

THE VANGUARD.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

REASONS WHY:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Roosevelt is like a King."

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

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

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

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

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

THE ISSUE CLEARLY STATED.

By EUGENE V. DEBS.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

They can only work by his permission.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ernest T. Selz

THE CHURCH IN BAD COMPANY.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

—Frederic Heath.

MISAPPREHENSIONS CONSIDERED.

By ROBERT BLATCHFORD.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We will take their charges one at a time.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"GET OFF HIS BACK."

The Incubus sat on the Workingman's shoulders.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE WOLFISH MOTTO IN BUSINESS.

By FELIX ADLER.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

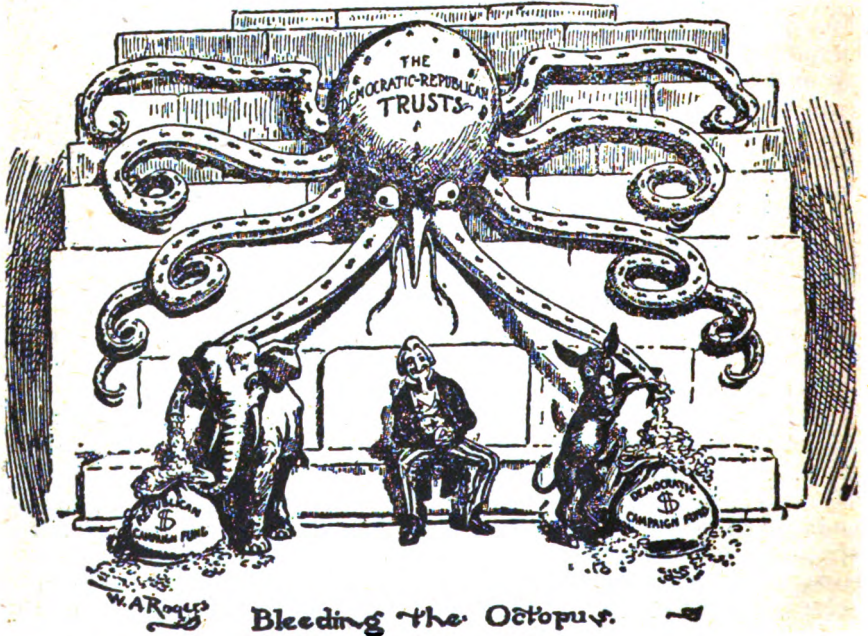
lump. I believe that the light will encroach upon the darkness, and I believe that it is our concern to see to it that at least a ray of that light shall shine into our hearts and enlighten our lives.

WHO DARE DENY!

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

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

WHERE CAPITALIST PARTY FUNDS COME FROM.



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

POINTED PARAGRAPHS.

By FREDERIC HEATH.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And White isn't the only one!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE MAN WITH THE DOUGH.

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

—Wm. J. Lampton.

IT'S EASY TO GET STRONG.

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

They respect Strength. Nothing but strength commands their respect.

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

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

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

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

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

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

C. J. Lamb.

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



Socialist Headquarters.

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

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

SOCIALIST TICKET:



FOR PRESIDENT:

EUGENE V. DEBS of Indiana.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT:

BEN. HANFORD of New York.

Wisconsin Social-Democratic Candidates:

FOR GOVERNOR:

WILLIAM A. ARNOLD, of Milwaukee.

FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR:

H. J. AMMANN, of Kiel.

FOR SECRETARY OF STATE:

R. O. STOLL, of Eau Claire.

FOR STATE TREASURER:

HENRY LUTHER, of Sheboygan.

FOR INSURANCE COMMISSIONER:

ARNOLD ZANDER, of Packwaukee.

FOR RAILWAY COMMISSIONER:

HARRY E. BRIGGS, of Milwaukee.

Platform of Wisconsin Social-Democrats.



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

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

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

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

* * *



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

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

* * *

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

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

* * *

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE MORALS OF A CHRISTIAN KING!

"The King Can Do No Wrong!"

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

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

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

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

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

SOCIALISM WILL CLEAN UP THE MORALS OF MARRIAGE.

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

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

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

SOCIALIST PLATFORM.

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

I.

WE, the Socialist Party, in convention assembled, make our appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole society.

To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are alike false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great propertied interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take unawares the right of the worker to a vote or a voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public school, the pulpit and the press, the arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths in which our institutions were founded. But under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings to ever become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working

class produces, above its subsistence-wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

Socialism comes to so organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of being, thought and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

II.

As an American Socialist Party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national but international, both in organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries, and of the so-called patriotisms which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalists to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending capitalists for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

The socialist movement therefore is a world-movement. It knows of no conflicts of interest between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

III.

The socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world-process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery, as its portion.

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever

and whenever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long since ceased to be individual. The labors of scores, or even thousands, enter into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two distinct classes; and from it has sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interest, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

IV.

The socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve itself. The captains of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of this developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

Into the midst of this strain and crisis of civilization, the socialist movement comes as the only saving or conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the socialist movement. The socialist party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall be by the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for

profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together, and that opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

V.

To the end that the workers may seize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government, and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Socialist Party pledges itself to watch and work in both the economic and the political struggle for each successive immediate interest of the working class, for shortened days of labor and increases of wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, and of franchise and land values, the proceeds to be applied to the public employment and bettering the conditions of the worker's children, and their freedom from the workshop; for the equal suffrage of men and women; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, and the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist and increase the like powers of the worker.

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our fellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and complete emancipation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America, and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause, to cast their lot and faith with the Socialist Party. Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow-workers is at once an appeal for their common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and those which we represent to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe that we are but preparing the soil of the economic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.

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