort has as indefatigable workers as has the Socialist movement. They multiply themselves, know of no effort or sacrifice too great to make for the cause, and "cause" with them is spelled out in capitals. Let these men tell what they are doing, what is their aim, and the Debs vote will take on greater significance. It is the working class revolt against the economic masters of the United States. How will the masters quell the revolt? That remains to be seen. But the masters must take one thing into consideration: There was never the like of this revolt in the world before. It is without precedent. It is a democratic revolt and must be fought out with ballots. It is not a strife of lockout and blacklist, strike and boycott, employers' associations and labor unions, strike-breakers and broken heads, armed Pinkertons and injunctions, policemen's clubs and machine guns. It is a peaceable and orderly revolt at the ballot box, under democratic conditions, where the majority rules. My masters, you are in the minority! How will you manage to keep the majority of votes? What will you, my masters; what will you do?

THE SWING OF VICTORY.

By EUGENE V. DEBS.

"The Social Democratic vote in every part of the country has been enormously increased. My advices are that Cook county, Ill., will give us at least 45,000 votes. The state of Illinois alone will probably cast a larger Socialist vote this year than was cast in all the United States four years ago. We have made remarkable gains in Milwaukee and elected worthy comrades to the legislature. It is too early to make an estimate of the total national vote, but enough is known to warrant the statement, that from this time forward the Republicans will have the Social-Democratic party to reckon with, and that the coming alignment will be between the Republican party representing the capitalistic interests, and the Social-Democratic party representing the working classes. As for the Democratic party, the eastern capitalists hit harder than they intended, and it can hardly be pulled together again, to serve as a twin to the Republican party to divide the working classes.

"Twice has the Bourbon Democracy of the south coupled up with the radical western wing of the party, and gone down to defeat. It then quit the radical element, and embraced the conservative element of the east, and has now been knocked in the head harder than before, and this ought to finish this moribund aggregation that has no principles and is only held together by its appetite for spoils.

"We will not see Mr. Roosevelt extract the fangs and silence the rattles of the trusts, and we will also see with what effect he will wave the wand of prosperity in the face of the impending industrial depression.

"From now on, every move on the political chess board, whether so designed or not, will be in the interest of Socialism, and promote the growth of the Socialist movement, and it is entirely possible that in four years more the Social-Democratic party may sweep the United States."

MOMENTOUS DAYS.

By ETHELYN BRYANT CHAPMAN.

He who awaits the scenes and acts of a play, with that absorbed attention which sweeps aside trivial surroundings, will hear at last, faintly sounded in the auditorium, but clear and summoning to the actors, the ring of a bell, which means "All ready for the first act. The Curtain is rising."

Some years ago, seated in the college theater of one of our millionaire endowed universities, I listened to a declamation, which won for the

deliverer the first honor: A year's scholarship; board and clothing *not* included; same *non-transferable*, and *non-negotiable*. It was a High School interstate contest, and the honor would have been an empty one to a poor man's child. A young girl was telling us the old story of "Once upon a Time, there was a Cause and a Man."

It was a dramatic account of the convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln for President of the

United States, and also a snap shot word picture of the state chairmen, as they announced their respective state votes.

Present that evening were white-haired men, who sat in that momentous convention, and the tumultuous waves of the storm of 1860, with their everlasting motion, lapped them into a tense silence of listening.

Others were present, a generation younger, who dimly recalled a few crises in that great struggle for Right, and the freedom of an oppressed people. Fredericksburg! Gettysburg! Vicksburg! Back it all came, in one great wave of psychological effect.

The open threat that *if elected by the people*, Lincoln should never live to take the oath of office. The election. The secret journey to Washington after his election. The inauguration. Sumter, and Surrender.

Chairman after chairman was described personally, as each announced the vote of his respective state, until—the man who as a delegate of the people, held through his state the balance of power, in a convention able to confer upon a man, the nation's highest gift arose, and recognized, said, "The state of—casts — votes for Abraham Lincoln."

Cheer after cheer rang through the great hall.

The bell had struck, and the curtain was slowly rising on the *Great Tragedy of the Civil War*.

To every soul which can pass through the experience and live, there comes the hour of *Gethsemane*; when alone, unaided from *without*, the born Leader must stand as the Defender of the tired helpless toilers, who can sleep while he prays.

Abraham Lincoln signed the *Proclamation of Emancipation* against the advice of some of his closest, truest friends: BUT HE SIGNED IT.

John Brown's raid was magnificently hopeless for the day, but eternally convincing as a factor in the final triumph of a principle.

Every event in the "*man resisting, God insisting*" struggle toward a "higher conscience" has contained a cause and a leader. A play and a star, with a host of capable earnest actors and helpers. Multitudes today, the world over, with throbbing hearts, are awaiting the action of the Great Problem Play, written by *God*, but to be played by players "*made in His own image.*"

The bell struck long ago. We are well on with the prologue.

Some day—a *convention* will *nominate*, and the *people* elect a man, brave, human and fearless enough to *again* insist that the government at Washington is greater than that of any *state* in which constitutional rights are ignored.

He will antagonize his closest friends if necessary. He will make bitter enemies for "conscience's sake." Should he lose his life, he will *find* it. Will the play which surely follows the prologue again be distorted from an historical melodrama wherein every one save the villain is happy, into another historical *tragedy*? There were many years during which the Civil War could have been prevented. It is not a glorious thing to (after non-committal silence) applaud a successful leader who returns, safe, maimed or *under a pall*.

It IS a glorious thing to enlist under a banner, with *belief* in his purposes and principles, or to at least *watch* with him while he struggles for others.

THE DREAM THAT IS COMING TRUE.

By JOHN SPARGO.

A profound faith in the ultimate realization of human brotherhood and comradeship is implied by the very name we Social-Democrats bear. Good old Bronterre O'Brien, who in the rich mint of his powerful mind coined the phrase we do so proudly write for name upon our banners, sounded the very depths of our philosophy and sealed the heights of our faith when he declared, now more than sixty years ago, that Brotherhood could never be realized in the world until Liberty reigned in the world; and that Liberty could never reign in the world until the system permitting private ownership of socially necessary things was destroyed.

So when we today declare for the social ownership of all socially necessary things; when we denounce the system which makes private property master of the common life; when we urge our demands that the means of the common life, produced as they are by the common labor and experience of the world, be owned in common, we are more than a mere political party aiming at political supremacy.

We are the apostles of the great universal religious impulse, the faith of Humanity that the Brotherhood of Man shall yet be universally recognized.

Thus we proclaim our faith in the highways and the byways of the world and sing it in our songs. We are the heralds of the Golden Age of Peace. "The day is coming," we cry, "when the cannon's roar will be silenced by the Peace-Song of a free and glad world. The day is coming, its dawning is at hand, when Socialism triumphant will break down the last barrier that

keeps a single child from the fullest enjoyment of the vast heritage prepared for it through long centuries of pain and toil. The day is at hand when there shall be no man master of another's bread and life; when the words "master" and "slave" and all their hypocritical latter-day equivalents shall pass from human speech and memory. The day is nearer than most of us think or know when the ghoulisn coining of little child lives into dividends shall cease and the tender babes be given their natural fellowship with bird and flower."

"Dreams! Dreams! Only dreams!" you say. Yes, we are dreamers and this is our great and glorious dream. But before you sneer at the dreamers or the dream, look at the great army of dreamers.

Yonder peasant on Russian steppe, bowed with oppressing toil, dreams that dream, sees that vision of a redeemed and revived world, and the load of his life is lightened. And that poor mother in Siberian exile, torn from the home where she was the love-crowned queen, could not hear the anguish of her lone exile but for the same vision.

In German workshops and gar-rison tired workers and pollied prisoners dream the same dream and their faces are lit of the same hope-light.

From the vineyards of France and from her cities comes sound of glad songs: They are singing of the same hope. And Italy and Spain join in the strain

From England's industrial hells and from the abysses of her great cities, those frightful dens of misery and squalor, a shout of increasing volume tells that they have

seen the same vision and dreamed the same dream as that which inspires the workers of our own land from the crowded tenements of New York to the crowded tenements of San Francisco; on the small New England farm and the great prairie wheat farm; in the coal mines that lie in the heart of the Alleghenies and the metaliferous mines of the Rockies.

In far off Australia tens of thousands of toilers, gathered from all climes and speaking all tongues, find inspiration in the same dream. It is life itself to them. And where Africa's millions gather in mine or factory, upon the cities' streets or the great karoo, the dream unites Boer and Briton, Kafir and White in one strong brotherhood.

And even mid the battles din where Russ slave and Jap slave fight till their blood mingles in one red stream at the bidding of their masters, the vision appears and hatred, ignorant, blind hatred, is banished from many a heart.

How vast the army of dreamers!

Time was when only the lone prophet in Israel dreamed such a dream or saw such a vision. He saw through the centuries the time to be "when the swords shall be beaten into plowshares and the spears into pruning hooks." He told of his vision, but men derided and cried out, "Dreamer of vain dreams!" The number of the prophets grew but slowly. The lonely Nazarene, homeless and poor; Campanella the Italian monk; Sir

Thomas More, Saint Simon and Fourier, Robert Owen and the brave German tailor, Wilhelm Deitling. So the line of the "dreamers" grew and spanned the centuries.

But not till the clarion call of the great twin spirits, Marx and Engels, called upon the workers of the world to unite did we realize that the power to make the vision real rested entirely with ourselves.

Now how the army of dreamers has grown! And how it grows! It is no longer the dream of the lone prophet or the poet. It is the dream now of millions in all lands, of all creeds, of all tongues. It is the dream of *nations* now. And as Lowell truly sings: "*The dreams that nations dream come true!*"

Aye, such dreams "come true." No power can prevent the fulfillment of the "dream" of the world's brain and heart. Our red flag, symbolizing as it does our world-kinship and fraternity and the seas of martyr blood shed for the cause, shall yet float in triumph from every state capitol in the land.

Aye and from the Capitol at Washington it shall proudly fly—to be answered from across seas by like emblems of the Socialist triumph of our comrades in Europe and Asia, Africa and Australasia.

"Softly sweet as living springs
Mighty hopes are blowing wide:
Passionate prefigurings
Of a world revived,
Dawning thoughts that ere they set
Shall possess the Ages yet!"

When it is to the interest of the worker to get as much for his toil as possible, so as to live decently and to bring up his family decently, even under the present system, while at the same time it is to the interest of the capitalist to get his labor as cheap as possible in order to make as big profits as possible, how under the sun can it be claimed that the interests of capital and labor are identical!

SOCIALISM, THE RULE OF THE PEOPLE.

By **FREDERICK ENGELS.**

First of all, a few remarks concerning the name of our party. It is called the Social-Democratic party. Our banner is that of Social-Democracy, or Socialism. Social-Democratic and Social-Democracy signify more than democratic and democracy. Democracy means, first, a government by the people; second, the society that is the outgrowth of such a government. Democratic demands are those which are sought through the sovereignty of the people.

The word democracy, derived from the Greek, is frequently translated, "rule of the people." This is not, however, wholly correct. At any rate it does not correspond with the logical conception of the idea of democracy. The "people" is composed of all the members of the state, and the whole cannot rule, since there is no one outside them to be ruled. A ruler necessarily presupposes a subject. Where there is no one to be ruled, because all have a part in the governing, there is, as a matter of course, no domination.

It is by all means a reasonable demand that all subjects of the state, minors naturally excluded, should have an equal part in the rule of the state, and, further, it cannot be denied that the carrying out of such a system would bring about the destruction of social misery.

Why not, then, merely retain the name democracy, which has a history? Just because it has a history. Since the rise of modern industrial society with the opposition of classes and class struggle, the banner of democracy has been made use of many times to veil the eyes of the people to the chasm that yawns between the divided classes of society.

Yes, we have lived to see the enemy of the working people fight them under the flag of democracy. Even in the mouth of those democrats who honestly wish the rule of the people to word democracy has an essentially narrowed sense, covering only the political and governmental sphere. It is this illogical conception, however, which exists at present, and the name democracy cannot therefore satisfy a party which really strives for the rule of the people, but has also perceived that the *governing is not the end, but the means*, that the end of the state is to secure to all its subjects the highest possible sum of well-being and that this end can be realized only through a just regulation of the necessary social labor.

In a word, Social-Democracy, Social-Democratic, expresses this view. Social signifies association, that is referring to society. Social-Democracy means the rule of the people in the province of the social relations of men as well as in that of politics, the just, wise, dignifying arrangement of state and society. Socialism is the science of society, the science of the irrational regulation of it at present and of the reasonable order to be brought about through us; Socialistic, in relation to this science, means developing in that sense; a Socialist, one who seeks to reorganize society according to the principles of Socialism—so that Socialistic and Socialist in the essentials mean the same as Social-Democratic and Social-Democrat.

To make the interests of the ruled subservient to the interests of the rulers is the foundation and purpose of rule—is the meaning of ruling. So long as there are rulers and ruled

it must be so, for rule is by its very nature exploitation. It follows therefrom that the interests of the subject people demand the transformation of the state from its foundation, according to their interest. It must cease to be the possession of a few persons of position and class and must become the possession of citizens with full and equal rights, of whom no one rules over the other, and none will be ruled by another.

For this the Social-Democracy strives. In place of the present class rule we will institute a free government of the people.

It will bring into existence an organization of the state and society, which, resting on the equality of all men, will choke the source of inequality, will tolerate neither ruler nor servant and will found a fraternal community of free men. In order to make this possible the present manner of production must be brought to an end. The economic basis of society—that is, the system of wage labor—must be transformed.

The mother of all social wealth, of all culture, is labor. Whatever we are and have, we are and have through labor. We have labor to thank for everything. Not our personal labor, at least only to an inconsiderable degree, but the general social labor. It is very possible indeed—and we see it frequently enough—to enjoy the blessings of culture without personal work; but it is also absolutely impossible for the most industrious and efficient worker with the most strenuous toil to live as men of culture live without the general social labor that first created culture and without which we were beasts, not men. From this we see the communistic nature of labor, its essentially associative char-

acter, on which all state and society rests. Labor has always had this communistic character, with the ancient slave and the vassal of the middle ages as well as with the modern wage earner. But he did not have the product of his labor, nor has he it yet. The ancient slave worked for his master, the mediæval vassal for the lord of the manor, and the modern wage slave works for the capitalist. Here is the inconsistency, here the injustice, to remedy which is the object of the Social-Democracy.

A Characteristic Contrast.

Democratic Candidate Hangs Idly Round the Hotel Pfister and Milwaukee Club, while the Social - Democratic Candidate works at Productive Labor.

Perhaps no one interested in politics spent election day with more apparent unconcern than Milwaukee's two candidates for governor, George W. Peck, the Democratic candidate, and William Arnold, who headed the Social-Democratic ticket.

Mr. Peck followed the usual routine of his daily affairs, except in a few instances. At 9 o'clock he voted in the First ward. He visited his friends at the Pfister hotel and the Plankinton house and spent some time at the Milwaukee club house. He also spent part of the day at the Democratic state headquarters and last night went there to receive the election returns.

Mr. Arnold, who is a printer, worked as usual throughout the day. He bore his accustomed smile as he went about his work with ink-stained hands, and never once appeared concerned as to how the election would go. Had any of his fellow workers been unaware of the fact that Mr. Arnold was a candidate for the office of governor of Wisconsin, he would never have guessed it.—Milwaukee Sentinel.

IS THE CHURCH AWAKING ?

By R. O. STOLL, Eau Claire, Wis.

As a significant sign of the "Trend of the Times" the attitude of the Church toward sociological matters may be noted by us with interest and profit.

In a recent convention of the Congregational ministers of this state held in this city, the drift of every discourse was toward Socialism. It was startling indeed to hear from the preachers an arraignment of the present-day church for its indifference in matters pertaining to the physical well-being of the toiling masses and the fact that the creed of the churches was and continues to be, the maintenance of the capitalistic system with its attendant plutocratic and autocratic powers.

Prof. Graham Taylor of the Chicago Commons, in a highly dramatic lecture charged the church with idly standing by with folded hands while the most savage brutality was continuously being enacted in our commercialism of today. While he did not entirely approve of the entire program of Socialism, Prof. Taylor deplored that every charge made against the church by the Socialists for its pious hypocrisy was literally true.

As a fitting finale our own Comrade Spence of Green Bay delivered a magnificent oration on the problems of the church in which he quoted the leaven of the Communist Manifesto. The old Simon-pure gospel preacher fairly gasped with surprise and astonishment and sadly shook his head at this, while the Socialists who were permitted to be present revelled in happiness in hearing the false ethical teachings

of the church so brilliantly exposed and impeached.

Rev. Jacobs of the Milwaukee Commons also had a message to his fellow members of "the cloth." Mr. Jacobs, formerly assistant factory inspector in this state, gathered some very valuable statistics. He showed absolutely that no relief could come from the efforts of the church as long as the present economic conditions prevailed. The gentlemen stated that one person of every six who works in the factories of Wisconsin is either a woman or a child and that in the city of Milwaukee the rate is one out of every four. Under such conditions what could home influences accomplish, what could the church do? In fact there were no homes worthy of the name for the large class of working people. Illiteracy had grown in Wisconsin from three percent to thirteen in a single decade. The gentleman's paper is worthy of publication by the Social-Democratic press for its valuable data.

A reverend gentleman from the southern part of the state felt called upon to dull the keen edge of Socialist sentiment which came to the surface at this convention. After reading an exposition of the tenets of Socialism, which was evidently taken from the writings of our own "Gene," he stated that society could be regenerated without resorting to the Socialist program. That the church was making for the betterment of humanity. To be sure the manly pride of the average laborer prevented him from attending church, because he had no means left to pay for its support and there-

fore the speaker recommended a system of profit-sharing as a means of assisting the laboring man to his own and recouping the church at the same time; but, the speaker asserted, "if the laborers share in the

profits they must help bear the losses and this would put an end to that plan," and thus the reverend gentleman floundered about hopelessly shipwrecked on the shoals of his own argument.

WHAT SOCIALISM MEANS.

By HARRY QUELCH, Editor Justice.

Socialism is a theory of a system of human society based on the common ownership of the means of production and the carrying on of the work of production by all for the benefit of all. In other words, Socialism means that the land, the railways, the shipping, the mines, the factories and all such things as are necessary for the production of the necessities and comforts of life should be public property, just as our public roads, our public parks, and our public libraries are public property today, so that all these things should be used by the whole people to produce the goods that the whole of the people require.

Socialists say that this is no utopian dream, but the necessary natural outcome of the development of society. It used to be supposed that anything like the collective carrying on of any enterprise was impossible because it was thought that the personal supervision and control of the owners was absolutely necessary to the success of such an enterprise. But we see today that the greatest undertakings are those which are owned by joint stock companies, in which the personal supervision of the proprietors is quite impossible, and in which the whole business is managed and carried on by paid officials, who might just as well be paid by the community to carry on the enterprise in the interest of the general body of the people as be

paid by a few wealthy men to carry it on for their profit.

Today goods are not produced to satisfy human needs; they are simply produced to provide profit for the class which owns the means of production. It is only for the sake of this profit that the property owning class owns these means of production. As a consequence, we have shoddy and adulterated goods produced. Also, as this profit is simply the difference between the value of the work which the working people do and the amount they receive in wages, the actual producers never receive the equivalent of what they produce, and therefore are never able to buy it back again. It happens, therefore, that, as the machinery of production increases and workmen are able to turn out more goods, they are thrown out of work, and they, with their wives and children, are in want and misery, not because there is any scarcity of the things they need, but because there is more of them than those who have produced them can buy.

Under the present system, therefore, the very increase of wealth is too often a curse to the wealth producers, simply because those who produce have no ownership in the means of production, and no control over the things produced.

Under Socialism, as the means of production would belong to the whole people, the whole people

would have control of the things produced. Every increase of wealth then would benefit the whole community. Under the present system increased wealth means increased luxury for the few and increased penury and suffering for the many. In a Socialist community increased production would mean more leisure, more wealth, more means of enjoying life, more opportunities for everybody.

By the discoveries of science, the invention of genius, the application of industry, man has acquired such power over nature that he can now produce wealth of all kinds as plentifully as water. There is no sound reason why poverty and want should exist anywhere on this earth. All that is needed is to establish a more equitable method of distributing the wealth already produced in such profusion. That is what Socialism proposes to do. The work of production is organized, socialized; it is necessary to socialize distribution as well.

What is to be done to supplant the present system by Socialism; to substitute fraternal co-operation for the cut-throat competition of today? The first thing necessary is to organize the workers into a class-conscious party; that is, a party recognizing that as a class the workers are enslaved through the possession of the means of production by another class, recognizing, too, that between these two classes there is an antagonism of interest, a perpetual struggle, a constant class war, which must go on until the workers become possessed of political power, and use that power to become masters of the whole material means of production. When that has been achieved, the war of classes will be at an end, because the division of mankind into classes will have dis-

appeared, the emancipation of the working class will have been accomplished and Socialism will be here.

Social-Democratic Cameos.

Our homes and lands are kept warm by a blanket composed of nine million mortgages.

We pay \$3.00 per year to educate the child and \$17.00 per year to keep the child's father drunk.

The ethics of Socialism are identical with those of Christianity.—Thomas Kirkup, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, article Socialism.

There are 180,000 square miles of coal lands in the United States that have never been worked. This land is held in reserve by the capitalists.

The morality Socialism teaches is by far superior to that of its adversaries.—Professor Francesco Nitti (*University of Naples*, "Catholic Socialism.")

The machinery of the nation is equivalent to 11,200,081 horsepower. Ten men can produce 1 horsepower, hence the machinery is equal to the labor of 113 million able-bodied men.

Our insane asylums contain 101,009 and our feeble-minded institutes contain 77,895 inmates. There was an increase of 600 per cent in insanity in the last fifty years.

Government and Co-operation are in all things and eternally the Laws of Life. Anarchy and Competition, eternally, and in all things, the Laws of Death.—John Ruskin.

Paupers in the United States in state institutions, 83,145; in benevolent institutions, 116,836; total, 199,981. Three million of our pauperized citizens apply to charity institutions for assistance each year. We have 2,500,000 professional tramps, aged from 7 to 70; 75 per cent are skilled mechanics, 63 per cent habitual drunkards, 82 per cent are under 40 years of age, and 61 per cent embrace some kind of religion.

Karl Marx is coming to rank with Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer as one of the three Titans of the scientific revolution.—Prof. Enrico Ferri (University of Turin).

Every Christian, who understands and earnestly accepts the teachings of his Master, is at heart a Socialist; and every Socialist ... bears within himself an unconscious Christianity.—Laveleye, "Socialism of Today."

The Social-Democratic party is the only party in Germany—be it said—which by its masterly generalship, its cohesion, and in many cases by the justice of its cause, has defeated the Kaiser whenever he has crossed swords with it.—C. von Schierbrand.

Perhaps, with the exception of Ricardo, there has been no more original, no more powerful, and no more acute intellect in the entire history of economic science, than that of Karl Marx.—Prof. Seligman.

The issue between Socialism and Individualism is, I believe, the leading issue of this age-weary modern world. The men to come will envy us, as sharers in a battle greater than the anti-slavery struggle; greater than any phase in the eternal battle of the race for liberty since the convulsion of the Protestant reformation set man free in the sphere of Religion, as Socialism promises to set him free in the sphere of economics. — Professor Vida Scudder (Wellesley College).

THIS OUGHT TO WAKE YOU!

That this nation is drifting away from the principles established by the founders of the republic, can not longer be questioned. Some time ago the Boston Herald, in commenting upon the rapid growth of Social-Democracy, had the following to say editorially:

"If such baleful manifestations can not be prevented by existing governmental methods, then, on the ground of self-protection, **SUCH CHANGES WILL BE MADE IN OUR SYSTEM OF POLITICAL CONTROL AS WILL GIVE THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT THE AUTHORITY AND POWER NEEDED TO CHECK THE GROWTH OF SOCIALISM. OF COURSE THIS WOULD MEAN THE END OF THE REPUBLIC AS OUR FATHERS FOUNDED IT.**"

The Des Moines Globe speaks with more brutal frankness when it says:

"Now is a good time for America to do away with her OLD, ABSOLUTE CONSTITUTION and adopt a form of government that will be logical with our new expansion ideas and will give ample protection to capital. A constitutional monarchy is probably the most desirable plan that we could adopt. Everything is right for the change. **We have a large army, and it can be increased under almost any pretext without causing alarm to the masses.** This country has been so prosperous that the voters **HAVE LOST THAT SPIRIT OF PATRIOTISM AND HONESTY** that are necessary to the successful operation of republics. The strong hand of discipline will have to be used to bring the masses to a full sense of their proper behavior."

In the above editorial comments, extracted from the columns of subsidized journals, you have the sentiments entertained by the class who live upon the exploitation of the laboring masses. The capitalist class are well aware of the fact that the functions of government are now in their hands, and they propose to use the powers of government to subjugate the masses. They know that the conditions that are being created through the greed of corporate brigands are arousing a discontent that menaces the fortress of organized wealth, and they furthermore know that the battle will soon be transferred from the industrial to the political field.—Miners' Magazine.

THE GROWTH OF SOCIALISM.

A Significant Editorial from a Milwaukee Daily.

A feature of the recent election that has given rise to a great deal of speculation in the columns of the daily press and manifest uneasiness among the leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties is the marked increase in the vote cast for Socialist candidates. Four years ago Debs received 87,000 votes. In the election this year he received in the vicinity of 600,000 votes. In Milwaukee more votes were cast for the Socialist candidate for president than were cast for the Democratic candidate. In Chicago the Socialists rolled up over 40,000 votes, completely wiping out the Democratic majorities.

In each election the Socialists have made great gains. Quite naturally the leaders of the Republican and Democratic parties, more especially the leaders of the Democratic party, are asking themselves: "Where will it end?" Will the Socialist vote continue to grow until in the cities and industrial centers it overcomes one or the other of the great parties, or is there a limit to its growth? Is it a spasmodic protest against existing conditions? Or is it a permanent movement? If it is a permanent movement, which of the great parties will it displace? These are the questions that the leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties are asking themselves. Others, who are apprehensive lest the Socialists should become a formidable political factor, are seeking the cause for the growing tide of Socialism. Some hold immigration responsible, others place the responsibility upon the failure of the government to regulate and control the trusts and corporations and safeguard the rights of the public. These explanations assume that the growth of Socialism is due more to a desire to make protest against certain phases of existing industrial conditions than to work radical change of the system itself. Without exception, these explanations are made from the point of view of the so-called middle class and utterly ignore the workingman's conception of where the wrong lies.

It is a mistake to assume that the Socialist movement is a recrudescence of Populism. The Populist movement was a middle-class protest. It was essentially a farmers' movement, though So-

cialistic in tendency. The Socialist party appeals to the "class conscious" workingman. It holds that the capitalistic system inevitably will wipe out the middle class as now constituted and create two classes—the great capitalists and their retainers. These retainers may be separated into various social classes, but economically they will constitute a single class of wage workers. The Socialists propose to abolish the capitalistic class, which, by the time capitalism has reached its culmination, will have become superfluous and separated from industrial direction, and place the ownership of the nation's means of production in the hands of the producing or wage-working class.

It is quite obvious that the future of the Socialist party depends upon whether its theory of industrial evolution is true or false. If the existing industrial system does not tend to eliminate the middle class, if it does not tend to concentrate the nation's wealth in the hands of a few, if the wage working class is not being constantly recruited from the ranks of the small manufacturer, merchant and farmer, then Socialism in the very nature of things can not be else than a spasmodic protest to go the way of other parties of protest that have flashed up and created a momentary disturbance and subsided as quickly as they arose. If industrial evolution, however, inevitably leads to the centralization of wealth and the elimination of the middle class, the Socialist party naturally will keep pace with the changing industrial conditions.

If the Socialist conception of industrial evolution is correct Socialism is inevitable, as inevitable as that the creation of man should follow when the forces were started in motion that brought forth life in its lowest form. It is much like making Darwin's theory a political issue. If the theory of evolution is correct, to vote that it is wrong would not in the least check the forces of evolution. If Debs had been elected president his election would not have brought about Socialism. If the Socialists had elected every candidate for office named by them Socialism would not have resulted, if the Socialistic theory of industrial evolution be correct. The theory itself would seem to require

that the Socialist political movement shall develop gradually and keep pace with the industrial evolution and be prepared when the "inevitable" time for a change of systems shall come to make the transition without friction or disturbance.—Editorial in Milwaukee Daily News.

A JUST COMMENT.

We take the following from one of our Catholic Exchanges:

In an article printed by the Catholic Transcript, reviewing the prominence of the labor issue in the recent election, it is predicted that there will now be renewed efforts to curb Socialism:

"The pulpits especially will ring with terrible anathemas and warnings against Socialism. Numerous priests and ministers who ought to know better, without taking trouble to investigate the truth of their charges, will paint awful pictures of what the Socialists want to do to various institutions. It matters very little to Americans what German or Italian Socialism means. The clergymen who want to be fair should investigate and find out for themselves what American Socialism stands for. The Social-Democratic brand of Socialism seeks only certain economic changes, many of which are favored by other radical parties. The Socialism denounced by the clergy is very much the same kind of an imaginary straw bogey as the terrible Red Woman of Rome, who used to thrill so many bigots with terror forty and fifty years ago."

THE SOCIALISTIC PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES.

There is almost no point of similarity in the history of the Social-Democratic party in the United States and the record of other third-party movements. That party has not reached its present proportions in nearly so short a time as sufficed for each of the others to attain a degree of strength which made them truly a menace for at least the time being to one or the other of the leading old parties. It has failed as yet to elect a governor or a single congressman or even a considerable number of members of state legislatures, though it has chosen a few mayors and members of city governments in various parts of the country. Nevertheless, it will have survived after the present campaign five national elections. Other parties which have stood for a single idea or which have in their birth and rise to power reflected popular discontent, have increased rapidly in numbers and, after a few emphatic successes at the polls, have passed completely out of exist-

ence either by an unconscious dissipation of their membership among minor parties, or by a more or less conscious fusion with one of the great parties. The Socialists alone have had a slow and gradual progress from insignificant beginnings. Whatever one may think of its propaganda or its future course, the impartial student of political movements can not avoid the conviction that it has reached its present proportions by normal and steady growth.—Charles Ferris Gettemy, in The World To-Day, November.

Bourgeois revolutions, like those of the eighteenth century, rush onward rapidly from success to success, their stage effects outbid one another, men and things seem to be set in flaming brilliants, ecstasy is the prevailing spirit; but they are short-lived, they reach their climax speedily, then society relapses into a long fit of nervous reaction before it learns how to appropriate the fruits of its period of excitement. Proletarian revolutions, on the contrary, such as those of the 19th century, criticise themselves constantly; constantly interrupt themselves in their own course; comes back to what seems to have been accomplished, in order to start over anew; scorn with cruel thoroughness the half measures, weaknesses and meannesses of their first attempts; seem to throw down their adversary only in order to enable him to draw fresh strength from the earth, and again to use up against them in more gigantic stature; constantly recoil in fear before the undefined monster magnitude of their own objects—until finally that situation is created which renders all retreat impossible, and the conditions themselves cry out: "Hic Rhodus, hic Salta!" Here is the rose, now dance!

—Karl Marx.

Capitalism gives the least pay to the hardest worker. Socialism would reverse it.

POINTED PARAGRAPHS.

By FREDERIC HEATH.

We do not blame the capitalists for skinning the people, but we do blame the people for supporting the skinning system.

Will some bright political economist please tell us why the hardest work and the smallest pay usually go together?

Dreamers, eh? The wish is father of the thought, with our capitalistic critics. It is just because we are practical that capitalism is roused to call names!

Father Mario Oddario, the priest-Socialist of Italy, says there are some priests of his faith who see a scarecrow in every new movement for the betterment of humanity.

The alarm now being uttered by the capitalist newspaper mouth-pieces over the steady growth of Social-Democracy is not a marker to what you will hear later on!

The Brauer Zeitung remarks that the Social-Democratic platform is the only political platform that does not discriminate against one capitalist and in favor of another.

In Indiana one divorce to each seven marriages! Indiana is a capitalistic state. If those people were to learn of Socialism it might reform them, and that would be just terrible!

A civilization in which the temptations to be bad vastly outnumber the temptations to be good is a vicious civilization. It presents a bad environment. We Social-Demo-

crats do *not* want to change human nature, but to change the present environment which is strangling all that is good in human nature and developing the worse passions.

When you hear a charge made against the integrity of the Social-Democratic movement, you ought, as a conscientious citizen, to investigate. The Socialists will give you every opportunity.

What can be done for the industrious dispossessed? Charity? how insulting! Teach him humility and resignation? That would be abominable. Discontent is a necessary factor to progress. There is only one sane remedy—stop dispossessing him. But to do that the capitalist system will have to be abolished—and it is going to be!

Railway managers admit that they charge in rates "all the traffic will bear." According to the official figures of the U. S. Department of Labor the cost of food increased 22 per cent from 1897 to 1903, and the cost of fuel and light 55 per cent! So you see the food and fuel gamblers are simply charging the dear people "all the traffic will bear." You may think such a system of managing the people's necessities is an ideal one, but we consider it downright thievery.

How do you like it, you sovereign American citizen, to pay \$8.00 a ton for coal? Eh, how do you like it! And yet it is entirely your *own* fault. If you had elected the *right* kinds of representatives in congress such an extortion would be *unheard*

of—your representatives would simply vote the robber barons out of their possession of the people's coal fields, even if it were expedient to pay actual cost for them, and people would cease to freeze to death in winter. Can't you take the hint!

There are 150,000 divorces in the United States yearly, and yet certain foxy gentlemen of the cloth are trying to make people think that Socialism would be against the family! It is capitalism that is against the sacredness of the family, but there is a studious effort in some quarters to hide the fact.

Edward Bellamy said, "Nothing can overcome the young giant of private monopoly, except the greater giant of public monopoly." And he expressed a world of truth in a brief sentence. It is our only way out. Modern conditions of business compel combination and concentration. Fighting the trusts is like tilting at windmills. The trouble with the people is not so much that there are trusts, as that they are not in them. Let the nation own the trusts!

Who says this is a nation of homes! In San Francisco, according to the government, census, 85 per cent of the people live in houses they do not own. In Philadelphia 88 per cent live in rented houses. In Milwaukee 84 per cent live in houses owned by others. In Chicago 89 per cent live in homes they do not own. In classic Boston 92 per cent of the people live in homes rented from the 8 per cent. In New York it is still worse—95 per cent live in unowned homes. And just to show that all sections of the country fare alike we may mention New Orleans,

where 83 per cent live in the houses of others, and Atlanta, where 88 per cent live under the roofs of others. In every way you look at it the state of life under the capitalist system shows that that system does not minister to the good of the people.

The professors of sociology in the Chicago University make use of the following table of the distribution of wealth in the United States:

Class.	Families.	Per Cent.	Average Wealth.	Aggregate wealth.	Per Cent.
Rich	125,000	1.	\$263,040	\$32,880,000,000	54.8
Middle ...	1,362,500	10.9	14,180	19,320,000,000	32.2
Poor	4,762,500	38.1	1,639	7,800,000,000	13.
Very poor	6,250,000	50.			
Total ...	12,500,000	100.	\$4,800	\$50,000,000,000	100.0

The working class produces the wealth—but another class possesses it!

England is becoming overburdened with its insane. London has 24,000 lunatics in her asylums. A specialist in mental diseases has called attention to the fact that the largest proportion of lunacy cases comes from the working class, and says: "The reason is obvious. The depressing influence of the monotonous grinding for existence in slum and underground dwellings and the resort to intemperance to secure forgetfulness of their woes, are the reasons, he says.

"Father Kerby recognizes that Socialism, like unionism, single-tax, Populism. Catholic and general reform activity, municipal leagues, etc., is caused by a general social unrest. Socialism has its justification in its criticism of the existing order. It cannot be overthrown by empty resolutions of public gatherings, but

must be overcome by abolishing the evils which it exposes."—*Portland Catholic Sentinel*.

Good! Go ahead and abolish the evils and among them the exploitation of labor. This will give the worker his full product, which will require the collective ownership of the machinery of production—and that is Socialism! Go ahead, and we'll help you!

Public utilities, owned by the people, have never been known to resort to political corruption. The boodling is always done by private business interests in control of public utilities.

Despite the activity of certain unscrupulous elements, it is a good commentary on the sense of the people that this office has received only one letter asking if there is any truth in the slanders so industriously circulated by this pack of filthy slanderers, and that that one letter is from a Social-Democratic woman, who doesn't believe the slanders, but thinks we ought to reply to the charge that under Socialism there would be a community of woman. A community of woman! Think of the moral degradation of a person who would peddle such a disgusting charge! A sot editor of a Citizens' Alliance fake labor paper can be excused, perhaps, for such indecent villification, but how can we excuse a man of the cloth from such a low bred attack? Let us speak as plainly as the English language will permit. Social-Democracy is an uplifting influence, a moral force applied to a world degraded by capitalism and its paid lackeys. It protects the right of conscience, the natural human desire to be clean and moral. It has never so much as suggested such a thing as a community of wo-

men, it is unalterably opposed to slavery of any sort, it wants the earth peopled with the noblest types of manhood and womanhood. It shudders at the prevalent immorality of the existing capitalist system, at the fact that thousands and thousands of women are led by it to sell their bodies in order to live. It is shocked that at the seat of our national congress it takes whole streets of houses of prostitution to satisfy the men the Republican and Democratic parties elect to Washington to make our laws. It is shocked that the same thing, only on a smaller scale, obtains at our state legislatures. It is shocked at the inhuman wages paid girls in store, factory and shop, at the immoral tendencies of the child labor pens. Social-Democrats hold for monogamy.

A more moderate tone was to be observed in an address on Social-Democracy that was made last week by Archbishop Messmer in one of the Milwaukee Catholic churches. On the purely economic questions a Catholic and a Socialist might agree, he said, in many instances. There were other parts of the Social-Democratic doctrine that were against natural law and religion, and were not economic questions, although claimed to be such. One statement he made, may be instanced to show that the archbishop has not yet grasped the central point of the Social-Democratic philosophy, which was that Socialism will "remove all private property." Social-Democracy would not abolish private property at all, quite the contrary. But it would abolish the private ownership of capital, which is quite a different thing. Capital is wealth used for the purpose of making profit through the labor of others—through the exploitation of labor.

We want to abolish the capitalistic wage system which only permits the worker a small part of his product and builds up colossal and dangerous fortunes for the capitalistic master class. We want to reverse the present state of things. We want the worker to be rich. Let the shirker to be poor.

The partnership between Capital and Labor, what is it? It is capitalism rather than capital that is Labor's "partner" in production, and a queer partner at that. Labor sweats and groans at its task and get enough out of the "partnership" to keep in working condition meanwhile, and to raise a family of other wage workers to keep the labor market supplied, and the balance of the product goes to capitalism, that abstract "partner" that requires so much and is never satisfied. Capitalism is like the devil fish, its tentacles reach in every direction and are covered with innumerable suckers. After they have sucked up the larger part of the worker's product as manufacturing profits, the other suckers get at what he retains as wages, and the coal sucker, the food sucker, the shelter sucker, the light sucker, the medicine sucker, the clothes sucker, etc., etc., fairly strip him of every penny. Social-Democrats do not feel a hatred of individual employers or firms, they know that their enemy is the capitalist system, and that they will have no relief until that system is abolished.

If you are a man of true patriotic fibre there must come a turning point in your life politically. Sooner or later disgust will set in and the capitalist parties in spite of their traditions will appear in their true colors. Why not make the present your turning point? Why not!

British Municipal Ownership.

The American who dreads municipal ownership for fear of its being used to create political machinery and rob the public, and who declares that we must first establish the merit system, may be astonished when he learns the extent of the development of British municipal trading under these conditions.

Seeking to learn "the other side" of municipalization in Great Britain, the investigator is at every turn referred to Mr. Arthur Kay, a distinguished citizen of Glasgow and head of the great merchandise house of Arthur & Company, as the arch enemy of municipalization. He is president of the Citizens' Union and the Taxpayers' Federation. When asked, "Do you think Glasgow should own and operate its trams?" he answered, "Certainly. The owning and operating of these tramways has been highly profitable and thoroughly satisfactory, the accounting is correct, and nobody opposes it."

"But you think the trams should be operated for profit in relief of rates?"

"Not at all. They should be run on a low factor of safety, and profits be sunk in betterments or reduction of charges."

"But this is Socialism?"

"Well, they call it Socialism—municipal Socialism."

And this from the gentleman who was to have given the final word against municipalization! In Great Britain there is opposition, not to municipal ownership as such, but only to its excesses.—Francis W. Parker, in *The World To-Day* for November.

The Vanguard and Herald 75 cents a year for both, except for subscribers in the city of Milwaukee, where the combination price is 90 cts. a year.



Socialist Headquarters.

To achieve the objects of Socialism, the American Socialists have formed the Socialist Party, now organized in all the States of the Union. In New York and Wisconsin, this party is known, for legal reasons, as the Social Democratic Party and in Minnesota as the Public Ownership Party.

NATIONAL SECRETARY: WILLIAM MAILLY, Boylston Bldg., 269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

WORLD VOTE BY YEARS.

1867	30,000
1871	101,000
1872	101,268
1874	352,220
1876	353,028
1877	494,364
1878	438,234
1881	373,850
1882	423,004
1884	666,150
1885	667,614
1887	931,454
1889	1,109,891
1890	1,794,606
1891	1,799,060
1892	1,798,391
1893	2,585,898
1894	2,914,506
1895	3,033,718
1896	3,056,873
1897	3,896,602
1898	4,515,591
1899	4,534,591
1900	4,874,740
1901	4,912,740
1902	5,253,054
1903	6,285,374

The Social-Democratic party is the only party in Germany at the present time, which has any claim to political respect. The devotion, the self-sacrificing spirit of the Socialist masses, impresses even those who are far from sharing their aims.—Prof. Theodor Mommsen (University of Berlin).

The true end of Social-Democracy, then, is in the first place ethical. It is not the subordination of man to the machine of State, but the use of the State for ethical, that is to say human, ends. Politics, it seems necessary to repeat, are rightfully subordinate to ethics. They exist for the sake of human life, and in the modern world human life is richer and wider than state life.—L. T. Hobhouse (Corpus Christi College, Oxford).

The answer of Socialism to the capitalist is that society can do without him, just as society now does without the slave-owner or feudal lord, both of whom were formerly regarded as necessary to the well being and even the existence of society.—William Clarke, M. A. (Cambridge).

The Socialist demands the greatest possible organization of the material basis of life that he may leave the greatest possible freedom to the life of the spirit, and maintains that the absence of freedom and variation in the one direction follows from the absence of organization in the other.—Sidney Ball (St. John's College, Oxford).

It rests with you either to palter continually with your conscience and in the end to say one fine day, "Perish humanity, provided I can have plenty of pleasures and enjoy them to the full, so long as the people are foolish enough to let me." Or, once more the inevitable alternative, to take part with the Socialists, and work with them for the complete transformation of society. A vast and most enthralling task; a work in which your actions will be in complete harmony with your conscience; an undertaking capable of rousing the noblest and most vigorous natures.—Appeal to the Young.

Socialism stands for the collective ownership of capital, that is, all the means of production and distribution, in the same manner as we have now the collective ownership of some capital: the parks, the water works, and, in various countries, the telephone, telegraph, and railroad (both street and national) plants, etc. But it stands for the private use and private ownership of the means of subsistence: clothes, furniture, books, pictures, etc.—Prof. Schaeffle (late Minister of Commerce, Austria).

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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WE CAN SUPPLY ANY SOCIALIST BOOK.

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

THE VANGUARD.

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

Vol. 3. No. 4. MILWAUKEE, WIS., DECEMBER, 1904. Whole Number 24.

The great question of the day is the question of labor. The political question is solved. The Republic is made, and nothing can unmake it. The social question remains. Terrible as it is, it is quite simple; it is a question between those who have, and those who have not. The latter of these two classes must disappear, and for this there is work enough. Look you, there is a people and there is a world; and yet the people have no inheritance, and the world is a desert. Give them to each other, and you make them happy at once. Astonish the universe by heroic deeds that are better than wars. Does the world want conquering? No, it is yours already; it is the property of civilization; it is already waiting for you. — VICTOR HUGO.

Enlargement of The Vanguard.

Pursuant to announcement made some months ago, we are now about to enlarge **THE VANGUARD** by a series of special numbers, from time to time, which, in addition to the usual editorial features, will contain complete treatises on various phases of the Socialist movement.

The first of these special issues will be our January number, in which "Socialism and the City," by Winfield R. Gaylord, will appear. This will be a timely and valuable discussion of civic problems from the Socialist point of view.

All subscribers to **THE VANGUARD** will receive these special numbers without extra charge. Subscribe now that you may not miss any of them.

"If suddenly," says Ruskin, "in the midst of the enjoyment of the palate and lightness of heart of a Christmas dinner party, the walls of the room were parted, and through their gap the nearest human beings who were famishing and in misery were born into the midst of the company feasting and fancy free—if, pale from death, horrible in destitution, broken by despair, body by body they were laid upon the soft carpet, one beside the chair of every guest, would only the crumbs of the dainties be cast to them—would only a passing glance, a

passing thought, be vouchsafed to them? Yet the actual facts, the real relation of each Dives and Lazarus, are not altered by the intervention of the house-wall between the table and the sick-bed—by a few feet of ground (how few!) which are, indeed, all that separate the merri-ment from the misery."

"Peace on earth, good-will among men." To put these words into actual practice, to abolish war, to promote brotherhood, to establish justice, to secure the possession of the earth for all, to enable men to live the life of men, to substitute a co-operative commonwealth for a system of selfish profit and cruel strife—this is what Socialists are seeking to accomplish. And so they celebrate this Christmas season by a renewal of activity all along the line in a great world campaign for the new social order in which men, instead of trampling upon one another in a mad struggle for existence, will bear one another's burdens and so fulfill the law of Christ.

"Suffer little children to come unto me," said the great-hearted Founder of Christianity whose birth is commemorated this month, Yet throughout Christendom millions of child-slaves are annually crushed to death under the wheels

of capitalism at the hands of professed followers of the Nazarene. To make the travesty worse those whose hands are red with infant blood will assemble in costly churches, arrayed in fine garments representing wealth wrung from child-labor, to "worship" Him who said, "Who so shall offend one of these little ones, it were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and that he were cast into the depths of the sea". "Why call ye me 'Lord, Lord,' and do not the things I say".

When appealed to in the name of humanity, what is the answer of capitalism concerning its murder of the children? It is simply that it cannot run its factories at a profit without child labor. And when outraged society would invoke the "strong arm of the law" in behalf of the innocents, capitalism is ready to bribe legislatures, to buy the "best legal talent", to obstruct and contest every remedial measure, while it "Silences" the voice of both Republican and Democratic parties concerning the foulest blot on the civilization of today. Socialism alone stands forth as the protector of childhood and the defender of the home.

President Roosevelt in his message to Congress points with Republican pride to our continued "prosperity", while authentic reports as to child labor in the country show it to be on the increase and make reading which can scarcely be equalled for horror. One feature of it is thus described: "Depriving a little boy of his sleep for years and stopping his natural growth through long hours of night labor—and this for a pittance—produce a class of little old men at twenty who are simply not human. They are not immoral, but nonmoral. They are worse than degenerates. They are "reverts," degraded, animal and half imbecile. Their physical and mental destruction is the revenge of Dame Nature for the violation of the sweetest of her laws—the growth and development of youth." But what of the system which breeds these "reverts"? What of the people who uphold it? What of the vaunted "prosperity" built upon it? Can any nation or individual hope to escape the "revenge of nature" for such violation of human life? Better far that every factory in the country should be closed tomorrow than that we should "enjoy" any more of this horrible "prosperity."

The Message of Socialism to the Church.

The steady growth of Socialist sentiment among the clergymen of the country ought to be an answer to those who, either ignorantly or maliciously, continue to make the charge that Socialism is antagonistic to Christianity. **Instead of in any way opposing Christianity, Socialism is the logical economic expression of the religion of Jesus, and its general acceptance by the Christian ministry is merely a question of candid study of Socialist principles and a sincere effort to realize the Christianity of Christ.**

A most effective address on "The Message of Socialism to the Church," was recently delivered by Rev. J. Stitt Wilson before the Congregational ministers of San Francisco. So clearly and forcefully did the speaker present the matter that we gladly give place on our editorial page to the following excerpts:

I can grant you any degree of superiority you may wish to give to the spiritual over the material interests. And then I will demand your consideration of the material interests that are still absolutely fundamental to human life. I will grant you that a man's life does not consist in the abundance of things which he possesseth, but you must grant me that he must have things, nevertheless—food, clothing, shelter—after he has read your text to its utmost meaning. I will grant you that 'man cannot live by bread alone,' but you must grant me that he cannot live without bread.

Bread, and all that is signified by that wonderful word in the form of human needs and comforts, we must have. But our bread does not fall as manna from heaven. In order to get that bread we must labor. And in order to labor we must have access to the material resources of nature, and the mechanical equipment for labor.

This struggle of men today for bread, for labor, and for access to the material resources whence that bread comes and to which that labor is applied; this struggle presents us with the great labor problem, which rocks civilization to its very foundation. From this struggle the Church cannot escape. To its solution you are summoned.

Now Socialism confronts this awful struggle in the name of the working class. And I wish to hold your thought clearly to this one point, that Socialism is not any of the fifty things ignorant critics make it out to be. Socialism is

a plain, unmistakable economic program to be carried out by the working class through political action, by the ballot box and legislative enactment. Socialism presents an organized social movement and a social program to abolish the unnatural elements of this struggle and make men forever free from the tragedy of our bread-getting.

Statistics show that already one per cent. of the families in America hold more of the results of labor than the remaining ninety-nine per cent. One single corporation, according to one of its self-confessed accomplices, plundered the people of over one hundred millions (\$100,000,000) of dollars in the last five years!

"By their fruits ye shall know them" is as true of social and economic systems as it is of individuals. You cannot gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles. Neither can you gather love, peace, mercy, tenderness, brotherly kindness; in short, the human and Christ virtues, from the operations of a system that in its very basis provides for and in its practice demands the development and fruition of the very opposite passions of men.

Place the land and the machinery and all products of all toil open to the mad gamble of private property seekers and exploiters of men for private profit; place the very bodies of men, women and little children as mere marketable commodities to be hired "whenever and wherever" the masters of the market shall dictate, to be paid "whatever compensation" the industrial monarchs shall choose; turn 80,000,000 of people loose in that struggle—a struggle from which there is no exemption, a struggle imposed by nature and necessity—give us, I say, that kind of a basis for our bread-getting, and inhumanity and cruelty in that struggle is inevitable.

We Socialists, then, demand of the disciples of Jesus that you attack this capitalist system, so cruelly inhuman and unchristian in its operation. At least we demand of you that if you refuse to struggle with us against it, never to use the name of Jesus as an apology for the crimes of competitiveness. We demand of you that the oppressor shall not deal out to the working class a double curse in the exploitation of men by carrying the profit-bag in one hand the Bible, the cross and the sacrament in the other. For it may be truly said that capitalism is the only considerable anti-

Christ of modern times. All the other great forms of public wrong that curse and blight us are either fathered or mothered and nourished by this one gigantic anti-Christ—the competitive system.

Let me remind you, also, that the members of your flocks are unescapably involved in this inhuman and unchristian strife. Their individualistic piety grants them no release. The social system involves them in its meshes either as agents or victims of its wrong, irrespective of their professions, their piety or their prayers. In the battle for bread, life is reduced to the lowest common denominator, capable of measuring all without exception. For once, let us thank God, the pilgrim to the delectable mountains of spiritual safety cannot escape from this City of Destruction with His pack on his back to save His own soul. He is bound to the race with unbreakable social bonds. Every bite of bread he eats, every garment he wears, every coin that passes through his hands, the sacrament of our common humanity, is tainted with the poison of this system. And there is no spiritual inoculation that can render the church member or the clergy immune. They, too, are sinners with us in this social strife and competitive war of man against man. And with us they must confess the social guilt and expiate the social sin.

Apostles of Christ, can you apologize for or defend a system which grows disgusting and deadly even to its votaries? We Socialists ask you men who profess to teach the truth of Him who came to proclaim liberty to captives and to make men free, to attack this plutocratic tyranny. Stand, not for mammon, but for men. Plead the cause of the people. We invite the clergy and the Church to join with us in overthrowing this subtle tyranny that is sapping the foundations of constitutional liberty, making Christianity a joke, and enslaving the working class under the specious promises and masks of "prosperity."

The Socialist reads out of the agencies and activities of the present tyranny the truth that shall make us free. Socialism, therefore, declares that the people must proceed as rapidly as votes can be counted and law enacted to transfer the basic industrial equipment of the nation from private individuals and the capitalist class to the nation, to the people, to social or collective ownership, to be or-

(Concluded on page 22.)

World's Fair from Socialist Standpoint.

By S. L. HOOVER.



WITHIN ten years this nation has given to the world three of these gigantic markets of progress. After Chicago, 1893, the magnitude of the undertaking, and the magnificence of the completed exposition were upon every tongue. All who visited this exposition felt that something hitherto unknown had been accomplished, and now, 1904, when there is scarcely a feature that has not been excelled at St. Louis, there is not half the comment, nor half the expressed satisfaction that another great triumph for material progress has been made a fact, Chicago, 1893, made St. Louis, 1904, easier of accomplishment. We have come to consider such enterprises as these, as matters of fact, and fell confident that we can repeat them whenever occasion demands.

The readiness, willingness and ease with which this nation does these great things has been explained by different persons by giving such reasons as seemed proper to them from their respective points of view. Some have attributed it to the vast natural resources of the nation; others to the mixed population, giving breadth of view, and variety of plan and design; and still others to the nation's newness, its spring-tide, so to speak. If none of these explanations seems to be correct to the Social-Democrat, it must be remembered that his view point is so much above that of the average man of today that he sees things in a clearer light, and in a more nearly perfect relationship, and for this reason is without doubt better fitted to offer an explanation of the fact just sug-

gested. He sees the cause of the nation's greatness as no other person can see it, and he therefore maintains that he can explain this greatness in one word—freedom. He sees in political liberty, religious liberty, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience, elements for making the individual a true, strong and courageous man, and a body of such men must make any nation invincible and able to do whatever it sets its heart upon.

Russia is as favored in natural resources as is this nation, but if two or three of her young people are seen standing on the streets engaged in conversation, they are immediately dispersed by police, or arrested, and hereby hangs a tale. All initiative, personal pride and ambition are crushed out even before the child has reached its maturity. Submission to authority and that often of the basest sort, has rendered it impossible for such a nation to accomplish anything good or great, or that will make for human progress. The South American Republics have much the same population that makes up our nation, and they have not reached the age where decrepitude should set in, but they are only republics in name, for absolutism and church domination are the rule, and the people are denied their freedom and kept in ignorance of their rights.

But the Socialist is progressive. He sees still further. He knows there is another freedom—economic or industrial freedom which is the next step in human progress, and that if this nation is balked in its onward march the time will soon be here when the days of this nation's

greatness will be numbered, and such an accomplishment as the one beheld at St. Louis in 1904 can only be a picture of the memory.

In an effort to learn how this exposition was made, various official reports were read, and conversation was held with a number of persons. From all these sources came the statement of the all important services of a small group of men known as the Exposition Builders, one of whom as President was receiving a salary of fifty thousand dollars per annum. When an effort was made to discover whether one man or a few men really made this exposition, the informants spoke of the fine executive ability of these men, especially the president, saying that he had gone to Europe, secured an audience with many crowned heads, and had succeeded in having them make appropriations and exhibits that had been considered impossible, even prevailing upon one to send the private presents, very costly, of his deceased mother.

The Socialist would naturally find much that would require careful analysis in the statements made concerning these Exposition Builders. For instance, was it the executive ability of any one man, or set of men, that caused any nation to make an appropriation or an exhibit? Was it not rather the great nation this man represented that determined these crowned heads in whatever action they took, and was it not their desire for the friendship of this great nation that caused them to vie with each other in lending their aid to the enterprise? If this contention is not the correct one, then those who believe that executive ability can do wonders must explain why it did not cause Russia to do for the exposition what Japan has done.

The Exposition Builders is the subject that is under discussion, and this is certainly a proper subject for this paper, but to the Socialist the Exposition Builders were not one man, nor five men, but every mind that conceived a design, a pylon, a quadriga, a facade, a novelty, and every hand that wrought to make these conceptions real, whether this labor was used in the hidden structural parts or in the finished and perfected forms. At every turn the eye fell upon the work of an exposition builder in the form of well graded walks, roadways and transportation lines; in the rich, green sward with its acres of landscape gardening and its plats of floral magnificence; in the immense buildings with their architectural beauty; in the exhibits within these buildings, representing handy work that defies description; in the illumination that entrances. Who can spend even a week beholding such scenes, and not have added a resource of inestimable value to his life? Who can attend such an exposition as this and not be a better citizen? There are none. *And the fact that this is so, and that the vast majority of these Exposition Builders, especially those who MADE and are making the exhibits DID NOT SEE THIS EXPOSITION* and cannot expect to see one fills the Socialist with deep regret and inspires his whole soul to work with unabated zeal for that economic freedom which will make possible such expositions of progress and civilization as to-day are not even imaginable, and to which all may go who will.

A gentleman whose name would at once be recognized as a business man of unusual success and rare wisdom for this capitalistic age, publicly advised every working man and woman in the United States to visit

this exposition and enjoy its industrial and educational benefits. He no doubt did this because he believed the nation would be the gainer thereby. This same man gave over two thousand of his employes a free trip to the exposition. Neither he nor his firm are philanthropists, but business men, and they did this because they say it is profitable. If these men know this concerning their business, certainly the Socialists are right when they contend that the nation would make unprecedented progress if it were possible for every worker to be so secure in his economic life that he and his family could hope to enjoy occasionally at least such opportunities.

It is the rankest folly to say that no such monuments to progress would ever be undertaken under the Co-operative Commonwealth. On the other hand, instead of their being constructed in such a temporary manner that six months is as long as they can safely stand, under a Socialist system everything would be permanent, and the greatest skill and art would everywhere greet the visitor. Then these expositions would remain open from one year to another and new exhibits would be added from time to time, thus showing any advance in processes, methods and products. All would have an opportunity to attend, and would return home with new ideas and ideals. Invention, discovery and learning would be stimulated because it is possible only for the man who works with his hands to make practical and useful application of his ideas.

The writer met and talked with many visitors at the exposition. Excepting those living in St. Louis and in close proximity, he found very few of those whom he designated as the real builders of the exposition. As a type of the majority of the vis-

itors, two illustrations will suffice. The first was a gentleman with his wife and two daughters from New Zealand. They had already been in this country three months, and expected to tour Continental Europe, reaching their home again in about another year. Their income arose from a rent roll, and they were outspoken in their condemnation of the Seddon Government, saying that New Zealand was the garden spot of the world, but the bad government would ruin it all.

The other was a retired merchant and his wife from New Jersey. They had recently made their business over to two sons, and as they put it, they were now as free as air, so that they could come and go at their pleasure. This indeed is the Socialistic ideal, only he wants it to extend to all. He sees that it is possible to do the world's work, and when the work is done to feel free to enjoy a trip of this kind without worrying about the business at home, or the necessities of life. He is willing to work while some one else is enjoying the exposition, provided some one else works while he is enjoying it.

When the Socialist sees the marvelous ingenuity and skill of a people like the Japanese in that vast display of useful and pretty things of all kinds, he is pained deeply to know that in this the twentieth century such a people are being slaughtered by thousands, and in turn are slaughtering their neighbor, thereby destroying labor power beyond calculation, and he cries out, O that men would learn that they must guarantee the freedom of the whole man each to the other, if real life, civilization and progress are ever to exist upon the earth; if war, misery, disease and suffering are ever to cease.

This article would grow into a volume if an attempt was made to write of all the suggestions of the Co-operative Commonwealth which incidents at the exposition made, and so only a very few will be given simply to show how rapidly we are traveling that way. In the first place, the exposition itself was possible because of co-operation. It had the whole nation, the entire state of Missouri, the city of St. Louis back of it. In all this is shown what can be done through the collective body even today when this idea is not given a full and fair chance.

An exhibit that was of intense interest to the Socialist was an illustration from life of the workings of a manufacturing plant into which much of the co-operative plan had been projected. The manner of dealing with the idle boy and girl who are such a nuisance about the factory was shown. They were put to landscape gardening, prizes were offered, and instead of becoming criminals they were made useful to society and a joy to themselves.

The plans for making the home life of these workers pleasant, comfortable and healthful, and the plans for making the work in the factory safe and healthful were all illustrated, and the claim was made by the owners of this factory that notwithstanding the extra cost for all they did it repaid them on the investment in the more intelligent and better service. Here is the Socialist contention proven even under capitalism, and under a very imperfect system of co-operation. If this firm testifies to the good results of this partial betterment of a few workers, what immense results would accrue to all when every worker was made happy by the full product of his toil.

In the Palace of Manufactures was the fulfillment of Bellamy's

prophecy of the paper garments, soft and downy, yet durable and very inexpensive. The visitor was informed that a company had already been organized to put these garments on the market and would do so in a few months.

In the Palace of Agriculture one could not help but think again of Bellamy in reference to the food of man under the Co-operative Commonwealth. Everywhere was seen new vegetable products which would supply all demands of the body. The writer was told that a company with a capital of one million had been organized to put the nutritious banana on the market in the form of flour, a drink called banana coffee, and several other products. He was allowed to sample many of these new vegetable foods and as "the proof of the pudding is in the eating," he must confess that they served remarkably well as a physical support, for certainly anything that will give the needed strength to a visitor at one of these expositions must not be despised. At any rate, the thought could not be driven from the mind that it is only a question of time when those bloody, cruel, filthy scenes that the writer beheld a few days previous at the Union Stock Yards might still be seen among a barbarous, primitive people, but certainly not in the land of civilized man.

In the United States Government Building was seen the results of investigations and experiments in almost every conceivable line, plant and animal industry, forestry and so forth. The facts and information from this source is free to all. The investigators had been paid average salaries for their services, but held no monopoly on the results of their experiments, and made no profit from them. Here are the principles

of Socialism working so smoothly, so advantageously to all, and yet we hear some misinformed ones say that Socialism will not work.

The question is often asked how will the farmer be benefited by Socialism? In a hundred ways the answer to this question was suggested at the exposition. Just a few must suffice. Here was exhibited the most improved machinery for every operation on the farm. But a small percentage of the individual farmers use even a single piece of this machinery because in the first place it is adapted for farming operations on a large scale where thousands of acres are involved, and in the next place financial and economic reasons make it impossible for the small farmer to own but little of the machinery he could use. This idea was so well illustrated in the matter of butter making. At one place the implements of the past, the old-fashioned churn, the skimming ladles, and other primitive articles were exhibited. By the side of these were the separators, the motors, the testing implements, and so forth, of the modern creamery. Here is another of our cardinal principles illustrated, the writer exclaimed. The small farmer cannot afford to own a creamery, or scarcely a piece of machinery in it. The day of small individual effort in matters pertaining to our physical and economic life is passing. The age of extensive, collective effort is here.

The profit taking craze which has reached its climax in our time and which is the chief agency in turning the minds of our people toward Socialism was in evidence on every hand, but at the booth of one exhibitor in particular the opportunity was given to see it in its direct relation to every consumer. The writer played the part of a groceryman, and

a certain make of scales was shown to him, so sensitive that a grain of coffee would cause them "to break," and at once set an electric bell to ringing which would continue to ring until all excess weight was removed and the equilibrium was restored. The agent in charge explained that by the old clumsy scales of former days, by the down weight system, the dealer was giving anywhere from a half ounce to an ounce of excess weight. Immediately the thought came. This is our contention. Exact justice to all, even to a grain of coffee, but how rudely the writer was shocked when a little later the demonstrator asked whether he placed his sugar, coffee, tea and so forth in the sacks before weighing. No, in the scale pan, was the reply. "Well, now there is where you lose again. Why not sell your sacks at eight cents every time you sell a pound of sugar, at twenty-five cents every time you sell a pound of coffee, at forty cents every time you sell a pound of tea?" Now you have it. This is exact justice under capitalization. It becomes so exact that it insiduously passes over on the side of profit.

And now to keep this article within reasonable bounds, it must be brought to a close after calling attention to the observation that the Bontocs, the scalp hunting Philipinos, were there, and there was no evidence to show that their keen desire to add scalps to their string had in any manner abated. They were simply not allowed to do so because they were in a country where the majority do not think scalp taking is best for all. There is a bit of philosophy in this last paragraph, if the reader will just study it out.

"Socialism and the City" in the January Vanguard.

SOCIALIST ETCHINGS.

By FREDERIC HEATH.

Socialism means a chance to really live. The poet has told us that "some men are dead who are walking about," and there are a good many dead people serving their time out on earth, working day in and day out and living in shacks and hovels—mere work machines for the benefit of the capitalists who deplete them at all opportunities. Socialism will bring a wholesome higher civilization, one that will not be a libel on Creation, for all will be able to participate in it.

It cost the two capitalist parties twenty-three millions of dollars to conduct their campaigns to get the votes of the working men of the country, without whose aid they could have no hope of keeping possession of the people's government. Twenty-three millions! Pretty steep, that. And one thing is certain, those twenty-three millions could not come out of the jeans of the working men, hence they came, of course, from the coffers of the great wealth interests, from the big capitalists who can only thrive as the workers they pluck are in misery. The very life blood of the workers is stolen by the shirkers and then used to filch the workers' votes away from them. And just now there is uneasiness in the capitalist camp at the unmistakable signs that the workers are waking up. The great gain in the Debs vote everywhere looks pretty bad for the future and they know it.

Karl Marx was a man of superior talents, a deep and analytical thinker and one of the master minds of the last century, could have had a life of ease and luxury if he had been willing to prostitute his talents and serve the capitalist interests with his pen. He refused to do so and instead threw himself into the cause of the workers. He was exiled from Germany and for years while he was composing his great work, "Capital," lived in chronic starvation in London, and when his baby died had not the money to buy a coffin. The accounts of the suffering of the little band of exiles in those awful days makes as sad reading as will be found in the annals of the Social-Democratic movement. Today no such sacrifices for principle is required, although all Social-Democrats make sacrifices, so that our appeal to you to join in the work of emancipation does not call on you to undergo any great hardship. Get in line!

What have you accomplished, Mr. Workingman? asks the traveler from Mars. And the workers proudly point to all the fine mansions, the automobiles and steam yachts, the big factories, the splendidly graded streets, gilded restaurants and suburban villas, the fine clothes worn by the capitalists, the railroads, the canals, the Atlantic liners, the stores full of luxuries, etc., etc. And where do you live, Mr. Workingman? comes the next question. Then the smiles of the workers disappear and they point sadly to the back streets, to the alleys, to the fetid tenements and the unsanitary cottages in the rear. And

where are your clothes and finery and how do you live? continues the questioner. And the workers point to the sun-faded garments that cover their bodies, then to the pine dinner tables, the cheap adulterated foods, the stewed coffee of coffee essence and reused coffee grounds, the overworked wife and neglected children, the badly heated rooms in Winter, the food without ice in Summer, the unpaid doctor's visits, etc., etc., etc. Oh, the shame of the worker! But the capitalistic soothing syrup that he has been imbibing through press and pulpit these many years is wearing off. His eyes are opening.

The impulse of men under the capitalist system is to make merchandise out of their talents, their shrewdness and everything else they can possibly force into the scales. Make! Make! Make! Employ sharp practice if possible, swindle within the law if necessary. Prostitute yourself. Lie, if it pays. Business morality has become a stench in the nostrils, and the big business man, with his silk tile and his private pew in church, has been completely exposed as the author of civic corruption, the procuring cause back of boodling, besides being part of the class that exhausts and impoverishes the industrious members of society. Certainly the working people have never been charged with any such crimes to our knowledge. But while everyone else is bargaining and making merchandise of their abilities and their foxiness, how about the workers? They by their toilsome industry produce the wealth of the nation, but instead of making merchandise of that fact, instead of driving a bargain with the buyers of labor power that will net them the handsome living they are clearly entitled to, they submit to a bad bargain, exchange their vast product for mere existence wages, and go through life ragged and forlorn and ignoble. A bad bargain! A very bad bargain, and it is time to change it!

Who can measure the iniquity of child labor or society's crime against childhood which the enforced poverty of the parents entails? A city is a bad place in which to bring children up at best, but when a child is forced to spend its play time of life in close city streets, in slummy neighborhoods, in contamination from pavements and alleys alive with filth, strewn with cigar butts, the expectorations of sickly humanity, and other forms of impurity that a city cannot escape, it is a melancholy, a terrible indictment of the prevailing economic system. Instead of little baby fingers coming in contact with city filth and baby lungs breathing in contaminated city air, those fingers should be dirty with the clean dirt of country field or lane and the little lungs should be storing up benefit from the aromatic breezes of wood and meadow and sunny orchard. The city resident districts of the rich form a fair substitute for the country play grounds, it is true, but we are speaking of the children of the working class, not of the children of the rich. Now, do not imagine that the wrongs of the slum baby will go unrevengeed. Nature does not forgive a violation of its laws, and there is a terrible retribution ahead for all this wrong. When society makes slum babies out of its youngest

citizens the crime is avenged finally. It is a serious and a terrible thing to brutalize the rising generation, and the penalty will have to be paid in one way or another.

Thomas W. Lawson, the Boston millionaire high finance king, who is turning "states evidence" against former pals, follows up his attack on the big insurance companies by a second broadside in the December Everybody's Magazine, that is a veritable bombshell in the camp of the crooks who manipulate the vast sums taken up annually all over the country in the shape of insurance premiums. These men gamble in the great surpluses the companies roll up! The exposure is making such a hubbub that the reorganization of the managements of the largest insurance companies in the country seems inevitable. The puppets of the companies are making a guerilla warfare on Lawson in the hope of shutting his mouth, but it only goads him on in his purpose of exposure, and his facts are startling. In a word, the big men of the insurance companies are using the millions of their premium holders to speculate in high finance and to enrich themselves. If Mr. Lawson's facts are true, it would appear that there is no one of the largest companies that is secure from a sudden crash due to frenzied speculation and manipulation! It behooves policy holders to "get busy" and pretty quick, too.

To give some idea of the amazing interweaving of high finance interests, entanglements and dangers of the three companies—the Mutual Life, the New York Life and the Equitable Life—we give here-with a copious extract from Mr. Lawson's account, slightly edited for the sake of brevity. It is as follows:

"First, the three companies I have named have absolute possession of property and money in the form of assets of over \$1,000,000,000—more than half the combined assets of all the insurance companies of America, and indirectly through their affiliated institutions of an additional sum, the aggregate of which is much greater than all the national banks of America and the great financial institutions of Europe, such as the Banks of England, France, and Germany. The three have a ready cash surplus of almost \$200,000,000, which is greater than the combined capital of the Banks of England, Russia, France, and Germany. The income of these three companies is, each year, \$100,000,000 greater than the combined capitals of the Banks of England, Russia, France, and Germany—about \$250,000,000, \$200,000,000 of which is taken each year from their policy holders in the form of premiums. Yet from out of this income there is returned to their policy holders each year in dividends less than \$15,000,000, and in total payments of all kinds not over \$100,000,000. And yet these three companies pay out each year in what they call expenses to keep the concerns running \$50,000,000, paying to the officers of the companies \$3,000,000 in salaries, almost \$1,000,000 to their lawyers, and a number of millions in various forms of advertising.

"Second, the three companies are absolutely steered and controlled from a common centre, and the men who do the steering and controlling are the 'System's' foremost votaries, Henry H. Rogers, William Rockefeller, James Stillman, and J. Pierpont Morgan, through George W. Perkins, a partner in J. Pierpont Morgan & Co. Mr. Rogers, vice-president of the Standard Oil Company, is a trustee of the Mutual Life and a director in one of the largest trust companies owned by the three great insurance companies, the Guaranty Trust Company of New York. William Rockefeller, vice-president of the Standard Oil Company, is a trustee of the Mutual Life and director in the National City, —the 'Standard Oil'—Bank. James Stillman is a trustee of the New York Life,

and president of the **National City**,—the '**Standard Oil**'—Bank of New York. George W. Perkins, partner of J. Pierpont Morgan & Co., is vice-president and trustee of the **New York Life** and a director in the **National City**—the '**Standard Oil**'—Bank; while John A. McCall, the president of the **New York Life**, is a director in the **National City**—the '**Standard Oil**'—Bank.

"These great institutions own a majority of the capital stock or absolute control of a number of the leading banks and trust companies of New York and elsewhere; and such ownership shows conclusively the linking together of the three insurance companies. For instance, the **Equitable** owns more than a majority of the stock of the **Mercantile Trust Company** of New York, of a book value of about \$4,500,000 and a market value of almost \$13,000,000; and of the **Equitable Trust** of New York, of a book value of \$5,500,000 and market value of \$9,000,000, and of the **Bank of Commerce** of New York, of a book value of about \$8,000,000 and a market value of over \$9,000,000; and in the directory of the **Mercantile Trust** of New York and **Equitable Trust** is E. H. Harriman, one of the leading '**Standard Oil**' men and one of the active votaries of the '**System**,' while in the directory of the **Bank of Commerce** are the president of the **Mutual Life** and seven other trustees of the **Mutual Life** and three of the trustees of the **New York Life**.

"The **Mutual Life** owns stock of the **Bank of Commerce** of a book value of \$4,500,000 and a market value of \$7,500,000; of the **United States Mortgage & Trust Company** of a book value of \$2,000,000 and a market value of \$4,500,000; and of the **Guaranty Trust Company** of New York of a book value of \$1,250,000 and a market value of \$5,500,000. The directors of the **United States Mortgage & Trust Company** consist of eight trustees of the **Mutual Life**, including its president, and two trustees of the **Equitable Life**, while in the **Guaranty Trust** directory is the president of the **Mutual Life**, Henry H. Rogers and E. H. Harriman, '**Standard Oil**' votary and director in the **Equitable**.

"In addition to these financial institutions, the **Mutual Life** has about \$20,000,000 of its funds invested in the stock of twenty-five other trust companies and national banks, while the **Equitable** has about \$10,000,000 invested in some fifteen other trust and banking institutions.

"Third, the absolute control of the three great companies, and through them of their subsidiary financial institutions, while supposed to be in the hands of the policy holders is entirely beyond their regulation, as all policy holders of the three companies give over complete control of their companies to the '**System**' through the following machinery: All policy holders of the **New York Life**, on accepting a policy, sign away their rights in the form of a proxy which runs to the president, John A. McCall. All those in the **Mutual Life** do the same through a proxy which runs to President McCurdy, and the **Equitable Life's** control lies in the \$100,000 of capital stock which is almost entirely owned by the men who elect themselves to control and manage the company.

We conclude by giving this comment by Mr. Lawson:

"Therefore, you will see that I fully comprehend that this, which you claim to be, and which undoubtedly is the greatest power on earth, is absolutely, for all practical purposes, *in the hands of three men*, and that anyone who attempts to do anything contrary to what this power will allow, will find himself opposed by practically unlimited money, which can be used first to corrupt all sources, including state insurance law enforcers, and then to keep such corruptions from the policy holders by subsidizing the press. In other words, you see that I fully comprehend that I, or any man, or any body of men, would be absolutely helpless in an attempt to correct present evils, if they exist, unless we can do two things: First, show to the policy holders of the great insurance companies that they are absolutely in the hands and at the mercy of 'one man,' and that, next, this 'one man' is unscrupulous."

A Russian lieutenant, who escaped from Port Arthur, gives us the following information illustrative of the *nobility* of war. In passing over a battlefield in that vicinity he encountered many evidences of the utter fiendishness of the murderous struggle called war. Two bodies, lying close to each other, attracted his attention among others, and on inspection he found that one of them, a Japanese soldier, had his teeth brought together in the throat of the other, who was a Russian, with his face bathed in clotted blood that had spurted from the horrible mortal wound. The Russian had his long bony fingers on the eye-sockets of the Jap and had forced one eye-ball out upon the latter's cheek! They had tortured each other to death most horribly. And these men were, of course, both working men of their respective countries, who had never met before and had no possible personal grievance against each other. They had killed each other at the behest of their respective rulers. This country is being turned into a military nation and a naval power as fast as the capitalist interests that control the government can accomplish it, and efforts are now well along to use the public schools to teach the murderous military spirit, for a people that believe in war will sanction almost anything that is done by military rulers.

Social-Democrats have set themselves the world-wide task of rooting out slavery from human society, not only the practice of it, but the very idea that it is justifiable. But, says the man of bourgeois mind, "Slavery was wiped out long ago. The serfs were liberated in Russia by the goodness of the Czar, and in this country we went to war to abolish it, and Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation finished the business. There is no slavery throughout civilized Christendom." Yet, on the contrary, slavery is all about us and will be so long as the capitalist system, with its competitive wage system rules the land, and keeps the control of work in the hands of an exploiting class. The negro slavery that was abolished in the early sixties was only a drop in the bucket as against the vast wage slavery that has kept increasing since that time, and it was certainly more humane, for the slave holders provided their slaves with clothes, shelter and food and security against want. Moreover, while it was degrading and repugnant to our sense of right, there was very little suffering under it and the slaves lived out their normal lives and scarcely realized their economic situation. The slavery of to-day is hideously merciless. A large percentage of its victims land in poor houses, insane asylums, jails, charity hospitals, brothels, or die before their allotted years from exhaustion and the diseases fostered by our industrial civilization. It is a big task we have set ourselves, the blotting out of human slavery and the abolition of economic insecurity, but the forces of society are with us and we cannot falter on the way. We are right. We will not give up. And we can almost see the final victory, so splendidly has the fight advanced.

CAPITALIST MORALITY.

As Exposed in "Frenzied Finance."



IN the December Everybody's Magazine, Thomas W. Lawson, in a most astounding broadside, has brought to a climax his repeated charges of dishonesty and bribery against the kings of finance. His latest accusations are made without the mincing of words.

He tells of the buying and selling of the Massachusetts legislators. He says:

"The Massachusetts legislature is bought and sold as are sausages and fish at the markets and wharves. That the largest, wealthiest, and most prominent corporations in New England, whose affairs are conducted by our most representative citizens, habitually corrupt the Massachusetts legislature, and the man of wealth among them who would enter protest against the iniquity would be looked on as a 'Class Anarchist.' I will go further and say that if in New England a man can be found who will give over six months to turning up the legislature and the Boston municipal sod of the past ten years, and does not expose to the world a condition of rottenness more rotten than was ever before exhibited in any community in the civilized world, it will be because he has been suffocated by the stench of what he exhumes."

The startling facts are revealed by Lawson of how a great bribery syndicate, headed by H. M. Whitney, broker, brother of the late William C. Whitney, ex-Secy. of the Navy, operated from rooms in the

Parker house, Boston, where the legislators were taken and bought, and how lists of the prices of the various legislators were kept:

"At the head of Whitney's forces was his lawyer, George T. Towle, big of brain, ponderous of frame, and with the strength of an ox. When a lieutenant had reported that Senator This or Representative That would not come into camp, Towle, with an oath, would simply say: 'Take me to him, and I'll have his vote in ten minutes or there'll be occasion for a new election in his district tomorrow!'

"It is a Beacon Hill tradition that for years Towle on final-payment day would have the members of the Massachusetts legislature march through his private offices one at a time, and, handing each of them their loot, would proclaim: 'Well, you're settled with in full, aren't you? That represents your vote on—— and on ——.' Then he would loudly identify the bill and the particulars of the service, while behind a partition with a stenographer would be Mr. Patch, his secretary, who after the notes had been written out would witness the accuracy of the stenographer's report. When the legislature assembled again, old members, the same story goes, would be requested to call on Towle to renew acquaintanceship. Then he would allow them to look over his memoranda 'just to keep 'em from being too proud,' as he gently phrased it. Subordinate to Towle and Patch was a long line of **eminently respectable** lawyers known all over the Commonwealth as 'Whitney's attorneys.' These men participated at nominations, orated at elections, and took care of the finer preliminary details. The first line of attack was composed of practical politicians of various grades—ex-senators or representatives, and local bosses, who were known as 'Whitney's right hand men.' **Below these** were the ordinary lobbyists, the detectives, and runners, who kept 'tabs' on every move and deed, day and night, or the members of the legislature. This was the Whitney machine, and it worked together with that fine solidity and evenness which can only be attained with lots of practice and much success.

"It is seldom the public is given an opportunity of seeing a picture, drawn to life, of the legislature of one of the greatest states in the Union in the act of being bribed to grant the votaries of 'frenzied finance,' for nothing, those things which should and do belong to the people, and for which the system's votaries would willingly pay millions of dollars if they were compelled to.

"Headquarters for Whitney's Massachusetts Pipe Line were opened at Young's Hotel, Parlors 9, 10, and 11, Rooms 6, 7, 8, second story front. Parlors 9 and 10 were the general reception room, while 11 was for the commander himself and the holding of important and 'touchy' interviews. The Rooms 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 were used for educational purposes. In the morning the place was deserted, but at noon the parlors began to fill up with the different members of the 'Machine' and their friends, trustworthy members of the legislature. A little later an elaborate luncheon would be served, the supernumeraries eating in one room, Towle and his chiefs and the legislators in the other. There the gossip of the morning session was exchanged and the work laid out for the afternoon legislative and committee sessions. Another interval of silence and peace until at 5.30 the real business of the day began. Mr. Patch was generally on the ground first, carrying the books in which the bribery records were kept, for be it remembered that the efficiency of the Whitney machine was largely due to the thoroughly systematic manner in which its operations were conducted. Nothing was left to chance or to anyone's memory. In turn, the subordinates presented careful reports of the day's transactions. At 6.30 Mr. Towle would go over these documents, 'sizing up' the actual results for submission later to the chief himself. Between 7.30 and 8.30 the 'Machine' dined; the remains of the feast having been removed, the doors were locked and the books brought out.

"If an outsider could possibly have obtained the entry to the headquarters of The Whitney Massachusetts Pipe Line, say at 9 o'clock any evening during the session, this is what he would see: In Parlor 10, seated at a long table a dozen of Mr. Towle's chiefs, all in their shirt-sleeves, smoking voluminously; before each a sheet of paper on which was printed a list of the members of the legislature; against every name a blank space for memoranda.

"As each man reported, the other chiefs and Towle discussed the details, and when a decision on disputed points was arrived at, Towle would make a memorandum on his blank, and the chief concerned recorded the order in the little note-book which each carried. All reports in at last, Towle retired to Room 11 and speedily returned with the 'stuff,' consisting of cash, stock, puts, calls, or transportation tickets, which he dealt out to the chiefs to fulfill the promises they had made for the day. It would be obvious to the outsider, as soon as he had learned what was being dealt in, that a large proportion of the members of the Great and General Court of Massachusetts had bargained with the different members of the 'machine' to sell their votes not only in committee but in full session of the legislature, that the price was to be paid when the votes were cast, though something was invariably exacted on account, to tie the bargain. Payment seemed to be made in cash, calls on Bay State Gas or Dominion Coal, or transportation on any of the railroads in the United States or Canada. The latter appeared to be a class of remuneration Towle favored, probably because it cost nothing."

Lawson rather goes Steffens several points better in his exposure of American corruption by our big business interests. It certainly is a story that still startles us, even after we have read of corruption in other states and municipalities. For years and years the people of this country have spoken of the criminal classes, meaning the petty wretches whom poverty has forced into thievery and house-breaking. But we are coming to see who the term criminal class properly refers to. It is our "eminently respectable" class that is found back of our big crimes. The big business man is the beau ideal of American crookery, to coin a serviceable word. And it all flows naturally from a wrong social system, as evil fruit is gathered of an evil tree. Compared to the petty crook who has been forced into thievery by the exploitation of labor by the capitalist system, and who

steals to live, the millionaire "eminently respectable" leading citizen, who does not have to steal to live, is a criminal many times over. And especially so as his style of dishonesty flourishes by corrupting the very font of government. It is only a step along the same road from trading to cheating, from making profits out of things to making profits out of legislation. The business conscience is bringing this nation down to humiliation and moral bankruptcy. A new social conscience, coming from the wage workers, must be substituted. The express train of the people is nearing the point where two tracks take the place of one, one is the track to Social-Democracy, the other the track to chaos. We need the new conscience to make the decision as to which of the two tracks we are to take.

Socialism grows continually and surely because the seed is right and the soil is ready.

Elsewhere in this issue we print an exposure of the patent medicines that are largely compounded with cheap whisky. This will enable you to catch the humor of the thing when you read flaring testimonials given the patent medicine proprietors by preachers, temperance workers and club women!

The beauty and the costliness of competition is indicated by the advertising bills that are paid each year by those who strive to get ahead of their competitors and thus escape bankruptcy. Statistics show that two billions of dollars, that is, two thousand millions, are spent in the United States yearly to meet the expense of advertising. It's a costly system!

THE VALLEY OF WOE.

The earth is wide, and broad areas of its surface have not yet been conquered by culture, but offer room and food for innumerable men. By systematic nursing the natural productivity of our planet has been increased a hundredfold by man, earth's youngest son.

Art and science, the noble twins who sprang from genius, were awakened in their harmonious association with their elder sister, labor, nature's master, she whose innermost motive they explored and pressed it into her service.

Man today moves mountains should they cross his paths, he literally rams the means to his end from the sod; his hands nowadays execute things which the wildest imaginations of the ancient would not have dared to give the gods credit for.

The results of culture form a cup which runneth over with all that tends to make man happy and contented. No man need plague himself from early morn till late at night in order to produce his wants for food. A few hours daily today represent the equivalent of a week's work in times gone by. Fire and water, electricity and magnetism, chemistry and mechanics have relieved and superseded man's muscles a thousandfold.

These are not mere gorgeous words, but facts that may only be denied by a fool. But when thou strutteth through the land where dost thou encounter the joys of Paradise which such a situation would have us anticipate? Where?

Whether you look about in monarchies or republics, in the Frigid or Torrid Zones, every moment your eye is offended by apparitions hiding misery, need and woe, by human beings and things heralding Evil

and Destruction, by scenes creating deep injustice, the foregrounds of which are spread with vice and crime, and for a basis have tombs of marble full of gold and decay.

Your path may lead over meadows steaming with the blood of assassinated men sacrificed to the war moloch.

You behold the wounded, the crushed, the dead—man and beast intermingled, strewn about over a wide surface. Horrid groaning, whining and howling shock your ears. The crop has been destroyed where formerly the peaceful citizen drew blessing-promising furrows. The cannons of war have torn the land. Thick masses of agrarians flee from burning villages into the woods to pitch camps among the animals of the thicket.

Not far from the battlefield a crowned head musters his victorious army. Bewitching music penetrates the atmosphere and warriors cheer him, who but a short while previous had hounded their brethren to perdition in order to be able to fish for a new pearl for his diadem in the torrent of warm human blood. Slaves dedicated to death salute Caesar.

In the Metropolis your eyes are enchained by a gorgeous palace from the ample rooms of which shine splendor and luxury. Magnificent vehicles roll forth and perfumed figures appear loaded with all the splendor capable of being offered by 5 continents.

One of those balls has commenced where a hospitable croesus of modern times must spend a half a million if he would keep up his standing.

Outside the masses move. Hardly one of ten wears a whole suit of clothes, many a one among them

has not enough to pay his lodging for the coming night.

You wander to the Exchange to view the powerful, who dance around this poisoned tree. They speculate and calculate: Will wage slaves produce in future more or less surplus? The answer to that question raises and depresses the stocks. The anticipated exploitation of the future must bring interest in advance for the present.

All tricks, kinks, lies, intrigues and deceit are thrown into the gambling by the lookers and the jobbers in order to correct the decisions of the Goddess of Fortune. One, smilingly, pockets \$100,000, another drives cold lead into his brain. All respectable citizens and people.

A few strides across the street bring you into the palace of justice. A wise judge receiving daily \$25 for drowsing rubs the "Katzenjammer" from his eyes by lecturing a tramp and opening jail for the same to occupy one year because he stole bread and sausage instead of drowning himself.

With important features the chronists of the press register the case and praise the holy order—Freiheit.

Of all the assertions made by Socialists, none have been more completely verified than the statement that the last vestige of difference between the Republican and Democratic parties was ultimately bound to disappear, and the recognition of this fact is now almost universally noted.—N. Y. Worker.

❧

Socialism, alone, of the score of political parties and factions in the German Empire, has great ideals and aims, and it, alone, is a living and growing force, throbbing with power, with hope, and with faith in its own destiny.—von Scheirbrand.

Alarming Growth of Socialism.

The Socialists are claiming that at the recent election they polled over 600,000 votes, and they are much elated over this showing. It is claimed by the Socialist leaders that they have now votes enough to give them legal standing in two-thirds of the states.

Whether there is a future for the Socialist party in the United States or not, the future itself will have to tell. The movement seems to be growing at an **alarming rate.**

What The Post desires to call attention to is that the Socialists have made no headway in the South and are not likely to. The movement is virile only in those states which seem to have settled strongly in the Republican column.

Where the privilege runs riot, Socialism finds its greatest strength; where economical government and Jeffersonian simplicity is maintained, as in the South, Socialism finds little encouragement.

The Republican party is responsible for what Socialistic sentiment there is in the country and will be responsible if the movement ever becomes formidable enough to dominate the government.

If the trusts continue to increase their power in the government, it will not be many years before Socialism will be a force that must be reckoned with.

How can anybody who believes in present economic conditions answer the Socialist? When practically all the railroads in the country are controlled by a single head, the Socialist says: "If modern conditions require a consolidation of railroad managements, then it is best for the government, representing all the people, to own and operate the roads in the interest of the people who pay the freight rates rather than in the interest of a few men. The government has already taken charge of the postal service, and it can as well conduct the railroads."

When the Socialist sees a small group of men controlling the output of coal, the Socialist says: "Nature through her processes has made the coal for the benefit of the people and not for the purpose of making a trust rich. If a few men can operate the mines and control the price of coal, it would be better for the government to acquire these natural resources and utilize them for the benefit of all the people and distribute it by means of government railroads, the

orders for such supplies being transmitted by United States mail or by a United States telegraph."

"If there is to be a tobacco trust, it ought to be the government," says the Socialist, "for it is just as practicable for the government to have a monopoly of the tobacco as for Japan to control such monopoly."

As for the beef trust, the Socialist will say: "Beef is one of the necessities of life and an article of general consumption. No set of men should be permitted to fix the price and extort from the millions of consumers; it would be better for the government to operate the packing houses in the interest of all rather than a few should rob the many."

It is needless to multiply supposititious cases. It is finally coming to such a choice unless some way is found to destroy the trusts and restore competition and individualism in all lines of business. And when the country is finally driven to that choice, something is very likely to happen, as the consuming masses will not forever be willing to remain the victims of the caprice and avarice of aggregated wealth. If individualism must be given up, it **would be better for society to have it merged in the government** than have it stifled and destroyed by the greed of aggregated wealth.

The strange thing about it all is that these men, so shrewd and farsighted in every thing else, can not see that they are bringing about the very condition which they affect to oppose and are setting the example that makes more Socialists than all other influences combined.—Houston (Tex.) Daily Post.

Collier's Weekly, which makes claim to independence and capitalistic non-partisanship, pays its respects to the crookedness of the two capitalist parties. Of the Republicans, it says:

Republican policies are determined, in many of their most important aspects, by a small coterie in the senate. The king of this group is now connected, by the marriage of their children, with John D. Rockefeller, with whom, besides, he has had close business relations for many years. The man who, although not the leader of the bunch, is its ablest member, is a statesman who has in many ways good ideals, but who

receives \$50,000 a year as attorney for a railway, was helped into politics by the railroads, and has been in their employ as a lobbyist. Another member, also with much to his credit, has been a lobbyist, and a party boss. A fourth is a man of education, a historian, but a partisan of the most undiluted brand.

The senate controls legislation and bullies the house. These men control the senate and divide the power with the executive. Money, therefore—in its modern fighting form of corporations—is unmistakably over-represented in Republican legislation. Business aggregations ought to be represented. Everybody's interest should have a hearing—the rich as well as the poor—but the trouble is the rich are grossly over-represented. If the Democrats are the party of confusion and no policy, the Republicans are the party of the duca's stamp.

January Vanguard will be special number containing "Socialism and the City" by Winfield R. Gaylord. Order supply now

Briefly stated, the Marxian position amounts to this: All wealth is the result of labor applied to natural objects.... Labor is the father and earth the mother of all wealth. Capital is that part of the product which is set aside for reproductive purposes. In itself it is part of the product of labor. The total product, therefore, is due to labor and belongs to labor. In private hands, however, capital becomes not only a means of reproduction, an accessory to labor, but also a means for exploiting labor. All wealth, therefore, which goes to others than the workers is so much robbery of labor. It is in antagonism to this robbery of labor that modern Socialism takes its stand. It insists upon the class antagonism necessarily arising from this exploitation and robbery of labor through the class ownership of the means of production, and aims at the extinction of this class struggle by the emancipation of the proletariat and the abolition of the class ownership of the means of production.—Justice, London.

Order a supply of our January issue now.

THE "PATENT MEDICINE" CURSE.

Extract from an article by Edward Bok, in the Ladies' Home Journal.

The Alcohol in "Patent Medicines."

The following percentages of alcohol in the "patent medicines" named are given by the Massachusetts State Board Analyst, in the published document No. 34:

Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound	20.6
Paine's Celery Compound	21.
Dr. Williams's Vegetable Jaundice Bitters	18.5
Whiskol, "a non-intoxicating stimulant"	28.2
Colden's Liquid Beef Tonic, "recommended for treatment of alcohol habit"	26.5
Ayer's Sarsaparilla	26.2
Thayer's Compound Extract of Sarsaparilla	21.5
Hood's Sarsaparilla	18.8
Allen's Sarsaparilla	13.5
Dana's Sarsaparilla	13.5
Brown's Sarsaparilla	13.5
Peruna	28.5
Vinol Wine of Cod-Liver Oil	18.8
Dr. Peters's Kuriko	14.
Carter's Physical Extract	22.
Hooker's Wigwam Tonic	20.7
Hoodland's German Tonic	20.3
Howe's Arabian Tonic, "not a rum drink"	13.
Jackson's Golden Seal Tonic	19.6
Mensman's Peptonized Beef Tonic	16.5
Parker's Tonic, "purely vegetable"	41.6
Schenck's Seaweed Tonic, "entirely harmless"	19.5
Baxter's Mandrake Bitters	16.5
Boker's Stomach Bitters	42.6
Burdock Blood Bitters	25.2
Greene's Nervura	17.2
Hoodland's German Bitters, "entirely vegetable"	25.6
Hop Bitters	12.
Hostetter's Stomach Bitters	44.3
Kaufman's Sulphur Bitters, "contains no alcohol" (as a matter of fact it contains 20.5 per cent of alcohol and no sulphur)	20.5
Puritana	22.
Richardson's Concentrated Sherry Wine Bitters	47.5
Warner's Safe Tonic Bitters	35.7
Warren's Bilious Bitters	21.5
Faith Whitcomb's Nerve Bitters	20.3

Gaylord's "Socialism and the City", complete in January Vanguard. Order now.

(Continued from page 5.)

ganized democratically and operated on the principle of co-operation.

This socialization of industry is the only answer to the cry of labor. It is the hope of the world. And if the church only knew the day of her visitation, this socialization of industry, as rapidly as human energy, and zeal, and genius, can accomplish it, is a veritable second coming of Christ. It is at least one divine event toward which the whole long past has moved. If the Church of America could be aroused from the hypnotic spell of a materialistic, mammonistic and plutocratic age, this plank of the Socialist movement—the socialization of industry—would sound like the call of God to go up and possess the land, and to “bring my people out of the house of bondage and out of the land of the oppressor.”

Our national platform states our proposals thus:

(1) “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 a conscious organization of society.

(2) “Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall by the people in common be owned and administered.

(3) “Socialism means that the tools of employment shall belong to the 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 be all workers together and that all opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.”

I do not hesitate to say that this is the only platform in America that has the purpose of Christ writ large in an economic program. Nor do I hesitate to say that this is the only platform that an apostle or a disciple of Christ can consistently vote for.

I challenge the moral and spiritual teachers of America to duplicate the Socialist platform in any other platform ever written in American politics. Here is a philanthropy that is not the price of blood. Here is humanitarianism that smacks not of vain-glorious charity. If the Church really means to abolish the sufferings of mankind, here is a program before you which we could not dishonor

by even comparing it with that of any other political party.

The message of Socialism to the Church is therefore a summons to spurn all policies and platforms of parties defending and supporting the present system and to vote for the Socialist movement, its platform and its candidates.

At the Pure Food Congress at the St. Louis World's Fair a United States government chemist displayed a long silk ribbon dyed in squares of the most beautiful hues and contrasts, and explained that the dyes used to turn it from a white ribbon into one of varied hues were taken from various adulterated foodstuffs secured in open market. The foods he had drawn upon were bread, mustard, candy, jelly, pickles, preserves, butter, canned goods, catsups, pepper, chocolate, tea, vinegar, etc., etc. Each hue reflected the venality of business under the capitalist system in a most tell-tale way. And it is not in poisonous aniline dyes alone that the crime of food adulation finds expression, but chemical poisons such as formaldehyde, salicylic acid, pyroligneous acid, benzoic acid, ammonium fluorid, sulphites, abradol, boric acid, beta naphthol, etc., are other helps to profit making at the expense of the health and very lives of the consuming public. A fine thing is the business conscience!

In Milwaukee a grafting official got free by paying a small money fine for having taken a thousand dollar bribe, while an alderman who took an \$80 bribe got a year's imprisonment. The evenness of capitalist justice is proverbial!

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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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THE VANGUARD.

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

Vol. 3. No. 5. MILWAUKEE, WIS., JANUARY, 1905. Whole Number 25.

I ask you to think with me that the worst which can happen to us is to endure tamely the evils that we see; that no trouble or turmoil is so bad as that; that the necessary destruction which reconstruction bears with it must be taken calmly; that everywhere—in state, in church, in the household—we must be resolute to endure no tyranny, accept no lie, quail before no fear, although they may come before us disguised as piety, duty or affection, as useful opportunity and good nature, as prudence or kindness.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

"The great truth of the importance of man," said Henry Ward Beecher, "which God is driving through our time as with a chariot of fire—when this truth comes up to the church, does the church welcome it? No. The church is busy dusting the flitches of old truth that have hung for years in the smoke-house of theology." That was an indictment of the church made in the midst of the struggle against negro slavery fifty years ago. Shall such an indictment be made possible in this greater contest against wage slavery? Where are the preachers in this tremendous fight for mammon on the one side and for humanity on the other? Stand up, Mr. Preacher, and be counted!

Mrs. Florence Kelley in a recent magazine article graphically describes the life of thousands of young boys who work in the glass-bottle factories of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. It is said that many boys are sent to these factories from the orphan asy-

lums on reaching the age of 12 and that they practically become the peons of the blowers for whom they work. Mrs. Kelley says that there are no restrictions on night work. The pitifully little children were found at work at 2 o'clock in the morning. On going out into the black, cold winter morning from the heat and glare of the glass ovens the boys went, as the men did, to the nearest saloons to drink the cheap drinks sold, just across the street from the works. All the boys used tobacco, usually chewing it. They were stunted, illiterate, profane and obscene—wrecked in body and mind before entering upon the long adolescence known to happier children. The sharp contrast between the heat of the glass ovens and the frost of the winter morning produces rheumatism and affections of the throat and lungs, so that many of the boys die before reaching the age of apprenticeship, from disease due directly to the circumstances attending their work, and more common elsewhere among adults than among children.

What society needs today is not charity, but justice. There is no greater impertinence and fraud perpetrated upon the disinherited poor than that which is known as professional charity. The following anecdote from an English exchange hits off the situation finely:

"A little girl from an East End slum was invited with others to a charity dinner, given at a great house in the West End of London. In the course of the meal the little maiden startled her hostess by propounding the query:

"Does your husband drink?"

"Why, no," replied the astonished lady of the house.

"After a moment's pause the miniature querist proceeded with the equally bewildering questions:

"How much coal do you burn? What is your husband's salary? Has he any bad habits?"

"By this time the presiding genius of the table felt called upon to ask her humble guest what made her ask such strange questions.

"Well," was the innocent reply, 'mother told me to behave like a lady, and when ladies call at our house they always ask mother those questions.'

Some persons, either through ignorance or malice, still confound Socialism with infidelity or imagine that in some way it is hostile to religion. Not so, however, the editor of the Blue Glass Blade, the most rabid anti-religious paper of which we know. The following reply, which he makes to some one who asks him to open his columns to a discussion of Socialism, indicates that in the eyes of the avowed infidel Socialists are at least not antagonistic to religion. He says: "If you know anything about Socialism you know that

there is not a Socialistic paper in the whole world that advocates infidelity, and you cannot get the editor of any Socialistic paper in the world to say in his paper that he is an infidel. There came in the same mail that brought your letter *The Worker*, published in New York City, the largest Socialistic paper in the world. The very first thing in it is headed, 'A Stirring Speech of Rev. Alexander F. Irvine,' in which the Reverend Smart Aleck is boosted to the skies in nearly three columns. I looked all over the paper and did not find a single word or hint or insinuation in favor of infidelity, but under the head 'Landlordism in Heaven' there was a piece alluding respectfully to religion and to Bishop Maes."

"The religious leaders may be loath to acknowledge the fact, but there is an estrangement between the workingmen and the churches," says Rev. Leighton Williams, pastor of Amity Baptist church, N. Y. "Facts prove this estrangement. The preponderance of women over men at the public services of the church; the creeping in of class divisions; the accentuation of an American as against a foreign element in our population; the general subserviency to wealth and fashion, which tends to make the churches uncomfortable for the 'plain people,' as President Lincoln called them, if it does not altogether exclude them; and, lastly, the prevalence of a type of preaching which is alien to current thought and the practical questions of every-day life among ordinary working people. In its periods of greatest power and fruitfulness the gospel of Christ has always been emphatically 'good news' to the poor, and when it ceases to be so it

loses its attractiveness and power. Filling his church is not the main business of the minister, but bringing in the kingdom of God on earth, and that kingdom is another name for the right social order, which the Socialist seeks. 'Every Christian who understands and earnestly accepts the teaching of his Master is at heart a Socialist; and every Socialist bears within himself an unconscious Christianity,' said the great Belgian publicist, the late M. de Laveleye."

The next time you hear anyone peddling that old slander about Socialism "destroying the home," just read to them the following paragraph from the Social-Democratic Herald, which contains the facts in the case: "The Socialists boldly declare that it is capitalism that is against the home. That it cares nothing for its sanctity; that it drags little children away from their homes and puts them amidst demoralizing factory conditions; that it forces women into wage earning and in many factory localities obliges the men, who have been forced out of their jobs, to do the housework, take care of the babies and bring the noon hour lunch to the factory gates for the wife and children who have the jobs; that it forces up the price of living and lowers wages, so that men cannot afford to marry and undertake to rear families; that it forces many working women into prostitution by paying wages they cannot live on; that it produces slums in every large city and causes people to live several families in one room, thus making modesty an impossibility; that it so divides the classes of workers that some industrial towns are frequently referred to as 'he towns' and 'she towns,'—some of the

cotton mill towns of New England, for instance, being made up principally of female employes. That it breaks up homes through mortgage foreclosures, and through the arbitrary removal of large factories from one place to another, thus rendering almost valueless the little properties that some of the workers have been cheating their bodies and stomachs to acquire; that—but why go on? The indictment of capitalism as the foe of morality and the family life is so plain that it is hard to think of a defense being set up."

This country belongs to our big business men and they therefore are the ideal citizens according to the capitalistic morality. And yet these ideal citizens cut up some pretty rusty tricks, tricks that do not harmonize with their vaunted highness. Following on the awful revelations in connection with the Slocum excursion boat horror comes the news that five ideal citizens have just been arrested in Camden, N. J., for frauds in connection with the supply of plates of cork for life preservers, their firm being shown to have weighted the cork by burying iron bars in the inside of them and thus getting more money for them, they being sold by weight. Now mind you this cork was for life preservers which were supposed to buoy up ship passengers in cases of wrecks, and yet they were weighted down with iron! Such fiendish operations would never happen if these men had not been under the business pressure that commands its votaries to make money at all hazards. Talk of Frenzied Finance—frenzied commercialism can play a few desperate tricks also.

Subscribe for The Vanguard.

THE "DIGNITY" OF LABOR.

By EUGENE V. DEBS.



We hear much about the "dignity of labor," especially from those who do not labor. They have inherited the notion of the feudal barons of the Middle ages. The laborer should be contented with his lot. God knows what is best for him. Even the scavenger should fill the sewer with song and work overtime from pure joy.

To create discontent in the mind of the menial, to tell him that his lot is a beastly one, and that he should rise above it, is and always has been regarded as wicked and harmful, and such mischievous offenders are known to us as agitators and demagogues.

The toil of the scavenger is necessary to present society, but that does not make it honorable. It is the reproach of society. If the human scavenger were necessary and society were civilized, every man would take his turn in that repulsive role. To shirk his share of this necessary social service would be as abhorrent to the mind and morals of a civilized being as to impose upon his fellow-men in any other way.

By what moral right is the health of one citizen conserved by destroying that of another?

If Edison had to do his share of the "dirty work" of commercial society—and unless it is done he could not do his—there would soon be mechanical appliances for such service and scavengers would rise to the dignity of human beings.

This is pre-eminently a commercial age. Almost everything is viewed from the commercial standpoint, and to have any value at all it must have commercial value. This is as true of the human being as of any other animal, or any other commodity.

If this fundamentally true proposition be denied, let the "labor market" be explained.

How do those who expatiate upon the virtues of the "horny-handed sons of toil" a few days before election reconcile the "dignity of labor" with the "labor market"? The one is a denial of the other. . . .

Society to-day has two commanding types, namely, capitalists and workers. The workers only are merchandise. The "labor market" silences all doubt upon this point. The laborer goes with his labor power, and when he sells that, as he is now compelled to do or starve, his industrial bondage is sealed and rarely is there any escape from it.

To plead in extenuation that certain millionaires were once boot-blacks and errand boys is beside the point and begs the question. These are the rare exceptions that owe their rise to fortunate circumstances, and they but serve to prove the rule.

The great mass of wage workers live and die wage workers. There is no release for them except as a whole, and this is the fundamental tenet of the modern labor movement, the mission of which is to emanci-

pate the whole mass of wage labor by abolishing the wage system; and to make the workers themselves the owners of the means of production, so that they, and they alone, shall control their labor and enjoy its fruit.

In that hour labor rises from the low level of merchandise to the exalted plane of manhood.

If it be true, as some affirm, that capitalists are also laborers and in the same category with laborers, then why do we not hear of a "capital market" as well as a "labor market"? The fact is that there is no such market for the simple and sufficient reason that there is no such merchandise. The capitalist is a buyer of labor power, the expression of the laborer's energy and life, at the market price. He deals in that commodity, that kind of merchandise; but he, himself, as a capitalist, is not for sale at any price. Perish the thought.

The "labor market" has upon it the everlasting seal of social execration. The useful have always been detested by the useless. The parasite scorns the gudgeon he preys upon.

In this classless land of democratic institutions, where all are free and therefore equal, the working millions are barred from breaking in by statutory enactment, under penalty of fine and imprisonment. Of course they are all right "in their place," but their place is in their class, and their class is in the labor market.

The line is drawn between the classes by social custom, which, after all, is the court of final resort.

No workingman, though pure as Christ, and wise as Socrates—not though his character were adorned with every virtue—would be admitted to the exclusive circle of the famed four hundred. He would still be a workingman—plebian, inferior, vulgar, repulsive. Such is the social standard of capitalist society, and to protest against it is almost a crime. If a man belongs to the "working class" his social status is fixed. He must not aspire to associate above his class.

"Oh dear," said a society lady in the hearing of the writer, "it is too bad that laboring people can't live off by themselves; they are such coarse creatures, and out of place among refined and well-bred people."

The innocent woman should not be blamed. She but voiced society's barbarous verdict. She did not know that labor's degradation is society's shame and crime, and that the penalties are blazoned in every issue of every paper and periodical in every civilized land on earth.

This good woman and the thousands like her do not dream that the "coarse creatures" they despise provide them with food and raiment and shelter; that without these "coarse creatures" they would be stripped nude of their fineries, live upon roots and lapse into savagery.

Nor does "society," as is the small and useless section of it called, know better than the misguided sister I have quoted; and, so far as "society" is concerned, labor will not only remain unappreciated, but will wear forever the badge of degradation and its menial servility will continue to excite the world's contempt.

Society needs to be reconstructed upon a new foundation, and the working class—the only class without which society would die and the race perish—the working class alone is equal to the task. The change is needed not only to end the tragedy of toil, but the tragedy of idleness.

Pure morals wither in the exclusive upper atmosphere of the four hundred as certainly as they do in the depths of the social cellars of the slums.

The social revolution now in progress will end only when the means of wealth have been secured to all for the use of all and wealth is produced by all for the enjoyment of all. The working classes are the motive power in that revolution, for they know at last that they never can be free until they free themselves.

The labor question, intelligently understood, embraces the whole program of human emancipation.

The working class is the power and a united ballot the means to end the tragedy of toil.

In collective society, organized upon an industrial basis, all will work; none will toil. Modern machinery will be the only slavery.

Freedom will be the heritage of all.

The tragedy of toil will have ended and man will be civilized.

THE FAILURE OF COMMUNISM.

By REV. EDWARD E. CARR.

"But," the objection runs, "the communism of the Apostolic Church, and every other attempt at communism, has failed. It is a beautiful idea, but it is not practicable."

True enough. We admit that the communism of the early church eventually failed; but not until the church itself had become worldly, selfish and ambitious. We admit that every communistic effort that has ever been made in all the ages has proven a failure.

WHY?

The communism of the church failed first, for lack of the legal power to protect itself; finally, from selfishness. And for the same reasons every private communistic attempt has failed, those of modern times included.

In the midst of the universal competitive system, surrounded by a sea of cruel selfishness forever seeping in; forced to compete in the markets of the world for everything bought and sold; subject to the incompetency of leaders or the treachery of

men whose financial interest it is to play sharper, to fleece the flock and use them for their interest in the markets of the world of competition, it is well-nigh impossible to make a success of private communism. If it has ever been done, I know not where.

And herein appears the difference between the communism of apostolic times (and of modern times also) and the proposals of Socialism.

SOCIALISM HAS NEVER YET BEEN TRIED. "The letter killeth, the spirit maketh alive." Take the **PRINCIPLES** and **SPIRIT** of the apostolic church and apply them to a **GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE** in which all the means of creating and distributing wealth are **COLLECTIVELY OWNED** and they not only become practicable, but they are **THE ONLY PRINCIPLES** upon which a government ever can be managed "for the people."

True Socialism had to wait for two things: First **THE SOCIALIZ-**

ATION OF GOVERNMENT, which was partially accomplished with the winning of THE BALLOT for the masses within the last century, and is being perfected in the adoption of DIRECT LEGISLATION. Second, THE SOCIALIZATION OF INDUSTRY, which is now so rapidly taking place.

The age-long struggle for liberty seemed to achieve final victory in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by securing the ballot and representative government. But the enthusiasm of freedom which marked the eighteenth century has died down before the slow but sure realization that freedom on the political field is an empty delusion accompanied by slavery on the industrial field. The man who owns the tools of production upon which the workman depends for the chance to make a living, OWNS THE MAN, and the man is finding that out to-day.

The revolution of industry brought about by the development of machinery is the largest element so far manifest of the socialization of industry. One hundred years ago labor was done by hand exactly as it was 5,000 years ago. More machinery has been invented in the last 100 years than in all past ages combined. As a result the hand work of

100 years ago has passed away. Instead of the lone shoemaker is the shoe factory employing 1,000 men. The blacksmith shop, in which one or two men made rude wagons, etc., complete, has now given way to the mighty machine shop and foundry. MACHINERY HAS CONQUERED MAN. The men who own the machinery of production now own the men who must use the machines or starve. Thus capitalism has grown wellnigh omnipotent and correspondingly arrogant. Thus trusts and monopolies have sprung up to exploit the people and fasten their chains forever.

But the very fact that PRODUCTION has ceased to be individual, and become COLLECTIVE, forces upon the nation the inevitable necessity of making OWNERSHIP COLLECTIVE also. Only thus can the people be saved from the wholesale robbery and exploitation of capitalism, which is now insufferable and grows worse all the time.

With the ballot and modern machinery, Socialism is inevitable, and the dream of the apostolic church is about to be realized in the practical brotherhood of man through the Co-operative Commonwealth, protected by laws made and enforced directly by a free and prosperous people.

Why the Capitalist Press Lies About New Zealand.

The Aurora Socilis of New Zealand is not so brilliant as the blaze that met the astonished eyes of Europe, as she gazed across the sea in 1776, at the crimson flame around our Declaration of Independence, nor so intense and awe-inspiring as the lurid glare of the French Revolution, but the light of New Zealand is whiter, cleaner, steadier than

its predecessors, though it flows from the same eternal fountains of energy and draws its political electricity from the same great dynamo of liberty, equality and fraternity.

There are no blood-red jets in freedom's new-lit altar fires as in the days of French awakening, nor is it streaked with slavery's black,

as when our Western colonies burst into flame and liberty's camp fires glorified the clouds of war for all but the negro slave.

France and America had to use bullets as well as ballots. New Zealand is waging her battles with ballots alone.

France guillotined aristocratic men and women; New Zealand guillotines aristocratic institutions.

New England fought the despotism of a foreign government; New Zealand is fighting the despotism of the dollar.

The average New Zealander, though enjoying the largest average income in the world, is nevertheless of an economical turn, and does his political thinking for himself instead of paying a boss or a machine to do it for him.

He is not a fanatic. He does not lock himself up in a little party to wait until the caravan gets to the millenium, but puts his shoulder to the wheel to help the wagon out of the particular slough that is hindering its progress now.

He saw that the government was controlled by monopolists, and he joined with all who wished it to be in the hands of the people and put it there.

He felt that he was paying too large a share of the taxes, and he voted to put more of them on the rich, who could bear the burden better.

He found that the railways, under the commissioner system, were being operated largely on capitalistic principles, and he voted for candidates pledged to see the roads managed for the public service.

He does not organize a strike against the coal ring of the shipping trust, or other aggressive monopoly, and then vote to keep the mono-

polies in power by electing men who represent them.

The remarkable thing about New Zealand is that she applies common sense to politics.

The people know that the government is the great monopoly that underlies and controls all the rest. They believe that legislation should be in the interest of the public and not of any class.

They know that poverty, aristocracy and wealth and private monopoly are opposed to good government and they have resolved on their extinction.

The people control the government and are using it to secure the gradual abolition of commercial conflict and industrial mastery.

They are using democratic political institutions to secure democratic industrial institutions through political ownership, careful regulation, judicial decision and co-operative industry.

The whole movement amounts simply to this: The common people united at the ballot box to obtain control of the government, and by means of that they have made more progress toward industrial harmony and justice than any other nation on the globe.

The island commonwealth has shown the way to the solution of the great problem of wealth diffusion and equalization of opportunity.

A new civilization has come. A new age has dawned. New Zealand is the birthplace of the twentieth century.—From "The Story of New Zealand" by Prof. Frank Parsons.

"You can have Socialism without Christianity, but you cannot have Christianity without Socialism." is the way a transoceanic exchange puts it.

POINTED PARAGRAPHS.

By FREDERIC HEATH.

The New York judge who issued an anti-8-hour decision, does not have to eat his noon meal out of a tin can!

Socialists face the ever rising sun of progress. The bats of the night, if they were given the ballot, would all vote against Socialism.

The awakening of the people of this country to the necessity of Socialism is causing great consternation to the mountebanks called statesmen. We've fooled 'em once too often, they seem to say.

That "brilliant assemblage of diplomats," that the papers told you of as helping to unveil the statue of Frederick the Great at Washington the other day, was in reality a shameful assemblage of rascals, if foreign diplomats are made of the same kind of clay that ours are!

The railroads of this country kill ten thousand workmen a year. A person does not have to go to war to serve his country and get killed these days. Railroad service is a much more useful service, and it is fully as deadly as war service. Moreover, there is also gold braid connected with it!

The big bread-lords of the industries of the country are practically a unit in holding that the man of 45 is worked out. Poor wretch of a working man. The reward for his industry is an unripe old age instead of the ripe one the poets sing of. But of course the capitalists have the whole say. The people vote them the power to run our gov-

ernment and our industries, so the people have only themselves to blame.

In Milwaukee the growing strength of the Social-Democrats forced the capitalist officials to provide natatoriums and public lectures in school halls. So great has been the response of the people that the natatoriums cannot accomodate all who apply, and the school lectures turn hundreds away. There are many other things the people need quite as much—and they will get them by voting in the Social-Democrats.

In a Sunday article on Anarchists in Milwaukee, the Milwaukee Free Press says that there are hardly any to be found, but that those that do exist vote the Social-Democratic ticket. That's odd, to say the least, for if there is one thing the Anarchists are down on it is the ballot! If the Milwaukee Anarchists do actually vote, it is a cinch that they cast their ballots for the rank individualism represented by the Republican and Democratic parties.

N. O. Nelson, the wealthy St. Louis manufacturer-Socialist, has written Walter Thomas Mills a letter of appreciation for his book, "The Struggle for Existence," from which we take the following excerpts: "With the benign influence and common sense that this book will carry with it, there will be no danger of any such foolishness as a revolution of blood. The uprising of common sense and common fairness against the criminal credulity of the industrious class submitting

to property traditions and party superstitions, will do the business. When this book of yours has met its just dues by selling like Looking Backward and Merrie England, Debs will get not a plurality but a majority of the American voters and sail into Washington on a Baldwin air ship."

The alarming frequency of railroad wrecks due to the capitalistic passion for keeping expenses down and profits up has set the editorial writers to work. The New York Herald and other papers are tabulating the wrecks and they find that since July 1, 240 lives have been lost, not counting the usual accidents and deaths where there were no wrecks or collisions. There were 86,000 casualties during the fiscal year of 1903 and nearly 10,000 death, or to be exact, 9,840, an increase over 1902 of 1,252! In Great Britain, where railroad profit greed is not so highly developed and the roads are better built and more carefully operated, there were only 6 people killed during the last fiscal year! The day is not far away when the people will own the roads. When that day comes, travel will be properly safeguarded and not before.

Now it appears that McKinley was killed by capitalism, that it, by capitalism in the crooked ways in which it inevitably works out. When the stricken president's wound was being dressed, the doctors sent out for Arisatol, a substitute for iodoform. The drug was bought at a near by druggist's and after it had been applied it was noticed that it was not acting as it should. Finally becoming suspicious the doctors refrained from making further applications of it, and attributed to it the president's turn for the worse.

This week the U. S. postal department has been making raids on fake medical companies in Chicago and have found that one company was conducting a mail order business in supplying the drug trade all over the country with poisonous cheap substitutes for Arisatol and other powerful drugs under counterfeit labels. It was this dishonest product that got to McKinley's bedside. McKinley stood for the capitalist system—and he died because of it!

The following pregnant paragraph is taken from the New York Sun's financial statement:

"The fact is that there is something else beside the quantity of money in a country that affects the value of property there. Wealth does not consist of money, but of the necessities, comforts and luxuries of life; and if, for any cause, those necessities, comforts and luxuries sell at so high a price that the consuming portion of the population is not able to buy them freely with the fruits of their labor, that country is distressed and poverty-stricken, even though every grain of soil in its territory were a grain of gold."

The Sun better be careful! It is treading on thin ice when it gets to the point where it can give out such give-away secrets of capitalism as the above. Capitalism does regard the necessities of the people as potential wealth to the robber class, we know—but the Sun ought to be more cautious in what it says!

Wretchedness is written all over the lives of the toilers. Even those who escape actual disaster are so haunted by the insecurity of exist-

ence under capitalism that the food they eat tastes bitter. No worker is secure; his existence hangs on the caprice of the bread master, the changing requirements of the competitive system. And a little farther down the scale is the unskilled worker, who gets jobs and loses them easily, with periods of being out of work which reduce the average of his daily wage, let alone doctor bills, undertakers' bills for luckless members of his family, etc. Like the beggar in "Ninety-three," he is slowly dying of hunger all his life. There are at all times over a million men out of work in the United States. Three million of our pauperized fellow citizens apply to charitable institutions every year. And this awful poverty forces men into the tramp class, a class that numbers over two millions of men, and women into the prostitute class, a class that numbers 500,000, and is constantly increasing. Yet we are coolly informed by the capitalist press and pulpit that this is the best nation on the globe!

If you will refer the matter to Mr. Parry, Mr. Worker, he will gladly tell you how the capitalists in control of business, government and the cost of living, would like to have you cast your ballot. They know what's for your best interests, you know. You were given your own brains by mistake and are not expected to make use of them!

Anyhow Christmas is one of the holidays that capitalism has not been able to abolish. There used to be 150 church holidays in the year before the capitalist system got control of the lives of the people. Yet the church is trying to help capitalism by traducing Socialism!

CLASS PENALTIES.

Stealing a chicken....6 years
Stealing \$54,000...18 months

An Iowa bank president stole \$54,000 of his depositors' money.

The judge in passing sentence upon this man gave him eighteen months in the penitentiary.

In the same penitentiary to which this bank president is committed a man is serving six years for stealing a chicken.

In giving an account of the rich prisoner's demeanor the press reports say he "took his sentence very calmly."

No doubt of it.

And so did the judge who sentenced him take the sentence "very calmly" — too calmly to suit the sense of justice of decent people.

The Socialist can hold up the deadly parallel at the head of this editorial and say, "That is justice as it is exemplified under your present system of society! How do you like it?"

The people are slowly formulating this belief:

If you steal a little, you will get the limit.

If you steal enough, you will be let off easy.

That is a dangerous belief, but not so dangerous as the facts that go to make up the belief.—Des Moines News.

The Vanguard is a wonderful grey-matter agitator. One year, 50 cents.

Send for a copy of our complete Socialist book catalogue.

SOCIALISM AND THE CITY.

By WINFIELD R. GAYLORD.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY, AND ITS RELATION TO SOCIAL PROGRESS.

The story of civilization is the story of the city. Savagery and barbarism indicate those earlier days in the history of the human race, before men had learned to live together, in any permanent form, or in any certain place. When armies were but wandering hordes, without any headquarters except the tent of the chieftain, and the instruments of labor were cruder than the weapons of war, a settled abiding place was not yet felt to be a necessity.

But with the coming of slavery, and so of a master class, there came the desire for a place in which to store the extra product of the labor of the slave, and the booty of battles. Hence came the first city, and the need which brought it into existence also determined its nature and purpose. The first city was a fort, built for defense, and to be a storehouse of plunder,—the Warriors' Home. Proof of this comes to us in many ways. All the great cities of antiquity were forts. Athens, Rome on her seven hills, Babylon with hanging gardens and mighty walls, Jerusalem upreared on Palestinian cliffs, and Nineveh—long lost but for her walls and books of brick. The word municipality comes from the Latin word for wall, "munus." The ancient name of London, "Llyndin," signifies "a lake fort," and the city was probably built originally in the midst of a swamp, or watery place, for better protection against invading enemies. St. Augustine, the oldest of our American cities, still shows to visitors, with pride, the ancient city wall built by the Spanish.

The City Fort was built by slaves. Within it might be found the age-long struggles of the classes, so obscured by the modern writers of history. Barbaric splendor of art and architecture, massive palace and stately temple, the tramp of liveried troops and flash of precious stones,—all these were there. Music and wine and dancing, pleasure and ease and luxury, for the masters. But neath the city wall there cowered also the trembling slave, whipped to his hovel at the close of day. The fighting man, trained from his youth to fight the battles of the king, chafed under the restrictions of the city wall and the royal palace discipline. Revolt of soldiers, and rebellion of slaves played a much larger part in those ancient days than we have been allowed to know. Spartacus was one example of the slave trained to fight, who longed for freedom for himself and his class and at length could no longer bear the torture of his humiliation. And when he rose in revolt, he took with him thousands of his fellows, and Roman nobles found that not without cost could they regain their former control over those whom they so cruelly exploited for pleasure and for gain.

But if the city fort was built by slaves, and even though it contained such antagonistic and diverse elements, it marked a step in advance for human life, and furnished conditions for the development of the later and better city life.

To the City Fort came the traveling caravans, with products of foreign soils and labor. At first with gifts for kings they came, and precious wares for noble men to buy. Then as the demand for these grew with knowledge of them, more artisans were set at work, more cloths were woven, more stones were polished, more jewels made, more weapons fashioned in the manner peculiar to the place; until at last between city and city there came to be the well known paths of commerce, and the city fort had within it a place given up to the traffic of the merchants,—and the Market City was born.

For centuries the Fort protected the Market, and was the master over all. But within the market was a power that grew and swelled until at last the master was no longer in the fort, and the soldier no longer made the law for the merchant. Slavery itself was found to be a thing outworn and too expensive far for the needs of trade, and slaves became freemen.

In the days of the Middle Ages when Feudalism was supreme, the cities did not grow as they had done before, nor as they did again, later. The castle wall sufficed to guard the treasures of the nobles, and the country was magnified over the city; because the city was likely to be made up of men who, because they lived close together and so were able to co-operate against the power of the nobles, were likely to be troublesome for rulers.

These men of the mediæval cities were free workmen, owning their own tools, selling their own products and living a life quite independent of their rulers. Moreover, because they were well organized in guilds, and were able to save money, they were also able at times when the nobles and kings were in need to secure larger freedom from the exactions of the nobility in return for loans of money, and for aid in the form of supplies for war. Thus grew up the Free Cities of Europe, of which for many years Lübeck was the greatest. They organized a great league of cities, called the Hanseatic League, and this league fought battles with kings and nobles, winning victories and exacting penalties. Their influence and favor were much sought after by the royal heads of Europe for many years, until at length kings began to learn the "tricks of trade," and to organize their own national and international commerce.

But the days were past when locations of cities were fixed by considerations of military defense alone. Amsterdam is said to have been "built upon herrings," and the meaning of the saying is very interesting as an illustration of the new power that was at work in the building of the Market City. In those days the Catholic faith was strong in many lands. Every Friday was a day to be honored by abstinence from meat, and therefore by eating fish. Accordingly, salt fish came to be an article much in demand, and those who could supply it were sure of large and lucrative trade. The mysterious herring came at that time in immense shoals through the waters bordering on the location of this new city, and so there sprang up a fishing village which grew at last into a mighty city, and came to have many and various lines of trade. But "Amsterdam was built upon herrings."

Battles were fought under barbarism, because of the wish to steal the plunder of the conquered foe. But with the coming of the merchant and the masters of the Market City, war took on a different phase and purpose. War became now, not a battle to steal, but a battle to sell. The struggle for trade became the form which the struggle for life had assumed, and thus within the Market City there grew the seed of another, a younger and more powerful organization still, and that was the modern Factory City.

For, it became plain in the struggle to sell, that it was he who could sell cheapest who would win in the battle for trade; and so the wits of men turned, not so much to the shaping of swords as to the invention of spinning wheels, and weaving looms, and engines of power to turn the new machinery. Then came the Modern City, which has no city walls, but builds battle-ships and sets its forts afar along the coast; and which is not itself so much a market, as it is a place in which things shall be made to sell in other markets. For the Market is no longer in a city: the Market is The World. Along the distant lines of rail and trackless ocean paths, across the prairies and beyond the seas the Market stretches. It is all the civilized World. It does not haggle with screaming voice with the seller and buyer. It reads the morning paper and the Mail Order Catalogue. And it is hungry, omniverous, wanting everything, and willing to buy, so long as it has money to buy. To feed and clothe and house and comfort those who constitute this Market is the business of the Farm and Factory. The Farm cannot be a City—at least not yet. But the Factory cannot be anything else but a City. And the great City today is little else than a Factory. It need not be a Fort. It cannot be a Market in the modern sense. It is not built for a Home. It is just a place to make things—things which must be sold somewhere else.

And so we have the history, very briefly, to be sure, of the city. It is clear at once that it has been the vantage point of progress all the while. The city has furnished the conditions for ever larger co-operation.

Man lived in the city at first because it was safer than to live outside, where prowling foes could easily attack. Then living together bred the liking for society, brought into practice new methods of enjoyment. The ancient, like the modern slave, preferred the city life, although the master and the service might be harder and the surroundings much more unhealthy; while to those whose circumstances gave them guarantee of leisure and plenty the city offered opportunity for intercourse with other minds and stimulated wit and fancy. Thus came art and literature. Printing was invented in a city. Temples adorned with paintings and statuary were found in the cities. The best men were most in demand, and found the largest appreciation, where there were the most of other men. Here was the world in miniature—here the market for everything from salt fish to genius. Here the world's problems were discussed, because here men learned to know that there was a world. The history was made, in the main. Here, in a word, men learned the benefits of association, and having learned, were unwilling to give up the blessings they had found.

The City today is the industrial social unit. It is coming to be recognized as the political social unit. As yet the State is legally the political social unit, and the battles of the people have to be fought out in the field of the state, while the city is made to depend upon the state for its liberties. But the development of machinery which is purely municipal in its uses, together with the appearance of problems in governments which are purely municipal in their origin and character, if not in their interests and effects, is compelling recognition of the necessity of giving to the city a larger autonomy in those matters in which it is itself concerned. And so, the spirit of Democracy, which in all time has found in the City its most favorable soil, is again having its way in the City, and again is compelling the city-dweller to lead in the van of the social progress of today.

THE MODERN INDUSTRIAL CITY, AND THE CAUSES OF MODERN "MUNICIPALISM."



HE Factory captured the Market City, and has in more than one instance compelled the old Fort City to throw down its walls and build its narrow streets anew, as in the case of Vienna, Austria. Any one who will read "Shaw's Municipal Government in Great Britain and Europe" will be able thereafter to understand the power of the Factory in our modern civilization.

But not only has the Factory captured the old cities and rebuilt them after its own new and not altogether beautiful ideals. It has also gone out into the most unlikely places, and there compelled men to build its walls and man its machines, while they have been given scant leave to live. Characteristic of modern civilization, with its specialization in all lines, is the specialization of the city. Nearly every city, large or small, has some characteristic line of manufacture. There are the "coal towns" of the coal belts, east and west. There are the "iron towns," the "lumber towns," the "railroad towns," the towns whose names indicate at once the character of their origin and the reason for existence. Such are Pullman and Plano, in Illinois, Corliss, Arpin and Cudahy in Wisconsin; Pittsburg stands for iron, as does Birmingham; Brockton stands for shoes; Fall River for cotton goods; Minneapolis for flour and lumber; Telluride and Cripple Creek for mining; Milwaukee for beer and machinery, etc. The location or growth of these depends upon their fortunate proximity to certain natural resources of mine or forest or wheat belt, or else to the more artificial advantage of unusual railway or waterway connections by which the manufacturer can bring in his raw materials and ship out his product. Cities rise and fall, with scant reference to whether or not the spot of their location be healthy or otherwise, or indeed whether many people live there or not. Does it pay to run the smelter? Then the workingmen who have built their little houses are fortunate. Will it pay better to shut down this mill and run some others of the great properties of the trust? Then it is not for the workingman to "reason why." He must move. The architecture (?) of these factory towns is also characteristic. If the city is large enough,

as in the cases of Cleveland and Milwaukee, there will be beautiful drives along the bluffs, lined with modern palaces, in which a small portion of the people will be permitted to live, while mile upon mile stretch away upon surrounding hills and valleys the hovels of the slums, the flats of the people who can answer truthfully to the landlord's question that they "have no children," and farther out on the city's limits the little cottages of the poor.

But where the town has been built only for industrial purposes, and has no variety of industry or population, the place takes on the character of a more or less permanent camp for the "operatives." A street or two will be lined on either side with houses which look as if they had been dropped of some great stamping machine, and manufactured by the dozen. Front porches exactly alike, pitiful little cellars dug and built, not to use but to rent, by the owners of the mill. Often in the lumber towns one will find boarding houses lined with bunks, stores owned and run by the company, and even saloons and gambling dens, which pay a high rental for their shelter to owners of mine or mill. The lumber towns of north and south, the cotton mills of Georgia and the Carolinas, the coal pits of the mountain lands, the iron centers,—all are just a hive of hovels and a hum of hopeless toil.

But the growth of the Factory City has other restrictions upon its development than the mere cost of buildings and machines. Out of the very conditions created by the building of the Factory City, out of the life of those necessary to its operations, have arisen circumstances connected intimately with the profits of the proprietors, and which have compelled a new kind of social progress. And this has not always been accomplished willingly—much less has the improvement come in the way of a chivalric undertaking or crusade for the freeing of slaves. It has been forced by sheer physical necessity and the greed for gain.

That method of organizing municipal life which is sometimes called "Municipalism," and by others, ignorantly, "Socialism," has not been introduced by those in power out of any love for the "dear people." It has involved, indeed, healthier conditions for the poor, better dwellings for them at cheaper rates of rent, it has introduced cheap street car fares and free lighting of all the streets, it has furnished splendidly appointed libraries and technical schools, and has even given the very best of hospital accommodations for the benefit of all the people.

It has also taken the functions of the waterworks, the lighting plants, the electric railways and other enterprises out of private hands where they yielded tremendous dividends, and placed them in the public ownership, and control with service practically at cost in many instances.

Yet, in the face of all this, it must be understood that the compelling and dominating motive in every step of this transformation has been the motive of more secure and larger profits for the possessing class.

As an illustration of this let us take the story of the English city of Birmingham, which is one of the famous cities of that country on account of its long history as a manufacturing center. Birmingham grew to greatness under the "laissez faire" regime, because it had none of the restrictions of the ancient guilds to hinder the development of the capitalistic spirit and method which was new in the latter part of the

seventeenth century. And so it was quite a city, of the old sort, when modern machinery came into existence and with it the modern Factory.

Ancient cities were seldom "laid out": they just grew. And growing, the growth followed along the lines of the old roads, which had first been calf paths, then cow paths, and later roads for human beings. The streets between, as houses were built to fill the intervening spaces, followed the lines of the old roads until they met, and then went where they could. All were narrow, unpaved, and mostly ungraded. The old houses, at one time the dwelling places of the rich and noble, became tenements, loathsome with vermin and packed with human beings. Alley ways and climbing stairways led to dark corners where the poor lived, and all were filthy, and dangerous to life and limb and health of mind and body.

There were few sewers excepting those in the gutters, and the flushing was done mainly by the rains. A franchise had been granted by Parliament to a private water company, which was perpetual in its rights, and which furnished river water through wooden pipes at a tremendous profit to the stockholders, and also caused a tremendous amount of sickness by the impurity of the water. In a word the city was one vast festering cess-pool of corrupt conditions, in which crime, ignorance and disease were favored by almost every law and custom. But this was not because the laws and customs had not been good enough in their day. It was because the factories had drawn the people by thousands to a city which was not built for thousands to inhabit.

In 1873 the leading citizens of the place took hold of a difficult situation with resolute hands, and carried the matter to Parliament, where alone could be found the legal power necessary to reorganize the city government, and give to one municipal government the legislative and executive powers which previously had been scattered among a dozen smaller bodies. The water company was compelled to give up its perpetual franchise, the gas monopoly was made to disgorge its prey, and a civic revolution took place. The price of gas was reduced one third, and an eight-hour day was granted the workmen. In 1876 the water works was taken over and means found to guarantee a supply of clean water. Then the price was successively reduced. The supply was increased until it was over five times larger and with a forethought that was magnificent, the future supply was provided for, in the mountains of Wales, and a mighty aqueduct planned to bring the water from the hills to the city. Then came the clearing of the slums. Narrow streets and filthy alleys vanished, and in their places one finds today "Corporation Streets," and broadly paved and shaded modern thoroughfare, lined with modern dwellings, which are rented to workingmen. And all of this has been made to "pay." Ah! there is the secret of the whole matter. Affairs had come to such a pass that it was no longer safe to do business in Birmingham without making these changes. And every new change, from the water works to the School of Technology, was seen to be a paying investment from the point of view of the modern business man.

Disease interferes with business. Manufacture and commerce can not go on profitably in the presence of the plague. Workingmen must be able to work steadily day by day if the profits of the employer are to be

secure. Crime is also an expensive element to have in the life of a city. It makes property uncertain,—and life as well. And there is no satisfaction in heaping up wealth, if one is in danger of losing it all at the hands of a robber. And so at last, and in the most expensive way indeed, the business men and capitalists of the city learned the lessons of the common life, and set about making the city a good place to do business in. But since business involved the health of the poor, and the safety of all, they must needs provide for the health and safety of all.

For the rich are not safe themselves in the city, if infection is in the haunts of the poor. Those who work handle the food and clothing of the rich, and if there is disease in the homes of those who work there is no escape for those who live in the palaces on the hill. Death is no respecter of persons. And so there must be clean water for all. Hence the modern municipal water works. Sewers must be had in a city, and the people who work must be provided for as effectively, if not as artistically, as those who do not work. Dark streets put a premium on crime, and crowded tenement houses not only breed crime, but also hide the criminals, besides being also the hot houses for disease. Ignorance is not a good thing in one who is to work for wages and to do business for the employer. It is better to have intelligent people about. And so the **school and the library and the technological schools for teaching trades, to train the workers to do better work and more of it.**

In 1874 the death rate of Birmingham was 26.8 per 1000 of inhabitants. In 1892 it had been reduced to 20 per 1000—a reduction of 25% in the death rate.

Mr. Shaw, in his "Municipal Government in Great Britain" (page 90), says: "An epidemic destroys valuable lives, and it also paralyzes trade and industry and causes immense pecuniary loss," and so saying, gives the key to the compelling motive of all modern sanitary science. When the filthy condition of Havana becomes one of the reasons why the United States government should go to war with Spain, in order to stop the danger attendant upon the infection from yellow fever, it is not surprising that the Factory City has compelled its owners to "clean up" in their own interests.

That others besides the Social-Democrats have recognized this principle is shown by the following quotation from Mr. Shaw: "These considerations of the public good which dominate the public control of such services as those of light and water can have only small weight in the counsels of a private money-making corporation; and herein lies, perhaps, the most fundamental reason for the municipal assumption of such functions" (page 120).

But there are other causes which have led to the municipalizing of some of those enterprises formerly privately owned and exploited. It has come to pass that our modern manufacturer and business man must have water and light, in large quantities. And when the business community discovers at last that this enterprise which is privately owned and profited by, can be so operated as to furnish cheaper service to the majority of them—and also to help pay their "rates" or taxes—they become enthusiastic advocates of the advantages of municipally owned water works and electric light and gas plants. Nottingham, England,

furnishes one example of this "municipal trading" as it is sometimes called, since "in the course of five years \$720,000 has been turned into the treasury as the surplus derived from these various undertakings after charges for interest have been adequately met." (Mil. Free Press.) And we need go no further than Milwaukee to find profits from the water department of the city to the amount of \$200,000 turned over to the "general fund"—which can only mean that this was used to reduce the amount of the taxes.

Even in the matter of the destruction of slums it will usually be found that the thrifty capitalist has seen a way to make the actual destruction of "valuable property" yield a handsome return somehow. Quoting from Mr. Shaw on this point, we learn that "Glasgow's action was hastened by the fact that several railway companies were seeking access to the heart of the city for great terminal grounds and buildings, and the time seemed especially opportune for a rearrangement and improvement of the streets." And again: "Their operations were very vigorous from 1869 to 1876, and were co-incidental with, if not directly the cause of, much house-building and real estate speculation in Glasgow." (pages 101 and 102.)

But if effective philanthropy has had to wait upon motives of profit, there is more assurance that the lessons learned will be all the more surely carried out in practice in the future. And thus human progress again has its basis and assurance of permanence in the economic facts.

EVOLUTIONARY LAW IN MUNICIPAL SOCIALIZATION.—THE SOCIALIZING PROCESS IN MUNICIPAL INDUSTRY, AND ITS RESULTS FOR THE WORKING CLASS.

PROFESSOR E. R. A. Seligman, of Columbia University, N. Y. City, has indicated the operation of the evolutionary law as applied to the development of public ownership, as follows: "In all the media of transportation and communication there seems to be a definite law of evolution. At first they are in private hands and used for purposes of extortion or profit, like the highways in medieval Europe, or the early bridges and canals.

"In the second stage they are affected with public interest, and are turned over to trustees, who are permitted to charge fixed tolls, but are required to keep the service up to a certain standard; this was the era of the canal and turnpike trusts or companies.

"In the third stage the government takes over the service, but manages it for profit, as is still the case today in some countries with the post and the railway system.

"In the fourth stage, the government charges tolls or fees only to cover expenses, as until recently in the case of canals and bridges, and as is the theory of the postal system and of the municipal water supply with us at the present time.

"In the fifth stage the government reduces charges until finally there is no charge at all, and the expenses are defrayed by a general tax on the

community. This is the stage now reached in the common roads and most of the canals and bridges, and which has been proposed by officials of several American cities for other services, like the water supply."

It is evident to any casual observer of society that the above statement will apply not only to the media of transportation and communication, but also to many other things. Especially it is applicable to enterprises municipal in their character, as is proven by the recent developments of our modern cities. In the history both of water and light service all these steps have been followed, though not, of course, in every case. At first altogether, as still in many cases, they were the means of extortion and exorbitant profit. Then the public laid restraining hands upon them, and limited the prices which could be charged. Next came the taking over by the people, or the building by them of their own plants, which were operated largely, and still are in many places, at a profit, used to reduce the taxes of the capitalist class. Pressure of public opinion and the growth of the social consciousness have resulted in the reduction of the rates of service to cost figures; while in some places, notably with respect to the water supply of Hancock, Mich., and New Orleans, La., the service is free and the expense is paid out of the common treasury. The latter has many things to commend it, not the least of which is a considerable saving of expense, owing to the doing away with the cost of keeping accounts, and collecting.

To those who have never gone over the ground at all, it is worth while to recognize the long list of enterprises and functions which have been private at some time in the history of the city, and which have by the very gradual degrees mentioned by Professor Seligman become so completely socialized that none but the rankest imperialist would dare to suggest that they be taken again out of the public hands. Vrooman, in his work on "Government Ownership," enumerates 300 different varieties of national and municipal undertakings. Of course every one of these was at one time "private," and has become "public" only by the same kind of a troublesome process which is today thought by so many to be something radical and unheard-of.

In the days when government was vested in an individual, taxation was a distinctly "private" matter, as we should view it today, and was handled in the interests of the particular persons who happened to "own the franchise." Police protection, i. e., protection for property, could only be had by those able to furnish their own police. The same was true of protection from fire. Today one calls on the public officers appointed and hired for these and similar purposes as naturally as though their functions had been eternal, and were not a comparatively recent "invention for the purpose of doing away with the development of the individual." One can scarcely speak of the courts yet as being open to all, in face of the fact that it costs money—which poor people do not have—to appear in court properly represented by the legal expert, called a lawyer; but it is worth remarking that there was a time when the judge himself could not by any manner be brought into court, unless it were the court of the revolutionary tribunal. Justice may be bought today, and is bought; but it is at least not "privately owned," as it once was. The same is to be said of legislation and the executive functions of

government. When we come to such matters as the streets, the care of the poor, education and sanitation, we are on more modern ground, but still on ground all too unfamiliar to the opponents of Socialism. It is in connection with the furnishing of water and light, and the more recent enterprise of public baths, that we approach what is still for some a debatable ground, in the United States.

In other countries there is a long list of enterprises which have already become "affected with public interests" more or less, and some of which have even come to the last stage, as in the case of the free public baths in many cities. In this list may be mentioned the following: Street car lines, telephones, laundries, ice supply, wood and coal supply, milk supply, bread supply and restaurants, dwelling houses, markets, abattoirs (slaughter houses) amusements—such as concerts and theaters—medical treatment, medicines, crematory, news service. Others might be added very easily, but this list will serve to show the next steps which are to be taken in this country, as well as to show the hesitating conservative that what he has regarded as a deluge of "Socialism" in the municipal water and light service is just a little spatter of drops, attracting attention to the shower that is to fall, in the not distant future.

No one really believes that these things have been done, on the whole, with any purpose of benefitting the working class. And even where a man like John Burns of London (England) has succeeded in having his way to some extent, because his way was a better one for the men who work, he has only been allowed to make the experiment in the hope and promise that a showing could be made which would, after all, be really better for the masters also. By the promise of facilitating "business" on the whole, and by the magical influence of reducing the "rates" or taxes, the class in control has been led into this new path. That they take a real pride in their accomplishments,—in the better service and cheaper cost, in the shorter hours and better wages of the men, and also in the more honest government which invariably accompany the changes which we have been discussing—there can be no doubt. But this pride is vastly strengthened as yet by the wholesome consciousness that "it pays," i. e., it "pays" the capitalist class as a whole.

On the other hand, the Socialist who would ridicule these items in the list of events important for social progress will make a great mistake. For, as one of the authors of the Fabian Essays has said: "It is the municipalities which have done most to socialize out industrial life:" and we cannot afford to miss taking account of the revolutionary value of every one of these achievements. It is to be noted, that in both national and municipal affairs the tendency of the development, quite apart from any influences which could be called "socialistic" in the political sense, has been always in a certain definite direction, as characterized by Professor Seligman. And we can also safely credit this development under capitalism with certain other things which are definitely and directly beneficial to the working class as such.

To begin with, even the matters of better and cheaper service, while bringing their first benefits to the capitalist and his class, are not without their value for the advancing proletariat, in the way of raising the standard of service to which that class becomes accustomed, and so edu-

cating them in the things that pertain to and make for civilization. Nor can it be a matter of indifference to one interested in the advancement of the working class that the capitalist class has found it necessary, even to a slight extent—no matter for what reason—to furnish better sanitary conditions, purer water and food supply, and more of educational facilities.

But there is something which holds within it more promise still than these, because it shows how the working class can be treated when once the pressure for "profits" or "dividends" is taken off the manager, and the ones employed are only a small portion of those who have even a theoretical ownership in the plant which they operate. I am speaking now of the fact that in enterprises publicly owned and conducted the wages and conditions of labor are already decidedly improved. The following table will show at a glance that this is true. (Taken from Parsons.)

HOURS AND WAGES UNDER PUBLIC AND PRIVATE OWNERSHIP.

	PUBLIC.		PRIVATE.		
	Av. Hrs. per day.	Av. pay per year.	Av. Hrs. per day.	Av. pay per year.	
Railway mail clerks	7	\$1080	12	\$540	Western Union operators
Postal Carriers	8	900	12	720	Conductors and motor-men, Phila. St. R'y.
Brooklyn Bridge R'y Trainmen	8	1000	10	700	Trainmen on N. Y. and Brooklyn L. Roads
Boston Police	7½	1210	10	520	Employees West End St. R'y, Boston.

It will be observed that those given on the same line under Public and Private Ownership are occupations which may fairly be compared for the amount of ability required, or the previous training necessary, while in one instance the service is identical and the locality the same. It is well known that the common rule for public employes is the eight-hour day.

The following parallel statement furnished by Parsons shows the comparison between the service of the Western Union Telegraph Co., and that of the English National Telegraph, which has become a part of the British Postal system:

WESTERN UNION.

Two big strikes in 25 yrs.
Serious losses and interruptions.
Large drops in wages.
Progressive lowering of labor conditions.
Poor service and discontented employes.
Persistent policy of lowering wages and increased burdens of workers.

ENGLISH TELEGRAPH.

No strikes.
Harmonious uninterrupted operation.
Large increase in wages.
Progressive improvement of labor conditions.
Superior efficiency of well treated and contented employes.
Persistent policy of Postal Telegraph department from first to

Managers took advantage of defeat in '83 strike to get "one-third more work out of a man for a day's service." (Words of Pres. Green.)

Organization frowned upon.

Employment insecure.

Promotion at a minimum.

Dismissed after long service and replaced by cheap labor.

No provision for sickness, disability, etc.

last to raise wages, shorten hours and add to the privileges of labor.

Employees free to organize.

Employment secure.

Merit finds promotion.

Increased pay after long service.

Liberal provisions for pensions.

Another fact to be recognized by those interested in the struggle of the working class, is the fact that every enterprise brought under public ownership marks another step towards the "democracy of industry" which alone can guarantee their freedom. Every important social function removed from private control removes from capitalism that much of its power, and furnishes so much more of underpinning for the future democratic state. First of all in the city it is likely that the great experiments must be made, and every lesson that can be learned in advance is so much preparation for the time when the working class as such must assume the responsibility for the maintaining of civilization in the city.

Civil Service, even though imperfect, is the recognition of a principle for which Social-Democrats contend. And Civil Service is an almost inevitable accompaniment of Municipal Ownership, even in spite of the politician's pull.

CONSTRUCTIVE MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM.



SOCIALISTS have been critics in the main until today, because they have had no opportunity to be anything else. They have been sufficiently occupied in most localities to maintain their right to criticise even. But with the growth of the party to political strength and the approach to political power and responsibility, comes the obligation to assume the constructive attitude and frame of mind, and begin to answer the question, "What are you going to do?" in some definite and coherent fashion.

And those who are wise in the Social-Democratic ranks will be thankful that the day of opportunity comes upon us gradually, that the doors do not open to us widely at once. The natural process of acquiring political power, under our form of government, will bring us to control first in the local, then in the state, and lastly, in the national government. And while we say, and must say, that we cannot accomplish our aim until we shall have a majority in Congress and a Socialist president in the chair; let us also recognize the fact that the very ability to elect a majority of congressmen and a president involves the responsibility for local and state administrations for some time in advance. Moreover, we do not want to leave behind us any unoccupied positions

in the hands of our enemies, by means of which they could defeat us even if we were intrenched in the national seats of power.

But meanwhile, there is much to be done in the smaller circles of collective action and interest. The experiments which capitalists have been compelled to make in collective ownership and control are to be supplemented and followed up sympathetically. The "blind struggle in the dark" which has marked the evolution of the city and the state in collective ownership and control is to be replaced by a "conscious evolution." The type of the collective unit is to be brought into the course of development; the principles of collective industrial control are to be worked out; the problem of industrial democracy is to be attacked upon the smaller field, so that when it comes to its working out upon the larger national field we shall not be ignorant either of the principles nor of the practical difficulties. There will be need also of men who have the confidence of the people,—confidence won in the local fields of administration and legislation, who have proven their ability and honesty in the service of those they represent.

Let us be frank enough to say, that if the complete political power were to come at once and all at once into the hands of the Social-Democratic party we should be embarrassed by its possession now, and in the end would probably be hindered by very excess of responsibility in the doing of those things which we desire to do. It is the recognition of such facts as this that has brought the majority of the members of the party face to face with the necessity for the adoption and working out of a program, and has put the impossibilists gently but firmly outside the ranks of the working class political movement. Those who expect to achieve the Co-operative Commonwealth, not by hard intellectual and social labor, but by some sudden catastrophe, belong not among the ranks of Social-Democrats, but among the Anarchists.

For should the catastrophe come, in spite of the patience of the working class and the unwillingness of the Social-Democrats to make or suffer violence, it will mean that we must face problems only the more difficult because of the social disorganization and the personal bitterness that will inevitably follow any such outbreak.

Government is organized today on the basis of certain arbitrary bounds of territory. The unit of government, the political unit, in this country is the state. The national government is the "federal government," that is to say, it is a federation of states, having certain uniform rights and powers within themselves. Local governments, such as county, town and city, are completely under the control of the respective state governments, under the limitations of the national constitution. Charters are granted to cities by state legislatures, and can be amended only by state action. Even the taxing power is completely in the hands of the state, which can and does exempt certain properties from municipal taxation, in view of a certain tax paid to the state. Municipalities are limited, expressly, by state law from entering into any lines of industrial or commercial effort, unless specifically permitted to do so. The stronghold of private property is in the state government. But the natural point at which the socialization of industry begins is the municipality.

Thus the Social-Democrat has a two-fold problem to work out. He must secure from the local state governments permission for the municipalities to act freely within the sphere of their own life and interests. To do this he must overcome the prejudice and ignorance of the dwellers in the country who know little and are likely to care less about the affairs of the city. But he will be strengthened in his efforts by the growing interests of the small towns and cities, and the fact that the representatives of these in the state legislatures will be better organized and more accustomed to organized action than those from the country.

Thus it becomes plain that Municipal Autonomy is really the first one of the planks to be put in the Social-Democratic State and Municipal program. Until this is had, in all matters which concern the interests of the municipality, there can be but scant progress in social development. Indeed this is today the chief obstacle in the way of municipal progress.

Municipal Autonomy should be secured for every municipality, giving the following powers:

1. Complete political home rule.
2. Complete control over all taxing and bonding transactions which are proper to the life and welfare of the city.
3. Freedom to engage in any enterprise, within or without its own territory, except as specifically prohibited by state or national law.

The ideal is, self-government for city, state and nation. And this can and must be attained for the city, if Democracy is to have its way. That it will be attained, is guaranteed far more by the growth of urban population than by any propaganda or agitation of the Social-Democrats. Indeed, it is the purpose of this article to show that the guarantee of all the things for which we have reason to hope lies rather, and much more, in the economic and industrial development than in our own actions as a propaganda, or even as a political, movement. It is the function of the Social-Democratic party to consciously seize the opportunity, direct the arousing social consciousness, and by study and forethought provide against reactions which might destroy in a month the whole fruit of centuries of civilization.

The Social-Democratic members of state assemblies and local governments will do well not to regard themselves merely as the representatives of a political machine which has thrust them into positions of more or less power, as rather the forerunners of that coming industrial state, or social organization, which has cast them on ahead, as the breaking crest of a coming wave, or as scouts before an army.

They are to fight "on a parliamentary basis the class struggle which brought into existence the Socialist movement" in all lands. And their functions may be spoken of as being two-fold, (1) educative or agitative, and (2) effective.

The first of these functions will doubtless be the principal one while the party is so far in the minority that it cannot gain sufficient aid to carry out any portion of its program. It will be most effectively accomplished by the introduction of well-drawn measures which look to-

ward the immediate benefit of the working class of the community; by minority reports, when the Social-Democrat is appointed on committees of various bodies; by administrative or executive decisions and actions which give decided advantage to the working class as such, if there should offer opportunity for such action. Even if the latter should be over-ruled, or perhaps, even more by its being over-ruled, the attention of the working class will be attracted to the facts connected with its present enslavement, and so made the more intelligent as to the way of release.

The second function, of effective action, by which is meant the actual securing of political action favorable to the working class, while likely to be somewhat deferred with respect to large results, should nevertheless be kept constantly in mind, as having sufficient promise of immediate results to warrant some plan of procedure and some program of effort.

All measures are to be considered in the light of their bearing upon the working class as such. Those which will prepare the working people for their part in the class struggle—by increase of their intelligence, by strengthening their bodies, by securing independence of livelihood for them—are to be considered as so many weapons making for their victory. On the other hand, the taking away from the capitalist class of exclusive privileges, making the courts free to all, and securing as far as possible the limitation of those powers—financial, legal, social and political—which have accumulated in the hands of that class, will tend of course by weakening the opposing class to make the victory of the working class more easy and more certain at every step.

And this same idea of the "class struggle" may well be the guiding star of the Social-Democratic legislator and administrator: for the problem of Constructive Socialism is after all not so much like the planning and building of a great dwelling, as it is like the organization of an army, with which to take possession of the enemy's camp and territory. It is to organize for taking possession, for keeping possession and for proper use in possession, of the social and industrial structure already in existence, that we must bend our energies and intelligence. And here is the reason why the Social-Democratic strategist must know thoroughly the nature of the country to be possessed, and the nature of the enemy's organization, his strength and weakness.

The previous chapters have shown that the capitalist class, by reason of the industrial development, has been compelled to give up one position after another. This is due to the fact that while there is a capitalist class which can be considered as a unit politically and socially, on the industrial and commercial field there are antagonistic elements within this class which endeavor to take advantage of each other. In their struggle for mastery among themselves, they voluntarily abandon one position after another to the people as a whole—the working class, which thereby has been strengthened, educated, uplifted, given political equality etc. But hitherto the working class has exerted itself to gain these things for itself in only a slight degree. The control over the government has always been maintained by the capitalist class, and the control over the essential means of exploitation. They are today, though they

have given up so much, still the masters. The ownership of the labor-saving machines of the world gives to them the great power of controlling civilization. If the hours of labor have been reduced, they still have a larger product than before; if wages even are somewhat higher, they have control over the throttle that determines the price level; if water is cheap through municipal ownership, and streets are lighted free, the price of rent makes up the difference to the ready capitalist, while street-car fares and electric light bills fill in the crevices made by the struggle of the trades unions. Coal we know how to mine and ship, but we do not control the machinery that must be used to handle it; ice we have at our door in winter, and willing hands to handle it, but we do not—alas—own even land enough nor buildings enough to store the stuff until hot weather makes of it a necessity in a great city.

Yes, it is possession that we are striving for. And all gifts of law and liberties are as nothing, if the people do not control those things which have become necessary to their common life.

It is for the Social-Democrat to understand and take advantage of the fact that, in the struggles now going on in society, there are social groups which at various times will find their temporary interests to be served, by the application of some principle which the Social-Democrat knows to be permanently valuable to the working class. An illustration of this is to be found in a recent occurrence in Milwaukee. The formation of an ice combine had forced the price of ice to an unheard of level. Merchants of all sorts who used ice protested, but to no effect. A mass meeting was called, but attended mainly by Social-Democrats. A local lawyer appealed to the State Attorney of Wisconsin for an investigation, which will doubtless turn out very much as have all other attempts at "trust-busting." Co-operative ice companies have been organized and their stock offered for sale. The public mind is greatly stirred, and, most important of all, certain business elements see that their interests will be as well served by the public ownership and operation of an ice plant as by the same sort of water supply. Accordingly, when the Social-Democrat goes to Madison next fall, as some of them expect to go in the capacity of legislators, they will find the way prepared for the enactment of a law which, while benefitting a class which is more or less temporary in the nature of the industrial development, will at the same time provide permanently for one of the necessities of the life of the people being furnished under their own control and ownership.

It is for the Social-Democratic legislator to see to it that the organization of this plant is of such a character that it will not too easily fall a prey to the profit-hungry corporation or the boodle-seeking politician, and this he will do by following well-established principles of public control and democratic discipline.

It is the duty of the working class representative in legislative office to forward the socialization of all enterprises as much as possible, and secure their operation on the lines of industrial democracy. In doing this he will meet the opposition of the capitalist representatives, who will of course wish to have these enterprises operated as much as possible for their own benefit. And he may anticipate efforts on their part along the following lines, essentially:

(1) By operation on the usual principle of commercial transactions, giving special privileges to large users and rebates or reductions to large consumers.

(2) By operation at a profit, and the application of these profits to the reduction of private taxes.

(3) By keeping remunerative positions in connection with such enterprises at such a salary level as to provide comfortable positions for members of their class, and insisting that only members of their class are fit for such places.

(4) By perpetuation of the contract system in public works, to give opportunity for "rake-off" and "graft" to members of their class or friends.

(5) By limitation of financing and bonding powers of the municipality, so as to throw the financial control into the hands of the present financial aristocracy, etc., etc., etc.

On the other hand, the representatives of the working class will constantly endeavor to modify these activities in ways like the following:

(1) Public enterprises to be operated,

(a) either free of cost to the public, and paid for out of the general fund;

(b) or service to be furnished at cost of production;

(c) or service furnished at a profit, the profit to be applied in such a manner as to benefit the whole people, and not to reduce taxes.

(2) By application of civil service principle and equalization of salaries.

(3) By inaugurating a complete system of public works departments in state and local affairs.

(4) By enlarging bonding and financing powers of state and local governments, so as to deliver the people from the money power and the bankers.

(5) By introduction of initiative and referendum on all matters pertaining to the public welfare or the holding of public office. Under this head will come the use of all modern methods of facilitating the voting of the people, such as electrically connected voting machines, etc.

From what has been said it will be seen that the Social-Democrat will not have to violate any principle of his party faith which prohibits fusion or trading votes in legislative action. But knowing, as others do not know, the undercurrents which are at work, he will forward the plans of the working class now through this and now by that channel, or by the aid of the co-operative social or industrial group which may be composed of representatives from different and opposite political parties. As an economic expert he will know how to clear the channel of popular legislation for those things which will benefit his class, while understanding also how to play opposing forces against each other for hindering legislation hurtful to his class.

Constructive Socialism is like constructive landscape gardening. It consists not in a mere upheaval of existing forms, so much as in a shaping and forming of elements already present and in process of growth. And the wise men will realize that their part lies in disturbing

as little as possible the normal constructive process, and in pruning only the useless and dead or dying branches of the social and industrial organism.

This point of view will not prevent the pruning process, but will rather give the required nerve for that operation when it is necessary, since it will enable the social architect to understand and properly balance in his mind the value of the various forces and elements with which he has to do.

It will not all be gentle action. Now and then there may have to be quick and hard action. But the writer is persuaded that the point of view maintained in these chapters is the one which will best prepare the public representative of the working class to meet all emergencies, and do the least of harm as well as the most of good, when opportunity shall be given him to act.

ARGUMENTS. FOR AND AGAINST MUNICIPAL SOCIALIZATION.



IN view of the ground still to be gained in the forwarding of the principle of collective ownership and control, even in the case of municipal enterprises, and especially in view of the fact that there has existed both in Europe and America an organized effort to discredit the principle of municipal ownership, it is well that the case should be reviewed in such form as will put the material conveniently at hand for those interested in the matter.

It is worth while to observe that the arguments and alleged statistics used against the idea of municipal socialization have been furnished and published in the main by paid attorneys and representatives of corporations which had a stake in the matter; while on the other hand, those who are presenting the case for municipal socialization are almost without exception either investigators who simply report their findings, or else men who have nothing to gain personally by the adoption of the principle, except as they would profit along with the whole people.

Parsons (The City for the People) lists the following objections to municipalization: 1. It will increase political corruption; 2. Paternalism; 3. Socialism; 4. Liberty will be less; 5. It is not properly the government's business; 6. Vested interests; 7. It will lead to extravagance and debt; 8. Private initiative will be lost; 9. Public ownership is non-progressive; 10. Public ownership is inefficient; 11. It is less economical than private ownership. Some of these may be passed without discussion here, as the mere phrases of "Paternalism" and "Socialism." Others may be condensed into three main points as follows: 1. Corruption; 2. Expense; 3. Non-progressive.

We will take these up in their order.

1. Municipalization leads to further political corruption.

In view of the fact that the water department has never been known to bribe the fire department, nor vice versa, this discussion will seem useless to some. But it is worth while to state the known facts with regard to these statements, and also to draw inferences.

The possibilities of corruption in any organization are two-fold, viz.: (a) within the organization itself, and (b) between the organization, or some part of it, and outside forces. Under the first, in the case of a municipal enterprise, would come favoritism on the part of officials towards friends and relatives, leading to inefficiency on the part of the working force. A properly organized Civil Service completely answers this objection; and civil service is facilitated, not interfered with, by municipalization.

Under the second head come all the briberies, having for their purpose the sale of materials, or special favors in the way of service by the municipality. But this second does not depend upon the fact that the municipality controls the enterprise. It is quite as common in private business.

But there are other and convincing arguments to be brought, which completely establish the case.

Private companies, under the necessity of producing for profit, and under the limitations of private capital, are constantly found guilty of violations of laws. They evade taxes; they refuse to furnish the service required by franchises and charter provisions; they destroy property of their own and other companies to carry out their purposes; they systematically bribe public officials of all grades.

Municipal enterprises WOULD NOT FIND ANY INCENTIVE FOR DOING ONE OF THESE THINGS.

The proof that private companies have carried on transactions in violation of law and of the public good is found in the fact that they have falsified their reports, made under the law; and is further demonstrated by the fact that they have frequently preferred to completely destroy their records, rather than allow them to be brought into court as evidence.

No municipal enterprise would or could do either.

There is no fact better attested than the fact that the corporations are "in politics." It would be impossible to bring them more completely and corruptly into municipal campaigns than they now are. They have corrupted every party that has been in power; they have been the focal point around which campaign after campaign has been organized; they have furnished funds to both the old parties for their campaigns; they have had their secret and open rings in council chambers and in executive offices; their stock-holders become city officials, and in their positions represent the corporation interests more than those of their constituents.

None of these things would be possible to a municipal department.

The methods and interests of the private corporations are such as to attract the worst men into public office. There is a premium placed upon this class of men in public office by the well known practices of corrupt and corrupting corporations. Men prominent in social and business circles seem to find it necessary to use the most degrading, dishonest and disreputable methods, in order to "safe-guard the interests" of their companies.

None of these things would be "necessary" from any point of view to secure the successful carrying on of any municipal enterprise.

On the contrary, with the incentive of corruption removed, with the removal of the big corporations having favors to seek from the city, disreputable men would no longer be willing to serve in public office, and the way would be open to men who are now unwilling to run for office owing to the fact that "it is a disgrace to be known as an 'alderman.'"

It is dangerous at present for any man in public life, or any newspaper, to criticise the corrupt practices of the politicians and the corporations. Man after man has suffered defeat at the hands of mysterious influences, because he has endeavored to investigate only the practices connected with the granting of special privileges, the remittance of taxes, the failure to enforce existing laws, or the introduction of laws calculated to strengthen the hold of the corporation upon the public life. The same men who are the principal and controlling proprietors of these great corporations are also the proprietors of the great dailies, or are able to control enough of the newspapers so as to neutralize any attacks that may be made upon them by honest men and editors who wish to expose corrupt practices.

No municipal enterprise could thus stifle public opinion, prevent criticism of its practices, drive men out of public office, purchase the public press, frighten the pulpit and platform speakers, compel all political parties to come to it for campaign funds and all ambitious men to approach it for political favors.

Thus an analysis of the forces and facts at work in connection with the great public utilities shows that nearly every force that now makes for corruption under the private ownership of these enterprises, would under a collective ownership make for clean government.

2. The second objection is that municipalization is more expensive than private ownership and control. Let us see. This will fall into two heads, viz.: expense of acquirement, and expense of operation.

In view of the fact that it is usually an expensive matter for a corporation to secure a franchise, while this would cost the municipality nothing, it does not seem that the acquiring of the machinery should be any more expensive to a municipality than to a private corporation. It is notorious that there are "rake-offs" to officers of these corporations, for favors shown in the way of contracts. And at any rate, the economy in the matter of franchise ought to more than offset any little difference in the cost of the machinery.

When we come to the matter of operation, we are on familiar ground, owing to the fact that there is a sufficiently large number of plants, both public and private, in this country, to furnish basis for comparison. Since the experience of American cities has been confined so far to the municipalization of water works, gas and electric light plants, we will have the data for these only. But these are sufficiently convincing to warrant conclusions of no uncertain nature.

First, let us take the water works. The Fourteenth Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, date 1899, furnishes us the following data. A table giving returns from a total of 1,014 plants, 374 of which are privately owned, and 640 publicly owned, shows the following facts:

AVERAGE COST PER 1000 GALLONS WATER.

Water furnished (gals.):				Private Number of Plants:	Cost:	Municipal Number of Plants:	Cost:
1 million and under	5 millions			5 *	\$.6928	35	\$.8789
5 " " " 10 "				12	.4966	35 *	.4486
10 " " " 15 "				12	.4092	45 *	.3050
15 " " " 20 "				10	.3066	41 *	.2636
20 " " " 25 "				12 *	.2471	26	.2911
25 " " " 50 "				50	.1874	105 *	.1754
50 " " " 75 "				44	.1375	52 *	.1180
75 " " " 100 "				26	.1520	24 *	.1371
100 " " " 125 "				20	.1084	23 *	.1015
125 " " " 150 "				9	.1285	22 *	.1265
150 " " " 175 "				14	.1108	6 *	.0879
175 " " " 200 "				8	.1339	12 *	.0845
200 " " " 250 "				23	.1165	15 *	.1046
250 " " " 500 "				51 *	.0796	58	.0858
500 " " " 750 "				30 *	.0762	38	.0902
750 " " " 1 billion				14 *	.0672	20	.0745
1 billion " " " 5 "				30	.0651	78 *	.0639
5 " " " 10 "				4	.1163	6 *	.0444
10 " or over						13	.0476
Total plants reported						374	640
* Total showing less cost than similar plants of opposite group						112	464
Percentage of total showing less cost than similar plants of opposite group						29.94	72.5

In the above figures are included (for the public plants) depreciation, estimated taxes, interest on total investment, etc., so that the comparison is complete so far as it can be. In all but three of the groups where the showing is favorable to the public plants there are more of these than of the private; so that it cannot be said that these were a few exceptional instances. The verdict is completely in favor of the public plant, so far as the cost of production is concerned. But when we come to the average price per 1000 gallons of water sold the difference is still more apparent, and still more in favor of the municipal plants, showing that even when the privately owned plants are able to produce cheaper that fact is of scant value to the community, since they charge more for their product than the people could secure the same for, even in a more expensively managed plant. For economy of space, the reader is referred to page 42 of the report cited above for the table last referred to.

M. N. Baker, in his Manual of American Water Works, concludes that the charges of private water works average 43 per cent more than public water works for similar service. Of the fifty largest cities in the country, only nine are supplied by private companies. For further material, see The City for the People, by Parsons.

The municipal ownership of Gas Plants has not extended as widely as in the case of water works in this country, but it has gone far enough, and there is information enough at hand, to furnish convincing evidence in connection with this kind of municipal industry, also.

Professor Bemis, in his "Municipal Monopolies," shows that 75 cents per 1000 cubic feet is an ample charge for gas in any city east of the Rocky Mountains. The one exception to the complete and permanent success of the municipal gas plant seems to be Philadelphia, where the notorious Quay ring bought and sold all kinds of franchises almost at will. The following table is taken from the Fourteenth Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, date 1899, and shows the fact that in every one of the 11 cases reported the municipal plant furnished gas at less cost than similar private plants.

AVERAGE COST PER 1000 CUBIC FEET OF GAS PRODUCED.

Gas produced (cu. ft.):		Private Number of Plants:	Cost:	Public Number of Plants:	Cost:
Under 2 million		10	\$3.71	1	\$3.34
2 million and under	5 million	69	2.17	2	1.18
5	" " 10	63	1.84	2	1.51
10	" " 15	43	1.44		
15	" " 20	45	1.52	2	.96
20	" " 25	23	1.35	1	1.03
25	" " 50	38	1.25	1	.91
50	" " 75	17	1.14		
75	" " 100	9	1.06		
100	" " 500	18	.92	2	.63
500	" or over	8	.76		
Total number of plants reported		316		11	

This table includes depreciation, estimated taxes, interest on total investment, etc., for the public works.

Here there is absolutely no excuse whatever for the statement that private ownership can even produce more cheaply. There need be no discussion as to what the benefit to the public would be under these circumstances, if the gas plants were owned by the municipalities.

In the matter of Electric Lighting there has been some confusion, and more misrepresentation, because of the differences of local elements, and the differences in kinds and quantities of currents used. But even so we still are in possession of facts which will enable any fair minded alderman to decide whether under any circumstances it is wiser for the people to own their own electric light plant or to hire the lighting done by a private company.

The following table is taken from Parson's pamphlet on the subject.

COST OF ELECTRIC LIGHT BEFORE AND AFTER PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

Total cost per year for electric street lights, the "after" service being as good or better than the service it replaced.

	1. Before: Price paid private company per street arc, just before public operation began.	2. After: Cost per arc including taxes, insurance and depreciation.	3. After: Cost under COMPLETE public ownership, including taxes, insurance and depre- ciation, but no interest, there being none to pay.
Aurora, Ill.	\$325	\$72	\$61
Elgin, Ill.	228	65	56
Marshall, Iowa	125	40	30
Bay City, Mich.	100	67	58
Detroit, Mich.	132	83	68
Allegheny, Pa.	180	86	75
Bangor, Me.	150	58	48
Lewiston, Me.	182	58	52
Peabody, Mass.	185	73	62

To this may be added Chicago, which was paying \$250 per arc, under private ownership, and in 1899 had reduced the cost under public ownership to \$55.93 per arc. If there is a city on earth where public ownership would naturally be affected for the worse by political corruption, Chicago is the city. But in spite of the corrupt political conditions, the city saved \$195 PER ARC PER YEAR on its street lighting, under municipal ownership. Detroit has reduced the cost per arc to \$60.30 per year.

Another short table of comparative costs will serve to make the matter still clearer.

	Charged by private plant:	Cost of public plant—same years:	
1893-4, Pittsburg, Pa.	\$195	\$83	Allegheny, Pa.
1890-7, Troy, N. Y.	146	75	West Troy, N. Y.
1896, Buffalo, N. Y.	127	83	Detroit, Mich.
1897-8, Buffalo, N. Y.	100	73	Detroit, Mich.

The above is only a suggestion of the material that may be had, by referring to the authorities quoted, as well as others.

The true main objection to municipal ownership is on the ground that public ownership is not as progressive as private ownership, owing to the lack of personal interest. But all facts thus far submitted go to show that it is a decided advantage to have the personal interests eliminated, and the interests of the public made the dominating factor in any given enterprise.

To begin with, we will quote Mr. Cowdery, of the Milwaukee Gas Co., on the subject with which he is most familiar and where he may be accepted as an authority. He says: "The gas business, and progress in it, has been greatly retarded by methods which are not sound in principle, but greatly speculative in their nature." No doubt he is more than ever of this opinion, after his recent deal with the Semet-Solvay

concern! Prof. Bemis rightly says on the same point: "Private gas companies, with an assured monopoly, often feel less impelled to make improvements than public companies controlled by the voters, whose demands for cheap light, etc., can be brought to bear upon their own agents far more easily than upon private companies."

This argument is often supported by reference to the publicly owned railways of Europe as being far behind those of the United States, which are privately owned. But those who bring the argument forget to compare the publicly owned railways with those privately owned in the same or adjoining countries, where they will find the proof that it is not because they are publicly owned, but because all railroading in Europe is behind that of America. It is said that they do not even have baggage checks in England; but the railways are not publicly owned there as yet!

Comparing two similar services in this country, let us ask, which has been more progressive, the United States Post Office or the Western Union Telegraph Company? The latter has pigeon-holed inventions, refused to extend service when requested, has fostered gambling on race-track returns, kept its prices up to the highest possible limit, and to cap the climax, employs babies! Compared with the English National Telegraph it is old-foggyish and out of date, and recently had to send for some English Telegraphic Engineers to tell it how to get its lines into proper shape. It has refused so far to use the two best and latest inventions in connection with wire telegraphy. Its stock in 1897 was found to be \$97,000,000, of which about \$92,000,000 was water. There is private "enterprise" for you!

But publicly owned plants have shown themselves to be progressive, in their efforts to serve the public. Extension of water mains, gas mains, electric light circuits and street car lines is the rule, as soon as these are taken under public ownership. They are progressive also in constantly reducing the price of the service, until at least it is reduced to cost. This kind of progress can never be expected of private companies. Only a municipal plant can progress in that direction. That is the big argument, after all, for the municipal plant, from this point of view.

Another favorite argument of the mouthpieces of capitalism has been shivered! S. S. McClure, in McClure's Magazine, shows by statistics that it is just in the states where the Yankee blood is the purest that the most murders are committed. It is pretty hard on the editorial scolds to have to drop the "ignorant foreigner" argument, eh?

cial-Democrat. What is required is the deep determination to work relentlessly for the collective ownership of the wealth-producing forces of our modern industrialism, to meet and conquer every situation with the great end-aim in view. Works, not words, is the test.

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THE VANGUARD.

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

Vol. 3. No. 6. MILWAUKEE, WIS., FEBRUARY, 1905. Whole Number 26.

"It is the phenomeon of the age that millions of people throughout this great country of ours come of their own free will to the shearing pens of the "system" each year, voluntarily chloroform themselves, so that the "System" may go through their pockets, and then depart peacefully home to dig and delve for more money that they may have the debasing operation repeated on them twelve months later." Thomas Lawson.

A thing that is giving the capitalist press the cold shivers is that the Social-Democrats are in a perpetual campaign and that now that election is over they are at it again with renewed zeal. Old party workers have to be paid to work and then swindle those that pay them, whereas a large fraction of our work is unpaid, steady going and irrepresible. Indeed, many of the workers practically pay money out of their own pockets in order to work. That is what happens when a great principle is at stake. But the capitalist press shakes its head ruefully—it wonders where it's to end, and it is at a loss how to deal with an army that moves on such lines.

Alfred Russell Wallace said:

"The crowning disgrace is that with a hundred fold increase in our powers of wealth, production adequate to supply every rational want of our whole population many times over, we have only succeeded in adding enormously to individual wealth and luxury, while the workers are on an aver-

age as deeply sunk in poverty and misery as before. I am convinced that the society of the future will be some form of Socialism, which is organization of labor for the good of all. Just as the post-office is organized labor for the benefit of all."

The slander bearers of the Catholic church, who form what might be aptly called the Catholic A. P. A., are after all doing us a service, which they little suspect. In the initial days of the Republican party, the county was flooded by insulting handbills, that were industriously circulated, with the heading: "Fremont, Free Labor, Free Love." The perpetrators of this outrageous fabrication persisted in their work until it became simply spent powder. The lying had become overdone; the people saw through it, and the lies recoiled on the heads of those who uttered them. It is always so. The calumniators of Social-Democracy are following in the footsteps of the clerical filth-throwers of Germany, who only succeeded in bespattering

their own cause. They lost the trust of the people—and Social-Democracy went from one success to another, casting over three million votes in the last election, and showing the greatest percentage of gains just in the Catholic districts! The clerical filth-throwers in this country, with their lay assistants, will accomplish just what the early enemies of the Republican party and the anti-Socialists of Germany accomplished—more than nothing. We say more than nothing, advisedly, because unknowingly they are helping what they hope to retard.

Thomas Bernard Gardner, once ranking with Murat Halsted and other leading journalists in this country, is now an inmate of a poor house in California; and yet, he probably in his time took his little sneer at Socialism and tried to discourage it. Fate under capitalism is cruel indeed. When Tom Gardner was a leader in journalistic circles on the Pacific coast it was the era of top hats, frock coats and boutonnieres for newspaper men of the first rank and lots of hobnobbing with princes, diplomats and the leaders of the traveling world. But capitalism took Gardner's fortune away from him to distribute it to other more successful players at the game of "business," and Watson, bleached with his seventy years, hid himself in an out of the way almshouse.

That Roosevelt has not been able to down his inborn love of being boss and that it has more or less caused a mistrust of him by the interests that have spent large sums of money these many years in getting the government departments into shape acceptable to themselves, seems to be born out by the claim of the New York Journal of Com-

merce that "the president's most intimate biographer has admitted that Secretary Gage left the Cabinet because the president began to issue his orders direct to the bureaus of the department, instead of communicating them through the secretary." But it is not the headstrong habits of Roosevelt in this direction that concerns the people so much. Vastly more dangerous is his undoubted love of soldiery and war for the glory there is in it. Should the internal conflicts between capitalism and Labor become so grave as to make such a step necessary the capitalists through press and pulpit would not shrink from calling for a military despotism and would find Roosevelt the man for the hour.

"The socialism of today dreams of an ideal social state, where exact and universal justice will be done; a state of universal prosperity, where there is no unnatural wealth and no helpless poverty. That is a Christian ideal. Every man who accepts a philosophy of Jesus ought to pronounce himself to that extent an ardent Socialist, but that state of human society cannot be brought about through political parties and campaigns. It can be brought about only by the regeneration of the human heart. The idea, therefore, of modern socialism as being brought about by political agencies is the wildest and most irrational dream.

"That ideal will be reached and become a sublime reality when the world accepts Jesus in fact and not in a half-hearted and unintelligent way, as is done now.

"How could there ever be such a thing as social or political injustice to a human being on earth if men sincerely and honestly accepted the doctrine of the golden rule?

The above is from a sermon preached in Milwaukee on Christmas day by the Rev. Sherman P. Young. And we should like to ask *why* men do not "sincerely and honestly" accept the doctrine of

the Golden Rule? Leave out the workers, whom the preachers usually preach at and consider the business men from which class pillars of churches are secured. Why don't they observe the Golden Rule? Why do they bribe councils and legislatures? Why do they sell adulterated goods? Why do they dodge taxes? Why do they fill their factories with woman and child labor? Why do they water their stocks? Why do they gamble in the stock exchange to get wealth away from others? Why do they fight the union and its efforts to secure living wages and better citizenship for the working class? Why do they sell goods under false representations? Why do they give short weight? Why do they practice business deception? Why do they say there is no sentiment in business? Why do they say that in business it is each man for himself—and the devil take the hindmost? Isn't it because there is some strong, compelling motive back of life and conduct under the capitalist system? If all the preaching of the golden rule these hundreds of years has only resulted in unscrupulous and dishonest business lives, in wolfish, neck and neck struggles, in the crushing and exhausting of labor for profit, doesn't it show that, much as people would like to be good, they secretly *feel that they cannot afford to be!* If goodness of conduct can only be brought about by the regeneration of the human heart, where is the result of 2,000 years of preaching? It simply shows that that preaching has been against the stream instead of

with it. And no wonder, when that stream gives forth the immoral song of capitalism that competition and strife make for individual well-being—and the devil take the hindmost!

The Social-Democrats are "irrational dreamers" enough to say: Change the system of competition to one of co-operation and mutual good will and brotherly love! Change the system so that it will *pay* to be good instead of paying to be *bad!* Man is naturally good. He hates to skin his neighbor, or to live by sharp practice, or rent, profit or interest, or by exploiting the labor power of others. Let us make goodness possible, and let the Rev. Young help us to get people to want a new system!

OUR POISONED FONT OF GOVERNMENT.

From a Washington despatch: The ex-members of the house and the senate, many of whom hang around Washington, are always utilized to the full extent as they have admission to the floors of the house and senate, and thus are able to buttonhole any member whenever they want to get at him. More than one of these ex-members makes a good living on a big salary by looking after the legislative interests of corporations. The clerks of senators and members are also pressed into the service. The secretary of one senator claims to have made \$30,000 in a few months looking after the legislative and departmental interests of the asphalt trust.

We make this prediction: Milwaukee will not get a municipal electric lighting system until the Social-Democrats give it one.

Socialist View of War.

Socialists, the world over, are uncompromisingly opposed to war. One of the prominent planks in the platform of International Socialism is a demand for world-peace.

The false patriotism which capitalist and military parties put forth as a pretext for war is seen by the Socialist to be but a means whereby these interested classes reap profit from the blood of the masses. With the spread of Socialism this disguise will be torn off and the common people of all nations will see clearly that they have nothing to lose and everything to gain by abolishing capitalist rule and substituting therefor a world federation of peace and good will.

Our great Italian comrade, Enrico Ferri, thus states the Socialist view of war:

The aim of war is robbery and murder is its means. Here is the positive truth affirmed by the Socialist doctrine of economic determination. The Russo-Japanese war is its brilliant confirmation.

Why do Russia and Japan make war?

The soldiers—that is, the Russian and Japanese workingmen—kill each other through a psychological automatism; they are pushed, they kill and die. That is all.

The military chiefs go to war because it is their trade, to make their career, to win honors and money. "You are badly fed and nearly naked," said Napoleon Bonaparte in his proclamation to the French army at the beginning of the Italian campaign. "Well, I will lead you into a rich country, where you will find glory, honors, and wealth." That is clear enough, it would seem.

But the Russo-Japanese war was not decided upon either by the sol-

diers or by the military chiefs. The capitalists, the proprietors, the contractors, the bankers, are behind the curtain.

Why is there war? Only because they want to steal Manchuria and Korea. And they do not even conceal this robber aim. They add, naturally, the necessity of defending their own commercial and industrial development. But the simple and common truth is that they want to steal, to steal territory, to steal personal wealth.

And when the brutal fact comes to confirm so conspicuously the Socialist truth, that the aim of war is robbery and murder is its means, is it possible that there is a single Socialist, a single man of good sense, who is not against war?

While the pacifist, the good-hearted man, limits himself to a protest, the Socialist adds the work of propaganda and exploits the brutal fact to root more and more in the brain and heart of the workingmen the hatred of wars and the conviction that they must not march, to kill and be killed for the profit of the capitalists, who stay at home and care only to reap the spoils, stained with the proletarians' blood. Spoil and death, double advantage for capitalism.

The thing is so evident, as I write these lines, here in Paris, in the midst of the nationalistic campaign in favor of "Holy Russia"—the Russia of murderous Tsarism, for every human creature that thinks freely—I believe that the French people will never be pushed to march for the Russo-Japanese war. It will not march, this noble proletariat, because the spell is over. The truth is here evident, irresistible: The aim of war is robbery, and murder is its means.

STEADY GAINS IN GREAT BRITAIN!

An analysis of the returns of the municipal elections to hand show that Social-Democratic Federation candidates—standing as avowed Socialists and with a definite thorough-going Socialist programme—contested 39 seats and were successful in twelve. In addition to these two were returned unopposed, making 14 S. D. F. men elected out of 41 put forward. We have gained nine seats and lost none. In the 39 contests our candidates polled a total of 21,225 votes, or an average of 544, against a total vote of 32,900 polled by our opponents of all shades in the same constituencies. While we have thus succeeded in winning nearly a third of the seats contested we have secured over two-fifths of the total votes cast. This is a most encouraging result—a veritable triumph, when we bear in mind the tremendous forces with which we have had to contend, and how ready our opponents were to pour out money like water in electoral extravagance wherever they thought they were threatened with defeat. In some cases, in spite of the Corrupt Practices Act, bribery and corruption ran rampant, unblushingly and blatantly deriding our slender resources. Nevertheless, two-fifths of the electors, where they have had the opportunity, have voted for Socialism and for Socialist administrators. We have not included the I. L. P.* candidates, who were, generally speaking, no less successful than our own. Some of these ran as avowed Socialists, some are described as I. L. P., some simply as “Labour,” so it is difficult to distinguish them. But we are dealing here simply with S. D. F. men who were candidates, and the votes cast for them.—Justice, London.

* The above only gives the gain for one of the two Social-Democratic Parties in the United Kingdom. The Independent Labour Party is also Socialistic. — Editor Vanguard.

How One Church “Reaches” The Poor.

Says the Chicago Advance, one of the foremost religious journals of the country: “Trinity church, New York, one of the wealthiest churches in the city, reaches a vast number of the common people and the poor through its branch churches and its missions. And it will always be the case that Christianity, by the provident virtues which attend it, will tend to improve the worldly weal of

those who practice it, and so will lift its members above the wretched condition of the Godless poor.”

This sounds so exceedingly pious and indeed praiseworthy that (even though it carries a cruel slur on the so-called “Godless poor”) it seems a pity to puncture the “provident virtues” of these “good” people of Trinity church. But nothing in these days is secure from Socialist scrutiny and in this case, as in others, investigation shows that things “philanthropic” are not what they seem.

There is another side to the story of the "mission work" of Trinity church. It was told some time ago by Felix Adler, for several years president of the New York tenement commission. He said, in an address at Carnegie Music hall, that for years they had been trying to get a law passed in the state of New York for the betterment of tenement house buildings in New York City. He had headed a deputation to the legislature year after year and had explained to the members the necessity of such a bill, but somehow when it came to a vote it was always defeated. He told them how the great tenement building sheltered hundreds and hundreds of souls with only one single water faucet for the whole in the court behind the building, and there those men, women and children from the very highest stories as well as the lowest had to go to that single faucet. Women that worked all day in the factories had to go there and wait in a line for the others, stand there waiting, and then fill a bucket and walk to the top floors, and how necessary it was for cleanliness, for morality and for civilization that water should be brought into every apartment. That was one of the principal things they were trying to do. He said he went one year and found the legislators willing to pass such a law as that. They said it ought to be done, but just before it came to a vote he received a dispatch from Albany, saying, 'Come down, that bill is in danger.' He went down, and he found that some one had been down from the city and had been tampering with the legislators. He said: "Whom do you think it was? Do you think it was the politicians of New York City? They are guilty of much, but they are not guilty of that

this time. Do you think it was a saloonkeeper? They are never very anxious for people to get much water, but this time you will have to excuse them; they are not guilty this time. Do you think it is the slums of the city that are corrupting the legislators down there? Not at all. Who was it? Who was it? It was the trustees of Trinity church—Trinity church, which is the largest holder of tenement property in New York City today."

The Chicago Advance is unfortunate in its mention of a church to illustrate "how to reach the poor."

THE REFINEMENT OF CRUELTY

To an audience of a thousand unemployed workingmen on the Bowery, waiting for a plate of soup and a cup of bad coffee at the hand of "Christian charity," Pastor Wagner lectured last week on "The Simple Life." Could Hell produce more ingenious cruelty than this? And this is what capitalism produces. The two really fearful things about it are: First, that Wagner no doubt sincerely believed he was doing good; second, that the half-starved wretches had not spirit enough to hoot him for the insult he gave them.—New York Worker.

The cost of living continues to go up, while enormous numbers of workingmen are unemployed and living up their scanty savings. According to "Dun's Review," prices were about 1 per cent higher on Dec. 1 than on Nov. 1 and about 2 per cent higher than they were a year ago. All of which goes to show that "we" are prosperous.—Worker.

WHAT THE PARTIES STAND FOR.

By EUGENE V. DEBS.

POLITICAL parties, like all other human institutions, are subject to the laws of evolution. The Republican party of Theodore Roosevelt is vastly different from the Republican party of Abraham Lincoln. The Democratic party retains only the name given it by its founders. Once divided upon vital issues, these two parties are now so nearly akin to each other that the great trusts in control of the government are supremely indifferent as to whether the one or the other succeeds to power. In the next few years they will become one, or, at least, the dominant elements of both will unite in the same party. The evolution of capital and labor will make this inevitable.

Political parties express the material interests of those who compose them. Great economic issues divide the people politically and determine their party alignment. In the development of the present capitalist system society has been mainly divided into capitalists and wage workers. Between these two economic classes there is war. This conflict is the vital and paramount political issue of the day and upon this issue the people who have the intelligence to understand it are dividing according to their material interests.

The late Senator Hanna had the political foresight to discern the approaching party alignment on the basis of Labor vs. Capital and warned the Republican party that its next great struggle would be with Socialism.

The Socialist party is the child of the class struggle. It was born of the necessity of the working class and is the party of that class as against the capitalist class.

The labor question is essentially a political question.

The capitalist class rule because they have control of government. The working class are preparing to profit by their example. Numerically they are overwhelmingly in the majority. They have simply to unite and act together politically as a class to put themselves in control of government and emancipate themselves from wage slavery.

At the last election this working class party asserted its national power. The showing was sufficient to command universal attention. Henceforward the working class are a distinct factor of increasing influence and portentous meaning in the politics of the nation.

Superficial observers express their surprise and conclude that it is but a flash on the political horizon and that the Socialist party will soon go the way of all "reform" parties. Their delusion will soon be dispelled. As the contest proceeds they will note that the Socialist party is a party of revolution, not of reform; that it stands for the revolutionary idea of collective ownership of the means of wealth production and the overthrow of the wage system and that no reform of the present order of society, however radical or sweeping it may be claimed to be, will satisfy its class-conscious supporters now counted by hundreds of thousands and soon to be numbered by millions.

Moreover, the Socialist party is founded in the bedrock principles of scientific socialism. It understands the process of social evolution and philosophically prosecutes its propaganda and bides its time. It deludes itself with no promise of premature victory. It has no itching for office. Spoils have no temptation for it. This revolutionary party has but one mission and that is the political unity of the working class to wrest the government from the capitalistic class as the necessary means of abolishing the capitalist system and achieving industrial freedom and social injustice.

This party knows no such word as fusion. The merest hint at compromise is rejected with scorn and indignation. No concession that any capitalist party might offer would turn the Socialist party the breadth of a hair from the clear-cut course through which it is hewing its way to ultimate victory.

The Social-Democracy is composed of working men and women who have come into consciousness of their class interests. It is a party of thinkers and the only party in which the rank and file are supreme. This party has no use for a political Moses and can never be misled or sold out by ignorant or corrupt leaders.

The shibboleth of the movement is: "Workingmen of all countries unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain." Since these great words flashed from the lips of Karl Marx half a century ago they have been caught up by the workers of one nation after another, until the international Socialist movement now girdles the globe and more than eight millions of wage earners are keeping step to the pulse beats of their coming emancipation, which they know full well can be achieved only by themselves.

The present economic conditions are a denial of peace and order and if they had tongues would cry out in protest and hail the impending change. The extremest wealth and the most abject poverty run riot side by side. Periodical industrial depression turns thousands of workers into loafers, vagabonds, tramps, outcasts and criminals. Everything is done for profit. The very machine that labor invents to lighten its burden becomes in this system the means of throwing it into the street as a useless commodity, to find its way at last into the gulf of hell.

Private ownership of the means of life has reduced millions to hopeless poverty, ignorance, vice and crime.

In the light of Colorado, Fall River and the Packingtown hells what supreme hardihood to charge Socialism with breaking up the home, disrupting the family, polluting the marriage relation and destroying the religious life of the people! These things are being done at an appalling rate every hour in the day in the very system these false accusers are supporting and of which they are the pliant tools or the miserable mercenaries.

What is it that Socialism proposes? Simply that the tools workingmen made and use and upon which their very lives depend shall be owned by themselves that they may fully produce the things that are required to keep themselves and families in comfort and health. This is what

Socialism means, and when it comes to pass all the world will be the better for it.

Frances Willard, great soul that she was, understood it clearly when she declared that Socialism and only Socialism would put an end to intemperance and poverty. The trend of the evolution is toward Socialism. The economic basis of society is shaping for the change. A new social order is dawning. The centralization of capital and the organization of labor are paving the way to the Socialist republic. Capitalism and competition have had their day. Socialism and co-operation are next in order. This will mean society free from class rule and all the world at peace.

Very simple is the program of the Socialist party: The organization of the working class for political conquest. When the working class succeed to power the rest will follow as a matter of course. The capital of the country will have been completely centralized, the middle class decimated and competition practically eliminated, and at this point the people will be ready for the transfer of the means of production from private hands to the people in their collective capacity.

The sooner the trusts dispossess the people the sooner will the people dispossess the trusts.

Then exploitation of class by class will cease—rent, interest and profit will be no more. Wealth will be produced by social labor in such abundance as to satisfy all human wants. Then leisure, light, virtue and joy instead of idleness, darkness, misery and death.

A new era will dawn in the destiny of the race. In the words of Engels, "mankind will rise from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom."

Obstacles there will be, and many of them, but however formidable they may be they will have to yield to the international revolutionary movement of the working class to abolish the last form of industrial servitude and dedicate the world to freedom and joy.

Will Socialism Frighten Capital Away.

Old and crusted Tories and Liberals are fond of uttering the parrot cry "Socialistic legislation frightens away capital." Does it? Not in New Zealand, at any rate. According to official statistics this is the splendid result of twelve years' Socialistic legislation in New Zealand:

	Increase.
Population	177,148
Wealth (public and private)..	£94,828,035
Production	10,315,323
Land Value (unimproved)..	16,688,309
Land Value (improvements)	19,007,862
Imports	5,029,142
Exports	4,066,143

There is a decrease in the number of acres held for pastoral purposes by 1,005,908, but this is accounted for by the increase in the number of acres held for agriculture by 4,976,711. For the financial year 1903-4 they had a surplus of over £750,000. Capital had not been driven from there. In South Australia the capitalist has had at least fifty years without the dreadful labor member, and what is the position? Some unemployed, some over employed, poverty, prostitution, sweating, and other evils; the control of capital getting into fewer hands.—London Clarion.

A Terre Haute daily paper has made the discovery that 'Gene Debs drops into poetry occasionally, and the other day surreptitiously got possession of some verses written and dedicated by the great orator to his father, Daniel Debs, who in his younger years was an inveterate hunter. The verses show that Whitcomb Riley has a rival not to be despised. The verses are as follows:

When the frost is on the pumpkin,
And the rabbit's in the oats;
When the quails are in the stubble,
A tunin' up their throats;
When the dog is keen and frisky
Sniffing in the atmosphere,
The old nimrod's optics glisten,
And he's mighty glad he's here.
When the hunter's in the stubble,
And the rabbit makes a spurt;
There's a bang and smell of powder,
And the rabbit bites the dirt.
When the dog begins to stiffen,
As he sniffs old Bobby White,
The old hunter's heart throbs keenly
With rapture and delight.
When the rabbit's on the table,
With the noodles mountain high;
When the jaws begin to water,
As the picture greets the eye;
Oh, 'tis then the hunter's family
Is a hale and happy group.
When the frost is on the pumpkin,
And the rabbit's in the soup.

DOPED FOR PROFIT.

Truly, one may say of food commodities in Liverpool that

Things are not what they seem.

In a volume of reprinted articles from the "Liverpool Journal of Commerce," by T. Myddleton Shallcross, an architect, one learns that food is dreadfully adulterated in the city on the banks of the Mersey. Here is a table of proved adulterated of foods, etc.:

Description of Samples.	Percentage of adulteration.
Almonds, ground	25
Black current wine.....	50
Bread and butter.....	33 1-3
Buttermilk	100
Cream	35.71
Elderberry squash	100
Ginger, ground and whole..	3.7
Ginger wine	57.14

Jams	25.92
Lard	22.72
Lemon squash	100
Lime juice cordial.....	60
Mace, ground	20
Margarine	9.52
Mercury ointment	36.36
Milk, new	11.18
Pepper, black	100
Pepper, white	21.62
Peas	55.5
Raspberry wine	50
Rice, ground	20
Shrimps, potted	33 1-3
Sweetmeats	3.03
Vinegar	16.6
Wine, fermented	100
Zinc ointment	57.14

Mr. Shallcross considers that, throughout the entire range of municipal activity, Liverpool has been deficient in enterprise—though doubtless he would exonerate the tramways and lighting departments. As a result, the death rate of the city has risen from 21.6 per 1,000 in 1901 to 24.5 at the present time.—Clarion.

BEHIND ALL THE FACTS.

No man can be really free while another man controls his job. We cannot be a truly free people, nor can we have lasting peace and harmony, so long as a part of the people are dependent on the will of others for permission to work. No matter what laws and constitutions may say, no matter what pleasant phrases about liberty and equality and unalienable rights we may hear on the Fourth of July, this hard fact remains, that back of all political questions is the economic question, the bread-and-butter question, the question of getting a living; and if some men, under the forms of legal freedom and equality, have actual power to prevent others from getting a living or to dictate the conditions under which they may be allowed to work, they wield a power of oppression as great as that of feudal lords or holders of chattel slaves.

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WHO GETS THE WEALTH?—By Frederic Heath.

"We produce wonderfully; we *distribute* abominably."—Victor Hugo.

That the great working class of this country is turning out vast wealth that it is not able to keep under the present system, goes without saying. The productivity of labor with modern industrial methods and the modern machinery that has sprung from its great inventive genius, are factors that the world marvels over. The canting hypocrits and foxes of the capitalist parties beguile their hearers with the story of America's achievements in a productive way, and certainly, it is common knowledge that one man to-day can with modern methods turn out a vastly greater product than he could in the past. What then becomes of this wealth, since the wage-worker gets only his wage back, and isn't even able to keep that out of the channels that flow toward the master class. In order to prove the Social-Democratic contention that the product of labor goes to the capitalist class, thus impoverishing the working class, we must be able to show that the capitalist class has this massed up and accumulating wealth, and is actually in possession. Work as hard as he will, the wage worker yet groans for the decent comforts of life and finds added to his bitter lot the Hell of having to witness his loved ones in distress and without the advantages that make for complete citizenship. Sometimes he commits suicide in utter despair, or, in some cases, after sickness has brought him to the greatest extremity, becomes callous and drifts in criminal directions.

We produce wonderfully—but how is that product distributed? That is the question!

It is still too early to get the facts from the last national census. The labor of digesting the facts which it presents is an immense one, and would require days and weeks and months of unremitting research and computation. The work will be done doubtless in time but in the interim we are largely left to deal with the facts that were secured from the census of 1890. Perhaps it is better so, as we shall not be open in the slightest to the charge of over statement or exaggeration of facts. For everyone knows that the concentration of wealth has been greatly intensified since 1890, especially as this is the day of the trust development come to flower, and also, as we find from the census of 1900 that the average wage of the productive worker in the United States fell from \$445 to \$437 in the ten years between 1890 and 1900. So let us take the conservative figures of the census of 1890.

One of the statisticians connected with the taking and assembling of that census was Mr. George K. Holmes a man of recognized statistical ability. He set himself the task of figuring out the extremes of class wealth and poverty from the facts revealed by the census and published the result of his labors in the Political Science Quarterly for December, 1893. He estimated the total wealth of the country in 1890 at sixty billions of dollars and the total number of families at 12,690,152, which showed that if the wealth were equally divided between the families (as some particularly stupid critics of Socialism still insist that Socialism proposes!) it would give each family \$4,728. Instead, he found that, to use his own language, "Ninety-one per cent. of the 12,690,153 families of the country owned no more than

about twenty-nine per cent. of the total wealth, and that NINE per cent. of the families *owned about SEVENTY-ONE per cent. of the wealth!*" And among the nine per cent. of the families that owned the seventy-one per cent. of the wealth, he found that the further concentration—taking cognizance also of the N. Y. Tribune's list of 4,047 millionaires—showed that THREE-HUNDREDTHS OF ONE per cent. of the families owned TWENTY per cent. of the wealth! He also showed that more than half of the people, that is, fifty-one per cent., owned no more than *five* per cent. of the wealth. Allowing five persons to a family, he showed that for 57,969,435 of the people the average per capita wealth was only \$299!

Several other statisticians have also grappled with the problem of the national wealth distribution, with the notable result that they

come to practically the same conclusions in regard to the growing stratification of wealth. One of these was Chas. B. Spahr, one of the editors of the Outlook Magazine, who in 1900 published his well known book on "The Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States." From it we take some further light. Mr. Spahr got the same result that Prof. Holmes did, but from different facts. In 1892 the New York legislature decided that the surrogate court should keep a public record of all estates, real or personal, which had to officially be adjudicated or probated. This soon presented an exceptional field for the statistician, and with the help of the clerk of the court Mr. Spahr began to collect and compare the facts that would form an accurate basis for his calculations. The following table was the final result of his labors:

The Holmes Table of Wealth Distribution.

Class.	Families.	Pr. ct.	Av. Wealth.	Aggregate Wealth.	Pr. ct.
Very rich.....	125,000	1.	\$264,000	\$33,000,000,000	50.8
Rich.....	1,375,000	11.	16,000	23,000,000,000	35.4
Middle class.....	5,500,000	44.	1,500	8,200,000,000	12.6
Poor class.....	5,500,000	44.	150	800,000,000	1.2
	12,500,000	100.	\$5,200	\$65,000,000,000	100.

From the above table we find that 99 per cent of the families of the country *own less than half of the wealth of the country!* Or, to quote Mr. Spahr's own words:

"The conclusions reached, therefore, are as follows:—Less than one-half the families in the America are *propertyless*; nevertheless 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 ninety-nine."

In the Forum for September 1889 Thomas G. Shearman, basing his estimates on a close study of the Boston tax returns, presented the following table of wealth distribution in the United States:

Class.	Families.	Aggregate Wealth.	Average per family.
Rich	182,090	\$48,867,000,000	\$238,135
Middle ..	1,200,000	7,500,000,000	6,250
Working.	11,620,000	11,215,000,000	968
	13,002,090	\$62,082,000,000	\$4,775

From the above it appears that Mr. Shearman has put his line

dividing the middle from the working class rather high, for \$968 is a high average for the savings of the typical wage worker. Commenting on the table, Mr. Shearman says: "Forty thousand persons own one-half of the wealth of the United States; while one-seventieth part of the people own over two-thirds of the wealth. It may be safely assumed that 200,000 persons control 70 per cent of the nation's wealth, while 250,000 persons control from 75 to 80 per cent of the whole. The United States of America are practically owned by less than 250,000 persons, constituting less than one in 60 of its male population."

Mr. Shearman made the interesting experiment of recasting his table in accordance with the British income returns. This would have given the rich families an average of but \$186,567 each, the middle and working class remaining the same. The plain fact is that even fifteen years ago the aristocracy of the United States was wealthier per family than the aristocracy of King Edward's empire! And this in spite of the vast colonial plundering and pillaging of Johnny Bull—the plundering of the work slaves of this country is much more profitable! It costs less, too, for colonies are expensive things to keep in subjection.

In the United States senate in 1891, the late Senator Ingalls made the following reference to the Shearman table: "Mr. President, it is the most appalling statement that ever fell from the lips of man. It is, so far as the results of Democracy as a political experiment are concerned, the most terrible commentary that was ever recorded in the books of time. Our population is sixty-two and a half millions, and by some means, some device, some machina-

tion, honest or otherwise, some process than cannot be defined, less than a two-thousandth part of our population have obtained possession of more than one-half of the accumulated wealth of the country, and have kept out of penitentiary in spite of the means they have adopted to acquire it!"

Senator Ingalls professed ignorance of how the concentration of wealth was accomplished. Many an humble Socialist factory operative could have told him!

Eltweed Pomeroy, well known in the Direct Legislation movement, also investigated the wealth distribution question. He published the result of his work some years ago in the Arena magazine. His table for England showed that 1.6 per cent of the people owned 54.2 per cent of the wealth. He then investigated Massachusetts, making use of the labor reports, the probate records, registration reports, etc., and with further investigations and comparisons used the results as applicable to the whole country. Here is his table worked out in diagram form for the year 1900:

POPULATION.

Rich Class .65 Well to do 1.85 Middle Class 6.50
Lower Middle 11.5
Poor 7.5
Very Poor 72.

100.

WEALTH.

Rich Class 58.
Well-to-do 20.25
Middle Class 15.
Lower Middle 6. Poor Classes .75

100.

THE WEAKNESS OF SENTIMENT.

The poverty of the poor is the stock-in-trade of the professional philanthropist and the sensational journalist. They are not Socialists, as a rule; Socialism would destroy their means of existence. But they are used to administering "moral shocks," which serve as a piquant sauce to the jaded palates of the rich, sated with the cloying pleasures of fashionable life. The rich simply revel in the misery of the poor—not that they are pleased for the poor to be miserable, but because it affords them the opportunity of cultivating the virtues of benevolence and charity, which otherwise would have no outlet and would wither and die from desuetude.

"The poor ye have always with you;" and the rich hold this to be a blessed dispensation of Providence for the cultivation and development of their own moral sense, as well, of course, as providing them with servants and cheap labour.

The only appreciable effect of "shocks to the moral sense" of the rich has been their own moral benefit. The good little children of the rich are taught in their "prunes and prism" schools to be kind to the poor and all other dumb animals. What would they do if there were no poor? Poverty does not shock them greatly—at most it leads them to "thank the Goodness and the Grace, etc."—it is part of the eternal fitness of things.

Shocks to moral sense, indeed! How many such shocks there have been, and how little they have effected! How many years ago did Tom Hood write his "Song of the Shirt," and in how many millions of ears has it rung?

With fingers weary and worn,
With eyelids heavy and red,
A woman sat in unwomanly rags,
Plying her needle and thread—
Stich! stich! stich!

In poverty, hunger and dirt,
And still with a voice of dolorous pitch—
Would that its tone could reach the
Rich!—

She sang this "Song of the Shirt!"

"Would that its tone could reach the Rich!" indeed. I wonder how many thousands of times its tone has reached the rich; yet the picture is as true as ever it was when Tom Hood wrote the poem.

More than 20 years ago a shock to the moral sense of the rich was administered by the publication of a pamphlet by the Rev. A. Mearns, called "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London," and dealing with the terrible conditions under which the poor of London were housed. Soon after that—so keenly felt was the shock, followed as it was by vigorous Socialist agitation—a Royal Commission was appointed to consider the matter, and to-day—such is the effect of a shock of this kind—overcrowding is worse than ever; we talk of a house famine as a matter of course, and Justice Grantham and other philanthropists are proposing corrugated iron dustbins as cottages for the working-class!

Shocks to the moral sense of the rich neither prove nor disprove the class war, but if they result in serious enquiry into the cause of social ills, its existence is demonstrated. This, however, they seldom do; they generally only promote charity, which covers a multitude of sins of its own breeding. A woman of fashion is shocked to read of the death from overwork of a young girl at a

fashionable dress-maker's during the pressure of Ascot week, and forswears smart dresses for ever. The only appreciable result is a falling-off in the work of some fashionable modiste and maybe another addition to the ranks of the "unfortunates." A capitalist is shocked by the physical and moral degradation due to his exploitation of a certain number of the working-class. He closes his works and retires to live in humble comfort. The only appreciable result is a considerable addition to the numbers of the unemployed. No; revolutions are not to be made with rose-water nor earthquakes cured with Beecham's Pills; neither will the evils arising in modern society from the conflict of material interests be remedied by a few shocks to the moral sense of the well-to-do.

For the capitalist as capitalist is a beast of prey; and it would be as reasonable to expect to moralize the wolf or the tiger as to moralize the capitalist. It is not out of any special antipathy to the working-class that the capitalist exploits them. I have no doubt that if the capitalist could see the victims of his exploitation living happy, joyous lives in spite of exploitation, he would be rather pleased than otherwise. In just the same way I have little doubt that the wolf who had ravaged the flock overnight would be quite delighted to see the same flock as sleek, peaceful and unharmed after as before he commenced his depredations. But this, in the nature of things, is impossible. Therefore, the economic pressure of his self-interest over-rides all other considerations, and no appeal to his moral sense will deter him from making war upon the sheep.

The out-of-work suicide; the dock-er; the starving sempstress; the poor woman making match-boxes at

five cents a gross are regular stock shockers, trotted out from time to time to move the pity of the well-to-do, and give them the occasion for that "good cry" which they frequently find so salutary. If they did not find this occasion for weeping in their newspapers they would have to go to the theatre for it. But their weeping betokens no change in social conditions; their sympathy is too frequently that of the walrus for the oysters:—

"I weep for you," the walrus cried.
"I deeply sympathise!"

With sobs and groans he sorted out those of the largest size,
Holding his pocket handkerchief before his streaming eyes!"

—Tattler.

FREE TO CHOOSE ?

It is just because leading statesmen persistently ignore the fundamental facts of the modern town life of the manual working class—because it is still complacently assumed, as it was a century ago, that the wage earning occupant of a slum tenement is "free" to select his own environment—that these slums are still with us, to an even greater extent than in Cobden's days, demoralizing actually a larger number of lives than they did when Lord Shaftesbury first made us aware of them. Our cities, the enforced dwelling places of two-thirds of our race, are, with all our boasted improvements, for lack of efficient regulation and adequate public expenditure, mere whited sepulchres, their main thoroughfares and comfortable quarters swept and garnished, whilst behind are horrors which we have as yet made only the feeblest efforts to combat.—Sydney Webb, in the Independent Review.

WANTON WASTE.

Fort Gaines, Ga., Dec. 28.—The farmers and merchants of Clay county met today, decided to burn their share of the 2,000,000 bales of surplus cotton and help restorep rices. A starter was made today when a bonfire was made of cotton on the streets of Fort Gaines. The object is to show that the farmers are ready to sacrifice a few bales for the benefit of the masses. Excitement is increasing.

Such a criminal, such a shameful thing as the above could only happen under the sanctified capitalist system! The people need clothes, but what of that! The market must be kept strong! Under capitalism cotton is not grown because the people need cotton, but simply because it can be sold in the market. You ought to be proud of such a crazy, criminal system!

I venture to say that history does not afford anything like a parallel to the Socialist movement—There has been nothing like it. It is the only movement of modern times that has one drop of blood in it, one spark of fire, one ray of hope. Its face is toward the future. It has sprung from no momentary impulse. It is the product of no temporary passion. It comes not from the caves and dens of ignorance. It builds its fair structure on no foundation of tradition or superstition. Back of this Socialist movement, which is overspreading Europe and permeating America, are the greatest forces of history and life. It is the product of science, of knowledge, of freedom of thought, of democratic ideals and experience. Back of it is enlightenment, progress, power. It is the uprising of humanity. It is the utterance of that in human life

which the priests of tradition and the politicians of expediency have never dreamed of. On its broad bosom floats the hopes and joys and fulfillments of humanity. Nothing stays its course. It comes up the east like the dawn. It rolls onward to its fulfillment with the rythm and swing of the planets and their orbits. Gravitation is not more elemental or sure than the triumph of this vast struggle of humanity for its long-deferred rights. To know this movement, to breathe in its atmosphere, to co-operate in its consummation, is to live—nothing else is.—Rev. William Thurston Brown.

Says Laurence Gronlund, in his book "Ca Ira": "It can be said of the plutocrats of all countries, that they have been weighed in the balance and everywhere found wanting. Nowhere have they paid the least attention to their duties as rulers, but everywhere they have used the opportunities which their rule gave them to farther their private interests exclusively. That is so well shown by that eminently middle class, or plutocratic institution, the public debt. During the Middle Ages, when the state was in extraordinary need of funds, the rulers—the nobles and clergy—often put their hands into their own pockets and gave the needful amount to the state as a present. Now the public debt of France is immense; indeed, threatening the state with bankruptcy. This debt is all due to French citizens, to persons of the middle (the commercial class is here referred to) classes. Whenever the state needs more funds, either for a war or public works, these middle classes are ever ready,

aye, *anxious*, to put their hands in their pockets and *loan* their money to the state. The ruling middle classes have so arranged matters that they can make these loans at highly usurious rates; for instance in 1871 they handed over to the state eight francs, and received in return a bond for a hundred francs."

Patriotism with the plutocratic class generally spells "*main chance*," in the United States as well as in France!

Father Sherman says Socialism is "Hell's lowest vomit." As against that vulgar characterization we will put the following from a much better source:

"Commercialism makes Christianity impossible; the attempt to reconcile them can lead to but one single result—hypocrisy. Social-Democracy, on the contrary, makes Christianity possible; moreover, it is the only political system which does."—Edmund Kelly, M.A., Columbia University.

The king of England has intimated to Gen. Booth of the Salvation Army that he looks on the work of the army with approval. A knighthood for the General is even hinted at as a future possibility. The king's action is a proper one from his standpoint, for the Salvation Army plays a most important part in the capitalist economy. The tendency of the system is to inevitably produce an undercurrent or substratum of lost humanity, and such a substratum is always a menace to the security of the class in power. Gen. Booth goes among these people and cheers them up, tells them if they would not drown their sorrows in drink that they would enjoy a nor-

mal life and gain the smile of God, and that the king loves them and when they are in the sorest distress will give them a great feed upon a certain day—and let them starve the other 364 days of the year! He don't say anything of letting them starve, but that's what they get, as a matter of fact. And Booth practices hypnotism upon all those who will listen and makes it easier for them to suffer the great social wrong that pushes them down to slum and gutter, and all this keeps them in bounds and tractable and the king and the vested interests heave great sighs of relief and feel more secure against their despoiled victims turning upon them with mob fury. Truly the king ought to smile upon Booth. Why not!

SOCIETY UNDER CAPITALISM!

Yesterday a city firm received no fewer than 998 applications in response to an advertisement for a clerk. The salary offered was 30 shillings (\$7.50) per week.—London Daily News.

How the People DO Prosper!

The impartial observer can scarcely claim that the Bible produces so marked an effect upon the daily habitual life of those who profess to guide their conduct by it as Socialism does upon its adherents. The strength of Socialism in this respect is more like that of early Christianity as described in the New Testament.—Prof. Richard T. Ely.

We respectfully refer the above to Archbishop Messmer and the dishonest politician who is leading in carrying out the archbishop's political plans.

A SCOURGE OF LABOR.

By FREDERIC HEATH.

Consumption, the great devastator of the working class, is beginning to get something of the attention it deserves from scientific and economic students. Tuberculosis is essentially a poor man's disease, and it is making fearful inroads into the population of this country, principally in the congested portions of the cities, but also to some extent in the farming districts of the poorer class, where the houses are closed tight in Winter and the occupants to save fuel avoid ventilation, and where also for cheapness sake they live on salt-embalmed pork and other unnatural foods.

We note, with some pleasure, that learned circles are coming to see that consumption is not a disease which once "caught" must necessarily run its fatal course, but that it is simply nature's fight against wrong conditions and unhealthful ways of living, nature's protest, in fact, against bad housing, the breathing of too much house air, the eating of wrong and poisoned foods, and the working in dusty and unsanitary factories. There is a vast amount of educating necessary in order that people may know what to avoid in these directions, and no better way could be suggested than that the children be taught it in the schools. Let our school boards take the subject up and let text books be prepared on the question. There is no time to be lost, for human lives are at stake.

In this connection we would urge our readers, especially those of the factory worker class and those who must live the usual existence of the modern wage worker, to buy the January number of McClure's Magazine and to read the article on "Tuberculosis: The Real Race Suicide," which covers some fifteen pages with instructive reading about the "great white plague." The magazine costs ten cents, so that almost anyone can afford it. "Tuberculosis," it tells us, "is not, as was believed a few years ago, a mysterious and inevitable fate. Modern science has shown us that the environment which man makes for himself, the habit of life which he practices, determines his liability to the disease. Tuberculosis is the chief cause of death throughout the world. Its one serious source of infection is from man to man by the sputum expectorated or coughed up; but although communicable in this way, it is not, in the ordinary sense, contagious." A careful consumptive, who understands that his sputum is to be destroyed and not expectorated about where it can dry and get into the air as dust for others to breathe into their lungs, is never a public peril, it says. The article holds to the theory that the bacillus of consumption is the means by which the disease is spread, and says that an ordinary consumptive coughs up about seven billions of these bacilli in a day. Sunlight kills them, so that ordinarily spitting into the street is not a source of public danger. But sputum upon sidewalks where it has not dried and been acted on by sunlight, is easily tracked into our homes by walking on the street, and once trodden into carpets or rugs may be calculated to make up a part of the dust that the house wife, who usually breathes through her mouth, draws in at each sweeping. Here again, the danger of these little microscopi-

cal germs depends on conditions. If the person breathing them is weakly and in a run down physical state, they are likely to find favorable soil for growth, and a case of consumption is slowly developed. This, of course, is the view of medical science. While we do not fully share it, the fact remains that it is the person in good health, whose living habits are proper, who need have no fear of contracting the disease. The article in McClure's states that in tuberculous hospitals the nurses, who are often persons who have been cured of consumption, stand in no danger of contracting the disease, because the expectorations from the diseased lungs of the patients are burned up, and the surroundings are kept in a sanitary condition—there being less danger of contagion there than outside their walls.

The article makes this point, which is interesting and should put consumptives on their guard against the creosote-poison quacks who are always ready to take a consumptive's money and then ship him off to "a better climate" when he has become so bad that cure is impossible, that there are no specific remedies for consumption nor sure-cure drugs or poisons. The only cure that has really been found of value is the fresh air cure. Best of all it is cheap. Consumptives, warmly clad, have slept out doors Summer and Winter, and breathed out door air as many hours of the twenty-four as possible, and cures have been wrought in all cases where the patient had not let his case run until his vital forces were completely broken down. A clean body, food that is not irritating to the stomach by means of spices, peppers, alcohol, or drugs or narcotics of the tobacco order, careful attention to breathe nature's air at first hand, well ventilated bedrooms—all this is necessary to re-establish the right relations that nature demands, if our consumptives are to regain their health. "Drugs are practically useless, patent medicines, with their testimonials either faked entire, or wrung from sufferers by blackmail, are cruel swindles and in many cases criminally harmful. Fresh air, sunlight and good food (this means as natural food as possible, cutting out coffee, tea, vinegar, mustard, chemical leavens, also meat to quite an extent) will save any case of tuberculosis that has not progressed too far—and nothing else will."

We shall refer to this subject again. In the meantime we would point out this fact, that consumption is itself part of the present labor question, for it is devastating the working class, and its severity is increased by the capitalist system, which locks up the workers in dusty factories away from nature's sunlight and weakens their powers of resistance to disease by imposing inhuman tasks upon them.

<p>An animated discussion is going on at Aston, England, owing to the action of two members of the town council, Messrs. J. Haddon and J. E. Berry, in refusing to drink to the health of the king at the mayoral banquet a few days ago. Councillor Haddon says that, as a Socialist, he</p>	<p>could not respond to the toast, and if he could have left the room while it was being drunk he would have done so. He could not leave the room conveniently, so he had to remain. He would rather lose ten thousand seats than lay himself open to a charge of inconsistency.</p>
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Socialist Headquarters.

To achieve the objects of Socialism, the American Socialists have formed the Socialist Party, now organized in all the States of the Union. In New York and Wisconsin, this party is known, for legal reasons, as the Social Democratic Party and in Minnesota as the Public Ownership Party.

NATIONAL SECRETARY: J. MAHLON BARNES, Boylston Bldg. 269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

WORLD VOTE BY YEARS.

1867	30,000
1871	101,000
1872	101,268
1874	352,220
1876	353,028
1877	494,364
1878	438,234
1881	373,850
1882	423,004
1884	666,150
1885	667,614
1887	931,454
1889	1,109,891
1890	1,794,606
1891	1,799,060
1892	1,798,391
1893	2,585,898
1894	2,914,506
1895	3,033,718
1896	3,056,873
1897	3,896,602
1898	4,515,591
1899	4,534,591
1900	4,874,740
1901	4,912,740
1902	5,253,054
1903	6,285,374

The editor of the Vanguard is on an extended trip in California. While giving a series of lectures at San Diego he was taken suddenly sick and has been unable to attend to the work on the paper.

The present edition of the Vanguard has been hurriedly prepared for the editor by Carl D. Thompson and any shortcomings should be pardoned in view of the sickness of Comrade Spence which has made it impossible for him to assist.

The Wisconsin Socialists are showing unprecedented activity in the organization of their state. New locals are being organized in every section.

Comrade J. Mahlon Barnes of Pennsylvania has been elected National Secretary of the Socialist party to succeed William Mailly.

Minnesota comrades are stirring the ground for a great harvest. Thomas Van Lear is touring the state with splendid success.

Socialism is the topic up for discussion all over this land today, anybody who helps on this discussion be he common mortal, priest or capitalist editor, is a friend, and we gladly acknowledge the fact.

Milwaukee Social-Democrats had the record crowd at their carnival in the big Exposition building—over 12,000 people, by actual count of the tickets taken in at the door—and the politicians' jaws are agape with dismay. They are beginning to "see their finish," all right!

Reports state that the German government is now in favor of state ownership of canals, coal fields and so on. The working class is organized in Germany, that's why. The more the working class gets power through organization and a concerted use of the ballot, the more the rulers discover that public ownership is a good thing. The thing is working, all right, only the workers must keep at it.

Capital is the most terrible scourge of humanity; it fattens on the misery of the poor, the degradation of the worker, and the brutalizing toil of his wife and children. Just as capital grows, so grows also pauperism, that millstone round the neck of civilization, the revolting cruelties of our factory system, the squalor of great cities, and the presence of deep poverty seated hard by the gate of enormous wealth.—Karl Marx.

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 proprietary interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take unawares the right of the worker to a vote or a voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself or for the common good.

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

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

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

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

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

II.

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

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

III.

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

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

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

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

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

IV.

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

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

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

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

V.

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

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

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

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Socialism: From Utopia To Science.

By FREDERICK ENGELS.

INTRODUCTION.

The present little book is, originally, a part of a larger whole. About 1875, Dr. E. Duehring, *privatdozent* at Berlin University, suddenly and rather clamorously announced his conversion to Socialism, and presented the German public not only with an elaborate Socialist theory, but also with a complete practical plan for the reorganization of society. As a matter of course, he fell foul of his predecessors; above all, he honored Marx by pouring out upon him the full vials of his wrath.

This took place about the time when the two sections of the Socialist party in Germany—Eisenachers and Lassallians—had just effected their fusion, and thus obtained not only an immense increase of strength, but, what was more, the faculty of employing the whole of this strength against the common enemy. The Socialist party in Germany was fast becoming a power. But to make it a power the first condition was that the newly-conquered unity should not be imperilled. And Dr. Duehring openly proceeded to form around himself a sect, the nucleus of a future separate party. It thus became necessary to take up the gauntlet thrown down to us, and to fight out the struggle, whether we liked it or not.

This, however, though it might not be an over difficult, was evidently a long-winded, business. As is well known, we Germans are of a terribly ponderous *Gruendlichkeit*, radical profundity or profound radicality, whatever you may like to call it. Whenever any one of us expounds what he considers a new doctrine, he has first to elaborate it into an all-comprising system. He has to prove that both the first principles of logic and the fundamental laws of the universe had existed from all eternity for no other purpose than to ultimately lead to this newly-discovered, crowning theory. And Dr. Duehring, in this respect, was quite up to the national mark. Nothing less than a complete "System of Philosophy," mental, moral, natural, and historical; a complete "System of Political Economy and Socialism," and, finally, a "Critical History of Political Economy"—three big volumes in octavo, heavy extrinsically and intrinsically, three army corps of arguments mobilized against all previous philosophers and economists in general, and against Marx in particular—in fact, an attempt at a complete "revolution in science"—these were what I should have to tackle. I had to treat of all and every possible subject, from the concepts of time and space to bimetallism; from the eternity of matter and motion to the perishable nature of moral ideas;

from Darwin's natural selection to the education of youth in a future society. Anyhow, the systematic comprehensiveness of my opponent gave me the opportunity of developing, in opposition to him, and in a more connected form than had previously been done, the views held by Marx and myself on this great variety of subjects. And that was the principal reason which made me undertake this otherwise ungrateful task.

My reply was first published in a series of articles in the Leipzig *Vorwaerts*, the chief organ of the Social-Democratic party, and later on as a book, "Herrn Eugen Duehring's Umwaelzung der Wissenschaft" (Mr. E. Duehring's "Revolution in Science"), a second edition of which appeared in Zuerich in 1866.

At the request of my friend, Paul Lafargue, now representative of Lille in the French Chamber of Deputies, I arranged three chapters of this book as a pamphlet, which he translated and published in 1880, under the title: "*Socialisme Utopique et Socialisme Scientifique*." From this French text a Polish and a Spanish edition were prepared. In 1883 our German friends brought out the pamphlet in the original language. Italian, Russian, Danish, Dutch, and Roumanian translations, based upon the German text, have since been published. Thus, with the present English edition, this little book circulates in ten languages. I am not aware that any other Socialist work, not even our "Communist Manifesto" of 1848 or Marx's "Capital," has been so often translated. In Germany it has had four editions of about 20,000 copies in all.

The Appendix, "the Mark," was written with the intention of spreading among the German Socialist party some elementary knowledge of the history and development of landed property in Germany. This seemed all the more necessary at a time when the assimilation by that party of the working people of the towns was in a fair way of completion, and when the agricultural laborers and peasants had to be taken in hand. This appendix has been included in the translation, as the original forms of tenure of land common to all Teutonic tribes, and the history of their decay are even less known in England than in Germany. I have left the text as it stands in the original, without alluding to the hypothesis recently started by Maxim Kovalevsky, according to which the partition of the arable and meadow lands among the members of the Mark was preceded by their being cultivated for joint-account by a large patriarchal family community embracing several generations (as exemplified by the still existing South Slavonian Zadruga), and that the partition, later on, took place when the community had increased, so as to become too unwieldy for joint-account management. Kovalevsky is probably quite right, but the matter is still *sub judice*.

The economic terms used in this work, as far as they are new, agree with those used in the English edition of Marx's "Capital." We call "production of commodities" that economic phase where articles are produced not only for the use of the producers, but also for purposes of exchange; that is, as *commodities*, not as use-values. This phase extends from the first beginnings of production for exchange down to our present time; it attains its full development under capitalist production only, that is, under conditions where the capitalist, the owner of the means of

production, employs, for wages, laborers, people deprived of all means of production except their own labor-power, and pockets the excess of the selling price of the products over his outlay. We divide the history of industrial production since the middle ages into three periods: (1) handicraft, small master craftsmen with a few journeymen and apprentices, where each laborer produces the complete article; (2) manufacture, where greater numbers of workmen, grouped in one large establishment, produce the complete article on the principle of division of labor, each workman performing only one partial operation, so that the product is complete only after having passed successively through the hands of all; (3) modern industry, where the product is produced by machinery driven by power, and where the work of the laborer is limited to superintending and correcting the performances of the mechanical agent.

I am perfectly aware that the contents of this work will meet with objection from a considerable portion of the British public. But if we Continentals had taken the slightest notice of the prejudices of British "respectability," we should be even worse off than we are. This book defends what we call "historical materialism," and the word materialism grates upon the ears of the immense majority of British readers. "Agnosticism" might be tolerated, but materialism is utterly inadmissible.

And yet the original home of all modern materialism, from the seventeenth century onwards, is England.

"Materialism is the natural-born son of Great Britain. Already the British schoolman, Duns Scotus, asked 'whether it was impossible for matter to think?'

"In order to effect this miracle, he took refuge in God's omnipotence, *i. e.*, he made theology preach materialism. Moreover, he was a nominalist. Nominalism, the first form of materialism, is chiefly found among the English schoolmen.

"The real progenitor of English materialism is Bacon. To him natural philosophy is the only true philosophy, and physics based upon the experience of the senses is the chiefest part of natural philosophy. Anaxagoras and his *homoiomeria*, Democritus and his atoms, he often quotes as his authorities. According to him the senses are infallible and the source of all knowledge. All science is based on experience, and consists in subjecting the data furnished by the senses to a rational method of investigation. Induction, analysis, comparison, observation, experiment, are the principal forms of such a rational method. Among the qualities inherent in matter, motion is the first and foremost, not only in the form of mechanical and mathematical motion, but chiefly in the form of an impulse, a vital spirit, a tension—or a 'qual,' to use a term of Jacob Boehme's¹—of matter.

"In Bacon, its first creator, materialism still occludes within itself the germs of a many-sided development. On the one hand matter, sur-

1 "Qual" is a philosophical play upon words. Qual literally means torture, a pain which drives to action of some kind; at the same time the mystic Boehme puts into the German word something of the meaning of the Latin *qualitas*; his "qual" was the activating principle arising from, and promoting in its turn, the spontaneous development of the thing, relation, or person subject to it, in contradistinction to a pain inflicted from without.

rounded by a sensuous, poetic glamor, seems to attract man's whole entity by winning smiles. On the other, the aphoristically formulated doctrine pullulates with inconsistencies imported from theology.

"In its further evolution, materialism becomes one-sided. Hobbes is the man who systematizes Baconian materialism. Knowledge based upon the senses loses its poetic blossom, it passes into the abstract experience of the mathematician; geometry is proclaimed as the queen of sciences. Materialism takes to misanthropy. If it is to overcome its opponent, misanthropic, fleshless spiritualism, and that on the latter's own ground, materialism has to chastise its own flesh and turn ascetic. Thus, from a sensual it passes into an intellectual entity; but thus, too, it evolves all the consistency, regardless of consequences, characteristic of the intellect.

"Hobbes, as Bacon's continuator, argues thus: If all human knowledge is furnished by the senses, then our concepts and ideas are but the phantoms, divested of their sensual forms, of the real world. Philosophy can but give names to these phantoms. One name may be applied to more than one of them. There may even be names of names. It would imply a contradiction if, on the one hand, we maintained that all ideas had their origin in the world of sensation, and, on the other hand, that a word was more than a word; that besides the beings known to us by our senses, beings which are one and all individuals, there existed also beings of a general, not individual, nature. An unbodily substance is the same absurdity as an unbodily body. Body, being, substance, are but different terms for the same reality. *It is impossible to separate thought from matter that thinks.* This matter is the substratum of all changes going on in the world. The word infinite is meaningless, unless it states that our mind is capable of performing an endless process of addition. Only material things being perceptible to us, we cannot know anything about the existence of God. My own existence alone is certain. Every human passion is a mechanical movement which has a beginning and an end. The objects of impulse are what we call good. Man is subject to the same laws as nature. Power and freedom are identical.

"Hobbes had systematized Bacon, without, however, furnishing a proof for Bacon's fundamental principle, the origin of all human knowledge from the world of sensation. It was Locke who, in his "Essay on Human Understanding," supplied this proof.

"Hobbes had shattered the theistic prejudices of Baconian materialism; Collins, Dodwall, Coward, Hartley, Priestley similarly shattered the last theological bars that still hemmed in Locke's sensationalism. At all events, for practical materialists, theism is but an easy-going way of getting rid of religion."¹

Thus Karl Marx wrote about the British origin of modern materialism. If Englishmen nowadays do not exactly relish the compliment he paid their ancestors, more's the pity. It is none the less undeniable that Bacon, Hobbes, and Locke are the fathers of that brilliant school of

¹ Marx and Engels, "Die Heilige Familie," Frankfurt a. M. 1845, pp. 201-204.

French materialists which made the eighteenth century, in spite of all battles on land and sea won over Frenchmen by Germans and Englishmen, a pre-eminently French century, even before that crowning French Revolution, the results of which we outsiders, in England as well as in Germany, are still trying to acclimatize.

There is no denying it. About the middle of this century what struck every cultivated foreigner who set up his residence in England was, what he was then bound to consider the religious bigotry and stupidity of the English respectable middle class. We, at that time, were all materialists, or, at least, very advanced freethinkers, and to us it appeared inconceivable that almost all educated people in England should believe in all sorts of impossible miracles, and that even geologists like Buckland and Mantell should contort the facts of their science so as not to clash too much with the myths of the book of Genesis; while, in order to find people who dared to use their own intellectual faculties with regard to religious matters, you had to go amongst the uneducated, the "great unwashed," as they were then called, the working people, especially the Owenite Socialists.

But England has been "civilized" since then. The exhibition of 1851 sounded the knell of English insular exclusiveness. England became gradually internationalized, in diet, in manners, in ideas; so much so that I begin to wish that some English manners and customs had made as much headway on the continent as other continental habits have made here. Anyhow, the introduction and spread of salad oil (before 1851 known only to the aristocracy) has been accompanied by a fatal spread of continental skepticism in matters religious, and it has come to this, that agnosticism, though not yet considered "the thing" quite as much as the Church of England, is yet very nearly on a par, as far as respectability goes, with baptism, and decidedly ranks above the Salvation Army. And I cannot help believing that under these circumstances it will be consoling to many who sincerely regret and condemn this progress of infidelity, to learn that these "new-fangled notions" are not of foreign origin, are not "made in Germany," like so many other articles of daily use, but are undoubtedly Old English, and that their British originators two hundred years ago went a good deal further than their descendants now dare to venture.

What, indeed, is agnosticism, but, to use an expressive Lancashire term, "shame-faced" materialism? The agnostic's conception of nature is materialistic throughout. The entire natural world is governed by law, and absolutely excludes the intervention of action from without. But, he adds, we have no means either of ascertaining or of disproving the existence of some Supreme Being beyond the known universe. Now, this might hold good at the time when Laplace, to Napoleon's question, why in the great astronomer's *Mécanique céleste* the Creator was not even mentioned, proudly replied: *Je n'avais pas besoin de cette hypothèse*. But nowadays, in our evolutionary conception of the universe, there is absolutely no room for either a Creator or a Ruler; and to talk of a Supreme Being shut out from the whole existing world implies a contradic-

tion in terms, and, as it seems to me, a gratuitous insult to the feelings of religious people.

Again, our agnostic admits that all our knowledge is based upon the information imparted to us by our senses. But, he adds, how do we know that our senses give us correct representations of the objects we perceive through them? And he proceeds to inform us that, whenever he speaks of objects or their qualities, he does in reality not mean these objects and qualities, of which he cannot know anything for certain, but merely the impressions which they have produced on his senses. Now, this line of reasoning seems undoubtedly hard to beat by mere argumentation. But before there was argumentation, there was action. *Im Anfang war die That*. And human action had solved the difficulty long before human ingenuity invented it. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. From the moment we turn to our own use these objects, according to the qualities we perceive in them, we put to an infallible test the correctness or otherwise of our sense-perceptions. If these perceptions have been wrong, then our estimate of the use to which an object can be turned must also be wrong, and our attempt must fail. But if we succeed in accomplishing our aim, if we find that the object does agree with our idea of it, and does answer the purpose we intended it for, then that is positive proof that our perceptions of it and of its qualities, *so far*, agree with reality outside ourselves. And whenever we find ourselves face to face with a failure, then we generally are not long in making out the cause that made us fail; we find that the perception upon which we acted was either incomplete and superficial, or combined with the results of other perceptions in a way not warranted by them—what we call defective reasoning. So long as we take care to train and to use our senses properly, and to keep our action within the limits prescribed by perceptions properly made and properly used, so long we shall find that the result of our action proves the conformity of our perceptions with the objective nature of the things perceived. Not in one single instance, so far, have we been led to the conclusion that our sense-perceptions, scientifically controlled, induce in our minds ideas respecting the outer world that are, by their very nature, at variance with reality, or that there is an inherent incompatibility between the outer world and our sense-perceptions of it.

But then come the Neo-Kantian agnostics and say: We may correctly perceive the qualities of a thing, but we cannot by any sensible or mental process grasp the thing in itself. This "thing in itself" is beyond our ken. To this Hegel, long since, has replied: If you know all the qualities of a thing, you know the thing itself; nothing remains but the fact that the said thing exists without us; and when your senses have taught you that fact, you have grasped the last remnant of the thing in itself, Kant's celebrated unknowable *Ding an sich*. To which it may be added that, in Kant's time, our knowledge of natural objects was indeed so fragmentary that he might well suspect, behind the little we knew about each of them, a mysterious "thing in itself." But one after another these ungraspable things have been grasped, analyzed, and, what is more, reproduced by the giant progress of science; and what we can pro-

duce, we certainly cannot consider as unknowable. To the chemistry of the first half of this century organic substances were such mysterious objects; now, we learn to build them up one after another from their chemical elements without the aid of organic processes. Modern chemists declare that as soon as the chemical constitution of no matter what body is known it can be built up from its elements. We are still far from knowing the constitution of the highest organic substances, the albuminous bodies; but there is no reason why we should not, if only after centuries, arrive at that knowledge, and, armed with it, produce artificial albumen. But if we arrive at that, we shall at the same time have produced organic life, for life, from its lowest to its highest forms, is but the normal mode of existence of albuminous bodies.

As soon however, as our agnostic has made these formal mental reservations, he talks and acts as the rank materialist he at bottom is. He may say that, as far as *we* know, matter and motion, or as it is now called, energy, can neither be created or destroyed, but that we have no proof of their not having been created at some time or other. But if you try to use this admission against him in any particular case, he will quickly put you out of court. If he admits the possibility of spiritualism *in abstracto*, he will have none of it *in concreto*. As far as we know and can know, he will tell you there is no Creator and no Ruler of the universe; as far as we are concerned, matter and energy can neither be created nor annihilated; for us, mind is a mode of energy, a function of the brain; all we know is that the material world is governed by immutable laws, and so forth. Thus, as far as he is a scientific man, as far as he *knows* anything, he is a materialist; outside his science, in spheres about which he knows nothing, he translates his ignorance into Greek and calls it agnosticism.

At all events, one thing seems clear: even if I was an agnostic, it is evident that I could not describe the conception of history sketched out in this little book, as "historical agnosticism." Religious people would laugh at me, agnostics would indignantly ask, was I going to make fun of them? And thus I hope even British respectability will not be overshocked if I use, in English as well as in so many other languages, the term, "historical materialism," to designate that view of the course of history, which seeks the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all important historic events in the economic development of society, in the changes in the modes of production and exchange, in the consequent division of society into distinct classes, and in the struggles of these classes against one another.

This indulgence will perhaps be accorded to me all the sooner if I show that historical materialism may be of advantage even to British respectability. I have mentioned the fact that about forty or fifty years ago, any cultivated foreigner settling in England was struck by what he was then bound to consider the religious bigotry and stupidity of the English respectable middle-class. I am now going to prove that the respectable English middle-class of that time was not quite as stupid as it looked to the intelligent foreigner. Its religious leanings can be explained.

When Europe emerged from the Middle Ages, the rising middle-class of the towns constituted its revolutionary element. It had conquered a recognized position within mediæval feudal organization, but this position, also, had become too narrow for its expansive power. The development of the middle-class, the *bourgeoisie*, became incompatible with the maintenance of the feudal system; the feudal system, therefore, had to fall.

But the great international centre of feudalism was the Roman Catholic Church. It united the whole of feudalised Western Europe, in spite of all internal wars, into one grand political system, opposed as much to the schismatic Greeks as to the Mohammedan countries. It surrounded feudal institutions with the halo of divine consecration. It had organized its own hierarchy on the feudal model, and, lastly, it was itself by far the most powerful feudal lord, holding, as it did, fully one-third of the soil of the Catholic world. Before profane feudalism could be successfully attacked in each country and in detail, this, its sacred central organisation, had to be destroyed.

Moreover, parallel with the rise of the middle-class went on the great revival of science. Astronomy, mechanics, physics, anatomy, physiology, were again cultivated. And the bourgeoisie, for the development of its industrial production, required a science which ascertained the physical properties of natural objects and the modes of action of the forces of Nature. Now up to then science had but been the humble handmaid of the Church, had not been allowed to overstep the limits set by faith, and for that reason had been no science at all. Science rebelled against the Church; the bourgeoisie could not do without science, and, therefore, had to join in the rebellion.

The above, though touching but two of the points where the rising middle-class was bound to come into collision with the established religion, will be sufficient to show, first, that the class most directly interested in the struggle against the pretensions of the Roman Church was the bourgeoisie; and second, that every struggle against feudalism, at that time, had to take on a religious disguise, had to be directed against the Church in the first instance. But if the universities and the traders of the cities started the cry, it was sure to find, and did find, a strong echo in the masses of the country people, the peasants, who everywhere had to struggle for their very existence with their feudal lords, spiritual and temporal.

The long fight of the bourgeoisie against feudalism culminated in three, great decisive battles.

The first was what is called the Protestant Reformation in Germany. The war-cry raised against the church by Luther was responded to by two insurrections of a political nature: first, that of the lower nobility under Franz von Sickingen (1523), then the great Peasants' War, 1525. Both were defeated, chiefly in consequence of the indcision of the parties most interested, the burghers of the towns—an indcision into the causes of which we cannot here enter. From that moment the struggle degenerated into a fight between the local princes and the central power, and ended by blotting out Germany, for two hundred years,

from the politically active nations of Europe. The Lutheran reformation produced a new creed indeed, a religion adapted to absolute monarchy. No sooner were the peasants of North-east Germany converted to Lutheranism than they were from freemen reduced to serfs.

But where Luther failed, Calvin won the day. Calvin's creed was one fit for the boldest of the bourgeoisie of his time. His predestination doctrine was the religious expression of the fact that in the commercial world of competition success or failure does not depend upon a man's activity or cleverness, but upon circumstances uncontrolled by him. It is not of him that willeth or of him that runneth, but of the mercy of unknown superior economic powers; and this was especially true at a period of economic revolution, when all old commercial routes and centers were replaced by new ones, when India and America were opened to the world, and when even the most sacred economic articles of faith—the value of gold and silver—began to totter and to break down. Calvin's church constitution was thoroughly democratic and republican; and where the kingdom of God was republicanised, could the kingdoms of this world remain subject to monarchs, bishops, and lords? While German Lutheranism became a willing tool in the hands of princes, Calvinism founded a republic in Holland, and active republican parties in England, and, above all, Scotland.

In Calvinism, the second great bourgeois upheaval found its doctrine ready cut and dried. This upheaval took place in England. The middle-class of the towns brought it on, and the yeomanry of the country districts fought it out. Curiously enough, in all the three great bourgeois risings, the peasantry furnishes the army that has to do the fighting; and the peasantry is just the class that, the victory once gained, is most surely ruined by the economic consequences of that victory. A hundred years after Cromwell, the yeomanry of England had almost disappeared. Anyhow, had it not been for that yeomanry and for the *plebian* element in the towns, the bourgeoisie alone would never have fought the matter out to the bitter end, and would never have brought Charles I. to the scaffold. In order to secure even those conquests of the bourgeoisie that were ripe for gathering at the time, the revolution had to be carried considerably further—exactly as in 1793 in France and 1848 in Germany. This seems, in fact, to be one of the laws of evolution of bourgeois society.

Well, upon this excess of revolutionary activity there necessarily followed the inevitable reaction which in its turn went beyond the point where it might have maintained itself. After a series of oscillations, the new center of gravity was at last attained and became a new starting-point. The grand period of English history, known to respectability under the name of "the Great Rebellion," and the struggles succeeding it, were brought to a close by the comparatively puny event entitled by Liberal historians, "the Glorious Revolution."

The new starting-point was a compromise between the rising middle-class and the ex-feudal landowners. The latter, though called, as now, the aristocracy, had been long since on the way which led them to become what Louis Philippe in France became at a much later period,

"the first bourgeois of the kingdom." Fortunately for England, the old feudal barons had killed one another during the Wars of the Roses. Their successors, though mostly scions of the old families, had been so much out of the direct line of descent that they constituted quite a new body, with habits and tendencies far more bourgeois than feudal. They fully understood the value of money, and at once began to increase their rents by turning hundreds of small farmers out and replacing them by sheep. Henry VIII., while squandering the Church lands, created fresh bourgeois landlords by wholesale; the innumerable confiscations of estates, regranted to absolute or relative upstarts, and continued during the whole of the seventeenth century, had the same result. Consequently, ever since Henry VII., the English "aristocracy," far from counteracting the development of industrial production, had, on the contrary, sought to indirectly profit thereby; and there had always been a section of the great landowners willing, from commercial or political reasons, to co-operate with the leading men of financial and industrial bourgeoisie. The compromise of 1689 was, therefore, easily accomplished. The political spoils of "pelf and place" were left to the great landowning families, provided the economic interests of the financial, manufacturing, and commercial middle-class were sufficiently attended to. And these economic interests were at that time powerful enough to determine the general policy of the nation. There might be squabbles about matters of detail, but, on the whole, the aristocratic oligarchy knew too well that its own economic prosperity was irretrievably bound up with that of the industrial and commercial middle-class.

From that time, the bourgeoisie was a humble, but still a recognized component of the ruling classes of England. With the rest of them, it had a common interest in keeping in subjection the great working mass of the nation. The merchant or manufacturer himself stood in the position of master, or, as it was until lately called, of "natural superior" to his clerks, his workpeople, his domestic servants. His interest was to get as much and as good work out of them as he could; for this end they had to be trained to proper submission. He was himself religious; his religion had supplied the standard under which he had fought the king and the lords; he was not long in discovering the opportunities this same religion offered him for working upon the minds of his natural inferiors, and making them submissive to the behests of the masters it had pleased God to place over them. In short, the English bourgeoisie now had to take part in keeping down the "lower orders," the great producing mass of the nation, and one of the means employed for that purpose was the influence of religion.

There was another fact that contributed to strengthen the religious leanings of the bourgeoisie. That was the rise of materialism in England. This new doctrine not only shocked the pious feelings of the middle-class; it announced itself as a philosophy only fit for scholars and cultivated men of the world, in contrast to religion which was good enough for the uneducated masses, including the bourgeoisie. With Hobbes it stepped out on the stage as a defender of royal prerogative and omnipotence; it called upon absolute monarchy to keep down that

puer robustus sed malitiosus, to-wit., the people. Similarly, with the successors of Hobbes, with Bolingbroke, Shaftsbury, etc., the new deistic form of materialism remained an aristocratic, esoteric doctrine, and, therefore, hateful to the middle-class both for its religious heresy and for its anti-bourgeois political connexions. Accordingly, in opposition to the materialism and deism of the aristocracy, those Protestant sects which had furnished the flag and the fighting contingent against the Stuarts, continued to furnish the main strength of the progressive middle-class, and form even today the backbone of "the Great Liberal Party."

In the meantime materialism passed from England to France, where it met and coalesced with another materialistic school of philosophers, a branch of Cartesianism. In France, too, it remained at first an exclusively aristocratic doctrine. But soon its revolutionary character asserted itself. The French materialists did not limit their criticism to matters of religious belief; they extended it to whatever scientific tradition or political institution they met with; and to prove the claim of their doctrine to universal application, they took the shortest cut, and boldly applied it to all subjects of knowledge in the giant work after which they were named—the *Encyclopedie*. Thus, in one or the other of its two forms—avowed materialism or deism—it became the creed of the whole cultured youth of France; so much so that, when the great Revolution broke out, the doctrine hatched by English Royalists gave a theoretical flag to French Republicans and Terrorists, and furnished the text for the Declaration of the Rights of Man. The great French Revolution was the third uprising of the bourgeoisie, but the first that had entirely cast off the religious cloak, and was fought out on undisguised political lines; it was the first, too, that was really fought out up to the destruction of one of the combatants, the aristocracy, and the complete triumph of the other, the bourgeoisie. In England the continuity of pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary institutions, and the compromise between landlords and capitalists, found its expression in the continuity of judicial precedents and in the religious preservation of the feudal forms of the law. In France the Revolution constituted a complete breach with the traditions of the past; it cleared out the very last vestiges of feudalism, and created in the *Code Civil* a masterly adaptation of the old Roman law—that almost perfect expression of the juridical relations corresponding to the economic stage called by Marx the production of commodities—to modern capitalistic conditions; so masterly that this French revolutionary code still serves as a model for reforms of the law of property in all other countries, not excepting England. Let us, however, not forget that if English law continues to express the economic relations of capitalistic society in that barbarous feudal language which corresponds to the thing expressed, just as English spelling corresponds to English pronunciation—*vous ecrivez Londres et vous prononcez Constantinople*, said a Frenchman—that same English law is the only one which has preserved through ages, and transmitted to America and the Colonies the best part of that old Germanic personal freedom, local self-government, and independence

from all interference but that of the law courts, which on the Continent has been lost during the period of absolute monarchy, and has nowhere been as yet fully recovered.

To return to our British bourgeois. The French Revolution gave him a splendid opportunity, with the help of the Continental monarchies, to destroy French maritime commerce, to annex French colonies, and to crush the last French pretensions to maritime rivalry. That was one reason why he fought it. Another was that the ways of this revolution went very much against his grain. Not only its "execrable" terrorism, but the very attempt to carry bourgeois rule to extremes. What should the British bourgeois do without his aristocracy, that taught him manners, such as they were, and invented fashions for him—that furnished officers for the army, which kept order at home, and the navy, which conquered colonial possessions and new markets abroad? There was indeed a progressive minority of the bourgeoisie, that minority whose interests were not so well attended to under the compromise; this section, composed chiefly of the less wealthy middle-class, did sympathise with the Revolution, but it was powerless in Parliament.

Thus, if materialism became the creed of the French Revolution, the God-fearing English bourgeois held all the faster to his religion. Had not the reign of terror in Paris proved what was the upshot, if the religious instincts of the masses were lost? The more materialism spread from France to neighboring countries, and was reinforced by similar doctrinal currents, notably by German philosophy, the more, in fact, materialism and freethought generally became, on the Continent, the necessary qualifications of a cultivated man, the more stubbornly the English middle-class stuck to its manifold religious creeds. These creeds might differ from one another, but they were, all of them, distinctly religious, Christian creeds.

While the Revolution ensured the political triumph of the bourgeoisie in France, in England Watt, Arkwright, Cartwright, and others, initiated an industrial revolution, which completely shifted the center of gravity of economic power. The wealth of the bourgeoisie increased considerably faster than that of the landed aristocracy. Within the bourgeoisie itself, the financial aristocracy, the bankers, etc., were more and more pushed into the background by the manufacturers. The compromise of 1689, even after the gradual changes it had undergone in favour of the bourgeoisie, no longer corresponded to the relative position of the parties to it. The character of these parties, too, had changed: the bourgeoisie of 1830 was very different from that of the preceding century. The political power still left to the aristocracy, and used by them to resist the pretensions of the new industrial bourgeoisie, became incompatible with the new economic interests. A fresh struggle with the aristocracy was necessary; it could end only in a victory of the new economic power. First, the Reform Act was pushed through, in spite of all resistance, under the impulse of the French Revolution of 1830. It gave to the bourgeoisie a recognised and powerful place in Parliament. Then the repeal of the Corn Laws, which settled, once for all, the supremacy of the bourgeoisie, and especially of its most active portion, the manu-

facturers, over the landed aristocracy. This was the greatest victory of the bourgeoisie; it was, however, also the last it gained in its own exclusive interest. Whatever triumphs it obtained later on, it had to share with a new social power, first its ally, but soon its rival.

The industrial revolution had created a class of large manufacturing capitalists, but also a class—and a far more numerous one—of manufacturing workpeople. This class gradually increased in numbers, in proportion as the industrial revolution siezed upon one branch of manufacture after another, and in the same proportion it increased in power. This power it proved as early as 1824, by forcing a reluctant Parliament to repeal the acts forbidding combinations of workmen. During the Reform agitation, the working-men constituted the Radical wing of the Reform party; the Act of 1832 having excluded them from the suffrage, they formulated their demands in the People's Charter, and constituted themselves, in opposition to the great bourgeois Anti-Corn Law party, into an independent party, the Chartists, the first working-men's party of modern times.

Then came the Continental revolutions of February and March, 1848, in which the working people played such a prominent part, and, at least in Paris, put forward demands which were certainly inadmissible from the point of view of capitalist society. And then came the general reaction. First the defeat of the Chartists on the 10th of April, 1848, then the crushing of the Paris working-men's insurrection in June of the same year, then the disasters of 1849 in Italy, Hungary, South Germany, and at last the victory of Louis Bonaparte over Paris, 2nd December, 1851. For a time, at least, the bugbear of working-class pretensions was put down, but at what a cost! If the British bourgeois had been convinced before of the necessity of maintaining the common people in a religious mood, how much more must he feel that necessity after all these experiences? Regardless of the sneers of his Continental compeers, he continued to spend thousands and tens of thousands, year after year, upon the evangelization of the lower orders; not content with his own native religious machinery, he appealed to Brother Jonathan, the greatest organizer in existence of religion as a trade, and imported from America revivalism, Moody and Sankey, and the like; and, finally, he accepted the dangerous aid of the Salvation Army, which revives the propaganda of early Christianity, appeals to the poor as the elect, fights capitalism in a religious way, and thus fosters an element of early Christian class antagonism, which one day may become troublesome to the well-to-do people who now find the ready money for it.

It seems a law of historical development that the bourgeoisie can in no European country get hold of political power—at least for any length of time—in the same exclusive way in which the feudal aristocracy kept hold of it during the Middle Ages. Even in France, where feudalism was completely extinguished, the bourgeoisie, as a whole, has held full possession of the Government for very short periods only. During Louis Philippe's reign, 1830-48, a very small portion of the bourgeoisie ruled the kingdom; by far the larger part were excluded from the suffrage by the high qualification. Under the second Republic, 1848-51, the whole

bourgeoisie ruled, but for three years only; their incapacity brought on the second Empire. It is only now, in the third Republic, that the bourgeoisie as a whole have kept possession of the helm for some twenty years; and they are already showing lively signs of decadence. A durable reign of the bourgeoisie has been possible only in countries like America, where feudalism was unknown, and society at the very beginning started from a bourgeois basis. And even in France and America, the successors of the bourgeoisie, the working people, are already knocking at the door.

In England, the bourgeoisie never held undivided sway. Even the victory of 1832 left the landed aristocracy in almost exclusive possession of all the leading Government offices. The meekness with which the wealthy middle-class submitted to this, remained inconceivable to me until the great Liberal manufacturer, Mr. W. A. Forster, in a public speech implored the young men of Bradford to learn French, as a means to get on in the world, and quoted from his own experience how sheepish he looked when, as a Cabinet Minister, he had to move in society where French was, at least, as necessary as English! The fact was, the English middle-class of that time were, as a rule, quite uneducated upstarts, and could not help leaving to the aristocracy those superior Governmental places where other qualifications were required than mere insular narrowness and insular conceit, seasoned by business sharpness.¹ Even now the endless newspaper debates about middle-class education show that the English middle-class does not yet consider itself good enough for the best education, and looks to something more modest. Thus, even after the Repeal of the Corn Laws, it appeared a matter of course, that the men who had carried the day, the Cobdens, Brights, Forsters, etc., should remain excluded from a share in the official government of the country, until twenty years afterwards, a new Reform Act opened to them the door of the Cabinet. The English bourgeoisie are, up to the present day, so deeply penetrated by a sense of their social inferiority that they keep up, at their own expense and that of the nation, an ornamental caste of drones to represent the nation worthily at all State functions; and

¹ And even in business matters, the conceit of national Chauvinism is but a sorry adviser. Up to quite recently, the average English manufacturer considered it derogatory to an Englishman to speak any language but his own, and felt rather proud than otherwise of the fact that "poor devils" of foreigners settled in England and took off his hands the trouble of disposing of his products abroad. He never noticed that these foreigners, mostly Germans, thus got command of a very large part of British foreign trade, imports and exports, and that the direct foreign trade of Englishmen became limited, almost entirely, to the colonies, China, the United States, and South America. Nor did he notice that these Germans traded with other Germans abroad, who gradually organized a complete network of commercial colonies all over the world. But when Germany, about forty years ago, seriously began manufacturing for export, this network served her admirably in her transformation, in so short a time, from a corn-exporting into a first-rate manufacturing country. Then, about ten years ago, the British manufacturer got frightened, and asked his ambassadors and consuls how it was that he could no longer keep his customers together. The unanimous answer was: (1) You don't learn your customer's language but expect him to speak your own; (2) You don't even try to suit your customer's wants, habits, and tastes, but expect him to conform to your English ones.

they consider themselves highly honoured whenever one of themselves is found worthy of admission into this select and privileged body, manufactured, after all, by themselves.

The industrial and commercial middle-class had, therefore, not yet succeeded in driving the landed aristocracy completely from political power when another competitor, the working-class, appeared on the stage. The reaction after the Chartist movement and the Continental revolutions, as well as the unparalleled extension of English trade from 1848-1866, (ascribed vulgarly to Free Trade alone, but due far more to the colossal development of railways, ocean steamers, and means of intercourse generally), had again driven the working-class into the dependency of the Liberal party, of which they formed, as in pre-Chartist times, the Radical wing. Their claims to the franchise, however, gradually became irresistible; while the Whig leaders of the Liberals "funked," Disraeli showed his superiority by making the Tories seize the favourable moment and introduce household suffrage in the boroughs, along with a redistribution of seats. Then followed the ballot; then in 1884 the extension of household suffrage to the counties and a fresh redistribution of seats, by which electoral districts were to some extent equalized. All these measures considerably increased the electoral power of the working-class, so much so that in at least 150 to 200 constituencies that class now furnishes the majority of votes. But parliamentary government is a capital school for teaching respect for tradition; if the middle-class look with awe and veneration upon what Lord John Manners playfully called "our old nobility," the mass of the working-people then looked up with respect and deference to what used to be designated as "their betters," the middle-class. Indeed, the British workman, some fifteen years ago, was the model workman, whose respectful regard for the position of his master, and whose self-restraining modesty in claiming rights for himself, consoled our German economists of the *Katheder-Socialist* school for the incurable communistic and revolutionary tendencies of their own working-men at home.

But the English middle-class—good men of business as they are—saw farther than the German professors. They had shared their power but reluctantly with the working-class. They had learnt, during the Chartist years, what that *puer robustus sed malitiosus*, the people, is capable of. And since that time, they had been compelled to incorporate the better part of the People's Charter in the Statutes of the United Kingdom. Now, if ever, the people must be kept in order by moral means, and the first and foremost of all moral means of action upon the masses is and remains—religion. Hence the parsons' majorities on the School Boards, hence the increasing self-taxation of the bourgeoisie for the support of all sorts of revivalism, from ritualism to the Salvation Army.

And now came the triumph of British respectability over the free-thought and religious laxity of the Continental bourgeois. The workmen of France and Germany had become rebellious. They were thoroughly infected with socialism, and, for very good reasons, were not at all particular as to the legality of the means by which to secure their own ascendancy. The *puer robustus*, here, turned from day to day more *malitiosus*.

Nothing remained to the French and German bourgeoisie as a last resource but to silently drop freethought, as a youngster, when sea-sickness creeps upon him, quietly drops the burning cigar he brought swaggeringly on board; one by one, the scoffers turned pious in outward behaviour, spoke with respect of the Church, its dogmas and rites, and even conformed with the latter as far as could not be helped. French bourgeoisie dined *maigre* on Fridays, and German ones sat out long Protestant sermons in their pews on Sundays. They had come to grief with materialism. "*Die Religion muss dem Volk erhalten werden*,"—religion must be kept alive for the people—that was the only and the last means to save society from utter ruin. Unfortunately for themselves, they did not find this out until they had done their level best to break up religion for ever. And now it was the turn of the British bourgeois to sneer and to say: "Why, you fools, I could have told you that two hundred years ago!"

However, I am afraid neither the religious stolidity of the British, nor the *post festum* conversion of the Continental bourgeois will stem the rising Proletarian tide. Tradition is a great retarding force, is the *viz inertiae* of history, but, being merely passive, is sure to be broken down; and thus, religion will be no lasting safeguard to capitalist society. If our juridical, philosophical, and religious ideas are the more or less remote offshoots of the economical relations prevailing in a given society, such ideas cannot, in the long run, withstand the effects of a complete change in these relations. And, unless we believe in supernatural revelation, we must admit that no religious tenets will ever suffice to prop up a tottering society.

In fact, in England too, the working-people have begun to move again. They are, no doubt, shackled by traditions of various kinds. Bourgeois traditions, such as the widespread belief that there can be but two parties, Conservatives and Liberals, and that the working-class must work out its own salvation by and through the great Liberal party. Working-men's traditions, inherited from their first tentative efforts at independent action, such as the exclusion, from ever so many old Trade Unions, of all applicants who have gone through a regular apprenticeship; which means the breeding by every such union, of its own black-legs. But for all that the English working-class is moving, as even Professor Brentano has sorrowfully had to report to his brother Katheder-Socialists. It moves, like all things in England, with a slow and measured step, with hesitation here, with more or less unfruitful, tentative attempts there; it moves now and then with an over-cautious mistrust of the name of Socialism, while it gradually absorbs the substance; and the movement spreads and seizes one layer of the workers after another. It has now shaken out of their torpor the unskilled laborers of the East End of London, and we all know what a splendid impulse these fresh forces have given it in return. And if the pace of the movement is not up to the impatience of some people, let them not forget that it is the working-class which keeps alive the finest qualities of the English character, and that, if a step in advance is once gained in England, it is, as a rule, never lost afterwards. If the sons of the old Chartist, for reasons ex-

plained above, were not quite up to the mark, the grandsons bid fair to be worthy of their forefathers.

But the triumph of the European working-class does not depend upon England alone. It can only be secured by the co-operation of, at least, England, France, and Germany. In both the latter countries the working-class movement is well ahead of England. In Germany it is even within measureable distance of success. The progress it has made there during the last twenty-five years is unparalleled. It advances with ever-increasing velocity. If the German middle-class have shown themselves lamentably deficient in political capacity, discipline, courage, energy and perseverance, the German working-class have given ample proof of all these qualities. Four hundred years ago, Germany was the starting-point of the first upheaval of the European middle-class; as things are now, is it outside the limits of possibility that Germany will be the scene, too, of the first great victory of the European proletariat?

F. ENGELS.

April 20th, 1892.

SOCIALISM: FROM UTOPIA TO SCIENCE.

I.



MODERN SOCIALISM is, in its essence, the direct product of the recognition on the one hand, of the class antagonisms, existing in the society of to-day, between proprietors and non-proprietors, between capitalists and wage-workers; on the other hand, of the anarchy existing in production. But, in its theoretical form, modern Socialism originally appears ostensibly as a more logical extension of the principles laid down by the great French philosophers of the eighteenth century. Like every new theory, modern Socialism had, at first, to connect itself with the intellectual stock-in-trade ready to its hand, however deeply its roots lay in material economic facts.

The great men who in France prepared men's minds for the coming revolution, were themselves revolutionists. They recognized no external authority of any kind whatever. Religion, natural science, society, political institutions, everything, was subjected to the most unsparing criticism; everything must justify its existence before the judgment-seat of reason, or give up existence. Reason became the sole measure of everything. It was the time when, as Hegel says, the world stood upon its head;¹ first, in the sense that the human head, and the principles arrived at by its thought, claimed to be the basis of all human action and association; but by and by, also, in the wider sense that the reality which was in contradiction to these principles had, in fact, to be turned upside down. Every form of society and government then existing, every old traditional notion was flung into the lumber-room as irrational; the world had hitherto allowed itself to be led solely by prejudices; everything in the past deserved only pity and contempt. Now, for the first time, appeared the light of day, the kingdom of reason, henceforth superstition, injustice, privilege, oppression, were to be superseded by eternal truth, eternal Right, equality based on Nature and the inalienable rights of man.

¹ This is the passage on the French Revolution: "Thought, the concept of law, all at once made itself felt, and against this the old scaffolding of wrong could make no stand. In this conception of law, therefore, a constitution has now been established, and henceforth everything must be based upon this. Since the sun had been in the firmament, and the planets circled round him, the sight had never been seen of man standing upon his head—i. e., on the Idea—and building reality after image. Anaxagoras first said that the Nous, reason, rules the world; but now, for the first time, had man come to recognise that the Idea must rule the mental reality. And this was a magnificent sunrise. All thinking Beings have participated in celebrating this holy day. A sublime emotion swayed men at that time, an enthusiasm of reason pervaded the world, as if now had come the reconciliation of the Divine Principle with the world." (Hegel: "Philosophy of History," 1840, p. 535.) Is it not high time to set the anti-Socialist law in action against such teachings, subversive and to the common danger, by the late Professor Hegel?

We know to-day that this kingdom of reason was nothing more than the idealized kingdom of the bourgeoisie; that this eternal Right found its realization in bourgeois justice; that this equality reduced itself to bourgeois equality before the law; that bourgeois property was proclaimed as one of the essential rights of man; and that the government of reason, the *Contrat Social* of Rousseau, came into being, and only could come into being, as a democratic bourgeois republic. The great thinkers of the eighteenth century could, no more than their predecessors, go beyond the limits imposed upon them by their epoch.

But, side by side with the antagonism of the feudal nobility and the burghers, who claimed to represent all the rest of society, was the general antagonism of exploiters and exploited, of rich idlers and poor workers. It was this very circumstance that made it possible for the representatives of the bourgeoisie to put themselves forward as representing, not one special class, but the whole of suffering humanity. Still further, from its origin, the bourgeoisie was saddled with its antithesis; capitalists cannot exist without wage-workers, and, in the same proportion as the mediaeval burgher of the guild developed into the modern bourgeois, the guild journeyman and the day-laborer, outside the guilds, developed into the proletariat. And although, upon the whole, the bourgeoisie, in their struggle with the nobility, could claim to represent at the same time the interests of the different working-classes of that period, yet in every great bourgeois movement there were independent outbursts of that class which was the forerunner, more or less developed, of the modern proletariat. For example, at the time of the German reformation and the peasants' war, the Anabaptists and Thos. Munzer; in the great English revolution, the Levellers; in the great French revolution, Babœuf.

There were theoretical enunciations corresponding with these revolutionary uprisings of a class not yet developed; in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Utopian pictures of ideal social conditions; in the eighteenth, actual communistic theories (Morelly and Mably). The demand for equality was no longer limited to political rights, it was extended also to the social conditions of individuals. It was not simply class privileges that were to be abolished, but class distinctions themselves. A Communism, ascetic and Spartan, denouncing all the pleasures of life, was the first form of the new teaching. Then came the three great Utopians: Saint Simon, to whom the middle-class movement, side by side with the proletarian, still had a certain significance; Fourier, and Owen, who in the country where capitalist production was most developed, and under the influence of the antagonisms begotten of this, worked out his proposals for the removal of class distinction systematically and in direct relation to French materialism.

One thing is common to all three. Not one of them appears as a representative of the interests of that proletariat, which historical development had, in the meantime, produced. Like the French philosophers, they do not claim to emancipate a particular class to begin with, but all humanity at once. Like them, they wish to bring in the king-

dom of reason and eternal justice, but this kingdom, as they see it, is as far as heaven from earth, from that of the French philosophers.

For, to our three social reformers, the bourgeois world, based upon the principles of these philosophers, is quite as irrational and unjust, and, therefore, finds its way to the dust-hole quite as readily as feudalism and all the earlier stages of society. If pure reason and justice have not, hitherto, ruled the world, this has been the case only because men have not rightly understood them. What was wanted was the individual man of genius, who has now arisen and who understands the truth. That he has now arisen, that the truth has now been clearly understood, is not an inevitable event, following of necessity in the chain of historical development, but a mere happy accident. He might just as well have been born 500 years earlier, and might then have spared humanity 500 years of error, strife and suffering.

We saw how the French philosophers of the eighteenth century, the forerunners of the Revolution, appealed to reason as the sole judge of all that is. A rational government, rational society, were to be founded; everything that ran counter to eternal reason was to be remorselessly done away with. We saw also that this eternal reason was in reality nothing but the idealised understanding of the eighteenth century citizen, just then evolving into the bourgeois. The French Revolution had realized this rational society and government.

But the new order of things, rational enough as compared with earlier conditions, turned out to be by no means absolutely rational.

The State based upon reason completely collapsed. Rousseau's *Contrat Social* had found its realization in the Reign of Terror, from which the bourgeoisie, who had lost confidence in their own political capacity, had taken refuge first in the corruption of the Directorate, and, finally, under the wing of the Napoleonic despotism. The promised eternal peace was turned into an endless war of conquest. The society based upon reason had fared no better. The antagonism between rich and poor, instead of dissolving into general prosperity, had become intensified by the removal of the guild and other privileges, which had to some extent bridged it over, and by the removal of the charitable institutions of the Church.

The "freedom of property" from feudal fetters, now veritably accomplished, turned out to be, for the small capitalists and small proprietors, crushed under the overmastering competition of the large capitalists and landlords, the freedom to sell their small property to these great lords, and thus, as far as the small capitalists and peasant proprietors were concerned, became "freedom from property." The development of industry upon a capitalist basis made poverty and misery of the working masses conditions of existence of society. Cash payment became more and more, in Carlyle's phrase, the sole nexus between man and man. The number of crimes increased from year to year. Formerly, the feudal vices had openly stalked about in broad daylight; though not eradicated, they were now at any rate thrust into the background. In their stead, the bourgeois vices, hitherto practiced in secret, began to blossom all the more luxuriantly. Trade became to

a greater and greater extent cheating. The "fraternity" of the revolutionary motto was realized in the chicanery and rivalries of the battle of competition. Oppression by force was replaced by corruption; the sword, as the first social lever, by gold. The right of the first night was transferred from the feudal lords to the bourgeois manufacturers. Prostitution increased to an extent never heard of. Marriage itself remained, as before, the legally recognized form, the official cloak of prostitution, and moreover, was supplemented by rich crops of adultery.

In a word, compared with the splendid promises of the philosophers, the social and political institutions born of the "triumph of reason" were bitterly disappointing caricatures. All that was wanting was the men to formulate this disappointment, and they came with the turn of the century. In 1802 Saint Simon's Geneva letters appeared; in 1808 appeared Fourier's first work, although the groundwork of his theory dated from 1799; on January 1, 1800, Robert Owen undertook the direction of New Lanark.

At this time, however, the capitalist mode of production, and with it the antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, was still very incompletely developed. Modern Industry, which had just arisen in England, was still unknown in France. But Modern Industry develops, on the one hand, the conflicts which make absolutely necessary a revolution in the mode of production, and the doing away with its capitalistic character—conflicts not only between the classes begotten of it, but also between the very productive forces and the forms of exchange created by it. And, on the other hand, it develops, in these very gigantic productive forces, the means of ending these conflicts. If, therefore, about the year 1800, the conflicts arising from the new social order were only just beginning to take shape, this holds still more fully as to the means of ending them. The "have-nothing" masses of Paris, during the Reign of Terror, were able for a moment to gain the mastery, and thus to lead the bourgeois revolution to victory in spite of the bourgeoisie themselves. But, in doing so, they only proved how impossible it was for their domination to last under the conditions then obtaining. The proletariat which then for the first time evolved itself from these "have-nothing" masses as the nucleus of a new class, as yet quite incapable of independent political action, appeared as an oppressed, suffering order, to whom, in its incapacity to help itself, help could, at best, be brought in from without, or down from above.

This historical situation also dominated the founders of Socialism. To the crude conditions of capitalistic production and the crude class conditions corresponded crude theories. The solution of the social problems, which as yet lay hidden in undeveloped economic conditions, the Utopians attempted to evolve out of the human brain. Society presented nothing but wrongs; to remove these was the task of reason. It was necessary, then, to discover a new and more perfect system of social order and to impose this upon society from without by propaganda, and, wherever it was possible, by the example of model experi-

ments. These new social systems were foredoomed as Utopian; the more completely they were worked out in detail, the more they could not avoid drifting off into pure phantasies.

These facts once established, we need not dwell a moment longer upon this side of the question, now wholly belonging to the past. We can leave it to the literary small fry to solemnly quibble over these phantasies, which to-day only make us smile, and to crow over the superiority of their own bald reasoning, as compared with such "insanity." For ourselves, we delight in the stupendously grand thoughts and germs of thought that everywhere break out through their phantastic covering, and to which these Philistines are blind.

Saint Simon was a son of the great French Revolution, at the outbreak of which he was not yet thirty. The Revolution was the victory of the third estate, *i. e.*, of the great masses of the nation, *working* in production and in trade, over the privileged *idle* classes, the nobles and the priests. But the victory of the third estate soon revealed itself as exclusively the victory of a small part of this "estate," as the conquest of political power by the socially privileged section of it, *i. e.*, the propertied bourgeoisie. And the bourgeoisie had certainly developed rapidly during the Revolution, partly by speculation in the lands of the nobility and of the Church, confiscated and afterwards put up for sale, and partly by frauds upon the nation by means of army contracts. It was the domination of these swindlers that, under the Directorate, brought France to the verge of ruin, and thus gave Napoleon the pretext for his *coup-d'état*.

Hence, to Saint Simon the antagonism between the third estate and the privileged classes took the form of an antagonism between "workers" and "idlers." The idlers were not merely the old privileged classes, but also all who, without taking any part in production or distribution, lived on their incomes. And the workers were not only the wage-workers, but also the manufacturers, the merchants, the bankers. That the idlers had lost the capacity for intellectual leadership and political supremacy had been proved, and was by the Revolution finally settled. That the non-possessing classes had not this capacity seemed to Saint Simon proved by the experiences of the Reign of Terror. Then, who was to lead and command? According to Saint Simon, science and industry, both united by a new religious bond, destined to restore that unity of religious ideas which had been lost since the time of the Reformation—a necessarily mystic and rigidly hierarchic "new Christianity." But science, that was the scholars; and industry, that was, in the first place, the working bourgeois, manufacturers, merchants, bankers. These bourgeoisie were, certainly, intended by Saint Simon to transform themselves into a kind of public officials, of social trustees; but they were still to hold, *vis-a-vis* of the workers, a commanding and economically privileged position. The bankers especially were to be called upon to direct the whole of social production by the regulation of credit. This conception was in exact keeping with a time in which Modern Industry in France, and, with it, the chasm between bourgeoisie and proletariat was only just coming into existence. But what Saint Simon especially lays

stress upon is this: what interests him first, and above all other things, is the lot of the class that is the most numerous and the most poor ("*la classe la plus nombreuse et la plus pauvre*").

Already, in his Geneva letters, Saint Simon lays down the proposition that "all men ought to work." In the same work he recognizes also that the Reign of Terror was the reign of the non-possessing masses. "See," says he to them, "what happened in France at the time when your comrades held sway there; they brought about a famine." But to recognize the French Revolution as a class war, and not simply one between nobility and bourgeoisie, but between nobility, bourgeoisie, and the non-possessors, was, in the year 1802, a most pregnant discovery. In 1816, he declares that politics is the science of production, and foretells the complete absorption of politics by economics. The knowledge that economic conditions are the basis of political institutions appears here only in embryo. Yet what is here already very plainly expressed is the idea of the future conversion of political rule over men into an administration of things and a direction of processes of production—that is to say, the "abolition of the State," about which recently there has been so much noise.

Saint Simon shows the same superiority over his contemporaries, when in 1814, immediately after the entry of the allies into Paris, and again in 1815, during the Hundred Days' War, he proclaims the alliance of France with England, and then of both these countries with Germany, as the only guarantee for the prosperous development and peace of Europe. To preach to the French in 1815 an alliance with the victors of Waterloo required as much courage as historical foresight.

If in Saint Simon we find a comprehensive breadth of view, by virtue of which almost all the ideas of later Socialists, that are not strictly economic, are found in him in embryo, we find in Fourier a criticism of the existing conditions of society, genuinely French and witty, but not upon that account any the less thorough. Fourier takes the bourgeoisie, their inspired prophets before the Revolution, and their interested eulogists after it, at their own word. He lays bare remorselessly the material and moral misery of the bourgeois world. He confronts it with the earlier philosophers' dazzling promises of a society in which reason alone should reign, of a civilization in which happiness should be universal, of an illimitable human perfectibility, and with the rose-colored phraseology of the bourgeois ideologists of his time. He points out how everywhere the most pitiful reality corresponds with the most high-sounding phrases, and he overwhelms this hopeless fiasco of phrases with his mordant sarcasm.

Fourier is not only a critic; his imperturbably serene nature makes him a satirist, and assuredly one of the greatest satirists of all time. He depicts, with equal power and charm, the swindling speculations that blossomed out upon the downfall of the Revolution, and the showkeeping spirit prevalent in, and characteristic of, French commerce at that time. Still more masterly is his criticism of the bourgeois form of the relations between the sexes, and the position of woman in bourgeois society. He

was the first to declare that in any given society the degree of woman's emancipation is the natural measure of the general emancipation.

But Fourier is at his greatest in his conception of the history of society. He divides its whole course, thus far, into four stages of evolution—savagery, barbarism, the patriarchate, civilization. This last is identical with the so-called civil, or bourgeois, society of to-day—i. e., with the social order that came in with the sixteenth century. He proves “that the civilized stage raises every vice practiced by barbarism in a simple fashion, into a form of existence, complex, ambiguous, equivocal, hypocritical”—that civilization moves in “a vicious circle,” in contradictions which it constantly reproduces without being able to solve them; hence it constantly arrives at the very opposite to that which it wants to attain, or pretends to want to attain, so that, *e. g.*, “under civilization poverty is born of superabundance itself.”

Fourier, as we see, uses the dialectic method in the same masterly way as his contemporary, Hegel. Using these same dialectics, he argues, against the talk about illimitable human perfectibility, that every historical phase has its period of ascent and also its period of descent, and he applies this observation to the future of the whole human race. As Kant introduced into natural science the idea of the ultimate destruction of the earth, Fourier introduced into historical science that of the ultimate destruction of the human race.

Whilst in France the hurricane of the Revolution swept over the land, in England a quieter, but not on that account less tremendous, revolution was going on. Steam and the new tool-making machinery were transforming manufacture into modern industry, and thus revolutionizing the whole foundation of bourgeois society. The sluggish march of development of the manufacturing period changed into a veritable storm and stress period of production. With constantly increasing swiftness the splitting up of society into large capitalists and non-possessing proletarians went on. Between these, instead of the former stable middle-class, an unstable mass of artisans and small shopkeepers, the most fluctuating portion of the population, now led a precarious existence.

The new mode of production was, as yet, only at the beginning of its period of ascent; as yet it was the normal, regular method of production—the only one possible under existing conditions. Nevertheless, even then it was producing crying social abuses—the herding together of a homeless population in the worst quarters of the large towns; the loosening of all traditional moral bonds, of patriarchal subordination, of family relations; overwork, especially of women and children, to a frightful extent; complete demoralization of the working-class, suddenly flung into altogether new conditions, from the country into the town, from agriculture into modern industry, from stable conditions of existence into insecure ones that changed from day to day.

At this juncture there came forward as a reformer a manufacturer 29 years old—a man of almost sublime, childlike simplicity of character, and at the same time one of the few born leaders of men. Robert Owen

had adopted the teachings of the materialistic philosophers: that man's character is the product, on the one hand, of heredity, on the other, of the environment of the individual during his lifetime, and especially during his period of development. In the industrial revolution most of his class saw only chaos and confusion, and the opportunity of fishing in these troubled waters and making large fortunes quickly. He saw in it the opportunity of putting into practice his favorite theory, and so of bringing order out of chaos. He had already tried it with success, as superintendent of more than five hundred men in a Manchester factory. From 1800 to 1829, he directed the great cotton mill at New Lanark, in Scotland, as managing partner, along the same lines, but with greater freedom of action and with a success that made him a European reputation. A population, originally consisting of the most diverse, and, for the most part, very demoralized elements, a population that gradually grew to 2,500, he turned into a model colony, in which drunkenness, police, magistrates, lawsuits, poor laws, charity, were unknown. And all this simply by placing the people in conditions worthy of human beings, and especially by carefully bringing up the rising generation. He was the founder of infant schools, and introduced them first at New Lanark. At the age of two the children came to school, where they enjoyed themselves so much that they could scarcely be got home again. Whilst his competitors worked their people thirteen or fourteen hours a day, in New Lanark the working-day was only ten and a half hours. When a crisis in cotton stopped work for four months, his workers received their full wages all the time. And with all this the business more than doubled in value, and to the last yielded large profits to its proprietors.

In spite of all this, Owen was not content. The existence which he secured for his workers was, in his eyes, still far from being worthy of human beings. "The people were slaves at my mercy." The relatively favorable conditions in which he had placed them were still far from allowing a rational development of the character and of the intellect in all directions, much less of the free exercise of all their faculties. "And yet, the working part of this population of 2,500 persons was daily producing as much real wealth for society as, less than half a century before, it would have required the working part of a population of 600,000 to create. I asked myself, what became of the difference between the wealth consumed by 2,500 persons and that which would have been consumed by 600,000?"¹

The answer was clear. It had been used to pay the proprietors of the establishment 5 per cent. on the capital they had laid out, in addition to over £300,000 clear profit. And that which held for New Lanark held to a still greater extent for all the factories in England. "If this new wealth had not been created by machinery, imperfectly as it has been applied, the wars of Europe, in opposition to Napoleon, and to support

¹ From "The Revolution in Mind and Practice," p. 21; a memorial addressed to all the "red Republicans, Communists and Socialists of Europe," and sent to the provisional government of France, 1848, and also "to Queen Victoria and her responsible advisers."

the aristocratic principles of society, could not have been maintained. And yet this new power was the creation of the working classes."¹ To them, therefore, the fruits of this new power belonged. The newly-created gigantic productive forces, hitherto used only to enrich individuals and to enslave the masses, offered to Owen the foundations for a reconstruction of society; they were destined, as the common property of all, to be worked for the common good of all.

Owen's Communism was based upon this purely business foundation, the outcome, so to say, of commercial calculation. Throughout, it maintained this practical character. Thus, in 1823, Owen proposed the relief of the distress in Ireland by Communist colonies, and drew up complete estimates of costs of founding them, yearly expenditure, and probable revenue. And in his definite plan for the future, the technical working out of details is managed with such practical knowledge—ground plan, front and side and bird's-eye views all included—that the Owen method of social reform once accepted, there is from the practical point of view little to be said against the actual arrangement of details.

His advance in the direction of Communism was the turning-point in Owen's life. As long as he was simply a philanthropist, he was rewarded with nothing but wealth, applause, honor, and glory. He was the most popular man in Europe. Not only men of his own class, but statesmen and princes listened to him approvingly. But when he came out with his Communist theories, that was quite another thing. Three great obstacles seemed to him especially to block the path to social reform: private property, religion, the present form of marriage. He knew what confronted him if he attacked these—outlawry, excommunication from official society, the loss of his whole social position. But nothing of this prevented him from attacking them without fear of consequences, and what he had foreseen happened. Banished from official society, with a conspiracy of silence against him in the press, ruined by his unsuccessful Communist experiments in America, in which he sacrificed all his fortune, he turned directly to the working-class and continued working in their midst for thirty years. Every social movement, every real advance in England on behalf of the workers links itself on to the name of Robert Owen. He forced through in 1819, after five years' fighting, the first law limiting the hours of labor of women and children in factories. He was president of the first Congress at which all the Trade Unions of England united in a single great trade association. He introduced as transition measures to the complete communistic organization of society, on the one hand, co-operative societies for retail trade and production. These have since that time, at least, given practical proof that the merchant and the manufacturer are socially quite unnecessary. On the other hand he introduced labor bazaars for the exchange of the products of labor through the medium of labor-notes, whose unit was a single hour of work; institutions necessarily doomed to failure, but completely anticipating Proudhon's bank of exchange of a much later period, and differing entirely from this in that it did not claim to be the panacea for all

¹ See foot note page 27.

social ills, but only a first step towards a much more radical revolution of society.

The Utopians' mode of thought has for a long time governed the socialist ideas of the nineteenth century, and still governs some of them. Until very recently all French and English Socialists did homage to it. The earlier German Communism, including that of Weitling, was of the same school. To all these Socialism is the expression of absolute truth, reason, and justice, and has only to be discovered to conquer all the world by virtue of its own power. And as absolute truth is independent of time, space, and of the historical development of man, it is a mere accident when and where it is discovered. With all this, absolute truth, reason, and justice are different with the founder of each different school. And as each one's special kind of absolute truth, reason, and justice is again conditioned by his subjective understanding, his conditions of existence, the measure of his knowledge and his intellectual training, there is no other ending possible in this conflict of absolute truths than that they shall be mutually exclusive one of the other. Hence, from this nothing could come but a kind of eclectic, average Socialism, which, as a matter of fact, has up to the present time dominated the minds of most of the Socialist workers in France and England. Hence, a mish-mash allowing of the most manifold shades of opinion: a mish-mash of such critical statements, economic theories, pictures of future society by the founders of different sects, as excite a minimum of opposition: a mish-mash which is the more easily brewed the more the definite sharp edges of the individual constituents are rubbed down in the stream of debate, like rounded pebbles in a brook.

To make a science of Socialism, it had first to be placed upon a real basis.

II.

IN the meantime, along with and after the French philosophy of the eighteenth century had arisen the new German philosophy, culminating in Hegel. Its greatest merit was the taking up again of dialectics as the highest form of reasoning. The old Greek philosophers were all born natural dialecticians, and Aristotle, the most encyclopaedic intellect of all, had already analyzed the most essential forms of dialectic thought. The newer philosophy, on the other hand, although in it also dialectics had brilliant exponents (e. g. Descartes and Spinoza), had, especially through English influence, become more and more rigidly fixed in the so-called metaphysical mode of reasoning, by which also the French of the eighteenth century were almost wholly dominated, at all events in their special philosophical work. Outside philosophy in the restricted sense, the French nevertheless produced masterpieces of dialectic. We need only call to mind Diderot's "Le Neveu de Rameau," and Rousseau's "Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes." We give here, in brief, the essential character of these two modes of thought.

When we consider and reflect upon nature at large, or the history of mankind, or our own intellectual activity, at first we see the picture of an endless entanglement of relations and reactions, permutations and combinations, in which nothing remains what, where, and as it was, but everything moves, changes, comes into being and passes away. We see, therefore, at first the picture as a whole, with its individual parts still more or less kept in the background; we observe the movements, transitions, connections, rather than the things that move, combine, and are connected. This primitive, naive, but intrinsically correct conception of the world is that of ancient Greek philosophy, and was first clearly formulated by Heraclitus: everything is and is not, for everything is fluid, is constantly changing, constantly coming into being and passing away.

Yet this conception, correctly as it expresses the general character of the picture of appearances as a whole, does not suffice to explain the details of which this picture is made up, and so long as we do not understand these, we have not a clear idea of the whole picture. In order to understand these details we must detach them from their natural or historical connection and examine each one separately, its nature, special causes, effects, etc. This is, primarily, the task of natural science and historical research; branches of science which the Greeks of classical times, on very good grounds, relegated to a subordinate position, because they had first of all to collect materials for these sciences to work upon. A certain amount of natural and historical material must be collected before there can be any critical analysis, comparison, and arrangement in classes, orders and species. The foundations of the exact natural sciences were, therefore, first worked out by the Greeks of the Alexandrian period, and later on, in the Middle ages, by the Arabs. Real natural science dates from the second half of the fifteenth century, and thence onward it has advanced with constantly increasing rapidity. The analysis of Nature into its individual parts, the grouping of the different natural processes and objects in definite classes, the study of the internal anatomy of organized bodies in their manifold forms—these were the fundamental conditions of the gigantic strides in our knowledge of Nature that have been made during the last four hundred years. But this method of work has also left us as legacy the habit of observing natural objects and processes in isolation, apart from their connection with the vast whole; of observing them in repose, not in motion; as constants, not as essentially variables; in their death, not in their life. And when this way of looking at things was transferred by Bacon and Locke from natural science to philosophy, it begot the narrow, metaphysical mode of thought peculiar to the last century.

To the metaphysician, things and their mental reflexes, ideas, are isolated, are to be considered one after the other and apart from each other, are objects of investigation fixed, rigid, given once for all. He thinks in absolutely irreconcilable antitheses. "His communication is 'yea, yea; nay, nay': for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil." For him a thing either exists or does not exist; a thing cannot at the same time be itself and something else. Positive and negative abso-

lutely exclude one another; cause and effect stand in a rigid antithesis one to the other.

At first sight this mode of thinking seems to us very luminous, because it is that of so-called sound common sense. Only sound common sense, respectable fellow that he is, in the homely realm of his own four walls, has very wonderful adventures directly he ventures out into the wide world of research. And the metaphysical mode of thought, justifiable and necessary as it is in a number of domains whose extent varies according to the nature of the particular object of investigation, sooner or later reaches a limit, beyond which it becomes one-sided, restricted, abstract, lost in insoluble contradictions. In the contemplation of individual things, it forgets the connection between them; in the contemplation of their existence, it forgets the beginning and end of that existence; of their repose, it forgets their motion. It cannot see the wood for the trees.

For everyday purposes we know and can say, e. g., whether an animal is alive or not. But, upon closer inquiry, we find that this is, in many cases, a very complex question, as the jurists know very well. They have cudgelled their brains in vain to discover a rational limit beyond which the killing of the child in its mother's womb is murder. It is just as impossible to determine absolutely the moment of death, for physiology proves that death is not an instantaneous, momentary phenomenon, but a very protracted process.

In like manner, every organized being is every moment the same and not the same; every moment it assimilates matter supplied from without, and gets rid of matter; every moment some cells of its body die and others build themselves anew; in a longer or shorter time the matter of its body is completely renewed, and is replaced by other molecules of matter, so that every organized being is always itself, and yet something other than itself.

Next, we find upon closer investigation that the two poles of an antithesis, positive and negative, e. g., are as inseparable as they are opposed, and that despite all their opposition, they mutually interpenetrate. And we find, in like manner, that cause and effect are conceptions which only hold good in their application to individual cases, but as soon as we consider the individual cases in their general connection with the universe as a whole, they run into each other, and they become confounded when we contemplate that universal action and reaction in which causes and effects are eternally changing places, so that what is effect here and now will be cause there and then, and vice versa.

No one of these processes and modes of thought enters into the framework of metaphysical reasoning. Dialectics, on the other hand, comprehends things and their representations, ideas, in their essential connection, concatenation, motion, origin, and ending. Such processes as those mentioned above are, therefore, so many corroborations of its own method of procedure.

Nature is the proof of dialectics, and it must be said for modern science that it has furnished this proof with very rich materials increasing daily, and thus has shown that, in the last resort, Nature

works dialectically and not metaphysically; that she does not move in the eternal oneness of a perpetually recurring circle, but goes through a real historical evolution. In this connection Darwin must be named before all others. He dealt the metaphysical conception of Nature the heaviest blow by his proof that all organic beings, plants, animals, and man himself, are the products of a process of evolution going on through millions of years. But the naturalists who have learned to think dialectically are few and far between, and this conflict of the results of discovery with preconceived modes of thinking explains the endless confusion now reigning in theoretical natural science, the despair of teachers as well as learners, of authors and readers alike.

An exact representation of the universe, of its evolution, of the development of mankind, and of the reflection of this evolution in the minds of men, can therefore only be obtained by the methods of dialectics with its constant regard to the innumerable actions and reactions of life and death, of progressive or retrogressive changes. And in this spirit the new German philosophy has worked. Kant began his career by resolving the stable solar system of Newton and its eternal duration, after the famous initial impulse had once been given, into the result of a historic process, the formation of the sun and all the planets out of a rotating nebulous mass. From this he at the same time drew the conclusion that, given this origin of the solar system, its future death followed of necessity. His theory half a century later was established mathematically by Laplace, and half a century after that the spectroscope proved the existence in space of such incandescent masses of gas in various stages of condensation.

The new German philosophy culminated in the Hegelian system. In this system—and herein is its great merit—for the first time the whole world, natural, historical, intellectual, is represented as a process, i. e., as in constant motion, change, transformation, development, and the attempt is made to trace out the internal connection that makes a continuous whole of all this movement and development. From this point of view the history of mankind no longer appeared as a wild whirl of senseless deeds of violence, all equally condemnable at the judgment seat of mature philosophic reason, and which are best forgotten as quickly as possible; but as the process of evolution of man himself. It was now the task of the intellect to follow the gradual march of this process through all its devious ways, and to trace out the inner law running through all its apparently accidental phenomena.

That the Hegelian system did not solve the problem it propounded is here immaterial. Its epoch-making merit was that it propounded the problem. This problem is one that no single individual will ever be able to solve. Although Hegel was—with Saint Simon—the most encyclopaedic mind of his time, yet he was limited, first, by the necessarily limited extent of his own knowledge and, second, by the limited extent and depth of the knowledge and conceptions of his age. To these limits a third must be added. Hegel was an idealist. To him the thoughts within his brain were not the more or less abstract pictures of actual things and processes, but, conversely, things and

their evolution were only the realized pictures of the "Idea," existing somewhere from eternity before the world was. This way of thinking turned everything upside down, and completely reversed the actual connection of things in the world. Correctly and ingeniously as many individual groups of facts were grasped by Hegel, yet, for the reasons just given, there is much that is botched, artificial, labored, in a word, wrong in point of detail. The Hegelian system, in itself, was a colossal miscarriage—but it was also the last of its kind. It was suffering, in fact, from an internal and incurable contradiction. Upon the one hand, its essential proposition was the conception that human history is a process of evolution, which, by its very nature, cannot find its intellectual final term in the discovery of any so-called absolute truth. But, on the other hand, it laid claim to being the very essence of this absolute truth. A system of natural and historical knowledge, embracing everything, and final for all time, is a contradiction to the fundamental law of dialectic reasoning. This law, indeed, by no means excludes, but, on the contrary, includes the idea that the systematic knowledge of the external universe can make giant strides from age to age.

The perception of the fundamental contradiction in German idealism led necessarily back to materialism, but *nota bene*, not to the simply metaphysical, exclusively mechanical materialism of the eighteenth century. Old materialism looked upon all previous history as a crude heap of irrationality and violence; modern materialism sees in it the process of evolution of humanity, and aims at discovering the laws thereof. With the French of the eighteenth century, and even with Hegel, the conception obtained of Nature as a whole, moving in narrow circles, and forever immutable, with its eternal celestial bodies, as Newton, and unalterable organic species, as Linnaeus, taught. Modern materialism embraces the more recent discoveries of natural science, according to which Nature also has its history in time, the celestial bodies, like the organic species that, under favorable conditions, people them, being born and perishing. And even if Nature, as a whole, must still be said to move in recurrent cycles, these cycles assume infinitely larger dimensions. In both aspects, modern materialism is essentially dialectic, and no longer requires the assistance of that sort of philosophy which, queen-like, pretended to rule the remaining mob of sciences. As soon as each special science is bound to make clear its position in the great totality of things and of our knowledge of things, a special science dealing with this totality is superfluous or unnecessary. That which still survives of all earlier philosophy is the science of thought and its laws—formal logic and dialectics. Everything else is subsumed in the positive science of Nature and history.

Whilst, however, the revolution in the conception of Nature could only be made in proportion to the corresponding positive materials furnished by research, already much earlier certain historical facts had occurred which led to a decisive change in the conception of history. In 1831, the first working class rising took place in Lyons; between 1838 and 1842, the first national working class movement, that of the English Chartists, reached its height. The class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie came to the front in the history of the most

advanced countries in Europe, in proportion to the development, upon the one hand, of modern industry, upon the other, of the newly acquired political supremacy of the bourgeoisie. Facts more and more strenuously gave the lie to the teachings of bourgeois economy as to the identity of the interests of capital and labor, as to the universal harmony and universal prosperity that would be the consequence of unbridled competition. All these things could no longer be ignored, any more than the French and English Socialism, which was their theoretical, though very imperfect, expression. But the old idealist conception of history, which was not yet dislodged, knew nothing of class struggles based upon economic interests; production and all economic relations appeared in it only as incidental, subordinate elements in the "history of civilization."

The new facts made imperative a new examination of all past history. Then it was seen that *all* past history, with the exception of its primitive stages, was the history of class struggles; that these warring classes of society are always the products of the modes of production and of exchange—in a word, of the *economic* conditions of their time; that the economic structure of society always furnishes the real basis, starting from which we can alone work out the ultimate explanation of the whole superstructure of juridical and political institutions as well as of the religious, philosophical, and other ideas of a given historical period. Hegel had freed history from metaphysics—he had made it dialectic; but his conception of history was essentially idealistic. But now idealism was driven from its last refuge, the philosophy of history; now a materialistic treatment of history was propounded, and a method found of explaining man's "knowing" by his "being," instead of, as heretofore, his "being" by his "knowing."

From that time forward socialism was no longer an accidental discovery of this or that ingenious brain, but the necessary outcome of the struggle between two historically developed classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Its task was no longer to manufacture a system of society as perfect as possible, but to examine the historico-economic succession of events from which these classes and their antagonism had of necessity sprung, and to discover in the economic conditions thus created the means of ending the conflict. But the Socialism of earlier days was as incompatible with this materialistic conception as the conception of Nature of the French materialists was with dialectics and modern natural science. The Socialism of earlier days certainly criticised the existing capitalistic mode of production and its consequences. But it could not explain them, and, therefore, could not get the mastery of them. It could only simply reject them as bad. The more strongly this earlier Socialism renounced the exploitation of the working-class, inevitable under Capitalism, the less able was it clearly to show in what this exploitation consisted and how it arose. But for this it was necessary—(1) to present the capitalistic method of production in its historical connection and its inevitableness during a particular historical period, and therefore, also, to present its inevitable downfall; and (2) to lay bare its essential character, which was still a secret. This was done by

the discovery of *surplus-value*. It was shown that the appropriation of unpaid labour is the basis of the capitalist mode of production and of the exploitation of the worker that occurs under it; that even if the capitalist buys the labor-power of his laborer at its full value as a commodity on the market, he yet extracts more value from it than he paid for; and that in the ultimate analysis this surplus-value forms those sums of value from which are heaped up the constantly increasing masses of capital in the hands of the possessing classes. The genesis of capitalist production and the production of capital were both explained.

These two great discoveries, the materialistic conception of history and the revelation of the secret of capitalistic production through surplus-value, we owe to Marx. With these discoveries Socialism became a science. The next thing was to work out all its details and relations.

III.

THE materialist conception of history starts from the proposition that the production of the means to support human life, and, next to production, the exchange of things produced, is the basis of all social structure; that in every society that has appeared in history, the manner in which wealth is distributed and society divided into classes or orders, is dependent upon what is produced, how it is produced, and how the products are exchanged. From this point of view the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in man's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought, not in the *philosophy*, but in the *economics* of each particular epoch. The growing perception that existing social institutions are unreasonable and unjust, that reason has become unreason, and right wrong, is only proof that in the modes of production and exchange changes have silently taken place, with which the social order, adapted to earlier economic conditions, is no longer in keeping. From this it also follows that the means of getting rid of the incongruities that have been brought to light, must also be present, in a more or less developed condition, within the changed modes of production themselves. These means are not to be invented by deduction from fundamental principles, but are to be discovered in the stubborn facts of the existing system of production.

What is, then, the position of modern Socialism in this connection?

The present structure of society—this is now pretty generally conceded—is the creation of the ruling class of to-day, of the bourgeoisie. The mode of production peculiar to the bourgeoisie, known, since Marx, as the capitalist mode of production, was incompatible with the feudal system, with the privileges it conferred upon individuals, entire social ranks and local corporations, as well as with the hereditary ties of sub-

ordination which constituted the framework of its social organization. The bourgeoisie broke up the feudal system and built upon its ruins the capitalist order of society, the kingdom of free competition, of personal liberty, of the equality, before the law, of all commodity owners, of all the rest of the capitalist blessings. Thenceforward the capitalist mode of production could develop in freedom. Since steam, machinery, and the making of machines by machinery transformed the older manufacture into modern industry, the productive forces evolved under the guidance of the bourgeoisie developed with a rapidity and in a degree unheard of before. But just as the older manufacture, in its time, and handicraft, becoming more developed under its influence, had come into collision with the feudal trammels of the guilds, so now modern industry, in its more complete development, comes into collision with the bounds within which the capitalistic mode of production holds it confined. The new productive forces have already outgrown the capitalistic mode of using them. And this conflict between productive forces and modes of production is not a conflict engendered in the mind of man, like that between original sin and divine justice. It exists, in fact, objectively, outside us, independently of the will and actions even of the men that have brought it on. Modern Socialism is nothing but the reflex, in thought, of this conflict in fact; its ideal reflection in the minds, first, of the class directly suffering under it, the working-class.

Now, in what does this conflict consist?

Before capitalistic production, i. e., in the Middle Ages, the system of petty industry obtained generally, based upon the private property of the laborers in their means of production; in the country, the agriculture of the small peasant, freeman or serf; in the towns, the handicrafts organized in guilds. The instruments of labor—land, agricultural implements, the workshop, the tool—were the instruments of labor of single individuals, adapted for the use of one worker, and, therefore, of necessity, small, dwarfish, circumscribed. But, for this very reason, they belonged, as a rule, to the producer himself. To concentrate these scattered, limited means of production, to enlarge them, to turn them into the powerful levers of production of the present day—this was precisely the historic rôle of capitalist production and of its upholder, the bourgeoisie. In the fourth section of "Capital" Marx has explained in detail, how since the fifteenth century this has been historically worked out through the three phases of simple co-operation, manufacture, and modern industry. But the bourgeoisie, as is also shown there, could not transform these puny means of production into mighty productive forces, without transforming them, at the same time, from means of production of the individual into *social* means of production only workable by a collectivity of men. The spinning-wheel, the handloom, the blacksmith's hammer, were replaced by the spinning-machine, the power-loom, the steam-hammer, the individual workshop, by the factory implying the co-operation of hundreds and thousands of workmen. In like manner, production itself changed from a series of individual into a series of social acts, and the products from individual to social products. The yarn, the cloth, the metal articles that now came out of the factory

were the joint product of many workers, through whose hands they had successively to pass before they were ready. No one person could say of them, "I made that, this is *my* product."

But where, in a given society, the fundamental form of production is that spontaneous division of labor which creeps in gradually and not upon any preconceived plan, there the products take on the form of *commodities*, whose mutual exchange, buying and selling, enable the individual producers to satisfy their manifold wants. And this was the case in the Middle Ages. The peasant, *e. g.*, sold to the artisan agricultural products and bought from him the products of handicraft. Into this society of individual producers, of commodity-producers, the new mode of production thrust itself. In the midst of the old division of labor, grown up spontaneously and upon *no definite plan*, which had governed the whole of society, now arose division of labor upon a *definite plan*, as organized in the factory, side by side with *individual* production appeared *social* production. The products of both were sold in the same market, and, therefore, at prices at least approximately equal. But organization upon a definite plan was stronger than spontaneous division of labor. The factories working with the combined social forces of a collectivity of individuals produced their commodities far more cheaply than the individual small producers. Individual production succumbed in one department after another. Socialized production revolutionized all the old methods of production. But its revolutionary character was, at the same time, so little recognized, that it was, on the contrary, introduced as a means of increasing and developing the production of commodities. When it arose, it found ready-made, and made liberal use of, certain machinery for the production and exchange of commodities; merchants' capital, handicraft, wage-labor. Socialized production thus introducing itself as a new form of the production of commodities, it was a matter of course that under it the old forms of appropriation remained in full swing, and were applied to its products as well.

In the mediæval stage of evolution of the production of commodities, the question as to the owner of the product of labor could not arise. The individual producer, as a rule, had, from raw material belonging to himself, and generally his own handiwork, produced it with his own tools, by the labor of his own hands or of his family. There was no need for him to appropriate the new product. It belonged wholly to him, as a matter of course. His property in the product was, therefore, based upon *his own labor*. Even where external help was used, this was, as a rule, of little importance, and very generally was compensated by something other than wages. The apprentices and journeymen of the guilds worked less for board and wages than for education, in order that they might become master craftsmen themselves.

Then came the concentration of the means of production and of the producers in large work-shops and manufactories, their transformation into actual socialized means of production and socialized producers. But the socialized producers and means of production and their products were still treated, after this change, just as they had been before, *i. e.*, as the

means of production and the products of individuals. Hitherto, the owner of the instruments of labor had himself appropriated the product, because, as a rule, it was his own product and the assistance of others was the exception. Now the owner of the instruments of labor always appropriated to himself the product, although it was no longer *his* product but exclusively the product of the *labor of others*. Thus, the products now produced socially were not appropriated by those who had actually set in motion the means of production and actually produced the commodities, but by the *capitalists*. The means of production, and production itself, had become in essence socialized. But they were subjected to a form of appropriation which presupposes the private production of individuals, under which, therefore, every one owns his own product and brings it to market. The mode of production is subjected to this form of appropriation, although it abolishes the conditions upon which the latter rests.¹

This contradiction, which gives to the new mode of production its capitalistic character, *contains the germ of the whole of the social antagonisms of to-day*. The greater the mastery obtained by the new mode of production over all important fields of production and in all manufacturing countries, the more it reduced individual production to an insignificant residuum, *the more clearly was brought out the incompatibility of socialized production with capitalistic appropriation*.

The first capitalists found, as we have said, alongside of other forms of labor, wage-labor ready-made for them on the market. But it was exceptional, complementary, accessory, transitory wage-labor. The agricultural laborer, though, upon occasion, he hired himself out by the day, had a few acres of his own land on which he could at all events live at a pinch. The guilds were so organized that the journeyman of today became the master of tomorrow. But all this changed, as soon as the means of production became socialized and concentrated in the hands of the capitalists. The means of production, as well as the product, of the individual producer became more and more worthless; there was nothing left for him but to turn wage-worker under the capitalist. Wage-labor, aforesaid the exception and accessory, now became the rule and basis of all production; aforesaid complementary, it now became the sole remaining function of the worker. The wage-worker for a time became a wage-worker for life. The number of these permanent wage workers was further enormously increased by the breaking up of the feudal system that occurred at the same time, by the disbanding of the retainers of the feudal lords, the eviction of the peasants from their homesteads, etc. The separation was made complete between the

¹ It is hardly necessary in this connection to point out that, even if the form of appropriation remains the same, the character of the appropriation is just as much revolutionized as production is by the changes described above. It is, of course, a very different matter whether I appropriate to myself my own product or that of another. Note in passing that wage-labor, which contains the whole capitalist mode of production in embryo, is very ancient; in a sporadic, scattered form it existed for centuries alongside of slave-labor. But the embryo could duly develop into the capitalist mode of production only when the necessary historical pre-conditions had been furnished.

means of production concentrated in the hands of the capitalists on the one side, and the producers, possessing nothing but their labor-power, on the other. *The contradiction between socialized production and capitalistic appropriation manifested itself as the antagonism of proletariat and bourgeoisie.*

Now we have seen that the capitalistic mode of production thrust its way into a society of commodity-producers, of individual producers, whose social bond was the exchange of their products. But every society, based upon the production of commodities, has this peculiarity: that the producers have lost control over their own social inter-relations. Each man produces for himself with such means of production as he may happen to have, and for such exchange as he may require to satisfy his remaining wants. No one knows how much of his particular article is coming on the market, nor how much of it will be wanted. No one knows whether his individual product will meet with actual demand, whether he will be able to make good his cost of production or even to sell his commodity at all. Anarchy reigns in socialised production.

But the production of commodities, like every other form of production, has its peculiar, inherent laws inseparable from it; and these laws work, despite anarchy, in and through anarchy. They reveal themselves in the only persistent form of social inter-relations, *i. e.*, in exchange, and here they affect the individual producers as compulsory laws of competition. They are, at first, unknown to these producers themselves, and have to be discovered by them gradually and as the result of experience. They work themselves out, therefore, independently of the producers, and in antagonism to them, as inexorable natural laws of their particular form of production. The product governs the producers.

In mediaeval society, especially in the earlier centuries, production was essentially directed towards satisfying the wants of the individual. It satisfied, in the main, only the wants of the producer and his family. Where relations of personal dependence existed, as in the country, it also helped to satisfy the wants of the feudal lord. In all this there was, therefore, no exchange; the products, consequently, did not assume the character of commodities. The family of the peasant produced almost everything they wanted: clothes and furniture, as well as means of subsistence. Only when it began to produce more than was sufficient to supply its own wants and the payments in kind to the feudal lord, only then did it also produce commodities. This surplus, thrown into socialized exchange and offered for sale, became commodities.

The artisans of the towns, it is true, had from the first to produce for exchange. But they, also, themselves supplied the greatest part of their own individual wants. They had gardens and plots of land. They turned their cattle out into the communal forest, which, also, yielded them timber and firing. The women spun flax, wool, and so forth. Production for the purpose of exchange, production of commodities, was only in its infancy. Hence, exchange was restricted, the market narrow, the methods of production stable; there was local exclusiveness without, local unity within; the mark in the country, in the town, the guild.

But with the extension of the production of commodities, and especially with the introduction of the capitalist mode of production, the laws of commodity—production, hitherto latent, came into action more openly and with greater force. The old bonds were loosened, the old exclusive limits broken through, the producers were more and more turned into independent, isolated producers of commodities. It became apparent that the production of society at large was ruled by absence of plan, by accident, by anarchy; and this anarchy grew to greater and greater height. But the chief means by aid of which the capitalist mode of production intensified this anarchy of socialised production, was the exact opposite of anarchy. It was the increasing organization of production, upon a social basis, in every individual productive establishment. By this, the old, peaceful, stable condition of things was ended. Wherever this organization of production was introduced into a branch of industry, it brooked no other method of production by its side. The field of labor became a battle-ground. The great geographical discoveries, and the colonization following upon them, multiplied markets and quickened the transformation of handicraft into manufacture. The war did not simply break out between the individual producers of particular localities. The local struggles begot in their national conflicts, the commercial wars of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.

Finally, modern industry and the opening of the world-market made the struggle universal, and at the same time gave it an unheard-of virulence. Advantages in natural or artificial conditions of production now decide the existence or non-existence of individual capitalists, as well as of whole industries and countries. He that falls is remorselessly cast aside. It is the Darwinian struggle of the individual for existence transferred from Nature to society with intensified violence. The conditions of existence natural to the animal appear as the final term of human development. The contradiction between socialised production and capitalistic appropriation now presents itself as *an antagonism between the organization of production in the individual workshop and the anarchy of production in society generally.*

The capitalistic mode of production moves in these two forms of the antagonism immanent to it from its very origin. It is never able to get out of that "vicious circle," which Fourier had already discovered. What Fourier could not, indeed, see in his time, was that this circle is gradually narrowing; that the movement becomes more and more a spiral, and must come to an end, like the movement of the planets, by collision with the centre. It is the compelling force of anarchy in the production of society at large that more and more completely turns the great majority of men into proletarians; and it is the masses of the proletariat again who will finally put an end to anarchy in production. It is the compelling force of anarchy in social production that turns the limitless perfectibility of machinery under modern industry into a compulsory law by which every individual industrial capitalist must perfect his machinery more and more, under penalty of ruin.

But the perfecting of machinery is the making of human labor superfluous. If the introduction and increase of machinery means the

displacement of millions of manual, by a few machine-workers, improvement in machinery means the displacement of more and more of the machine-workers themselves. It means, in the last instance, the production of a number of available wage-workers in excess of the average needs of capital, the formation of a complete industrial reserve army, as I called it in 1845,¹ available at the times when industry is working at high pressure, to be cast out upon the street when the inevitable crash comes, the constant dead weight upon the limbs of the working-class in its struggle for existence with capital, a regulator for the keeping of wages down to the low level that suits the interests of capital. Thus it comes about, to quote Marx, that machinery becomes the most powerful weapon in the war of capital against the working-class; that the instruments of labor constantly tear the means of subsistence out of the hands of the laborer; that the very product of the worker is turned into an instrument for his subjugation. Thus it comes about that the economising of the instruments of labor becomes at the same time, from the outset, the most reckless waste of labor-power, and robbery based upon the normal conditions under which labor functions; that machinery, "the most powerful instrument for shortening labor-time, becomes the most unfailing means for placing every moment of the laborer's time and that of his family at the disposal of the capitalist for the purpose of expanding the value of his capital." ("Capital," English edition, p. 406.) Thus it comes about that over-work of some becomes the preliminary condition for the idleness of others, and that modern industry, which hunts after new consumers over the whole world, forces the consumption of the masses at home down to a starvation minimum, and in doing thus destroys its own home market. "The law that always equilibrates the relative surplus population, or industrial reserve army, to the extent and energy of accumulation, this law rivets the laborer to capital more firmly than the wedges of Vulcan did Prometheus to the rock. It establishes an accumulation of misery, corresponding with accumulation of capital. Accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time, accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole, i. e., on the side of the class that produces *its own product in the form of capital*." (Marx' "Capital" [Sonnenschein & Co.], p. 661.) And to expect any other division of the products from the capitalistic mode of production is the same as expecting the electrodes of a battery not to decompose acidulated water, not to liberate oxygen at the positive pole, hydrogen at the negative pole, so long as they are connected with the battery.

We have seen that the ever-increasing perfectibility of modern machinery is, by the anarchy of social production, turned into a compulsory law that forces the individual industrial capitalist always to improve his machinery, always to increase its productive force. The bare possibility of extending the field of production is transformed for him into a similar compulsory law. The enormous expansive force of modern industry, compared with which that of gases is mere child's play, appears to us now as a *necessity* for expansion, both qualitative and quantitative, that

¹ "The Condition of the Working-Class in England," p. 84.

laughs at all resistance. Such resistance is offered by consumption, by sales, by the markets for the products of modern industry. But the capacity for extension, extensive and intensive, of the markets is primarily governed by quite different laws, that work much less energetically. The extension of the markets cannot keep pace with the extension of production. The collision becomes inevitable, and as this cannot produce any real solution so long as it does not break in pieces the capitalist mode of production, the collisions become periodic. Capitalist production has begotten another "vicious circle."

As a matter of fact, since 1825, when the first general crisis broke out, the whole industrial and commercial world, production and exchange among all civilized peoples and their more or less barbaric hangers-on, are thrown out of joint about once every ten years. Commerce is at a standstill, the markets are glutted, products accumulate, as multitudinous as they are unsalable, hard cash disappears, credit vanishes, factories are closed, and the mass of the workers are in want of the means of subsistence, because they have produced too much of the means of subsistence; bankruptcy follows upon bankruptcy, execution upon execution. The stagnation lasts for years; productive forces and products are wasted and destroyed wholesale, until the accumulated mass of commodities finally filter off, more or less depreciated in value, until production and exchange gradually begin to move again. Little by little the pace quickens. It becomes a trot. The industrial trot breaks into a canter, the canter in turn grows into the headlong gallop of a perfect steeplechase of industry, commercial credit, and speculation, which finally, after breakneck leaps, ends where it began—in the ditch of a crisis. And so over and over again. We have now, since the year 1825, gone through this five times, and at the present moment (1877) we are going through it for the sixth time. And the character of these crises is so clearly defined that Fourier hit all of them off, when he described the first as "*crise plethorique*," a crisis from plethora.

In these crises, the contradiction between socialised production and capitalist appropriation ends in a violent explosion. The circulation of commodities is, for the time being, stopped. Money, the means of circulation, becomes a hindrance to circulation. All the laws of production and circulation of commodities are turned upside down. The economic collision has reached its apogee. *The mode of production is in rebellion against the mode of exchange.*

The fact that the socialised organisation of production within the factory has developed so far that it has become incompatible with the anarchy of production in society, which exists side by side with and dominates it, is brought home to the capitalists themselves by the violent concentration of capital that occurs during crises, through the ruin of many large, and a still greater number of small, capitalists. The whole mechanism of the capitalist mode of production breaks down under the pressure of the productive forces, its own creations. It is no longer able to turn all this mass of means of production into capital. They lie fallow, and for that very reason the industrial reserve army must also lie fallow. Means of production, means of subsistence, available laborers, all the

elements of production and of general wealth, are present in abundance. But "abundance becomes the source of distress and want" (Fourier) because it is the very thing that prevents the transformation of the means of production and subsistence into capital. For in capitalistic society the means of production can only function when they have undergone a preliminary transformation into capital, into the means of exploiting human labor-power. The necessity of this transformation into capital of the means of production and subsistence stands like a ghost between these and the workers. It alone prevents the coming together of the material and personal levers of production; it alone forbids the means of production to function, the workers to work and live. On the one hand, therefore, the capitalistic mode of production stands convicted of its own incapacity to further direct these productive forces. On the other, these productive forces themselves, with increasing energy, press forward to the removal of the existing contradiction, to the abolition of their quality as capital, to the *practical recognition of their character as social productive forces*.

This rebellion of the productive forces, as they grow more and more powerful, against their quality as capital, this stronger and stronger command that their social character shall be recognised, forces the capitalist class itself to treat them more and more as social productive forces, so far as this is possible under capitalist conditions. The period of industrial high pressure, with its unbounded inflation of credit, not less than the crash itself, by the collapse of great capitalist establishments, tends to bring about that form of the socialisation of great masses of means of production, which we meet with in the different kinds of joint-stock companies. Many of these means of production and of distribution are, from the outset, so colossal, that, like the railroads, they exclude all other forms of capitalistic exploitation. At a further stage of evolution this form also becomes insufficient. The producers on a large scale in a particular branch of industry in a particular country unite in a "Trust," a union for the purpose of regulating production. They determine the total amount to be produced, parcel it out among themselves, and thus enforce the selling price fixed beforehand. But trusts of this kind, as soon as business becomes bad, are generally liable to break up, and, on this very account, compel a yet greater concentration of association. The whole of the particular industry is turned into one gigantic joint-stock company; internal competition gives place to the internal monopoly of this one company. This has happened in 1890 with the English *alkali* production, which is now, after the fusion of 48 large works, in the hands of one company, conducted upon a single plan, and with a capital of £6,000,000.

In the trust, freedom of competition changes into its very opposite—into monopoly; and the production without any definite plan of capitalistic society capitulates to the production upon a definite plan of the invading socialistic society. Certainly this is so far still to the benefit and advantage of the capitalists. But in this case the exploitation is so palpable that it must break down. No nation will put up with production conducted by trusts, with so barefaced an exploitation of the community by a small band of dividend-mongers.

In any case, with trusts or without, the official representative of capitalist society—the State—will ultimately have to undertake the direction of production.¹ This necessity for conversion into State-property is felt first in the great institutions for intercourse and communication—the postoffice, the telegraphs, the railways.

If the crises demonstrate the incapacity of the bourgeoisie for managing any longer modern productive forces, the transformation of the great establishments for production and distribution into joint-stock companies, trusts, and State property, show how unnecessary the bourgeoisie are for that purpose. All the social functions of the capitalist are now performed by salaried employees. The capitalist has no further social function than that of pocketing dividends, tearing off coupons, and gambling on the Stock Exchange, where the different capitalists despoil one another of their capital. At first the capitalistic mode of production forces out the workers. Now it forces out the capitalists, and reduces them, just as it reduced the workers, to the ranks of the surplus population, although not immediately into those of the industrial reserve army.

But the transformation, either into joint-stock companies and trusts, or into State-ownership, does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces. In the joint-stock companies and trusts this is obvious. And the modern State, again, is only the organisation that bourgeois society takes on in order to support the external conditions of the capitalist mode of production against the encroachments, as well of the workers as of individual capitalists. The modern State, no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage-workers—proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head. But, brought to a head, it topples over. State-ownership of the productive forces is not

¹ I say "have to." For only when the means of production and distribution have **actually** outgrown the form of management by joint-stock companies, and when, therefore, the taking them over by the State has become **economically** inevitable, only then—even if it is the State of today that effects this—is there an economic advance, the attainment of another step preliminary to the taking over of all productive forces by society itself. But of late, since Bismarck went in for State-ownership of industrial establishments, a kind of spurious Socialism has arisen, degenerating, now and again, into something of flunkeyism, that without more ado declares **all** State-ownership, even of the Bismarckian sort, to be socialistic. Certainly, if the taking over by the State of the tobacco industry is socialistic, then Napoleon and Metternich must be numbered among the founders of Socialism. If the Belgian State, for quite ordinary political and financial reasons, itself constructed its chief railway lines; if Bismarck, not under any economic compulsion, took over for the State the chief Prussian lines, simply to be the better able to have them in hand in case of war, to bring up the railway employees as voting cattle for the Government, and especially to create for himself a source of income independent of parliamentary votes—this was, in no sense, a socialistic measure, directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously. Otherwise, the Royal Maritime Company, the Royal porcelain manufacture, and even the regimental tailor of the army would also be socialistic institutions, or even, as was seriously proposed by a sly dog in Frederick William III.'s reign, the taking over by the State of the brothels.

the solution of the conflict, but concealed within it are the technical conditions that form the elements of that solution.

This solution can only consist in the practical recognition of the social nature of the modern forces of production, and therefore in the harmonising the modes of production, appropriation, and exchange with the socialised character of the means of production. And this can only come about by society openly and directly taking possession of the productive forces which have outgrown all control except that of society as a whole. The social character of the means of production and of the products today reacts against the producers, periodically disrupts all production and exchange, acts only like a law of Nature working blindly, forcibly, destructively. But with the taking over by society of the productive forces, the social character of the means of production and of the products will be utilised by the producers with a perfect understanding of its nature, and instead of being a source of disturbance and periodical collapse, will become the most powerful lever of production itself.

Active social forces work exactly like natural forces: blindly, forcibly, destructively, so long as we do not understand, and reckon with them. But when once we understand them, when once we grasp their action, their direction, their effects, it depends only upon ourselves to subject them more and more to our own will, and by means of them to reach our own ends. And this holds true quite especially of the mighty productive forces of today. As long as we obstinately refuse to understand the nature and the character of these social means of action—and this understanding goes against the grain of the capitalist mode of production and its defenders—so long these forces are at work in spite of us, in opposition to us, so long they master us, as we have shown above in detail.

But when once their nature is understood, they can, in the hands of the producers working together, be transformed from master demons into willing servants. The difference is as that between the destructive force of electricity in the lightning of the storm, and electricity under command in the telegraph and the voltaic arc; the difference between a conflagration, and fire working in the service of man. With this recognition at last of the real nature of the productive forces of today, the social anarchy of production gives place to a social regulation of production upon a definite plan, according to the needs of the community and of each individual. Then the capitalist mode of appropriation, in which the product enslaves first the producer and then the appropriator, is replaced by the mode of appropriation of the products that is based upon the nature of the modern means of production; upon the one hand, direct social appropriation, as means to the maintenance and extension of production—on the other, direct individual appropriation, as means of subsistence and of enjoyment.

Whilst the capitalist mode of production more and more completely transforms the great majority of the population into proletarians, it creates the power which, under penalty of its own destruction, is forced to accomplish this revolution. Whilst it forces on more and more the transformation of the vast means of production, already socialized, into

State property, it shows itself the way to accomplishing this revolution. *The proletariat seizes political power and turns the means of production into State property.*

But, in doing this, it abolishes itself as proletariat, abolishes all class distinctions and class antagonisms, abolishes also the State as State. Society thus far, based upon class antagonisms, has need of the State. That is, of an organization of the particular class which was *pro tempore* the exploiting class, an organization for the purpose of preventing any interference from without with the existing conditions of production, and therefore, especially, for the purpose of forcibly keeping the exploited classes in the condition of oppression corresponding with the given mode of production (slavery, serfdom, wage-labor). The State was the official representative of society as a whole; the gathering of it together into a visible embodiment. But it was this only in so far as it was the State of that class which itself represented, for the time being, society as a whole; in ancient times, the State of slave-owning citizens; in the middle ages, the feudal lords; in our own time, the bourgeoisie. When at last it becomes the real representative of the whole of society, it renders itself unnecessary. As soon as there is no longer any social class to be held in subjection; as soon as class rule, and the individual struggle for existence based upon our present anarchy in production, with the collisions and excesses arising from these, are removed, nothing more remains to be repressed, and a special repressive force, a State, is no longer necessary. The first act by virtue of which the State really constitutes itself the representative of the whole of society—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—this is, at the same time, its last independent act as a State. State interference in social relations becomes, in one domain after another, superfluous, and then dies out of itself; the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of processes of production. The State is not “abolished.” *It dies out.* This gives the measure of the value of the phrase “a free State,” both as to its justifiable use at times by agitators, and as to its ultimate scientific insufficiency, and also of the demands of the so-called anarchists for the abolition of the State out of hand.

Since the historical appearance of the capitalist mode of production, the appropriation by society of all the means of production has often been dreamed of, more or less vaguely, by individuals, as well as by sects, as the ideal of the future. But it could become possible, could become a historical necessity, only when the actual conditions for its realization were there. Like every other social advance, it becomes practicable, not by men understanding that the existence of classes is in contradiction to justice, equality, etc., not by the mere willingness to abolish these classes, but by virtue of certain new economic conditions. The separation of society into an exploiting and an exploited class, a ruling and an oppressed class, was the necessary consequence of the deficient and restricted development of production in former times. So long as the total social labor only yields a product which but slightly exceeds that barely necessary for the existence of all: so long, therefore, as labor engages all or almost all the time of the great majority of the members of society—so

long, of necessity, this society is divided into classes. Side by side with the great majority, exclusively bound slaves to labor, arises a class freed from directly productive labor, which looks after the general affairs of society; the direction of labor, State business, law, science, art, etc. It is, therefore, the law of division of labor that lies at the basis of the division into classes. But this does not prevent this division into classes from being carried out by means of violence and robbery, trickery and fraud. It does not prevent the ruling class, once having the upper hand, from consolidating its power at the expense of the working class, from turning their social leadership into an intensified exploitation of the masses.

But if, upon this showing, division into classes has a certain historical justification, it has this only for a given period, only under given social conditions. It was based upon the insufficiency of production. It will be swept away by the complete development of modern productive forces. And, in fact, the abolition of classes in society presupposes a degree of historical evolution, at which the existence, not simply of this or that particular ruling class, but of any ruling class at all, and, therefore, the existence of class distinction itself has become an obsolete anachronism. It presupposes, therefore, the development of production carried out to a degree at which appropriation of the means of production and of the products, and, with this, of political domination, of the monopoly of culture, and of intellectual leadership by a particular class of society, has become not only superfluous, but economically, politically, intellectually a hindrance to development.

This point is now reached. Their political and intellectual bankruptcy is scarcely any longer a secret to the bourgeoisie themselves. Their economic bankruptcy recurs regularly every ten years. In every crisis, society is suffocated beneath the weight of its own productive forces and products, which it cannot use, and stands helpless, face to face with the absurd contradiction that the producers have nothing to consume, because consumers are wanting. The expansive force of the means of production bursts the bonds that the capitalist mode of production had imposed upon them. Their deliverance from these bonds is the one precondition for an unbroken, constantly accelerated development of the productive forces, and therewith for a practically unlimited increase of production itself. Nor is this all. The socialized appropriation of the means of production does away, not only with the present artificial restrictions upon production, but also with the positive waste and devastation of productive forces and products that are at the present time the inevitable concomitants of production, and that reach their height in the crises. Further, it sets free for the community at large a mass of means of production and of products, by doing away with the senseless extravagance of the ruling classes of today, and their political representatives. The possibility of securing for every member of society, by means of socialized production, an existence not only fully sufficient materially, and becoming day by day more full, but an existence guaranteeing to all the free development and exercise of their physical

and mental faculties—this possibility is now for the first time here, but it is here.¹

With the seizing of the means of production by society, production of commodities is done away with, and, simultaneously, the mastery of the product over the producer. Anarchy in social production is replaced by systematic, definite organization. The struggle for individual existence disappears. Then for the first time, man, in a certain sense, is finally marked off from the rest of the animal kingdom, and emerges from mere animal conditions of existence into really human ones. The whole sphere of the conditions of life which environ man, and which have hitherto ruled man, now comes under the dominion and control of man, who for the first time becomes the real, conscious lord of Nature, because he has now become master of his own social organization. The laws of his own social action, hitherto standing face to face with man as laws of Nature foreign to, and dominating, him, will then be used with full understanding, and so mastered by him. Man's own social organization, hitherto confronting him as a necessity imposed by Nature and history, now becomes the result of his own free action. The extraneous objective forces that have hitherto governed history, pass under the control of man himself. Only from that time will man himself, more and more consciously, make his own history—only from that time will the social causes set in movement by him have, in the main and in a constantly growing measure, the results intended by him. It is the ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom.

Let us briefly sum up our sketch of historical evolution.

I. *Mediaeval Society*.—Individual production on a small scale. Means of production adapted for individual use, hence primitive, ungainly, petty, dwarfed in action. Production for immediate consumption, either of the producer himself or of his feudal lord. Only where an excess of production over this consumption occurs is such excess offered for sale, enters into exchange. Production of commodities, therefore, only in its infancy. But already it contains within itself, in embryo, *anarchy in the production of society at large*.

II. *Capitalist Revolution*.—Transformation of industry, at first by means of simple co-operation and manufacture. Concentration of the means of production, hitherto scattered, into great workshops. As a consequence, their transformation from individual to social means of production—a transformation which does not, on the whole, affect the

¹ A few figures may serve to give an approximate idea of the enormous expansive force of the modern means of production, even under capitalist pressure. According to Mr. Giffen, the total wealth of Great Britain and Ireland amounted, in round numbers, in

1814 to	£2,200,000,000.
1865 to	£6,100,000,000.
1875 to	£8,500,000,000.

As an instance of the squandering of means of production and of products during a crisis, the total loss in the German iron industry alone, in the crisis 1873-78, was given at the second German Industrial Congress (Berlin, February 21, 1878) as £22,750,000.

form of exchange. The old forms of appropriation remain in force. The capitalist appears. In his capacity as owner of the means of production, he also appropriates the products and turns them into commodities. Production has become a *social act*. Exchange and appropriation continue to be *individual acts*, the acts of individuals. *The social product is appropriated by the individual capitalist*. Fundamental contradiction, whence arise all the contradictions in which our present day society moves, and which modern industry brings to light.

A. Severance of the producer from the means of production. Condemnation of the worker to wage-labour for life. *Antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.*

B. Growing predominance and increasing effectiveness of the laws governing the production of commodities. Unbridled competition. *Contradiction between socialized organization in the individual factory and social anarchy in production as a whole.*

C. On the one hand, perfecting of machinery, made by competition compulsory for each individual manufacturer, and complemented by a constantly growing displacement of labourers. *Industrial reserve-army*. On the other hand, unlimited extension of production, also compulsory under competition, for every manufacturer. On both sides, unheard of development of productive forces, excess of supply over demand, over-production, glutting of the markets, crises every ten years, the vicious circle excess here, of means of production and products—excess there, of labourers, without employment and without means of existence. But these two levers of production and of social well-being are unable to work together, because the capitalist form of production prevents the productive forces from working and the products from circulating, unless they are first turned into capital—which their very superabundance prevents. The contradiction has grown into an absurdity. *The mode of production rises in rebellion against the form of exchange*. The bourgeoisie are convicted of incapacity further to manage their own social productive forces.

D. Partial recognition of the social character of the productive forces forced upon the capitalists themselves. Taking over of the great institutions for production and communication, first by joint-stock companies, later on by trusts, then by the State. The bourgeoisie demonstrated to be a superfluous class. All its social functions are now performed by salaried employees.

III. *Proletarian Revolution*.—Solution of the contradictions. The proletariat seizes the public power, and by means of this transforms the socialized means of production, slipping from the hands of the bourgeoisie, into public property. By this act, the proletariat frees the means of production from the character of capital they have thus far borne, and gives their socialized character complete freedom to work itself out.

Socialized production upon a predetermined plan becomes henceforth possible. The development of production makes the existence of different classes of society thenceforth an anachronism. In proportion as anarchy in social production vanishes, the political authority of the State dies out. Man, at last the master of his own form of social organization, becomes at the same time the lord over Nature, his own master—free.

To accomplish this act of universal emancipation is the historical mission of the modern proletariat. To thoroughly comprehend the historical conditions and thus the very nature of this act, to impart to the now oppressed proletarian class a full knowledge of the conditions and of the meaning of the momentous act it is called upon to accomplish, this is the task of the theoretical expression of the proletarian movement, scientific Socialism.

THE END.



THE VANGUARD.

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

Vol. 3. No. 7. MILWAUKEE, WIS., MARCH, 1905. Whole Number 27.

It will be either Socialism or the downfall of civilization. Which will you have?

Capitalism is a system by which the great majority of the people are rendered unsuccessful!

Socialism will make beautiful living possible. It will enable people to live in health, culture and happiness, as nature intended they should.

The slave of the future will be the machine. Upon it will be thrown the burden of toil in order that the human race may have leisure to improve itself.

For purposes of identification it may be stated that the capitalist system is the system that exists by plundering the worker for the benefit of the shirker under a system of "free" labor.

In Milwaukee enough Democratic and Republican aldermen went over to the street railway company to defeat the plan for a municipal electric light plant. The Social-Democratic aldermen stood pat for the plant. As all parties were pledged to the plant, the Socialists are seen to be the only ones that can be trusted by the voters.

The cost of living, relative to the incomes of the working class, was never so high. Only at capitalism's door can the blame be laid.

If the members of your body were unequally supplied with life blood, the same as the members of society are unequally nourished, where do you think you'd be!

Labor-saving machinery should help mankind and ease his labors. But under private ownership all labor saving devices only add to the torture of the people.

Since the Countess of Warwick has joined the Social-Democratic party in England, it is reported that several more members of the peerage are likely to follow in her footsteps. Lady Carlisle, whose estate is in Yorkshire, is displaying a strong sympathy for the new movement, and Lady Aberdeen, president of the International Liberal Association, is becoming very Socialistic in her ideas. There will be the deuce to pay in British aristocratic circles if such high treason continues to spread among the titled women. While they can't vote they can help some in agitating—and in furnishing money to spread the doctrine.



Socialist Headquarters.

To achieve the objects of Socialism, the American Socialists have formed the Socialist Party, now organized in all the States of the Union. In New York and Wisconsin, this party is known, for legal reasons, as the Social Democratic Party and in Minnesota as the Public Ownership Party.

NATIONAL SECRETARY: J. MAHLON BARNES, Boylston Bldg. 269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

WORLD VOTE BY YEARS.

1867	30,000
1871	101,000
1872	101,268
1874	352,220
1876	353,028
1877	494,364
1878	438,234
1881	373,850
1882	423,004
1884	666,150
1885	667,614
1887	931,454
1889	1,109,891
1890	1,794,606
1891	1,799,060
1892	1,798,391
1893	2,585,898
1894	2,914,506
1895	3,033,718
1896	3,056,873
1897	3,896,602
1898	4,515,591
1899	4,534,591
1900	4,874,740
1901	4,912,740
1902	5,253,054
1903	6,285,374

Out in Watertown, Wis., the citizens took up a collection and gave a big bonus to a Milwaukee shoe factory to locate there, on the supposition that it would employ a good many men and that it would bring new heads of families to town and help business generally. But the shoe factories are not run that way to any great extent. The factory has been built and instead of bringing operatives to the town it has drawn the Watertown girls out of the schools and set them to work!

CHANGE OF OCCUPATION.

Professor Bowley has compiled a table showing the changes of occupation in the United Kingdom between the census of 1881 and that of 1901. The figures cover occupations employing 75 per cent. of the male population. Youths are 15 to 20 years of age; those over 20 are men.

	1881.		1901.	
	Youths.	Men.	Youths.	Men.
	Thou-	Thou-	Thou-	Thou-
	sands.	sands.	sands.	sands.
Agriculture	202	1,033	168	961
Charge of horses	34	223	65	414
Fishermen	5	24	2	22
Sailors	15	120	12	115
Docks & Ware-				
houses	8	78	10	135
Builders	90	584	129	402
Laborers	72	472	46	356
Furniture, etc.	19	133	36	192
Road laborers	1	14	2	48
Railways	21	174	47	343
Coal mines	65	291	102	812
Other mines	14	103	14	119
Enginemen	5	61	10	98
Artisans	13	37	9	36
Textiles	75	274	67	294
Tailors	12	94	17	118
Boots	22	161	26	166
Hosiery and hats	4	30	4	24
Metal workers	122	667	189	1,081
Paper	25	84	33	146
Chemicals	1	14	2	21
Earthenware	5	21	6	30
Glass	4	15	6	20
Other manuf'rs	21	136	34	134
Food and drink	64	339	95	482
Domestics	24	70	32	131
Waterworks and				
lighting	1	20	2	51
Police	0	33	0	45
Post and mess'ges	7	20	16	47
Commercial	52	250	88	432
Professional	—	229	—	312

1,003 5,804 1,269 7,688

Subscribe for The Vanguard.

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 proprietary interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take unawares the right of the worker to a vote or a voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself or for the common good.

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

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

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

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

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

II.

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

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

III.

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

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

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

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

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

IV.

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

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

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

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

V.

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

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

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

THE VANGUARD.

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

Vol. 3. No. 8.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., APRIL, 1905.

Whole Number 28.

Ah! this society is false. One day, and soon, the true society will come. Then there will be no more lords; there will be free living men. There will be no more hoarding of wealth, but there will be abundance for all. There will be no more masters, but there will be brothers. They that toil shall have. This is the future. No more prostitution, no more abasement, no more ignorance, no more beasts of burden, no more courtiers, no more kings, but light.

VICTOR HUGO.

The ridiculous notions still exploited by some pulpитеers concerning Socialism makes them the laughing stock of their community. A Methodist preacher in Los Angeles by the name of Fisher is the latest to make an exhibition of himself by declaring in a recent sermon that Socialists propose to "do away with all machinery," that they are "opposed to Christianity," and, to cap the climax, that "a fair example of Socialism is found in a prison." Think of people paying a man to talk such stuff and nonsense! But, perhaps, after all, this is just what he is paid for.

"Do you see that large department store?" said a rescue worker recently to a visitor in one of our cities. "In it 3,000 girls are employed at an average of \$3.50 per week. Upon that wage they are expected to live and appear neatly dressed in their places of work. They must pay room rent, board, car fare, and clothe themselves. Those who do not pay board help to support families at home. At best their life is one of hopeless, rayless poverty. The evil we seek to remedy comes almost as a matter of course. This store is but one instance of a whole system of things that drags down thousands where individual effort can lift up one." Year after year, day after day, the capitalist mill is thus grinding out misery and crime. And this is what is called "un-

exampled prosperity," which the country is "enjoying." Verily, it is unexampled. Was there ever such "prosperity" or such "enjoyment"?

It is something when the capitalist press recognizes, if only by way of amusement, the cruelty and shame of present social conditions. Here is Life's recent satire on child labor in Pennsylvania: "In declining to place any obstacle in the way of employment of very little girls in factories the legislature of Pennsylvania stands up manfully for the fullest measure of industrial progress. Sociologists long ago discovered that the younger the operative the less it costs, in proportion to his available working strength, to keep his body and soul together. That is to say, children are the cheapest help in the world. This is a wise provision of nature, and good for many millions of national wealth, provided all legislatures are as discerning and as brave as the legislature of Pennsylvania."

"The labor market." What does this expression mean? What but that labor is a commodity which may be bought and sold? And what is this but the essence of slavery, for in order to buy and sell "labor" there must be traffic in human flesh and blood? There is no such thing as a "labor market" that is not in effect identical with

"slave market." And it is not the Socialist alone who recognizes this fact. Even such a conservative writer as Prof. Albion W. Small, of the University of Chicago, says: "The laboring class, as a class, is more necessary to civilization than ever. The individual laboring man today, however, is haunted by the thought that he may any day lose his job. He feels that he has less certainty of keeping himself and family from starvation or pauperism than the average American slave had of living in comfort through old age. The freeman's freedom today is evidently a struggle with severer and more relentless contingencies than slaves, as a class, have encountered in civilized countries in modern times."

Object to Socialism, do you, on the ground that it would reduce men to a dull level, rob them of manly independence, and make life a monotonous round? Why, this is precisely why we object to capitalism. It destroys individualism, degrades manhood, and makes of man a mere machine. If you are in doubt read this from a recent address by Bishop Potter, of New York, who, by the way, is saying some good things these days: "Machinery is doing away with intelligence in labor. It is turning the laboring man into an idiot. Not long ago I visited a large factory in this state. The owner showed me around proudly, pointing out the manner in which labor was simplified. I saw a young man sitting before some sort of a large hammer with his legs crossed, and all his work consisted in shoving into an opening in the machinery a small piece of iron. He would turn the metal two or three times, throw it into a large box and take another piece. That was this man's work, day after day, week after week. No wonder that at night-time he drank, gambled and fought; otherwise he would go mad. How many of us would stand this and not cry out? Not one of us but would become a striker. Myself among the very first."

Good for Roosevelt! And good for the Socialists! Whatever the faults of our strenuous President, he cannot be accused of failure to "speak out in meeting." And now it is "Social-Democracy" that receives the benefit of his frankness. According to Jackson

Tinker, writing in Public Opinion, Mr. Roosevelt had an interview recently with the railroad magnates concerning control of rates, etc. He gave them warning that refusal on their part to consent to moderate regulation would precipitate Socialism. Here is an extract from Mr. Jackson's article:

"Then he (Mr. Roosevelt) summoned some of the railroad presidents again and told them frankly that he was convinced that they were standing in the way of their own best interests by not being willing to accept moderate regulation of railroads by Federal authority. 'Gentlemen,' he said, 'you are only inviting still more radical action—government ownership.' One of his visitors was shocked when the President, turning upon him in his abrupt manner, exclaimed: 'The Republican party will not go up against any more 'stuffed clubs' in a good while. The Democratic party will not try that game again in this generation.'

"'What then?' gasped his visitor.

"'Social Democracy,' came the astounding rejoinder. 'That will be their next move, unless we Republicans, with full power in the executive and legislative departments of the government, satisfy the people and reform existing conditions. If we don't do this, we shall be overwhelmed.'"

Of course we take no stock in Mr. Roosevelt's definition of Socialism as "government ownership," much less in the Socialism of the decadent Democratic party. But we are more than marking time when a Republican president is so far influenced by the growth of Socialist sentiment as to use it as a whip to bring his supporters into line and wring concessions from them in hope of postponing the inevitable.

Socialists preach peace and are accused of inciting strife. They condemn war and are denounced by the professed followers of the Prince of Peace. They insist upon the Golden Rule and are called infidels by the people who "believe" in Christ. They ask for simple justice and are berated as fools. They prove their position by statistics of the commercial world and government reports and are branded as liars. If they would only preach war, greed, oppression, fraud, and the whole capitalist code of "morality," what a respectable lot they would be!

INCENTIVE UNDER SOCIALISM.

The following from "Education and the Larger Life," by Hanford Henderson, furnishes such an excellent reply to the charge that Socialism will destroy ambition that we reproduce it here for the benefit of our readers:

"Nor is it true that when the social state, through association and co-operation, reduces the bread-and-butter problem to a minimum, to its proper place, it will rob a man of wholesome initiative and enterprise. The same argument might have been used against the suppression of the robber barons of the Middle Ages, or the Algerian pirates in the early days of the republic. The social state is not an entity outside the hearts of men, alternately coaxing and browbeating them. It is an expression of so much of the individual will as is common to all or to a majority of the community. The social state would mean, not that men had lost initiative and enterprise, but rather that they preferred to spend their initiative and enterprise in better and more social ways than by exploiting their neighbors, preferred to spend this force in the more interesting and delightful occupation of perfecting the self and realizing some of the magnificent possibilities of the present moment.. To give over the quest of profit and the Shylock view of life generally is not to give over initiative and enterprise. The experimentalists have given over profit, but I have painted them ill if I have not shown them to be a more daring and picturesque band of adventurers than ever went in search of the golden fleece. Every increase in strength, in beauty, in accomplishment, in goodness, brought about by the betterment of the life conditions through the amelioration and idealizing of daily toil, means increased power to use this lengthening leisure to advantage. One need not make personal trial of the shop-keeping and book-keeping and time-keeping and the various other forms of holding tight by which men waste and lose their lives, to see that on the very face of it such occupations are infinitely less worth while than art and science and letters, investigation and travel, religion and music, love and comradeship, field and forest, sunshine and fresh air, even than swimming and boat racing and tennis. The old remark that a man can be doing many worse things than making money

is a very cheap and nasty disposition of the august possibilities of a human life. When we realize the social state and so reduce the bread-and-butter toil to a minimum, we shall have time for this more moral and esthetic side of occupation. There is infinite opportunity for initiative and enterprise in the use of leisure. The carpentry of Jesus undoubtedly served Him and that limited number of persons who received of His good handiwork, but the beautiful ministry of His life came from His industrial leisure. The fishing of His disciples was certainly useful, but their world-service flowed out of the time they stole from their fishing, a service quite in excess of that of all the subsequent commercial enterprise of their fellow countrymen. It is out of the serenity and non-compulsion of industrial leisure that the great and good things of life have come. We are great cowards if we believe that the masses of our people, kept in health by a wholesome amount of daily toil, and once erect and alert with self respect, are going to squander a leisure to which they bring good health and high spirit and a social heart."

THE PEOPLE!

(Written in 1600.)

"The people is a beast of muddy brain,
That knows not its own strength, and
therefore stands
Loaded with wood and iron. The powerless hand
Of a mere child guide it with bit and rein;
One kick would be enough to break the chain.
But the beast fears, and what the child demands
It does, nor its own terror understands
Confused and stupefied by bugbears vain.
Most wonderful! With its own hands
It ties the gags itself, gives itself life and war,
For pence doled out by kings from its own store.
Its own are all things between earth and heaven;
But this it knows not, and if one arise
To tell this truth, it kills him unfor-
given." —Father Campanella.

Send for a copy of our complete Socialist book catalogue.

JACK LONDON SPEAKS OUT.

WHAT HE SAID TO UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA STUDENTS.

Yesterday morning I received a letter from a man in Arizona. It began "Dear Comrade," and ended, "Yours for the Revolution." I answered that letter this morning. I began "Dear Comrade," and I ended "Yours for the Revolution."

There are 500,000 men in the United States beginning and ending their letters as our letters were begun and ended. There are 1,000,000 men in France, 3,000,000 men in Germany, and 6,000,000 men in the world beginning and ending their letters as ours were begun and ended.

Now, what do these facts mean? They mean that the Revolution is here, now. We are in it. It goes on every day. No man can escape it. Oh, it is great! There has been nothing like it in the world before. Its battle cry is: "*Working men of the world, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain.*" Our Revolution was a merely local thing compared with this. The English Revolution was a merely local thing compared with it. And so was the French Revolution. This Revolution is as wide as the earth. Its men clasp hands around the globe. *The Japanese Socialist hails the Russian Socialist, and the German Socialist hails the French Socialist with the same word that we California Socialists hail each other with, the noble word, COMRADE.*

But why are these men Socialists? What is that drives them unceasingly to work for the Revolution; to go to prison for it, to go into exile for it, to die for it?

When I was in London writing my book, "The People of the Abyss," I went down to Kent with a London cockney to pick hops. One night when going to bed I stripped. My chum looked in wonder at my brawny body glowing with health, and then at his own scrawny body, white and lifeless. He said, holding out his arms and legs, "They are so because I hadn't enough to eat when I was a boy." But this man is only one of millions. In London 1,800,000 people live on the poverty line and below it, and another 1,000,000 with one week's wages between them and pauperism. In Europe 60,000,000 people suffer from hunger and want.

Here is a statement from the celebrated English scholar, Frederick Harrison: "To me, at least, it would be enough to condemn modern society as hardly an advance on slavery or serfdom, if the permanent conditions of industry were to be that which we behold: that 90 per cent of the actual producers of wealth have no home that they can call their own beyond the end of the week; have no bit of soil, or so much as a room that belongs to them; have nothing of value of any kind, except as much old furniture as will go in a cart; have the precarious chance of weekly wages, which barely suffice to keep them in health; are housed, for the most part, in places that no man thinks fit for his horse. * * * * If this is to be the permanent condition of modern society, civilization must be held to bring a curse on the great majority of mankind."

Here is a book about our own land, written by a man who left his home of wealth to live among the poor. He is a university man, and a trained investigator. His name is Robert Hunter. His book is called "Poverty." It has just been published by the Macmillans, and costs \$1.50. Read it.

Mr. Hunter says:

"There are probably in fairly prosperous years no less than 10,000,000 persons in poverty; that is to say, underfed, underclothed and poorly housed. Of these about 4,000,000 persons are public paupers. Over 2,000,000 working men are unemployed from four to six months in the year. About 500,000 male immigrants arrive yearly and seek work in the very districts where the unemployed are greatest. Nearly half of the families in the country are propertyless. Over 1,700,000 little children are forced to become wage earners when they should still be at school. About 5,000,000 women find it necessary to work and about 2,000,000 are employed in factories, mills, etc. Probably no less than 1,000,000 workers are injured or killed each year while doing their work, and about 10,000,000 persons now living will, if the present ratio be kept up, die of the preventable disease, tuberculosis."

I might go on for a long time quoting Huxley, Alfred Russell Wallace, Mill, Spahr, Brooke, Downtree and others. It is the facts cited and those found in the books of the men above, and the glorious ideas of Socialism that keep the revolutionists unceasingly at work—that keep them ever young.

About three years ago I went into the Klondike. I saw there a body of Indians, called the Innuits. There is an immense difference in

time between them and us. They are still in the Bone Age. Yet those men are all, in good times, well provided for; in bad times they suffer, but they all suffer together. How is it with us? We have, as I said before, a body of 10,000,000 men, women and children in poverty always—we who are the greatest producers the world has ever known: we, who by machinery make one man produce cotton cloth for 250 people, woollens for 300, and boots and shoes for 1,000. What do we call the industrial system we are under? We call it the capitalist system. What do we call its managers? We call them capitalists. I say then that the capitalist system which has so grossly and criminally mismanaged our industrial life must be swept away, and the Socialist system be put in its place.

But you ask me: "What are you Socialists going to do? What are you ideals and ideas?" I answer: "*We propose to destroy present-day civilization, that is, capitalist civilization, with its brutal struggle of man with man for life—by the ballot which is free, be it forever remembered—and replace it by a better civilization, a civilization whose principle shall be 'EACH FOR ALL AND ALL FOR EACH.'*"

My friend, George Sterling, speaking at the Ruskin club to the Round Table, "Why Am I a Socialist," said: "I am a Socialist because Socialism is the one clean, noble and live thing in the world today worth fighting for." Now, mark you, Mr. Sterling did not say that Socialism is the only clean and noble thing in the world today, there are many clean and noble things in the world today. He said: "*Socialism is the one clean, noble and live thing in the world today worth fighting for.*"

And yet as I look over the universities of my land today, I see the students asleep, asleep in the face of the awful facts I have given you, asleep in the greatest revolution that has ever come to the world. Oh, it is sad! Not long ago, revolutions began, broke out, in Oxford. Today Russian universities seethe with revolution. I say to you then: "Uni-

versity men and women, you men and women in the full glory of life, here is a cause that appeals to all the romance in you. Awake to its call. Line up! Line up! All the world despises a coward. Read our books. Fight us, if you do not agree with us. But, by all that is brave and strong, show your colors! Line up! Line up, I say!"

FIRST CLASS IN SOCIALISM.

A STUPID LOT TO TEACH.

(The class is in a state of actual objection, heavy reluctance, or entire indifference, but the subject is compulsory in the course of events.)

Teacher: "What is Socialism?"

The Politician: "Anarchy."

The Millionaire: "Robbery."

The Manufacturer: "Laziness."

The Average Man: "Why, it's what these low-down foreigners want because they were so down-trodden at home. We don't want it. It's paternalism. We're Americans."

The Average Woman: "Oh, it's perfectly awful! It's free-love and the children brought up by the state, and everybody wear the same clothes, and no nice houses of our own, and all eat at a common table. I think it's simply immoral and disgusting."

Teacher: "That'll do. I cannot attend to any more answers this morning. It is quite evident that none of you have given the lesson any attention. I should have thought that your preceding studies would have left you better prepared."

Teacher (To the Politician): "What have you learned from the study of government?"

Politician: "How to take care of myself, of course."

Teacher (To the Millionaire): "What have you learned from the study of economics?"

Millionaire: "How to take care of myself, of course."

Teacher (To the Manufacturer): "What have you learned from the study of industry?"

Manufacturer: "How to take care of myself, of course."

Teacher (To Average Man): "What have you learned from the study of business?"

Average Man: "How to take care of myself, of course."

Teacher (To Average Woman): "And you, my dear—you whose life is passed in the sacred precincts of the home—in the devoted service of the family—what have you learned from the study of—of—well, of your household duties?"

Average Woman: "How to get somebody to take care of me, of course!"

Teacher: "Well, it appears that you have not found in the course of events any preparation for our present study. The course is obligatory, however, and no other preparation is sought in addition by most of our pupils.

"So I shall have to make these lessons very thorough or you will not be able to pass the final examination. I will devote this morning to answering your answers. If I find any of you giving these astonishing answers again I shall be obliged to repeat this lesson at greater length.

"Which of you said that Socialism was anarchy?"

Politician: "I, sir. It's all one."

Teacher: "Do not repeat that error again! You may differ in opinion as to the use and value of systems of human society, but to be misinformed as to the facts is not worthy of this advanced class. Let me explain. Anarchy, as you might easily have learned from your dictionaries, means no government. Socialism, to put it into clear opposition, means all government. Can you remember that?"

Politician: "Yes, sir. But, sir—great Scott—what a time we'd have! Politics everywhere! All business a part of government! Everybody a politician! Wouldn't we get rich!"

Teacher (dryly): "Excuse my checking your raptures. But may I ask from whom you get your money now—from fellow officials or business men outside?"

Politician: "Why, from the men outside, of course—that's what we want to get in for!"

Teacher: "Exactly. And when all business men are 'in,' from whom would you derive your revenue?"

(Politician relapses into deep thought.)

Teacher: "Who said 'robbery?'"

Millionaire: "I did. 'Tis, too. They want to divide up everything and let nobody get rich."

Teacher: "What books of eminent Socialists have you read?"

Millionaire: "None, sir. I wouldn't read such trash. I'm a busy man, sir."

Teacher: "Where did you get your information as to this definition of Socialism?"

Millionaire: "Why—why—from common report, sir. Everybody knows that's what they mean."

Teacher: "I am astonished that a man of your acumen and business training should form a judgment on so important a matter from such unreliable sources. I must correct each of these errors briefly, and leave you to substantiate my explanation from the reading I shall give you. Socialism, my child, does not mean the taking away from any man of anything that he has honestly earned. (Millionaire squirms uneasily.) It is not at all a question of the division of property, but of the multiplication of property. It is a system of organized industry which will increase wealth enormously, and in whose benefits all will share—you among them!"

Millionaire (muttering to himself): "I don't want to share! I want it all!"

Teacher: "What's that you say?"

Millionaire: "I said, sir, that—that it wasn't fair to give a man what he hasn't earned."

Teacher: "Is that your honest opinion, sir?"

(Millionaire considers.)

Teacher: "Who said 'laziness'?"

Manufacturer: "I, sir. Sheer, stark laziness. They won't work. You can't make 'em work. And they want the earth."

Teacher: "When you lose a 'hand' by any accident how do you arrange to get another?"

Manufacturer: "Arrange! Well, I like that! Why, sir, there's always extra help standing around. Every man in the mill's got a dozen relatives he wants to place—the foreman has a waiting list a yard long. I don't have to 'arrange' much."

Teacher: "You do not advertise, then?"

Manufacturer: "Advertise! Well, I guess not! I did once, and I couldn't get into the yard the next morning from the crowd."

Teacher: "Then it would appear that there are still some men willing to work. Any Socialists among your hands?"

Manufacturer: "Not one. I took great pains to find out and asked 'em all. They won't get taken on in a hurry, either—not in my trade!"

Teacher: "But they were willing to work as long as you would let them. Now, where is the laziness you mentioned?"

Manufacturer: "Why, all these tramps and bums and loafers, sir, and walking delegates—the country's full o' them."

Teacher: "But what have they to do with Socialism?"

Manufacturer: "Why—why—it is these people, sir, who won't work and who want to be supported without work—by the state."

Teacher: "Your ideas are extremely vague. The state is the people, and the people must work or they would have nothing. Socialism means that every man and woman shall work—each according to his ability—and shall be provided for, each according to his deed."

Manufacturer (muttering): "A man ought to have all he can earn himself—for himself."

Teacher: "Take away the 'hands' from your business and how much can you earn—yourself?"

"But that is enough on that point. Now, you little fellow here who talked about the low-born foreigners and paternalism. There is a little more sense in your remarks than in the others. You have at least read or heard or thought a little, and I will answer you more fully. The social movement of today is felt in each civilized country, but varies in form according to the local conditions.

"What form this great social question will take in America will be modified, of course, by our special condition. You do not have to take your Socialism from any 'low-down foreigner.' By the way, what did you say your name was?"

Average Man: "Mallory, sir."

Teacher: "And your father's?"

Average Man: "O'Mallory, sir."

Teacher: "And your mother's?"

Average Man: "Kaufmann, sir."

Teacher: "Yes, thank you. We won't press the matter further.

As I was saying, we need not take our Socialism from any foreign country. America has her own form of this great fact, and it rests with the citizens of America to make it as free and democratic as they choose.

"Now, my dear little girl, who thinks Socialism immoral. Let me explain to you if I can.

"Where did you get your ideas of Socialism?"

Average Woman: "Why, from the papers and what the people say—and there was an article in the 'Babies' Home Journal' that was very convincing, and John says to let such things alone."

Teacher: "It is too late today for me to cover all the ground I should have to make this clear to you, but I will tell you some plain truths and you will have to read up about them afterward. Socialism is an economic theory and has no concern with marriage. But in the prosperity which Socialism brings marriage will be benefited, like everything else. Every one will be able to marry when they are fit. The children will not be 'separated from their mothers,' nothing can ever do that. But no mother need ever see her children suffering for lack of food or care. There will be no compulsion whatever as to clothes and houses, but everyone will have these conveniences more generally than they do now. A common table is not in the Socialist programme, whatever changes the evolution of household economics may bring about. When every citizen is well born and well reared, when there are no crime-producing causes among us as now, the morality of the world will improve enormously. I am aware that these remarks do not dislodge the ideas in your head, but in time I hope to reach you. Now for reading before your next lesson let me recommend one little book. It is a short, clear, simple work. It is neither for nor against Socialism, but describes it. The author is not a Socialist. It is Schaeffie's 'Quintessence of Socialism.' You can get it at the public library, or your book-seller will order it for you."

Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

An American millionaire named Jordan has just leased Inverary castle in England, the home for centuries of the Campbells—since the Fourteenth century, in fact. America started democracy in the world, you know, threw over king and queen nonsense and the "nobility" and proclaimed every citizen an uncrowned king—and yet our nobility can knock out the foreign nobility every time when the weapons are the good little metal dollars! As we with our "democracy" produce more powerful money-lords than England with its hereditary grafts, it is about time for the quality of England to wake up to the fact that "democracy" is a better game than their own. And it would make little difference to the English subjects. It is just as easy to starve as uncrowned kings as it is to starve as the creatures of 'Is Royal 'Ighness!

OUR TASK AND TRIUMPH.

By EUGENE V. DEBS.



F by its fruit we know the tree, so by the same token do we know our social system. Its corrupt fruit betrays its foul and unclean nature and condemns it to death.

The swarms of vagrants, tramps, outcasts, paupers, thieves, gamblers, pickpockets, suicides, confidence men, fallen women, consumptives, idiots, dwarfed children; the disease, poverty, insanity and crime rampant in every land under the sway of capitalism rise up and cry out against it, and hush to silence all the pleas of its *mercenaries* and strike the knell of its doom.

The ancient and middle-age civilizations had their rise, they ruled and fell, and that of our own day must follow them.

Evolution is the order of nature, and society, like the units that compose it, is subject to its inexorable law.

The day of individual effort, of small tools, free competition, hand labor, long hours and meagre results is gone never to return. The civilization reared upon this old foundation is crumbling.

The economic basis of society is being transformed.

The working class are being knit together in the bonds of co-operation, they are becoming conscious of their interests as a class, and marshalling the workers for the class struggle and collective ownership.

With the triumph of the workers the mode of production and distribution will be revolutionized.

Private ownership and production for profit will be supplanted by social ownership and production for use.

The economic interests of the workers will be mutual. They will work together in harmony instead of being arrayed against each other in competitive warfare.

The collective workers will own the machinery of production, and there will be work for all and all will receive their socially due share of the product of their co-operative labor.

It is for this great work that the workers and their sympathizers must organize and educate and agitate.

The Social-Democratic movement is of the working class itself; it is from the injustice perpetrated upon, and the misery suffered by this class that the movement sprung, and it is to this class it makes its appeal. It is the voice of awakened labor arousing itself to action.

As we look abroad and see things as they are, the capitalists entrenched and fortified and the workers impoverished, ignorant and in bondage, we are apt to be impressed with the magnitude of the task that lies before the socialist movement, but as we become grounded in the socialist philosophy, as we understand the process of economic de-

terminism and grasp the principles of industrial and social evolution the magnitude of the undertaking, far from daunting the socialist spirit, appeals to each comrade to enlist in the struggle because of the very greatness of the conflict and the immeasurable good that lies beyond it, and as he girds himself and touches elbows with his comrades his own latent resources are developed and his blood thrills with new life as he feels himself rising to the majesty of a man.

Now he has found his true place, and though he be reviled against and ostracized, traduced and denounced, though he be reduced to rags, and tormented with hunger pangs, he will bear it all and more, for he is battling for a principle, he has been consecrated to a cause and he cannot turn back.

To reach the workers that are still in darkness and to open their eyes, that is the task and to this we must give ourselves with all the strength we have, with patience that never fails, and an abiding faith in the ultimate victory.

The moment a worker sees himself in his true light he severs his relations with the capitalist parties, for he realizes at once that he no more belongs there than Rockefeller belongs in our party.

WHY WOMEN WANT TO VOTE.

The day is fast approaching when the popular prejudice against politics for women will be folded in its winding sheet and laid to rest along with Salem witchcraft and free silver.

Granting that women as a whole do not desire the ballot, they will be eventually driven to demand it whether they want it or not. And the reason is this: The average workingman is loud in his denunciation of women's competition with men in the different trades and professions. Let me ask you (with apologies to Mark Twain) why is it thus? In other words, why do women compete with men? Do you think the average woman enters the factories, the shops, the mills, or takes in washing because she likes to work eighteen hours a day? Say, Mr. Laboringman, is that your idea of the women who stand beside you every morning waiting for the mill gate to open? Do you think the

"lady book-keeper" or typewriter that you see hustling down town with her noon lunch, disguised in a music roll, keeps books or pounds a typewriter just because she wants to keep you out of a job? You know she does not. She does it for the same reason that you grab your dinner pail and run when the whistle blows.

Because she has to.

And why does she have to? If she is a single woman, she has to because father and mother have too many helpless little ones at home to be able to do much for a girl that can work and take care of herself. And the young man who loves her, and whom she loves, dares not ask her to be his wife because his wages are so small that they will barely suffice for one. He sees no immediate prospect of earning enough for two. And so the girl that should be at home with her mother, or keeping house for herself and the

man she loves, is compelled to compete with you for a chance to earn her own living. And she is not to blame, for she has never had a voice in making that which men call the laws that govern her.

If she marries the man she loves under the impression that what is barely enough for one can be made to do for two, she soon finds out her mistake. But still for a while she clings to the two poor rooms they call home and tries to squeeze along. But bye and bye a baby or two come along and, with sickness and added expense, the debts and duns begin to trouble them, and the married woman, whose feeble strength should be employed at home, and who ought to be sheltered by her husband's love and care, is found by your side in the mill working for six cents an hour. And why? Is it because her husband is not willing, yes, anxious, to work eight hours a day and six days in a week that she may stay at home and take care of the children? No. It is because her husband, no matter how willing he may be, cannot earn enough to take care of them all, and so she must help him or see the babies starve at home. And she will work for small wages in order to help her one particular John, regardless of the fact that by so doing she throws some other woman's John out of a job altogether.

And she is not to blame, either, because the ballot which is the only remedy for this great and growing evil is denied to her, and you will not use yours in her defense.

Though she sees the evil, she is powerless to record a protest against it. Are you blind that you cannot see or a fool that you cannot understand why women want to vote?

Belle Davis.

How the Product Slips Away from the Workers.

POPULATION.	WEALTH.
Poor Families $\frac{7}{8}$	Poor Families $\frac{1}{8}$
Rich Families $\frac{1}{8}$	Rich Families $\frac{7}{8}$

"Seven-eighths of the families of this nation held but one-eighth of the national wealth," in 1900.

—Dr. C. B. Spahr, "The Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States."

The man doesn't live who would not be the gainer by Socialism. Even the richest of the rich could well give up their life of grasping greed and wariness against the other greedy-guts for a life of plenty, health, culture and tranquility.

Socialists are not out for revenge for the crimes of capitalism, but for justice. The enormity of the wrongs done the race under the capitalist system renders an adequate revenge impossible, even if it were desired. What revenge could compensate for the waste in real living which people all about us suffer? To large numbers of people the earth is little better than a dungeon—they are simply serving time on earth at hard labor, in order that an imperious few may lead butterfly lives!

A NOTABLE EDITORIAL.

FROM THE COSMOPOLITAN.

[The following taken from the January Cosmopolitan magazine shows that at least one magazine editor of this country dares to look ahead and to think out of the beaten bourgeois rut. It is Socialistic in spirit, and although a Social-Democrat would add a little here and there, we give it to our readers just as it was written, and with the belief that they will keep in mind the fact that it is written by a man who has no affiliation with the militant Socialist movement, and that they will therefore recognize it as one of the "shadows" that coming events are casting before:]

"A System of Political Economy will yet dawn which will Perform as well as Promise. Which will rain the riches of Nature into the laps of the starving poor."—Sir John Byles.

Do you believe that this is possible?

What are the conditions which stand in the way of the realization of this prophecy?

Formerly it was impossible because of the limited production; because those things necessary for life—food and clothes—were produced with difficulty and insufficiently. Today machinery and scientific method have so increased production that in the United States the question most eagerly discussed is: "How to Prevent Overproduction." According to our crude and cruel ideals of trade there is in the world "too much wheat and corn, too much cotton, too much woolen goods, too much lumber, too many bricks, too much iron and steel, and too much of everything that goes toward the comfort of human beings." Not how to distribute these riches of nature, but how to prevent

overproduction, is the absurd problem which exercises the commercial wisdom of the age.

If we would understand the problems of production and distribution, we must carefully analyze the conditions which prevail: The causes which lead to the so-called overproduction and the causes which retard both scientific production and equitable distribution.

As a preliminary to clear thinking we must start with these two axioms:

I. There can be no such thing as overproduction until every man, woman and child the world over is comfortably clad, living in a comfortable home with healthful surroundings, and provided with sufficient food to nourish the body properly.

II. There can be no scientifically regulated production until, approximately, all waste is eliminated from our scheme of work.

The truth of the first axiom need not be argued. We may then proceed to the question of waste under our present system of production; we may go further and venture the assertion that more than one-half of all human effort is wasted. We find this loss arising:

First. Through duplication of effort. Everywhere men are spending their days in work which, organized upon a scientific basis, could be reduced one-half, one-third, one-fourth, one-fifth or even one-tenth. Take, for instance, New York city: there are ten times as many apothecaries as would be required to furnish all the drugs dispensed. There are along the same streets of New York at least one hundred and fifty miles of shops, furnishing supplies, all of which could be better selected, more economically delivered and

sold at a vastly cheaper price from central depots properly established. In this one hundred and fifty miles of shops an army of men and women stand in many of the smaller ones through twelve, fourteen and even sixteen long hours waiting for business. Three-fourths of their labor is unproductive, because the system is one handed down from the booths of the barbaric ages.

Next to this class there is one even more formidable. It, too, is a relic of the days of savagery, when the competition for the limited supply of food was so violent that the most terrible crimes were committed in order to secure it. Fully one-fourth of the entire population of the world is employed in enforcing law. Because, through the stupidities of our system of distribution, there remain classes of people so miserable as to be willing to commit crime in order to obtain food or other property—this, too, at a time when there is plenty for all, when there would be no necessity for any man's plundering his neighbor if only a trifling part of the effort now spent in the law were concentrated upon working out a scientific system of distribution.

The system of the law embraces the standing armies of the world, with their endless train of horrors, of which we are now having a fair sample at Port Arthur. Then come the police forces of the cities; then the array of sheriffs and constables, with the distressing train of miseries which follow in their wake, permitting the cunning and the strong to prey upon the weak. Then come the judges and the employees of the courts. Finally the vast array of lawyers—a profession which in every community absorbs the ablest brains and those splendid talents which should be given to the work

of organization and production. If the United States could comprehend the loss to its resources through this one condition, the public would stand appalled. Not only the loss of brains which should be otherwise engaged, and which if so otherwise occupied would add hundreds of millions to the wealth of the country, but we have the immense tax upon industry made by the courts—the time consumed by manufacturers, farmers, merchants and the workers generally in preparing and conducting law-suits. Add to this the energy taken away from its legitimate pursuits by the necessity of defending law-suits, made possible through the complications of the law, or through that class of unconscionable practitioners of the law, so well recognized in every community.

Then comes another class—that of the world's idlers; taking pride in the fact that they do not labor; holding the prejudices of the savages whose women did the work and whose warriors loafed—this class still believing that idleness is a badge of superior quality—this class which, thanks to the power of the modern press, is being rapidly diminished, at least in the United States, where even the richest families take a pride in having their children engaged in useful pursuits.

Lastly, we come to the large numbers of men and women who live upon the labor of others by taking advantage, by sharp practice, or in ways more legitimate but nevertheless unnecessary under any proper scheme of organization.

This briefly covers the four classes whose labor is lost to the world. We now come to the consideration of loss through unscientific methods in manufacturing, in farming and in transportation.

The great trusts are rapidly teaching us what can be done by concentration of interests in the hands of intelligent men. The financial powers which control these institutions seek the best brains. No one man is allowed to have unlimited sway. The consulting boards bring to bear upon the manager's conduct the criticism of their united wisdom, while the execution, in order to secure greater virility, is left in his hands. Plants in unfavorable locations are abandoned, old machinery is thrown on the scrap-heap. Every effort is concentrated upon producing the maximum of product, both in quality and quantity, at the minimum of price.

The gain in crops demonstrated at agricultural stations as the result of scientific farming, gives an idea of what the world is losing in this direction. The rapid changes in railway methods suggests what the world has yet to gain in transportation. The accomplishment of Birmingham and other English cities in the way of ownership of public utilities, and the recent scandals in New York municipal affairs, point the way to other future economies.

Having advanced thus far, we are now ready to proceed to our methods of distribution, which may be considered under these heads:

First. The discrimination through purchased legislation in favor of individuals, permitting the accumulation of vast fortunes at the expense of the public. The methods of procedure and the causes which operate to secure these illegal results, are coming to be so well understood that they need not be argued here. The fact that during the recent election there was a change of a hundred and twenty-five thousand votes between the Republican presidential candidate on the

one side, and a Democratic candidate for governor on the other, indicates that the American people are becoming alive to the necessity for action at the polls.

Second. The comprehension by the general public of the axiom that the welfare of the state lies in the prosperity of the general worker, rather than in the wealth of the few.

Third. The power of public opinion in insuring the rights of women to just wages, the rights of the downtrodden to protection, and generally, the sentiment against sweat-shop methods, child-labor and peonage, in whatever form.

Having studied the defects of our civilization, we now come to the question of how they may be overcome. The answer is:

First. By the education of the people: true education, not along the lines handed down to us from past ages, but education in that knowledge which is of most worth, which is necessary to right thinking and right living. The results of our educational progress thus far may be measured in this way: Where there were twenty men taking an active interest in the public welfare fifty years ago, there are today a hundred thousand—each of these just as intelligent, just as earnest, just as determined, as was any one of the twenty half a century ago. As education enlightens the individual to dispel darkness and error, the world must progress with giant strides. Therefore, education comes first.

Second. By a better comprehension of the great problems of organization in your children and your children's children.

Third. By increased wisdom in legislation, insuring the equal rights of all before the law; removing the

restrictions upon commerce, simply-fying legal forms, making it more difficult for the "sharper" to use the law to harass the worker, and ensuring exact and just systems of taxation.

Fourth. By perfecting the transportation of parcels and passengers, and bringing the cost to the individual to its lowest possible terms; permitting trade to be conducted at the least cost and the denizens of the great cities to reach the country, and add the healthful cultivation of small pieces of land to their other occupations.

Lastly. By proper organization of social intercourse—removing the savagery which takes no account of the sufferings of the individual—establishing personal relations upon the plane of highest regard for the rights of others; and by removing that temptation to crime which is so largely the creation of want, and which could not exist if comfort were brought into the lives of all.

This, in brief form, is the statement of our national problem. What can YOU do toward the accomplishment of these ends for your own sake, for the sake of your children and of your children's children?

—John Brisben Walker.

ANOTHER EDITOR AWAKING.

Said Karl Marx: "In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch." This is a clear setting forth of the materialistic conception of history, that some of the priests are getting red in the face about. And yet it is to just this viewpoint

that our historians are moving. Says the Kansas City Star in an editorial:

"It happens that four elaborate histories of the United States are now issuing from the press, while a fifth has been announced. In length they range from ten to twenty-eight volumes, and at least two of the five promise to be of the first rank. No such comprehensive productions have been undertaken before. Bancroft, Windsor, Schouler, Henry Adams, McMaster and Rhodes have treated only special periods of American history. The works now publishing are to begin with the discovery and to come down to modern times....

"Another and a more interesting reason for the rewriting of history is the change in the conception of the **meaning** of the word that has come in recent years. History is no longer considered to be merely "past politics." It is more and more regarded as the record of man's social activity. If civilization, as Mathew Arnold said, is the complete humanization of man in society, so is history the account of his **doings** in the community. And since these are **chiefly determined by the necessity of making a living**, so history is becoming in larger measure **a chronicle of the effects, direct and indirect, of economic forces.**

"The modern historian can not, for instance, regard the Revolution as caused by the capricious tyranny of a willful government. He traces the causes of irritation in the restrictions on trade and manufacture that were a part of the regular colonial policy of the age. He shows the development of a distinctive temper bred of the conditions of life in the New World. From these and similar considerations he points out that a rupture was inevitable, though not, perhaps, the accompanying war.

"Again, in dealing with the slavery question, the modern historian does not praise the north and censure the south. He points out that slavery flourished where economic conditions made it profitable and that it declined where it was not easily put to industrial use.

"The economic interpretation of history, which was first elaborated by Marx in the middle of the last century, has given a new impetus to historical studies. Thus it happens that American history is now being written on an elaborate scale and from a new point of view."

POINTED PARAGRAPHS.

By FREDERIC HEATH.

The rich invest the country, the poor "infest" it!

There is only one way to head off Socialism: That is to stop education. The Messmers and the Quigleys know this!

You think you do not take any stock in Socialism. But how do you know, unless you give it a careful investigation?

The fittest to survive under the capitalist system are the capitalists, and even they are forced to be at each other's throats!

It's no wonder Socialism makes men blink by its brightness when they have been leading a mole-like existence under capitalistic conditions.

Dr. Harris, the petrified head of the U. S. department of education, says Socialism is impossible. But his actions belie his words, for he is trying to head it off.

The United States is now great in two things: Capitalism and crime. The one follows upon the plunder-morality of the other just as famine follows British appropriation in India or Ireland. Last year there were 24 murders committed in London, the world's metropolis. Last year in Chicago—about one-fifth as large as London—there were 128 murders. The figures for New York city we do not have. There's food for thought in those figures, Mr. Hysterical Patriot!

Roosevelt's impetuous cry about "race suicide" so far as it concerned the working class, was not based on a scientific grasp of the situation, for the cry that should have come first would be against the system that makes people too poor to support big families. That settled, there would be no race suicide. Wrong also are the New York women who have now come out in *favor* of "race suicide," as shown by the following despatch:

New York, Jan. 25.—The Women's Society for Political Study discussed the injustice done to children in large families where parents are unable to support them properly, and after due consideration of those present came out strongly in support of "race suicide."

"We are wasting sympathy," declared one speaker, "on people who surround themselves with large numbers of little ones when they cannot possibly feed them. Let the parents starve if they bring paupers into the world."

How infinitely brutal! Nature's command to go forth and multiply has now become a crime. An abnormal social system begets abnormal view points.

Burton Holmes, the Travelogue lecturer, devotes an entire lecture this season to showing how the wealthy class of London enjoys itself. It is a startling series of pictures that are presented, and it is seen that in the world's metropolis are almost countless families who are as care-free as butterflies and to whom life is a long drawn paradise,

with every wish and whim gratified so far as the ladling out of money can accomplish it—a class of people almost sated with pleasure, who get added enjoyment from the hungry and wistful interest which their comings and goings extract from the common herd, and for whom, in a word, Socialism has practically arrived, so far as the ability to enjoy culture and elegance with a minimum of effort is concerned. It is a dazzling picture, but—it *has an obverse side!* Mr. Holmes shows it, too. It is squalid, pinched, unspeakable East London, with its dreadful delapidation of men and morals, its almost unbelievable degeneration and chronic despair. Mr. Holmes urges his audience to get Comrade Jack London's "People of the Abyss," and read it, in order to have a complete idea of the wretchedness of the dispossessed hordes of London's awful East Side. London's aristocracy finds its counterpart on a smaller scale in all parts of the world, in democracies as well as monarchies, republics as well as kingdoms. Everywhere the same process is at work by which the few luxuriate in wealth wrung from the many. *There can be no rich class anywhere without a poor class to support it.* London "quality" exists upon fleecings from the workers of the entire empire, including India and South Africa, and even some of their tentacles reach over to this country, for America has long been a choice field for "investment,"—America, the home of western "Democracy!" The capitalist system is founded on robbery, the robbery of the workers, and the Socialistic fight to abolish that robbery and to substitute for it a system under which all will be rich and have clearer consciences than the pampered drones of London, provided

they are willing to do their share of the work, is the big fight of the Twentieth century. It is a fight that can have but one ending—unless people go stark, staring mad!

The Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow preached a sermon in Cincinnati recently on the condition of labor in this country, based on some remarks made by President Eliot of Harvard college. President Eliot was quoted as saying:

"I have lately had occasion to think a good deal about the conditions of labor in our American society, and the saddest thing that I have learned is the lack of the happy spirit of labor in American industries. That is a most pathetic and lamentable thing. * * * What is the cure for this prodigious evil? It is the bringing into American industries of the method and spirit of the artist. The artist rejoices in his work; it is the chief satisfaction and happiness of his life."

Not a prodigious remedy, said Mr. Bigelow, for so prodigious an evil. There is a lack of happiness in the work of the American people. This is a prodigious evil. The cure for it is to introduce happiness into the work of the American people. A truly remarkable suggestion!

With this kind of reasoning, what problem need stump us? Poverty is a prodigious evil. The cure for it is riches. Intemperance is a prodigious evil. The cure for it is temperance. Sickness is a prodigious evil. The cure for it is health.

If the American workman is not happy, why not? The last bulletin of the Labor Bureau furnishes some official statistics which have a bearing on the subject.

In Indiana the wages of 48,225 employes were investigated, and the average was found to be \$8.77 a week. Eight thousand four hundred and ninety-four carriage workers were found to receive an average of \$6.98 a week. The average for nearly 2,000 paper mill hands was found to be \$6.57 a week. Conditions were better in Illinois. The average weekly wage of 80,881 employes in this state was found to be \$9.70. In Missouri the average for over 10,000 investigated drops to \$8.70 a week. In this state there were three free employment bureaus that received over 15,000 applications for positions. They were compelled to send 5,000 of these applicants away into enforced idleness.

In this same report, the Labor Commissioner informs us that the employes of the woolen mills of New Jersey get \$6.43 a week. The factory hands in Pennsylvania were found to get \$9.28 a week. The anthracite coal miners made \$9.53 a week. And the men who have not the privilege of mining coal, but who are able to get jobs as helpers merely, made an average weekly wage of \$5.89.

Now, suppose we take one of these \$5.89 a week men. Call up a picture. A miner's hovel. Six small children. Why not? Eight mouths to feed. Flour, shoes, clothes, school books to buy. Rent to pay. Five dollars and 89 cents a week. Just slip into his boots. How would you like to put your hand on that man's shoulder and say:

"My man, I perceive that you do not go about your work happily. This is a prodigious evil. Now the cure for this is simple. You should become a kind of artist. You should have no end of enthusiasm for this

\$5.89 job of yours. In a word, if you are not happy, the cure is to be happy."

But then, it would be a waste of words. How could a miner, who has never been to a university to study logic and political economy—how could he hope to catch the force of that?

CAPITALISM'S INFERNO!

New York, Jan. 12.—Dr. A. S. Daniel, of the New York Infirmary for Women, told the members of the Woman's Municipal League today that an eighteen months old child had been found employed in a sweatshop and that the little one's worth was calculated by its mother at 50 cents a week.

Dr. Daniel addressed the league on "Illegal Sweatshop Work." She said that children as young as four years of age were regularly employed in some of the thirty-three trades which the law allows to go on in tenement rooms.

"Some time ago a child of one and one-half years was brought to the New York Infirmary for treatment," said Dr. Daniel. "After some days the child's mother came for her and took her away. At that time the mother said that she needed the child's services following her trade of passementerie making, in her tenement home. She said that the child's services were worth 50 cents a week to her."

Send The Vanguard to your friend for a year—50 cents.



Socialist Headquarters.

To achieve the objects of Socialism, the American Socialists have formed the Socialist Party, now organized in all the States of the Union. In New York and Wisconsin, this party is known, for legal reasons, as the Social Democratic Party and in Minnesota as the Public Ownership Party.

NATIONAL SECRETARY: J. MAHLON BARNES, Boylston Bldg. 269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Every charge that capitalism makes against Socialism and every dire prediction as to what would befall the individual and society under Socialism finds complete answer in the fact that there is not an evil known among men which cannot be traced directly to the door of capitalism itself. Indeed we are so accustomed to the wrongs inherent in the present order of things that we do injustice to human nature and still attribute to it the weakness and wickedness which are really the result of social conditions imposed for ages by the ruling class. It is to the credit of human nature that men make as good a showing as they do in spite of the enormous burdens placed upon them. Yet this triumph of human nature is no reason why we should continue to submit to injustice and allow the crushing process to continue. In his admirable work, "Mankind in the Making," H. G. Wells says: "At present it is a shameful and embittering fact that a gifted man from the poorer strata of society must often buy his personal development at the cost of his posterity, he must either die childless and successful for the children of the stupid to reap what he has sown, or sacrifice his gift—a wretched choice and an evil thing for the world at large—this is a stupid superstition that genius will out in spite of all discouragement. The fact that great men have risen against crushing disadvantages in the past proves nothing of the sort; this roll call of survivors does not more than give the measure of the enormous waste of human supidity has achieved."

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CAPITALISM vs. SOCIALISM.

An Acrostic.

Capitalism.

C reates confusion, induces broil,
A ntagonies those who toil,
P lucks from them what they produce,
I n return gives them abuse.
T yrannical, nefarious,
A nd renders life precarious;
L eaves in its wake the social slime—
I ntemperance, poverty, and crime.
S upports the vicious and the vile,
M isrules in a flagrant style.

Socialism.

S imply means the termination
O f slavery and exploitation.
C hristianity applied
I n a sense, both deep and wide.
A dvocates the present need,
L iving to be life indeed:
I nstalls justice, represses greed;
S tands for all in life that's good.
M eans universal brotherhood.

James M. Rundle, in Brisbane (Australia) Worker.

THE SIZE OF IT.

(Author unknown.)

Up in the morning and work all day,
Just for the grub of tomorrow to pay:
Work tomorrow for meat to carve—
Got to keep working or else I'll starve.
Work next day for a chance to sup—
Just earn money to eat it up:
Next day after it's root or die—
Habit of eating comes mighty high.

Next week too, it is just the same—
Never can beat the eating game.
Working on Monday for Tuesday's bread:
Working on Tuesday to keep me fed—
Thursday, Friday, Saturday, too,
Same old game and it's never new.
Don't want to kick or make a fuss,
But blamed if it isn't monotonous.

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

Vol. 3. No. 9.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., MAY, 1905.

Whole Number 29.

The essence of slavery did not lie in the fact that the slaves were ill fed, ill clothed or ill housed. If it had been true that they were better fed, clothed and housed in slavery than in freedom, still slavery would not have been justified. The evil of slavery was not that families were separated. If the law had provided explicitly that slave families should not have been separated, still slavery would have been unjust. The injustice was not in specific acts of cruelty. If there had never been a Legree, still slavery would have been unjust. It was not that the slaves were denied education. In Rome the slaves were educated; and authors, copyists and literary men were held in slavery, and still slavery was unjust. The wrong of slavery lay in this: that **PERSONALITY WAS INVADDED; THE PRODUCT OF THE MAN WAS TAKEN FROM HIM; HE HAD PUT A PART OF HIS LIFE INTO THE WORLD, AND WAS ROBBED OF IT.** Whosoever and howsoever society does this, it does injustice.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

Jesus knew what he was about when he hurled his most terrible words of denunciation at the religious professors who devoured widows' houses and for a pretense gave tithes and said prayers. If here today, there can be no question as to where he would be found in the present struggle of the common people against corporate greed. He would occupy no doubtful "non-committal" neither-one-thing-nor-the-other position, but would "take sides" squarely in behalf of humanity and a new social order.

Of all people in the world the ministers of the gospel ought to be first and foremost in advocacy of Socialism. They certainly would be if they understood it and are sincere in their preaching of peace and good-will. If they do not understand Socialism in these days when it is the live topic of discussion or if they have not the courage to espouse it because it has not yet become sufficiently popular, they ought to be too ashamed to look intelligent and honest men in the face. Let them know, however, that Socialism will free even them. It will deliver the church from the clutch of mammon and permit it to carry on its work with clean money and a clear conscience. It will enable men to practice the Sermon on the Mount. Under Socialism the church will never experience the humiliation it is now suffering at the hands of the money power.

The defense which the Missionary Board makes in its acceptance of Rockefeller's money is that the church in all ages has welcomed all gifts asking no questions for filthy lucre's sake. This is not altogether true, for there have been times when the church has had enough moral stamina and self-respect to refuse the offerings of less shameful violators of moral law than Standard Oil! But it is seldom we now hear of any proffered gifts of "stolen money" being declined by religious institutions. On the contrary we continually hear of clergymen and educators fawningly beseeching some piratical "captain of industry" for a share of the loot obtained through robbing the public and riding rough-shod over every precept of the gospel. And it is not strange that so conservative a writer as Prof. Ladd should feel obliged to describe the ethical condition of the churches as "low and nerveless," and that there should be considerable concern over the morals that issue from our colleges.

It is to be hoped that the agitation over the Rockefeller gift to foreign missions will open the eyes of the church people to see their complicity in the moral crimes of the present economic system of which Rockefeller is but a representative. Here, for instance, is a sentence from "The History of the Carnegie Steel Co.," by James H. Bridges, private secretary to Mr. Car-

negie: "No great business has yet been built upon the Beatitudes, and it is not all cynicism which condenses the negative decalogue into the positive exhortation to be successful—somehow." Here is the testimony of Paul Morton, formerly of the Santa Fe railroad, now Secretary of the Navy, given under oath in the United States Circuit Court in Los Angeles: "We tried the costly experiment of being honest in this thing—and we lost so much business that we found we had got to do as the Romans did." "The fact of the matter is," says the Wall street Journal, "that the moral law finds no expression in the law of business." These are frank confessions, but they simply bear out the charge that Socialists have all along been making. "Capitalism," as Hyndman says, "has no ethic."

Admitting the truth of all that Dr. Washington Gladden is saying as to the criminality of Rockefeller, it is also true that the money of Rockefeller does not essentially differ from that which is "made" in other channels of trade. Nothing is becoming clearer today than that the dominant factor in what is called "business" success is exploitation. Men "make" money or "amass" fortunes by what they term "shrewdness." But boiled down to hard fact, "shrewdness" usually means getting wealth without creating it or giving value in return. And this is robbery. That it may be done legally, that "they all do it," or that it spells "success" affects not the inherent dishonesty of the transaction. "Standard Oil" is but an exaggerated form of the whole character and inevitable working of capitalism. Rockefeller's money is no more "tainted" than the money that is being "made" by Rockefeller methods on a smaller scale on all sides. And the truth is that institutional Christianity could not move its machinery another day if its share of profit, plunder, unclean donations and stolen endowments were withheld. We venture to assert that even the money which finds its way into the treasury of Dr. Gladden's own church bears the "taint" of Rockefellerism. Socialism will place business on an honest basis.

John D. Rockefeller is a type. He represents the big "business interest" of the country of which we hear so much, especially at election times, and whose

behests both Republican and Democratic politicians are ready to obey. "Business" is now being shown to be rotten to the core. Rockefeller stands for the whole "system." He says truly that his methods do not differ from those common to the commercial world. He also represents the complicity of the church in the notoriously vicious practices of "the system." He belongs to the church (or perhaps we should say the church belongs to him). Anyway, he has "got religion." "The personal comfort that religion has been to me," he says, "has been such that sometimes I feel that I would like to go upon the lecture platform and tell the people about it." And why should we question his sincerity any more than that of thousands of others who may likewise be found in the place of worship one day in the week, while the other six days they are engaged in "business" which involves the most un-Christian, unjust and cruel practices? Indeed, we may as well at once admit that "the system" enthralls us all and forces upon us a "financial morality" as distinct from that of the Sermon on the Mount as night is from day. Here as everywhere else in these days we face the moral bankruptcy of commercialism, with its deadly influence upon the church. And we shall look in vain for relief from the evils complained of until we are thoroughly aroused to the duty of taking a straight stand against the whole capitalistic system of exploitation which contradicts the fundamentals of morality and makes possible such a hideous travesty of Christianity as that which Rockefeller and his millions represent.

The letter of Mr. F. T. Gates, confidential secretary of Rockefeller, written to the oil magnate at the request of Secretary Barton of the Missionary Board, recommending the gift of \$100,000, is now made public and is interesting reading. The following excerpts from this letter, which no one was expected to see but Mr. Rockefeller, throw light on the "motives" of the "philanthropist" as well as on what the writer calls the "good business policy" of the whole missionary enterprise from the capitalist point of view:

"Quite apart from the question of persons converted, the mere commercial results of missionary effort to our own land

is worth, I had almost said, a thousand-fold every year of what is spent on missions. For illustration: Our commerce today with the Hawaiian Islands, which are now christianized and no longer take missionary money, is, I am told, \$17,000,000 per year. Five per cent of that in one year would represent all the money that ever was spent in christianizing and civilizing the natives. When the missionaries went there, the Hawaiians were cannibals, without a dollar of exports or imports. Today these islands are an immense source of wealth and of comfort to the American people.

"What is true of Hawaii is even more strikingly true of Japan and its commerce. Missionary enterprise, therefore, viewed solely from a commercial standpoint, is immensely profitable. From the point of view of subsistence for Americans, our import trade, traceable mainly to the channels of intercourse opened up by missionaries, is enormous.... Our export trade is growing by leaps and bounds. Such growth would have been utterly impossible but for the commercial conquest of foreign lands under the lead of missionary endeavor. What a boon to home industry and manufacture! An officer of the United States Steel Corporation tells me that that company alone is exporting American products to between forty and fifty different countries.... We are only in the very dawn of commerce, and we owe that dawn, with all its promise, more than to anything else, to the pioneer work and the channels opened up by Christian missionaries."

Stripped of all palaver about the salvation of the heathen, missions are thus considered as a "business proposition." Who says Christianity is not commercialized?

A Vision of Today.

I passed the plate in church.

There was a little silver; but the crisp bank notes heaped themselves up high before me;

And ever as the pile grew the plate became warmer and warmer, until it fairly burned my fingers, and a smell of scorching flesh rose from it, and I perceived that some of the notes were beginning to smolder and curl, half-browned at the edges.

And then I saw through the smoke into the very substance of the money, and beheld what it really was;

I saw the stolen earnings of the poor, the wide margin of wages pared down to starvation;

I saw the underpaid factory girl eking out her living on the street, and the overworked child, and the suicide of the discharged miner;

I saw poisonous gases from the great manufactories spreading disease and death;

I saw despair and drudgery filling the dram-shop;

I saw rents screwed out from brother men for permission to live on God's land;

I saw men shut out from the bosom of the earth and begging for the poor privilege to work in vain, and becoming tramps and paupers and drunkards and lunatics, and crowding into almshouses, insane asylums and prisons;

I saw ignorance and vice and crime growing rank in stifling, filthy slums;

I saw usury spring from usury, itself again born of unjust monopoly and purchased laws and legalized violence;

I saw shoddy cloth and adulterated food and lying goods of all kinds, cheapening men and women and vulgarizing the world;

I saw hideousness extending itself from coal-mine and foundry over forest and river and field;

I saw money grabbed from fellow-grabbers, and swindled from fellow-swindlers, and underneath them the workman forever spinning it out of his vitals;

I saw the laboring world, thin and pale and bent and careworn and driven, pouring out this tribute from its toil and sweat into the laps of the richly dressed men and women in the pews, who only glanced at them to shrink from them in disgust;

I saw the gifts of the wealthy and well-to-do given grudgingly from hoards so great that they could not be missed, as a bribe from superstition to a dishonest judge in the expectation of escaping hell.

I saw all this, and the plate burned my fingers so that I had to hold it first in one hand and then in the other; and I was glad when the person in his official robes took the smoking pile from me and, turning about, lifted it up and laid it on the altar.

It was an old-time altar indeed, for it bore a burnt offering of flesh and blood—a sweet savor unto the Moloch whom these people worship with their daily round of human sacrifices.

The shambles are in the temples as of yore, and the tables of the money-changers waiting to be overturned.

Ernest Crosby.

Socialism and Prohibition.

By REV. A. M. STIRTON,

Formerly a Member of the Prohibition Party.

Note.—These pages embody much of what the author has from time to time presented in sermons and lectures, hence the occasional use of the first personal pronoun and the occasional hortatory style.

The author acknowledges his debt to Comrade Young's book on "Rational Prohibition," whose phraseology, also, in some half a dozen sentences, he has adopted.



HE characteristic thing in a Socialist's view of any question is his insistence on facts. And this insistence distinguishes the Socialist from the typical Prohibitionist, among others, in his view of the Liquor Traffic.

In these pages no specific attack is made on the Prohibition party. The present writer voted for Woolley in 1900, and the following pages embody his reasons for changing his party and voting for Debs in 1904.

The typical Prohibitionist is not a statistician. With figures he has little to do and with close reasoning from mathematical premises less. His appeal is to the moral sentiment of his auditors. "The saloon is an iniquity," he cries, "therefore join the Prohibition party and vote it out." The purpose of this pamphlet is to show that changes in our economic structure vastly more radical than the Prohibitionist ordinarily contemplates must be made before Prohibition could be made effectual, even with a Prohibition party in power.

The writer uses the word Prohibitionist in this pamphlet in its narrower sense, denoting a voter of the political party of that name. He is a prohibitionist himself in the wider sense of one who works for the elimination of the liquor traffic. And this is one reason of his membership in the Socialist party.

But to save confusion the word "Prohibitionist" is used in this article in the sense defined above, with especial reference to one in the Prohibitionist party who has not yet embraced the Socialist philosophy.

Everyone has noticed how the typical Prohibitionist speaker begins his discourse by telling his auditors that he need not detain them long, enumerating the evils of the liquor traffic. With these they are conversant. And straightway the speaker begins with much fervor to press the moral reasons why such a traffic should be "voted out of existence."

The Socialist method of dealing with any problem is radically different, being statistical, reasoned, mathematical. The Socialist, whatever his theories on any subject, will always take off his hat to a fact.

Let me illustrate the method by asking your attention to the economic aspects of the liquor traffic. My figures can in each case be verified by reference to the twelfth census or to the revenue receipts of the government.

The American people spend annually in intoxicants one billion five hundred million dollars! The writer is indebted to Dr. Dickie for an apt method of illustrating what this amount of money means. It would

build more houses than there are in Chicago at a cost of \$2000 each. It would furnish each of these houses at an additional cost of \$1500 each. There would be enough left to place a \$5.00 gold piece in the hand of every man, woman and child in the United States and there would still be 50 million dollars left. If this were spent for some useful commodity we might well rejoice; if it were spent for something harmless we might view it with equanimity, but as a matter of fact many people were sadly injured, and many lost their lives through this traffic in liquor. Dr. Swallow computes that there are 100,000 who thus annually lose their lives, and all things considered, what with disease engendered, what with crime, what with accidents caused, what with deaths directly due to acute alcoholism, this estimate is probably not out of the way. But for the sake of certainty let us cut these figures in half and call the number 50,000. Were then the victims who lost their lives yearly by the liquor traffic in the United States to be loaded on cars it would take 10 trains of 50 cars each, each car loaded with 100 dead bodies, to move their ghastly freight, and were these victims laid in one long funeral trench, it would make such a trench 50 miles long.

Horrible is the thought, how much more horrible the reality!

For this is not a picture of what might be, but of a condition which actually surrounds us.

Nor is this all. Every one will realize, and the Socialist with his figures will be the first to insist, that the sum total of human misery thus engendered can never be revealed in statistics. What with the heart-aches, the insanity, the blighted homes, the crime, the social disgrace thus caused, no finite mind can grasp the iniquities justly to be attributed to the liquor traffic. I have only indicated a few red bubbles on a vast ocean of sin and shame, of guilt and horror and despair whose depths God alone can sound.

And yet I am not a party Prohibitionist, but a party Socialist. I believe in my heart that the Socialist party, in addition to all other blessings which it brings mankind, is vastly better qualified to deal with the liquor traffic than is the Prohibition party. Let me tell you why.

In reference to the liquor traffic, three mental attitudes are possible: First, one of indifference; secondly, one of unreasoning antagonism; thirdly, one of antagonism based on patient scientific investigation.

Let us examine each of them in turn.

What can be said for the attitude of complaisant indifference? Probably as much and no more as can be said for complaisant indifference toward any social evil.

It is sometimes said that "if you let whiskey alone it will let you alone." But this is absolutely untrue. The people who suffer most from whiskey are those who let it alone—the wives, mothers, children of drunkards. And we all suffer from it and are menaced by it as we should be while the liquor traffic is permitted to exist. It is said that one family in five has either a son who is a drunkard, or a daughter who is a drunkard's wife. What guarantee have you and I that our homes shall not be among those which are thus afflicted while a single saloon is permitted to exist.

And yet men are indifferent to these things with the same logic and with the same quality of morals with which they are indifferent to other social evils directly due to capitalism. What of child labor in the mines and in the silk and cotton mills? What of the poverty of New York sewing women as shown by Helen Campbell and Mrs. Van Vorst? What of the emaciated multitudes of our large cities huddled in unwholesome tenements like rabbits in a warren, because speculators "own" the land and he who builds must buy or rent of them, must pay for the privilege of living or get off the earth.

Cast not the first stone, my temperance friend, at him who is guiltily indifferent toward the liquor traffic unless you have organized your life to oppose the giant robberies of capitalism, nor presume to shed tears over the woes of the drunkards' family unless you too have wept for the massacre of the innocents in the factories. It is little short of an impertinence for anyone today to profess attachment to any phase of reform unless he is likewise the avowed enemy of capitalism. And if you are the friend and advocate of capitalism with its sweat shops and child labor, yet decry the evils of intemperance, if you defend the "vested rights" of the exploiter, yet clamor for the confiscation of the rum-seller's business.—"Thou hypocrite: First cast out the beam out of thine own eye, then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote from thy brother's eye."

Something more can be said for the second attitude of mind possible, that of unreasoning hostility. It is at least and at most moral. Something can perhaps be done against any evil simply by decrying it, even if the declaimer have no practical plan for its suppression. Not that these methods have brought much fruit to perfection in the effort to secure State Prohibition. We have had it in Vermont; and it has been repealed; we have had it in Iowa and they have driven it out of Iowa; we have had it in Michigan and it has been repealed there, and Carrie Nation and her hatchet have testified that it is a screaming farce in Kansas. None the less, much has been done by those brave men and women of the Anti-Saloon League, the W. C. T. U., the Prohibition party and similar organizations who, though they did not understand the real causes of the liquor traffic and the work that must be done, yet by their denunciations have kept public conscience alive on the subject.

But is this the most and the best that can be done?

The writer pleads for the third mental attitude possible, that of opposition based on patient scientific inquiry.

* * * * *

In connection with the sale of alcoholic liquors there are three factors: the consumer, the seller and the manufacturer. A word concerning each of them in turn.

As to the consumer. Why do men form the liquor habit, or frequent the saloon?

Some for the sake of the intoxicant, some for company, some through the fancied or real need of a stimulant created by overwork. Men crave and will have some form of excitement. If healthful means are not to be had, they will take up with unhealthful means. Repress

human nature at the top and it will break out at the bottom every time. No thoughtful person denies that while intemperance is one cause of poverty, poverty is also a leading cause of intemperance.

All of which is tremendously accentuated during labor troubles and still more during one of those periodical seasons of distress, called a "panic," which are inherent in the capitalistic system.

The fact is that at such times the saloon is about the only place where a workingman can go, meet with friends, talk over his troubles and hopes, enjoy a fire and lights and go out again without buying anything. And even if he is without a cent to spend at the time and hence does not contract the liquor habit then, he contracts meanwhile the saloon-going habit. It is easier to go again, meanwhile when "prosperity" returns to take an occasional drink. First the man takes a drink, then the drink takes a drink, then the drink takes the man. Can anyone fail to see that with the inauguration of a new and sane system of society in which the laborer would receive the full product of his toil, and the periodic panic due to underconsumption thus eliminated, in which, moreover, chronic poverty, with its resultant ignorance and wretchedness, overcome, one powerful cause of liquor drinking would be done away?

And yet, as is well known, the drinker is only one factor, and far from the most important one, of the liquor traffic. Every one who has at any time been engaged in any effort for the suppression of the saloon, has soon learned that the liquor traffic is not intrenched in the thirst of the buyer, but in the economic interests of the seller. The drinker was never known to make much of a fight for the continuance of the traffic, often enough he will go to the polls and vote against it. It is doubtful if ever a measure has been carried looking to the limitation or extinction of the saloon, which could have been carried solely with the efforts of total abstainers. But whenever such a measure is passed it is always after a terrific fight with the "liquor interests," and these interests always mean the financial interests of those who are engaged in the sale of liquor.

Shall we then settle the matter off-hand by throwing sticks at the saloonkeeper and his bartender? Are they a species of fiend incarnate and the source of all the woe which flows from the traffic in intoxicating liquors?

The writer believes that the average saloonkeeper is no worse man than the average citizen. He, too, is but a cog in the wheel and the victim as we all are of our economic environment.

The writer has just as much respect for a rum-seller as he has for a strike-breaker and no word or thought of hardness toward either of them. They are, for the most part, simply men who have been coerced by untoward circumstances into doing an unworthy and unsocial thing. For men come into the liquor business for many causes, but they are all held in it for one reason—the profits.

Unquestionably a number of men are selling liquor who heartily detest the business, yet fear to abandon it, because of the uncertainties

of the "labor market." More than once the writer while doing the work of an evangelist endeavoring to persuade men to a better life has been answered: "But I am in a bad business."

"Well," I would urge, "give up your business and go at something else."

"I am afraid to. I have a wife and children depending on me and I am afraid that, like others, I might not find work, and what would become of them?"

More than once I have talked with men who have been in the liquor business, whose personal experiences confirmed the ideas set forth in these pages.

Imagine a case like this. The usual panic due to the accumulation of the laborer's product in capitalist hands has settled down on the land, or the incoming of a labor-saving machine has dispossessed a man of his employment. He seeks work day after day, finding none, only to learn that in the labor market the supply exceeds the demand. Meanwhile his slender savings are consumed and his family begins to be in need. Put yourself in that man's place. But no: No one can imagine such an experience unless he has actually suffered it. To a man who is a man it would be hell on earth. I use no rash or unconsidered words when I say that I have never read any description of any sort of a hell that to me would be more unendurable than to see my wife and child want, while I, willing and able, could find no work to do because of capitalistic "over-production."

But along comes the brewer and offers this man a situation. Says he will give him \$75.00 a month as bartender, or offers to set him up in the saloon business and stock his bar, giving him plenty of opportunity and time to pay for his outfit. What will this man do? What ought he to do? And we must ask what he *will* do as well as what he *ought* to do.

If we are in earnest about desiring to suppress the liquor traffic we will consider men and the motives which actuate them not only as we think they ought to be, *but as they actually are*. If on the other hand the reader's temperance proclivities are simply a means of furnishing himself with a little cheap self-righteousness in refusing an evil which he refuses to consider, the remainder of this article will be of no further interest to him.

It is written for men and women who seek not simply to "shift responsibility" for this traffic and "keep their ballots white," but actually to compass its destruction.

Let once the co-operative commonwealth of Socialism appear with none to shut the factory door, or to deny access to the land, and no possibility of "glutting the market" since the purchasing power of each will be equal to his productive efforts, and none shall be constrained to enter a detested business through lack of employment.

So much for the liquor-seller; what can be said of the manufacturer? Here we are more directly brought face to face with the workings and the power of capitalism. There are in round numbers one and a half billion dollars and over invested in the liquor traffic in the United States. Considering the fact always insisted upon by Prohibitionists that capital

employs fewer laborers in proportion to the amount invested in this industry than in any other, and the fact that the manufacture of liquor is centralized in a few hands, a conservative estimate would give these liquor capitalists yearly revenues of 70 million dollars.

Or we can arrive at the same conclusion by another route of thinking. On the very conservative supposition that for every \$20.00 spent in alcoholic liquors, annually \$1.00 finds its way into the chests of these liquor kings as clear profits, they have again and more their 70 million dollars annually.

What do these liquor kings do with their enormous annual dividends? What does dominant capital do in any line of industry with its dividends? There is only one thing on earth that dominant capital can do and that is to re-invest these dividends in the industries of the country. Instance the case of a man with say 10 million dollars annually. He cannot spend this money. He cannot realize it in currency and lock it up in a strong box to go and look at once in a while. He must realize his dividends as re-investments. This applies to the revenues of the liquor capitalists as it applies to all others.

But this produces competition among the several capitalists for a place where they may re-invest their dividends with the result that each is constrained so far as possible to re-invest his dividends in enlarging the industries which he now controls. This applies to the liquor business as to all others. We have then, thanks to capitalism, a situation in which a few brewers and distillers have a war chest of 70 million dollars annually, which for the most part they are constrained to expend in spreading the liquor traffic. Does any one wonder that the consumption of alcohol is on the increase despite all that has been said, sung, written, prayed, and voted against it? Does any one wonder at the marvelous increase in liquor advertising? Is it likely that these liquor capitalists will be niggardly of funds in corrupting legislatures and officials when they have this war chest of 70 million dollars yearly? Is it any wonder that they have been able to wet-blanket so much that temperance reformers have tried so hard to do?

Because of this necessity for re-investing dividends, the same economic developments are taking place in the liquor traffic which show in the lines of commerce, that is, the small establishment is passing away or becoming an adjunct to the large establishment. In the mercantile world, as is well known, this shows itself not so much in the actual passing away as in the demoralization of the small retailer's business. More and more the small store is owned by and becomes an adjunct of the large wholesale establishment. Precisely the same thing is true in the liquor traffic. When in Fostoria, O., recently the writer was informed that there were 32 saloons in the place and that only in three instances did the "proprietor" own his own bar fixtures. The city of Detroit affords 1,000 saloons, yet the brewing companies alone pay the licenses of 200 of these—are so accredited in the treasurer's office—and no one knows of how many more they actually pay the license likewise.

Mr. Walsh, license inspector in the city of Minneapolis, is quoted in the Outlook, Aug. 27, 1904, as saying that eleven-twelfths of the

saloon licences in that city are paid by the brewers, and similar conditions, of course, for the same reasons obtain throughout the country.

Is it likely that this powerful interest, daily becoming more consolidated in obedience to the laws of finance, will be easily curbed by local-option laws?

Is it likely that a liquor king with an income of 10 million dollars, which he is constrained to re-invest, will be forced to obey such laws as we have now, because he is fined \$50.00 for violating these laws in one of his outposts?

Is it likely that this powerful moneyed interest will be easily crushed while the investing power of money remains as it is?

To overthrow the liquor interest we must overthrow the money power.

To overthrow the money power, opportunities for investment in the exploitation of labor must be done away, in other words rent, interest and profits abolished and Socialism inaugurated.

When we have seen all this we have only begun to see the obstacles which capitalism offers to the control, say nothing about the suppression of the liquor traffic.

* * * * *

There are in round numbers 300,000 men in the United States employed in making and selling alcoholic liquors. To which add all those engaged in making such cooperage and glassware as that trade directly calls for, and such drayage as it necessitates, and it would be a conservative estimate indeed to say that 500,000 men are kept in work directly by the liquor traffic.

What to do with these 500,000 men did prohibition prevail under capitalism is the problem. The labor market is already full, even in our most prosperous times. Does anyone doubt it? Let him watch the progress of a strike, no matter how justly called. The boast of the employers that they can always find plenty of men to take the place of the strikers if these last will go quietly to their homes and abstain from picketing is no idle one. Despite the obloquy attaching to the strike-breaker plenty of such men can always be found, because the labor market it always full.

Is it, then, seriously proposed to turn 500,000 men with their dependents out of employment, without compensation or guarantees of any kind, onto a labor market already full?

Is it likely that this can be done?

Is it likely that 500,000 men will put up some sort of a fight before they will submit to be evicted from their present means of employment and left to make a fight for life as best they can in an already congested "labor market"?

This much will probably be conceded at once by every fair-minded and reasonable man that before we can hope to do away with the liquor traffic we must solve in advance the problem of employment for these 500,000 men whom Prohibition aims to displace. And not for these 50,000 men alone, but likewise for that other army of at least 50,000 yearly who are now destroyed by liquor and who would, of course, be preserved to compete in the struggle for existence were the traffic in in-

toxicants effectually suppressed. The employment problem for this mighty host absolutely must be solved, and in advance, ere the traffic can be done away. Let us with much patience examine every solution that has been offered.

Times and again the writer has heard the Prohibitionist speaker declare that "we would set all these men at work in our cloth factories making coats for those who now are coatless through strong drink, we would set them at work making shoes for the now unshod feet of the drunkard's children, making stoves and digging coal for those who are now without the comforts of warmth," and when he was a child this seemed to him all that was necessary to say on the subject.

The fallacy in all this is, of course, the quiet assumption that "we" have such industries under "our" control in which without let or hindrance we could set people at work. And under Socialism this would be true. But not so does capitalism proceed. Capitalism buys labor as it buys potatoes and onions, for the lowest price possible, and always operates industry with as few men as possible.

There lies before me as I write, the Detroit Times of Dec. 6, 1904, in which anent his troubles at Zeigler, Joseph Leiter is quoted as saying. "Labor unions at Zeigler or any other place can't put a collar around my neck and give me orders what kind of labor I shall buy with my money. When I go into the market to purchase labor I propose to retain just as much freedom as does the purchaser in any other kind of a market. There is no difficulty in obtaining labor, for the country is full of unemployed men."

There it is in a nutshell, the spirit of capitalism, and what is of more importance, its method. With capitalism an increase in the number of the unemployed never means a shortening of hours, but always a shortening of pay. Capitalism is never concerned to find employment for all, but rather its interests always lie in the existence of a great mass of the unemployed.

But another argument has been advanced. It is claimed that prohibition of the liquor traffic would release the enormous amount of one billion five hundred million dollars now spent annually in liquor which would therefore be spent in useful avenues of trade and furnish employment to those displaced by prohibition. The fallacy which underlies this argument is the assumption that this sum of money is at present used for no other purpose than the purchase of intoxicating drink. But a moment's reflection will show that this is not the case. A dollar passes over the bar into the saloonkeepers's till. Does it remain there forever? Does the saloonkeeper destroy it? Or does he in turn use that dollar in paying taxes and purchasing commodities, thus sending it into general circulation again? Possibly enough that same dollar inside of three months has bought five times its value in groceries, been banked a dozen times and paid three times by stalwart prohibitionists on the pastor's salary.

The fact is that the money now spent in alcoholic liquors circulates as freely as any other in the purchase of commodities and hence there is no such fund as some suppose which could be released by prohibition for the furtherance of useful enterprises. But some will say, "It is not

claimed that prohibition would increase the actual volume of money, but that through closing the avenue through which one billion and a half passes now it would hasten its circulation which would have all the economic value of an increase in volume." Let us see.

There are two ways in which the circulation of money may be hastened, (1) by passing through fewer hands; (2) by an increase in the cost of living coupled with an increase in the general purchasing power. A word on each of these. (1) If the money of the country were made to pass through fewer hands as the present writer contends it would with Prohibition under capitalism, then woe for those through whose hands it did not pass at all. They would be the 500,000 whose case has been already considered.

(2) An increased cost of living with increased purchasing power could only appear as a result, never as a cause, of increased demand for labor. We have seen already that an increase in the number of laborers available under capitalism only means a decrease in wages, hence also in the cost of living.

Another form of the same idea is this, that at present a great many "bad debts" are contracted, to the detriment of merchants and others and to the general stagnation of industry, because inebriates spend the money in liquor which should go to the purchase of necessities for their families. True, but those who live by the liquor traffic spend the same money for *their* necessities in the furtherance of trade and industry. Prohibition would not increase the volume of money. The most that it could accomplish would be a transference of purchasing power from one individual to another. And of what moment is this as affecting the general welfare? A bad debt on the part of the inebriate due to his habits is no more an economic loss than a bad debt would be contracted by a worker in the liquor traffic unable to pay because of enforced idleness under Prohibition. But it is said that the inebriate's inability to pay is not due alone, nor chiefly to his expenses, but to his inability to work. True, but by so much as liquor incapacitates him it retires him from competition with his fellows, who thus, through the law of supply and demand, are enabled to secure a better wage.

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The purchasing power which Prohibition proposes to confer upon the inebriate is now shared by the employes of the liquor traffic and by the laborers with whom the inebriate is unable to compete. A transference of purchasing power without any net increase in the same would never provide employment for additional laborers, least of all for the half million and more which Prohibition aims to displace.

The liquor traffic has the same economic functions that war has. Alike they are great destroyers of human life and property. Alike because of this they relieve the glut in the market due to the accumulation of surplus product and through lessening the stress of competition in the labor market raise the wages of the survivors. This is of course true under capitalism where everything moves by competition, the downfall of one being a necessary incident in the rise of another. But under Socialism with its abolition of competition and the wage system all this

would be changed, and war, intemperance and every social evil would be a dead loss to society. And this is one reason why society under Socialism would tolerate none of them very long.

The argument from experience is called upon and it is asserted that Maine has successfully enforced a Prohibitory law, with the result that the wealth of the people has materially increased as shown by the fact that the percapita wealth of Maine is very much greater than that of states like Illinois whose natural resources are much greater. And it is argued that what Maine has done, other states and the whole Union might do as successfully. Let us observe:

(1) The major promise that Maine does enforce a prohibitory law may very seriously be questioned.

(2) The liquor problem, as is well known, is always more difficult to solve in large cities, and least difficult in rural districts. There is not a large city in the state of Maine. Her three principal cities, Lewiston, Portland and Bangor, if condensed into one would not make a city one third as large as Detroit. The whole population of the state of Maine, rural and urban, scarcely exceeds $1/5$ that of Greater New York.

(3) As to the wealth per capita of Maine and Illinois it is of the very nature of capitalism that where natural resources are richest the poverty of the people is greatest, for thither capitalism summons its armies of wage slaves.

(4) Even if Prohibition could be effected in one small corner that would not prove that it could be effected with equal facility throughout the Union. The liquor interests would not think it worth while to contend strenuously for the trade of a small state like Maine while they had an enormous open market elsewhere.

(5) The essential obstacle to Prohibition under capitalism, employment for the displaced and rescued, would not be felt in state Prohibition on a small scale at all, seeing that a few hundred displaced tradesmen might easily find employment by going elsewhere, perhaps to continue their trade in alcoholic liquors. Not so with half a million men did Prohibition obtain over the whole country.

A curious "argument," worthy of a moment's notice, is that of Mr. Carroll in his acceptance of the Vice-Pres. nomination of the Prohibition party. In effect it is this. Consumption of liquors lowers the productivity of the laborer, hence his wages. Remove the liquor, the productivity, hence also the wages will be increased. A school-boy should reason better than this. The veriest tyro in economics should know that wages are not determined by the laborer's productivity, but by the cost of his subsistence. Competition tends to force all commodities on the market at about the cost of their production. But labor power is also a commodity and its cost of production is the laborer's subsistence. Which term includes not simply the bare necessities of life, but that with which the average laborer will be submissive.

Hence not productivity at all, but the average cost of subsistence determines the laborer's wage. And as to depriving him of his beverages, so far as his outlay is thus lessened so far will his wages fall.

A lady once said to the writer in indignation against the trade unions: "If they would spend less money for beer they wouldn't need

to ask their bosses for so much wages." Well said and truly. They wouldn't need so much wages and the "bosses" would reap the economic benefit. For as the redoubtable Mr. Leiter declares: "Capital proposes to be just as free when it goes into the market to purchase labor as does the purchaser in any other kind of a market." This, too, for the men in employment now, without making any provision or allowance whatever for the half million men and more which Prohibition aims to displace.

Anyone can see that if increased production meant a general increase of wages this increase would follow the introduction of every labor-saving or product-increasing machine.

But does it? Not under capitalism.

If ten men have employment today and tomorrow a machine is introduced whereby one man can produce as much as all ten formerly produced, does that mean that all ten would therefore receive an increase of pay? More probably it means that nine of them would lose their jobs.

Under Socialism, however, all this would be changed. The more the public created the more they would have. Every increase in the general productivity would be welcomed and every condition including intemperance which tended to decrease production, would find itself arrayed against the economic interests of society. An additional reason why the traffic could not long survive the inauguration of Socialism.

The favorite economic contention of party Prohibitionists, however, is set forth at great length in the "Citizen" of Harriman, Sem. issue of Aug. 31, 1904.

This issue was extensively issued as a campaign document, and its argument deserves extended notice. It is this: Under Prohibition and the consequent reclamation of thousands from inebriety the standard of living would be so materially raised, that to supply these new and enlarged demands would set industry in motion and more than provide for the 500,000 men displaced by Prohibition." The fallacy in the foregoing is in the assumption that "demands" in themselves are of economic value, whether supported or not by purchasing power. Not that anyone seriously believes this, but men do not stop to think. If they did there would be more Socialists. "Demands," however insistent, have no economic value except as they are re-inforced by purchasing power.

For that matter we all have "demands" enough now. The writer has "demands" and plenty of them, and probably will have so long as he advocates the principles of Socialism. He can also "give men work" at any time, if that is all they require. But of what benefit to industry is this, seeing that he is so limited in his ability to pay?

Suppose, then, that Prohibition should increase the demands of the laboring public, these demands would only be of value for securing employment for the unemployed in proportion as they were re-inforced by the purchasing power of the laborers. But what determines their purchasing power? Their wages. And what determines their wages? The cost of subsistence modified in turn by the stress of competition in the labor market. The greater the cost of subsistence and the less the competition the better the wages, while the less the cost of subsistence and the greater the competition the less will be the wages.

But Prohibition proposes to lower the laborer's cost of subsistence by so much as he spends now in liquor, and to increase the competition in the labor market by an increase of 500,000 men.

Is it likely that in the face of such facts theoretic "demands" of laborers, with no increase in purchasing power, will suffice to find employment, and at once for an additional force of 500,000 laborers?

For this additional employment must also be found immediately ere Prohibition can be made effective. It must be found immediately because men cannot live for ten, five, or even one year on nothing, waiting for better times to appear. And the men engaged in the liquor traffic and those lines of industry which it necessitates like other laborers selling their labor power receive but little more than the cost of subsistence, and if dispossessed of present occupation stand in need of employment immediately.

The demands of unemployed workmen would be, of course, as futile in accelerating the circulation of money spoken of in former pages, as in furnishing employment for more laborers.

Let's use our brains. If we do we shall see that the liquor traffic is simply a labor problem, one phase of the problem of the unemployed, or which is the same thing, the man who fears he will be unemployed. We shall see that neither the laborer nor the general public have any determining voice in setting men at work, shortening hours, or fixing pay, and no way at present of making effective any desires they may have as touching these subjects.

Capitalism owns the jobs and always carries on industry with the lowest wages and fewest men possible.

We shall see that only three things are possible for the unemployed. Society must either kill them off as in the Middle Ages, suffer them to recruit the ranks of the predatory classes, or insure the constant opportunity for employment, as Socialism proposes.

We shall see something else. My temperance friend, you have read these pages, henceforth one of three things you must do.

You must overthrow the arguments in the foregoing pages, join the Socialist party, or stand convicted of insincerity.

Heretofore you have been true to the light that was in you, voicing and voting your convictions like a man. But sincerity involves that we shall be true, not only to the light which we had yesterday, but to the light which we have today, and to that also which shall come to us tomorrow.

Can you overthrow the argument of the foregoing pages? Perhaps so. Its processes are not involved, neither is its argument sentimental, but mathematical. If there is an error in its logic anywhere it ought not to be difficult to show where that error is. But if the contents of these pages are made manifest to your conscience that they are true, will you join the Socialist party? We hope so. We believe in you. We trust that you will square your conduct by your convictions in the future as you have done in the past.

We look to all who have striven and toiled to make this world better to unite with us in this grand International Social-Democratic Party.

moving forward for common possession of the means of producing the means of life, that every man may live unfettered and unfearing a truly human life.

"O Freedom, deepen thou a grave
Where every king and every slave
Shall drop in crown and chain
Till only man remain."

Nor let us cease, nor shall we cease till the last saloon, the last sweat-shop, the last vestige of aristocracy or poverty or of aught that has betrayed, profaned and disinherited man shall vanish from the earth like a horrid dream and all stand free in the liberty where Truth makes free indeed.

A Catholic Talk to Catholics.

There were weak bishops in the Middle Ages who were impressed by the sacredness of property when held by robber barons. They did not think they were guilty of an abomination in the sight of God when, in gorgeous copes, they stood at the entrance of "the refuge of the oppressed," and chanted Te Deums for the victorious return of mailed thieves from expeditions of plunder, arson and murder. Everywhere, in our own day, we have these piously minded freebooters, who are constantly mixing up their relations to God.

There is a story of a very rich orthodox New England Christian who said to a newspaper reporter on the completion of a large work out of which he is said to have made millions: "We have been peculiarly favored by Divine Providence; iron was never so cheap before, and labor has been a drug in the market." That man would have made a comfortable living on the Rhine half a dozen centuries ago.

What is the attitude of the church to-day? Do not think me unfair if I say that the respectable accumulator of wealth is made much of within the church portals, and while the prayers and admonitions are alike framed to prevent him from vulgar "picking and stealing," sermons are not preached explaining any of the uncertain ways by which so many business transactions are made dishonest, while coming within the protection of the law.—J. Brisben Walker, Editor *Cosmopolitan Magazine*.

Socialism means light and life;
capitalism darkness and death.

Labor produces our surloin steak
and then feasts on the flank.

Many a mistaken man has stood
firm for the capitalist system as
against the arguments of the Social-
ists, and then been driven by the sys-
tem to commit suicide!

The Successful Man.

By S. L. HOOVER.



THE writer has had ten years' experience in teaching, and so he knows the value of concrete examples in conveying clear ideas to the mind of another. We hear much on every hand of success in general, and in the abstract, but such success does not seem real and natural, and so it is proposed to describe a real, living, successful man. If this man's name were mentioned in the city in which he lives—a city of twenty thousand inhabitants—there is not an individual of the school age and upward who would not recognize it. If anything of importance pertaining to the city's improvement is contemplated, this man's judgment is obtained. If an opinion on a political or financial matter is desired this man is sought. In fact the writer himself went to him for an opinion, and the interview, which will be given later, is responsible for this description of the man. If a list of the successful men of his city were to be made none would feel that it was complete without his name. He employs a confidential clerk to whom he pays a good salary to take care of his interests. This clerk is a polite, conscientious person and withal very much attached to his employer. The relation of one to the other is most cordial. In fact this may be said of all the many employees of this successful man. They all like him, and he seems to like them, although they all without exception testify that he is very strict about each performing his full duty and allows no foolishness about matters of work.

The confidential clerk gave the writer some facts of his employer.

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to ask their bosses for so much wages." Well said and truly. They wouldn't need so much wages and the "bosses" would reap the economic benefit. For as the redoubtable Mr. Leiter declares: "Capital proposes to be just as free when it goes into the market to purchase labor as does the purchaser in any other kind of a market." This, too, for the men in employment now, without making any provision or allowance whatever for the half million men and more which Prohibition aims to displace.

Anyone can see that if increased production meant a general increase of wages this increase would follow the introduction of every labor-saving or product-increasing machine.

But does it? Not under capitalism.

If ten men have employment today and tomorrow a machine is introduced whereby one man can produce as much as all ten formerly produced, does that mean that all ten would therefore receive an increase of pay? More probably it means that nine of them would lose their jobs.

Under Socialism, however, all this would be changed. The more the public created the more they would have. Every increase in the general productivity would be welcomed and every condition including intemperance which tended to decrease production, would find itself arrayed against the economic interests of society. An additional reason why the traffic could not long survive the inauguration of Socialism.

The favorite economic contention of party Prohibitionists, however, is set forth at great length in the "Citizen" of Harriman, Sem. issue of Aug. 31, 1904.

This issue was extensively issued as a campaign document, and its argument deserves extended notice. It is this: Under Prohibition and the consequent reclamation of thousands from inebriety the standard of living would be so materially raised, that to supply these new and enlarged demands would set industry in motion and more than provide for the 500,000 men displaced by Prohibition." The fallacy in the foregoing is in the assumption that "demands" in themselves are of economic value, whether supported or not by purchasing power. Not that anyone seriously believes this, but men do not stop to think. If they did there would be more Socialists. "Demands," however insistent, have no economic value except as they are re-inforced by purchasing power.

For that matter we all have "demands" enough now. The writer has "demands" and plenty of them, and probably will have so long as he advocates the principles of Socialism. He can also "give men work" at any time, if that is all they require. But of what benefit to industry is this, seeing that he is so limited in his ability to pay?

Suppose, then, that Prohibition should increase the demands of the laboring public, these demands would only be of value for securing employment for the unemployed in proportion as they were re-inforced by the purchasing power of the laborers. But what determines their purchasing power? Their wages. And what determines their wages? The cost of subsistence modified in turn by the stress of competition in the labor market. The greater the cost of subsistence and the less the competition the better the wages, while the less the cost of subsistence and the greater the competition the less will be the wages.

But Prohibition proposes to lower the laborer's cost of subsistence by so much as he spends now in liquor, and to increase the competition in the labor market by an increase of 500,000 men.

Is it likely that in the face of such facts theoretic "demands" of laborers, with no increase in purchasing power, will suffice to find employment, and at once for an additional force of 500,000 laborers?

For this additional employment must also be found immediately ere Prohibition can be made effective. It must be found immediately because men cannot live for ten, five, or even one year on nothing, waiting for better times to appear. And the men engaged in the liquor traffic and those lines of industry which it necessitates like other laborers selling their labor power receive but little more than the cost of subsistence, and if dispossessed of present occupation stand in need of employment immediately.

The demands of unemployed workmen would be, of course, as futile in accelerating the circulation of money spoken of in former pages, as in furnishing employment for more laborers.

Let's use our brains. If we do we shall see that the liquor traffic is simply a labor problem, one phase of the problem of the unemployed, or which is the same thing, the man who fears he will be unemployed. We shall see that neither the laborer nor the general public have any determining voice in setting men at work, shortening hours, or fixing pay, and no way at present of making effective any desires they may have as touching these subjects.

Capitalism owns the jobs and always carries on industry with the lowest wages and fewest men possible.

We shall see that only three things are possible for the unemployed. Society must either kill them off as in the Middle Ages, suffer them to recruit the ranks of the predatory classes, or insure the constant opportunity for employment, as Socialism proposes.

We shall see something else. My temperance friend, you have read these pages, henceforth one of three things you must do.

You must overthrow the arguments in the foregoing pages, join the Socialist party, or stand convicted of insincerity.

Heretofore you have been true to the light that was in you, voicing and voting your convictions like a man. But sincerity involves that we shall be true, not only to the light which we had yesterday, but to the light which we have today, and to that also which shall come to us tomorrow.

Can you overthrow the argument of the foregoing pages? Perhaps so. Its processes are not involved, neither is its argument sentimental, but mathematical. If there is an error in its logic anywhere it ought not to be difficult to show where that error is. But if the contents of these pages are made manifest to your conscience that they are true, will you join the Socialist party? We hope so. We believe in you. We trust that you will square your conduct by your convictions in the future as you have done in the past.

We look to all who have striven and toiled to make this world better to unite with us in this grand International Social-Democratic Party,

moving forward for common possession of the means of producing the means of life, that every man may live unfettered and unfearing a truly human life.

"O Freedom, deepen thou a grave
Where every king and every slave
Shall drop in crown and chain
Till only man remain."

Nor let us cease, nor shall we cease till the last saloon, the last sweat-shop, the last vestige of aristocracy or poverty or of aught that has betrayed, profaned and disinherited man shall vanish from the earth like a horrid dream and all stand free in the liberty where Truth makes free indeed.

A Catholic Talk to Catholics.

There were weak bishops in the Middle Ages who were impressed by the sacredness of property when held by robber barons. They did not think they were guilty of an abomination in the sight of God when, in gorgeous copes, they stood at the entrance of "the refuge of the oppressed," and chanted *Te Deum* for the victorious return of mailed thieves from expeditions of plunder, arson and murder. Everywhere, in our own day, we have these piously minded freebooters, who are constantly mixing up their relations to God.

There is a story of a very rich orthodox New England Christian who said to a newspaper reporter on the completion of a large work out of which he is said to have made millions: "We have been peculiarly favored by Divine Providence; iron was never so cheap before, and labor has been a drug in the market." That man would have made a comfortable living on the Rhine half a dozen centuries ago.

What is the attitude of the church to-day? Do not think me unfair if I say that the respectable accumulator of wealth is made much of within the church portals, and while the prayers and admonitions are alike framed to prevent him from vulgar "picking and stealing," sermons are not preached explaining any of the uncertain ways by which so many business transactions are made dishonest, while coming within the protection of the law.—J. Brisben Walker, Editor *Cosmopolitan Magazine*.

Socialism means light and life;
capitalism darkness and death.

Labor produces our surloin steak
and then feasts on the flank.

Many a mistaken man has stood
firm for the capitalist system as
against the arguments of the Social-
ists, and then been driven by the sys-
tem to commit suicide!

The Successful Man.

By S. L. HOOVER.



THE writer has had ten years' experience in teaching, and so he knows the value of concrete examples in conveying clear ideas to the mind of another. We hear much on every hand of success in general, and in the abstract, but such success does not seem real and natural, and so it is proposed to describe a real, living, successful man. If this man's name were mentioned in the city in which he lives—a city of twenty thousand inhabitants—there is not an individual of the school age and upward who would not recognize it. If anything of importance pertaining to the city's improvement is contemplated, this man's judgment is obtained. If an opinion on a political or financial matter is desired this man is sought. In fact the writer himself went to him for an opinion, and the interview, which will be given later, is responsible for this description of the man. If a list of the successful men of his city were to be made none would feel that it was complete without his name. He employs a confidential clerk to whom he pays a good salary to take care of his interests. This clerk is a polite, conscientious person and withal very much attached to his employer. The relation of one to the other is most cordial. In fact this may be said of all the many employees of this successful man. They all like him, and he seems to like them, although they all without exception testify that he is very strict about each performing his full duty and allows no foolishness about matters of work.

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fact that a number of others held his views exactly, and still a larger number were entirely unmoved by the incident, and yet a larger number than this were totally ignorant of the cause for the decline in price, and unable to suggest any remedy at all, suggested that something should be done to show that all the wisdom of the times is not possessed by the successful men.

"When the writer called upon the successful man, he was busy about his place of business, moving rapidly here and there, directing this employee and that, hurrying up one, showing another how he should do his part of the work. The writer found it difficult to keep within hearing distance of him, but managed to catch every one of his words. The question was put, "What do you think of burning cotton to keep up the price?" "It's none of my business. It's a private matter for those who own it to solve. If they have a thing that is of no use to themselves, let them burn it, or throw it into the river, or do with it whatever they like."

"But if it is destroyed in this way, you would have to pay more for what you need for your own use," the writer interposed.

"I'll always see to getting together enough to pay for all I need, whatever the price," he replied.

"But do you not think that many persons who cannot do this will suffer for the want of it, if it is destroyed?"

"That is not my business, that's theirs, and besides you are thinking only of those who have cotton goods to buy, not of the farmers who have raised it. If it goes down to the price it now is, they will be the sufferers, and cannot afford to raise any more and so they might as well

burn it, as it makes no difference any way."

Now there will be no attempt to analyze fully these questions and replies. The reader will be given ample opportunity to make the most of them. Attention will be directed, however, to the following facts: First, A successful man may have very erroneous ideas of economy. This one seems unconcerned about the waste of a useful article. Possibly because he feels as he says, that it is not his, and as before stated it is more than probable that this feeling and saying is the result of his environment which in part it is now proper to describe. He is one of the class of persons who think only in terms of selling the finished product at a profit, and that profit is the source of his life and his accumulated fortune. He produces nothing; his employees produce nothing; they only sell what some one else has produced. They in no way increase the bulk of wealth, they only gather it together and place it at the disposal of this successful man. It is not difficult therefore to appreciate the fact that such a person in such an environment is very little interested in such a thing as a raw material, feeling as he does that he will always be able to keep his stock of finished product full, and that if anyone wants what he has to sell they will have to pay the price.

Second: A successful man may care very little about the inconvenience and suffering of others, for while this one seems to feel regret for the farmers, he fails to see that they, while possessing abundance of cotton, must buy their cotton goods, just the same as others, and until they can turn this cotton into money they must suffer for clothing just as much as others, to say nothing of

the suffering they must undergo by reason of the lack of food and other things.

Third: A successful man may carry his individualism to extremes, forgetting that while for the present he may take care of himself as he boasts, there are others who can not do so, such as the unfortunate, the widow, the orphan, and who can say whether or not he himself or his own children may not sooner or later fall into these classes.

Fourth: A successful man may be totally ignorant of the basic laws of economics, as was the case with this one by his intimation that things are grown and made to be sold, that is for the purpose of profit to certain individuals rather than for use, that is for the enjoyment, comfort, and improvement of all the people. Moreover it never occurred to him that this profit idea is the very thing that has caused this present slump in the cotton market, and that causes the slumps in all the other markets. He seemed totally unconscious of the fact that it is the middle men, the profit takers, that make it impossible for the growers to live any longer by producing cotton, because after the middle men have taken out their profit there is nothing left for the growers, and that these slumps are produced at certain times in order the more effectually to appropriate this profit.

A friend of the writer who lives in the cotton region of Texas gives the following as an illustration of the course of this raw material, from the time it leaves the hands of the growers until it reaches him again in the form of cotton cloth: "The grower takes a bale to the country storekeeper to settle an old account of a year's standing for goods purchased at a profit to the storekeeper of at least 33½ per cent. This

country storekeeper sells to the wholesale merchant in Dallas who in turn sells to the cotton dealer in New Orleans. The New Orleans firm has the bale compressed a second time, so as to make it into the smallest possible size, and then sells to the manufacturer in Fall River, Mass. This manufacturer sells the cloth to the jobber in New Orleans, the jobber sells to the wholesale merchant in Dallas, the wholesale merchant, through his drummer, sells to the country storekeeper to whom the grower goes to exchange his cotton to cancel that permanent debt. Space forbids a full explanation of the evils of all this commercial machinery, the reader must use his own intelligence and study it out for himself. This much must be clear, that the idea of profit by unnecessary handlers will have to be banished, so that the growers will be encouraged to produce all the cotton that is necessary to comfortably supply all. Then let a sufficient quantity of cotton goods be made to supply the needs of all. Let a simple method of exchange be arranged so that the cotton growers and the cloth makers can supply themselves with the things they have not produced, as they have supplied others with cotton and cloth. Then instead of a few one-sided successful men, there will be a nation of successful, happy, patriotic citizens, living in harmony and fraternity, and making such progress as can not now be conceived.

Do not miss an opportunity these days to make a convert or to sow the good seed of economic emancipation. We are getting face to face with capitalism in all its livid fury and every soldier gained adds strength to our arms. Spread as much literature as you can—keep at it persistently!



Socialist Headquarters.

To achieve the objects of Socialism, the American Socialists have formed the Socialist Party, now organized in all the States of the Union. In New York and Wisconsin, this party is known, for legal reasons, as the Social Democratic Party and in Minnesota as the Public Ownership Party.

NATIONAL SECRETARY: J. MAHLON BARNES, Boylston Bldg. 269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

The Danger of the Race.

Physical Culture Magazine: Dr. Gorton, in his "Ethics, Civic and Political," writes: "Three-fourths of the wealth of the United States has drifted into the hands of one-tenth of its people.

"Should the power of greed continue unchecked to control the laws of trade, the earth and everything of value therein will ultimately be in the hands of a small minority of individuals, now known as capitalists, a class by no means distinguished by meekness; while the majority of mankind will be reduced to dependence and beggary. The result is as inevitable under the present regime as the ebb and flow of the tides, the procession of the seasons or the law of gravity—as the history of all nations and peoples prove.

"It is amazing to us that the thinkers and statesmen of the period do not see the perils which menace Christendom from this mal-condition of things and exercise wisdom and courage sufficient to devise and apply the remedy.

"We are vitally interested in this momentous question; not because of a desire to enter into Socialism. There are a number of magazines that are handling this subject better than we could if we would. We are interested in this question because physical culture is impossible to a man with an empty stomach and unable to buy the wholesome food through which only he is able to build up his body. It is said that the common people of England are deteriorating in physique and in health because of the half-starved condition under which they are forced to live. In New York today are 70,000 hungry school children. The food they do get does not go to nourish or strengthen their bodies, but is rendered non-nutritive by the cramming method of study pursued in

the schools. Hungry children cannot develop into the superbly built men and women that we are hoping to develop by means of physical culture. Thousands of other children are employed in the candy factories, sweatshops and mills of the country by the unfeeling employer—Greed. And these children, instead of becoming magnificent specimens of manhood and womanhood, will never be more than undeveloped, stunted pigmies in stature—dwarfs mentally, morally and physically. For these reasons we are vitally interested in bringing about better conditions among the people."

N. Y. Times (Belmont capitalist): It seems hardly worth while for a man as big as Washington Gladden undoubtedly is, to plan "an organized movement of the churches against the acceptance of John D. Rockefeller's gift to the American Board of Foreign Missions." If he is going to do anything of that kind why doesn't he try to establish a principle or rule of action that will meet, not the case of one rich man, but that of all rich men, and of all rich women, too, and will enable "the churches" to decide in every case whether or not it is right for them and for their followers to accept money offered. As Dr. Gladden knows perfectly well, Mr. Rockefeller, though he may stand on a higher pile of millions than other potential benefactors, is not in a class by himself, even if all the charges against him are well-founded. His business methods, however open to criticism they may be, are not exclusively his. He invented applications of those methods, rather than the methods themselves, and not only is there quite a number of men who do much the same things, but there is a vastly larger number of men who will do the same things IF EVER THEY GET A CHANCE.

SOCIALIST PLATFORM.

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

I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

II.

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

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

III.

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

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

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

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

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

IV.

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

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

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

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

V.

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

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

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

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WHAT THE ARENA MAGAZINE SAYS

OF ALLAN L. BENSON'S GREAT BOOK

"Socialism Made Plain,"

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A big book at a small price. One hundred and thirty-six pages for only a dime! Other publishers would charge 25 cents and not be overcharging at that. But to give it a large circulation and to enable everyone, no matter how limited his means, a chance to purchase a copy we made the price low. The results have been most gratifying, for the sale has been tremendous.

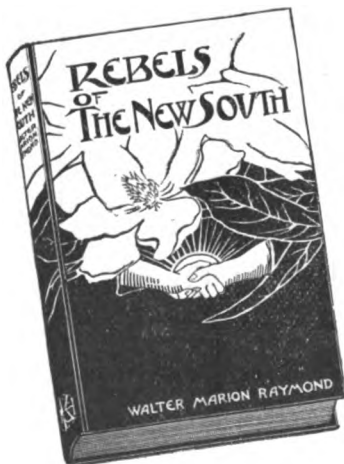
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Vol. 3. No. 10.

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What a horrid, cruel system is this in which we are constantly crowding one another to the wall, trampling upon the man who is down, madly scrambling for a foothold regardless of how the other fellow fares, fearing that to pause for a moment would mean our own destruction! Yet this is the order of things for which capitalism and capitalist political parties stand. Socialism grows because men do not want to keep up this inhuman strife forever. They want to live like men and brethren, and they are turning rapidly to Socialism which means the end of classes and class antagonisms.

Ex-mayor Seth Low of New York says: "Corporations have no votes, but they have money, and it is no exaggeration to say that the money of the corporations is often more influential in shaping legislation than the votes of the people. The statement of a railroad magnate, that in Republican counties he was a Republican, and in Democratic counties he was a Democrat, but that

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Dr. W. S. Rainsford, of St. George's Episcopal church, New York, says: "Not till the 'haves' and 'well-to-do' come near enough to the poor to feel the constraint, the perplexity, the bitterness of their poverty, near enough to share their burdens, absolutely to share them, till that day dawns there will be no social peace, nor should there be." This is well said, though it still lacks any suggestion of justice and implies that the solution of the social problem is to come through the concessions of the rich. But does not the Rector of St. George here frankly recognize the

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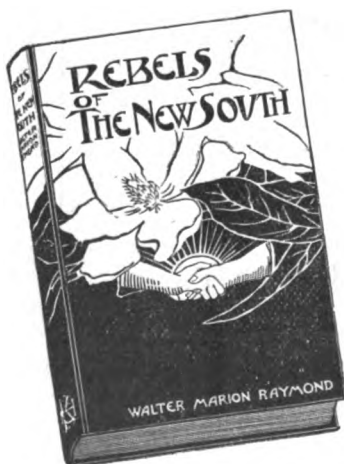
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Christianity vs. Wage-Slavery.

Plain Talk by an Episcopal Clergyman.

In a sermon delivered recently at the Church of the Advent, Boston, one of the most fashionable houses of worship in that city, the Rev. William H. van Allen, taking for his text John x., 13, "The hireling fleeth because he is a hireling, and careth not for the sheep," preached the following sharp sermon on tainted gifts and the wrongs of labor under the capitalist system:

"I read here Christ's condemnation of the wage system; not that the wage system is wholly bad, but that it never had its place in the evolution of society, that it is not a finality, that we cannot rest content with it, and that we must aspire toward its eventual abolition in an order of society which shall know not hirelings, and where men shall work together for the common good as fellow-heirs of a common inheritance.

"Some of you are thinking, I know—I am getting to know you so well, with your sweet conservatism, mingled with a passionate radicalism that outdoes anything in America—how can we get on without wage-workers? How can any system be devised which will do away with the hiring of other men and the taking by us of the larger share of their earnings for our profit?

"Our Lord did not make an emancipation proclamation. He did not enact that slavery should be done away, but he enunciated principles which, being accepted, made slavery impossible, and slavery has been done away in every Christian land today.

"Now, the wage system is a form of slavery—not such a grievous form as chattel slavery, but slavery none the less truly, for the essence of slavery is that one man becomes the means to the ends of another man. And I say again

that our blessed Lord in the gospel of this Good Shepherd Sunday sets the seal of his disapproval upon a system which breeds hirelings, and that I am absolutely confident that, as chattel slavery has been done away, so eventually the wage system will disappear."

"You are decent Christian people. You hire men and women to work for you. You pay them abundant wages, and if your experiences are like those of most of us, you get very poor returns for what you pay in this time-serving generation.

"Labor, according to the wage theory, is a commodity. They take it to the market to sell it under economic conditions of buying and selling. The buyer of labor is bound by what men prate of as economic laws to buy that labor at the lowest price possible. He has money, they have not. He can dictate terms, because he can afford to wait a little. They, having no money, cannot wait.

"The employer has a second great advantage. There are more men needing work than there are places to be filled. Then again, it is found that, because it costs him less to live, the single man is a better man to employ than the man with a wife, and the man with a wife and no children is better than the man with a wife and children. Then again, the Bulgarian or the Pole or the Armenian is a better man to employ than the single American, because he can live cheaper still, and consequently can afford to work cheaper.

Man Who Can Live on Least and Work Sets Standard.

"The man who can live on least and do the work sets the standard scale of wages in the work that he is

competent to do, and the economist has adduced from this what he calls the iron law of wages, that they tend always to the lowest point upon which the workman can maintain his life and strength sufficient to do the work.

"Think of workingwomen. Some of them support themselves by their labors. Others go out to work to earn pin money, and not being dependent on what they earn for a livelihood they can afford to work for much less than those who are working for a living. Therefore, they are cheaper for the employer, and they set the standard of wages in their particular line of work. Do you wonder that every year sees, what every year does see, an enormous sacrifice offered by Mammon to Venus, a long procession of those who are unable to support themselves by the wages they can earn, and who therefore turn to that trade, the only one, I think, where novices are better paid than experts?"

"For every case of poverty caused by drunkenness there are 10 cases of drunkenness caused by poverty. We are so afraid of paternalism that we have no old-age insurance. Employers today don't want men over 40 or over 35. White hairs are barriers to a man getting employment as a wage earner in these days. What has the future in store for the young man who is going to be an old man if he lives?"

"President Eliot talks of the 'joy of work.' It is a catch phrase, and one that is gloriously true of some of us. We do joy in our work, but the reason is because we are not hirelings, and it is unreasonable to expect a hireling to joy in his work, because he has no incentive, except fear of starvation, and no reward except a week's reprieve from starvation. Factory methods have destroyed the workman's joy in his work. He has become a 'hand.'

"The fruits of his labor—what part has he in them? They go to another. Think of the thousands upon thousands who sweat in the mines of Pennsylvania that Mr. Carnegie may build libraries

and eat his bread in the sweat of other men's faces. For my own part, I'd rather not read books that are bought in that way. Not that I condemn Mr. Carnegie. He and his wealth are the products of a condition and not the responsible causes of that condition. He is helpless in the grip of that condition, and he is far more to be praised than some of his fellows, because he has his conscience roused, and recognizes that this he possesses is not his at all.

"I recognize that the captain of industry is just as much a workman as the men he employs, that the man who works with his brain is also a workman. Workmen as a class are not saints. They have very grave defects. **Too often the man who rises from the ranks is the greatest tyrant.** Too often the workman bumbles his work so that it must be done over again, and too often he is concerned to do as little as he can for what he gets. The unions are not always what they ought to be. But that, too, is a consequence of the system which, as it progresses away from slavery, approximates warfare.

"Social evils of every sort arise from failure to recognize what God's fatherhood means and that the incarnation is the glorious remedy that God has ordained whereby all humanity should be forever joined to duty in his presence. It is idle to devise remedies apart from God's teaching. I will lay down two principles which rest upon the assured warrant of holy scripture:

"First, that labor is divinely ordained for all men. Labor is the only test of social worth. I heard a lady the other day speak sneeringly about the working class. Each one of us must belong to the working class, unless he belongs to the drones.

"Second, call no man your master upon earth. In the universal application to labor of these two principles is to be found the solution of this problem; not in the satanic counterfeit of a bloody revolution, which shall tell us of liberty, equality and fraternity, but in social evolution, which shall have love for its dominant motive and reward, love, not as a sentiment, but as a person, so that we who work shall be fellow-working-men with the Carpenter of Nazareth."

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The Coming of Socialism.

By VICTOR L. BERGER.



SOCIALISM is the name of an epoch of civilization—the *next* epoch, if our civilization is to continue.

We must not expect that the Socialist era will come all at one stroke. Neither capitalism nor feudalism arose “at a certain date,” nor can the Socialist form of society have its beginning on any fixed day.

Besides, although capitalistic society has already passed its zenith, yet even at the present day feudalism holds a very important place in modern society. This is the case not only in Germany, spite of its high economic development, but also in England, the “classic land” of capitalism.

Just so with any revolution.

Capitalism will not vanish in one day, in one year or in one decade. Even after the triumph of the working class the commonwealth *cannot* take upon itself all kinds of production.

Many industries today are not concentrated, and therefore are not ripe for collective production. Some will become so in time, others perhaps will not. The writer of this article is no prophet and will not attempt to predict details.

However, the trusts are now showing the Social-Democrats *how* they must do it, only the Socialists will have to do it from a Socialist standpoint and for the benefit of all the people.

But it is not necessary nor possible that all industries should be immediately taken over by the Socialist government.

Every branch of production controlled by a trust, as well as all industries which could be conducted on a similar scale, besides railways, telegraphs, mines, etc., will of course become collective public property and will be managed by the national government.

But there is a whole class of industries (for instance *farming*) which are not yet ready to be worked on this large scale, or which are liable to be decentralized by the technical perfection of the methods of transmitting power. Many small industries have again become possible on account of the transmission of *electric power*. These without any objection can remain in *private hands*. I refer to certain petty industries, as well as to agriculture.

In other cases the Socialist society can give the opportunity for the formation of co-operative associations, which together with the model industries conducted by the state, will raise the level of the working class to a degree hardly credible at the present time.

The chief reason why workingmen's co-operative associations have been impossible hitherto, has even now been partly removed by the trusts, and of course will be of still less account at the rise of the political power of the proletariat.

The trusts show how a regulated business can be done. The management of the co-operative workingmen's association of the future will find out what the demand is and determine the amount and method of the production. During the transition period the sale of products may take place exactly as at present, only subject to regulation by the state.

In the trusts, the capitalist class even now plays the most superfluous role in the world.

Indeed, in the trusts the capitalist class are already expropriated to a certain extent.

The smaller investors who are the great majority no longer have anything to control, and only draw their profits. Their industries are apparently the property of the shareholders; but what sort of property is that of which one has not the free disposal? They can no longer produce what they will, nor at what price they will, nor with what workmen they will; all is prescribed to them by the management of the trust. Properly speaking, they are only profit-receivers.

The trusts are ready now for a change of ownership.

But Wisconsin has been fiercely criticized for a provision in its platform to have the nation "buy out" the trusts and pay the net value. And yet Karl Kautsky, Emil Vandervelde, Wilhelm Liebknecht, and even Karl Marx, speak of *compensation*.

Engels wrote in 1894: "We do not consider the indemnity of the proprietors as an impossibility whatever may be the circumstances. How many times has not Karl Marx expressed to me the opinion that if we could buy up the whole crowd, it would really be the cheapest way of relieving ourselves of them."

Vandervelde says: "There is no doubt that the expropriation without indemnity with the resistance, the troubles, the bloody disturbances which it would not fail to produce, would be in the end most costly." (Collectivism, Kerr edition, page 155.)

In discussing the question of compensation, Karl Kautsky, the most radical theorist of the German Social-Democracy, says:

"There are a number of reasons which indicate that a proletarian regime will seek the road of *compensation* and *payment* of the capitalists and land owners." (Social Revolution, Kerr edition, page 118.)

In another place (on page 113) Kautsky says: "A portion of the factories, mines, etc., could be *sold* directly to the laborers who are working them, and could be henceforth operated co-operatively; another portion could be *sold* to the co-operatives of distribution, and still another to the communities or the states.

"It is clear, however, that capital would find its most extensive and generous *purchaser* in the state or municipalities, and for this very reason the majority of industries would pass into possession of the states and municipalities. That the Social-Democrats when they came into control would strive consciously for this solution is well understood."

Well understood? Yes, everywhere excepting in America.

Of course, all industries of national magnitude would be carried on by the government. For smaller industries, wherever necessary, the government could make some agreement with the co-operative associations of workers. We speak of the transition period.

In this transition period, the Socialist government can of course lend the necessary capital to the co-operative societies and furnish suitable guarantees. The government in this transition period will have at its disposal quite different powers than at present. For instance, it will have a monopoly of all water power, coal mines, railroads, rivers, electrical plants, etc.

So perhaps for a time a state of affairs may arise which will combine at the same time *three* forms of production. That is, the capitalistic form in petty industries, where goods will be produced for the market; the co-operative form in which the products will be for use and also for sale; and the purely Socialistic, where the government will carry on production for use only, and the production will not take the form of wares at all.

That all this will take place peacefully, we do not maintain. It will surely not come peacefully if the people are not armed. It will come peacefully if the people will be armed. Riots and bloodsheds are not at all desirable, nor will they help civilization.

Besides, I do not believe that one great revolution can turn topsyturvy the whole civilized world, and undo or make superfluous any economic development as outlined here.

Capitalism was necessary to give mankind dominion over the forces of nature, which is now assured by our scientific attainments. Considered in itself, capitalism has by no means reached that stage of development where it becomes impossible.

On the contrary, in the trust system, capitalism has just stepped into a new phase, the duration of which is unlimited according to our present light.

Of course, from a civilizing force, capitalism has already become a menace to civilization. But that does not affect its vitality! However, the tendencies which oppose it have now gathered such great strength that a thorough change—*must* not indeed—but *can* take place, if the working class understands its mission.

In conclusion, let me say that the world's history is always made by men, and is *not* a mere natural process, as some Marxists want us to believe.

<p>Distorted and dwarfed as some of our natures may have become under the bad environment and the crushing temptations of the capitalist system of selfish grab, there is still in every breast a longing for a state of society founded on the live and let live principle, the principle of</p>	<p>brotherly love and mutual helpfulness. Some may have been spoiled to the point of entire loss of moral feeling, but compared to the great body of mankind, these are too few to affect the count. Socialism cannot come too soon for the good of the world, provided it comes properly.</p>
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Jack London's Experience with the "Cultured" Public.

From the Introduction of His Forthcoming Book on Classes in America.

When I was a youngster I was looked upon as a weird sort of creature, because, forsooth, I was a Socialist. Reporters from local papers interviewed me, and the interviews, when published, were pathological studies of a strange and abnormal specimen of man. At that time (nine or ten years ago), because I made a stand in my native town for municipal ownership of public utilities, I was branded a "red-shirt," a "dynamiter," and an "anarchist"; and really decent fellows, who liked me very well, drew the line at my appearing in public with their sisters.

But the times changed. There came a day when I heard, in my native town, a Republican mayor publicly proclaim that "municipal ownership was a fixed American policy." And in that day I found myself picking up in the world. No longer did the pathologist study me, while the really decent fellows did not mind in the least the propinquity of myself and their sisters in the public eye. My political and sociological ideas were ascribed to the vagaries of youth, and good-natured, elderly men patronized me and told me that I would grow up some day to become an unusually intelligent member of the community. Also they told me that my views were biased by my empty pockets, and that some day, when I had gathered to me a few dollars, my views would be wholly different,—in short, that my views would be their views.

And then came the day when my Socialism grew respectable,—still a vagary of youth, it was held, but

romantically respectable. Romance, to the bourgeois mind, was respectable because it was not dangerous. As a "red-shirt," with bombs in all his pockets, I was dangerous. As a youth with nothing more menacing than a few philosophical ideas, Germanic in their origin, I was an interesting and pleasing personality.

Through all this experience, I noted one thing. *It was not I that had changed, but the community.* In fact, my Socialistic views grew solidier and more pronounced. I repeat, it was the community that changed, and to my chagrin I discovered that the community changed to such purpose that it was not above stealing my thunder. The community branded me a "red-shirt" because I stood for municipal ownership; a little later it applauded its mayor when he proclaimed municipal ownership to be a fixed American policy. He stole my thunder, and the community applauded the theft. And today the community is able to come around and give me points on municipal ownership.

What happened to me has been in no wise different from what has happened to the Socialist movement as a whole in the United States. In the bourgeois mind Socialism has changed from a terrible disease to a youthful vagary, and later on had its thunder stolen by the two old parties,—Socialism, like a meek and thrifty workingman, being exploited, became respectable.

Only dangerous things are abhorrent. The thing that it not dangerous is always respectable. And so with Socialism in the United

States. For several years it has been very respectable—a sweet and beautiful Utopian dream, in the bourgeois mind, yet a dream, only a dream. During this period, which has just ended, Socialism was tolerated because it was impossible and non-menacing. Much of its thunder had been stolen, and the workmen had been made happy with full dinner-pails. There was nothing to fear. The kind old world spun on, coupons were clipped, and larger profits than ever were extracted from the toilers. Coupon-clipping and profit-extracting would continue to the end of time. These were functions divine in origin and held by divine right. The newspapers, the preachers, and the college presidents said so, and what they say, of course, is so—to the bourgeois mind.

Then came the Presidential election of 1904. Like a bolt out of a clear sky was the Socialist vote of 435,000—an increase of nearly 400 per cent in four years, the largest third-party vote, with one exception, since the Civil War. Socialism had shown that it was a very live and growing revolutionary force, and all its old menace revived. I am afraid that neither it nor I are any longer respectable. The capitalist press of the country confirms me in my opinion.

And far be it from me to deny that Socialism is a menace. It is its purpose to wipe out, root and branch, all capitalistic institutions of present-day society. It is distinctly revolutionary, and in scope and depth is vastly more tremendous than any revolution that has ever occurred in the history of the world. It presents a new spectacle to the astonished world—that of an *organized, international, revolutionary movement*. In the bourgeois

mind a class struggle is a terrible and hateful thing, and yet that is precisely what Socialism is—a world-wide class struggle between the propertyless workers and the propertied masters of workers. It is the prime preachment of Socialism that the struggle is a class struggle. The working class, in the process of social evolution (in the very nature of things), is bound to revolt from the sway of the capitalist class and to overthrow the capitalist class. This is the menace of Socialism, and in affirming it and in tallying myself an adherent of it, I accept my own consequent unrespectability.

As yet, to the average bourgeois mind, Socialism is merely a menace, vague and formless. The average member of the capitalist class, when he discusses Socialism, is condemned an ignoramus out of his own mouth. He does not know the literature of Socialism, its philosophy, nor its politics. He wags his head sagely and rattles the dry bones of dead and buried ideas. His lips mumble mouldy phrases, such as "Men are not born equal and never can be;" "It is Utopian and impossible;" "Abstinence should be rewarded;" "Man will first have to be born again;" "Co-operative colonies have always failed;" and "What if we do divide up? in ten years there would be rich and poor men such as there are today."

It surely is time that the capitalists knew something about this Socialism that they feel menaces them. And it is the hope of the writer that the Socialistic studies in this volume may in some slight degree enlighten a few capitalistic minds. The capitalist must learn, first and for always, that Socialism is based, not upon the equality, but upon the inequality of men. Next, he must

learn that no new birth into spiritual purity is necessary before Socialism becomes possible. He must learn that Socialism deals with what is, not with what ought to be; and that the material with which it deals is the clay of the common road, the warm, human, fallible and frail, sordid and petty, absurd and contradictory, even grotesque, and yet, withal, shot through with flashes and glimmerings of something finer and God-like, with here and there sweetnesses of service and unselfishness, desires for goodness, for renunciation and sacrifice, and with conscience, stern and awful, at times blazingly imperious, demanding the right—the right, nothing more nor less than the right.

Jack London.

Socialism in Germany.

On account of the fear of Socialist domination the government has not allowed the distribution of representatives to be changed since the establishment of the empire. The constitution provides for electoral districts of a hundred thousand each, and if this were put into effect the Social-Democrats would have in the Reichstag, not eighty-one delegates, but a hundred and thirty, and the center, or Catholic party, would have about seventy-five instead of one hundred and two. The Socialists were the only party that made any gains whatever in the elections of 1903.—From “Germany and the Program of Socialism” in the April *Chautauqua*.

Socialism shows great growth in a republic like Switzerland. In Basle where proportional representation was introduced the number of Social-Democratic deputies in the House rose from 22 to 38.

Philistine Socialism.

Elbert Hubbard, for the passing moment, is perhaps the most conspicuous example of the common type of reformer who expects great things to come about “when human nature changes.”

Mr. Hubbard is now a Socialist—just what kind of a Socialist we are not quite certain—since he performed the remarkable feat, last month, of scoring the political followers of Marx in the Philistine and applying for membership in the party at East Aurora.

And, while at the time of writing the magazine article, Mr. Hubbard was fully in accord with the principles of “Fabian” Socialism, he balked at Marxian Socialism, for the peculiar reason that Marxian Socialism stands for the making of an active campaign for justice, while the other kind believes in waiting until justice comes of its own accord.

“Fabian Socialism,” said the Fra, “recognizes that society can change only as the natures of individuals change.”

And:

“I doubt me much that the time will ever come when two pigs, meeting at the trough, will hesitate before jumping into the swill, and the bigger one say to the other, ‘After you, my dear Alphonse.’”

The figures used in Mr. Hubbard’s illustration appear to be more or less apt, since some blunt Socialists declare that capitalism makes hogs out of men, while claiming that Socialism would make men out of hogs.

The merits of the Socialists’ claim in this respect, however, are entirely apart from the question of whether it is necessary to change human nature every time civilization makes a step in advance.

It is a common error to accuse Socialists of seeking to bring about a revolutionary change of human nature, but as a matter of fact, they are trying to bring about nothing of the kind.

Socialists deny the old Biblical doctrine that the "heart of man is unspeakably vile and full of wickedness," and substitute the contention that men are vile or wicked only to the extent that the conditions created by society seem to make it of material advantage to be vile or wicked.

They say that so long as the laws of the land make it possible for a few idlers to obtain much wealth from the toil of others, the most unscrupulous of the few will even break the laws to make the most of their opportunities.

They say that so long as the laws of the land make it profitable to work children to death in the cotton mills of the South, children will be ruthlessly slaughtered by eminently respectable gentlemen who would not even step on the tail of a cat in their own homes.

And, holding these convictions about the cause of wrong-doing, Socialists simply propose to remove the cause by asking the world to cease to offer its richest material prizes to the most conscienceless and the most unscrupulous.

In other words, they ask that wage slavery be abolished by abolishing the thing that makes wage slavery possible—the private ownership by a few of the land and tools with which all men must work to get a living.

And concurrently with this, they ask that the robbery concealed beneath the profit-taking system—the system that gets something for nothing by adding fictitious value

to the cost of production—be abolished.

In other words, they ask that the things that men eat, drink and wear be produced for the purpose of making all men comfortable instead of for the purpose of making a few idlers rich.

Can these things be done without "changing human nature?"

Has anything been proposed except that a few ponderous persons shall get off the backs of the rest of us?

And wasn't that exactly what Abraham Lincoln did when he compelled the slave-holders to get off the backs of the slaves?

Yet no one will claim that the Emancipation Proclamation changed the natures of the slave-holders. Re-enact the slavery laws and there would be no wanting gentlemen who would put the blacks in bondage again. The United States has simply ceased to offer the prize of indolent, luxurious ease to those who would live off the labor of human chattels.

Yet all of this is no reason why Socialists should not welcome to their ranks so eminent a citizen as Hubbard. But perhaps it IS a reason why the Fra should defer for a time, his "Little Journey to the Home of Karl Marx."

For the great mans' disembodied spirit might have things to say just now.

A. L. Benson.

The days of the professional procuress is about over. Her work is now being done by the modern department store, that pays its girls salaries they cannot live on and thus forces many of them across the threshold of immorality. Thus it is seen that there is one department of the department store business that is not printed in the catalogue!

Disregard for Lives of Workers.

A Tale of Horror from Pennsylvania.

"Conditions are such at the present time that the life of a foreigner employed in the mills and the mines is given less consideration than is the life of a horse or a mule. In the darkest days of slavery in the South the negro was accorded better treatment than the Hungarian in the mills receives today." — Coroner Armstrong, Pittsburg.

A great deal of public sentiment, says the *Union Sentinel*, has been manufactured by the magazine press of the country against the Standard Oil Company, because it has squeezed out rival concerns in a thoroughly "business-like" manner.

It is described as the "Giant Octopus" and held up to the horror of mankind, though probably its methods are no worse than those of its would-be rivals—only a little more so.

I have just finished reading the following article from the news columns of the Philadelphia Ledger. It is tragically significant of the low value placed on human life in this country that no sentiment can be aroused, apparently, against corporations that are literally murdering human beings by the thousands, not only in the plants of the United Steel Co., but in all the coal mines and on all the railroads of the land.

Human Life is Not Sacred.

It is only when high and holy business is affected and some men

are crowded out of the money-getting process that a hue and cry is raised.

Human life is not sacred enough to be worth making a fuss over its loss—especially if it is only the life of a poor foreigner.

Let the toilers support their own press and manufacture a "public sentiment" that shall be of some benefit to themselves.

Let them be their own public,—make their own laws and judge themselves—by electing Socialist representatives to the legislature, courts and congress.

They can then try these corporations by their records, and decide which is worse:—to drive a man out of business, or burn him alive in a furnace.

According to Joseph G. Armstrong, Coroner of Allegheny County, and Adelbert Merle, Austro-Hungarian Consul General to Pittsburg, Hungarian workmen are being ruthlessly slaughtered in the blast furnaces, the steel mills and the coal mines in Pittsburg and vicinity. Concerted action on the part of the coroner and the consul is to be taken with a view of lessening, if possible, the mortality. Twelve men killed in one plant alone, owned by the United States Steel Corporation, has aroused the coroner, while Consul Merle has been driven to action by the reported "disappearance" of Hungarians whom, he believes, have been killed at the furnaces. The matter was brought to a focus by Coroner Armstrong during the week when he addressed a jury sitting on the death of one of the foreigners, who had been cremated in the plant of the American Steel and Wire Company.

Death List Appalling, Says Coroner.

"The number of deaths of foreigners in the mills in Pittsburg and vicinity has come to be nothing short of appalling," said Coroner Armstrong, "and, after a

careful investigation of the matter, I am convinced that a great many of them are due to a lack of proper protection. Conditions are such at the present time that the life of a foreigner employed in the mills and the mines is given less consideration than is the life of a horse or a mule. In the darkest days of slavery in the South the negro was accorded better treatment than the Hungarian in the mills receives today.

"I was simply astounded during my first month in office to find that during the thirty days twelve men had been killed in one plant alone of the United States Steel Corporation, the Duquesne Mill. These deaths were not caused by one big accident, but separately. How many more were maimed and injured during the same period God only knows.

Frightful Slaughter of Lives.

"When I discovered the extent of this frightful slaughter of human lives I made complaint to the officials of the company, and asked if there was no remedy. That there was a remedy of some kind is evidenced by the fact that since that time there has been a marked decrease in the number of fatalities at the plant.

"The foreigners stand in the most abject fear of the foreman for whom they work. In order to escape censure they take chances that jeopardize their lives every hour in the day. The time has come when there must be more rigid laws for the protection of the men, and until then a more rigid enforcement of the laws which exist at the present time."

Foreigners, and particularly Hungarians throughout Pennsylvania, are organizing for the purpose of securing better laws for their protection in the mills.

More Stringent Laws Needed.

"It is not generally known," said Consul Merle, "that a very great number of both Hungarians and Austrians are naturalized citizens of the United States. The slaughter of men in the mills has become to appalling of late that it has been decided to appeal to the political leaders, to ascertain whether or not more stringent laws cannot be enacted. If even the present laws were enforced, conditions would not be nearly so bad."

Two Horrible Disappearances.

An attache of the consulate said: "We recently investigated the cases of two

men who were reported to have 'disappeared.' They were Hungarians who were employed at the tops of blast furnaces, and whose duties it was to dump the cars of ore into the furnaces as they reached the tops of the elevators. In both instances the men were missed after they went to the top of the elevator shaft. Their dinner pails and coats were left at the bottom of the elevator shaft, so that but one conclusion could be arrived at. There is but little protection for the men at the top of the shaft, except a small bridge upon which to stand. One misstep as a man is dumping a car and he is thrown into that awful furnace. In the cases of the two men which were investigated there was not even a charred bone to tell of their frightful fate. How many similar cases have occurred will never be known."

Coroner Armstrong declares that efforts are made almost daily by officials of the steel corporations to suppress information regarding the circumstances of men killed at the mills. The attention of both State and Federal authorities is to be called to the subject.

Don't repine because fate has been so cruel as to have put you into the world too late to take part in the work of putting down chattel slavery in this country. There is another slavery and a more widespread one to be put down—wage slavery. And those who help put it down will be even greater in history than are those who battled against the slavery of the blacks. And the persecution the old time Abolitionists went through was no greater nor so great as the persecutions of the present that are visited openly or in subtle ways on those who now stand firm for a moral purpose. Don't bewail your fate, be glad that you were born late enough to take part in the mightiest struggle the world has ever known. Get into the Socialist movement without delay and prepare yourself by study and reflection for the work that cries out to you.

Pointed Paragraphs.

By Frederic Heath.

If Socialism were but a dream, if it were a mere vagary, capitalism would not feel so bad about it!

"A beautiful world full of gracious deeds," is the way an English Socialist refers to society under the sway of Social-Democracy. It is felicitously put.

Rabbi Hirsch says that it is graft that is the trouble with Russia. But we cannot shame Russia on that score very hard. Where is there a nation that cannot show up its good, big share of graft!

Nothing can awaken enthusiasm in the human breast as can the study of Socialism. It awakens a new love of citizenship, a new patriotism of international brotherly love to take the place of the unworthy patriotism of national selfishness.

The working class has become a reading class, hence a class that is gaining a knowledge of its rights and its value to society. A new and proper sense of the dignity of labor is growing up. Labor will be satisfied with nothing short of emancipation.

The editor of the *Boston Advertiser* says that it may be true that the wage system is a form of slavery, but says that it is a necessary slavery because the working class is lazy. Funny, isn't it that the representatives of the indolent rich class always insists that the industrious class is lazy? Ever figure out the motive back of that claim!

New machines to take the place of labor are invented every day. Capitalism gets the benefit—and labor gets the "can." How do you like the capitalist system, Mr. Hounded Wage Slave!

Susan B. Anthony says divorce is not an evil, but a refuge to women who are married to brutes. Certainly no humane person will deny that a woman who is married to a brute should be given a divorce.

We cannot too strongly urge upon our readers the necessity of reading the standard books on Socialism. Reference to our columns will show you what books are to be had, and besides a stamp will bring you our complete catalogue.

Every day new machines are being invented to do the work of men. Anything that tends to lighten the labor of the people ought to be a blessing, but under the capitalist system the blessing in this case goes to the capitalists, and the workers out of work may go hang themselves if they cannot get other jobs and their loved ones at home can apply to charity or go to the poor house!

Quibbles over statistics, stuff about some Socialist here doing this or there doing that do not disprove the teachings of Socialism. The one great fact remains unshaken that it is the *working* class that is poor. If poverty is to be the reward of labor under capitalism, the sooner labor abolishes that system the better!

The Rev. G. P. Merrick has written a book called "Work Among the Fallen," in which he shows that of 16,000 cases he investigated, one-half had been domestic servants who had been obliged to seek sociability outside the homes to which they were servilely attached, 1,617 were former factory girls, and so on. Only 228 had been connected with the theaters. If the theater is perilous to morals, how about home slavery!

The Presbyterian ministers in Milwaukee recently resolved to help the bakery workers who were agitating to get a free day on Sunday, by promising not to buy any bakers' bread on Sunday. Whatever their motives, it was a merciful thing to do, and it made the workers feel as if *at last* the church was listening to their righteous complaints. But will these ministers' flocks follow their merciful lead?

Every new invention in machinery is designed to take jobs away from the wage working class, else there would be no sense in making it. The workers turned adrift by labor saving machinery have to try to under-compete with the others in order to get work, and consequently, bread. It becomes a struggle to see who shall live and who shall starve. The census of 1900 shows that the average wage in this country—\$437.50—is lower than it was ten years ago! What shall the workers do? What shall society, which has the welfare of all its members at heart, do? Manifestly the thing to do is to socialize the ownership of the machinery of production, so that all may benefit by the improvements in production instead of an indolent capitalist class. But that means Socialism!

In spite of themselves the capitalist press has to occasionally admit that Socialism is a moral and an humanitarian force. In commenting upon the possibility of a future war between Japan and the United States, Collier's Weekly says: "It may be well doubted, especially with the growth of trade, Socialism, and other *unwarlike* influences in Japan, whether she would enter a future war with us, about some conflicting purpose, with anything like the patriotic fury of the present state." This is an acknowledgement of one good, at least, that comes from Socialism. It will prevent war.

Debs continues to delight great audiences all over the country and the results are much greater, undoubtedly, than even we of the present can guess at. People who may hear him today and even scoff at his words may yet go away with a little leaven of his philosophy in their heads and later on be surprised to find themselves gradually changing their view point. The best Socialists we can have are those who at first oppose us, for their conversion becomes thereby the more real and complete. An opponent today may become a zealot tomorrow.

Ten thousand human lives went out completely in order that the question of who was the stronger on the seas could be determined between Japan and Russia in their fight for territory. That is the way great questions must be settled under capitalism. Might is right. And the human flesh that must be sacrificed on both sides in such a horrible contest is supplied by the working class—a class doomed to live in torment by the capitalist system.

Prostitution is an established system under capitalism. Under the capitalist system young men are afraid to marry and set up homes because of their small earning capacity and the insecurity of employment. Factory employment of women and girls makes for immorality also.

The throttling clutch of mammon on the churches is happily not so strong but that a brave preacher here and there can shake it loose and brave capitalist public opinion by coming out boldly for the spirit that pervades Christ's teachings. We publish one such instance this week. A general split along religious lines is not very far off. Capitalism will get absolute control of the Catholic church and to it will fly other sects that stand for capitalistic interests. On the other side will range those who dare stand for brotherly love and good will toward men. All this is the church's own affair, and all we can do is look on.

Have you stopped to figure out how it is possible in a nation full of prosperous working men, where "there are two jobs for every man," have you stopped to figure out how it has been possible to ship into Chicago carload after carload of workless men, pushed by the necessity of living to seek the jobs made vacant by the striking teamsters? The explanation is simple. The claim of the capitalist papers and capitalist mouthpieces that everybody who wants work has it is simply a lie—a downright crooked fabrication. Pseudo prosperity is a thing that the capitalists bank on. The whole thing to them is a "con" game. Keep the people ignorant of the fact that the country is full of jobless men, of men living in insecurity, and the

game of plunder on which the plutes feed can go on without interruption. To tell the people the truth would be to bring about "want of confidence," a thing much dreaded by the average capitalist. Such is the hypocrisy of our capitalist "civilization!"

Rottener and rottener grows modern city life under the sway of capitalism. Commercialism draws upon vice for a steady grist. Vice as the handmaiden of the necessity for making money seeks to turn our sons into gamblers and our daughters into prostitutes. The saloon for woman has come to stay, because it is profitable. And woman under the influence of alcohol contributes to the profit-hunger further along the line. As long as the profit system holds sway woman will have to run the gauntlet in this terrible way, with a smaller and smaller number able to stand the test.

We must confess to a not very great uneasiness when it is claimed that the capitalist parties may "steal our thunder." Perhaps if we took the narrow view that Socialism would have to come through the increase of misery on the part of the people, we might be worried. But we do not take that narrow, out-of-date view. We believe that Socialism will come through the gradual improvement of the workers through which they will increase their powers of resistance and be able to maintain their ground as the fight waxes hot. Our "thunder," that is, our working program, is made up of the proposed progressive steps we must take to bring on the co-operative system. If capitalism steals any of this, why need we regret it? In its bewildered effort to stop our progress it will only be helping us to blaze the way.

Jack London in "Sassiety."

The following from the San Francisco *Examiner* of recent date makes tasty reading:

"So Jack London has been giving society and the newspapers something more to clamor about. Dear, dear! This time it is not the author's antipathy to a dress-suit, hitherto his most heinous offense, that has stirred up the social hornet's nest. It is something almost as serious in bourgeois eyes, however. It is Socialism. Jack London has been lecturing on Socialism at Stockton and at San Jose and even within the sacred precincts of the State University itself.

"The first ripple, and it was only a ripple, was caused by the San Jose lecture when Mr. London not only called spades spades, but explained that they were meant to dig dirt with. Now, some of the spades which he called were instruments of social and capitalistic manufacture. Society, which has persistently attempted to lionize California's one literary genius, who has as persistently failed to see that lionization is a part of the whole duty of genius, society smiled a strained cornerwise smile and said: 'It's his hobby, you know. Just a little extreme, of course; but he is young and so original, you know. Have you read "The Sea Wolf"?'"

People of the Abyss.

"Society didn't say, 'Have you read "The People of the Abyss"?' the one Socialistic book that Jack London has written. Because Society itself has not read it, or it would understand its pet lion better than it does. In some respects 'The People of the Abyss' is the greatest thing among the several great things that Jack London has done. It tells a tale of heroism and brotherly love—of a man's tenderness for his suffering brethren and his courage in sharing the loathsome conditions of their lives that he might know of a truth 'how the other half lives.' In short, it is a personal record of Jack London's life in the East End of London, where he sank himself and his identity for a season in the year 1902, living, laboring, starving, tramping the streets by night and day, one of the pitiful horde of London's poor. After that experience the writer of vivid Klondike tales dashed

off 'The People of the Abyss' from a pen aflame. This did not interest Society.

"Fiction is Jack London's bread and boned herring; Socialism is his religion. This has not come home to the Society which brews pink teas for him until recently. And now Society is not pleased with Jack London.

The Berkeley Lecture.

"Following close upon the San Jose disturbance Jack London was invited to lecture at Berkeley. 'Talk about anything you like, anything you like,' said President Wheeler, benevolently. Behind Jack London sat fifty of the faculty; before him sat 2,000 students. 'Talk about anything you like,' had said the President, and there in the sacred shadow of the aged man's white locks Jack London tossed back his yellow mane and talked Revolution. For twenty-five minutes he talked Revolution with the spell-bound students before him and the frozen faculty behind him. Then, as per schedule, the Glee Club began to sing, but nobody noticed it. Two of the faculty were on their feet both screaming at Jack London at once; the students were cheering and the President gave up the hopeless attempt to quell the disturbance. The next day all the Socialist books in Berkeley passed from the bookstores and libraries of the town between the portals of the university. Garbled accounts of 'anarchistic principles' found their way into the papers and Society and the powers that be were very much annoyed at Jack London. As the culprit didn't seem to mind, Society scolded the President—which was unfair. Then all things being ready Jack London went north on his yacht. And Society decided to forgive and forget its young lion who would doubtless return in saner mind after the sea breezes had blown the Socialistic cobwebs from his brains.

"But Jack London put in at Stockton between moments of writing a new novel and gave a little talk on Socialism. And now perhaps Society will brew no more pink teas for the Californian author; for in that little talk Jack London called Society, over-fed, plush-bound Society, names—such names! One of his fiery charges was:

Drones and Ignoramuses.

"'You are drones that cluster around the capitalistic honey-vats. You

are ignoramuses. Your fatuous self-sufficiency blinds you to the revolution that is surely, surely coming, and which will as surely wipe you and your silk-lined, puffed-up-leisure off the face of the map. You are parasites on the back of labor.'

"A few other well-chosen and graphic remarks followed. There was a terrific uproar. The 'drones' and the 'parasites' and the 'ignoramuses' cried aloud in their wrath. They arose on their 25 cent seats ('for the benefit of the Socialistic cause') and hurled epithets at the lecturer.

"Do you know what will be the result of your Revolution?' one millionaire sugar king shouted.

'It is not MY revolution.' London broke in. 'It is YOURS! Yes, yours and your kind's. YOU are the cause of it!'

"Anarchy! Civil war! Death and crime! These will be the results of that revolution you are prophesying. National upheaval—the millionaire began again.

"I know it,' said London. 'But what are you going to do about it? How are you going to stop it?'

Society's Gate Closes.

"Now, a young man who takes the ills of the poor and the oppression of the laborer as seriously as all that is a dangerous person to have at pink teas. He might impress his outlandish view of human equality and human rights and onrushing destiny on the sons and daughters of the wealthy families he visits; and how terrible it would be for Society should those sons and daughters act on such revolutionary principles, helping to ease the poor man's burden instead of buying automobiles and Paris frocks. And so Society, finding out that Jack London's Socialism is not a pose (as it had hitherto hoped) has ceased to respect him. It may even cease to beg his autograph.

"The riddle is: How much will Jack London care?

"Read 'The People of the Abyss' and you'll find the answer to the riddle."

Capitalists and thieves don't like you to ask them where they got their money.

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

A Valuable Book.

The *Labour Leader* of London pays a high tribute to Comrade Ghent's "Mass and Class" and says it helps to show that America proposes to work out her Socialism on her own lines and in correspondence with the circumstances of her own land.

One of our author's main themes is the influence of matter on mind, the tyranny of the economic over the ethical. He sees, as we all see, that in our present state of society a man's economic environment inevitably dictates to him a large part of his moral conduct. "Things are in the saddle, and rule mankind," as Emerson put it in his own terse and inimitable way. You may have beautiful appeals to religious idealism in Church and Free Church Congresses; you may have glowing pictures of a time when capitalism shall hold out its hand to Labor, and Sir John Joicey open his heart to the suffering children in the mines; but you always find when the church deacon resumes his business on the Monday, or an eight hours bill for youngsters in the mines comes before the House of Commons, that the cant phrase, "business is business," assumes its sway over the Sunday instincts, and the man of business behaves like any other average business man of the same class. "Monthly, weekly, and even semi-weekly," says Mr. Ghent, "the 111,942 clergymen of this nation hold up to their congregation certain ideals of conduct between man and man, and plead that these be practised," and they are ably seconded in their exhortations by numbers of public teachers and advisers, such as Justice Brewer, Professor Adler, and Presidents Stout, Hadley and Roosevelt. But it is doubtful if any custom or practice more necessary to the individual by economic pressure has ever been given over or sensibly altered by reason of these insistent pleadings." Mr. Ghent is perfectly irresistible as he develops this thesis in the most candid and enlightened fashion.

The best place to spend your time Sunday, July 16, is at the big Picnic at Schlitz Park, Milwaukee.

Send for a copy of our complete Socialist book catalogue.



Socialist Headquarters.

To achieve the objects of Socialism, the American Socialists have formed the Socialist Party, now organized in all the States of the Union. In New York and Wisconsin, this party is known, for legal reasons, as the Social Democratic Party and in Minnesota as the Public Ownership Party.

NATIONAL SECRETARY: J. MAHLON BARNES, Boylston Bldg. 269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

A Baby for Sale.

An "ad" appeared in a recent edition of a city paper, which reads like this:—

FOR SALE—My baby girl, Fannie, five weeks old; dark brown hair, bright brown eyes; price, \$300. Mrs. Sarah Rosenthal, 708 Fifth st., New York City.

In speaking of this strange advertisement, the mother says: "It will nearly kill me to part with my child. But what can I do? When my little family came my husband deserted us because he could not support us, and we were left without a penny. I left a little girl with my mother in Austria and now my mother writes that she is very poor and cannot get money to live on. So I must sell this baby that I may be able to send them something." And the woman wept.

This is certainly a sad situation to be in. While this mother was advertising her little baby girl for sale, the gamblers on Wall street, and over the entire country certainly including Milwaukee, are living in luxury, and their wives are rolling in wealth, wrung out of little babes, and tiny worn out mothers in the factories, mills and mines.

How long are the women of this country going to stand for these conditions? Oh, if we only had a vote, yes, but you know, that women as a rule do not understand very much about politics. Suppose we take that for granted. But listen, do you for a moment believe that conditions would really be as decayed as they are if women had a right to the ballot?

Do you really believe that our Common Councils—our State Legislatures and our Halls of Congress would stand as a lot of corrupt institutions, just as they do at this present time, do you think for one moment you could drag them to the polls in herds, and buy their votes for bad whiskey and beer? Hardly, and yet we are told that the ballot shall not be wielded by them. However, the Socialists say that a woman shall

have the same right which is granted to man on the political field, and in every other channel of life. Let the women have their say as to the horrible conditions and forms of slavery in this country. Let the mothers of the children have a vote in the matter of abolishing the same, and capitalism, or the present capitalistic form of government, will soon crumble.

Arise, you women. Stand up and demand your rights. It is you who rear and teach the children in the days of their infancy. It is you who ought to have a chance to express your choice, as to how they shall work in the years yet to come. Join the Socialist Women's organizations in your city, and if there are none, start a local in town, ward, village or city, and help us abolish the present form of society which stands for injustice to the workers of the world.

A Pen Without a Soul.

Diplomacy!

New York Commercial Advertiser: "Robbed of all its exteriors of gold lace, pomp and ceremony; stripped of its euphemisms, and with the motive of all its acts bared to the world, how sordid is this abstract thing called diplomacy, upon which the fate of empires and of kings depends. Behind it all there is nothing but dollars and pounds, francs and rubles, yens and taels.

"The world is now being run on a purely commercial basis; that nation which does the largest volume of business is the greatest nation; very naturally, each nation, suffering from too active competition in the civilized parts of the world, seeks new markets in unexplored countries, where opportunities exist for the establishment of trade monopolies."

The Vanguard is a wonderful grey-matter agitator. One year, 50 cents.

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 property interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take unawares the right of the worker to a vote or a voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself or for the common good.

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

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

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

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

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

II.

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

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

III.

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

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

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

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

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

IV.

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

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

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

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

V.

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

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

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

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THE VANGUARD.

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

Vol. 3. No. 11.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., JULY, 1905.

Whole Number 31.

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

BLISS CARMAN.

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

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

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

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

SOCIALISM IN CHURCH.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FOR OUR NEW READERS:

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

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

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

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

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

Program of International Social-Democracy:

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

For Whom is There Freedom.

By VICTOR L. BERGER.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Clergy and Economics.

By **FREDERIC HEATH.**

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

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

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

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

"In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch."

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

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

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

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

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

* * * * *

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

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

* * * * *

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Blight of War.

By Professor Ira W. Howerth, University of Chicago.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Capitalism's Concern for the Home!

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

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

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

The Perils of Capitalistic Peace.

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

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

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

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

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

Total.....22,732

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Send for a copy of our complete Socialist book catalogue.

Gems from Debs' Speeches.

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

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

* * *

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

* * *

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

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

* * *

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

* * *

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

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

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

How Capitalism "Develops" the South.

By ROBERT HUNTER.

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

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

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

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

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

The Philadelphia Expose.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"What is your name?" asked the magistrate.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Social-Democratic Herald.

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

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

Pointed Paragraphs.

By Frederic Heath.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Social Hell.

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

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

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

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

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



Socialist Headquarters.

To achieve the objects of Socialism, the American Socialists have formed the Socialist Party, now organized in all the States of the Union. In New York and Wisconsin, this party is known, for legal reasons, as the Social Democratic Party and in Minnesota as the Public Ownership Party.

NATIONAL SECRETARY: J. MAHLON BARNES, Boylston Bldg. 269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Under the Flag of the "Free!"

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

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

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

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

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

D. M. Robbins, in International
Woodworker.

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

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

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

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

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

SOCIALIST PLATFORM.

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

I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

II.

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

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

III.

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

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

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

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

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

IV.

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

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

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

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

V.

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

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

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

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**THE VANGUARD, 344 Sixth Street,
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Aug - Sept, 1915

Letters To An American Farmer.

By Clayton J. Lamb, of Dryden, Michigan.

I. Modern Conditions are Rendering the Farmer Insecure and His Life One of Hard Toil for the Enrichment of Others. Socialism the Remedy.

DEAR BROTHER JO:—You ask me why you, a substantial Nebraska farmer, owning several hundred acres of good land, with cattle on your two-score hills, or why I, a fairly well fixed Michigan farmer, should be a Socialist, or even be interested in the subject. There are very many reasons why we should be Socialists—too many to tell in one letter—and I am going to try to show you if it takes a half dozen.

Farmers naturally divide into four varieties, according to their modes of operation:

1. Capitalistic farmers. These are usually bankers, brokers, or other business men living in the towns. Strictly, they are landlords, more or less wealthy, who do their farming by proxy. They assist to farm the real farmers. Their capital makes them bosses who control means of production which others must use in order to live.

2. The "operative" farmers. These own their own farms and work them in person, hiring help as needed. They own their own means of production, take their own business risks, and usually work harder and longer hours than the average hired man. They are part capitalists and part workingmen. As capitalists they receive rents, profits, and interest, and to the extent of these receipts they are exploiters of labor. In turn they, as laborers, are exploited by themselves and other capitalists. In modern commercialism they are financially weak, almost entirely unorganized, and very largely at the mercy and service of the capitalist class. To this variety of farmers you and I belong, and I particularly desire to show you how Socialism would improve our and their financial condition and social status, as well as that of all other varieties of farmers, not excepting the real capitalist farmers and all other capitalists, and all other workingmen.

3. The "Renters," or tenant farmers. These own (subject quite generally to chattel mortgages) their own horses, wagons, machines, and tools with which they work the land they do not own, upon such terms as they may make with the capitalist owners of the soil, for cash rent or for a share of the crop produced. They move from farm to farm from season to season, striving to keep out of the wage working class. Occasionally one succeeds in doing this, but generally they gravitate down the scale, unable with their small means and lack of organization, to hold their own in competition with the real capitalist class. The reward of their labor is that part of the product remaining after the claims of the

landlord, landlord, tax collectors, et cetera, are satisfied. Practically they are wage workers who, thinking they are working for themselves, work harder than the real wage worker would consent to work.

4. The farm laborers.. These have neither farm nor tools. They work for wages, and are proletarians. While they are not formally organized, they do have such an identity of interest and mutual understanding as to be able to control, in large part, the rate of wages, in which they receive the benefits of present labor organizations.

Now, Jo, let us examine for a moment the income of these farmers and trace that income to its sources. You and I are operative farmers. Part of our income is due to our capital, part to our labor, and perhaps a part, but really a small part, is due to the possible profit made upon or out of the labor we hire. This latter item is small, because actually what we make out of the wage worker is taken from us by the real capitalists, the railroads and other trusts and combinations. They regularly charge us "all the traffic will bear" and what little we are able to exploit from the wage worker actually passes to those higher up in the scale.

From these sources, then, that is: from our capital, from our labor, and from the direct exploitation of wage labor, we derive our incomes. Let us examine our incomes as capitalists:

Your 4,000-acre Nebraska farm will probably sell for \$100,000; my 160-acre Michigan farm is worth, say, \$10,000. To that extent we are capitalists. Our income from our capital is equal to the usual rate of interest—the net rate, after deducting taxes, superintendence and risk. Here that net rate would not exceed four per cent per annum, and it is a fact that this farm cannot be rented for \$400 per year over and above taxes, insurance, and cost of keeping it in its present state. I am a capitalist, say to the extent of four per cent a year on \$10,000, or \$400 a year. I presume that the same net rate would apply in your case; that is, four per cent a year on \$100,000, or \$4,000 per year. This then shows our respective interests as capitalists, under the present capitalist system. If, now, it can be shown that under Socialism our material interests would be actually improved, then it is clear that we should be Socialists, and work for its object, which is the entire destruction of all income from rent, interest, and profit, and the placing of the material interest of the State, the nation and the world upon an exclusively labor base, instead of upon its present capitalist base. For it must be and is admitted, that labor implies honest social service, while capitalism implies the exploitation, speculation, gambling and graft from which the people, and not necessarily the wage workers alone, are now suffering. In subsequent letters I will endeavor to show the entire soundness of the Socialist position, and not only the desirability, but also the inevitability, of Socialism.

Yours,

C. J. LAMB.

II. What Capitalism is Doing for the Farmer-Class by Means of the Combinations. Socialism the Only Escape for the Tillers of the Soil.

DEAR BROTHER JO:—It is true, as you say, that many Socialists are inclined to be intolerant. Usually these have rather recently become Socialists and have not yet gotten over the belief that farmers being small capitalists and hence a part of the bourgeois class, are not qualified to enter the straight and narrow gates of the Socialist party. It is true, too, that in some states, as in Nebraska, attempts have been made to exclude the gentle agriculturist from the sacred precincts, the holy of holies, where only wage-workers, the pure proletarian stuff, are fit to gather in council. These Socialists are really like most farmers in that they fail to see why and wherein the material interests of wage-workers and farmers are identical. Which is exactly what I am trying to show you.

In my last letter I showed that a \$10,000 farmer could credit only \$400 of his income to capital, and that he was a capitalist only to that extent. The rest of the farmer's income is due to his labor and to what he can "make" off the labor of his hired man or men. His income then comes from three sources:

1. Interest, or what is the same thing—Rent of land.
2. The wages of his own labor.
3. The profit derived from hired men's labor.

The first item we have considered. On the average his capital pays him about 4 per cent per annum.

On the third item, profit from hired labor, his income is really quite insignificant, since the trusts and combinations of all kinds see to it that Mr. Farmer is kept in the "position in which it has pleased God to place him," which is not much if any above that of the average wage-worker. As between the average Michigan farmer and the wage-worker it is generally conceded that the latter is the more leisurely gentleman of the two. What the farmer "makes" off his hired man he must and does hand over to those upon whom he almost helplessly depends for a market for his products, and for the goods he must buy. The market is the farmer's master and he is a small exploiter of labor, only for the benefit of organized capital.

This leaves only the second item of the farmers income to be considered—his income from his labor, which is his wages.

Now, Jo, if I can demonstrate that the scientific, comprehensive organization of industry in the exclusive interest of the working class, as Socialism proposes, will afford you, with your \$100,000 Nebraska farm, and all farmers in less fortunate circumstances, a greater net income and more of the necessities, comforts and luxuries of life than you now enjoy, with less of the strain and harassment than the average well-to-do farmer now endures; and that such organization of industry is not only possible but inevitable, then certainly you should be, and as a sensible business man, will be, a Socialist.

First, let us see what is the economic status of the farmer. On one side he sees organized capital, the trusts and a thousand business men's combinations. On the other side he sees organized Labor steadily ex-

tending and strengthening, till even his own hired men, way out in the country, have their understandings as to what the wages shall be, and who, like the capitalists, do not hesitate to "charge all the traffic will bear." Between these two organized and organizing forces stands the farmer, himself unorganized. In these circumstances something is going to happen to the man who stands alone—and something continually does happen.

We all see these combinations going on all around us, none so blind as not to see. But why is it so? What makes them organize? Socialists know why, because they have studied the causes and effects. Socialists see why **THESE ORGANIZATIONS MUST BE**, why they cannot be prevented, why and wherein they are the effects of a cause, what that cause is. They see that there is such a thing as social growth and they call that growth by a name—Social Evolution. They see the cause of this growth and they give that a name also—Economic Determinism. These are scientific terms. Some men get scared at them like a horse gets scared at an automobile.

Machinery compels these organizations. We cannot use machinery without organization. We want to produce all we can with as little labor as possible. Hence we invent, build and use machines. But the use of these machines forces us to work together, sort of half socializes us, if you please. Men associate in order to compel machinery to do their work. One man can make a flail—it takes a million to make a modern threshing outfit. One man can use a flail, but it takes a dozen to use the threshing outfit. The threshing machine throws these men into new relations with each other. Its building compels business organization. Self-defense compels labor organization. So machinery has revolutionized the mode of production and compelled the organization of Labor and of Capital.

If we plant corn under proper conditions, the corn will grow—it cannot help growing. No more can men help growing, no more can social growth be prevented. Machinery demands that men organize and they must obey that command or be snuffed out of existence.

The farmer is quite unorganized. He is a sort of an economic survival and has not yet found his place in the new social order which is brought about by the use of machinery. He sees organization all around him and cannot quite understand what it all means. He has a vague idea that the proper thing for him to do would be to get into an organization like the others. He joins the Grange, or a Farmers' Club, and there he considers questions grave and gay. He discusses the merits of long wool sheep, good roads, equal taxation, farm vs. city life, short horn cattle, and primary elections. He puts in time trying to dodge the binding twine trust, and he is squirming under the exactions of the stock yards, beef, oil, sugar, wire, milling, and a thousand other organizations which he more or less clearly sees "getting in their work on him." And he is looking for a way out of the woods. He is seeking his place in the new social order. But some way he cannot find it. His grange don't seem to fill the bill and his sudden shoot into populism seems to have "petered out." What is the matter with the farmer?

This letter is long enough. In my next I will try to answer that last question. We are repainting our house and have been doing business with the White Lead Trust, the Linseed Oil Trust, the Turpentine Trust, the Tin Can Trust, the Brush Trust, the Painters' Union, and I do not know how many others. They fixed the prices.

Your brother,

C. J. LAMB.

* * * * *

III. Why the Trusts do not Own the Farms. It is Cheaper to have the Farmers Own" them, and then Pluck the Farmer at Every Point. The Change that is still going on.

DEAR BROTHER JO:—Really you need to be set right on one point touched in your card of June 6. The term "Social-Democrat" by no means implies "fusion" with the so-called Democratic party. I say so-called "democratic" party because that party is only so called. It is not in fact a democratic party and never was. Up to 1864 it was a slave owners' party. Under Grover Cleveland it was a bond holders', trust and straight-out capitalist party. In 1896-1900 it made a little squeak for small capitalism and in 1904 it got back again and was a capitalist party. It never was a workingman's party and hence could not be really democratic. Get this point, Jo. Just so long as any class in society is dependent upon another class for its right to work, there can be no such thing as a really democratic or republican form of government. The Socialist, or Social-Democratic party, as it is called in most nations and in some states, proposes a genuine and not a sham democracy, in which no class will dominate any other class, and no man be dependent upon any other man or class for his opportunity to earn his daily bread. It proposes that each man shall receive from society the value of his service to society as exactly as that value can be ascertained and agreed upon, and that this will result from the ownership, by society, of those means of production which are socially used. It cannot "fuse," for the moment it "fuses" it ceases to be a Socialist or Social-Democratic party, and goes out of existence as did the Populist party, because of its unfitness to represent Labor. Political parties are but the expression of class interests striving for supremacy.

The two great, big facts that stick out more plainly than any other facts today, are Organized Labor and Organized Capital, and between these two economic forces there is a continuous struggle. The Socialist or Social-Democratic party is the political organization of Labor. When it "fuses" it surrenders, it commits suicide, but the class struggle does not cease; Labor simply repudiates that party which fuses (as it did the Populist party) and deposits its remains on the dump. Labor needs a straight, non-fusion party in its political business, and it won't be happy till it gets it.

The farmer stands between those two great opposing economic forces—Organized Labor and Organized Capital. How long can he stand the pressure?

Say, Jo, if the trusts were not making more money off the farmers than they could make by owning the farms and running them with hired labor, *don't you think they would soon own the farms?* To be sure. Farmers are "easier" for the trusts than the hired men are. It is less trouble and more money for organized capital to control the unorganized farmer by controlling his means of transportation and his markets, than it would be, *at present*, to own the farms and have to deal with the wage-workers. So much for the "independence" of the noble farmer!

And again: Money is largely loaned on farm mortgages at five or six per cent, gross, or about four per cent net. If the capitalist money loaner could make more than the usual rate of interest by running the farms with hired labor, wouldn't they soon own them? *Then don't you see that the "Independent Farmer" is more profitable to the capitalist class than the wage-worker would be?*

But what is the matter with the farmers? Why don't they organize? Well, they can't except in one way which I will attempt to point out later on. The economic reason why farmers cannot organize is because they have not wealth enough to take them into the trust, and just a little too much to entitle them to fraternal association with the wage-workers. They are neither capitalists nor proletarians. They each belong partly to both opposing classes and wholly to neither. They are each a house divided against itself. They are a mixed lot—a sort of economic hermaphrodite, as it were. They are each partly of the exploiting class and partly of the working class. They are exploiting themselves, and their wives and children, as well as their hired men, for the benefit of the real capitalist class. And organized capital has no use for them except to pluck them when they come to market.

Apples 20 cents a bushel to the Dryden farmer, and 40 cents a peck to the Detroit factory worker, 52 miles away by rail! What is the matter with the farmer? His market fools him. He mistakes his market. He thinks it is the capitalist who buys his product first. In this he is mistaken. His real market is the working class which buys his product last. Between the two stands Rent, Interest and Profit, taking their toll, which is, in amount, "all the traffic will bear." To demonstrate that it is to the farmers' interest that all rent, all interest and all profit be wiped out, eliminated and annihilated and that business be done on a labor or social service base, and that the interests of farmers and wage-workers are identical, is the object of these letters. To make my demonstration complete, I must also prove that Socialism is not only possible of attainment, but is inevitable.

You are getting old, brother Jo. Let's see—nearly seventy. You remember well back into the days of hand production. When you were a boy there were no circular or band saws; no sewing, knitting, planing or mowing machines or harvesters; no cultivators, drills, planters or listers; no telegraphs or telephones, and almost no railroads; no type writers or even steel pens. You remember our mother carding, spinning, twisting and dyeing the yarn for our clothing, and the old hand loom in the old log house, and so many other such things. Then almost

all things were produced by hand labor and but little by machinery. Now almost all things are produced by machinery and very little by hand labor. Within the time of your memory a revolution has been wrought in the mode of production, and an exactly corresponding and consequent revolution in the social status and relations of the people. Then there were three millionaires in the United States—Astor, Stewart, Girard; now there are thousands. Then there were no tramps—now there are millions. Then there were little shops in many villages—now there are great factories in a few cities. Then there were few wage-workers—now there are many. Then there were many employers—now there are few. Then there was no shoddy or adulteration—now honest goods are scarce—*it would be suicide for capitalism to make honest goods*. In these days Organized Labor and organized capital were almost unheard of—now they are IT, and they are at it. Then hand labor compelled competition—now the machine compels co-operation, it compels Socialism as its logical result. And the farmer is not exempt from this influence.

Capital organizes, Labor organizes. Every big business and every little business. Every manner of wage-worker. They all respond to the change in the mode of production. And they keep right on organizing, don't they? Even in spite of the old laws made to fit the conditions of hand production? Even in spite of the injunctions of big and little courts? Now say yes to this, Jo, so I can get in my climax and close this letter.

Labor and capital cannot help organizing, Jo, Were they to stop organizing—that is if they were to stop growing, they would die. They must organize, they must socialize, as corn must grow or hens lay eggs, because they cannot help it. Growth, organization, socialization is the perfectly natural thing. Both Labor and capital are obeying the law of self preservation. Production by machinery is the environment which compels association.

And when will these social forces stop organizing? They will not stop. They cannot. They are headed straight for Socialism and are already well along the road and will run over anything that gets in their way. Old methods, old institutions, old customs, ancient precedents, all give way to the social influence of modern machinery. The inventor is the basic social revolutionist.

A thousand plain, every day facts declare that Socialism is inevitable. The change from the competitive lack of system to the co-operative, systematized organization of industry is already half accomplished.

The farmer must also respond to these influences. He cannot forever stand between the fires of these two opposing forces. As a capitalist, as an exploiter he is already a failure. The working farmer is a wealth producer and he must go with the other wealth producers—the wage-workers. And he must go as a workingman and not as a capitalist.

Your Brother,

C. J. LAMB.

IV. How the Struggle Between Labor and Capital Concerns the Farmer. Small Capital Helpless Against Large Capital.

DEAR BROTHER JO:—It must be plain that modern machinery is compelling co-operation. Men must co-operate on some terms or machinery cannot be run at all.

The first tiller of the soil did not and could not co-operate. He just got a good, strong stick, sharpened it by burning it to a point in the fire, and that constituted his entire farming outfit. No chance to co-operate in the use of tools of that kind, or in their product. This was the original and only really independent farmer.

Let us now examine into the "independence" of the modern farmer who uses the modern tools and machines which have developed from that sharpened stick, and find out just how really "independent" this modern farmer is.

The modern farmer must have modern machines, and—

1. An army of men is mining iron for his use.
2. Another army of men is preparing timber for his use.
3. Another vast army is mining the coal.
4. Other armies are building ships and railroads.
5. Another immense army is transporting these raw materials to the factory and from the factory to the farm.
6. Other armies are building factories and machines for making and moving machines.
7. Still other armies are making farm tools and machines.
8. Other vast armies are providing the clothing, shoes, fuel and shelter for these armies while they make the tools and machines for the farmer.

Upon all the men of all these armies the farmer is dependent. In every plow, every mower, every binder, every shovel and hoe, every fence board, nail or bolt is the work of millions of men, all of whom have labored with and for the farmer, who, in turn, has fed them all. To-day it takes all the useful people of society to make and transport the one match with which the fire is lighted in the stove in which is embodied the labor of all those same millions, farmers included. Thus are we so far socialized already, and the process still continues. And it cannot stop. To stop would be to go backward towards the sharpened stick. Socialists are those who see these things and who propose the organization of all these social functions in the interest of the useful class—the workers and thinkers—those who render useful social service.

In all the processes of social growth through all the ages, one law of evolution is plainly written: "Eliminate the useless." That which no longer serves a useful purpose in the economy of nature is cast aside. Under the operation of this law, society has cast off several outgrown social systems, such as theocracy, aristocracy, chattel slavery, feudalism. And now we have come to the age of Democracy—not the shoddy article, mind you, but the real thing—Social-Democracy. Society is now making war upon capitalism, and if capitalism be no longer useful, if it no longer serve a useful social purpose, as it once did, it, too, must obey the law and pass away.

The evidences that the competitive system (or perhaps rather lack of system) is gradually becoming not only useless, but dangerous, are numerous. Gradually the means of production upon which all must depend for their very lives are passing into the control of trusts and combinations. The supplies of lumber, coal, iron, leather, paper, oil, lead, flour, meats, cotton, tobacco, farm machinery, in fact, nearly every article of commerce, are controlled entirely, or very largely, by organized capital. The mines, the forests, the factories, the means of transportation, have almost wholly been reduced to the trust form of ownership, but so far the trust system has paid little attention to the trustification of the farms and farming. The control of the farmers' market and means of transportation has been sufficient for the purposes of modern capitalism. So long as it can "make more money" off farmers than it could off those same farmers were they wage-workers, it is satisfied to leave things as they are, and there is no other reason why the farming interest is not treated by capitalism exactly as are the mines, the forests, the factories and the railroads.

Nevertheless, agricultural production is now beginning to afford a good field for the industrial organizer. Admittedly the farm interests are not organized and systemized for the economy of labor in production, as are mining, manufacturing and transportation. But with the quite recently introduced traction engine, which has been over one hundred years in process of development, and considering the possibilities of electrical power as applied to farming, it seems certain that agriculture must follow the other industries in systemized production. Already machinery has been so far applied to farm operations as to increase the power of labor to produce, by five, ten, twenty or one hundredfold, as compared with former methods. Comparing the modern mower with the ancient scythe; the binder with the old cradle or still older sickle; the lister and cultivator with the old plows, harrows and hoes; the modern horse rake with the old hand rake; the horse forks with the hand forks; the modern thresher with the ancient flail, and so on through a long list, it is plain that the productivity of farm labor has increased not less than fivefold since you were a strapping lad and I a mere kid, and, compared with the original sharpened stick, not less than 500 or 1,000-fold. That the farmer has received the benefit of this increased capacity to produce will hardly be contended, and the wages of labor continue about the same as they were—a bare living. The surplus value thus created, the unearned increment, has not gone to those whose labor produced it, but has been taken in the shape of rent, interest and profit, by the owning class. Vast millions and billions have been piled up in a comparatively few hands and is now exploiting labor in all its useful forms. And the real working farmer is paying the same tribute that the wage-worker is paying.

But the day of systemized, organized and economical farm production is now almost at hand. A new power is being applied. The completed traction engine indicates a still greater revolution in farm methods, and electricity stands just in the background, almost ready to add its force. Perhaps some day the power of the water in Niagara Falls

may be used in tilling the big fields of your **Nebraska farm**, or be shearing sheep on this old homestead!

Nearly all the divisions of industry are now operated, from top to bottom, by hired men, for the profit of the owners. The capitalist no longer even manages—he hires his managers, who are expected and ordered to produce satisfactory dividends. Social evolution has reached the stage where the value of the social service of the capitalist class is being reduced to zero. Formerly the capitalist managed his own business and engineered his own profits. Now even this service, the last useful function of capitalism, has been turned over to the wage-working class, which is thus made self-exploiting. And thus a managing class is growing up among the wage-workers themselves. Labor now both produces and manages. That it will always continue to pay tribute to a socially useless and entirely predatory class is not believable. Labor is organizing. Its cerebro-spinal nervous system, its brains, are developing. It is the growing social force. It is becoming class-conscious and in due time it will add administration and ownership to its list of social functions, and then capitalism, as a social system, will belong to the dead past as do chattel slavery and feudalism. Society is now saturated with Socialism.

The present position of the farmer in the economy of society we well know. He is paying tribute to capitalism just as the wage-worker is. There is only this difference—the farmer pays tribute when he sells his product in the market, while the wage-worker pays when he sells his labor. Both are exploited as producers of wealth, and their interests are identical except only to the extent of the farmers' interest as a capitalist, which is quite inconsequential. This identity of interest calls for organization, the only available weapon of defense. We cannot longer depend upon competition as we could in the days of hand production or production by the use of simple tools. The social force of modern machinery is too great. It demands co-operation all along the line.

For competition itself compels co-operation, and in this way: Those who by use of the best business organization and the use of the best machines produce goods with the least labor and expense drive those with poorer business organization and inferior machines from the market. The strongest, or fittest, survive, and those less fit are gradually pressed into the ranks of the wage-workers. But that by no means ends the struggle. As wage-workers their only means of escape from actual, absolute slavery is organization. They organize by crafts and are again overcome. They organize industrially (that is by whole industries) and the Masters of the Bread whip them again. But they learn by defeat. The struggle develops their strength, their class-consciousness, their powers of perception, their whole capacity. At last they see a weapon which in their hands is irresistible—the Ballot. They organize socially, that is to say, politically, and in that field, because of their growth in strength and numbers, they themselves become the Masters of the Bread and there at last they win their victory. In the labor unions of to-day are the statesmen of to-morrow. To "smash

the unions" is to transform craftsmen into statesmen, and, if need be, into Soldiers.

The struggle between Labor and Capital is constantly growing more and more tense. It is the issue upon which the farmer must choose his position. He cannot long remain "a-straddle of the fence." He must get down on one side or the other.

Small capital, such as most farmers have, cannot successfully compete with the systemized management and superior facilities of real, or large, capital. Small capital can neither produce nor distribute goods economically, and yet this is the business game the farmers are now playing. Really the material interest of the farmer, as a small capitalist, is quite inconsequential when compared with his interest as a working man.

I have pictured the farmer as being on the fence between Labor and Capital. He has not always been in that position and has been placed there by modern capitalism. He cannot get down on the capitalist side from which the real thing capitalism has driven him, and it only remains for him to land on the labor side, where he belongs. And that, if he only knew it, is exactly where modern capitalist methods, in the due process of economic or business evolution, has located him. Some figures in my next letter. Yours sincerely. C. J. LAMB.

* * * *

V. The Independent Farmer is a Myth. — The True Significance of the Grange and the Alliance Movements is Made Clear.

DEAR BROTHER JO: Statistics are dry. Long columns of figures are uninteresting to most people. Only students care to dig among them, so I will defer figures till later.

The independent farmer is a myth. In these days of semi-socialized production there are no independent people. We are dependent upon each other. Machinery has made us dependent. Socialists recognize this fact and propose the arrangement of the terms of this inter-dependence in the interest of the producers of wealth, the working class. At present the terms of our inter-dependence are dictated by capitalists in the interest of the capitalist class.

The independent farmer! The idea has been preached until many people actually believe it. But let us see how it actually is. My neighbors, I presume, are fair samples. On the southeast is Uncle Jake's farm, now occupied by renters who work all the time. They have been renters for years. I can't speak as to the hours and days they put in, but their landlord is well pleased with them. On the southeast lives a widow with two or three boys. The boys have little time for school; they are too busy. Early and late they are at it, and they are aged beyond their years. They think they are working for themselves when in fact they are working for the fraction of what they actually produce—the trusts generously taking the most of it.

On the southeast is neighbor Taylor whose farm is of sixty acres. He is our pathmaster. He drove in here the other day to "warn" us to go to work on the road, and was telling me that he had not been away

from home at milking time, night or morning, for a year and a half. The trusts have him tied up to three cows and is making him hustle about fifteen hours a day. Taylor has a pretty clear idea that he is pretty nearly a slave to the "system," and begins to see the way out of his Egypt. On the east is another fifteen-hour-a-day farmer. Tappan is doing two men's work and his wife helps him in the field. He gets the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table, is a prohibitionist and a Methodist. He thinks men ought to be good and contented. His son has just graduated from our high school and is said to be looking for an easier job than 15-hour-a-day-farming. On the northeast lives a man, a painter, poisoned by lead till he is an invalid at thirty-five years of age. He has come with his family from the city to the country, hoping for restoration to health. One of my neighbors on the north is a carpenter as well as a farmer. He gets up in the morning at four, works two hours and a half in his fields, bolts his breakfast, works at carpentry ten hours and after a six o'clock supper does farm work as long as he can see. He makes about fifteen hours a day. My other neighbor on the north is a wage worker. He works ten hours a day and then "knocks off." So there you have it—the "independent" farmer and the wage-worker. Once in a while, thanks to the blessed railroad corporations which run cheap Sunday excursions, the "independent" farmer gets an occasional outing.

In a former letter I promised to point out the way, and it would seem the only way, in which farmers had organized and could organize. It is true that farmers have in recent years twice set up strong organizations and done quite a lot of business. Once was in 1874, during the panic of '73 to '79. Times were mighty hard then and the good old grange called the farmers together. They met in country school houses mostly and there they deliberated. Their grange was almost a sacred place to them and among other things they highly resolved that it should not be contaminated with that hateful thing—politics. There should be no politics in this grange—not a bit of it. The grange would keep out of politics and it would keep politics out of the grange. Nevertheless, the grange went heels over head into politics—and they surprised not only those who had an idea the farmers could never organize—never do anything for themselves, but they surprised even themselves. Like a flash they captured state legislatures, filled them full of grange farmers and they proceeded to legislate for themselves and even to amend state constitutions. Through the agricultural west the farmers became a great power and considerable grange legislation was the result. Then the panic, with its stress of hard times passed, the farmers got a breathing spell, a few more crumbs fell for them from the rich man's table, and they settled down again rather contentedly to work for their capitalist masters. The grange movement slumped, the good old parties were given credit for having brought prosperity. Thirty-one years ago the gentle agriculturist became militant and then a tub was thrown to the whale, the grange subsided, and capitalism was again on deck.

Again in 1889 came the rumblings of an approaching economic storm. It was the Farmers' Alliance this time. This movement spread over the south and west and everywhere their shibboleth was: "Keep the

Alliance out of Politics; Keep Politics out of the Alliance!" But they couldn't do it. The Alliance went into politics all over. They captured several states, elected congressmen and United States senators and during the time of the panic until 1896 the farmers made themselves felt in the councils of the nation. Then "good times" came again, the farmers nodded off to sleep and lulled by the sweet song of prosperity, they went back willingly to the service of the capitalist masters. There are no farmers in congress now—just lawyers, bankers, and other good people whom the farmers send there to make the laws for them. And these grafters will look after the interests of the farmers—of course they will—just as a wolf would look after the interests of a flock of sheep.

Most people have splendid forgetters. Their forgetters are better than their thinking apparatus, but you will remember these grange and alliance movements and can draw logical conclusions from them.

There is an old saying which was: "You'll never miss the water till the well runs dry." When the farmers got "hard up" in 1874 and 1893 they missed the water—and then they forgot, and capitalism resumed its old game.

These Grange and Alliance movements are full of significance. First they prove that farmers can organize when they go about it; second that their effective organizations are political, even in spite of the farmers themselves, and third that heretofore farmers' organizations have been spasmodic and short-lived. It is too bad, but they also prove that farmers never go about it to organize till they feel the financial pinch.

Economic or business organizations of farmers is impossible for many reasons: 1. Their numbers are so large. 2. Their isolation caused by the nature of their occupation. 3. Their adverse interests as producers, the cotton-grower's interest being adverse to the wool-grower's; the corn-grower's interest adverse to the feeder's, etc. 4. Their divided interests as capitalists and working men, the one interest playing against the other. They cannot organize as capitalists because they have a labor interest, and they cannot organize as workingmen because they have a capitalist interest. Hence, all their organizations are necessarily short-lived. When the Trust method of production includes agriculture, as it now does mining, manufacturing and transportation, then the farmers will have only their labor interest left and then they will not only be able to effect a permanent organization, but they will be forced to organize and to stay organized. As it is, their spasmodic efforts at organization only occur at those periods when their interests, as wealth producers, are most seriously assailed by Capitalism; that is, during periods of panic and financial depression.

A harsh definition of a trust is: A Trust is a business association of gentlemen who have too much sense to compete against each other when they can do better, for themselves, by co-operating against those who do not know enough to co-operate.

And Socialism may be defined again as the business association of class-united workingmen who have too much sense to compete against each other for the benefit of mere property owners when they can do better for themselves and their families by co-operating against those

who do no useful work, but who merely boss the jobs and divide the products of labor according to the dictates of their own material interests.

The history of the past generation seems to indicate that no form of effective organization is open or available to farmers except the political form, and that they are capable of exercising great influence in that field is already demonstrated by the grange movement in the seventies and the alliance movement in the nineties. That these movements collapsed proves that they were not properly based—that they contained in themselves the elements of their own destruction. Indeed it was said: “No servant can serve two masters; for either he will hate one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the old one and despise the other.” So farmers cannot serve both those two contending classes—Labor and Capital. If they try to serve one they oppose the other. They cannot organize on those terms.

Only as workingmen can farmers organize and become strong. As capitalists they are a puny people—it is as workingmen that they feed the world. Modern machinery enables Labor to produce so abundantly that it will not much longer call any man master—and all Labor must respond to these new conditions. When no man is the servant of any other man, that will be Socialism.

Your Brother,

C. J. LAMB.

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VI. The Increased Productiveness of Labor by Means of Machinery and Why the Workers do not get the Benefit. A Social System that Lacks Harmony.

Dear Brother Jo: I have before me “Vol. I, Thirteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor (U. S.), 1898, Hand and Machine Labor.” From the tables on pages 24 to 79, I condense the following table, showing the comparative power of Labor to produce goods, by hand and by machine.

Name of Article Produced.	Effectiveness of Machine over Hand Labor.
1 acre Wheat, 20 bu.	22 to 1
1 acre Rice, 2640 lbs.	3½ to 1
1 acre Corn, 40 bu. shelled.....	5 to 1
1 ton Hay	3 to 1
1 acre Barley, 30 bu.	25 to 1
1 doz. Pitchforks	15 to 1
100 Blank Books	8 to 1
100 pairs Men's Shoes	9½ to 1
100 pairs Women's Shoes	11½ to 1
1000 loaves Bread	3 to 1
1 Buggy	4 to 1
1 Farm Wagon	5 to 1
1 fifteen Jewelled Watch	35 to 1
Overalls and Jackets	10 to 1

Name of Article Produced.	Effectiveness of Machine over Hand Labor.
Barrels	3 to 1 to 20 to 1
Rope	10 to 1
Hemp twine	106 to 1
Unbleached Sheeting	11 to 1
2 cord Sewing Cotton	73 to 1
No. 12 Cotton Yarn	162 to 1
Jeans cloth	24 to 1
Axes and Adzes	8 to 1
Butter and Cheese	10 to 1
Men's Woolen Mittens	66 to 1
Hats and Caps	8 to 1
Men's cotton socks	115 to 1
Men's wool socks	45 to 1
Shawls and blankets	38 to 1
Bolts and nuts	5 to 1
Shingles	13 to 1
Sawing lumber	60 to 1
Cut shingle nails	125 to 1
10 d. cut nails	75 to 1
Iron pipe	75 to 1
Pins	17 to 1
Paint (white lead)	10 to 1
Pine doors	40 to 1
Planing lumber	30 to 1
Moulding	10 to 1
Making sash	10 to 1
Making lead pipe	70 to 1
Making harness	4 to 1
Sheet iron ware	32 to 1
Soap	15 to 1
Butcher knives	30 to 1
Hammers and hatchets	15 to 1
Turning hoe handles	11 to 1
Breaking stone	65 to 1
Mining coal	2 to 1
Loading coal and ore	75 to 1
Unloading coal from boat	40 to 1
Making and repairing road bed	40 to 1
Moving freight	200 to 1

These statistics were gathered in 1895-6, nine and ten years ago, since which time later inventions have very largely increased the efficiency of labor. All this machinery has been installed since you were born.

From these facts competent persons conclude that THE AVERAGE POWER OF LABOR TO PRODUCE GOODS HAS BEEN INCREASED TWENTY FOLD.

And yet labor lives about as near the starvation line as it did when it produced only one-twentieth as much as it does now. And that is what Labor is kicking about, and it has a right to kick. Does anybody imagine that it is going to stop kicking?

Farmers generally think that trusts and combinations are bad. Nevertheless they have a mission, and a very important one. They are organizing the industries of the world. For this service Labor, that is farmers and wage workers mostly, are paying "all the traffic will bear." Hence we have a few men vastly wealthy and a corresponding army of tramps. Robert Hunter says that ten million people of the United States live in a state of chronic poverty. In New York City 94 per cent of the people are tenants and 60,000 evictions take place annually. It is a one-sided contract, this capitalist system, under which both farmers and wage workers are working. The big capitalists are dictating the terms of the present social contract, and Labor has little to say about those terms. "We produce admirably; we distribute wretchedly." Farmers produce and capital controls the market. That is a nice arrangement—for the capitalist class.

But as admirably as we now produce all manner of goods, the processes of production are by no means finished. There yet remains much to be done. We are in a transition stage between hand and machine production—between the competition necessary to a state of society in which goods are made by hand labor, and the co-operation which is compelled by the machine. Under hand labor only individualism can exist. Under production by machinery we must socialize and we do socialize, and we are very largely socialized. Our modes of production are modern, but hating Socialism as most people hate all innovation, we cling to the same old system of distribution which prevailed under the modes of production by hand labor.

To illustrate the growth or evolution of society I quote Frederick Engels in "Socialism, from Utopia to Science:"

"Production has become a *social act*. Exchange and appropriation continue to be individual acts, the acts of individuals. *The social product is appropriated by the individual capitalist*. Fundamental contradiction, whence arises all the contradictions in which our present-day society moves, and which modern industry brings to light,"

"A. Severance of the producer from the means of production. Condemnation of the worker to wage labor for life, *antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie*."

"B. Growing predominance and increasing effectiveness of the laws governing production of commodities. Unbridled competition. Contradiction between socialized organization in the individual factory, and anarchy in production as a whole."

"C. On the one hand, perfecting of machinery, made by competition compulsory for each individual manufacturer, and complemented by a constantly growing displacement of laborers. *Industrial reserve army*. On the other hand, unlimited extension of production, also compulsory under competition, for every manufacturer. On both

sides, unheard of development of the productive forces, excess of supply over demand, over-production, glutting of the markets, crises every ten years, the vicious circle of excess here, of means of production and products, and excess there of laborers without employment and without means of existence. But these two levers of production and of social well-being are unable to work together, because the capitalist form of production prevents the productive forces from working and the products from circulating, unless they are first turned into capital—which their very superabundance prevents. The contradiction has grown into an absurdity. *The mode of production rises in rebellion against the form of exchange.*” The bourgeoisie (capitalists—Lamb) are convicted of incapacity to manage their own social productive forces.”

“D. Partial recognition of the social character of the productive forces forced upon the capitalists themselves. Taking over of the great institutions for production and communication, first by joint stock companies, later on by trusts, then by the state. The bourgeoisie (capitalists—L.) demonstrated to be a superfluous class. All its social functions are now performed by salaried employees.”

So says Engels. And we have now reached the trust stage and are rapidly moving towards state ownership, which is not yet Socialism, but rather state capitalism. Not until the workers of the world become the organized and directing force in public affairs will Socialism be realized. Then the already largely socialized means of production will be given their complete socialized character, and socialized production upon a predetermined plan will become possible. That will be industry fully organized and towards that society is rapidly driving.

Labor now produces by machinery twenty times as much per unit as it formerly did by hand. With the industrial organization now in plain sight production will be again doubled and with Socialism established it will be doubled once again. And farmers will be benefited, as well, if not as much, as wage workers. Even \$100,000 farmers like yourself, and much more little two or three cow—fifty sheep—one-horse farmers like myself, will be in receipt of an actual, material, increased income.

In my next letter I will make some figures on this particular question and endeavor to show how and why your interest as a workingman, even though your farm be four thousand acres in extent, are greater today than your interests as a capitalist. To prove this is to prove that every small capitalist who is also a workingman should be a Socialist.

We are in the midst of haying and harvesting. We are using trust machinery, trust oil, trust binding twine, paying trust prices for repairs, and when we get done we will haul the stuff to a trust elevator with trust harness on a trust wagon, to be shipped over a trust railroad to trust mills. Oh, yes! we farmers are very independent, we are!

Your Brother,

C. J. Lamb.

VII. The American Farmer Gets a Mere Subsistence Portion of His Product. Capitalism Strips Him in All Possible Ways. What the Trusts do to the Farmer in Harvesting Time.

DEAR BROTHER JO: I now attempt to prove to you that the interests of farmers and wage-workers are identical, even though the farmer be as well situated as yourself with your \$100,000—4,000-acre Nebraska farm.

The interest of the farmer (and other working people of small means) as a capitalist is measured by his income from his capital, which I have estimated to yield four per cent. per annum, net. The gross rate, of course, would be more than 4 per cent., but taking taxes, risk, superintendence and other items of expense into consideration, four per cent. is about the net rate.

The interest of farmers (and of other persons of small means, by which I mean property up to \$100,000 in amount) as workingmen, is fairly measured by the amount they would produce were they organized for systematic and economical production in their own interests as wealth producers.

Competent investigators who, because of their special study of the thousands of facts touching this matter, are experts and specialists, some of whom have been connected with the U. S. Labor Commission for many years, have stated that the average product of labor is now not less than twenty times as much per unit as it was one hundred years ago, when there was little or no machinery and almost all goods were produced by hand work. In a very few lines of production the product of labor has been increased but little—in some not more than doubled. In other lines the product has been increased fivefold. In most lines the product is ten, twenty, fifty or one hundred times increased, while in still others the rate of increase is from 100 to 10,000, or upwards. The average rate of increased production is computed by specialists at about twentyfold. Common observation confirms these figures.

One hundred years ago the farmers and wage-workers received a subsistence. They made a living by their labor, and on the average it was pretty nearly as good a living as they make now. For purposes of comparison let us call that living worth \$200 per year, or \$16.67 per month.

If it be true, then, that the average working man and farmer now produces twenty times as much as he did 100 years ago, his income now should be twenty such livings, or \$4,000 per year.

Who gets this increased product? *IT IS CERTAIN THAT THE WAGE-WORKERS DO NOT GET IT. AND IT IS ALSO CERTAIN THAT THE FARMERS DO NOT GET IT.* It is also certain that not more than one in twenty of the small business men who are hounded and harassed by the present system (or lack of system) almost past endurance, get even a small part of this increase. *Where then does it go?*

The present commercial or business system is very complicated, but even a layman can see some things with his own eyes. Labor receives about the same living it did when it produced only about one-twentieth

as much as it does now. Why? Because the rate of wages depends not upon how much labor produces, but upon how cheaply it will consent to live. Production is semi-socialized in the interest of the capitalist class. Wages are paid on the competitive basis—the “system”—capitalism—is looking for the men who will produce the most for the smallest portion of their product—and *the farmers are easy victims of this system*. But to where does this immense product go? The farmer does not get it, nor does the wage-worker. Who, then, does get it?

Largely the product of labor to-day is wasted—wasted by the “system”—capitalism—in maintaining its economic position in the domination of what is called “business.”

Wasted in a thousand useless or even harmful ways. Some of these are: (1) The army and navy, maintained by Labor at an enormous expense, in wars of aggression in order that capital may have a market for Labor's product. National greatness and national integrity are the pretexts. Summed up and summed down, the armies and navies of the world are useful to and used by the capitalist class in their wars against each other and against the producers of wealth. (2) Lawyers and courts: In cases where labor and capital are contestants the decisions are almost uniformly in favor of the “system.” Labor seldom wins. In fact, the expense of litigation bars labor from the courts, which are almost only useful to capitalists in their contests with each other and with labor. Precedents of the days of chattel slavery and feudalism are now used to hold wage-labor subject. Lawyers are mostly parasites upon parasitic capitalism. Labor feeds, clothes and shelters them as they serve, not society with a useful service, but the “system.” Labor foolishly surrenders not less than nine-tenths of its product to the “system,” and lawyers, being a part of that “system,” come in for their share of the plunder. (3) Politicians: I use that word to designate the great raft of grafters, or hangers-on, who for proper consideration steer state and national governments in the interests of the capitalist class. Bosses Hanna, Quay, Platt, Coker, Cox, Atwood of Michigan, Thurston, Mitchell, Morton, Burton of Kansas, Depew, Aldrich, and Belmont are shining examples. There is a vast army of these craftsmen, a valuable adjunct of the “System,” who are *well paid by Labor itself to keep Labor in due subjection*. Of course, Labor does not handle the “check book,” but it furnishes the “stuff” with which the “system” does the business. (4) The police who see to the preservation of order while capitalism gets in its work. (5) Charity: Some thousands of goody people who essay to patch up a very few of the social wounds caused by the “System,” and some thousands of others who use charity to cover a multitude of sins. (6) Advertising, which employs an immense army of workers in the interest of rent, interest and profit—never (or seldom) in the interest of Labor. (7) Salesmen on the installment plan or otherwise, whose business it is to sell goods for profit—another great army of socially useless people. (8) Commercial travelers—an immense and expensive army used in the service of the “system,” which would be almost wholly unnecessary in a Socialist state. (9) Go into any town or village and see

the rows of little stores and shops—in cities mile after mile of them, all striving, struggling for existence, and nearly all failing. A survival of the individualist system of hand production miserably striving to continue their petty businesses in these days of machine production and organized capital. It is doubtful, indeed, if Socialism could be a greater relief to the wage-worker than to these hundreds of thousands of worn and weary people. (10) Adulteration, shoddy and frauds in goods. Actually under the “system” as we have it, there is a vast army engaged in legally defrauding society with shoddy, adulterated and even injurious goods. And Labor pays for this, too; that is, it permits the “system” to do this sort of business, and it furnishes the wherewithal. (11) Speculators, brokers, board of trade men, with their clerks, stenographers, messengers and other employes—these constitute still another large army of socially quite useless people, who, under Socialism, would become useful.

All these armies are engaged in some capacity in the service of the “system”—capitalism. They are rendering little or no service to farmers or wage-workers and next to no real social service at all. Perhaps their greatest social service is that of “HORRIBLE EXAMPLES OF HOW NOT TO DO THINGS.” Out of that portion of the wealth which Labor produces, but does not receive, capitalism—the “system”—pays these, its servitors. And this list is by no means complete. To it can be added other armies of those engaged in personal service—the lackeys of the rich—sailors who navigate yachts for capitalists; builders who build mansions for capitalists; collectors, telegraph and telephone people who mostly serve the exploiting class; landlords, pawn shop people, and others.

These indicate some of the institutions which Labor supports for the personal use and service of the comparatively few people who constitute the “system.” And after paying all these there is still a surplus left which is constantly accumulating in the hands of a small percentage of the people. The average wage of labor is reported as \$437 per year, and the average farmers’ wage does not much, if any, exceed that sum. Now, suppose the average wealth producer “saves” \$100 per year—it would take the “savings” of 300,000 such workers to equal the “savings” of one John D. Rockefeller. In other words, the oil king’s savings would equal the savings of all the working people of the great state of Nebraska combined. And Rockefeller is only the recognized largest one of a class which numbers perhaps 10,000 in all, or only about one-twenty-fifth of the adult male population of Nebraska alone, or about one-fiftieth of the adult male population of Wisconsin alone.

These wastes eliminated and the products of labor placed where they rightly belong, to the socially useful people, as Socialism proposes, it is quite safe to say that the average income of the average wealth-producer would be the equivalent of an income of \$4,000 per year, which is equal to your income as a capitalist rated at \$100,000 at 4 per cent. net ($\$200 \times 20 = \$4,000$). But that is not all. Production to-day is going through a period of transition—of change from individualistic methods

to Socialistic methods. This change is not yet complete. Further development, further invention, further specialization, further consolidation, known now to be realizable, and towards which society is rapidly making, insure an easy doubling of Labor's product. Indeed, the organization of the forces of production and distribution, as Socialists propose, would easily double the present productive power of labor, and yield to each socially useful workingman the equivalent of not less than \$8,000 per year, and that is why you and I, and every farmer and every wage-worker, and every little business man, should be Socialists. There are still other and perhaps better reasons; but, in these days of capitalist graft, and because the social problem is easily solvable by a few figures drawn from actual and historical facts, and also because it is a business-bread-and-butter question that comes home every day to the life of every man, I present the question from this side.

All real farmers, all small capitalists, all wage-workers, all who render, and all who desire to render actual social service on fair terms, should be Socialists and all for exactly the same reason,—to better their condition in life. Yes, I know, as you say, that there are some Socialists who rather strenuously insist that farmers and small capitalists generally because of their really quite insignificant interests as capitalists, must be regarded with suspicion by the simon-pure, wage-working Socialists. I know, too, that in some cases, as in Nebraska, Socialist farmers have been excluded from the controlling, dues-paying organization of the Socialist party. Usually the Socialists who take this view are the more recent converts, the freshmen or sophomore Socialists who have not yet entirely divested themselves of their utopian views. They are those who have not yet tested Socialism by the science of mathematics. They are very suspicious that someone has designs to capture the forces of social evolution and switch "the movement" on to a sidetrack somewhere in the woods where it will get lost. The older Socialists, those who have been longer in the Socialist work, have gotten past this utopian stage. They have tested Socialism by more of the sciences, and they know that social evolution cannot be switched off anywhere, and they are hence more tranquil. They have gone through the chickenpox, measles, mumps and whooping cough stages of Socialist growth and find plenty of reasons why even millionaires should be Socialists.

Facile production destroys capitalism. It compels Socialism. Easy production by machinery retires the struggle for existence into oblivion. It reduces cost and commercial value to the minimum and finally to the vanishing point. It destroys greed by destroying the necessity for greed. But I will not go into that now—this letter is long enough.

We are haying now and harvesting. The farm machinery trust, the rope and binding twine trust, and even the Standard Oil trust, whose oil we must use to lubricate our mower and binder, are getting in their work on us. Even the wage-workers have their combination. They all fix the price we independent (?) farmers have to pay, eh?

Your Brother,

C. J. LAMB.

VIII. How the Farmer Groans at the Extortions of Capital, yet Gives Capitalism His Vote on Election Day. Concluding Letter of the Series

Dear Brother Jo: Trusts are not altogether bad as most farmers think. The long-headed men who constitute the trusts are organizing the industries of the world. They are showing farmers and wage workers how to do business. They are systemizing production and distribution. They are using machinery to advantage, and, remember, the full use of machinery can only be had by organization and system. The more complete the organization the better will machinery perform its service. **THE MACHINE IS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION**, and Socialism proposes the completest possible organization of these social forces in the interest of the useful citizenship.

For this social service the trusts are charging their own price. Farmers and wage workers are not paying enough attention to their side of this social contract. They are producing abundantly, but they leave the entire management of the business, particularly the transportation and distribution departments, to the trusts, and for their own useful services as working people, they more or less meekly, more or less grumblingly, take just what the trusts are forced to leave them. Instead of \$4,000 or \$8,000 per year they manage to subsist on \$437.

It is well known that "the law is a part of every contract," and Socialists at least understand that political parties are the social representatives of the economic classes—workingmen and capitalists. That the laws are made and administered by the politicians of both old parties in the interest of capitalists, of labor exploiters, is plain, and when a farmer or wage worker votes for the politicians of either old party, he votes for \$437 per year instead of \$4,000 or more. He votes into every contract laws in the interest of the exploiting capitalist class, and these laws fix his relations with the masters of the "system." **IF THE GIANT LABOR BE IN CHAINS IT IS BECAUSE HE VOTES TO WEAR THOSE CHAINS.**

The secret of the success of big capital is not so much of a secret after all. Big Capital organizes and systemizes its business. It doubles, trebles and quadruples the productive power of labor. It cuts off waste. It commands the use of the best machinery against which small capital using inferior machinery and poorer system cannot successfully compete. It causes goods to be produced cheaper; sells at less expense and thus takes the market from the little old fogies who hang to the old methods. Thus the trusts are creating a small class of capitalist owners and a large class of wage workers. The little independent producers, who are mostly farmers, are being squeezed out. **CAPITAL IS SOCIALIZING INDUSTRY.** Let Labor now proceed to the socialization of capital. Towards this we are rapidly proceeding in the due course of social growth. The air is full of Socialism. It is all around us. Even now we are in the midst of the social revolution.

But capitalists now dictate the terms upon which Labor produces and exchanges. Labor scarcely has a voice in the matter. Capital takes

the cream because we consent to this one-sided business arrangement. We protest, we grumble, we "kick," but we consent. How do we consent? Now look out, Jo, here is the bald fact, **WE CONSENT WITH OUR BALLOTS.** And we can only withdraw our consent by casting our votes for more complete Socialism. In the arrangement of the terms upon which Labor serves society the ballot is Labor's only voice. If he is satisfied that the present capitalist class shall absolutely dictate these terms, he does well to vote either old party ticket. If he wants the \$4,000 per year standard of living instead of the \$437 standard, he must vote for it. Farmers and wage workers get just what they vote for.

We cannot go backwards to the days of small capitalism. The machine, which is distinctly a social institution, forbids it and it demands not less, but more organization. Agriculture is the last of the great industries now waiting for organization. That half accomplished or even well begun, brings Socialism.

Facile production is creating a new social environment. The machine, by producing abundantly, is destroying capitalism. It brings with it the cooperation in production and distribution which can only end in complete cooperation—which is Socialism. The only other alternative is the absolute enslavement of the working class, which must go forward to Socialism or backward to feudalism and actual chattel slavery. A great machine, or combination of machines, the printing press, spreads information broadcast to the "four corners of the earth" and prevents any backward movement. Labor organizes and farmers go heels over head into politics, on occasion, to prevent this backward movement. Labor does not desire to be reduced to a condition of abject dependence. That is what both farmers and wage workers are fighting against, and, since exercise develops strength, these labor and farm organizations are in a fair way to gain in power. On the other hand capitalism, having turned over the very management of its interests to its employes, is becoming emasculated and is only kept temporarily alive by craft and graft.

In the Grange and Alliance movements wage workers were not interested. They failed to support the farmers in those movements and there were no very good reasons why they should have supported them, because, as between small capitalism and big capitalism, Labor had little to choose. Either meant the continued exploitation of wage labor. As capitalists farmers can only offer continued servitude to wage labor, but as workingmen, as producers of wealth, they have a common interest—an identity of interest which must draw them together in social action.

That "community of interest" between wage workers and farmers can be shown by a simple arithmetical calculation.

Counting the average income of the average worker under Socialism at an equivalent of \$5,000 per year, and the income of the \$10,000 farmer at four per cent net, today (which would be \$400 per year) then the farmer's financial interest as a workingman is twelve and one-half times as great as his interest as a capitalist.

If there are good reasons why a wage worker should be a Socialist, then the financial reasons why a farmer should be a Socialist are nearly as great. And the same is true of all small capitalists.

The power which the trusts are exercising is distinctly a power to tax. They are exercising a purely governmental or social function. Let us not delude ourselves—the trusts are the real government and they can be superseded in government, not by political organization of small capitalists, but by the political organization of Labor. Effective organization of working farmers is only possible on the labor side, and when the industries of the country and of the world are organized by workingmen and for workingmen, then all the useful people will receive the blessings of machinery, and the rewards of Labor be most bountiful. And not until then will social usefulness receive its due honor.

Many people look upon Socialism as a great danger. Socialists are those who are in harmony with the laws of social evolution, and the only danger is in resistance to these laws.

The propositions of the Socialists must, and so far as I know they do, stand the tests of every recognized science at every point of contact. This being true, it follows that Socialism is itself a science which can be learned and used by men for their benefit as are the other sciences.

All around us we see the evidences of the progress of society from competition to cooperation. Among these evidences are the trusts themselves, labor unions, alliances, granges, our common schools, our publicly owned roads, bridges, libraries, parks, mutual insurances, clearing houses, our postal system, businessmen's associations, municipal ownerships, hospitals, colleges, drainage and irrigation works, and many others, all driving towards the inevitable goal—Socialism. From our own observations and experiences, from study and from history we can learn somewhat of the course of social evolution. We can calculate in part the social effect of the introduction of machinery. We Americans pride ourselves on the thing we call progress, which is only another name for social growth, and as sensible citizens we should study these laws and act in harmony with them. It is worse than folly to oppose the due progress of social evolution, and from such opposition only evil can result.

When farming was done with a fire-sharpened stick and later when it was done by simple tools, greed was actually necessary to the preservation of life. But with society organized to use the machinery of production to the best advantage there will be no necessity for greed and greed will disappear, and with it a long list of social evils—even war itself. To be a Socialist is to be in harmony with the known laws of social progress.

Yours Fraternally,

Dryden, Mich., July, 1905.

C. J. Lamb.

Prof. Ferri's 'Socialism and Modern Science'

"Briefed" by Ida Crouch-Hazlett.



THE purpose in preparing the following brief has been to present the argument and the subject matter of what is perhaps the clearest exposition of the claims of Socialism to be a scientific analysis of society, in a simple and complete manner, so as to be accessible to a great body of men and women, who have not much money to invest in books, and who are so wearied with the work of carrying society on their shoulders, that their opportunities for study are necessarily limited.

The exact language of the author has been adhered to as much as possible, with only slight variations here and there to facilitate the process of abbreviation.

* * *

In the preface the author states that his intention has been to point out the general relation existing between contemporary Socialism and the whole trend of modern scientific thought.

The contention is made that Socialism is in conflict with the fundamental facts of the physical, biological and social sciences. He says that he purposes to demonstrate that Marxian Socialism, the only Socialism that has a truly scientific method and value, is only the practical fulfillment in the social life, of that modern scientific revolution which has triumphed in our times, thanks to the works of Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer.

Darwin and especially Spencer halted when they had traveled only half way toward the conclusions of a religious, political or social order which necessarily flow from their indisputable premises.

Virchow in opposing Haeckel's defense of Darwinism asserted that it led direct to Socialism. Haeckel and the other German Darwinians immediately protested that it is in absolute opposition to Socialism, and Haeckel stated that every intelligent statesman ought to advocate the theory of descent and the doctrine of evolution as the best antidote for the absurd notions of the Socialists, that the tendency of the theory could be nothing but aristocratic, by no means can it be democratic, much less socialistic.

His three principal arguments have reference to the equality of individuals, the struggle for life and its victims, and the survival of the fittest. They are as follows.

Socialism tends toward a chimerical equality of persons and property, while Darwinism shows the organic necessity of the natural inequality of individuals.

Only a small minority can triumph in the struggle for existence, while Socialism asserts that all ought to triumph.

The struggle for existence assures the survival of the best and this leads to an aristocratic hierarchy of selected individuals instead of the democratic collectivist teaching of Socialism.

In answer to the first, Ferri asserts that scientific Socialism has never denied the inequality of individuals. Social equality has to do with the right to live a man's life, and not to be forced from the means of existence by the fraud, favoritism and unscrupulous methods of the few. Equality according to Socialism is a relative thing and must be understood in a two-fold sense:

1. All men should be guaranteed human conditions of existence.
2. All men ought to be equal at the starting point.

These conditions can be obtained only by the transformation of private ownership of the means of production into social ownership.

He goes on to state that the first anti-Socialist objection is overruled since its starting point is non-existent; that inequalities will never disappear on account of the principle of variation that manifests itself in the continuous development of species.

He likens the division of labor, on which Haeckel puts so much stress to the different functions of the cells in an organism, equally useful and necessary to the life of the organism as a whole. In the biological organism all remains inactive, and it obtains nourishment by exchanges only in proportion to its labor.

In dealing with this first category Ferri treats of the incentive, choice of labor, remuneration, anarchist and socialist distinctions, suppression of individuality, and false social standards.

In regard to the alleged Darwinian position that the vast mass of individuals must perish that a few may live, Ferri states that there is a decreasing proportion between the "called" and the "chosen" as we ascend the biological scale. The more complex the organization the less waste in the attainment of life. He illustrates this by plants, animals, and the lower and higher races of man. He says it is unscientific to interpret the cannibalism of the past to justify modern individualist competition.

The muscular struggle of primitive life is superseded more and more by the intellectual struggle. Historical society has struggled for civil equality, religious equality, political equality, and is now struggling for economic equality.

Even under the best conditions scientific Socialism does not deny that there will be some "losers" in the struggle. These Ferri treats of under the name of degenerates and criminals. He speaks of the absurdity of the modern penal system based on the erroneous notion of free-will and moral delinquency, and characterizes cellular confinement as one of the mental aberrations of the age. He says that criminalologists are united in desiring to substitute simple segregation for those not fitted for social life on account of pathological conditions; and he concurs with Lombroso in his conclusion that all criminality depends on

the influence of the economic environment. Under Socialism the chief forms of degeneracy will be suppressed by the elimination of their principal cause, physical poverty and its consequent mental suffering.

The law of mutual aid as a factor in evolution is also cited as sustaining the cooperation for life.

In discussing the third and last part of Haeckel's argument, Ferri objects to the phrase, "survival of the best." He says this is simply a persistence of the idea which used to see in nature and history a premeditated goal to be reached by a process of continuous amelioration. There is a vast difference between the survival of the best and the survival of the best fitted. The "best fitted" means those who are best fitted to their environment. If this is vicious there will be a retrograde selection. This is shown in modern society in marriage conditions, in the persistence of the rich, inhuman labor conditions, and the advantage of capitalism over the proletariat. The victory goes to him who has the fewest scruples. It is only under natural and equal conditions in society that the best fitted for survival would be the most desirable.

Ferri next proceeds to Socialism as a consequence of Darwinism. He deals with the attitude of its position as affecting existing religious superstitions.

Socialism occupies an analogous position in regard to liberal movements. They represent the activities of the bourgeoisie which will hasten to establish them when monarchies no longer serve their interests. (Vide Russia.)

The next point of identification of Socialism with science is in the relation of the individual to the species. The eighteenth century closed with the glorification of the individual. This has led to the individualist position of the capitalists and the anarchists. Modern biology has demonstrated that the individual exists only as a member of society. Every object is a collectivity. The cell is an aggregate of various parts. The federation of various parts constantly increases with the ascent in zoological series. The social aggregate is the eternal reality of life. The instinct of reproduction gives birth to the social sense, and even this and its results have been seized by the capitalist class to perpetuate the servility and helplessness of the working class. Whereas modern society has made its deduction that millions of individuals should suffer for the advantage of a few, modern science has demonstrated that it is the individual who lives for the species.

As Darwinism has shown that the entire mechanism of animal evolution may be reduced to the struggle for life, so the machinery of social evolution rests on the struggle between classes to control the economic forces that form the physical basis of life, and determine all consequent institutions. It is this grand conception which forms the imperishable glory of Marx, and assures him in sociology the place that Darwin occupies in biology and Spencer in philosophy. Human society like all other organisms is not a homogenous whole. It is made up of diverse parts, and their differentiation constantly increases in direct ratio to the degree of social evolution attained. A tribe of primitive savages advances to the intricate organization of modern civilization with its

ever increasing class specialization. Individuals may pass from one class to another, but the classes remain and will do so as long as the reason for their differentiation remains. The circumstances and phenomena of the hostile conflict of these classes varies, but its most pronounced phase is the antagonism between those who hold the monopoly of the means of production and those who have been expropriated. The resulting injustice can only be abolished through the operation of the class struggle. It is not a struggle of individuals. Man has no free will, but his acts are the necessary effect of race and environment. The peasant is bound by invisible threads to the life of the whole world. Private property as well as the individual works by inexorable laws in connection with its environment. Its obstitution and the substitution of social ownership are inevitable. The change is taking place under our eyes as private properties and functions become social properties and functions.

* * * * *

The bourgeois class is the result of historical conditions that have changed the economic structure of the world. In the history of the civilized world it has inscribed a page in letters of gold by wondrous developments in the lives of nations and marvelous applications of science to industry. Its dissolution is near at hand. The smaller the number of those who hold possession of the means of life, the easier is their expropriation by society, accomplishing its results not through individual conflicts, but through a class struggle of which the workers must be made conscious.

The continued examination of Darwinism and Socialism would but disclose their indissoluble harmony.

Part Second deals with evolution and Socialism. The tendency of modern scientific thought has been made to appear in contradiction with the theories and practical ideas of Socialism. This criticism applies to the Socialism that preceded Marx, with which contemporary Socialism has nothing in common. Scientific Socialism is but the logical consequence of the application of the evolutionary theory to the domain of economics.

The orthodox thesis and the Socialist thesis are then contrasted. The Socialist affirmation is made as follows: The present economic world represents a transitory phase, and a collectivist organization is destined to succeed it, as an ultimate conclusion from the examination made of Darwinism and Socialism.

The orthodox thesis is: That the present production and distribution of wealth is determined by final laws that are immutable in their principal features.

Socialism holds that these laws are simply relative to periods and will no more apply to the future than they did to pre-historic times.

The theory of evolution, of which Herbert Spencer was the true creator, applied to sociology the tendency to relativism which the historical school had used in law and political economy. Every physical science shows that the present is the result of myriads of incessant transformations, and that the future will certainly differ from the present.

The old metaphysics were imbued with the notion of conflicting laws of a dual universe. Modern science holds the magnificent synthetic conception of unionism—a single substance evolving a succession of forms relative to time and place. Ethics, law and politics are mere superstructures of the economic structure, varying with its variations, and never absolute.

According to the absurd contention of economics and juristical orthodoxy, property alone is subject to no changes.

It is said by the adversaries of Socialism that the collective ownership of the land would be a return to primitive barbarism. It is true that collectivism would be a return to the primitive social organization. This reversion to primitive forms is obvious in the category of social institutions. We can perceive this spiral return in literature, religion, politics, punishment, marriage, and property regulations. It is, however, not a pure and simple repetition, only an apparent retrogression that preserves the vital conquests of preaching evolution, and builds a result far superior to the primitive social embryo.

It is asserted that Socialism constitutes a tyranny that will destroy the blessings of liberty won at the cost of so many sacrifices.

Science has established the law that each succeeding phase of the social evolution preserves the vital manifestations of the preceding phases, and eliminates the pathological manifestations. The laborer of today has gained certain points of which the producers of the past were deprived, liberty, suffrage, association, but he has not the guarantee of bread and a home. The purpose of Socialism is to give this guarantee to all, but it does not follow that it will do away with the conquests already obtained.

We find an example in the invention of machinery. These marvelous substitutes for human labor should have had only beneficent consequences, but they have condemned multitudes of workers to the tortures of idleness and hunger, because of the irresistible advantage to the capitalist. The only solution is that the workers must own the machines.

No intelligent Socialist has ever dreamed of not recognizing all that the bourgeoisie has done for human civilization. These are permanent conquests of human progress. But it is necessary to rid the social organism of the poison that it has generated, that no privileged class shall longer pass their lives in idleness and dissipation, but the immense majority of men will rise to the heights of serene security instead of living in the anxieties and bitter strife of the present.

In substituting social ownership for individual ownership of the land and the means of production it is obvious that it will not be necessary to suppress private property in individual food, clothing, and objects of personal use, and family consumption.

It has been argued that men will no longer be impelled to labor when not constrained by personal self-interest. In those survivals and attainments of collectivism that we see about us although men have only

the use and enjoyment instead of an absolute title to the industrial means, we do not see that they are any less inclined to put forth their efforts.

The considerations that have condemned to death the famous communist colonies is that they are obliged to develop in an economic environment that cannot furnish them the essential conditions for growth. In an individualist environment the psychological tendency of anti-social egoism is most highly developed as an instinct of self-preservation. In an environment where every one may assure himself of his daily bread egoism will have fewer stimulants to manifest itself than solidarity.

The last of the alleged contradictions between Socialism and the scientific theory of evolution relates to the question of how Socialism will be inaugurated and realized. There is an idea that Socialism is expected to come "over night," It is impossible to prophesy in regard to the details of a social organization which will differ from ours more profoundly than present society differs from that of the Middle Ages, because the bourgeois world has retained the foundation of individualism while the Socialist world will have a fundamentally different polarization.

All that scientific Socialism can affirm, and it does this with mathematical certainty, is the progressive preponderance of the interests of the species over those of the individual. It would have been just as rational to have asked the rising bourgeoisie, emerging from feudalism, what kind of a new world theirs would be. The artificial impression of a monastic military discipline was the Socialism that Herbert Spencer attacked. The contemporary artificial product of State Socialism has contributed to confirm this impression. This Liebknecht called a State Capitalism which would join political slavery to economic exploitation. The administration of the new Socialist state will be a natural and not a parasitic product of the new social organization.

The processes of social transformation, like those of all living organisms, are evolution, revolution, rebellion, individual violence. Revolution and evolution are normal functions of social physiology; rebellion and individual violence are symptoms of social pathology. Revolution, in its accurate and scientific sense, is the concluding phase of an evolution, and not, in the current and incorrect sense, a stormy and violent revolt. Europe and America are at this time in a period of revolution prepared by the evolution begotten by the bourgeois organization, and promoted by utopian as well as scientific Socialism. Repressive efforts are of no avail, and nothing can be efficacious except laws of social reform and preparation, which, as Marx said, will render less painful the birth of the new society. On the other hand those that think to inaugurate a new social order by preference to rebellion or personal violence are opposing the course of biological evolution, which has no sudden transformations. But scientific Socialism, especially in Germany, under the direct influence of Marxism has completely abandoned those old methods of revolutionary romanticism.

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The social revolution cannot achieve its object unless it first becomes a vivid fact in the minds of the workers themselves by virtue of

the clear perception of their class interests, and the strength which union will give them. The transforming power decreases as we descend the scale from one process to another. Socialism is a question of complete transformation of the entire social cosmos in its economic foundation, and consequently in its juridical, political and ethical organization, and the process of transformation is more effective as its social character predominates over its individual character. This is one reason why charity, being necessarily personal, can never solve the problem of the distribution of wealth. Moreover, rebellion and violence are anti-social and anti-human, and deny in the person whom they strike down the principal of respect for human life and of solidarity.

To say to the laborers that without having made ready the requisite material means, but especially without solidarity and without an intelligent conception of the goal and without a high moral purpose, they ought to rise against the classes in power, is really to play into the hands of those very classes, since the latter are sure of the material victory when the evolution is not ripe and the revolution is not ready. Therefore Marxian Socialism in all countries has proclaimed that the principal means of social transformation must be the conquest of the political powers. The further the political organization of the workers shall progress the more we will see realized by a resistless evolution the Socialist organization of society, at first by partial concessions wrested from the capitalist class by the working class, and then by the complete transformation of individual ownership into social ownership.

Whether this complete transformation can be accomplished without violence is a question no one can answer in advance.

However it has been demonstrated that Marxian Socialism is in harmony with modern science and is its logical continuation. And that is the reason why it has made the theory of evolution the basis of its instruction, emerged from the nebulasities of sentiment and taken as its guide the unerring compass of scientific thought, represented by the works of Darwin and Spencer.

The third part of the book deals with sociology and Socialism, and the thirteenth chapter deals with the sterility of sociology.

One of the strangest facts in the history of the scientific thought of the nineteenth century is that, though the profound scientific revolution caused by Darwinism and Spencerian evolution has reinvigorated all the physical, biological and even psychological sciences, when it reached the domain of the social sciences, it only superficially rippled the orthodox surface of that social science par excellence, political economy. It has led, however, through the initiative of Auguste Comte, to the creation of a new science, Sociology, which, with the natural history of human societies, is the crowning glory of the new scientific edifice erected by the experimental method.

In the anatomy of the social organism sociology has made fruitful contributions to contemporary science. But when the political social question is entered upon the sociologists remain conservatives or radicals in accordance with their respective whims. The new science then represents a sort of arrested development in experimental scientific thought.

The secret of this strange phenomenon consists not in the fact that sociology is in the period of scientific analysis and not yet of synthesis, but in the fact that the logical consequences of scientific evolution lead inexorably to Socialism.

To Karl Marx is due the honor of having formulated these logical applications of experimental science to the domain of political economy. The ideas by which he completed the revolution of science are three: The law of surplus value, the materialistic conception of history, or the law of economic determinism, and the theory of the class struggle. The first gives us a scientific explanation of the accumulation of private property. The second corresponds to the biological law which makes each individual the result of the innate and acquired conditions of his physiological organism living in a given environment. The third analyzes history as a succession of class antagonisms.

The law of economic determinism is the most scientific and the most prolific sociological theory that has ever been discovered by the genius of man, unfolding before our eyes the majestic drama of history no longer as the arbitrary acts of great men, but as the resultant of the economic conditions of each people.

The Socialist theory of Marx leads us to this conclusion: Since political parties are merely the mouth-pieces of class interests there can be substantially only two political parties, the Socialist party of the workers and the individualist party of the possessing class.

These ideas of political Socialism, because they are scientific, dispose their partisans both to personal tolerance and to theoretical inflexibility. It is necessary to be on the one side or the other. There is no middle ground, and the only serviceable ground for a Socialist party likely to live is that policy of theoretical inflexibility, of refusing to enter into any alliance.

It is the truth in Socialism that explains to us that unity of intelligent, disciplined, class-conscious solidarity which presents in the world-wide celebration of the first of May, a moral phenomenon of such grandeur that human history possesses no parallel example with the exception of the movement of primitive Christianity, which had, however, a much more restricted field of action than contemporary Socialism.

Henceforth Socialism constitutes the only force which restores the hope for a better future to the old and disintegrating human society, a hope born of rational confidence in the inductions of modern experimental science.

Herbert Spencer wrote a letter after the publication of Ferri's book, expressing his astonishment at the audacity of him who would make use of Spencer's name to defend Socialism.

Ferri replied saying no Socialist ever dreamed of making Mr. Spencer a partisan of Socialism, whose extreme individualism was known to all the world. But he said the personal opinion of Herbert Spencer was a very different thing from the logical consequence of the scientific theories of universal evolution which he had developed, but of which he had no official monopoly.

Ida Crouch-Hazlett.

SOCIALISM NOT COMMUNISM.

By VICTOR L. BERGER.



OUR aim is Social-Democracy, not Communism. We want this understood.

Between Social-Democracy and Communism there is a great deal of difference.

To begin with, Social-Democracy is identical with Collectivism or rational Socialism.

Collectivism is not a negation of property, nor is Socialism. Please keep this in mind.

Socialism simply demands the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. We will produce in common, but the consumption will remain individual.

Social-Democracy will only control our capital—not our property. A Socialist Commonwealth will not do away with the individual ownership of property, but only with individual ownership of capital.

It is Communism that denies individual ownership of all property. The Communists want to produce and consume in common. There are very few conscious Communists in the world at the present time, at least, very few remain Communists after they understand what the term Communism means.

To make myself still more explicit, "capital" is that part of wealth which is used as means of production, that is, raw materials, as machinery, factories, land, etc. To socialize these is the aim of all Socialists. But all methods of consumption and personal use will remain private property.

It is necessary to state this at this time, because there are some Communists in this party who think they are Socialists. There are even some editors who seem to find it difficult to distinguish between capital and property from a Socialist standpoint.

A Social-Democracy must socialize capital because in the Co-operative Commonwealth the industrial democracy must rule.

Under the present capitalistic system, collective capital—especially as organized in the trusts and big corporations—has practically nullified most of the advantages of political democracy and thus the capitalist class has become the ruler of the people.

It is clear from all this that the people must turn the privately owned capital into collective capital as a matter of self-preservation. The people must do it, because private capital, which was formerly a means of progress, is now impeding progress. In short, the private ownership of capital was for several hundred years an historical necessity; now the collective ownership of capital is becoming an historical necessity.

That such is the trend of the time, we can see at a glance from the discussion that is going on in the daily and weekly papers and in the magazines. But that trend is towards Socialism, not towards Communism.

The measures that the Socialists will take and must take will closely connect with the present system and evolve from it. As a matter of fact, the collectivity—that is the nation, the state and the community—will closely follow along the lines of what people have already long been doing. Only they will do this from a Socialist standpoint.

So Collectivism is not Communism, and Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, for instance, who in their early days were Communists, later on in life became Collectivists and Social-Democrats. Communism has often been tried, and outside of a few small religious communities, has failed invariably.

About 1840 there was a wave of Fourieristic Communism in this country. It was started by Albert Brisbane and some of the most brilliant and best men and women this country has ever produced, participated in the experiments. But all the communistic settlements, where the religious and ascetic elements were lacking, soon came to naught.

Social-Democracy has never been tried, because it will be the outcome of modern conditions—of the invention of machinery and the centralization of capital on one hand and the development of political democracy on the other. Communism would be a step backward, would be a retrogression to a very primitive and low stage of human society. Social-Democracy will mean a step forward towards a higher civilization than history has ever known.

Just to emphasize the difference between Collectivism (Social-Democracy) and Communism—between the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution and the common ownership of everything—there is nothing in Collectivism that will prevent people who are so inclined from *saving*.

They will be able to save just as much as they wish; they will be able to utilize their savings in any manner they choose with one single savings: they will not be able in any possible way to “invest” their savings, that is to say, they will not be able to use their savings to make profit.

Of course, our capitalists will cry out: “What is the use of a man possessing a hundred thousand dollars, if he cannot invest his money?” Which means what is the use of a man possessing wealth, if he cannot use it to work others and live himself without work. This, I will admit, is a grievance that cannot be helped, but it is a grievance that is no grievance. First, because under collectivism, there will not be the slightest necessity for individual saving with a view of providing for the future or old age, for care will be taken of every citizen. Second, there will be no encouragement for saving, for accumulating capital will be looked upon as the function of society and not of the individual.

But it is not my intention to describe the Co-operative Commonwealth, the Socialist Republic, or any other future state in this article. I have simply tried to bring out a few of the differences between Socialism and Communism, and about these a great deal more may be said.

THE VANGUARD.

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

Vol. 3. No. 12. MILWAUKEE, WIS., AUG.-SEPT., 1905. Whole Number 32.

The more we realize the vast possibilities of human welfare which science has given us, the more we must recognize our total failure to make any adequate rational use of them. With ample power to supply to the fullest extent necessities, comforts, and even luxuries, for all, and at the same time allow ample leisure for intellectual pleasure and the esthetic enjoyments, we have yet so sinfully mismanaged our social economy as to give unprecedented and injurious luxuries to the few, while millions are compelled to suffer a life-long deficiency of the barest necessities for a healthy existence.

ALFRED RUSSELL WALLACE.

For some time we have been desirous of publishing *The Vanguard* at the beginning instead of the end of the month, but have found it impossible to make the change, as we hoped, by issuing two numbers within one month. Therefore in order to catch up we have decided to date this special number August-September and bring the October number out promptly on time. This will in no way affect the number of copies our subscribers will receive, all subscriptions being reckoned accordingly.

We trust all our friends and comrades will avail themselves of the favorable season we are just entering upon to push the circulation of *The Vanguard* and place the magazine in the hands of many new readers. There is nothing better for Socialist propaganda, the magazine being issued with this purpose ever in mind. For a short time we make the special rate of 25 cents a year. Let us hear from you with a good sized list of subscribers,

Alfred Russell Wallace, the great English scientist, who shares with Darwin the discovery of the principle of Evolution, is a Socialist and looks at our present social arrangements with a Socialist's eye. Thus he said recently: "The crowning disgrace is that with a hundred fold increase in our powers of wealth, production adequate to supply every rational want of our whole population many times over, we have only succeeded in adding enormously to individual wealth and luxury, while the workers are on an average as deeply sunk in poverty and misery as before. I am convinced that the society of the future will be some form of Socialism, which is organization of labor for the good of all, just as the post office is organized labor for the benefit of all."

Socialism will no more think of keeping a sick man at work than a humane man today thinks of driving a sick horse.

FREE SPEECH OVERTHROWN.

The procedure and rulings of the Post Office Department in the case of Moses Harmon should arouse the most callous to a realization of the extent to which our liberty is invaded by a postal autocracy in America. For publishing simple arguments on the marriage question, Mr. Harman has been convicted of mailing obscene literature, and now awaits the result of appeal to a higher court. Meanwhile, three entire issues of his paper have been confiscated as unavailable by the postal authorities, the pretext being an extract from Dr. Alice Stockham's well-known work, "Tokology," and articles by women, advocating a high degree of self-control. Only a buzzard could scent "obscenity" in any one of them. Protest having been made against the outrage, R. P. Goodwin, Assistant Attorney-General for the Post Office Department, makes the following monstrous ruling: "Any and all discussion upon the sex question is obscene and unavailable. The only occasion for any talk of such matters is in the private conversations of physicians with patients." This marks the extreme limit of a tyranny unparalleled even in Russia. Its infamy defies adequate comment. If this ruling holds, free speech in America is dead. Is it possible that any American can be blind or indifferent to this deadly conspiracy against our dearest liberties? If the term "obscene" can be stretched to cover all discussion of the sex question, what cannot "sedition" be made to include? Socialists, Single Taxers, trades unionists and other minority advocates need not flatter themselves that the administrative process will stop here. The time to protest is NOW, before all liberty of expression is hopelessly crushed, and buried under a mass of precedent. Those who remain silent, because they differ from the views of Moses Harmon and other victims, or because the sex question does not particularly interest them, are responsible for the consequences, and deserve nothing better than to be the basest of slaves. Be sure the old lesson of history, that encroachment ever succeeds encroachment, will prove true here as elsewhere.

In spite of the fearful danger, there is only one organized movement to confront it. The Free Speech League, composed of men and women of every shade of personal belief, united only in their

loyalty to the vital issue of the preservation of our most fundamental liberties, has been founded to arouse public sentiment, and to defend freedom of speech, press, assemblage and mails, whenever and wherever assailed. Before this issue, all other immediate national problems pale into insignificance. A hundred years ago, the great Federalist party was wiped out of existence by an indignant people, for attacking free speech through the "Alien and Sedition Laws." Are we of today miserable degenerates, that we look with indifference on a far worse state of affairs?

Let all who care for freedom send a dollar to E. B. Foote, Jr., M. D., 120 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y., Treasurer of the Free Speech League, for a year's membership in the League, and as much more as can be spared to fight the present battle. Much money is needed for printing, postage, and for legal expenses in the defence of Moses Harmon, in whose cause your own is bound up. Dr. Foote will be glad to send printed matter giving detailed information of this latest assault on liberty.

James F. Morton, Jr.

Socialism does not make people good, it simply gives their natural goodness the courage to assert itself. It will not change human nature, it will rescue it.

There is enough clothing, there is enough shelter, there is enough food in the world to provide everyone with an abundant living. But as long as some are allowed to have more of these things than they need, others must certainly go without.

The Countess of Warwick has converted her husband to Socialism. The earl is a member of the House of Lords and will be the first Socialist to be numbered among that "heavenly host." If he is as vigorous as his wife there will be something doing at Westminster before long!

A SOCIALIST BOOK STORE

Has been opened at 344 SIXTH STREET, Milwaukee, Wis.,
at the Headquarters of the Social Democratic Party.

A large line of works on Social and Economic subjects is in stock, and
over 100 varieties of Socialist literature at all prices, from Marx'
Capital at \$2.00 to the 2c Madden Library.

Any book on the market can be secured at this store, at regular prices,
and sometimes for less. It will pay to just stop and look over the display,
or to send to us for any book you may need.

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