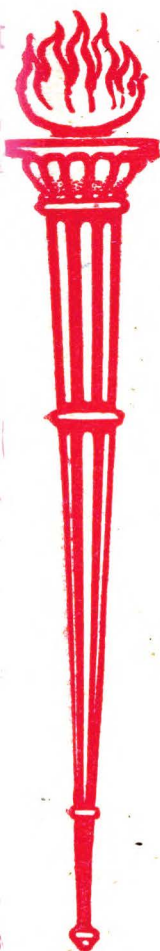


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THE VANGUARD

JULY, 1904

WISCONSIN
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY



ON all hands there is the announcement, audible enough, that the old empire of routine is ended; that to say a thing has been is no reason for its continuing to be.

—THOMAS CARLYLE.

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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."

VOL. 2.

GREEN BAY, WIS., JULY, 1904.

NO. 11

It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else, owning capital, somehow by the use of it, induces him to labor. Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could not have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much higher consideration. I bid the laboring people beware of surrendering a power which they possess, and which if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and fix new disabilities and burdens upon them until all of liberty shall be lost.

—*Abraham Lincoln.*

The editor of a "Christian" journal takes exception to our statement that "to us the one all-important point in the records of the life of Jesus, Isaiah, Moses and the great characters of Bible history is their supreme devotion to the cause and interests of those who toiled." But he fails to indicate how any other interpretation may fairly be put upon the messages of those prophetic souls, whose words of warning and denunciation were hurled at rich and powerful oppressors of the poor, and whose fearlessness in proclaiming the truth cost them their lives. In his recent work Dr. Keedy well says: "Jesus exhausted himself upon nothing as he did upon getting justice for man at the hands of men. His contention was always for men's rights. The most terrible woe Jesus pronounced was that he called down upon the man who should injure another." And then as now the men most noted for their inhumanity were the professedly "religious," the prominent and "respectable" citizens who devoured widows' houses, exacted usury,

heaped burdens on other men's shoulders while for a pretence they paid tithes and said prayers.

If the editor referred to wishes further light on fundamental principles of prophetic teaching let him turn to Isaiah and Amos where he will find much after the style of the following: "He looked for judgment but behold oppression, for righteousness but behold a cry." "Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?" "I hate, I despise your feast days and I will not smell your solemn assemblies. But let judgment run down as waters and righteousness as a mighty stream." "I know your manifold transgressions and your mighty sins: you afflict the just and take a bribe, and turn aside the poor in the gate from their right." "And they shall build houses and inhabit them. And they shall plant vineyards and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build and another inhabit.

They shall not plant and another eat. They shall enjoy the work of their own hands. They shall not labor in vain nor bring forth for trouble." Good Socialist preaching is this. But we must not forget that the prophets were regarded as "troublers of Israel," "agitators," "demagogues." And we are still "of the generation that stone the prophets." The apostles, too, were considered "pestilent fellows" who wanted to "turn the world upside down." This is not surprising when we read that one of them, the brother of Jesus, said; "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries which shall come upon you. Behold the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped have entered into the ears of the Lord."

SPEAKING OF JUDGES.

The Supreme court of Colorado has decided that the governor of that state has sole power to declare any district in a state of insurrection whether any disturbance exists or not; he is the sole judge in the matter and may order out the military, arrest and imprison men, retain them in prison *without trial* so long as sees fit, and even kill them, and the civil courts have no right to interfere with the governor or the military in the exercise of this prerogative. "The decision establishes a precedent where one man clothed with gubernatorial authority can become a tyrant and a despot whose mandate towers above law and constitution." This is the situation in Colorado, and is exactly what the capitalists want everywhere. But the people are awaking and will yet be heard from. Apropos of this decision, we quote the utterance of Charles Sumner on

the judiciary at a similar crisis in our country:

"I hold judges, and especially the supreme court of the country, in much respect, but I am too familiar with the history of judicial proceedings to regard them with any superstitious reverence. Judges are but men, and in all ages have shown a full share of human frailty. Alas! alas! the worst crimes of history have been perpetrated under their sanction. The blood of martyrs and of patriots, crying from the ground, summons them to judgment.

"It was a judicial tribunal which condemned Socrates to drink the fatal hemlock, and which pushed the Savior barefoot over the pavements of Jerusalem, bending beneath its cross.

"It was a judicial tribunal in England surrounded by all the forms of law, which sanctioned every despotic caprice of Henry VIII, from the unjust divorce of his Queen to the beheading of Sir Thomas More; which lighted the fires of persecution that glowed at Oxford and Smithfield, over the cinders of Latimer Ridley and John Rogers; which, after deliberate argument, upheld the fatal tyranny of ship-money against the patriot resistance of Hampden which, in defiance of justice and humanity, sent Sidney and Russell to the block, which persistently enforced the laws of conformity that our Puritan fathers refused to obey; and which afterwards, with Jeffries on the bench, crimsoned the pages of English history with massacre and murder—even with the blood of innocent women.

"Aye, sir, and it was a judicial tribunal in our country, surrounded by all the forms of law, which hung the witches at Salem; which affirmed the constitutionality of the stamp act, while it admonished jurors and the people to obey; and which in our day

lent its sanction to the unutterable atrocity of the fugitive slave law."

BERGER HITS OUT

The Roman Catholic church has thrown down the gauntlet and is making a bitter fight against Socialism. Heretofore there has been a disposition on the part of Socialists to deal gently with the church out of respect for the sentiments of Catholic workingmen but the time seems to have come when such an attitude is nothing short of treason to the cause of the workers. Already the Roman Catholic church has its plans laid to swing the workingmen under its control into an organized political party to prevent their economic emancipation and hold them in subjection to the "powers that be." For Socialists to longer ignore or trifle with such a foe would be the height of folly, and we are gratified at the manner in which Comrade Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee accepts the challenge of Rome and states the Socialist position. He says:

"The Roman Catholic church will have a political party in America. It goes against the grain with me to take up a fight with this church, but it is after us. We must speak. I do not want to assail any individual member of the church but our position must be stated. What Roman Catholics commonly say of us is completely wrong.

"Socialism is not a question of religion. It is nonsense to say that if woman has economic liberty with man she will become impure. Economic independence will make her all the more independent otherwise.

"The Roman Catholic church has always searched for power. It has a political party in Germany, France, Belgium and Austria. The Irish party represents it in England: There is

no Roman Catholic party in China or America, but there will be. It merely has been a question of time.

"Since its very existence as a church, it has tried to stop the wheels of progress. It has always fought light, it has always favored darkness. Yet it has never succeeded in stamping out progress and never will. It has always been compelled to make its peace with the new powers and try if possible to steal and counterfeit the watchwords of progress. The Roman Catholic church is now in favor of the republican form of government in America but not in France. It is in favor of the non-interference of the government in school matters in France and America, while the same church claims absolute control over all the schools in Belgium, Austria and Spain, where they control the government.

"The social question is an economic and political question, and it is surely not our fault if the Roman Catholic church is trying to make a religious question out of it. The Roman Catholic church has fared ill by doing so in all the European Catholic countries and will fare much worse in this country, where the great majority is still non-Catholic. We Socialists want peace with every religious denomination, including the Roman Catholic church, but if it insists on making war upon the progress of the human race we are not afraid to be identified with the progress of humanity."

It is only in an order of things in which there will be no longer classes or class antagonism that social evolutions will cease to be political revolutions.

—KARL MARX.

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The African slave was as well provided with books as is the Industrial slave.

The African slave had as many holidays as has the Industrial slave.

The African slave had as much opportunity for soul-growth as has the Industrial slave.

* * * * *

The African slave had his master: so has the industrial slave.

The African slave was denied opportunity, so is the Industrial slave.

The African slave was the implement which furnished his master temporal power; so is the Industrial slave.

The African slave was the beast whose back bore the burden of labor that others might be free from labor's heavy tasks; so is the Industrial slave.

The African slave was asked to be satisfied with enough meat to keep his body from starving and enough clothes to keep it from freezing; so is the Industrial slave.

* * * * *

"Is not the life more than meat and the body than raiment?"

History has proved that it is.

Can a nation exist "one half slave and the other half free?"

History has proved that it cannot.

—KATE ALEXANDER.

THE LESSON OF BRUTE FORCE.

THE creed of brute force is a transparent lie; brute force never decides anything. No question is ever settled until the solution which love dictates is reached. Might can never make right. Brute force can never consummate justice, by whomsoever exercised. And we shall never have anything like peace or prosperity, save as we have justice. The appeal to force from above will be met by the appeal to force from below. The anarchists of the avenue will continue to spawn the anarchists of the alleys. And by the same token justice and love will call forth justice and love. It lies in the power of men and women to say that the social and industrial development of these coming years shall be peaceful and happy, or warlike and sorrowful. There does not exist a single institution on this earth which can escape the closest scrutiny of the eye of justice. Justice is a solvent which nothing can resist. It has dissolved empires, and it will dissolve every government that is erected on the basis of force. It has dissolved superstitions, and it will dissolve others whether they are in the realm of religion or in the realm of industry and commerce. We cannot hide ourselves, our property, our conduct, our theories from the light of justice. We need to know that love alone is eternal. We live in a shadow or a dream, lacking knowledge. The Caesars are gone and their empire has melted away. The tyranny and despotism of the Stuarts and Tudors

and the Georges have vanished. The deeds of the nations today—of England in Egypt and India and South Africa—of Russia in Finland and China and Siberia—of the United States in Cuba and the Philippines are not to be dismissed with a word. They are going to be weighed in the balance. The ledger of retribution is not by any means made up. But they shall all pay to the last farthing. "The mills of God grind slow, but they grind exceedingly small; though with patience he stands waiting with exactness grinds he all." Spain four hundred years ago was the foremost nation of the earth. Today she has fallen to the rank of a tenth-rate power. In the days of her pride she brooked no protest. The house of Hapsburg appealed not to reason or justice or love or humanity, but always to brute force. She took the sword, and though she has waited long, she has well-nigh perished by the sword. We boast of our Anglo-Saxon race, as if it were proof against the demoralizing infection of dishonor and perfidy. So boasted once the great Latin race. Yesterday it held the scepter of empire. Today it is the jest of the nations. The descendant of the Caesars is the player of a hand-organ. Not only in the Philippines have we appealed to the sword, but also in the mines of Idaho and Colorado, of Illinois and Pennsylvania, and everywhere were men are demanding a living wage. We in this country are doing our utmost to teach the "silent sullen people" of mine and factory and railroad that might makes right. Do we want them to learn that lesson? Do we want to appeal to the arbitrament of the sword in industry as we have in conquest? We may be sure that they will not be slow to learn that lesson. And we ought to know that in teaching it we are sowing the wind to reap the whirlwind. It was Jesus who said: "With what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again."

—WILLIAM THURSTON BROWN.

"BUSINESS IS WAR."

THIS is the unexpectedly honest statement I found recently at the head of an advertisement:

"BUSINESS IS WAR."

....the successful business man of today knows business is war in which the public are spectators and the prizes are golden.

The worst of the matter is, this advertiser was right. Business is war. And this industrial warfare of which he tells us is identical in its cause, its nature, and its results, with that permanent state of war which existed before the coming of democracy into the political world. The first cause of political warfare was individualism—"each man for himself"—and its first result was the supremacy of the strongest—the rise of monarchy and of despotism. Our industrial warfare of today finds also its origin in individualism, and its first result is likewise the rule of the strongest—the reign of the "monopoly" and the "trust."

It was the mission of democracy to put an end to this state of perpetual warfare, and to establish the era of peace. Before its coming, rights were won and lost by a contest of strengths, and might was the sole interpreter of such rights. It was the miracle wrought by democracy that

made "rights" the gift of the *law*, and established courts for their interpretation.

But in the industrial world of today rights are still won and lost by contest of industrial strengths—witness the recent strike in the anthracite mines. It is the mission of the new democracy to apply again the teachings of the older democracy, and to usher in the era of peaceful industrial progress. Through Socialism is to be wrought the miracle of substituting justice for might and law for anarchy in the industrial world.

But note in what manner democracy solved its political problem. It did not suggest any return to the old individualism. It did not even say: Go on with your warfare; I will see that you have a fair fight. Quite the contrary. It took the whole matter into its own hands. It outlined a plan of political life and action. And then it said not only: Act according to this; but it added: You must not act in any other way. It did not merely demand that every man be given an equal opportunity of becoming a king. Instead, it made itself—"the people"—the one great king, and all individuals its subjects.

Let us apply this precedent to the industrial problem. There are those and many of them—who say: The real remedy is free competition. But has not democracy already once and most emphatically denied this? Learn from the past history of democracy itself—the best instructor we have: The true solution of our industrial problem is the creation of a new and greater king—"the people"—to whom all individuals shall be subject. Not an increase of the old "free competition," but action along the lines and in the manner prescribed by this new king, and in that way only.

"Truth," said Mirabeau to his fellow French revolutionists in 1789, "is the child of time." A great many things we believe impossible today will be accomplished tomorrow. Democracy was one of those things in the recent past. Think how absolutely impracticable and visionary democracy must have appeared to those who had been reared under absolutism and despotism. And then bring that thought down to today. Note the resemblance of Socialism, and the work it proposes to do, to democracy and the work it has done. And then answer for yourself these two questions: Is it for our best interests that "business" should continue to be "war"? And does not the *industrial democracy* of Socialism offer a perfectly rational and historical method of transforming this warfare into peaceful progress, this disorder into order, and this perpetual loss into enduring profit?

—CLARK E. PERSINGER.

IS SOCIALISM RELIGIOUS?

THE objection has been often raised that Socialism is irreligious. Clarence S. Darrow, recently on a visit to Germany, after a thorough study of Socialism and Socialists as personified by the German party members, declares the Socialist to be a religious fanatic. There seems to be a wonderful similarity between the actions of the class-conscious Socialist and the old-time religious enthusiast. The proletariat getting converted to the Socialist philosophy acts just like the man who in the past claimed that he had "got religion." Webster's definition of religion shows the following: "Without seriousness there can be no religious principle."

"Strictness or fidelity in conforming to any practice." The militant Socialist is all of this and more. He pulsates and throbs with a mighty ideal born of a scientific basis. His every word and action breathes of a new-found hope and inspiration. Comrade Sprague in his "Socialism from Genesis to Revelation" declares that the Socialists have a standard of justice and righteousness far in excess of that of the orthodox Christian church. Marx is said to have been a materialist, but even as a materialist may he not have written the scientific basis for a new and world-wide religion founded on co-operation and righteousness?

The mere fact that the orthodox religion may have put itself under the ban does not necessarily destroy the fact that a real religion might not spring up on the ruins of the old and effete theology of the Christian religion. Socialism might truly be called the religion of doing things and of being founded on scientific fact instead of finding its basis in the superstitions of the past and the mythological nonsense of bygone ages.

What could be more religious than that a body of men should work most ardently to establish a kingdom of heaven on earth; should seek to teach men that the all-important necessity is to find how to make sure for every child of man an abundance of food, clothing, and shelter. To call this class of people religious might necessitate a change of the commonly accepted terms as defining religion. Is it not true that the Socialist philosophy is the most intensely and purely religious that has ever been given to the world? Would not the working out and the putting into practise of its scientific ideas make of this world the grandest and best and the most just? Would it not give a condition, not a theory, far in excess of the highest dreams of the seers of the past and followers of a belief in a millennium? Without Socialism a millenium would only be a possibility by a display of force. It could only be continued by a constant exercise of that force—the force of the military and the law. The only real millenium that can continue its existence will have to spring from the spontaneous action of the people. This is one of the sure results of the philosophy of Socialism.

Socialism has a better claim to be called religious than the teachings of any sect that has yet existed in the world. It cares nothing whatever for this claim and is perfectly willing to allow its enemies to say what they please regarding it and its practices. The only thing it is concerned about is that it may push its propaganda of full industrial liberty to the furthestmost ends of the earth.

—C. L. BRECKON.

REFLECTIONS ON THE WASHTUB

IT is a strange trait in the mental arrangement of the "better classes" that makes them regard it as perfectly proper and right that one poor woman should do the washing for SEVERAL families while they do not consider THEIR wives able to do the washing for their own households.

No one will ever know the number of poor women who have been literally worked to death because poverty placed them where they could not choose and compelled them to do not only their own washing, but the laundry work of as many others as they could crowd into the hours between Monday morning and Saturday night.

The strongest woman that ever lived was never made to endure such abuse and could not continuously endure it for many years.

Physiological and anatomical reasons would prevent it.

And the weak ones—the poor, slight, narrow-chested creatures that we

all see getting off the cars out in the residence districts in the early morning—why, they just drift into consumption and die.

Or wet with perspiration and steam, they go out in the cold, pneumonia comes the next day and—well, there are some little children at home that have neither father nor mother now and some one else has to get a new washer-woman—that's all.

"Killed by overwork; misused as a humane man would not misuse a beast of burden," is the epitaph that society should place over the graves of such unfortunates.

But it doesn't. It just advertises for a new woman to work—and die.

It's a pity that every man does not hang his head in shame that ANY woman, rich or poor, has to wash!

Washing KILLS women—and it kills them just as quickly if they are poor as it would if they were rich.

Nor is there any necessity that they should do work that is so far beyond their strength.

The ingenuity of man has invented machinery that will cleanse clothes better and faster than any woman can do it.

The power to drive such machinery is contained in infinite quantity in the natural forces of the earth.

Every coal mine is a reservoir of it, every forest a vast supply, while the rivers are ready to turn dynamos that would do the washing of the world.

That's why the steam laundries that we now have are in existence—inadequate as they are to the requirements of the people.

But only the rich, or the moderately well-off—which constitute only a small part of the population—can afford to send their washing to the laundress because it costs so much.

And it is because of the high prices charged by the laundries, as compared with the incomes of those who have washing to do, that thousands of poor women have to slave and die at work for which they were never intended.

But some day, things will be different.

As the first step toward emancipating women from the deadly drudgery of the washtub, the people will relieve Mr. Baer and his fellow Christian workers from the ownership and management of the coal mines. That of course, will deprive these estimable citizens of the difference between the 90 cents that it costs to mine a ton of coal and what they now sell the coal for, BUT IT WILL GIVE CHEAP COAL—THE FIRST REQUIREMENT OF CHEAP LAUNDRY WORK.

Then the people will take over the management and ownership of the railroads in order to prevent Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Morgan and others from undoing their work at the mines by charging an exorbitant price for transporting the coal to the laundries.

And then, instead of having 57 laundries in Detroit, for instance, as there are now, with the tremendous waste that there is in rent, duplication of machinery, etc., there will be one huge laundry with delivery wagons to call for and deliver goods.

The people will do their work for themselves at cost, just as they now carry their own mail at cost and the economies that can be effected by doing away with duplicate plants for doing the same thing and substituting one huge plant at far less expense will make the cost of laundry work only a fraction of what it is now.

Then a poor man will not be compelled to permit his wife to ruin her health doing the family washing, nor will widows be forced to do the washing of half a dozen families beside their own in order to keep bread in their children's mouths and roofs over their heads.

It will be the golden age for women.

But don't try to bring it about, for that is what the Socialists are seeking to do when they put their little ballots in the box on election day, and the Socialists are very bad people—Mr. Baer's word for it.

—ALLAN L. BENSON.

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.

There are some members of the Nat'l. Com. who have not yet sent their suggestions as to necessary changes in our constitution. Please hurry this, in order that we may have the matter all straightened up before the end of our fiscal year.

Up to date, not one member of the Nat'l Com. has favored a change in name of our Union. Indications are that the vote to abolish the office of Pres. will be a tie in Com., in which the Pres. will vote, as she wishes this sent out for referendum.

The conclusion of report of our convention will be published in the Aug. issue. As we have monopolized the space of this dept. for two months this seems fair to non-members who may not be interested.

Several members have asked whether, if they disapprove of the platform of the party, they ought to withdraw from the Union. Most certainly not! The platform may be changed several times before women vote and as our Union is educational, a belief in the fundamental principles of Socialism and subscribing to our constitution is sufficient for membership. Agreement or not with the tactics of the political organization forms no part of the affairs of this Union as a Union. I wish these members would read my reply to E. C. J. elsewhere in this issue.

Let's Talk It Over.

E. C. J. asks why I approve of the platform adopted by the Socialist Party in its convention. I am tempted to say, because I see no cause for disapproval. Too often a platform is a mere collection of words, or else so involved that it needs an interpreter to accompany it. In my opinion, the platforms of the old parties usually fail under the first description, and the one which the Socialist Party has just discarded the second. Our former platform was not so worded as to attract non-socialists to

make further inquiries. Again and again I have given it away, without creating the least interest until I amplified its statements. The present platform seems to me well suited for use as a propaganda leaflet; and, when all is said and done, the propaganda is all which we expect to accomplish in this presidential campaign. It clearly states where we stand, without equivocation gives brief explanation of what are our principles, and makes definite pledges.

Those who disapprove of it claim that it begins with a falsehood. I think this an error. It states that this nation was born in "the idea of liberty" and the fact that we have never had true freedom does not contravert this. Like all other ideas that of liberty has evolved; but when this nation was born its founders most certainly intended it as the defender of *their* idea of liberty, which was a very advanced one for their time. Their utterances were in advance of their action, just as the speeches of most advanced thinkers are in advance of the mass-action of the time. Nor is the charge that this platform throws us with opportunists well-founded. Opportunists are, by nature, step-at-time workers. We insist that the goal be kept in view; but if on the way thereto we can relieve temporary suffering, we will not hesitate to do it *provided* that the temporizing is not of a kind which will delay the incoming of the Cooperative Commonwealth. At this writing (June 8th) I do not fear to prophesy that the platforms of both parties will refer to the trusts. Whether the Republicans will "stand pat," or suggest such revision of tariff as will admonish trusts that they must "be good" is an open question. Leading Republicans usually suggest that publicity and governmental supervision will make combines a thing of joy to the land. Without much doubt the Democrats will throw workers some sop in the way of promises to control

trusts. Some of us remember with glee Bryan shouted in the last campaign: "Private monopoly is an outlaw" and it is a safe wager that some such slogan will be used this time.

As against these makeshifts, place the working program formulated by the Socialist Party in convention assembled and what better ammunition do you wish with which to fight them?

H. C. S. asks whether I consider the the Democratic or Republican proposal of trust-control best. It being a case of six of one and half dozen of the other, I can't say that I have choice. In his "private monopoly" outcry, Mr. Bryan neglected to explain how it was possible to keep "private ownership" alive and prevent it becoming "private monopoly." Until he does this, the remark is "just words."

While in California I had my first experience in country life. One of my neighbors raised hogs. In one brood there was a weakling which he especially protected even when it grew large enough to fight its own battles, he continued to protect it from force of habit; but after this protection was removed, the pig continued to "rule the trough" just the same. By special pampering it had grown somewhat larger than its competitors and crowded them from the trough. At last it showed its true nature: when unable to eat more, it waddled into the trough and lay down. Our "infant industries" will manage to hold their own, even if the Republicans decide to do away with protection, or if our Democratic friends obtain control and act similarly. Until it can be explained how to keep a pig in healthy condition without its becoming a hog, I'll not have confidence in any makeshift method of preventing private ownership from becoming private monopoly.

As to supervision and control, that is an old story. England tried it centuries ago. I cannot find data without special search, so may not be exact in this statement, but think it is correct to say that in England they decided to curtail "conspiracies to keep up cost of food-stuffs." For a first conviction the fine was ten pounds. Upon conviction for second offence the fine was doubled and the culprit had one ear cut off. We all know that such extreme measures

would not be meted out to the "ruling class" of our land, but as it had no perceptible effect in bettering things for workers in England we may judge whether that matters. Human nature has not changed since then and governmental control is useless, as witness the rulings of our Interstate Commerce Commission on freight, passes, etc. We all know how they are obeyed as regards freight, and some of us know that passes merely became "editorial trip tickets" and "certificates on advertising accounts."

Chats With Young Folk. 4.

OUR PUZZLE-BALL EARTH.

(Continued)

Now suppose you give the ball to a friend. He likes it and enjoys the outside, but after a while a seam rips. Then he needs some string, so goes beneath the kid and unwinds some. Will he not be surprised when he finds the sucker? What will it tell him? Well, he will at least know that it once belonged to some one smart enough to have learned that a wet bit of leather and a string, properly pressed onto a stone, can lift in a surprising manner.

We will imagine that he needs more string after a time, so comes to the nicely written copy; and again and again he will find things hidden in the ball. Do you not believe that he will soon get curious and unwind string just for the sake of finding out what is hidden away? I believe he would; and if he knows that all the articles in the ball once belonged to you, he will find out several things about you, especially if he is sure that they were put into the sphere in the order in which you used them. The bit of rattle will show that you had learned to clutch with your baby hands; the rubber ring that you were getting teeth; the piece of soft cloth following the roughly printed letters, that you tried to make these signs while you still wore dresses; the heavy cloth, that you were put into trousers before you could print large and small letters properly; and so on.

Now in our earth-ball there are many things hidden away in the rocks; bodies of plants; bones of animals, petrified wood and more things than I can tell you. Some wise men

have studied these things (which are called fossils) hidden in the rock-layers of the earth. They find that the highest types of animals are nearest the surface; but as they go into the older layers, all traces of the kinds of animals we know die out, though there are many others such as we never saw but evidently the great-great-grandparents (with many more greats than I have used) of the plants and animals now on earth.

The wise men who study life, know that changes of this kind take place very slowly, so they feel positive that the bodies which are buried in the deep layers must have lived millions of years ago and this makes them sure that our earth has existed all this great length of time.

Other wise men study the way rocks are made and find that it takes many to add a few inches to their thickness, so, as the rock of the earth is thousands of feet thick, these men also say that the world is very old: much older than our brains can think, even if we know the figures, for it is at least one hundred million years since animals began to live on this globe.

As all the wise scientists have reasons for thinking the earth millions of years old and we have not one thing to show that it is not, we will believe that they know and not worry as to the world's age, which may be even older than the one hundred and eighty-four million years, which is the sum of the Jewish explanation of the earth's early life-period and the scientist's belief as to its later growth.

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BOOK REVIEW

HOW ENGLAND AVERTED A REVOLUTION OF FORCE, by B. O. FLOWER. Laid antique, all-rag paper, hand-sewed; 288 pp., fully indexed. With an appendix. 12-mo. \$1.25 net; by mail \$1.35. Albert Brandt, publisher, Trenton, N. J.

This new book by the editor of the Arena is a graphic survey of the first ten years of Queen Victoria's reign—that wonderful decade so strong in lights and shadows that it will ever remain one of the most stirring and momentous periods in the history of modern England. It was a time as Mr. Flower clearly points out, when science was revolutionizing the thought of the world; when the church was convulsed by powerful liberal and equally strong reactionary movements; when inventive genius vied with scientific scholarship in its marvelous militaristic achievements; when Great Britain by her postal revolution assumed the leadership of the world in one of the most important governmental functions of modern times, when Chartism assumed giant-like proportions, and the deep and ominous mutterings of revolution reverberated on every hand; when famine stalked throughout the land and industrial depression in Great Britain; when the Anti-Corn-Law and Free Trade League became the standard bearer of the conscience element, successfully arraying itself against the almost solid opposition of the government; when a great and wonderful humanistic wave swept over the heart and brain of England; glorifying her literature and making this period forever memorable; when Charles Dickens, Thomas Carlyle, Elizabeth Barrett, Thomas Hood, Charles Mackay, Gerald Massey, Cannon Kingsley, Frederick D. Maurice, Richard Cobden, John Bright, and Giuseppe Mazzini, in different ways and from different vantage-grounds, but all moved by the same holy enthusiasm, wrought for a larger life for the people, for juster social conditions, for nobler ideals, and for that righteousness which exalts a nation. All these subjects are luminously touched upon in this intensely interesting volume.



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.

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

PLATFORM

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

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 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 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 ad-

ministered. 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 far 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.

St. Louis Globe-Democrat sounds a warning. It says: "Republicans as well as Democrats would do well to keep an eye on Eugene V. Debs for the next few months. He is likely to make a very active canvass."

GOOD NEWS FOR OUR READERS Campaign Edition

The Vanguard to be Enlarged and Improved

For some time we have contemplated making The Vanguard a weekly. For some time the publishers of the Social Democratic Herald have also had in mind the issuing of a monthly in addition to their weekly. Recently a consolidation of publishing interests was suggested by means of which the desires of both could be realized without duplication of labor and expense. We are now pleased to announce that such consolidation has been effected and hereafter The Vanguard and The Social Democratic Herald will be issued from the same office.

The Vanguard will be enlarged and improved in many ways, retaining its present character and effectiveness, standing for social conscience, social justice and the Co-operative Commonwealth. For Socialist propaganda it will be more valuable than ever. Already we have arranged for a number of Special Editions with considerable increase in the number of pages. The price will remain 50 cents a year.

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The editorial office of The Vanguard remains in Green Bay. Exchanges and correspondence for the editor should still be addressed to The Vanguard, Green Bay, Wis.

Subscriptions, advertisements, remittances and all business communications should be addressed to The Vanguard, 344 Sixth St, Milwaukee, Wis.

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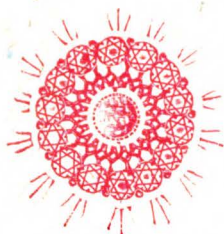
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