TO THE WORKER

The object of Socialism is to secure that for him, and

the mission of this paper is to propagate Socialism.

Studies in Socialism.

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What We Are.

nation, state, county and road district in which he may move and have his being, who believes in majority rule in all things, repudiates all forms of minority rule as now exer- to drive out drones and dead beats. cised by kings, aristocracies, captains of industry and misrepresentative "representatives," and who believes in the equality of all citizens before the law, before the policeman's club and before the rifles of the militia.

A Socialist does not believe that the several nations of the earth exist solely for the glory of a few pampered parasites who happen to be born with privileges conferred by feudal traditions or the possession of wealth. He sees that only those individuals who are economically independent can be politically inde-

A Socialist believes in the protection of himself and of those dependent upon him. He is more solicitous for the encouragement of those

A Socialist believes in property and the right of each laborer to the

protect. He believes in abolishing in open-eyed wonder. poverty by withdrawing the privileges from the wealthy that have at

Therefore, a Socialist stands fast against all schemes by which one individual giving such advice. But man may profit from the labor of you are at war against a thousand another, whether it be that of a influences in the endeavor to have slave master, a feudal lord or a just and equitable laws enacted, and modern capitalist.

visible fact that he possesses the only coherent conception of society, the only sound system of economics and the only interpretation of hisforv that fits the facts without trimming. These principles have not been handed down from the beginning, but have been worked out by the brains of the world's clearest

by Socialists as a matter of course, but are tested by the experience and problems that arise from time to owns.

strong political party is the best, cheapest and easiest means of abol-

and next, for every human being on law, even as they are above statutory the earth. The benefit of his political action is not limited to peo- have such morals taught as will enple of any particular color or sex slave the minds of their subjects which separate the nations.

gated on earth.

Handkerchiefs and Campaign But-

wealth: those who own it but have A SOCIALIST is a citizen of the not earned it, or those who have planet Earth, as well as of the earned it but do not own it?

> better fixed than the busy man; he is provided with a sting with which

THERER is a grim humor in the way capitalist editors habitually refer to "the late panic." The lateness of the late panic's lingering brings it painfully up to the present

Wно would do the dirty work in the Socialist state? Why those who had not enough brains to do any other kind-such as do the dirty work for the capitalists today. Got

Socialism is the deadly foe of those Christians only who disguise themselves in a mantle of righteousness that they may more effectively serve the devil. The long-faced hypocrite who grinds the face of the poor living people in his home and in his in pretended service of God only exneciphors homes than he is for the poses the cloven hoof when he atencouragement of what are called tacks Socialism in the name of re-"home industries."

THIS being election year the organized workers have the oppor- it out again to be purified by Nature property created by his labor; and tunity of making emphatic answer would defend himself and others in to the supreme court of the United by others. You don't own the air the possession of what they create States. Let them roll up two milagainst legal as well as illegal rob- lion Socialist votes, as they can do others. If the air is property in any and not half try, and they will see A Socialist does not believe in such a change of attitude in the su- alone has the power to hold it. protecting poor men, because he does preme court and in congress as will

. IF you were going to war and once made them rich and other men were told to beware of your gun because it is a dangerous weapon, you would wonder at the sanity of the along comes an adviser who warns None of these schemes is just, nor you against mixing up in political can either of them be maintained affairs. Your ballot is a dangerous when once understood by an enlight- weapon—to yourself or to your oppressors, according to how you use it. A Socialist is distinguished by the Beware of advisers. Think for your-

> To DETERMINE the relationship existing between capital and labor it live ap hour without air to breathe. is first necessary to determine the Notwithstanding the urgent demand

A Socialist is not a mere vote get- legitimate place in society, they can ter, running about with a miscella- prove it only by keeping the worker. When the workers get all they be ruling class on the one hand, and in the neous collection of platform prom- employed and supplying society with produce, leaving nothing for the par- cision, by which English unionists class on the one hand, and in the ises that, like the platform of a rail-commodities in sufficient quantity asites, the parasites tell us there were mulcted out of \$140,000 dam-working class on the other. In times way coach, are so often made only and of satisfactory quality. When would be no incentive to do any-ages for inaugurating a strike and gone by the ruling class variously grain rots for lack of facilities to thing. There is a whole roomful of boycott, aroused speculation in this appeared as kings, military despots, A Socialist stands up and fights carry it to market, or when babies incentive to work when the worker country as to whether the British various aristocracies, such as patrifor principles that are clearly recog- are cold for lack of fuel that could has to divide up with his boss, isn't decision would have any effect on cians, etc., etc., while the workers nized by all working people who are be but isn't mined, faith in the di- there? What a tremendous incen- the struggle between labor and capi-

THE MEN who own the wealth of ishing poverty and of making the a nation not only control its courts, carth of fit place in which to live. but they control its schools, its art,
A Socialist does not vote for men its religion and its morals. Every but they control its schools, its art, alone nor alone for a party. He votes institution is dependent upon the or by any of the imaginary lines and keep them content with the en-which separate the nations alayement of their bodies. Servants

WHAT SOCIALISM IS.

Socialism is a word having two distinct but related meanings. Primarily it is used as the name of a certain philosophy of history and method of interpreting and analyzing social phenomena. In the second place, since this philosophy and method have as one of their principal conclusions that society is evolving toward a co-operative social stage, the word is used to designate a co-operative social organization where the means for the production and distribution of wealth are the collective property of the workers, while the goods which are to be consumed become the private property of the individual.---Encyclopedia Americana.

Just a Question.

WHEREVER you go there is atto redden your blood, and breathe and used over time and time again you use nor does anyone or any sense it belongs to the earth, which

Wherever you go there is land or chinery, some of which you must use is machinery if men have to work as in order to make a living. But much to produce five times as much there is an owner or there are own- and receive no more? ers of these things who will not let you use them save on such terms as please them. If you wish to use land with which to raise corn you must first agree to give the owner of the land part of the corn produced by your labor or give him part of the crop's value in the form of money rent. If you wish to use a machine as a means of making something to use or sell you must first make terms with an owner of the machine.

It has been demonstrated that man can live for forty days or more with nothing to eat, but he cannor

nothing but misery, and many of with all capitalist governments. them do absolutely nothing. The worker accumulate? Socialism will make life worth while.

WE WANT to live, to work, to enjoy: to express the best there is in HEREVER you go there is atus and strive with all our might for
mosphere. You take what you letter still. That is what we Sosurround life with a network of want of it, breathe it into your lungs cialists want, and we want it for all laws, in the vain hope that it will -for the meanest as well as the make men perfect and remodel humightiest of earth.

But can a man keep five families

THE average man devotes more time, more energy and more thought to the making of a living than to any other pursuit. This proves that in practice the most important occupation of men is the matter of getting the material means of life, such as clothes, food and shelter. But in getting these essential things the wage worker is under the domination and control of a master. Sooralism demands for such nothing more nor less than industrial free-dom, the kind of freedom that affects his real life.

ONE would think, to read some precise nature of capital as well as for breath, it costs you nothing but of the capitalist papers, that the labor. Capital is nothing more nor the effort) made in inhaling it, while election of an earth worm to a public less than wealth used as a means the land and machinery, which you office immediately transforms such trially, the state-no longer repreof exploiting laborers, and labor is must also have, are owned and access an individual into a saint. To critisentative of a class, but of the whole drones. any human effort put forth in the to them is denied unless you are cise the public or private acts of production of useful things. It is willing to give part of the products these public servants is treason is politically.-John Spargo. not the purpose of Socialism to of your labor to the alleged owner, against the state and blasphemy transform private capital into public Why wouldn't it be a good thing to against the divinity which ordains capital, but to abolish capital and have the land and the machines as all officials from road overseers to thought of each who accepts them, capital, but to abolish capital and the free to him who would use them as president. And to think of such man who works by the man who the atmosphere is? Or would you ideas at the beginning of the twentiprefer private ownership of the air eth century! The divinity that doth IF CAPTAINS of industry have any take?

have any incentive to work? And acted in republican and democratic thinks knows better. Was it not because he had to states are alike. Workers do not rethan the darkey of 1860 does the pass over the state line from one to the habits and moods of the ani-

What We Want.

man nature by legal enactment, but it does propose to destroy, as far as MACHINERY enables a man to pro- that is possible by collective effort, duce five times as much wealth to- all those anti-social conditions which day as he did a hundred years age. compel men to live vain, hopeless, its heirship to the vast resources of in the bosom of their trousers. wisdom and knowledge so painfully gathered by the race through long ages; it claims for every child equal development of all its powers, leavity" of Socialism. To be more spe- and taken into account as in the be verified. cific: the form of government at economics and philosophy of Social- President Roosevelt is just now istence, is a complete political denation-will be as democratic as it

IN a sense there are as many different interests in the world as there are people; but the tendency of persons having like desires and a common enemy is to unite for collective action. This produces many classes, or organized interests. But all of

the other. Panics hit both alike, mals that they may better control

sponsible. not under the spell of dead institu-tions and "kept" teachers tive there must be to work for two tal in this country. Time has proven to me: "If you make women eco-or three dollars a day—not enough the assertions of the Socialists that classes confront each other as the Socialist knows what he wants When there is so much to be done! to buy the cigars of the rich idler! the courts of this republic, where capitalists, who are the real rulers family." Do you believe such rot? the same time. It is simply a physical impossion of the earth, and the later would be more all are "equal before the law," would and owners of the earth, and the what he wants because he knows not and the private owners of the means incentive under Socialism, where as readily do the bidding of their wage workers, who are the most nu- who have property in their own right bility. If one is favored it is at the only that it is possible, but that the of producing these necessities stand the worker would get five times as capitalist masters as did the courts merous of the working class and and name, and do they destroy their expense of the other. Only a mirthings which he would replace with between them and the laborer, de- much as he now gets. There is no of the United Kingdom. It is to typical of the capitalist system. Be- own family? On the contrary, do acle could change this. The susthe objects of his desire are rapidly nying him the opportunity to apply incentive today for the rich to do be hoped that as these hostile decis- tween the two there is war, as there not such homes present a more har- pension of the law of gravitation his labor to the production of what any useful work—and they don't do ions grow in number the American has been between the classes from monious state than those of poverty? would not be more impossible. A Socialist is a strong and loval be needs, the disemployed also be- it, though they may work much, workingman will discover the class the beginning. To keep the workers Why should women be dependent on There is a class struggle and it partisan because he knows that a gin to think and Socialism grows. Their work is not useful, produces character of everything connected divided and ignorant of the common cause which should animate as much wages as men for the same society all over the world. It canthem, the masters teach that the in- work? Are women who have an in- not be compromised; it must be THERE is no difference between terest of the worker and the employe come from their own labor more level fought out, and when it is fought poor have to supply them with all the two old parties. The laws enis identical. But the worker who than women who have no income? out it will be the end of all class

give an incentive to work, and will factories shut down in both alike, them. The men who own and profit have a common interest in good innovation with alarm, and some wages are cut in both alike, trusts by these captives pay good wages weather and sunshine, and in avoid- of them conspired to tear up the flourish in both alike, rents are col- and select the ablest men they can ing eyelones and measles, but their track and smash the unnatural and THERE is a difference in the good- lected in both alike, tenants are hire to study and train them. Did interests in the division of the val- ungodly smoke wagon. Wise Yaness of goodness. There is a nega- evicted in both alike, officials graft you ever see people in captivity? ues produced by the wage worker in kees now smile at the simplicity of To verify the above statements are taught to be obedient to their tive goodness which consists in not in both alike, child labor exists in If you have you will have noted the factory of the employer are not those English teamsters, but they To verify the above statements are taught to their the goodness which consists in not in both alike, cand have noted the factory of the employer are not those English learnisters. But they and to learn more fully what the Some statements which consists in not in both alike, laws are enacted for the that the keepers study the dispositions, modes and habits of the people that they may be better controlled. The worker wants as are doing the same thing with a cialists are and what they seek to side the reader is referred to the reader in the reader is referred to the reader in the reader is referred to the reader in the reader is referred to the reader in the reader in the reader is referred to the reader in the re the literature of the movement, which the merits of things in their own things which should be done. The dice and superstition of the voters the movement, which the merits of things in their own things which should be done. The dice and superstition of the voters the movement, which should be done. The dice and superstition of the voters the movement, which should be done. The dice and superstition of the voters the movement, which should be done. The dice and superstition of the voters the movement, which should be done. The dice and superstition of the voters the movement, which should be done. The dice and superstition of the voters the movement, which should be done. The dice and superstition of the voters the movement, which should be done. The dice and superstition of the voters the movement, which should be done. The dice and superstition of the voters the movement, which should be done. The dice and superstition of the voters the movement, which should be done. The dice and superstition of the voters the movement, which should be done. The dice and superstition of the voters the movement, which should be done. The dice and superstition of the voters the movement, which should be done. The dice and superstition of the voters the movement, which should be done. The dice and superstition of the voters the movement, which should be done. The dice and superstition of the voters the movement, which should be done. The dice and superstition of the voters the movement, which should be done. The dice and superstition of the voters the movement, which should be done. The movement of the movement, which should be done. The movement of the movement, which should be done. The movement of the movement o that will prove a revelation to the principle. The world is being taught itive kind. Socialism is positive and voters in both alike. In other words, select the ablest men they can to wages are comparatively low, they ods as the railroads have proven to carnest and intelligent investigator a class morality corresponding to the aggressive. It has a positive pur- one is as bad as the other, if not a of the greatest principles ever propa- interests of the class in power. The pose, which will be realized when good deal worse. When Socialists control of them. The keepers of the player to divert to his own use, views the trust with alarm because orders for Socialist Campaign chains of slavery from the body, but If it is not good for the majority adjoining states. Capitalists always see that they are resort to extreme measures to keep the railroad fighters. Don't fight the equally by casting the ideas imposed it is safe to predict that the major- this and hence they oppose Social- well paid, well housed, well groomed wages down, the acts of both prove trusts. If the trusts put you out tons will be filled in their turn. So by the ruling class from the mind. ity will not accept it. If it is good ism. If you knew why as well as and well treated. The capitalists that the interests of those who work of business, he wise and get back it behooves you to send for what you will require right now. See prices think for themselves as well as to into business, he was and get once that they will accept it and put it of you working people would vote that they will accept it and put it of you working people would vote the capitalists, every mother's son bere and the kings in Europe use think for themselves as well as to that they will accept it and put it of you working people would vote the capitalists. Europe use think for themselves as well as to of you working people would vote the capitalists. Europe use think for themselves are diametrically opposed.

It is necessary for the workers to for wages and those who work the wage workers are diametrically opposed.

It is necessary for the workers to for the majority it is a certainty the capitalists, every mother's son the diametrical transfer and the line and the li

WHENEVER one man gets the benefit of a dollar which he has not carned, somewhere there is another man who has earned a dollar and has not got the benefit of it.

THE illegal grafting of boodlers in office is of small consequence compared with the legal grafting of respectable business under the protection of capitalist-made laws.

THERE are two kinds of unemployed: The million workers who are tramping looking for work, and twin forces. So says August Belthe thousands of capitalist parasites who are paid for doing nothing.

THOSE who assert that Socialism would destroy human society make the mistake of confusing human society with the inhuman society resulfing from the operations of the capitalist system.

of applying their labor, and thereby obtaining the material means of life, should by the people in common be owned and administered.

THE difference between reformers and Socialists is that the reformers pick out some one of the many evils of the capitalist system to fight, while the Socialists concentrate their whole fight on the system itself which is the evil parent of all the lesser evils.

sordid, brutal and unworthy lives. It fool on earth. There are hundreds today as well as his great-grand- does not expect, nor will it attempt, of them who have a superficial father kept his one family then? to override the great laws of human knowledge of the things taught in labor asking congress to do another, not believe in having poor men to cause them to gaze upon those bodies factories, with implements and ma. If not, why not? Of what benefit nature and make men equal, but it the schools but display an amazing does make the proposal that all those ignorance when they begin to talk things which denv equal opportuni- about Socialism. But some day they ties and create unnatural inequali- will learn. If the truth cannot peneties should be destroyed. It claims trate their skulls it will leak in for every child born into the world through a capitalistically made hole

THE Socialist movement is not

OF COURSE it is none of our business; but why doesn't the great capitalist administration, which is busily practicing retrenchment by cutting down the pay of its employes, save that \$3,500,000 a year expended in maintaining congress and let out the job of law-making to the lowest responsible bidder? There are plenty of good men in New York who could organize a company to take over the industry, which they could make profitable to themselves, as it is to the present operators. There is Mr. Morgan and Mr. Ryan and Mr. Shaw, all good men and very re-

AN ALLEGED minister of Jesus said | Capital and labor can no more be for well-considered principles, the source of its support, and the man lovalty of his party to which determines his lovalty to his party.

Have you ever noticed beasts in a republicate that the teacher has the power than in a democratic state. You captivity? If you have you will to dictate what the teacher teaches. The capitalists are above the more to the habits and moods of the anisate rate of its support, and the man about women not needing economic than in a democratic state. You captivity? If you have you will to dictate what the teacher teaches. The capitalists are above the more woodpile," as it were. Hunt it out. about women not needing economic been known.

The Class Struggle.

Socialists affirm the class struggle. They are not responsible for it; they simply point it out as a fact. Capitalists deny it. Pure and simple labor union leaders deny

President Roosevelt says there is no class struggle, and there should he none. The interests of capital and labor are identical, and what is needed is a brotherhood of these mont, of the Civic Federation; so says Seth Low, of the same body; so says ex-President Cleveland, and so says William Jennings Bryan, So say all the capitalists, and all the politicians, editors, professors and preachers who serve the capitalists. So says Mr. Gompers and Mr. Mitchell, and all of the rest of the ALL those things upon which the labor leaders who met at Washingpeople in common depend as a means | ton the other day to object to the doings of the supreme court and of congress

There is no class struggle!

Well, then, why these increasing contradictions? these endless complications? When the supreme court renders a decision that hurts labor the capitalists rejoice. Every capitalist in the country ratifies with joy the three late decisions of the supreme court, which virtually paralyze labor-unionism.

If there is no class struggle, why AN EDUCATED fool is the worst is there a committee of capitalists at Washington asking congress to and opposite thing?

It is only on the basis of the class struggle that these things can be explained.

But if the class struggle be admitted Socialism is also admitted. Ave, there's the rub!

If there is no class struggle there based on the idea that all men are is no foundation for Socialism and opportunity for the fullest and freest created equal and endowed with cer- the claims of Socialists fall to the tain inalienable rights. The differ- ground. If there is a class struggle ing only natural inequalities to man- ences and inequalities of men are Socialism has a foundation of rock ifest themselves. That is the "equal- nowhere so clearly comprehended and its claims, though denied, will

which Socialism aims, the form of ism; and we know that rights do moving heaven and earth to temgovernment essential to its very ex- not come by endowment, but by tak- porarily harmonize the clashing in-When the workers generate terests of capital and labor. When mocracy resting on the broad basis enough nerve to claim their rights he placates one the other howls, and of adult suffrage. It thus elevates they will get them. And each will vice versa. He recently had a midwoman to the plane of political and get in proportion to what he gives, night conference at the white house social: equality with men. Indus- undiminished by tithes to titled tape- and both labor and capital were repworms or dividends to dominating resented, or at least supposed to be, besides a number of unclassified persons, alleged "neutrals." President Roosevelt did his best to show that the administration was trying its best to serve both capital and labor; to paint white and black at the same time. It seems that he succeeded in proving to labor's representatives that a door could be opened and shut so swiftly that it could be both open and shut at the same time.

The Civic Federation labored long and painfully to bring forth a bill to present to congress which would insure justice to both capital and At last accounts both sides labor. were kicking the bill with hob-nailed boots. It will not pass, and if it did pass it would be a farce.

served by the same administration other as the nomically free it will destroy the than water can freeze and boil at

There is a cunning, and a cunning struggles and it will culminate in for a purpose, behind this allegation a far better civilization than has yet

WHEN the first railroad was built in England every bold Briton who Wage workers and employers may owned a horse and wagon viewed the

INFORMATION FOR THE INVESTIGATOR---QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

work as much or as little as he might it certainly will escape the censornumber of workers to agree upon of their political creatures as now just as they now do in the unions, military officers, postmaster generbut to establish a forty-hour work als and court judges. week and uniform pay for work that is equal in hours but unequal both in the quantity and quality of its results would be as foolish as the present arrogant domination of a boss who derives his authority from ownership of the means of produc-

The object of Socialism is to give each worker the value of what he wishes to make much, let him have much; if he wishes to make little, let him have little. In other respects let him alone, for that is all he needs.

Majority Rule and Minorities.

In a Socialist state could a club, society, or combination of persons erect, equip and maintain at their own expense, and without consent of a majority, an institution essential and indispensable to their interests? Could they charge admission to same in order to defray expenses?

N a Socialist state anything could I be done to which a majority would consent. I cannot see wherein such an institution as you suggest would conflict with the principles of Socialism unless in the opinion of the majority it would prove injurious to the common welfare, and with reference to that each institution would justify its existence or condemn itself on its own merits or

While the principles of Socialism are insistent on the proposition that the man who works should receive the full, value of what his labor creates, it places no restriction on the use he might make of such values further than the levy of such taxes as might be required to maintain the social organization.

Were a number of citizens so interested in a religion or a philosophy that they would wish to contribute of their means to support a teacher of their doctrine, or to erect a building for such teacher's use, there is nothing in the principles of Socialism to conflict. Were a number of them disposed to unite in mainor to build a gymnasium, or to proerally demanded and publicly pro- in the meantime he has no interest vided, there is nothing in Socialism in, and no time to waste on, the tax that would antagonize it in the least | questions that involve capitalists It should be remembered, however, with their own government.

Fixed Salaries and Work Time. that it is the majority of the people Negroes and the Race Problem. until some other force comes in collision with them; and how can the Should Socialists stand for the proposition that all able-bodied persons should and it is their conception of what is desirable and undesirable, what is desirable and undesirable, what is good and what is bad, that must describe and an arbitrary working week of ferty hours?

Should Socialists stand for the proposition of the proposition of what is desirable and undesirable, what is desirable and undesirable, what is good and what is bad, that must determine the nature of public institutions and the merits of private into economic problems. Socialists propose to do with them; and how can the what do Socialists propose to do with them; and how can the Mhat do Socialists propose to do with desirable and undesirable, what is good and what is bad, that must descape the same law of development and decay both individually and collectively? Don't think for a moment tutions and the merits of private intutions and the merits of private in- to economic problems. Socialists

Socialism and Trial Marriages.

Does the Socialist party advocate trial marriages? A St. Louis paper states that German Socialists stand for trial mar-riages, hence this question.

THE Socialist party of this country and of Germany has never declared itself in favor of "trial marriages." This is only one of the lies produces, or, in other words, to give each maker what he makes. If he which its enemies are unable to conbat honorably. So far as "trial marriages" are concerned we already have them in this country. The divorce court will issue a decree bringing any marriage to an end when the applicant has the price of the attorney and the evidence. Mr. Corev of the steel trust "tried" marriage with one woman until he wanted a bejeweled and bespangled actress in her place, and the divorce court gave him what he paid for. Another masculine beast of Pittsburg. Pa, wanted to get rid of his "trial" wife and besmirched her character in connection with a negro coachman. If you will investigate the statistics concerning the increase of divorces granted you will find that "trial" marriages are not only now in use, but that they are becoming more common every day. As for the poor devil who hasn't the price of a separation in the respectable way, he can run away from his wife. why should anyone advocate "trial" marriages?

Property and Labor Taxation.

Are Socialists pledged, so soon as they get political power, to enact laws that would shift the burden of taxation from labor to land, charters, privileges, etc? T HERE are two kinds of tax: One collected by government from the capitalist owner of property, and lies in the fact that they have the other collected by the capitalist from the laborer who produces all value. The working class own comparatively little property and therefore pay little to government, but taining an athlete to train them for the same reason pay a large tax along the lines of physical culture, to the capitalist. It is this tax which labor pays to capital that the vide anything of the kind not gen- Socialist is seeking to abolish, and

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NO. SOCIALISTS should at all stitutions. The essential difference of that society, as compared with and-butter question that they have and immutable is utterly ridiculous the full value of what his labor pro- this, is that while the Socialist re- laid aside all of those matters which and without foundation. duces-no more and no less; and public cannot escape what may be appear to them to be of minor coneach individual should be free to called the censorship of the majority, sequence. Without belittling or ignoring the issues that arise between calities where the latter are numermore concern the poverty which deus it is not so much a question whether our children shall sit in the same schoolroom with pickaninnies is whether we shall be financially able to give our children an education under any conditions.

We are neither "nigger haters" nor "nigger lovers." We regard the negro as a human being who should receive justice at the hands of all men; but this does not mean the mixing of the races or any further association between individuals than may be mutually agreeable and socially desirable.

Socialism does not attempt to solve every problem in existence. In fact, it is limited to the solution of the issues between the man of any color who owns property and thereby exploits labor, and the workingmen of all colors who are exploited.

The Small Farmer and His Land.

I own just enough land to support mysel and family in reasonable comfort, with reasonable hours of labor for myself and family. An I deortring anyone of his natural rights by my ownership? What will you do with me and my little place, and why will you do anything to me? VOU should note that it is not the

land which supports you, but it is the labor applied to the land which supports you. If you own only so much land as you and your family can use to advantage, and cultivate that land wholly by the labor of yourself and your family, I cannot see that you are depriving anyone of his natural rights, if there is such a thing as a natural right, uness you might be unconsciously exploiting the members of your own family.

You have probably noticed that there are farmers who pride themselves on their ability to make noney, the secret of whose succes number of husky boys whom they can hitch to one end of several plow with teams at the other and thereby discount the farmer who has no children or who prefers to give his family the benefits of education.

There is also a difference in the lives of farmers' wives, some of whom work like slaves, while others do the moderate amount of work that legitimately falls to them. So your right to your farm and its products depends as much upon whether they are the result of your family's labor as upon whether they

are made productive by hired help. However, if your statement is correct, the probability is that no one will care to disturb you, though you ikely would prefer to quit one-horse methods and isolated life and join in co-operative agriculture, which would afford social advantages, to say nothing of increased returns for of people who will live in the new society who will necessarily determine the nature of its laws and institutions. You will do as much to me as I will do to you, and it is hoped that we may be able to do do for each other.

Given a form of government where inistrial operations were conducted by the minonwealth, what would prevent even stry graft, not to mention the greater layery which so succeeds in blinding less

changes constantly as a result of exist. and experience makes each succeed- thing is putting children to work in ing generation differ in its nature place of the women wherever the from the preceding. Though the children can do the work. You are change in the nature of the race is mistaken in the idea that the men so slow as to almost escape detec- are the ones to hire out. Neither tion, yet we know that the nature men, women nor children should that the production of the means to of a twentieth century American is work for hire. It is this miserable a very different thing from that of wage system of industry that Social- production, the exchange of things the prehistoric savage. Everything ists are trying to abolish, and which changes. Worlds are born, live must be abolished before those who structure; that in every society that

choose. It might be possible for a ship of an exploiting class and such the whites and blacks in those lo- ble to suppose that the better and how long they would work each week, do the censor act in the guise of ous, we are disposed to view with thereby will change the environment so as to produce corresponding regrades white and black alike. With sults in the nature of man. It will take far more to overthrow the established rule of the subtle capitalist

than it will to prevent his reappearance after once abolishing it. It kings in this country, and that settled that one point for all time. It took a war to abolish chattel slavery, and that question is settled. But wage slavery existed side by side with kingcraft and chattel slavery. When once put down it will be down and out. Civilization moves forward, not backward.

Who Would Pay the Teachers?

If each should get all he would earn o produce, who would pay the judges, police nen, school teachers, etc.?

efit of their services. It is not expected that when the productive worker gets the value of his product he will put it in a barrel like a miser o keep forever, but that he will use that value in payment for the serrices rendered to him both by other individuals and by society.

Under a working-class governmen the workers would pay the tax to support such institutions as they would require, and in so doing they would simply pay for what they would get individually or socially. You seem to think it necessary for the government to stand between the producer and his product for colective or public use; but such an arrangement would be neither necssary nor desirable. Equity demands that each shall first be paid shall pay for what he gets.

Why Women Work and Men Tramp.

Why is it that women, in increasing tumbers, avoid housework and seek other work so that men can hardly get a job of ecount of them? They make it hard of the men who, I think, are the ones to the men who. I think, are the ones to the men who.

WOMEN have the same need for the material means of life that nen have; and, when thrown upon their own resources, are under the ing. Unless possessed of property. hey are compelled to seek an employer or seek marriage as a means of providing them with a home.

But there are two parties to a marriage, and there are two parties to a job. If she would marry she must first find a husband, and if she would work for wages she must development of the capitalist system it has become increasingly difficult for those who are married to comfortably provide for their families, and this is discouraging to the young man who might take a wife were he reasonably sure that he your labor. But you will have as her. Young men are not assumt to go to those who give none of their would be able to decently care for whether the increase shall continue much to say in regard to these things ing the responsibilities of marriage as rapidly now as they have done in the past, and this makes it necessary for the young women, who would under more favorable conditions become wives and housekeepers, to go out into the stores, offices and other for ourselves and at the same time places where labor is bought, and To conceive of Socialism in operafind work.

The average woman lives more knavery which so succeeds in bilinding less subtle men that their rights take the guise of privileges kindly granted by their "bet ters"? How would it be prevented that after a time such schemers would succeed in restoring the old order where ambitious individuals could loom up as masters of their less energetic or less gifted fellows, as human nature would remain the same? It is not the women who are making the woman in preference to the man doing. OU are seriously mistaken in the employment difficult for the men. I assumption that human nature They are doing only what they must

become a dead cinder like the Moon do.

Ditch Digging and Education.

lision with them; and how can the animal life on one of these planets escape the same law of development and decay both individually and collectively? Don't think for a moment that human nature doesn't change. The idea that human nature is fixed and immutable is utterly ridiculous and without foundation.

It is not asserted that the next change in the social structure will make men perfect, but it is reasonable to suppose that the better and more equitable relations established thereby will change the environment so as to produce corresponding results in the nature of man It will cover the control of the pursuit of wealth were abandanced, what would be the goal and for what would individuals strive?

EVERY service should be re-warded according to the amount of labor power expended in performing it. Since labor power is only another name for life, those occutook a war to abolish the rule of pations which consume life more rapidly than others entitle those who engage in them to the more pay.

Your fears as to the result of such emuneration come from a misconception of what education is. Education is the sum total of that knowledge and training which fit mankind happiness. It takes education to make a ditch-digger no less than to make a bookkeeper, an entomologist or a Greek professor. Real education consists in the training and development of the muscles and senses THEY would necessarily be paid as well as in the training and de-by those who would get the benvelopment of the mind. Though the ditch-digger's education may be more largely muscular than mental, it is of consequence equal to that of the accountant, the classifier of bugs or linguist, for the service he performs is just as important to society as those of making trial balances, manipulating a microscope or deciphering ancient manuscripts.

Under a sane system of industry as much honor would attach to the production of good potatoes as would to the production of a good Greek grammar. That is not so today because the aristocratic ruling class has assigned certain work to slaves and stigmatized it as unfit for the privileged members of the dominant class. When, by means of social revolution, the slaves assert their power of superior numbers and become the or what he does, and then that each ruling class, this conception of what is honorable will change with its conomic foundation.

All are eager for wealth because

ealth buys the means of life and hereby enables its owner to realize good living, which is the real goal of human effort. The man who gets the wealth today is able to take to himself, for his own benefit, the lives he can buy for hire. Under the inlustrial arrangement proposed by same necessity of earning their liv- Socialists the production of the means of life will give the producer a broader, better and more noble life by retaining to him the means of life that now go to the rich parasites. The real goal of all mankind is the fullest and freest life possible. The capitalist knows this and tries to get more of it for himself by absorbing the lives of workingmen. first find an employer. With the Human labor has the magic power of producing the material means of more life than is expended in producing them. The dispute between the Socialist and the capitalist is over the question as to whether the workers shall get the increase of life made possible by their labor or ritality to its production.

The training and knowledge quired by each as a means of sustaining and expanding life is his education, whether the education be for the purpose of reading Horace in the original or of laying a sewer. tion it is necessary to lay aside the false ideas concerning these things Human Nature and Petty Graft, cheaply than the average man, and that have been taught through centhis enables her to work for less turies of rule by slave drivers, miliwages than the average man would tary despots and captains of indusaccept. Cheap labor is what the av- try. Socialism involves a new erage employer wants, so he hires thought as well as a new way of

The Materialistic Conception.

I frequently see statements to the effect that Socialism has nothing to do with a person's religious belief. Does not the Socialist philosoph teach the Materialistic Conception of History, and is not this teaching essentially destructive of belief in religious dogmas as taught by Cristianity and other contemporary creeds? Is it not, in fact, antagonistic to the idea of "religion" as commonly understood? THE Socialist philosophy teaches

1 the Materialistic Conception of following from "The Library of Original Sources," Vol. X, page 34, is probably as clear a statement of the doctrine as there is in print:

"The materialistic conception of history starts from the proposition support human life, and, next to produced, is the basis of all social society divided into classes or orders, it does.

products are exchanged. From this point of view the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's be any more difficult than it now brains, not in man's better insight is when much of the work in factotion and exchange. They are to be epoch."

analysis of the social structure which adoption of the materialist concep- mined by him. tion of history is that it repudiates the old and exploded idea that great men, individuals, through the power of their personality, cause all social changes and political revolutions. We deny the old idealistic theory that the discovery of the new world was wholly due to Christopher Columbus and his conviction that the world was round. We deny the fairy story to the effect that Queen Isafor life, liberty and the pursuit of bella furnished funds for his expedition that she might be able to Christianize the heathen of the lands he might explore. On the contrary, we find the motive for this effort in the commercial demand for a shorter and more direct route to the East Indies not beset by the pirates that at that time infested the Mediterranean and South seas. And this con- wagon by means of which it is declusion not only harmonizes with the theory of the materialistic conception, but is in agreement with the conclusions of the best historians.

In like manner the old nursery tales of how George Washington freed the country and Abraham Lincoln freed the black slaves have been laid on the shelf so far as people of intelligence are concerned, for they know that the causes back of the American revolution, and back of negro emancipation, were fundamentally economic. These are cited merely as instances of the application of the theory to history with which all are more or less familiar.

This theory is sometimes called the theory of Economic Determinism, which, in some respects, is a better name than the original, since it does not confuse this conception of the material basis of history with various materialistic philosophies with which it has nothing to do.

It only asserts that the bread and butter question is the fundamental social question, and that the manner in which the people of a given epoch make their living is the foremost factor in determining the kind of law or morals or government, as well as other institutions, then existing

Webster defines religion as: "The acts or feelings which result from a belief in the existence of a god, or of gods, having superior control over matter, life, or destiny; a system of faith or worship." It is reasonable to suppose that this definition sets forth the idea of religion as commonly understood; and I can conceive of no way in which the materialistic conception of history antagonizes such religion in the least.

Hague Conference and Peace.

Can war between nations in which the capitalist system prevails be avoided? If so, how? What good did The Hague conference do toward the establishment of permanent peace? THE power of capital is greater

capital holds the political power in all the great nations today, and the capitalist class obtained that power rail the necessary of the capitalist class obtained that power rail the necessary that the n by a clever system of robbery based on force. It takes force to keep the workers in subjection while they are being exploited, and it takes force for one nation of capitalists to defend their loot from the capitalists of other nations. For that reason of other nations. For that reason is considered and managed for the sole purpose of supplying the largest quantity of sound Socialist literature at the lowest properties. capitalist nations must have armies and navies, and must use them whenever they feel that their own as this: whenever they feel that their own interests are threatened. The Hague conference accomplished nothing toward the establishment of peace. Its deliberations were given over to the discussion of such subjects as the exchange of military prisoners, definitions of what constitutes contrain band of war, regulations concerning ammunition used, etc., all of which things presuppose the continuance of war and provide international rules governing it. The Hague conference merely prepared for more war, which is all that it could have done.

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LET the machinery do the work; through their infancy, youth and labor can have any assurance of work has appeared in history, the manner but learn how to own the machinery succeeding stages, to finally die and or just remuneration for what they in which wealth is distributed, and so you can get the benefit of what

is dependent upon what is produced, how it is produced, and how the

Under Socialism how are you going to keep each man's product separate so as to keep each man's product separate so as to know how much he produces where one man is a hustler and the other is lazy ... SEE no reason why that would

into eternal truth and justice, but ries is paid for on the "piece-work" in changes in the modes of producso much a ton for what they load sought, not in the philosophy, but in the company's cars. This is inin the economics of each particular variably less than the value contributed to the coal by their labor. The Socialism is, in addition to being difference in remuneration under political movement, a scientific the present system and that under Socialism would be that the miner appears in the social institutions of would then get the full value conhistory; and the significance of its tributed by his labor to the coal

> This does not mean that the man who digs down and loads the coal would get the full value of the coal, because he has numerous fellow laborers working with him to complete the production by hoisting it to the surface, loading it on surface cars and transferring it to the bin of the consumer. Even with the crude methods now operative, part of the value of that coal is proportionately distributed among all the different people whose labor takes it from its bed and places it where it is to be used.

> The injustice of the present system is that part of that value is absorbed by individuals who own the mine, own the railroad over which it is shipped, own the horses and livered, and by such ownership, without doing any of the actual work, are able to live sumptuously on the labor of those who do.

It makes no difference how lazy the individual now is, provided he owns an interest in the mine or means of transportation. What he gets is not determined by what he does, but by what he owns. When the mines and means of transportation are owned by the men whose labor operates them, the idle owner will get none of the value, all of which will go to those who do the work, the share of each being determined by the amount of energy expended by him in the production and placing of the product where it is to be used.

The problem is simply one of adding to each productive worker his proportion of what is now held back and appropriated by the owners of the things with which he works. The hustling miner now gets more than the lazy one, provided he has a job, and, there seems to be no difficulty found in paying the man who mines twenty tons of coal twice as much as the one who mines ten tons. It is merely a practical problem in accounting which need be no more difficult at one time than at another.

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BLACK ART OF MODERN MAGICIANS.

FROM THE WESTERN CLARION.

men have fought fiercely for posses- ity and their brains. The high sion of jobs at points where employ- priests of capital mutter their incanment has been offered. A case in tations in support of this belief. few to go around. However much justed as to further the perpetraone's feelings may be aroused in the control of the hoax. The result is that
else would be too good for them. sympathy with these unfortunate the multitude remains satisfied that no control, to struggle like wild power of their grey matter. Mysti-beasts for that which means to them fied by the incantations and con-self on being different from the year should be amply sufficient to dispel the pessimistic gloom that the incantations of its high priests thing. tends to enshroud the feelings of one and its paraphernalia is no longer who is prone to the weakness of al- allowed to confuse, capital will be lowing his sympathies to be aroused stripped of its supposed magic powby the spectacle of a lot of hungry ers and the capitalist class stand exslaves fighting desperately among themselves to see which shall secure the coveted master.

The total sales of the steel corto \$160,964,673. This latter sum for the purpose of paying well-de-accrued to the stockholders after all served tribute to the excellence of expenses had been paid. If it be true, the gullibility of the suckers upon as has been stated, that the stock of whom the hoax is perpetrated. the corporation is held by 36,009 persons, this would give approximately \$4,500 to each of them, provided the stock was evenly divided the thrift, industry and abstinence of the aforesaid stockholders.

Facts and Figures.

a whole year and at the same time being clothed with the priceless mancritic must acknowledge.

However satisfying the report of

conjure forth something from nothing. That is, it appears to possess this power, but, like all conjuring

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curred recently where hungry the power of their organizing abilpoint is that of 300 men who not learning to all men the thrift, inlong since engaged in a desperate chaining to an men the three the man's dog than assert them-battle at the gates of the Cleveland dustry, sagacity and noble incentive selves in defense of their rights. plant of the United States Steel cor-poration for the possession of the jobs offered and which were far too paraphernalia of capital, are so ad-hirelings. The capitalist system is workmen who are thus forced, by the fabulous wealth of capitalists circumstances over which they have has been brought forth by the magic and adulterated food may rise in food for their hungry stomachs, fused by the manipulation of the wicked rum seller, but both are alike those feelings should be calmed by aforesaid paraphernalia, the sapient -both are willing to cheat and poiglancing over the record of the steel victims of capitalist magic remain son their fellowman for profit. The corporation's business for the past blissfully unconscious of the hoax remedy is not in the prohibition of The splendid showing for the that has been played upon them.

posed as the perpetrators of a clumsy hoax that would scarce be up to the crazed fanatic are the sweatshops standard requisite to do credit to a and slums, poisoned beverages and lege, or if your talent for organizaten-cent show. In making this asporation for the year amounted to sertion, however, no reflection upon against both anarchism and capi-\$757,014,768, and the net earnings the capitalist is intended. It is made

Makers vs. Takers.

among them. Even the most mori-bund philosopher should be able to can successfully command the labor not unreasonably ample reward for this labor is a huge volume of wealth his luxurious earthly existence when out of which are paid the wages of the starves to death for lack of the the workers and the profits of the job which he may have needed but capitalists. The workers produce the which belonged to another. The wealth by their labor. The capital- free laborer is very free-when he is It has been stated that the cor- ists take it by virtue of their owner- dead. poration had 160,000 employes in ship of the resources of the earth its service during the year. This and the instruments of production. means that it gave work to that The workers make; the capitalists merce produce in the way of honor? number of persons. When it is re- take. Labor does it all. Capital Everything called shop is unworthy dreds of thousands a year—while membered that the common plug does nothing. The workers sell their of an honorable man. Merchants can live only by work, and it is by power to labor to the capitalists. can gain no profit without lying, that you are not earning it. The th. route alone that he can clothe Its price is determined by the condi- and what is more shameful than himself with that dignity of labor tion of the labor market. If, as at falsehood? Again, we must regard earning it. that has been sung by poets and ex- present, there are more workers than as something base and vile the trade tolled by sages and philosophers, it there are jobs, the price will go of those who sell their toil and inill behooves us to in any manner cast down. If the contrary were the case, dustry, for whoever gives his labor reflection upon those disciples of the price would tend to advance. for money sells himself and puts other men. self-abnegation who unselfishly give Under no circumstances can the himself in the rank of slaves."the work and, as it were, allow the workers expect to get much, if anyrecipients to acquire the vestments thing, more than enough to exist of dignity as a side-line graft. If upon. If the employes of the steel the \$160,000,000 net earnings came corporation during the last year reinto the pockets of the work-givers ceived, say, \$1,000 each as wages, as a result of labor of 160,000 men, this means that they received that pays its employes better wages than this would mean that each worker sum for performing the labor neccontributed \$1,000 to that worthy essary to the production of the iron And it does these things in spite of purpose. That this is a small sum and steel turned out. If the stock- the fact that it is subject to all the to pay for the privilege of working holders got a profit of \$1,000 out of graft of a politician-ridden capitalist each employe it means that they re-ceived that sum for doing nothing. government. The postal system is not Socialism, and needs many imtle of dignity, even the most carping This happy result was reached by provements to make it what it should no process of magic, but by pure robbery. It was made possible only in the fact that industry can be the steel corporation for the year by the fact that the means of pro- run successfully without being primay be to its stockholders, as well duction are the property of capital- vately owned. as the balance of the host that wor- ists, and as the workers must depend ships at the shrine of capital, it is upon these things for their sustefar from satisfactory to those who nance they must accept the terms view things from the standpoint of that bring the result of poverty and the victim of capitalist exploitation. misery for themselves and much though it was, and supported Needless to add, it is far from satis- easy money for the capitalists. In

Just a Swindle.

When our modern magician (captricks and feats of magic, once its ital) is thus closely scrutinized it themselves they will have a great performance is stripped of all hocus- becomes transformed into a common pocus and flim-flam, it resolves itself swindler. Capitalists do not obtain gladness than they now have. They scured our vision. into pure and unadulterated swindle, their wealth by virtue of any rethat can be practiced upon gul- markable brain power. There is more libility only by means of a liberal truth in the assertion that they get use of mysterious incantations and it because their victies are without conjuring and deceptive stage para- brains. While it is true they live ployers and capitalists want you to and thrive by industry, it happens vote the democratic or republican the industry is that of the workers. ticket and vote against the Social-That thrift is a virtue that tends to ists? Isn't it for the same reason In the case of the steel corpora- an increase of their bank accounts that the czar of Russia wanted the tion the owners thereof appear to is die to the fact that owing to the people to vote any ticket but the So-thrift of the workers they can get cialist ticket? Why do you remain along with smaller wages than would such easy victims of such a gauzy be the case were they as extrava- confidence game? What the capigant as their capitalist masters. The talists want is not for your good incentive that urges them on in their but for their good. Capitalists have copy when ten or more are ordered at one time. We are glad to make this reduction for the benefit of locals and labor unions who may club together and bor unions who may want to sell them. Use this order form:

Its beneficiaries are merely slave to their good. Capitalists have no interest in you more than they no interest in you more than they have in a horse—for what they can make out of you. And you are to the level of an arrant humbug. Its beneficiaries are merely slave to think what they teach you to Its beneficiaries are merely slave to think what they teach you to masters and sneak thieves.

> promote the welfare of the majority buy. Now, if you are really men who or be condemned. The fact that use your brains you will not allow the working class, which is the ma- this condition to continue. You are jority, is enjoying more ill-fare than entitled to live as well as any other welfare, and that Socialism is grow- person in the world, and you would ing, shows that the system is fail- live as good and have as much if ing to make good, and that condem-vou were not dupes to the lies of nation proceedings have begun. capitalist politicians. Be men.

ing a living-working for it and working somebody for it.

human labor be eliminated from the NUMEROUS instances have oc- have conjured forth \$160,000,000 by list of commodities, and that all tion to the amount of human life put into them by the producer.

> THERE are some people so constirich man's dog than assert themhirelings. The capitalist system is

THE manufacturer of punk wares profit from one poison, but in the If no further attention be paid to prohibition of profit from every-

> ANARCHISM has assassinated its dozens while capitalism has murdered its millions. More sanguine than the stilleto of the hungeradulterated foods. Socialists are tion is so pronounced as to enable talism. We oppose anarchism because it is destructive and foolish; finally become a millionaire. we oppose capitalism because it is deadly and hellish.

FREE laborers are those who are free to ask some employer for a job By virtue of its ownership of the which the employer is free to either means of production the capitalist give or withhold, as may suit his

> "What honorable thing can come out of the shop? What can com- have to stay around more or less. Cicero, 106 years before Christ.

THE United States postal system is the greatest industry on earth. . It gives its patrons better service and any private corporation in existence. be, but it is a huge object lesson

WITH modern machinery, labor produces five times as much goods for each day's labor as it did a hundred years ago. It lived then, poor in cities even greater than it was less work and more thinking for real philanthropy. work too much and permit the press, the politicians, and the pulpit, to do their thinking for them.

Work people, why do the emthink-to work where they tell you to work-to take what they are THE capitalist system is on trial, willing to give you—to pay them and will have to show its ability to what they ask for everything you

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

BY FRANKLIN H. WENTWORTH.

Hobson-Have you a dollar about you, obson? I want to give it to that poor Dobson? I want to beggar.

Dobson (handing him the dollar)—Your generosity will get you into trouble some day, Hobson.—Life.

HAS it ever occurred to you that the great philanthropists of the world have acquired their claim to ple's money?

Here is a millionaire.

You hear people say he is worth a million dollars. Don't believe it. No one would give a million dollars for him. The people mean he has a million dollars.

How did he come by it? Can one man earn a million dollars?

Yes, if he works every day in the year, week-days and Sundays, at ten dollars a day for nearly three hundred years and never spends a cent of it to live, he can. It takes a strong man to do it.

There is searcely a productive octen dollars a day.

It is not as producers but as exploiters that men receive a larger daily wage than this.

If you possess some legal priviyou to exploit a large number of men to advantage, then you may

One thousand workmen each earning five dollars a day and getting two dollars a day, the unpaid three dollars remaining with you, may, after your business gets to running, make you a million in two or three years.

But you will not have earned to look upon this as a well-merited and of the working class. The result of work or income and free to leave and you will have taken it from them.

Once you get the business well organized you can go off and leave You can hire men of executive, ability to keep it running while you travel or indulge in vacht racing; particularly if you have a legal monopoly. If you have not, you will you are idle. This makes it clear other men, the workingmen, are

You have used the ability Nature has bestowed upon you for helping other men to take advantage of

What was intended as a race obligation, your small soul construes a personal privilege.

While these hundreds of thousands are coming every year, you may occasionally give some of them class and the employing job-owning in another column. to a library or a college.

But it is not your money you are giving. It is no denial or sacrifice of yours

It is other men who are earning it. You are taking other people's noney and giving it away for the sake of your private reputation. You are called a charitable person.

But you yourself know yourself. Charity is service.

You can give only yourself in loving service to your kind; or give the results of your own personal toil. That is charity.

It is not charity for you to give away that which other men earn. Needless to add, it is far from satis-factory to the victims themselves, more especially to that portion of them who possess some understand-crs themselves. The capitalists would

LISTEN! The Appeal is maintaining a proven average of over 400,000 distributed papers per week. Newspaper men know that an average of three persons read each paper that goes out. At that rate one million two hundred thousand persons read this paper 52 times a year! Undoubtedly each of these persons on an average buys a dol-lar's worth of books or subscrip-tions to other publications. This tions to other publications. This might just as cheaply and far more conveniently be placed with the Appeal, no matter what book or magazine. In fact, we have made special arrangement to take care of this kind of business. Think what it would mean. Bear it in mind, do it and you will compel us to build another story on the Appeal shop for the Book Department and we'll simply Department and we'll simply blanket this country with the lit-erature of revolt before the elec-tion in November.

APPEAL TO REASON, Girard, Kans.

us in the grabbing. In plunging for a diamond we have lost a star.

There is a psychological signifi-cance in the phrase, "He is worth a million." It indicates diseased judgment.

We have come to assume that the man who takes the most is worth the

We commonly look upon the richest man in a town as logically of the greatest value to the town.

He may have established an in-

dustry. The industry may have increased the population.

But mere bigness is not virtue. Unless the efforts of a man make the people of a town a happier people he has done them no service in enlarging it. He may have increased their burdens.

The happiest cities are usually the smallest cities.

Chicago's human misery is unutterable.

The "men who made Chicago" have, for the most, only made the distance from the home to the workshop or office a little greater. They cupation in the world at present at have only added a weary tramp or a which a man can earn more than dreary hour in a crowded car to the day's toil.

They have neither lightened human toil nor lessened human misery. Some day we will come to see how the philanthropist is made, and we

will recognize his real value to so-

Then there will be no philanthropists.

Every man will be his own philanthropist.

Instead of permitting another to spend their earnings for them, men will spend them for themselves.

Then if they had rather have abucket of coal or a pair of shoes than a university or an art gallery, they can have it.

When growing spiritual discernment finally shows men that a millionaire is and must be a man who makes grist of other men's lives, men will not wish to be millionaires. And they cannot be if they would

The extra three dollars will that day remain in the pocket of the carner.

In that day either to keep or to bestow the earnings of other men will be seen for what it is, and what it has always been, a moral leprosy born of the vanishing dark.

In that day to grow a flower for a little crippled child will in men's eyes exalt you higher than to build a university.—From Forgings of the

If LABOR unions are organized for anything they are organized to protect their members against their employers. This is a recognition of the struggle between the working class. No member would think of electing his employer to an office in the union, but members of labor unions do more foolish and more hurtful things to themselves than electing employers to office in the unions-they elect them to offices in the legislative and judicial bodies, and that is worth more to the employers and helps them more to win their fights for long hours, low wages, child labor and unsanitary conditions than anything they could do as officers of labor unions. Do you catch on, or must you have a house fall on you before you take the hint?

them who possess some understanding of the nature of the trick that has been played at their expense. The capitalists would be in no more complete command of the workers if they have the workers if they as chattel be in stead of a sham philanthro
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the worker conte terial injustice he suffers. He can become old enough to think, even if You would wish to give to the have everything in the next world then. If the work people will do world, not to take from it. This is if he will only content himself with to break them to think, and if they little in this. He can be a mem-We cannot see this very plainly ber of a labor union if the union deal more of this world's goods and now, because our training has ob- confines itself to life insurance and other matters not antagonistic to the We think our share means all exploiters. He can preach that lathat we can get, and when we have bor is noble and holy if its holiness get an equivalent for your money grabbed it we try to steal a virtue and nobility does not assert itself when you receive as wages 50 cents by giving back the portion we don't to the detriment of the bosses. In other words, the workers are licensed \$1? It is to take one-half of your life But purity of soul has gone from to imagine themselves moral and intellectual prodigies if they only re main docile and dutiful chumps.

IF YOU can cause another to think easy matter to cause him to do what up. you want him to do. The slavery of body is possible only through the enslavement of mind. Capitalist teaching is even more effective as a means of keeping the workers in subjection than was the whip of the the wealthy can give it in exchange slave-driver. The slave who believes for favorable rulings; but it would it a duty to serve a master is hopeless until he is freed from the hypnotic spell that drives him. Social- might pay for proletarian favors. ist literature is the liberator of work- But the workers produce the wealth ingmen's minds from the capitalist with which the rich tame the jurists

LET us remark once more: It is better to vote for what you want and tual producers cut off their support fail to get it than to vote for what of the privileged idlers and they you don't want and succeed in get-ting it. Save your vote and save own and get the justice for which vourself by working and voting for they clamor but which they are un-

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a sixteen page propaganda pamphlet by J. A. Wayland. One of the best ever printed. Written in the plain, understandable style of the "One Hoss Philospher," and it is new. Price \$1.00 per hundred, \$9.00 per thousand.

are for the fellow who keeps him is educated to do his work. This is Orders for Socialist Campaign Handkerchiefs and Campaign But-

tons will be filled in their turn. So

t behooves you to send for what you will require right now. See prices IF ALL the users of the means of producing the means of life were hard to find. owners of the machines which they

must use, there would be no idle parasites lolling in luxury, and no idle hoboes tramping the country in search of jobs. he workingman. If Socialism is anything it is the workingman him-

self. It is the workingman think- interest and direct attention to the ing and acting for his own benefit, glaring inconsistencies of the system and when he does that he will no longer be in need of friends such as he has had so long to his sorrow. Workingmen were not induced to ing, to become students and work IT REQUIRES all the ingenuity of the masters to keep their wage slaves in subjection. Every influence that

they ever do. Socialism is trying ever get the habit there will be some effective kicking done.

Is FIFTY cents and a dollar equivalent? If not, then do you for that which later you must pay for nothing. It is the same as owning a slave who requires half he produces to keep him and the master taking the other half. Why are you so stupid that you cannot see what you want him to think, it's an a problem so simple as that? Wake

THE source of their economic support is what gives color to courts as well as courtesans. The court can subsist and wax fat on the money wax lean and starve on the gratitude and good will which the poor by feeding out of hand. The rich support the courts only because the poor support the rich. Let the acable to buy.

IF HORSES should learn to read, write and reason, it's a sure thing that they would soon rebel against doing the drudgery to which they now submit. They would become unwilling to remain burden bearers for the two-legged animals which now so readily control them though weaker than they. But all are in Business and its increase are not favor of educating horses—to a defor the fellow who keeps busy; they gree. All delight in a horse that the attitude of the capitalists toward the education of youth; they favor the education of boys and girls sufficiently to make them competent servants; but to endow them with the power of original thought is to endanger the privileges of the masters. The motive for the priests' opposition to public schools is not,

IT is to be hoped that all who become interested in Socialism will not confine their reading to Socialist papers, but will get Socialist books, which are prepared with Socialism is not the friend of greater care than it is possible to write articles for papers. The best a Socialist paper can do is to arouse under which we live. It is then up to the workers, aroused from the hypnotic spell of capitalist teach-

> THE fellow who started in life with a peanut roaster and became a millionaire is held up as a shining example of what people can be if they will only do the right thing. But it takes a skinner to start as a peanut peddler and become a millionaire. One can readily admit that this is a fine system for skinners, but it is anything but good for

"God Knows" Buttons



The ethics of Socialism are iden--Encyclopedia Britannica.

every-day life.-Prof. Ely.

The deepest of vulgarism is that of setting up money as the ark of the covenant.—Thomas Carlyle.

Socialism being the product of social evolution, the only danger lies in obstructing it.-Rev. F. M.

The whole aim and purpose of Socialism is a closer union of social The present need is growth in that direction.-R. T. Ely.

action on which modern societies depend, and the substitution of a regulated system of co-operative action. -Imperial Dictionary.

a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social rehas hitherto prevailed.—Webster.

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

Government and co-operation are in all things and eternally the laws eternally and in all things, the laws of death .- John Ruskin.

Any theory or system of local organization which would abolish entirely, or in greater part, the indi- How could it be otherwise? ! vidual effort and competition on which modern society rests, and substitute co-operation; would introduce a more perfect and equal distriwould make land and capital, as the instruments of production, the joint possession of the community.--Century Dictionary.

Socialism is the ideal and hope of a new society founded on indus-trial peace and forethought, aiming at a new and higher life for all men. -William Morris.

No thinking man will contradict that associated industry is the most powerful agent of production and that the principles of association are susceptible of further and beneficial development .- John Stuart Mill.

Socialism does not wish to abolish private property or accumulation of wealth; but it aims to displace the present system of private capital by a system of collective capital, which would introduce a unified organization of national labor. - Prof.

The answer of Socialism to the capitalist is that society can do withciety.-Prof. W. Clark.

dustrially organized, have reached to apply it to any problem that may arise through acquiring a knowledge of the principles. That is the way to get an understanding of Socialism. No speaker can tell you, and the while he obtains the means of tudes, while he obtains the means of satisfying all of his desires.—Her-

increase of wealth, and a more equal even as it differs from capitalist polidistribution of the products of labor | ties in many other things

through the public collective owner-ship of labor and capital (as distinguished from property) and the pub lic collective management of all industriès. Its motto is: "Every one according to his deeds."-Standard

CHILD'S PRIMER OF SOCIALISM.

tical with the ethics of Christianity. Socialists shall not be given toy can-Socialism is simply applied Chris- They would not have the little ones tianity; the Golden Rule applied to familiarized in their infancy with the notion of legalized murder. Thus they will stop the spirit of militarism at its very source.

> take in not teaching their children liest years.

This, of course, does not mean that the little ones' heads should be stuffed with phrases about "surplus value" and "class-conscious-ness." No childish brain can com-The abolition of that individual prehend the abstract idea of the collective ownership of the means of life. But Socialism is something more than a theory. It is-or at least will be-a form of living so-A theory of society that advocates ciety. It will be a new and better era. And the beautiful spirit of this coming era-the spirit of universal lations of mankind than that which brotherhood, of humanity, of equality, of freedom-can be taught to the youngest child.

What a cruel dwarfing and distorting of the child's conscience is constantly going on in our public schools! It is systematically poisoned with jingoism and snobbery, with false standards and sordid aims. The little child is early trained to in all things and eternally the laws of life; anarchy and competition, tain of industry" is held up as the hero for him to imitate. And the natural result follows. Our nation is rapidly growing more and more money-loving, venal and corrupt.

The hint our German comrades have given us is good. As far as possible the children of the Socialists should be guarded, not only bution of the products of labor, and from the spirit of militarism, but would make land and capital, as the from all the base and corrupting tendencies of the times.

And since the best of parents cannot do this individually for their own children alone, Socialists should use their utmost efforts to organize Socialist Sunday schools, Socialist summer schools, and take it into their own hands to save the children so that the foundation of the coming generation will be saved to us.

tence; so can arithmetic; but a defi-

any more than speakers and news-A theory of policy that aims to papers could teach mathematies. In secure the reconstruction of society, this respect Socialism is different,

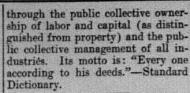
CAMPAIGN HANDKERCHIEFS

negotiating with the factories for a red campaign handkerchief, with the pictures of our candidates for president and vice-president. In order to get them so that we can sell them at any reasonable price, we must order for the first shipment at least ten thousand dozen. That means a terrible financial drain upon the paper's sinews. We have a splendid design for it drawn, showing a wonderful apotheosis of triumphant Socialism arising from the smoke of factories, holding in one hand a ballot-box, on each side of which will appear the pictures of the Socialist candidates for president and vice-president respectively, and around all the legend: "Workers of the World, Unite!" They will be ready just as soon after the national convention as possible. We will sell them for \$1.00 a dozen, ten dozen for \$6.00. Fill out the order blank below and mail it with your first letter to the Appeal.

ORDER BLANK.

APPEAL TO REASON, Girard, Kansas:

Find enclosed \$..... for which send me dozen red Socialist campaign handerkerchiefs soon as ready.



The German Socialists have begun at the right end-that is to say, with the child. They are now recommending that the children of non, tin soldiers and wooden guns.

The Socialists of Germany are Socialists make a grave misthe spirit of Socialism in their ear-

The Appeal is publishing a Child's Primer of Socialism in practically the same form as the child of from 5 to 10 years of age uses in school, and containing some seventy illustrations and half tones, to sell for 25 cents by the single cove. We will send them by the dozen for \$2.00.

In addition to the above we have imported from England a hundred copies of the Child's Socialist Reader for more advanced children. We had to pay \$23 express charges on the shipment, and so are compelled to sell it at 50 cents a copy straight, but it is worth it. The American Socialists are beginning to realize the importance of starting the children right, and you should have copies of these books for them and arrange to have Socialist Sunday schools.

Socialism can be defined in a senout him, just as society now does nition of a science can give but a ture should be "The socialization of the slave owner and the limited idea of what it means. The the means of production, distribufeudal lord; both were formerly re- man who expects to use arithmetic tion and exchange, to be controlled garded as necessary to the well-being in his business doesn't besiege his by a democratic state in the interest and even the very existence of so- well-informed neighbors with a de- of the entire community, and the mand for an explanation of arith- complete emancipation of labor from metic. He goes carefully about the the domination of capitalism and The citizens of a large union, industrially organized, have reached dustrially organized, have reached to apply it to any problem that may of social and economic equality be
the citizens of a large union, industrially organized, have reached to apply it to any problem that may of social and economic equality be
George Jordan, who, I judge from make what thwartings we encoun-

This, comrades, deserves your instant attention. The Appeal is

Name

Address Date



MODE

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PARAMOUNT

"The issue is Individualism against Socialism."===Billy Taft. they have little or none of these. "Where do I come in?" --- Billy Bryan.

THE BRITISH LION ROARS.

WHERE DO

THE eminently respectable of old England have been between a hot sweat and a nervous chill since the 22d of January, when the labor party conference in session at Hull declared by resolution that the object of that organization in the fu-

There was the usual number of man with a capitalist mind: inti-Socialist orators who predicted dire calamity as a result of the action taken, but the decisive vote of 514,000 for the resolution to 469,-000 against announced the victory of cold facts over hot air. The result of the vote was received with uproarous cheering and amid excitement that swept the hall and subsided only after long effort to restore order.

It was a sad blow to the capitalists of Great Britain and the greatest victory for Socialism that has been won in many a day. The capitalist press seems to be paralyzed at the effrontery of mere workingmen who presume in the face of trade and tradition to twist the lion's tail. The Daily Mail, of London, tells the harrowing story under the head, "Labor Party Hoists the Red Flag," and in an editorial headed "Under the Red Flag" tries to make headway against the tide with the usual silly assertions of Socialism having been tried many times and having on each trial proven a disestrous feilure. But, then, it's to be expected that the conservatives and so-called liberals should feel bad, since the Socialists of England, and of all other lands as well, are so jubilant. Well may the comrades sing in the words of Gerald Massey:

"Tis coming up the steep of Time
And this old world is growing brighter!
We may not see its dawn sublime.
Yet high hopes make the heart throb
lighter.
We may be sleeping in the ground
When it swakes the world in wonder;
But we have felt it gathering 'round
And heard its voice of living thunder.
Tis coming! yes, 'tis coming!

"A CONVERSATION WI H YEU,"

a sixteen page propaganda pam-phlet by J. A. Wayland. One of the best ever printed. Written in the plain, understandable style of the "One Hoss Philosopher," and it is new. Price \$1 00 per hundred, \$9.00 per thousand.

PREACHING DISCONTENT.

Socialists are frequently charged fication the following paragraph the balance of his writings, is

man with a capitalist mind:

Content is a greatly overrated virtue. It is a kind of diluted despair: it is the feeling with which we continue to accept substitutes, without striving for the realities. Content makes the trained individual swallow vinegar and try to smack his lips as if it were wine. Content enables one to warm his hands at the fire of a past joy that exists only in memory. Content is the menniand moral chloroform that deadens the activities of the individual to rise to higher planes of life and growth. Man should never be contented with anything less than the best efforts of his nature can possibly secure for him. Content makes the world more comfortable for the individual, but it is the death-knell of progress. Man skould be content with each step of progress merely as a station. discontented with it is a step; discontented with it is a step.

MONKEYS DON'T.

keys don't. Man builds mansions for idlers.

Monkeys don't. idlers. Monkeys don't.

Monkeys don't.

feit. Monkeys don't. Man freezes that idlers may be warm. Monkeys don't. Man plows and produces for

idlers. Monkeys don't. keep him in servitude. Monkeys

If the men who plow, tend flocks. herd cattle, build mansions, mine coal, run railroads, work in factories, starve, freeze and vote were only as wise as monkeys, what a glorious world this would be!

THE more competition wise men get the more they don't want.

GREAT MEN ON SOCIALISM.

Socialism is to me a very great thing indeed, the form and substance of my ideal life and all the religion I possess. I am, by a sort of predestination, a Socialist. perceive I cannot help talking and writing about Socialism, and shaping and forwarding Socialism. am one of a succession-one of a growing multitude of witnesses, who with preaching discontent. We en- will continue. It does not-in the ter a plea of guilty and offer as justi- larger sense-matter how many generations of us must toil and testify from a little book, entitled "The It does not matter, except as our in-George Jordan, who, I judge from we succeed or fail, what blunders we ter, what follies and inadequacies darken our private hopes and level our personal imaginations to the dust 'We have the light' We know , what we are for, and that the light that now glimmers so dimly through us must in the end prevail .-- H. G Wells (N. Y. Independent, Nov. 25 1906, Vol. 61, 990).

I was yet so much influenced by the individualistic teachings of Mill and Spencer, and the loudly proclaimed dogma that without the constant spur of individual competition men would inevitably become idle and fall back into universal poverty Man raises foods for idlers. Mon- that I did not bestow much attention upon Socialism, having, in fact as much literary work on hand as I could manage. But at length, in Man creates money for use of 1889, my views were changed once for all, and I have ever since been Man labors that others may idle, absolutely convinced, not only that Socialism is thoroughly practicable Man starves that idlers may sur- but that it is the only form of society worthy of civilized beings, and that it, alone, can secure for mankind continuous mental and more advancement, together with that true happiness which arises from the full Man makes bad laws, laws that exercise of all their faculties for the purpose of satisfying all their raional needs, desires and aspirations.

—Alfred Russell Wallace (My Life, Etc., Vol. 2, p. 285).

THOSE people who feel the need of Socialism are the ones who are oing to work for it and get it, and he longer the capitalist system operfeel the need.

We have fed you all for a thousand years.
For that was our doom, you know.
From the days when you chained us in
your fields
To the strike of a week ago,
You ha eaten our lives and our babes and

CANDIDATE BUTTONS.

The National Socialist Convention will be held May 10th, at Chicago, at which time our candidate for president will be named. Who that will be cannot, of course, be forecasted with any measure of accuracy, but the Appeal to Reason has made all preliminary arrangements for having a half-million buttoms made and has contracted for deliveries in four days after the con-To the button factory we have submitted photos of several comrades upon whom we think the duty of bearing the Socialist colors may fall and the factory is even now making up the plates and will submit us the actual finished button in a few days, so that when the convention names the candidate, if we have guessed right, we can send a telegram and start the buttons.

Orders for them will be listed and filled in their turn.

This button will be sent by mail prepaid for-

\$2.00 per 100. \$15.00 per 1,000.

And you should retail them easily at 5 cents each. Get your order in

WHAT would you think of a family that would starve its weak and deficient members, especially when it had plenty? But isn't that what society does to millions of its members? But it does worse than would the degenerate family supposed, for society denies plenty to millions of its members who are not deficient, but who are its best and most useful workers. After they have worked long and faithfully they are told in times like these to go to, and die or rot or do any old thing they can. It is the work people who are suffering and not those who have not worked. All the food of the land has been produced by those who work, but many of them hunger; they have produced all the clothing, from the time the cotton was planted and the sheep clipped until the finished goods reach the shelves, but they have not decent or comfortable clothes; they have built every building in the nation, yet they live in the meanest of them and pay to those who have not builded for the privilege of kenneling themselves like The work people teach all the schools, and do all the work of creating the means of pleasure, and O, how easily are they deceived! Like little children they are induced to give over to others all the wealth of the world, and do without themelves! They are under a hypnotic spell like were the people of old who brought their best products to he heathen priest in the temple for is pleasure while they did without. And when it is proposed to turn the world over to these workers, they ave been so long trained to serve and have nothing that they cannot comprehend! But there is a glimnering of light, for millions now are eginning to wake up to the ages-

it the shop when the whistle blows in the morning, and he must "deiver the goods" every hour of the lay. But the owner of the shop can lraw his dividends though he never lid a stroke of productive labor, ever entered the shop or never saw t. He can snooze in bed so long is he pleases after the whistle blows ov having hired hands to direct the abors of other hired hands. He can to automobiling from the Atlantic to the Pacific or across the continent of Europe, but the shop goes on grinding profits out of those eed the whistle. He can go to the enitentiary or the lunatic asylum. out the profits follow him closer han trade follows the flag. If his azy life unfits him to remain longer on earth he can pass on through the bining portals and leave the jurisiction of all earthly courts, but the hop goes on making dividends for is estate, consisting of offspring a le as he. And what of it? Simply at labor is the necessary elemen the production of things, while e capitalist is a mere appendage useless as he is expensive.

ning others.

No MATTER how much we may offer as to what the chief aim of lusion that each and all must have he material means of life as a necessary condition of living at all.

Orders for Socialist Campaign Handkerchiefs and Campaign Butons will be filled in their turn. So t behooves you to send for what you ates the more there will be who will will require right now. See prices in another column.

THE AMERICAN CIRCUS. An Appeal to the Filipinos

BY W. S. MORGAN. YOU Filipinos don't know what

I you are missing by not wanting to become citizens of this grand country of ours. There isn't anything like it under the sun. You ought to send a delegation over to see us-the land of the free-land of fine churches and 180,000 licensed raloons; bibles, forts and guns, ouses of prostitution; millionaires and paupers; theologians and thieves; libertines and liars; politicians and poverty; Christians and chain-gangs; schools and scalawags; trusts and tramps; money and miserv; homes and hunger; virtue and vice; a land where you can get a good bible for fifteen cents and a bad drink of whiskey for five cents; where we have a man in congress with three wives, and a lot in the penitentiary for having two wives; where some men make sausage out of their wives, and some want to eat them raw; where we make bologna out of dogs canned beef out of orses and sick cows, and corpses out of the people who eat it; where we put a man in jail for not having the means of support and on the rockpile for asking for a job of work; where we license bawdy houses and fine men for preaching Christ on the street corners; where we have a congress of 400 men who make laws, and a supreme court of nine men who set them aside; where good whiskey makes bad men and bad men make good wiskey; where newspapers are paid for suppressing the truth and made rich for teaching a lie: where professors draw their convictions from the same place they do their salaries; where preachers are paid \$25,000 a year to dodge the devil and tickle the ears of the wealthy; where business consists of getting hold of property in any way that won't land you in the penitentiary; where trusts "hold up" and, poverty "holds down"; where men vote for what they do not want for fear they will get what they do want by voting for it; where "niggers" can vote and women can't; where a girl who goes wrong is made an outcast and her male partner flourshes as a gentleman; where women wear false hair and men "dock" their horses' tails; where the political wire-puller has displaced the patriotic statesman; where men vote for a thing one day and cuss it 364 lays; where we have prayers on the floor of our national capitol and whiskey in the cellar; where we spend \$500 to bury a statesman who s rich and \$10 to put away a workingman who is poor; where to be virtuous is to be lonesome, and to be honest is to be a crank; where we sit on the safety-valve of energy and pull wide open the throttle of conscience; where gold is substance -the one thing sought for; where we pay \$15,000 for a dog and fifteen cents a dozen to a poor woman for making shirts; where we teach the "untutored" Indian eternal life from the bible and kill him off with bad whiskey; where we put a man in iail for stealing a loaf of bread and in congress for stealing a railroad; where the check-book talks, sin walks in broad daylight, justice is asleep, crime runs amuck, corruption permeates our whole social and politong deception that has been worked ical fabric, and the devil laughs on them, and their stirring is awakfrom every street corner. Come to us, Fillies! We've got the greatest aggregation of good things and bad IF THE wage worker draws his vages it is necessary for him to be things, hot things and cold things, ill sizes, varieties and exhibited under one tent.

In a school room a wise teacher placed a beautiful rose to brighten the day for her children. Soon the boys and girls began to clamor for the rose, each begging the teacher for the sole possession of it. "To rive it to any one boy or girl would be unjust to all the others." said the teacher. "Besides, it would be unwise, for whoever obtained it could not get more of its beauty than now. I cannot divide it. for if I do the will be destroyed and each child vill have a worthless petal only; there will be no rose. Together, we can enjoy it; in a real sense each one of us owns the rose." Social property is like that. It cannot be owned by any individual without robbing all other individuals; it cannot be divided without ruin. Yet ach individual can own the whole of its real utility and enjoy its full enefits.-John Spargo.

THE capitalists are doing their part foward the ultimate triumph of Socialism by separating men and omen from their property. When leprived of the material means of fe is, we are forced to the con-life a man begins to feel the need of getting them back, and Socialism offers the only practical, scientific way of doing it.

Tell me just one law that has been enacted and enforced in the interest of the work people. Did slave owners ever enact a law in the interest of their chattels and against their own interest?