

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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If we announce that we will remove the present class state, then, in order to meet the objections of our opponents, we must also say that the Social-Democracy, while it contends against the class state through the removal of the present form of production, will destroy the class struggle itself. Let the means of production become the possession of the community; then the proletariat is no longer a class—as little as the bourgeoisie; then classes will cease; there will remain only society, a society of equals—true human society, mankind and humanity.

For that reason it has been stated in the plainest manner that we should not substitute one class rule for another. Only malice and thoughtlessness could incidentally put such a wrong construction on our meaning, for, in order to be able to exercise rule, I must have possession in the means of production. My private possession of the means of production is the preliminary condition for rule; and Socialism removes personal private property in the means of production. Rule and exploitation in every form must be done away with, men become free and equal, not master and servant, but comrades, brothers and sisters!

WILHELM LIEBKNECHT.

What a horrid, cruel system is this in which we are constantly crowding one another to the wall, trampling upon the man who is down, madly scrambling for a foothold regardless of how the other fellow fares, fearing that to pause for a moment would mean our own destruction! Yet this is the order of things for which capitalism and capitalistic political parties stand. Socialism grows because men do not want to keep up this inhuman strife forever. They want to live like men and brethren, and they are turning rapidly to Socialism which means the end of classes and class antagonisms.

Ex-mayor Seth Low of New York says: "Corporations have no votes, but they have money, and it is no exaggeration to say that the money of the corporations is often more influential in shaping legislation than the votes of the people. The statement of a railroad magnate, that in Republican counties he was a Republican, and in Democratic counties he was a Democrat, but that

everywhere he was for the railroad, was a cynical admission of an attitude easily understood but none the less dangerous." This is what our boasted democracy has come to in the hands of capitalism. And this is what it will continue to be so long as the great plant of civilization is the private property of the few. Political democracy is impossible of realization without industrial democracy, or Socialism.

Dr. W. S. Rainsford, of St. George's Episcopal church, New York, says: "Not till the 'haves' and 'well-to-do' come near enough to the poor to feel the constraint, the perplexity, the bitterness of their poverty, near enough to share their burdens, absolutely to share them, till that day dawns there will be no social peace, nor should there be." This is well said, though it still lacks any suggestion of justice and implies that the solution of the social problem is to come through the concessions of the rich. But does not the Rector of St. George here frankly recognize the

existence of "classes" in society? And have we not been told over and over again that there are "no classes in America?" The ugly fact will out. Even to the extent of saying that there can be "no social peace" under present conditions. Mr. Rainsford is right in his contention, but he is looking in the wrong direction for a remedy. It is not charity but justice the poor demand. And only under Socialism can social justice be secured.

Some time ago, President Roosevelt made the statement that: "When there is no legitimate basis for discontent the American public is sure, sooner or later, to cease to feel discontent." This is true, and as profoundly wise as would be the announcement that when there is nowhere on a man's person an itching spot, large or small, he will not scratch himself. But in view of the fact that the spirit of discontent is growing daily and assuming the proportions of a social revolution, there must surely be something radically wrong with the Republican management of affairs. Let the President study the Socialist movement and he will see that it has a "legitimate basis" and that the American people will never "cease to feel discontent" until the present capitalistic system of exploitation is overthrown.

Here is some more "Commercialized Christianity." In an interview quoted in the *Missionary Herald*, organ of the American Board which has just accepted the Rockefeller gift, the Hon. F. S. Stratton, of San Francisco, who has recently returned from a journey to the East, said: "I went out opposed to the missionary movement in China. I, however, have been converted by what I have seen.... Commercially speaking, the missionaries are the advance agents for the American commercial enterprises. If business men only understood this better they would assist rather than discourage the evangelistic work in the east." This tip ought to be worth several millions to the "big business" men and incidentally a few thousand to the *Missionary Board* in sending out "advance agents,"—beg pardon, in "sending the gospel to the heathen."

The *Wall Street Journal* is seeing things and delivers itself with commendable frankness as follows: "The

king can do no wrong' was the principle which lay at the foundation of the theory of 'the divine right of kings.' That has passed away, but it has been succeeded by the twentieth century theory of 'the divine right of high finance,' at the base of which stands the principle of 'the kings of industry can do no wrong.' Our 'court circular' newspapers have been disseminating this idea very industriously during the past few years. There are, however, signs of a revolt. People do not like the idea of a self-perpetuating, irresponsible monarch in business any more than they like the absolute monarch in government. The agitation of the eighteenth century was freedom from political despotism. The agitation of today is for freedom from financial absolutism."

The word "plutocrat" does not necessarily mean a rich man. If so, the plutocrats would be in a minority. The fact is, however, that the vast majority of plutocrats are poor men, while some wealthy people are the most genuine of democrats. A plutocrat may be a "worker with a capitalist mind," a deluded wage-slave who looks upon wealth as a warrant of respectability and of industrial and political rule. Indeed, the most contemptible and dangerous plutocrats are found in the toadies to wealth, the defenders of monopoly, the blind, unthinking supporters of the present system of plutocratic domination. That man is a plutocrat, though not worth a dollar, who votes the ticket of his "boss" in the interest of a government of, by and for the privileged class.

A religious exchange quotes from an eastern Bishop the following advice given to a class of young people: "The first thing for a young man to do, who wants to be a success in the community, is to hire a seat in a pew at church, and be in it every Sunday." This is no doubt very "pious" advice and may do much toward securing "success" according to the commercial and "society" standards of today, especially if the church be controlled by deacons of the Morgan and Rockefeller type. But it has the sound of the "religion-for-profit" policy which the founder of Christianity denounced in scathing fashion; and so far as the kind of success which the Nazarene inculcated is concerned, an

uppermost seat in the synagogue counts for no more today than it did nineteen hundred years ago. It is a fact that the most notorious despoilers of the people and corruptors of government are found in the pews of the churches every Sunday.

As a result of the efforts to enforce the new child-labor law in Chicago it is now discovered that many of the children formerly employed in factories have quit those establishments only to continue their work amidst work conditions in small sweat-shops. According to an estimate made by Miss Ellen Lindstrom of the United Garment Workers, nearly 1,000 of the young toilers are carrying on their task at home. The families where children are thus employed are in need, and the proprietors of the factories are only too willing to take advantage of this need to secure cheap service. The injury which the practice inflicts upon the children in warping and stunting their physical and mental growth, rendering them unfit for their duties to society on reaching maturity, evidently does not count as against a chance of making increased profits.

Just think it over: 1,000 little toilers who ought to be in school, who ought to enjoy nature's fresh air, who ought to, instead of grinding out their tiny lives, enjoy the song of the birds, and study out the thousands of Nature's wonders in creation, are withering away and fading like the roses of the summer, because the bread-masters must have more profits, rent and interest. More monkey, dog and horse shows, more wealth as it were, so that they may smother in it in the future. Great is this capitalistic system of ours and yet the question is asked: Will not Socialism destroy the home?

"Since economic ends determine the movements of mankind, and since today mankind is necessarily portioned into economic classes, it is manifest that class interest must be the backbone of the Socialist movement. But it does not follow that class interest is to be the animating spirit. It may and will inevitably associate men in efforts towards a common aim, but it does not awaken in them that passionate fervor which makes for a regenerative movement. The true heart and spirit of the movement is the passion for social justice.

And the passion is diffused throughout the great body of a class only when it sincerely and righteously identifies its interests with the interests of all men."—Mass and Class.

What is Social-Democracy?

"Whereas industry is at present carried on by private capitalists served by wage labor, it must be in the future conducted by associated or coöperative workmen jointly owning the means of production."—Prof. Kirkup.

"Our aim . . . is to obtain for the whole community complete ownership and control of the means of production and distribution and transportation. We seek to put an end to the wage system, to sweep away all distinctions of class and to inaugurate the co-operative commonwealth."

"Socialism is that contemplated system of industrial society which proposes the abolition of private property in the great material instruments of production, and the substitution thereof of collective property; and advocates the collective management of production, together with the distribution of social income by society, and private property in the larger proportion of this social income."—Prof. Ely.

Capitalism is International.

At San Juan, Porto Rico, the courts of the United States have issued an injunction against the A. F. of L. forbidding that organization to interfere with the French sugar factories or to molest their employees. Thus American police are protecting with clubs interests of French capitalists. At Limoges, France, the employes and workers of the American firm, Haviland, are on a strike and French troops are shooting them down in the defense of American capitalists' interests.—Ex.

Don't fail to read "Mass and Class" advertised on page 1.

Send The Vanguard to your friend for a year—50 cents.

Christianity vs. Wage-Slavery.

Plain Talk by an Episcopal Clergyman.

In a sermon delivered recently at the Church of the Advent, Boston, one of the most fashionable houses of worship in that city, the Rev. William H. van Allen, taking for his text John x., 13, "The hireling fleeth because he is a hireling, and careth not for the sheep," preached the following sharp sermon on tainted gifts and the wrongs of labor under the capitalist system:

"I read here Christ's condemnation of the wage system; not that the wage system is wholly bad, but that it never had its place in the evolution of society, that it is not a finality, that we cannot rest content with it, and that we must aspire toward its eventual abolition in an order of society which shall know not hirelings, and where men shall work together for the common good as fellow-heirs of a common inheritance.

"Some of you are thinking, I know—I am getting to know you so well, with your sweet conservatism, mingled with a passionate radicalism that outdoes anything in America—how can we get on without wage-workers? How can any system be devised which will do away with the hiring of other men and the taking by us of the larger share of their earnings for our profit?

"Our Lord did not make an emancipation proclamation. He did not enact that slavery should be done away, but he enunciated principles which, being accepted, made slavery impossible, and slavery has been done away in every Christian land today.

"Now, the wage system is a form of slavery—not such a grievous form as chattel slavery, but slavery none the less truly, for the essence of slavery is that one man becomes the means to the ends of another man. And I say again

that our blessed Lord in the gospel of this Good Shepherd Sunday sets the seal of his disapproval upon a system which breeds hirelings, and that I am absolutely confident that, as chattel slavery has been done away, so eventually the wage system will disappear."

"You are decent Christian people. You hire men and women to work for you. You pay them abundant wages, and if your experiences are like those of most of us, you get very poor returns for what you pay in this time-serving generation.

"Labor, according to the wage theory, is a commodity. They take it to the market to sell it under economic conditions of buying and selling. The buyer of labor is bound by what men prate of as economic laws to buy that labor at the lowest price possible. He has money, they have not. He can dictate terms, because he can afford to wait a little. They, having no money, cannot wait.

"The employer has a second great advantage. There are more men needing work than there are places to be filled. Then again, it is found that, because it costs him less to live, the single man is a better man to employ than the man with a wife, and the man with a wife and no children is better than the man with a wife and children. Then again, the Bulgarian or the Pole or the Armenian is a better man to employ than the single American, because he can live cheaper still, and consequently can afford to work cheaper.

Man Who Can Live on Least and Work Sets Standard.

"The man who can live on least and do the work sets the standard scale of wages in the work that he is

competent to do, and the economist has adduced from this what he calls the iron law of wages, that they tend always to the lowest point upon which the workman can maintain his life and strength sufficient to do the work.

"Think of workingwomen. Some of them support themselves by their labors. Others go out to work to earn pin money, and not being dependent on what they earn for a livelihood they can afford to work for much less than those who are working for a living. Therefore, they are cheaper for the employer, and they set the standard of wages in their particular line of work. Do you wonder that every year sees, what every year does see, an enormous sacrifice offered by Mammon to Venus, a long procession of those who are unable to support themselves by the wages they can earn, and who therefore turn to that trade, the only one, I think, where novices are better paid than experts?"

"For every case of poverty caused by drunkenness there are 10 cases of drunkenness caused by poverty. We are so afraid of paternalism that we have no old-age insurance. Employers today don't want men over 40 or over 35. White hairs are barriers to a man getting employment as a wage earner in these days. What has the future in store for the young man who is going to be an old man if he lives?"

"President Eliot talks of the 'joy of work.' It is a catch phrase, and one that is gloriously true of some of us. We do joy in our work, but the reason is because we are not hirelings, and it is unreasonable to expect a hireling to joy in his work, because he has no incentive, except fear of starvation, and no reward except a week's reprieve from starvation. Factory methods have destroyed the workman's joy in his work. He has become a 'hand.'

"The fruits of his labor—what part has he in them? They go to another. Think of the thousands upon thousands who sweat in the mines of Pennsylvania that Mr. Carnegie may build libraries

and eat his bread in the sweat of other men's faces. For my own part, I'd rather not read books that are bought in that way. Not that I condemn Mr. Carnegie. He and his wealth are the products of a condition and not the responsible causes of that condition. He is helpless in the grip of that condition, and he is far more to be praised than some of his fellows, because he has his conscience roused, and recognizes that this he possesses is not his at all.

"I recognize that the captain of industry is just as much a workman as the men he employs, that the man who works with his brain is also a workman. Workmen as a class are not saints. They have very grave defects. **Too often the man who rises from the ranks is the greatest tyrant.** Too often the workman bumbles his work so that it must be done over again, and too often he is concerned to do as little as he can for what he gets. The unions are not always what they ought to be. But that, too, is a consequence of the system which, as it progresses away from slavery, approximates warfare.

"Social evils of every sort arise from failure to recognize what God's fatherhood means and that the incarnation is the glorious remedy that God has ordained whereby all humanity should be forever joined to duty in his presence. It is idle to devise remedies apart from God's teaching. I will lay down two principles which rest upon the assured warrant of holy scripture:

"First, that labor is divinely ordained for all men. Labor is the only test of social worth. I heard a lady the other day speak sneeringly about the working class. Each one of us must belong to the working class, unless he belongs to the drones.

"Second, call no man your master upon earth. In the universal application to labor of these two principles is to be found the solution of this problem; not in the satanic counterfeit of a bloody revolution, which shall tell us of liberty, equality and fraternity, but in social evolution, which shall have love for its dominant motive and reward, love, not as a sentiment, but as a person, so that we who work shall be fellow-working-men with the Carpenter of Nazareth."

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The Coming of Socialism.

By VICTOR L. BERGER.



SOcialism is the name of an epoch of civilization—the *next* epoch, if our civilization is to continue.

We must not expect that the Socialist era will come all at one stroke. Neither capitalism nor feudalism arose “at a certain date,” nor can the Socialist form of society have its beginning on any fixed day.

Besides, although capitalistic society has already passed its zenith, yet even at the present day feudalism holds a very important place in modern society. This is the case not only in Germany, spite of its high economic development, but also in England, the “classic land” of capitalism.

Just so with any revolution.

Capitalism will not vanish in one day, in one year or in one decade. Even after the triumph of the working class the commonwealth *cannot* take upon itself all kinds of production.

Many industries today are not concentrated, and therefore are not ripe for collective production. Some will become so in time, others perhaps will not. The writer of this article is no prophet and will not attempt to predict details.

However, the trusts are now showing the Social-Democrats *how* they must do it, only the Socialists will have to do it from a Socialist standpoint and for the benefit of all the people.

But it is not necessary nor possible that all industries should be immediately taken over by the Socialist government.

Every branch of production controlled by a trust, as well as all industries which could be conducted on a similar scale, besides railways, telegraphs, mines, etc., will of course become collective public property and will be managed by the national government.

But there is a whole class of industries (for instance *farming*) which are not yet ready to be worked on this large scale, or which are liable to be decentralized by the technical perfection of the methods of transmitting power. Many small industries have again become possible on account of the transmission of *electric power*. These without any objection can remain in *private hands*. I refer to certain petty industries, as well as to agriculture.

In other cases the Socialist society can give the opportunity for the formation of co-operative associations, which together with the model industries conducted by the state, will raise the level of the working class to a degree hardly credible at the present time.

The chief reason why workingmen's co-operative associations have been impossible hitherto, has even now been partly removed by the trusts, and of course will be of still less account at the rise of the political power of the proletariat.

The trusts show how a regulated business can be done. The management of the co-operative workingmen's association of the future will find out what the demand is and determine the amount and method of the production. During the transition period the sale of products may take place exactly as at present, only subject to regulation by the state.

In the trusts, the capitalist class even now plays the most superfluous role in the world.

Indeed, in the trusts the capitalist class are already expropriated to a certain extent.

The smaller investors who are the great majority no longer have anything to control, and only draw their profits. Their industries are apparently the property of the shareholders; but what sort of property is that of which one has not the free disposal? They can no longer produce what they will, nor at what price they will, nor with what workmen they will; all is prescribed to them by the management of the trust. Properly speaking, they are only profit-receivers.

The trusts are ready now for a change of ownership.

But Wisconsin has been fiercely criticized for a provision in its platform to have the nation "buy out" the trusts and pay the net value. And yet Karl Kautsky, Emil Vandervelde, Wilhelm Liebknecht, and even Karl Marx, speak of *compensation*.

Engels wrote in 1894: "We do not consider the indemnity of the proprietors as an impossibility whatever may be the circumstances. How many times has not Karl Marx expressed to me the opinion that if we could buy up the whole crowd, it would really be the cheapest way of relieving ourselves of them."

Vandervelde says: "There is no doubt that the expropriation without indemnity with the resistance, the troubles, the bloody disturbances which it would not fail to produce, would be in the end most costly." (Collectivism, Kerr edition, page 155.)

In discussing the question of compensation, Karl Kautsky, the most radical theorist of the German Social-Democracy, says:

"There are a number of reasons which indicate that a proletarian regime will seek the road of *compensation* and *payment* of the capitalists and land owners." (Social Revolution, Kerr edition, page 118.)

In another place (on page 113) Kautsky says: "A portion of the factories, mines, etc., could be *sold* directly to the laborers who are working them, and could be henceforth operated co-operatively; another portion could be *sold* to the co-operatives of distribution, and still another to the communities or the states.

"It is clear, however, that capital would find its most extensive and generous *purchaser* in the state or municipalities, and for this very reason the majority of industries would pass into possession of the states and municipalities. That the Social-Democrats when they came into control would strive consciously for this solution is well understood."

Well understood? Yes, everywhere excepting in America.

Of course, all industries of national magnitude would be carried on by the government. For smaller industries, wherever necessary, the government could make some agreement with the co-operative associations of workers. We speak of the transition period.

In this transition period, the Socialist government can of course lend the necessary capital to the co-operative societies and furnish suitable guarantees. The government in this transition period will have at its disposal quite different powers than at present. For instance, it will have a monopoly of all water power, coal mines, railroads, rivers, electrical plants, etc.

So perhaps for a time a state of affairs may arise which will combine at the same time *three* forms of production. That is, the capitalistic form in petty industries, where goods will be produced for the market; the co-operative form in which the products will be for use and also for sale; and the purely Socialistic, where the government will carry on production for use only, and the production will not take the form of wares at all.

That all this will take place peacefully, we do not maintain. It will surely not come peacefully if the people are not armed. It will come peacefully if the people will be armed. Riots and bloodsheds are not at all desirable, nor will they help civilization.

Besides, I do not believe that one great revolution can turn topsyturvy the whole civilized world, and undo or make superfluous any economic development as outlined here.

Capitalism was necessary to give mankind dominion over the forces of nature, which is now assured by our scientific attainments. Considered in itself, capitalism has by no means reached that stage of development where it becomes impossible.

On the contrary, in the trust system, capitalism has just stepped into a new phase, the duration of which is unlimited according to our present light.

Of course, from a civilizing force, capitalism has already become a menace to civilization. But that does not affect its vitality! However, the tendencies which oppose it have now gathered such great strength that a thorough change—*must* not indeed—but *can* take place, if the working class understands its mission.

In conclusion, let me say that the world's history is always made by men, and is *not* a mere natural process, as some Marxists want us to believe.

Distorted and dwarfed as some of our natures may have become under the bad environment and the crushing temptations of the capitalist system of selfish grab, there is still in every breast a longing for a state of society founded on the live and let live principle, the principle of	brotherly love and mutual helpfulness. Some may have been spoiled to the point of entire loss of moral feeling, but compared to the great body of mankind, these are too few to affect the count. Socialism cannot come too soon for the good of the world, provided it comes properly.
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Jack London's Experience with the "Cultured" Public.

From the Introduction of His Forthcoming Book on Classes in America.

When I was a youngster I was looked upon as a weird sort of creature, because, forsooth, I was a Socialist. Reporters from local papers interviewed me, and the interviews, when published, were pathological studies of a strange and abnormal specimen of man. At that time (nine or ten years ago), because I made a stand in my native town for municipal ownership of public utilities, I was branded a "red-shirt," a "dynamiter," and an "anarchist"; and really decent fellows, who liked me very well, drew the line at my appearing in public with their sisters.

But the times changed. There came a day when I heard, in my native town, a Republican mayor publicly proclaim that "municipal ownership was a fixed American policy." And in that day I found myself picking up in the world. No longer did the pathologist study me, while the really decent fellows did not mind in the least the propinquity of myself and their sisters in the public eye. My political and sociological ideas were ascribed to the vagaries of youth, and good-natured, elderly men patronized me and told me that I would grow up some day to become an unusually intelligent member of the community. Also they told me that my views were biased by my empty pockets, and that some day, when I had gathered to me a few dollars, my views would be wholly different,—in short, that my views would be their views.

And then came the day when my Socialism grew respectable,—still a vagary of youth, it was held, but

romantically respectable. Romance, to the bourgeois mind, was respectable because it was not dangerous. As a "red-shirt," with bombs in all his pockets, I was dangerous. As a youth with nothing more menacing than a few philosophical ideas, Germanic in their origin, I was an interesting and pleasing personality.

Through all this experience, I noted one thing. *It was not I that had changed, but the community.* In fact, my Socialistic views grew solidier and more pronounced. I repeat, it was the community that changed, and to my chagrin I discovered that the community changed to such purpose that it was not above stealing my thunder. The community branded me a "red-shirt" because I stood for municipal ownership; a little later it applauded its mayor when he proclaimed municipal ownership to be a fixed American policy. He stole my thunder, and the community applauded the theft. And today the community is able to come around and give me points on municipal ownership.

What happened to me has been in no wise different from what has happened to the Socialist movement as a whole in the United States. In the bourgeois mind Socialism has changed from a terrible disease to a youthful vagary, and later on had its thunder stolen by the two old parties,—Socialism, like a meek and thrifty workingman, being exploited, became respectable.

Only dangerous things are abhorrent. The thing that it not dangerous is always respectable. And so with Socialism in the United

States. For several years it has been very respectable—a sweet and beautiful Utopian dream, in the bourgeois mind, yet a dream, only a dream. During this period, which has just ended, Socialism was tolerated because it was impossible and non-menacing. Much of its thunder had been stolen, and the workmen had been made happy with full dinner-pails. There was nothing to fear. The kind old world spun on, coupons were clipped, and larger profits than ever were extracted from the toilers. Coupon-clipping and profit-extracting would continue to the end of time. These were functions divine in origin and held by divine right. The newspapers, the preachers, and the college presidents said so, and what they say, of course, is so—to the bourgeois mind.

Then came the Presidential election of 1904. Like a bolt out of a clear sky was the Socialist vote of 435,000—an increase of nearly 400 per cent in four years, the largest third-party vote, with one exception, since the Civil War. Socialism had shown that it was a very live and growing revolutionary force, and all its old menace revived. I am afraid that neither it nor I are any longer respectable. The capitalist press of the country confirms me in my opinion.

And far be it from me to deny that Socialism is a menace. It is its purpose to wipe out, root and branch, all capitalistic institutions of present-day society. It is distinctly revolutionary, and in scope and depth is vastly more tremendous than any revolution that has ever occurred in the history of the world. It presents a new spectacle to the astonished world—that of an *organized, international, revolutionary movement*. In the bourgeois

mind a class struggle is a terrible and hateful thing, and yet that is precisely what Socialism is—a world-wide class struggle between the propertyless workers and the propertied masters of workers. It is the prime preachment of Socialism that the struggle is a class struggle. The working class, in the process of social evolution (in the very nature of things), is bound to revolt from the sway of the capitalist class and to overthrow the capitalist class. This is the menace of Socialism, and in affirming it and in tallying myself an adherent of it, I accept my own consequent unrespectability.

As yet, to the average bourgeois mind, Socialism is merely a menace, vague and formless. The average member of the capitalist class, when he discusses Socialism, is condemned an ignoramus out of his own mouth. He does not know the literature of Socialism, its philosophy, nor its politics. He wags his head sagely and rattles the dry bones of dead and buried ideas. His lips mumble mouldy phrases, such as "Men are not born equal and never can be;" "It is Utopian and impossible;" "Abstinence should be rewarded;" "Man will first have to be born again;" "Co-operative colonies have always failed;" and "What if we do divide up? in ten years there would be rich and poor men such as there are today."

It surely is time that the capitalists knew something about this Socialism that they feel menaces them. And it is the hope of the writer that the Socialistic studies in this volume may in some slight degree enlighten a few capitalistic minds. The capitalist must learn, first and for always, that Socialism is based, not upon the equality, but upon the inequality of men. Next, he must

learn that no new birth into spiritual purity is necessary before Socialism becomes possible. He must learn that Socialism deals with what is, not with what ought to be; and that the material with which it deals is the clay of the common road, the warm, human, fallible and frail, sordid and petty, absurd and contradictory, even grotesque, and yet, withal, shot through with flashes and glimmerings of something finer and God-like, with here and there sweetnesses of service and unselfishness, desires for goodness, for renunciation and sacrifice, and with conscience, stern and awful, at times blazingly imperious, demanding the right—the right, nothing more nor less than the right.

Jack London.

Socialism in Germany.

On account of the fear of Socialist domination the government has not allowed the distribution of representatives to be changed since the establishment of the empire. The constitution provides for electoral districts of a hundred thousand each, and if this were put into effect the Social-Democrats would have in the Reichstag, not eighty-one delegates, but a hundred and thirty, and the center, or Catholic party, would have about seventy-five instead of one hundred and two. The Socialists were the only party that made any gains whatever in the elections of 1903.—From "Germany and the Program of Socialism" in the April *Chautauqua*.

Socialism shows great growth in a republic like Switzerland. In Basle where proportional representation was introduced the number of Social-Democratic deputies in the House rose from 22 to 38.

Philistine Socialism.

Elbert Hubbard, for the passing moment, is perhaps the most conspicuous example of the common type of reformer who expects great things to come about "when human nature changes."

Mr. Hubbard is now a Socialist—just what kind of a Socialist we are not quite certain—since he performed the remarkable feat, last month, of scoring the political followers of Marx in the Philistine and applying for membership in the party at East Aurora.

And, while at the time of writing the magazine article, Mr. Hubbard was fully in accord with the principles of "Fabian" Socialism, he balked at Marxian Socialism, for the peculiar reason that Marxian Socialism stands for the making of an active campaign for justice, while the other kind believes in waiting until justice comes of its own accord.

"Fabian Socialism," said the Fra, "recognizes that society can change only as the natures of individuals change."

And:

"I doubt me much that the time will ever come when two pigs, meeting at the trough, will hesitate before jumping into the swill, and the bigger one say to the other, 'After you, my dear Alphonse.'"

The figures used in Mr. Hubbard's illustration appear to be more or less apt, since some blunt Socialists declare that capitalism makes hogs out of men, while claiming that Socialism would make men out of hogs.

The merits of the Socialists' claim in this respect, however, are entirely apart from the question of whether it is necessary to change human nature every time civilization makes a step in advance.

It is a common error to accuse Socialists of seeking to bring about a revolutionary change of human nature, but as a matter of fact, they are trying to bring about nothing of the kind.

Socialists deny the old Biblical doctrine that the "heart of man is unspeakably vile and full of wickedness," and substitute the contention that men are vile or wicked only to the extent that the conditions created by society seem to make it of material advantage to be vile or wicked.

They say that so long as the laws of the land make it possible for a few idlers to obtain much wealth from the toil of others, the most unscrupulous of the few will even break the laws to make the most of their opportunities.

They say that so long as the laws of the land make it profitable to work children to death in the cotton mills of the South, children will be ruthlessly slaughtered by eminently respectable gentlemen who would not even step on the tail of a cat in their own homes.

And, holding these convictions about the cause of wrong-doing, Socialists simply propose to remove the cause by asking the world to cease to offer its richest material prizes to the most conscienceless and the most unscrupulous.

In other words, they ask that wage slavery be abolished by abolishing the thing that makes wage slavery possible—the private ownership by a few of the land and tools with which all men must work to get a living.

And concurrently with this, they ask that the robbery concealed beneath the profit-taking system—the system that gets something for nothing by adding fictitious value

to the cost of production—be abolished.

In other words, they ask that the things that men eat, drink and wear be produced for the purpose of making all men comfortable instead of for the purpose of making a few idlers rich.

Can these things be done without "changing human nature?"

Has anything been proposed except that a few ponderous persons shall get off the backs of the rest of us?

And wasn't that exactly what Abraham Lincoln did when he compelled the slave-holders to get off the backs of the slaves?

Yet no one will claim that the Emancipation Proclamation changed the natures of the slave-holders. Re-enact the slavery laws and there would be no wanting gentlemen who would put the blacks in bondage again. The United States has simply ceased to offer the prize of indolent, luxurious ease to those who would live off the labor of human chattels.

Yet all of this is no reason why Socialists should not welcome to their ranks so eminent a citizen as Hubbard. But perhaps it IS a reason why the Fra should defer for a time, his "Little Journey to the Home of Karl Marx."

For the great mans' disembodied spirit might have things to say just now.

A. L. Benson.

The days of the professional procuress is about over. Her work is now being done by the modern department store, that pays its girls salaries they cannot live on and thus forces many of them across the threshold of immorality. Thus it is seen that there is one department of the department store business that is not printed in the catalogue!

Disregard for Lives of Workers.

A Tale of Horror from Pennsylvania.

"Conditions are such at the present time that the life of a foreigner employed in the mills and the mines is given less consideration than is the life of a horse or a mule. In the darkest days of slavery in the South the negro was accorded better treatment than the Hungarian in the mills receives today." — Coroner Armstrong, Pittsburg.

A great deal of public sentiment, says the *Union Sentinel*, has been manufactured by the magazine press of the country against the Standard Oil Company, because it has squeezed out rival concerns in a thoroughly "business-like" manner.

It is described as the "Giant Octopus" and held up to the horror of mankind, though probably its methods are no worse than those of its would-be rivals—only a little more so.

I have just finished reading the following article from the news columns of the Philadelphia Ledger. It is tragically significant of the low value placed on human life in this country that no sentiment can be aroused, apparently, against corporations that are literally murdering human beings by the thousands, not only in the plants of the United Steel Co., but in all the coal mines and on all the railroads of the land.

Human Life is Not Sacred.

It is only when high and holy business is affected and some men

are crowded out of the money-getting process that a hue and cry is raised.

Human life is not sacred enough to be worth making a fuss over its loss—especially if it is only the life of a poor foreigner.

Let the toilers support their own press and manufacture a "public sentiment" that shall be of some benefit to themselves.

Let them be their own public,—make their own laws and judge themselves—by electing Socialist representatives to the legislature, courts and congress.

They can then try these corporations by their records, and decide which is worse:—to drive a man out of business, or burn him alive in a furnace.

According to Joseph G. Armstrong, Coroner of Allegheny County, and Adelbert Merle, Austro-Hungarian Consul General to Pittsburg, Hungarian workmen are being ruthlessly slaughtered in the blast furnaces, the steel mills and the coal mines in Pittsburg and vicinity. Concerted action on the part of the coroner and the consul is to be taken with a view of lessening, if possible, the mortality. Twelve men killed in one plant alone, owned by the United States Steel Corporation, has aroused the coroner, while Consul Merle has been driven to action by the reported "disappearance" of Hungarians whom, he believes, have been killed at the furnaces. The matter was brought to a focus by Coroner Armstrong during the week when he addressed a jury sitting on the death of one of the foreigners, who had been cremated in the plant of the American Steel and Wire Company.

Death List Appalling, Says Coroner.

"The number of deaths of foreigners in the mills in Pittsburg and vicinity has come to be nothing short of appalling," said Coroner Armstrong, "and, after a

careful investigation of the matter, I am convinced that a great many of them are due to a lack of proper protection. Conditions are such at the present time that the life of a foreigner employed in the mills and the mines is given less consideration than is the life of a horse or a mule. In the darkest days of slavery in the South the negro was accorded better treatment than the Hungarian in the mills receives today.

"I was simply astounded during my first month in office to find that during the thirty days twelve men had been killed in one plant alone of the United States Steel Corporation, the Duquesne Mill. These deaths were not caused by one big accident, but separately. How many more were maimed and injured during the same period God only knows.

Frightful Slaughter of Lives.

"When I discovered the extent of this frightful slaughter of human lives I made complaint to the officials of the company, and asked if there was no remedy. That there was a remedy of some kind is evidenced by the fact that since that time there has been a marked decrease in the number of fatalities at the plant.

"The foreigners stand in the most abject fear of the foreman for whom they work. In order to escape censure they take chances that jeopardize their lives every hour in the day. The time has come when there must be more rigid laws for the protection of the men, and until then a more rigid enforcement of the laws which exist at the present time."

Foreigners, and particularly Hungarians throughout Pennsylvania, are organizing for the purpose of securing better laws for their protection in the mills.

More Stringent Laws Needed.

"It is not generally known," said Consul Merle, "that a very great number of both Hungarians and Austrians are naturalized citizens of the United States. The slaughter of men in the mills has become to appalling of late that it has been decided to appeal to the political leaders, to ascertain whether or not more stringent laws cannot be enacted. If even the present laws were enforced, conditions would not be nearly so bad."

Two Horrible Disappearances.

An attache of the consulate said: "We recently investigated the cases of two

men who were reported to have 'disappeared.' They were Hungarians who were employed at the tops of blast furnaces, and whose duties it was to dump the cars of ore into the furnaces as they reached the tops of the elevators. In both instances the men were missed after they went to the top of the elevator shaft. Their dinner pails and coats were left at the bottom of the elevator shaft, so that but one conclusion could be arrived at. There is but little protection for the men at the top of the shaft, except a small bridge upon which to stand. One misstep as a man is dumping a car and he is thrown into that awful furnace. In the cases of the two men which were investigated there was not even a charred bone to tell of their frightful fate. How many similar cases have occurred will never be known."

Coroner Armstrong declares that efforts are made almost daily by officials of the steel corporations to suppress information regarding the circumstances of men killed at the mills. The attention of both State and Federal authorities is to be called to the subject.

Don't repine because fate has been so cruel as to have put you into the world too late to take part in the work of putting down chattel slavery in this country. There is another slavery and a more widespread one to be put down—wage slavery. And those who help put it down will be even greater in history than are those who battled against the slavery of the blacks. And the persecution the old time Abolitionists went through was no greater nor so great as the persecutions of the present that are visited openly or in subtle ways on those who now stand firm for a moral purpose. Don't bewail your fate, be glad that you were born late enough to take part in the mightiest struggle the world has ever known. Get into the Socialist movement without delay and prepare yourself by study and reflection for the work that cries out to you.

Pointed Paragraphs.

By Frederic Heath.

If Socialism were but a dream, if it were a mere vagary, capitalism would not feel so bad about it!

"A beautiful world full of gracious deeds," is the way an English Socialist refers to society under the sway of Social-Democracy. It is felicitously put.

Rabbi Hirsch says that it is graft that is the trouble with Russia. But we cannot shame Russia on that score very hard. Where is there a nation that cannot show up its good, big share of graft!

Nothing can awaken enthusiasm in the human breast as can the study of Socialism. It awakens a new love of citizenship, a new patriotism of international brotherly love to take the place of the unworthy patriotism of national selfishness.

The working class has become a reading class, hence a class that is gaining a knowledge of its rights and its value to society. A new and proper sense of the dignity of labor is growing up. Labor will be satisfied with nothing short of emancipation.

The editor of the *Boston Advertiser* says that it may be true that the wage system is a form of slavery, but says that it is a necessary slavery because the working class is lazy. Funny, isn't it that the representatives of the indolent rich class always insists that the industrious class is lazy? Ever figure out the motive back of that claim!

New machines to take the place of labor are invented every day. Capitalism gets the benefit—and labor gets the "can." How do you like the capitalist system, Mr. Hounded Wage Slave!

Susan B. Anthony says divorce is not an evil, but a refuge to women who are married to brutes. Certainly no humane person will deny that a woman who is married to a brute should be given a divorce.

We cannot too strongly urge upon our readers the necessity of reading the standard books on Socialism. Reference to our columns will show you what books are to be had, and besides a stamp will bring you our complete catalogue.

Every day new machines are being invented to do the work of men. Anything that tends to lighten the labor of the people ought to be a blessing, but under the capitalist system the blessing in this case goes to the capitalists, and the workers out of work may go hang themselves if they cannot get other jobs and their loved ones at home can apply to charity or go to the poor house!

Quibbles over statistics, stuff about some Socialist here doing this or there doing that do not disprove the teachings of Socialism. The one great fact remains unshaken that it is the *working* class that is poor. If poverty is to be the reward of labor under capitalism, the sooner labor abolishes that system the better!

The Rev. G. P. Merrick has written a book called "Work Among the Fallen," in which he shows that of 16,000 cases he investigated, one-half had been domestic servants who had been obliged to seek sociability outside the homes to which they were servilely attached, 1,617 were former factory girls, and so on. Only 228 had been connected with the theaters. If the theater is perilous to morals, how about home slavery!

The Presbyterian ministers in Milwaukee recently resolved to help the bakery workers who were agitating to get a free day on Sunday, by promising not to buy any bakers' bread on Sunday. Whatever their motives, it was a merciful thing to do, and it made the workers feel as if *at last* the church was listening to their righteous complaints. But will these ministers' flocks follow their merciful lead?

Every new invention in machinery is designed to take jobs away from the wage working class, else there would be no sense in making it. The workers turned adrift by labor saving machinery have to try to under-compete with the others in order to get work, and consequently, bread. It becomes a struggle to see who shall live and who shall starve. The census of 1900 shows that the average wage in this country—\$437.50—is lower than it was ten years ago! What shall the workers do? What shall society, which has the welfare of all its members at heart, do? Manifestly the thing to do is to socialize the ownership of the machinery of production, so that all may benefit by the improvements in production instead of an indolent capitalist class. But that means Socialism!

In spite of themselves the capitalist press has to occasionally admit that Socialism is a moral and an humanitarian force. In commenting upon the possibility of a future war between Japan and the United States, Collier's Weekly says: "It may be well doubted, especially with the growth of trade, Socialism, and other *unwarlike* influences in Japan, whether she would enter a future war with us, about some conflicting purpose, with anything like the patriotic fury of the present state." This is an acknowledgement of one good, at least, that comes from Socialism. It will prevent war.

Debs continues to delight great audiences all over the country and the results are much greater, undoubtedly, than even we of the present can guess at. People who may hear him today and even scoff at his words may yet go away with a little leaven of his philosophy in their heads and later on be surprised to find themselves gradually changing their view point. The best Socialists we can have are those who at first oppose us, for their conversion becomes thereby the more real and complete. An opponent today may become a zealot tomorrow.

Ten thousand human lives went out completely in order that the question of who was the stronger on the seas could be determined between Japan and Russia in their fight for territory. That is the way great questions must be settled under capitalism. Might is right. And the human flesh that must be sacrificed on both sides in such a horrible contest is supplied by the working class—a class doomed to live in torment by the capitalist system.

Prostitution is an established system under capitalism. Under the capitalist system young men are afraid to marry and set up homes because of their small earning capacity and the insecurity of employment. Factory employment of women and girls makes for immorality also.

The throttling clutch of mammon on the churches is happily not so strong but that a brave preacher here and there can shake it loose and brave capitalist public opinion by coming out boldly for the spirit that pervades Christ's teachings. We publish one such instance this week. A general split along religious lines is not very far off. Capitalism will get absolute control of the Catholic church and to it will fly other sects that stand for capitalistic interests. On the other side will range those who dare stand for brotherly love and good will toward men. All this is the church's own affair, and all we can do is look on.

Have you stopped to figure out how it is possible in a nation full of prosperous working men, where "there are two jobs for every man," have you stopped to figure out how it has been possible to ship into Chicago carload after carload of workless men, pushed by the necessity of living to seek the jobs made vacant by the striking teamsters? The explanation is simple. The claim of the capitalist papers and capitalist mouthpieces that everybody who wants work has it is simply a lie—a downright crooked fabrication. Pseudo prosperity is a thing that the capitalists bank on. The whole thing to them is a "con" game. Keep the people ignorant of the fact that the country is full of jobless men, of men living in insecurity, and the

game of plunder on which the plutes feed can go on without interruption. To tell the people the truth would be to bring about "want of confidence," a thing much dreaded by the average capitalist. Such is the hypocrisy of our capitalist "civilization!"

Rottener and rottener grows modern city life under the sway of capitalism. Commercialism draws upon vice for a steady grist. Vice as the handmaiden of the necessity for making money seeks to turn our sons into gamblers and our daughters into prostitutes. The saloon for woman has come to stay, because it is profitable. And woman under the influence of alcohol contributes to the profit-hunger further along the line. As long as the profit system holds sway woman will have to run the gauntlet in this terrible way, with a smaller and smaller number able to stand the test.

We must confess to a not very great uneasiness when it is claimed that the capitalist parties may "steal our thunder." Perhaps if we took the narrow view that Socialism would have to come through the increase of misery on the part of the people, we might be worried. But we do not take that narrow, out-of-date view. We believe that Socialism will come through the gradual improvement of the workers through which they will increase their powers of resistance and be able to maintain their ground as the fight waxes hot. Our "thunder," that is, our working program, is made up of the proposed progressive steps we must take to bring on the co-operative system. If capitalism steals any of this, why need we regret it? In its bewildered effort to stop our progress it will only be helping us to blaze the way.

Jack London in "Sassiety."

The following from the San Francisco *Examiner* of recent date makes tasty reading:

"So Jack London has been giving society and the newspapers something more to clamor about. Dear, dear! This time it is not the author's antipathy to a dress-suit, hitherto his most heinous offense, that has stirred up the social hornet's nest. It is something almost as serious in bourgeois eyes, however. It is Socialism. Jack London has been lecturing on Socialism at Stockton and at San Jose and even within the sacred precincts of the State University itself.

"The first ripple, and it was only a ripple, was caused by the San Jose lecture when Mr. London not only called spades spades, but explained that they were meant to dig dirt with. Now, some of the spades which he called were instruments of social and capitalistic manufacture. Society, which has persistently attempted to lionize California's one literary genius, who has as persistently failed to see that lionization is a part of the whole duty of genius, society smiled a strained cornerwise smile and said: 'It's his hobby, you know. Just a little extreme, of course; but he is young and so original, you know. Have you read "The Sea Wolf"?'"

People of the Abyss.

"Society didn't say, 'Have you read "The People of the Abyss"?' the one Socialistic book that Jack London has written. Because Society itself has not read it, or it would understand its pet lion better than it does. In some respects "The People of the Abyss" is the greatest thing among the several great things that Jack London has done. It tells a tale of heroism and brotherly love—of a man's tenderness for his suffering brethren and his courage in sharing the loathsome conditions of their lives that he might know of a truth 'how the other half lives.' In short, it is a personal record of Jack London's life in the East End of London, where he sank himself and his identity for a season in the year 1902, living, laboring, starving, tramping the streets by night and day, one of the pitiful horde of London's poor. After that experience the writer of vivid Klondike tales dashed

off 'The People of the Abyss' from a pen aflame. This did not interest Society.

"Fiction is Jack London's bread and boned herring; Socialism is his religion. This has not come home to the Society which brews pink teas for him until recently. And now Society is not pleased with Jack London.

The Berkeley Lecture.

"Following close upon the San Jose disturbance Jack London was invited to lecture at Berkeley. 'Talk about anything you like, anything you like,' said President Wheeler, benevolently. Behind Jack London sat fifty of the faculty; before him sat 2,000 students. 'Talk about anything you like,' had said the President, and there in the sacred shadow of the aged man's white locks Jack London tossed back his yellow mane and talked Revolution. For twenty-five minutes he talked Revolution with the spell-bound students before him and the frozen faculty behind him. Then, as per schedule, the Glee Club began to sing, but nobody noticed it. Two of the faculty were on their feet both screaming at Jack London at once; the students were cheering and the President gave up the hopeless attempt to quell the disturbance. The next day all the Socialist books in Berkeley passed from the bookstores and libraries of the town between the portals of the university. Garbled accounts of 'anarchistic principles' found their way into the papers and Society and the powers that be were very much annoyed at Jack London. As the culprit didn't seem to mind, Society scolded the President—which was unfair. Then all things being ready Jack London went north on his yacht. And Society decided to forgive and forget its young lion who would doubtless return in saner mind after the sea breezes had blown the Socialistic cobwebs from his brains.

"But Jack London put in at Stockton between moments of writing a new novel and gave a little talk on Socialism. And now perhaps Society will brew no more pink teas for the Californian author; for in that little talk Jack London called Society, over-fed, plush-bound Society, names—such names! One of his fiery charges was:

Drones and Ignoramuses.

"'You are drones that cluster around the capitalistic honey-vats. You

are ignoramuses. Your fatuous self-sufficiency blinds you to the revolution that is surely, surely coming, and which will as surely wipe you and your silk-lined, puffed-up-leisure off the face of the map. You are parasites on the back of labor.'

"A few other well-chosen and graphic remarks followed. There was a terrific uproar. The 'drones' and the 'parasites' and the 'ignoramuses' cried aloud in their wrath. They arose on their 25 cent seats ('for the benefit of the Socialistic cause') and hurled epithets at the lecturer.

"Do you know what will be the result of your Revolution?' one millionaire sugar king shouted.

'It is not MY revolution.' London broke in. 'It is YOURS! Yes, yours and your kind's. YOU are the cause of it!'

"Anarchy! Civil war! Death and crime! These will be the results of that revolution you are prophesying. National upheaval—the millionaire began again.

"I know it,' said London. 'But what are you going to do about it? How are you going to stop it?'

Society's Gate Closes.

"Now, a young man who takes the ills of the poor and the oppression of the laborer as seriously as all that is a dangerous person to have at pink teas. He might impress his outlandish view of human equality and human rights and onrushing destiny on the sons and daughters of the wealthy families he visits; and how terrible it would be for Society should those sons and daughters act on such revolutionary principles, helping to ease the poor man's burden instead of buying automobiles and Paris frocks. And so Society, finding out that Jack London's Socialism is not a pose (as it had hitherto hoped) has ceased to respect him. It may even cease to beg his autograph.

"The riddle is: How much will Jack London care?

"Read 'The People of the Abyss' and you'll find the answer to the riddle."

Capitalists and thieves don't like you to ask them where they got their money.

See advertisement of "Mass and Class" on page 1.

A Valuable Book.

The *Labour Leader* of London pays a high tribute to Comrade Ghent's "Mass and Class" and says it helps to show that America proposes to work out her Socialism on her own lines and in correspondence with the circumstances of her own land.

One of our author's main themes is the influence of matter on mind, the tyranny of the economic over the ethical. He sees, as we all see, that in our present state of society a man's economic environment inevitably dictates to him a large part of his moral conduct. "Things are in the saddle, and rule mankind," as Emerson put it in his own terse and inimitable way. You may have beautiful appeals to religious idealism in Church and Free Church Congresses; you may have glowing pictures of a time when capitalism shall hold out its hand to Labor, and Sir John Joicey open his heart to the suffering children in the mines; but you always find when the church deacon resumes his business on the Monday, or an eight hours bill for youngsters in the mines comes before the House of Commons, that the cant phrase, "business is business," assumes its sway over the Sunday instincts, and the man of business behaves like any other average business man of the same class. "Monthly, weekly, and even semi-weekly," says Mr. Ghent, "the 111,942 clergymen of this nation hold up to their congregation certain ideals of conduct between man and man, and plead that these be practised," and they are ably seconded in their exhortations by numbers of public teachers and advisers, such as Justice Brewer, Professor Adler, and Presidents Stout, Hadley and Roosevelt. But it is doubtful if any custom or practice more necessary to the individual by economic pressure has ever been given over or sensibly altered by reason of these insistent pleadings." Mr. Ghent is perfectly irresistible as he develops this thesis in the most candid and enlightened fashion.

The best place to spend your time Sunday, July 16, is at the big Picnic at Schlitz Park, Milwaukee.

Send for a copy of our complete Socialist book catalogue.



Socialist Headquarters.

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

NATIONAL SECRETARY: J. MAHLON BARNES, Boylston Bldg. 269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

A Baby for Sale.

An "ad" appeared in a recent edition of a city paper, which reads like this:—

FOR SALE—My baby girl, Fannie, five weeks old; dark brown hair, bright brown eyes; price, \$300. Mrs. Sarah Rosenthal, 708 Fifth st., New York City.

In speaking of this strange advertisement, the mother says: "It will nearly kill me to part with my child. But what can I do? When my little family came my husband deserted us because he could not support us, and we were left without a penny. I left a little girl with my mother in Austria and now my mother writes that she is very poor and cannot get money to live on. So I must sell this baby that I may be able to send them something." And the woman wept.

This is certainly a sad situation to be in. While this mother was advertising her little baby girl for sale, the gamblers on Wall street, and over the entire country certainly including Milwaukee, are living in luxury, and their wives are rolling in wealth, wrung out of little babes, and tiny worn out mothers in the factories, mills and mines.

How long are the women of this country going to stand for these conditions? Oh, if we only had a vote, yes, but you know, that women as a rule do not understand very much about politics. Suppose we take that for granted. But listen, do you for a moment believe that conditions would really be as decayed as they are if women had a right to the ballot?

Do you really believe that our Common Councils—our State Legislatures and our Halls of Congress would stand as a lot of corrupt institutions, just as they do at this present time, do you think for one moment you could drag them to the polls in herds, and buy their votes for bad whiskey and beer? Hardly, and yet we are told that the ballot shall not be wielded by them. However, the Socialists say that a woman shall

have the same right which is granted to man on the political field, and in every other channel of life. Let the women have their say as to the horrible conditions and forms of slavery in this country. Let the mothers of the children have a vote in the matter of abolishing the same, and capitalism, or the present capitalistic form of government, will soon crumble.

Arise, you women. Stand up and demand your rights. It is you who rear and teach the children in the days of their infancy. It is you who ought to have a chance to express your choice, as to how they shall work in the years yet to come. Join the Socialist Women's organizations in your city, and if there are none, start a local in town, ward, village or city, and help us abolish the present form of society which stands for injustice to the workers of the world.

A Pen Without a Soul.

Diplomacy!

New York Commercial Advertiser: "Robbed of all its exteriors of gold lace, pomp and ceremony; stripped of its euphemisms, and with the motive of all its acts bared to the world, how sordid is this abstract thing called diplomacy, upon which the fate of empires and of kings depends. Behind it all there is nothing but dollars and pounds, francs and rubles, yens and taels.

"The world is now being run on a purely commercial basis; that nation which does the largest volume of business is the greatest nation; very naturally, each nation, suffering from too active competition in the civilized parts of the world, seeks new markets in unexplored countries, where opportunities exist for the establishment of trade monopolies."

The Vanguard is a wonderful grey-matter agitator. One year, 50 cents.

SOCIALIST PLATFORM.

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

I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

II.

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

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

III.

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

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

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

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

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

IV.

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

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

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

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

V.

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

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

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

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