

The VANGUARD

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

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There are two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time, and they will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity and the other is the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit which says, "You work and toil and earn bread and I'll eat it." No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor or from a race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Commenting on recent Socialist successes in Europe, the Literary Review says: "Hitherto Socialism has been a theory. It has been debated by doctrinaires; it has sometimes been applied in microscopic experiments, but never until now has it captured the government of a State as important as Saxony. There is no parallel to it in the history of civilization." Of course not. And the phenomenon of an international political party, already composed of 9,000,000 of working people, the solidarity and unification of which increases with its steady increase in numbers, is the most stupendous fact in the political annals of mankind and is pregnant with far-reaching results. The contrast between the growing strength and solidarity of this world-movement on the one hand, and the quarrels and jealousies of capitalist parties on the other, is in itself a prophecy in which is set forth the triumph of Socialism and the doom of capitalism.

The wife of one of our Socialist comrades, who is the mother of four little children, takes in washing to earn money to buy literature to help spread the light. Not long ago, while at work for a rich society woman, she was dusting the volumes of the Ency-

clopedia Britannica. Her favored sister of the leisure class upbraided her for being a Socialist. "Why," said her "educated" employer, "your Socialists want the rich to divide up with the poor, do they not?" Then she of the toil replied, "certainly not, my dear woman, and if you would read these books you have—books which we cannot afford—you would find out what Socialism is. I will send you some literature." And this is the glory and strength of the Socialist movement—intelligence and self-sacrifice. There are thousands of women of the working class accepting the burdens of multiplied motherhood and doing the hard and dirty work of their sheltered sisters, yet devoting their thought and energies to the cause of humanity that by their aid the kingdom of fraternity and justice may become a reality.

As there are still quite a number of "educated" people who do not know what Socialism is, who continue to expose their ignorance by confusing it with "dividing up," and who are not honest enough to consult a standard authority on the subject, it may be in order to give here a definition, which our readers may pass on, from

the Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 22, page 206.

"The central aim of Socialism is to terminate the divorce of the workers from the natural sources of subsistence and of culture. The Socialistic theory is based on the historical assertion that the course of social evolution for centuries has gradually been to exclude the producing classes from the possession of land and capital and to establish a new subjection, the subjection of workers who depend entirely upon precarious wage labor. The Socialists maintain that the present system (in which land and capital are the property of private individuals freely struggling for increase of wealth) leads inevitably to social and economic anarchy, to the degradation of the working man and his family, to the growth of vice and idleness among the wealthy classes and their dependents, to bad and inartistic workmanship and to adulteration in all its forms; and that it is tending more and more to separate society into two classes—wealthy millionaires confronted with an enormous mass of proletarians—the issue out of which must be Socialism or social ruin. To avoid these ends and to secure a more equitable distribution of means and appliances of happiness, the Socialist proposes that land and capital, which are the requisites of labor and the sources of all wealth and culture, should become the property of society and be managed by it for the general good."

The Cleveland Citizen hits off the Colorado situation squarely when it says: "Before the daily newspapers attempt to throw the blame for the Independence dynamiting upon union men let them print the facts, which they suppressed, that the explosions at the Sun and Moon mine, the Vindicator mine and the attempted wreck-

ing of the F. & C. C. train—which crimes were also laid at the doors of the miners, who were bullied by the militia, thrown into 'bull-pens' or deported from their homes — WERE PROVEN IN THE COURTS AS BEING THE WORK OF THE IMPORTED THUGS OF THE MINE-OWNERS!"

SOCIALISTS STUDYING ABOUT JESUS.

One of the most interesting things occurring in the Socialist movement just now is the persistent and careful study and investigation that is being made by Socialists of the times and the teachings of Jesus. It has been claimed that Socialism is hostile to Christianity, and it is constantly asserted that Jesus had nothing to say about social and economic problems. This has driven some of the Socialists to investigate the matter and they have gone at the task with the evident faith that Jesus could not by any fair interpretation be held to be hostile to Socialism. With characteristic zeal and thoroughness the beginnings of this study of the times of Christ have already been made. And some most interesting matter is being brought to light. The condition of the laborers at the time of Christ, the labor unions of that time, the Christian communion, and the relation of the unions to the struggles of the Christians, Christ's open denunciation of the rich and his espousal of the cause of the poor,—all these and many more interesting facts are being investigated. Ward's book on "The Ancient Lowly," Prof. Nitti's "Catholic Socialism," the ancient manuscripts, the inscriptions that the Christian laborers of the first centuries carved on the walls of the catacombs of Rome, the engravings on the buried marble of Pompell,—all these are being brought into court

and made to testify as to whether or not the carpenter of Nazareth and his thought and purpose belongs to the capitalist class or to the laboring class.

The associate editor of the Appeal to Reason has just issued a striking pamphlet on "The Political Economy of Jesus." The Collectivist Society of New York has a pamphlet on "The Socialism of Jesus," and we know of others that are in preparation. All of these seek only to call attention to the social message of Jesus and the economic significance of the facts surrounding the early phases of Christianity.

Some years ago there was an expression going the rounds of the religious press, "Back to Jesus." Some one changed it to "On to Jesus!" Whichever is right it seems now that the Socialists are the ones who are really going back to Jesus with the determination of finding just what it was that he stood for. When this is fully known we will be better able to judge whether his followers should be the friends or the enemies of Socialism. In our minds there has never been a doubt. To us long ago Socialism became the logic of Christianity.

COLORADO.

THE VANGUARD deplors the Colorado situation but sees no hope for permanent industrial peace save in abolition of wage slavery. What stronger evidence do the people want to prove that the present system is anarchistic? The Detroit Times states the case fairly as follows:

"The most surprising thing about the dynamiting of a miners' train in Colorado and the killing of a number of miners is that it did not take place earlier.

"With a degraded state militia—degraded because it descended from a public organization paid by the state to a private organization paid by the mine-owners—these mine-owners and politicians have committed in the name of the law, the most

atrocious crimes against the rights of individuals.

"Without a shadow of legal authority, the hired militia of these great corporate interests went at night to the homes of peaceable citizens, hammered on the doors with their musket-stocks and ordered the heads of families to 'get work'—surrender to the mine-owners—before 10 o'clock the next morning, or get out of town.

"In short, there has been an aggravated type of capitalistic anarchy in Colorado for months—a kind of anarchy in which the state militia has been used as the private tool of selfish, law-defying private interests and in which the most sacred rights guaranteed to individuals by the constitution have been arbitrarily and insolently denied.

"Since the Western Federation of Miners has from the first exercised the greatest caution to prevent any of its members from resorting to violence, it would not be surprising to learn that the mine-owners themselves had hired somebody to blow up the train.

"Taking the view of their worst enemies and saying for the moment that it was union men who exploded the dynamite underneath the railroad station platform where so many lives were lost, is it to be wondered at that the men have been goaded to the verge of desperation?

"Let any law-abiding citizen imagine himself arrested and imprisoned without process or trial; imagine himself dragged away from family, friends and business; imagine himself deprived of the commonest rights of civilized countries by the unrestrained authority of an irresponsible militia, and let him say, if he can, that thoughts of bloodshed would not arise in his own heart.

"The corporate interests of Colorado have made of the state one vast tinder box and upon their heads will be the responsibility for any unlawful acts that may come from their own lawlessness.

"And upon their heads is the blood of the men who were blown to pieces at Independence.

"The state is now reaping what its anarchistic corporations have sown; and it will indeed be fortunate if the worst is not yet to come."

TEARS THE COST

Hear then my tale: Dost know these shining dames
 Who toil not, neither do they spin? Their names
 Spell gold—yet tears I see on every thread
 Of costly clothing; by their side the dead
 I smell who died to weave the cloth! Canst tell
 Them from the lilies of the field? 'Tis well!
 Or in the still hours of the night canst tell
 The sobs of the children from the dreadful noise
 Machines make, when—deprived of childhood's toys—
 The little ones in factories tall stand guard
 O'er flying wheels, and thru the night work hard.
 Robbed of their sleep and play? Worse still, O God!
 Where daylight slants upon the factory floor
 And frightened children crowd around the door—
 A pretty child has slipped upon the stair
 And others pressing forward crush her there!

They fall and fall
 In panic all;
 The fire-bells call

Crazed mothers wildly weeping—
 And ladies languidly come idly creeping—
 To stare unmoved with cold and curious eye
 On baby faces upturned to the sky—
 As in the sunlight of a blackened world
 Around their feet the little forms lie curled—

Those winsome feet
 In slippers neat

Of those who dance on Easy Street
 While children die!

CAROLINE PEMBERTON

DEBS AND HANFORD

The Law Has No Choice

I HAVE listened till you are done. I have heard all that you have had to say against Debs and against Hanford. I understand you. I understand your opposition. I understand your fears. I know why your flesh creeps when I spell their names. I admit a good deal. I admit that they are dangerous syllables. That they spell strange things that they do not spell. That all that Debs means is not compassed in the orthography of his name. That Hanford's verbal fixtures may not be worth much, but that his spiritual good will is a great fortune. I see easily enough why you shudder. It is true that these men do not mean the things you think they mean. But they mean fateful things. They come loaded with ominous precept and peremptory practice. Wars are insignificant in the scale as weighed against the message they deliver. They come conserving an impetus more powerful than war. They come with the power to prevent war. So you see I am willing to concede the gravity of their debut. But I hurry forward to welcome what you hurry backward to avoid. What is the significance of my advance? What is the significance of your retreat?

You say that you see only two mortal men nominated for office. That you see a platform built for these men to stand on. If that was all there was to it you would need to worry. The contingency would not be threatening. But you instinctively divine what you cannot consciously interpret.

Debs is all right. Hanford is all right. They are cast for big returns. Taste the sap of the tree. Smell the leaf of the rose. Mix the odor of appetizing foods with the flavor of satisfying flowers. That is the way to get acquainted with Debs. With Hanford. They come bidding for the prizes of love. Do not doubt them. But after you have entered up all just credits to their accounts go back to your soul and ask yourself where the rest of the credits belong.

For after all, Debs and Hanford are not candidates. A lot of men collected together at Chicago. They went through the routine of passing a platform and nominating candidates for office. Yet these candidates and this platform were only symptoms. The superficial evidence. A taking account of stock rather than the creation of wealth. It was not really any particular any man or men who went to Chicago. It was a law that went to Chicago and asserted itself. A law of historic life. That law is this moment running for office. Hanford and Debs stand aside. The law is recognized. That is why Debs and Hanford are dangerous. They are not in themselves the start or finish of anything. They are incidents in the fulfillment of a law. You could avoid Debs. You could dodge or down Hanford. But the law imposes an inexorable decree. What the law says is the only say. You can stop the mouth of the man who tells you about the tempest. But you cannot stop the tempest. The historian may be bribed or gagged. But events will proceed. I am never overawed by the personal appeal. The natural laws awe me. Here is the law made manifest. Manifest in Debs and Hanford. You can defeat the ticket but you cannot defeat the law.

The process will be bitter. But the result will be sweet. You will have to take Debs and Hanford not only for all they are but for all they mean. You have got to take the whole dose. Not necessarily at the ballot box this year or next year. But sometime. Somehow. Somewhere. For they came to fulfill the law. And the law will be fulfilled. Whatever stands in the way the law will be fulfilled. The time has come for the celebration of the settlement of the larger new world. The new world that Columbus discovered was only a continent of land and water. But the new world of this more impressive discovery is a continent of souls. Debs happened to be around and the law said to Debs: I choose you as the immediate instrument of my decision. And Hanford happened to be around and the law said to Hanford: I choose you, too. And so we have Debs and Hanford. Not chosen for arrogant administration. Chosen for humble service. Any one else might have been standing around and been chosen. You, for instance, whoever you are. But the job was given to these men. So the law for a few days will be spelled in their names. They will letter and tell the law. They will tally its spirit. We will love the men. But we will remember the law. We will drink from the cup they put to our lips. But we will remember the spring from which the water was drawn. We will shake hands with these men. But we will feel in their palms the sacred touch of the law. If Debs and Hanford were only Debs and Hanford we would not rest easy on our beds. But they are the law. And we know the law will remain the law whatever becomes of single men. The men may go into pawn. They may be blown up by a boiler. They may go to war and be killed. But the law survives all disaster. We are the assert-

ers of a law. We do not enact it. We fulfill it. We enforce it. Debs is a key for the lock. But he is not the lock. And any man may any time be that key. And no man can refuse to be that key. And no man can make himself that key. He can only wait and serve. Just as Debs has long waited and always served. Just as Hanford has waited patiently and hercally served.

A man said to me yesterday: Debs is a menace. And I answered: He is. A man said to another man: We will get rid of Debs. And the other man answered: But you will not in that way get rid of the menace. You cannot repeal the law by repealing Debs. Debs is a significant fact in himself. But he is more significant fact as the exposition of a law. Do you imagine that the Chicago convention was reached by the railroad and the candidates were chosen by votes? That would be a false supposition. The convention was reached by law and the candidates were chosen by law. You think that Chicago had something extra particular to do with the convention. Chicago could just as well have been any other place in the latitude and longitude of history. You suspect that I am giving rather accidental significance to Debs and Hanford? Not a bit of it. The personal significance would be the accident. Nothing is less like accident than the backgrounds I attribute to the convention. You suspect that I am trying to rob two good men of their genius? Not a bit of it. I, too honor the good men. I, too, admit their genius. But the best man could do nothing without the virtue of the law. The greatest genius could do nothing without the virtue of the law. The greatest genius could do nothing without the intelligence of the law. Indeed what is goodness and genius? The best man, the brightest man, is the man who lives closest to the law. Debs lives very close to the law. Hanford lives very close to the law. They warm their winters next the law. They cool their tropic rigors against the law. That is why they are dangerous men to the lawless. That is why they are safe men to those who observe the law. That is why the Chicago convention is a serious fact. It knew enough to toast its toes at the hearthstone. It did not wander away from the law. It stayed right home with the law. You make a big fuss about your orthodoxies. Let me tell you that there are no orthodoxies. There is one orthodoxy. Only one, Social justice. That is the only orthodoxy. There are not many laws. There is one law. Only one. Debs has known enough to get well acquainted with that law. To get on its soft side. Hanford spends every day he lives with that law. The laws have no use for him. He has no use for the laws. But the law is his bosom friend. The law makes him its confidant. Laws may be or may not be. But the law has no choice. Debs may be or may not be. But the law has no choice. Hanford may be or may not be. The Chicago convention. The platform. Such things may be or may not be. But the law has no choice. The beautiful law has no choice.

HORACE TRAUBEL.

If you are not already a Socialist, lay aside all prejudice and reason with yourself on the proposition of Socialism, as the Socialist movement is now acknowledged to be the one to next take its place as a great political power.

THE ADVANCE OF SOCIALISM

THE recent National Convention at Chicago was a sort of barometer which revealed the condition and growth of the Socialist movement in America. And certainly to every thoughtful student of the social forces of the country the results are most gratifying. Many things that have hitherto been unsettled and therefore have been points of dispute and of more or less misunderstanding have been now practically and quite satisfactorily settled.

In the first place the Convention revealed a much greater harmony and unity than was expected by most of the Socialists themselves. While there were decided differences, of course, and almost intense struggle over many matters, yet when each item came to vote there was practical harmony and in many cases even unanimity. This came almost as a surprise to the comrades themselves, and with it the conviction has seized the Socialist movement of America that we are as never before a united, harmonious, solid phalanx in the battle for the Socialist ideals. This, to say the least, is very encouraging.

Farthermore, it has been decided that the Socialist Party shall go before the people with a program, with what has been called "immediate demands." For some time and in some quarters there has been a demand for elimination of this part of the Socialist Platform. No one knew just how wide-spread this effort was, and the realization of the seriousness of such an action, if taken, awakened considerable apprehension on the part of the comrades. Many had frankly and openly advocated the elimination of the so called "demands." Some had gotten the idea that to do so would be more "scientific" and more "revolutionary," altho, as a matter of fact, quite the opposite is true. The Socialist Party of Germany, and indeed of practically all parts of the world, have exactly the "demands" which these comrades wanted to strike out. But the pleasant surprise came when after several days of debate upon preliminaries, and from committees as representative as could possibly have been chosen, there came a practically unanimous endorsement of the whole list of "demands" or, more properly speaking, of a program in the platform.

The same gratifying result came in the reported "State and Municipal Program." The faults of a few comrades who had given too much attention and emphasis to the ideas of municipal problems and to public ownership had led many of the comrades to a very decided error in the opposite direction. It became the habit in some quarters to scorn the whole subject. In this situation a Socialist speaker and organizer sometimes found it perilous to his reputation to know, much more to say anything about "municipal ownership," and the many very interesting and intricate municipal problems that are at the present time troubling the minds of thousands of sincere people in the country and for which the Socialists alone have the key. This was a very unfortunate and difficult situation. The adoption of a Municipal and State Program at once raises the Party to the dignity and power of an intelligent position on these questions, endorses the study of these problems and sanctions the efforts of those who attempt to apply the Socialist philosophy to the cities where it is most needed, and where it is first to be put to the test. This is a

very decided step in advance and is doubly encouraging because it shows the councils of the Party to be in the hands of resolute comrades who are determined to make their way with a great ideal thru the perplexities of present difficulties and practical problems to the realization of a mighty purpose. The Co-operative Commonwealth, which is the so-called "revolutionary" ideal of the Socialists, is in the distance. It is safe to say that thousands who are not Socialists will concede the power, the beauty and the scientific value of this "revolutionary" ideal of Socialism. But there is at this point a very pertinent and perfectly reasonable question in the minds of both the Socialist and the non-socialist, viz., Will the Socialist Party, or can the Socialist Party or the Socialist philosophy take us from where we are here, under capitalism, thru the multitude of perplexing problems over into yonder ideal of social goodness? That question cannot be answered by a wise look, a wage of the head or the vociferous declamation of revolutionary phrases. That is a question for thoughtful, careful thorough and, if necessary, elaborate reply. Shall that answer be given? The Socialist Party of America thru its representatives at Chicago has said emphatically: It shall. And it has already given forth its answer for the present. Perhaps, we should say, an attempted answer, and then it has said, We say this now; we will revise our answer from time to time, as our knowledge and experience increases our ability to answer and as fast and as far as the general fund of knowledge will permit. This is an immense gain for the Party in power, in appeal and in dignity in the face of the problems we confront.

Another very important matter settled by the convention was making the appeal of Socialism as wide as human need. The platform states, "we appeal to ALL the workers of America." Heretofore among some Socialists and even in some Socialist platforms the appeal has been to the "wage workers." There has often been a tendency to imply at least that any one who appealed to any other than the "wage-worker" was not quite orthodox. Some have not wanted us to appeal to the farmer. Some have seemed to feel that the appeal should be principally to the "trades union worker." But now our appeal is to be to ALL WORKERS, and that includes all who perform a useful service and excludes only those who live by reason of their ownership of means of production or distribution. This makes it perfectly in order henceforth for the Socialist worker to appeal to any and all classes of workers. But this is not all. The platform farther states: "we appeal 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," etc., which certainly justifies an appeal to any one without regard to his occupation or position in life. Henceforth the Socialist worker may not be criticised for addressing himself to any class whatsoever so long as his appeal to them is an appeal for Socialism. And this is as it should be. There is no one that knows anything about Socialism that does not know that Socialism is a working class movement, that that is the class that should, and as a rule does respond to that appeal. But on the other hand it is not always the wage-worker that may be most easily enlisted, and cer-

tainly he is not the only one that has been in the front ranks of the Socialist movement of the world. Fully recognizing the working-class basis of the Socialist movement we henceforth shall welcome to our ranks any and all who will accept Socialism and work in the ranks for Socialism.

These are perhaps only a few of the matters that came up at the recent convention that indicate a most decided and encouraging advance on the part of the Socialist Party. With this condition within the party, and in its policy, certainly every thoughtful and loyal worker will go to his task with a new joy and enthusiasm.

CARL D. THOMPSON.

SOME FUNDAMENTALS

It is a fundamental principle of political economy that all capital and all wealth are produced by labor bestowed on raw material through machines and tools. Raw material is useless until it is made fit for use. The natural deposits contained in the mines and in the soil, are not wealth until they have been extracted from the earth and made available for use. Even machines and tools are useless things without labor. They must be used in order to be of value. Capital is unproductive without labor. Hence all wealth is the result of labor.

It is a fundamental principle of Socialism that when some men own the sources of wealth and the machinery of production and distribution on which all must depend for their sustenance and by means of which they must secure that sustenance, all who do not own those sources and that machinery are absolutely dependent on those who do own them, for their sustenance. In other words, the class which owns the sources and machinery, also own the non-owning class. The non-owning class are slaves to the owning class. Shakespeare put into the mouth of Shylock true socialistic doctrine when he said, "You take my house when you do take the prop that doth sustain my house. You take my life when you do take the means whereby I live."

As men must work in order to live, when they are divorced from ownership of the sources of sustenance and from the means to obtain that sustenance, their labor and themselves are the property of those owning those sources and means, and they can live only as they are permitted to live by their owners.

Commericalism is dependent on profits for its existence. Without profits it would at once cease to ex-

ist. Therefore, as profits must come out of labor, it follows that the laborer must surrender a part of the product of his labor in order to make profits possible. The laborer must, therefore, pay for the privilege of working by surrendering a part of that which he produces. He can, therefore, make no profits for himself. Only the owning class can make products. Commericalism, or capitalism is therefore, like a sponge, continually absorbing the product of labor. Labor is all the time bringing the grist to the capitalistic mill, but instead of getting the grist after it is ground, the mill owner gets it and labor gets only the toll.

The result of all this is that vast streams of wealth are continually flowing from the laboring class through the channel of the machine to the nominal owners of the machine, who are the primary exploiters. From them it goes, in large part, to the real owners, the security holders. The owning class is thereby more and more surfeited and the laboring class is kept in its dependent condition.

Socialists, therefore, say that capitalism is an impersonal vampire which is continually sucking the life blood of those who produce wealth; that it is a robber, because it takes by force that for which it gives no equivalent in return, namely, the profit. The force employed is the force of human need. A man must have coal, but he cannot get it unless he pays a profit to the owner of the coal mine, to the railroad that transports it, and to all the dealers who handle it. He must have flour, but he cannot get it unless he pays a series of profits to the miller and to all who handle the flour. So with clothing and everything else which

he must have. No force in the world is more potent than the force of human need, and no Nero was ever more cruelly relentless than is capitalism in applying that force.

The regulator relied on to control trade and to keep profits within limits, was competition, that is mutual strife between those in like industries. Trade has no other balance wheel. This made it a system of war and waste. Each competitor fought to get all the trade he could, often at great cost. All advertised; all sent their agents to sell goods; all sought the cheapest market in which to buy. The cost of this warfare proved to be so great that business managers began to make trade agreements as to prices and to combine hostile interests, so as to save cost. Those who would not agree as to price or combine, were frozen out as far as possible and monopoly has now largely taken the place of competition, and is daily displacing what competition remains. This has resulted in an immense saving to the manufacturer and distributor and, in some degree, to the consumer. Few realize the cost of advertising wares and the additional burden it places on those who consume goods, by increase of price. The annual cost of advertising goods, including the salaries and expenses of commercial travelers, has, in this country, exceeded the aggregate value of the annual crop of wheat, oats, corn, rye, barley and flax. This helps us to realize the amount of this expense. To put it in another way, this expense would, each year, pay the national debt of this government and leave a large sum for the running expense of this government. While in a few industries this cost has been reduced, the aggregate cost of advertising is still as great as ever. Nor is this waste confined to this vast property loss. Commercialism annually devours the lives of men, women and children in great numbers, besides wrecking the morals of many more. The highwayman will seldom molest a child, but commercialism does not spare children. Some of our southern states, at the demand of owners of cotton mills, have repealed their laws against the employment of child labor and, as a result, those mills employ children in large numbers, some as young as 6 years, and compel them to work long hours, day

and night, tending looms, and keep them awake by shaking them and throwing water on them, and grind their lives into profits until their lives become extinct, which is, on an average, about 4 years. Nor are these cotton mills the only sinners of this sort. The same is true, to a less or equal extent, in other industries in our country.

The criticism which Socialists make of the capitalistic system is that besides bring a system of waste, it is a system of exacting plunder, entailing economic hardship and servitude on the majority of men, especially on those who produce the wealth and on the sick and unfortunate who are not able to protect themselves. Moreover, this servitude is not limited to these classes. Does the manufacturer or the merchant or other business man fancy that he is exempt? Is he not a slave to his bank, his landlord and other creditors? Is he not, all the time, in danger of being outdone by a more powerful rival? Statistics show that more than nine tenths of those who go into business, fail.

The Socialists say that business, when analyzed to it elementary principle, is extortion pure and simple, because it compels the one who is in need, to contribute a profit to the one who has what he needs, in addition to the cost to him who has the thing needed. They say that it is wrong, because it must have laws, courts, sheriffs, and the whole power of government including armies to protect it. They say that it is wrong, because its very spirit and foundation principle is contention and strife, with force to uphold the strongest and most fortunate party; that it makes men unjust to other men; that it begets stealing and nearly all the other crimes. They say that no profit can be justified, because the profit-taker gives no equivalent for the profit. If it should be said that the trader spends his time and devotes his energy to his business, the answer would be that the burglar and highwayman do the same thing. Is the man with a mask, then, put on the same moral footing with the ordinary business man? Not at all. The man with a false face, whose weapons are a sand bag and revolver, and whose tools are false keys and dynamite, who lurks in the dark and stealthily, cannot be

classed with the trader who openly follows a custom everywhere recognized as legal and proper, although that custom be morally wrong. From the Socialist's standpoint, however, it is no more right to take property from another by the force of human need, than it is to take property from another by physical force or by stealth. The suffering caused by exactions is often more intense and more killing than the physical suffering caused by the blow inflicted by the burglar or highwayman.

The Socialists say that every man, by virtue of his being a man, is entitled to the privilege of working and of having the product of his work, less what is needed to rear and educate the young and to care for the old, the sick and the disabled, and less what is required to maintain roads, parks, libraries, schools and all other institutions necessary for society, including all machinery and tools of production and distribution, needed to provide for the requirements of every member of society, and that he is entitled to this product, without permission or hindrance of any other man or set of men; that no man has any right to compel any other man to support him.

The statement so often made by the wilfully ignorant, that Socialists want the rich to divide up with the poor, is just the reverse of the truth. What they want is to stop the rich from compelling the poor to divide up with them. The rich can keep all they have, except land and machinery and tools, and these they can own conjointly with the others.

How then can this be accomplished and how can Socialism be established? The answer is: Restore men to their rightful, their God-given heritage. Let all men have the earth which was given to all men and not to some men; let all men have the machinery and tools of production and distribution which labor has made, to be used for the common good of every one who is willing to work for the common good. Let them collectively own the earth and these tools and this machinery, and collectively use them, not for profits, but for comforts. Let society organize itself on a fraternal basis; let waste be eliminated to the utmost degree, and let men have according to their labor. What is there wrong with this demand? Who will

be injured by this change? This earth produces enough for all and with a sane system wherein the billions of dollars, now wasted, shall be saved, it can, with little extra labor, be made to yield much more than now. What does any man need more than enough? What right have the coal barons to a profit on all the coal which nature has stored up in the earth? What right have they to say to their fellows "You cannot have coal to cook your food and keep you warm, unless you contribute profits to us?" What right has a man to say to a sick fellow man. "You cannot have the benefit of medicinal springs, which Nature has produced, unless you pay me for the privilege," But you may say that if he owns the springs, he can make this demand. Who gave him exclusive title to these springs?

Some years ago, in the state of Vermont, a negro, who had escaped from his master in the South, was brought before a judge of that state by his captor and claimed by a southern owner as his property. Bills of sale were produced showing the title of that owner to the negro, and the judge was asked to restore possession of the negro to his owner under the fugitive slave law. After the judge had heard all the evidence produced he asked if this owner could show a bill of sale from the Almighty, and said that if such a bill of sale could be produced, he would restore the slave otherwise, he would not. The title of the world owners is now challenged and they must show a title greater than any man-given title in order to maintain their claim to ownership of the world and of human beings thereon. The indictment of the capitalistic system has been found and returned to the tribunal of the human conscience, where all questions of right are tried, and that system must face the trial.

A system which compels every child who is born into the world, as soon as he reaches the portals of life, to be met by one profit-taker who says to him, "You can have food only on condition that you pay me a profit on it"; by another profit-taker who says to him, "You can have clothing only on condition that you pay me a profit"; by another who says, "You can have a place to live only on condition that you pay me a profit", and by the bond

holder who smiles and says, "I am very glad to see you, because I have a lien on this country and on all the people in it, so the more people there are, the better my claim. My lien is for money advanced for public improvements and to maintain wars and binds not only the whole country and all property in it, but also all people now living in it and that are afterwards born, until my claim is paid; so I must inform you that you can live in this country only on condition that you assist in paying me my interest and my principal"—I say that such a system cannot stand the test of right before the tribunal of human conscience. A system that enslaves the living is bad enough, but a system that imposes servitude on the unborn is intolerable.

HAZEN M. PARKER.

No just man has anything to fear from Socialism. If it is a dream not to be realized, it will not hurt either the oppressor or the oppressed. If it is to be realized, it cannot be realized until the majority of the people know that Socialism will not take any man's rights away from him, but will give every man a chance to enjoy his rights. Objections to Socialism come either from special privilege, treachery or honest lack of understanding of this subject.—**WORKER'S GAZETTE.**

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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.

Woman's National Socialist Union Convention (continued).

The next motion offered was:

Moved, That Socialist women's clubs derive benefit by affiliation with a national organization.

Regarding this there was a surprising difference of opinion. Ida Crouch Hazlett thought it possible that women would make mistakes in some of their ideas and these mistakes be more serious in a national organization than in merely local ones, but she admitted that she had known mistakes to be made by Locals composed wholly of men.

Lucinda Chandler—one of the dearest old ladies in the convention (if one may be pardoned for thus singling out an individual for comment)—believed the national organization will aid women and that it is a factor in uplifting them.

Luella Kraybell said: "There is a vast amount of work that must be done for Socialism which can only be done by women." She followed this assertion with a strong plea for women to stand together.

Comrades J. Stitt Wilson and Walter Thomas Mills believed the national organization a power for good. Comrade Turner of Kansas City does not believe in any separate organization of women, but acknowledged that he had not given the matter much thought.

The chief reasons advanced against the national organization were: fear that it might be governed by a few and used for selfish ends; the possibility that it might be antagonistic to the political organization; the fear that women who would otherwise join the party organization would be content to work only in the Union.

As against these objections, the affirmatives showed that as the slightest act of the Natl. Com. is subject to referendum, the members as a whole will always rule: that instead of being antagonistic to the party the Union has worked for it; that in

every place where there is a strong Union, the party Local had lost its prejudice and come to approve of the woman's organization. Other points for the affirmative were: every thing which can be said for 'in favor of co-operative work as opposed to individualistic can be said for the national organization as contrasted with scattered local efforts. The travelling library system could not or would not be carried on by small clubs; the exchange of information as to conditions in different localities is more readily made by medium of Natl. Union; small bodies of women who are new to the study of Socialism are advised and aided by the Natl.; the Natl. serves as a connecting link between scattered efforts, binding all together, adding to the enthusiasm of small clubs which work in places where they are at a disadvantage because of environment.

The vote on this motion showed only three negative votes, despite the long argument.

Saturday morning there was another small audience. The President called the session to order and Anna Ferry Smith was elected chairman for the day.

Moved: That we need a clear definition of what is meant in Art. II of our constitution by "endorses the principles of Socialism," as many southern women are staying out of the Union because they construe this as pledging them to associate with negroes and (while they believe in a Co-operative Commonwealth and in industrial equality for all races) they are unwilling to accept colored folk as social equals.

The discussion following the introduction of this motion probably ranked third in order of interest in the entire convention. In behalf of the southern comrades who had not heard it, the Pres. gave a brief summary of actual conditions concerning relations of the races in some parts of the south, giving facts as opposed to theories. The arguments were earn-

est, on both sides of the question, but like all those of the convention were uniformly courteous and tolerant, unmarred by any touch of personality.

The general opinion was that both races should have their own organizations, working toward the co-operative commonwealth and industrial equality along lines which appeal to each, and allowing all theoretical questions as to future social equality to remain veiled in the time to be. The motion was finally laid on the table, with a request that the Natl. Com. consider it.

When the afternoon session came to order Mrs. Smith asked permission to resign the chair in favor of Bertha S. Wilkins, as she was not well. Her suggestion was accepted. Ida Crouch Hazlett was elected Sec'y pro tem.

Nearly the entire afternoon was devoted to discussing a motion which the Calif. Woman's Socialist Union adopted at its last convention. The motion was:

Whereas, Minors of the United States are a majority of its citizens, though not yet eligible to vote; be it

Resolved, That we deprecate all laws which fail to consider their welfare, and furthermore, be it resolved, that we will individually and collectively, agitate the right of children and do all in our power to bring about a public sentiment which shall demand the formation of a Court, co-equal with the U. S. Supreme Court, whose duty it shall be to consider all laws with reference to their justice toward the rising generation and those generations yet to come; and which shall have power to declare unconstitutional and nullify all laws that wrong these citizens.

Irene Smith of Oregon and Mina Woods of Kansas stood against this motion, which they characterized as an immediate demand, a side issue, and a motion which stamped the organization adopting it as dilletante. Ida Crouch Hazlett declared that as we are dealing with the condition of children under capitalism and they are born into the world faster than we are getting Socialists, all Socialists should throw their energies to any movement which will tend to develop the coming generation into better men women, more fit to fight for Socialism. She cited the Juvenile courts of Colo. as a fine ex-

ample of temporary measures for children. Corinne Brown said that we do not get Socialism by leaps and bounds, but by the slow even growth of society, that the various steps are absolutely necessary before we can reach the goal and that every step tending to break down the capitalistic system should be welcomed. The comrade who offered the motion expressed surprise at the opposition coming from the radical comrades, stating that when she offered the same motion in Calif. the radicals at once saw that this was one more text-book with which to approach mothers and show them present actual conditions, and called attention to the fact that if the court called for could be formed (which she did not expect) it would first of all be obliged to do away with the inheritance law and would bring in a co-operative commonwealth unaided, since no other industrial system recognizes the rights of all children. She objected to the statement that a club adopting such a resolution ought to forfeit the name of Socialist, claiming that no possible immediate demand could be more ill-advised than the fusion experiment of Calif., yet none had pretended that the party there had lost its rights to its name. She also expressed doubt as to whether the political organization would thenceforth do away with all immediate demands, (as had been suggested), but maintained that if political tactics made this wise it need not affect the action of a purely educational organization like the Union.

When a vote was taken, apparently there was much doubt as to what was best, for many refrained from putting themselves on record regarding this. The motion was carried by a vote of 13 for and 8 against.

The next motion offered was:

Moved, That the nature of W. N. S. U. is such that it can more readily reach youths and children, therefore more easily train future voters than a political organization.

This carried unanimously, after very little discussion.

Moved: That if the Socialist Party makes advances to the negro, farmer, trade unionist, or any other portion of the workers—instead of appealing to the down trodden class as a whole

this Union shall express its disapproval.

This motion was promptly tabled.

A motion to hold an adjourned session immediately after the party convention carried, and it was agreed that notice as to time and place should be given her.

(To be continued.)

Comrades, in convention we accepted the offer of space kindly made by the editor of this magazine. Please bear this in mind and send me any items of interest you may have for it.

The San Jose W. S. U. sends its semi-annual programme, which impresses me as so good that I copy it here:

Feb. 5th—German Socialism—Karl Marx.

Feb. 19th—Earth, the Home of Man. (Mills' Lessons.)

Mar. 5th—French Socialism.

" 19th—Industrial Life of Primitive Man. (Mill's Lessons.)

Apr. 2nd—Woman—Past, Present and Future. (Bebel.)

Apr. 16th—Slavery and Serfdom. (Mills' Lessons.)

May 7th—English Socialism.

" 21st—Development of the Wage System. (Mills' Lessons.)

June 14th—Woman and Economics. (Gilman)

June 18th—An Inquiry into Political Economy and Socialism. (Mills' Lessons.)

July 2nd—American Socialism.

July 16th—Rent, Profit, Interest and Wages. (Mills' Lessons.)

I would not advise a club of beginners to follow this course without previous study; but for such as are prepared to get the real benefit of it, I most heartily recommend it.

Greetings and reports sent to the comrades assembled in convention, will be printed in part in later issues.

Chats With Young Folk. 4.

OUR PUZZLE-BALL EARTH.

Before we talk of why other wise men think the earth very old, let us make a baseball. Did you ever try to make one?

We will make a wad of some kind of material for the centre, add layer

after layer of string, and at last cover it with pieces out from some old gloves. After it is finished, could any of the boys guess what was in the middle, if they had never before seen such a ball?

Suppose your chums see it after it is sewed up, what can they guess about the ball? First they can see the color and smoothness of the surface, just as we can study the plants and trees on the outside of the earth. If they rip a seam, they can find out how thick the kid is, just as men can dig down and find out how deep the soil is on the earth; and if they look beneath the kid, they can see whether we made the ball of twine,* yarn or silk, just as folk who have studied the material below the soil know the rock-formation of our earth. But if we made the ball, they cannot guess what we took for a wad in the centre, and no wise man yet knows just what is in the centre of the earth. Your chums can guess; and perhaps one will think paper, another leather, another cloth, and so on; but no one will *know* unless he unravels the ball, cuts his way into the wad, or we—who made it—tell the secret. So it is with the wise men. They have guessed several things about the earth's centre and some of them may be right; but no one of them is sure, for the Maker of the earth has not told and no one ever dug away into the centre. Sometime we will talk of the strange guesses, but now we will think a little more of the string part of our ball.

When we have finished winding our ball, we find that it is not smooth like the twine on the big sphere at the grocer's, or the crochet cotton in the one from which mother is making a tidy. If we could have wound it in just such smooth layers, our ball would be a better illustration of the way material was placed on this globe; but even then it would have locked one thing that our earth has, as now let us make a puzzle ball.

We will wind the string around the wad a great many layers, then add a piece of a baby's rattle. Put on more string and add a scrap from a rubber ring; more string, then a scrap of paper with odd, uncertain little pencil markings; string, then paper with roughly printed capital letters; string and a bit of soft dress goods; string and a neat piece of paper with even

printing on it, all the letters being capitals: string and a piece of heavy cloth; string and a paper on which capitals and small letters are properly used: string and a pen script letter; string and a leather sucker; lastly more string and the kid cover.

[To be continued.]

Let's Talk It Over.

B. A. C. asks whether I consider a certain possible presidential nominee really disinterested in catering to the workers. I prefer not to deal in personalities in this dept., but as few of us are disinterested in our actions, we can not suppose that he is. I am not, are you? I work for the Cause I love, because it will benefit my descendants, and save other mothers much agony which fell to my portion. There is no abstraction about my purpose. This query brought to my mind an old Ohio lady, who posed as a philanthropist on a small scale. Her house was much larger than she needed, so one winter she said to a friend (whose husband was ill, causing the burden to rest heavily on the wife's shoulders:) "Move right into my front rooms. I'll ask only a nominal rent, because your keeping them warm will make it less expensive for me to warm the rest of the house." This sounded reasonable, did it not? As there was no taint of charity, the friend moved (paying just the same rent she would any where else, by the by.) Then a miracle seemed to be in operation in the old lady's coal-bins. She kept her rooms warm all winter, but she bought not a scuttle of coal and her small pile did not diminish. One night the over-worked little woman in the front of the house had to go to the coal-shed at mid-night. She met the old lady, whose apron was full of coal, noiselessly picked from the bin of the family which she was posing as "befriending." Personally I'm suspicious of folk who give me something for nothing.

C. C. S. sends a query allied to this. She wishes to know whether I do not think it a "favorable sign of the times" that capitalists so frequently permit workers to invest in common stock. Her idea is that this is a kindly feeling toward the downtrodden. An

incident in the career of the old lady above mentioned will illustrate what I think of this. The week the family of whom I speak were to move into her house, the old lady said to me: "I do hope they will decide to move on Wednesday, for I have soup that noon." I presume I look puzzled, for she added: "It is only common neighborly kindness to invite them in here that noon, as they would have a cold lunch otherwise, and I do like company on soap day, for I can just turn a little more water in the kettle and it does not cost me a cent to be so hospitable."

Defenders of capitalism tell us we should not call Morgan and Rockefeller and Carnegie idlers or non-producers. The capitalists work hard, they say. Yes, some of them undoubtedly do work hard. So do the burglar and counterfeiter. But the question is whether their work is useful. No one has yet pointed out the usefulness of the capitalist.—
THE WORKER.

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

In accordance with the resolution adopted by the National Convention, Socialists in all parts of the United States are called upon to donate one half day's pay during the third week of June for the Campaign Fund of 1904. This amount will be so divided as to give one third to the Local, one third to the State and one third to the National Organizations.

Local Secretaries everywhere should see that they receive from their state secretaries contribution lists. Locals in unorganized states are supplied direct from the National headquarters.

The most complete and valuable report of the recent National Convention is the one being gotten out by the National Headquarters. The debates upon important questions are given in detail, and every act of the convention is presented so that a faithful record and vivid picture is given. Readers are thus able to see the convention as it was, without exaggeration or discoloration. The report will be in book form, strong paper covers, clearly printed and good typographical appearance, containing also portraits of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates and other interesting matter. Price, paper covers, 50 cents; cloth bound \$1. Order direct from William Mailly, National Secretary, 259 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

PRACTICAL POLITICS.

Members should always keep in mind that the Socialist Party is a political party—the most practical political party on earth. For this reason party members should acquaint themselves with the election laws of the city and State in which they live. They should also keep posted on current political and economic events, and thus be prepared to take advantage of every opportunity to promote the cause. We should be prepared to act wisely when the political power of the nation is within our hands.

Local Secretaries should also make regular reports of the progress of the movement in their localities to their State Secretary, or to

the National Secretary where no state organization exists.

Finally, it is more important that every member should know what Socialism is, and for what purpose the Socialist Party is organized than that a large vote representing a doubtful quality of Socialist thought and knowledge be secured. The best way to get votes that will stick is to have party member who will stick, and who fully understand and realize the emancipating mission of the Socialist Party.

MINNESOTA COUNTY ORGANIZATION

As far and as fast as possible the Socialists must complete county organizations. We want to put up county tickets and be in line to elect representatives to the state legislature. In order to do so we must put the message of Socialism into every city, village and hamlet, into every country school house and cross roads. This necessitates county organizations. The work in any section can be most effectively managed by the comrades in that section. So the state officials are urging the comrades that are organized to go to work at once in the line of county organization. Go to the towns, and country districts in your county. Get the names of those who will arrange meetings, or join the movement. Prepare the way and the state committee will cooperate. Then as soon as circumstances will warrant, call a convention of the locals organized and form a county organization. In all of this the state headquarters will cooperate.

As soon as county organizations are formed they can assume the oversight and direction of the propaganda in their respective counties. This will relieve the state committee of that burden and they can then turn to the next unorganized county. In this way the work can be more rapidly developed.

Norman County in the Red River

Valley has now been organized for a year and has been doing splendid work. Carlton County, just west of Duluth was recently organized and has a most promising outlook. The county organization there engaged Comrade Kirkpatrick for two weeks and is doing thorough work. Otter Tail County is arranging to have Thompson to organize that county. There is a strong local at Two Harbors that should soon be able to develop a good organization in Lake County. There are three strong locals in Crow Wing county,—one at Brainerd, another at Deer Wood among the farmers, we understand, and a third among the farmers west of Brainerd. Here, certainly is a splendid opening for a county organization. The Brainerd comrades will probably organize one or two branches in that city. Here then should be the organization of Crow Wing county. The comrades at Grand Rapids are abundantly able to accomplish the organization of Itasca county, and, as we understand, are at work upon it now. The locals in Hibbing and Duluth should be able to effect the organization of St. Louis county. St. Hilaire, Angus and Thief River Falls locals should organize Red Lake county in the Red River valley.

And other locals will doubtless push the work so that by election time we should easily have a dozen counties fairly well organized and in working order.

CARL D. THOMPSON, State Organizer.

THE DAY OF JUDGMENT

This is the title of a new book by George D. Herron which briefly sums up the issues of the campaign of 1904 and the opportunity awaiting the Socialist Party of America. It embodies the material included in Comrade Herron's article in the April issue of the *International Socialist Review*. But it has been carefully revised by the author and some considerable additions have been made to it.

The book is handsomely printed and will sell for ten cents a copy while a royalty on every copy sold will be paid into the national campaign fund

of the Socialist Party. The book may be ordered from the publishers, Charles H. Kerr & Company, 56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago, or from the office of this paper.

The music of the Socialist movement has not yet come, but ought to soon appear. No doubt there are many among us who can utter the message in song, and there are many waiting for the utterance. The following poem by Comrade W. R. Gaylord has been set to music by himself, and has been used by him both as solo and for chorus work. Composed some six years ago, it has never been published, altho' he has had numerous requests for copies.

It will soon be published in sheet music form, can be had from this office or from Comrade Gaylord, on remittance of fifty cents.

THE SONG OF PEACE.

A song divine, at Bethlehem,
Full centuries ago—
Rang through the hills and promised then
A hope for men below.

The world was full of death and strife,
Of hate and cruel scorn,
But angels sang a song of life
Upon that winter morn.

Refrain:

"Peace on Earth"—O list, the angel-song.
"Good-will among His children all?"
Why tarries it so long?

When garners burst with golden grain,
While hungry children mourn;
When idle men walk on in pain
To meet their brothers' scorn;
When nations hasten still to war,
And slaves pray for release;
The day of hope is yet afar—
The promised day of peace.

Refrain:

"Peace on Earth"—O list the angel-song.
"Good-will among His children all!"
Why tarries it so long?

Send forth the message of that song
To battlefield and mart.
Teach men to scorn the golden wrong
That rends our lives apart.
Death follows when we slight this word;
—Then spike the cannon grim!
Have done with bullet and with sword!
Come, learn the angels' hymn.

Refrain:

"Peace on Earth"—O swell the mighty
song.
"Good-will among His children!"
It shall not tarry long.

—WINFIELD R. GAYLORD

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 defenders and preservers 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 of 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 capitalism 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 mean-

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 it. 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 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 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 capitalist mind cannot conceive of any higher ideal of human relationship than that of a kind master and a satisfied slave. But the Socialist ideal is a society in which there shall be neither masters nor slaves.—THE NEW TIME.

One of the bishops of the Methodist church preached a sermon Sunday in which he advocated the conquering of heathen countries by "Christian nations." We have no serious objections if the conquering armies can be made up of such as he. The trouble, however, is that the finest examples of our physical manhood are asked for, and these men slaughtered in order to gain foreign markets for whisky and Methodism.—PEOPLE'S PAPER.

A little stealing is a dangerous part
But stealing largely is a noble art
'Tis mean to rob a henroost or a bee
But stealing thousands make
gentlemen. —The Clarion.

IMPORTANT NOTICE

Many readers of THE VANGUARD have expressed surprise at the low club rate of 25c. which we have made for yearly subscriptions, and have rightly estimated that it is impossible to publish the magazine at such a price. Had it not been for receipts from advertising we could not have maintained this rate. But even so we have felt morally bound to reject a large amount of objectionable advertising offered and the receipts from this source have grown proportionately less while on the other hand the subscription list has been running up at a rapid rate involving increased obligations.

We must now adopt one of two courses, namely, throw our columns open to all kinds of advertising or adhere strictly to a subscription rate of 50c; and 40c in clubs of four or more. We unhesitatingly decide upon the latter course and we believe our decision will meet with the general approval of our readers. THE VANGUARD is well worth 50c a year and we are persuaded that our subscribers would much prefer paying this than have our pages disfigured with unsavory announcements.

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We have still on hand a supply of Postal Subscription cards at 25c which may be had at the old rate till the supply is exhausted. These may be purchased now and will be good for yearly subscriptions at any time either before or after July 1. But beginning July 1 the price of Postal Subscription cards will be 40c in lots of four or more. This will be our lowest club rate. Those who wish to take advantage of the present 25c rate should act promptly.

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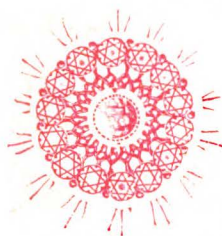
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