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THE APPEAL ARMY.

During the summer months it has been the usual custom of the Appeal Army to take a little vacation. This was not true, however, during the summer just passed—there was no let up on the propaganda work, and I have just been looking over the records. The figures published below show the business which the Army did for June, July and August last year and this year:

1900.	1901.
Number of subscriptions..... 26,462	48,124
Number of books and pamphlets..... 5,999	331,896
Number of extra copies of Appeal..... 30,995	235,911

It shows an increase in the number of subscriptions nearly double the number sent in last year; and of three times the number of extra papers. The books and pamphlets, however, show the largest increase—for every copy sent out last summer, forty were sent out this summer.

This is a splendid showing, and surpasses anything of the kind ever accomplished by any propaganda machine in the world's history. As a result of this aggressive campaign of education we find people every where intelligently discussing Socialism and the magnificent principles for which it stands. Prejudice is rapidly disappearing, although in some communities during the past few weeks there has been a disposition on the part of some of the extreme partisans to resort to the old tactics of misrepresentation and abuse. Even this will disappear as more literature is circulated.

The public press is beginning to discuss fairly and undertakes by argument to refute the Socialist position—and in many instances the metropolitan press is treating us with a fairness hardly to be expected, but no less gratifying to the men and women who have for so many years worked unceasingly to put Socialism in its true light before the great mass of humanity—for whose benefit it is designed and whose uplifting it will finally accomplish. That there will be no halt in the work of education is evident from the manner in which the comrades are taking hold of the fall campaign. It is during the long winter evenings that we may expect people to read, and every household in the land should be plentifully supplied with Socialist literature.

The fairness with which a great many metropolitan papers have treated the Socialists during the past few weeks comes as an agreeable surprise to me, and illustrates forcibly the inroads Socialistic thought has been making on the minds of people in unexpected places. Last week the Appeal printed a number of extracts from daily papers which indicated that the editors have not been blind to the trend of economic thought. However, on the other hand, in a great many places—notably the smaller cities—the growth of Socialism has had the effect of arousing partisan antagonism even to the extent of threatening personal violence to its advocates and a gross misrepresentation of its principles. This condition is due entirely to a misunderstanding and misconception of our principles. This means that we must redouble our efforts wherever this spirit is rampant—and the comrades on the ground are the best judges of the methods to pursue. The wide circulation of the editorials printed in this issue and last week's Appeal will go far towards disarming the prejudices of the party blind, who draw their inspiration from their party organs. The Globe-Democrat and the Chicago Tribune are considered oracles of the republican party, the Kansas City Times and the New Orleans Picayune are taken likewise by the democrats as the standards of political truth, while the Philadelphia North American, the Springfield Republican and the Kansas City Star, representing the independent element, will force the general public to admit the impartiality of their views upon Socialism. Taking it all in all, I think we are gathering material from the opposition which will prove mighty effective propaganda material in the hands of Socialists in silencing carping critics who know nothing of Socialism and who will accept nothing other than what is found in their party organs.

In the excitement caused by the events of the last few weeks, the importance of the closing down of the smelters at Argentine has been forgotten. Now comes the news that the smelter trust has closed down another great smelter at Pueblo, Colo., throwing 1,000 men out of employment at the beginning of cold weather, and that one-half of the Leadville smelters have closed down throwing out of employment 1,500 men, and that very bad feeling exists among the workmen thus thrown on the labor market with no other work in their lines. And this move at Leadville by the trust has caused the closing down of a large number of mines, because the owners cannot get their ores smelted. This will cause a heavy fall in the price of mines thus affected and the trust will be able to buy them in at a very low price. There is no excuse or explanation given by the smelter trust for its action, and the interests affected are at sea as to what action to take. A criticism of the trust is hardly the proper thing, for it has a right to conduct its business as best suits its interests, just as any other business man has. The action of it, however, will seriously affect the question of employment of more

than 5,000 men directly and as many more indirectly. It will depreciate the property of mine, residence and business, millions of dollars, and will ruin a large number of retail merchants. It is incomprehensible why people prefer to have the power to do this in the hands of a corporation rather than in their own hands. No one really likes this action, even though they are not directly interested. If the public owned the mines this action would not be taken unless there were more lead, gold and silver than was wanted, and in that event the displaced labor by the closing down would be furnished with employment in some other line, without loss of time or uncertainty. The lessons of this kind will multiply, becoming more and more frequent, and will finally attract the attention of the public long enough to get them to study for a solution. For certainly there must be a solution.

SOCIALISM IN GERMANY.

The steady growth of the Socialist movement in Germany shows its wonderful power and law-abiding methods. No effort of the emperor and his followers have been able to incite them to any act of violence. At first, they were classed with destructionists, but that view is not now held by any one. They have a million more votes than the next greatest party in Germany. There are nine parties in Germany, and if the same voting methods of plurality that obtains in this country prevailed there, they would control the nation. But when no candidate has a majority, there is no election, and the two candidates having the highest vote only can enter for the second ballot. It is estimated that at the next election they will have 3,200,000 votes unless the election be deferred two more years, which it can be by the emperor, if he choose, when it will attain a majority. Here is a lesson that it will be well for the American politicians to study:

SOCIALIST VOTE IN GERMANY.

1867.....	30,000
1871.....	101,000
1874.....	354,670
1878.....	437,153
1881.....	311,961
1884.....	599,990
1887.....	763,123
1890.....	1,427,293
1893.....	1,786,733
1898.....	2,125,010

Total vote of Germany.....8,900,000

By the breaking of a large bank in Leipzig, Germany, which had been underwriting watered stock in industries, several hundred firms failed, several thousand families were ruined, and a dozen suicides in despair occurred. It has shaken the financial world, and the worst panic that ever shook the nation is now convulsing its business. It looks like private and corporate management is a failure—totally impractical. That the greed it engenders builds pitfalls for its own undoing. The publicly conducted industries are not affected in the least by the condition. And after all is there not as much wealth in Germany now as there was just before the panic and failures? And why should there be so much distress when there is no loss of wealth? The only trouble is in the transfer of the possession of wealth. Then why cannot rules be established that will not cause such a condition? Are there no men not wise enough to prevent such occurrences? In the meantime the people are flocking to the Socialist standard, and it would not surprise the world if the Socialists should carry Germany at the next election.

In a pamphlet trying to find some objections to the position of Mr. Bellamy in his work "Equality," Mr. W. M. Reedy of St. Louis, says: "The world, if it ever comes to the Bellamy stage, will seek succor in suicide. It will make itself tired. The salt of sin, the flavor of folly gone, and life would be dull, flat, stale and unprofitable. Vice makes for vertebra in humanity. Wipe it out entirely and we are reduced to a state of jelly-fishery."

What think you of that? That vice only makes life worth living! Don't want to wipe vice out! That without it there would be no backbone, no stamina, no character! If this be true, we should encourage vice, not try to curtail it. According to his position, the more vice the better! But that is about as good an argument as any one can find against Socialism. The system we live under is one of vice, and of course it will fight against being abolished. It lauds vice!

The foolish, ignorant or libelous association of Socialism with anarchy had one excellent effect. Every man and woman who had read Socialism at once resents it and thus becomes an active Socialist where before they were only passive Socialists. Injustice always reacts against the actor. A new life and activity has sprung into existence in the Socialist movement.

Every public library in our cities has from 300 to 2,000 volumes explaining Socialism. If the subject is something that should not be read, why have these books been placed in public libraries? There is scarcely a scientific work that does not explain and teach the principles of Socialism. But the masses do not read scientific works.

ROOSEVELT ON TRUSTS.

Chicago Tribune.

"More and more it is evident that the state, and if necessary the nation, has got to possess the right of supervision and control as regards the great business combinations, which derive a portion of their importance from the existence of some monopolistic tendency."

WHEAT AND SOCIALISM.

The wheat product of the United States this year is about 600,000,000 bushels. All of this could be raised on the wheat lands of California. According to the U. S. Labor Commissioner this vast amount of wheat represents the labor of only 10,714,300 days of eight hours, if it were raised under the most scientific farming with the best machinery and organization. As it was produced, it probably cost ten times that much labor. Why should people want such a lack of system that it takes them ten times as much exertion for a given result? The government, if it would take charge of the wheat raising, could pay every worker (farmer) engaged in it, five times as much wheat for one-half the time he now works for what he produces. How proud every citizen would be of his country if it would make such progress. No country on earth, with the primitive individualistic methods could raise their wheat for what this nation could sell it for, and still have a great profit in the exchange of international commodities. And if such industry were done by the government it would benefit indirectly every citizen, no matter what his vocation. The shorter hours would absorb all the labor, so it would throw no one out of employment. Such is the dream of the Socialist. The day will come when the people will adopt just such measures for their own benefit. And if it benefits them to raise many times as much wheat for a given outlay of labor, why should it be opposed? Are big crops a detriment to the nation? The government can exchange a bushel of wheat for ten pounds of coffee, just as the speculators do, and you can see what benefit that would be to the people of this nation. It would give you ten pounds of coffee for twenty minutes time spent in producing wheat. Would that injure you? By the government employing as many days labor in producing wheat as the farmers put in, employing the best machinery and methods, the wheat crop this year would be easily 1,000,000,000 bushels, instead of 600,000,000. Which system would be best for the nation?

I do not think that there is any man who would not like to see every citizen of this nation housed in a comfortable home. I think every one would like to see the disappearance of all the huts, shanties and tumble-down houses, and in their stead appear beautiful homes and pretty lawns and surroundings. It would make the earth take on a new and delightful appearance. It would elevate the character of all the people—even those who now live in good homes, for they would see nothing but smiles and happiness and intelligence all about them, and that would make them happier. This nation has enough people, enough skill and material to do this, but it lacks the social organization to do it, else it would be done, for it is something no one would oppose—unless it would be done in a way that would make it impossible for some to rent their buildings. The interests of a few might in this way oppose such a beautiful condition, but aside from that they would like to see the earth covered with pretty, comfortable homes, and see the great armies of workmen busy erecting them. No country has such a delightful condition, no matter how long its civilization, because the public has not undertaken it. There is land enough, material enough, willing workmen enough—then why can it not be done? The better surroundings people have the better they are. It is the lack of beautiful surroundings everywhere that make all people less happy than they would be.

It is remarked by those who have paid attention to the matter that the women of Colorado have developed in broadness of mind wonderfully since the ballot has been placed in their hands. They have clearer ideas of the great questions of the day, public matters and people than the women of any other state. They have more clubs and take a greater interest in classical literature and advanced thought than the women of any other state. They can take part in conversation in other topics than the small gossip of community, which occupies the mind of women usually. The ballot in the hands of the women is a developer.

The pamphlet "New Zealand in a Nutshell," never failed to interest its reader, no matter his position. But it does more than this; it shows him how to abolish strikes and where the people are not ruled, but govern themselves—in other words, where the people are the government—even under England. It will awaken a new line of thought in the mind of any workingman. Hand one to your friend and see how it will startle him. Price five cents.

I note in the dispatches that cotton prints sell for 27½ cents a yard at Fall River. They retail at four to ten cents a yard. The difference is eaten up in competitive expenses. A rational system could sell goods for much less than the making of them, don't you think?

Reports from some cities show that all the books treating on sociology are in active demand at the libraries. A new interest has centered on the subject and thousands are reading up on it. This will make more Socialists, for if people understood Socialism there would be no opposition to it, for it would help every one.

The Lake Shore road has just put on thirty-five large engines that pull about three common trains, and has laid off thirty-five full crews—about 175 men. Under Socialism these new engines would be welcomed by every railroad man, as they would tend to reduce the hours of labor without reducing the pay, for less labor producing as much wealth should be entitled to as much pay. It is very different under the private ownership of the railroads and other industries. It now has the effect of throwing men out of employment. Which system would most benefit the workers?

Because of extortion of the Southern Pacific railroad rates, Phelps, Dodge & Co., of New York, the largest handlers of copper in the world, are building 250 miles of railroad from their Arizona mines to El Paso. Now here is a remedy for railroad extortion. Every man who feels he is extorted, should build a railroad of his own! But still he will lay himself liable to criticism for trying to create discontent if he says railroads charge too much. Phelps, Dodge & Co., have no complaint about extortion on the mail service. Funny, isn't it? The public is the safest operator of industries. But so many people are anarchistic and afraid to trust the government.

The expanding volume of water in the German companies was more than the credit of the banks could hold up. This condition will pass over to England because of the closely woven fabric of all capital and that will cause the English holders to throw on the market their American holdings to sustain themselves, and that will cause a fall of the market value of the watered stocks and bonds of our industrial business and then will come the looked for panic here which has been hinted at by the financial interests of this country for some time past. Owing to the international character of capital, what hurts its tentacles in one country is bound to be felt in all other countries.

Seventy years ago a poor and unknown printer stood before his case and gave birth to these burning words: "I am in earnest; I will not equivocate; I will not excuse; I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard. Posterity will bear testimony that I was right." That man was William Lloyd Garrison. He was opposed by powerful influences. Bitterly assailed by men in high places. Persecuted by the church. Reviled by pious men and women everywhere. He was threatened, mobbed and ostracized by society. But he retreated not an inch. He was in earnest; he did not equivocate; he did not excuse, and the time came when he was heard. He was right. The whole world bears testimony that he was right. There is a lesson in this for those brave men and women of today who are working for the abolishment of white slavery. Be earnest. Do not equivocate. Do not excuse. Do not retreat a single inch, and insist on being heard. Posterity will bear testimony that you were right.

Judging from the letters which come to this office from every corner of the country, and the words of cheer and encouragement manifested, the Socialists have never been more active and determined. They have taken the bit and are simply running away with the poor old Appeal. While the subscriptions to the Appeal are coming in at an increasing ratio, the most encouraging feature of the propaganda work is the number of books and pamphlets ordered by the comrades. Our book shelves are practically empty, and edition after edition are being run through the big book press as fast as machinery can do the work. Pamphlets have an insidious way of never growing old—as long as there is a shred of paper left, and hence are always at work, carrying their messages of good cheer and hope to the tolling millions, who more than ever are looking to Socialism to lead them from the industrial wilderness into which humanity seems to have wandered. Keep up the work! Victory cannot much longer be delayed!

Why should any citizen who believes in government, be afraid to trust his government with the ownership and management of the railroads or any other monopoly? Is it because he has no faith in government? Or because he believes the men he helps elect are too corrupt, dishonest or incompetent to operate an industry in the interests of the public? The Socialist has faith in government and would rather trust the industries to the management of republicans or democrats, as public servants, than to a few individuals whose sole object is to see how much they can make out of the people. Which class is most anarchistic?

THE TREND OF THOUGHT.

Recent events have directed the attention of the people to the subject of what political parties really stand for. The papers for the first time in my memory are trying to define the differences in party creeds. Heretofore, parties divided on some specific measure, such as slavery, tariff, gold standard, etc. But none of these has been a principle or completed policy. Just what the real difference between the parties was, more than the outs to get in and the ins to stay in, has never been taught. Most of the things which the republican party stood for, there was acquiescence on the part of the others, and vice versa. In fact, so far as the application of principle that would apply to all things, none of the parties have had any principles.

The democratic party claims to stand for the principle that "the country least governed is best governed," but that infers that government is a bad thing and logically carrying out that position would make no government the best, because it would be the least. But the party repudiates this anarchistic but inevitable position of their principle. While decrying government, they favor government much as we have it—if only they are allowed to administer it.

The republican party stands for government, that it shall be all-powerful, but denies that it shall extend its functions to industries, yet itself applies government to some industries, such as postal, school, army, navy, penal and eleemosynary and many other institutions. It refuses to apply the principle of government as a principle. It stands for organization for the benefit of a few. And so does the democratic party while denying the principle.

The populist party wants to apply the principle of government to a few things like transportation or banking, but refuses to apply it to all things. It wants government protection of the people from the dominance of a few private interests, but refuses to see that the principle should be applied to all interests. It favors government extension to cover a few more interests and refuses to recognize the principle on which it bases these claims.

The Socialist alone stands out for a full length principle. He wants government, and is willing to follow that demand and apply it to every activity of life. He does not ask favor for a few, nor condemn the few dominant in individual interests—he follows the logic to its full and rounded completeness. He does not believe that the least government is the best nor does he believe in applying government to a part of the body of society only.

When the people begin to think on these subjects and analyze the aims of parties, and then study their own self-consciousness, they will appear a new factor, a new life, a new departure in politics. Heretofore the politician have made fake campaigns and the people voted one or the other of the dominant tickets, feeling that it did not make much difference anyhow which way the thing went. This is the first time in the history of this nation when the abstract principle of government attracted the attention of the masses.

AN AROUSED INTEREST.

The Appeal office is in receipt of a large number of inquiries concerning what book will give the most concise statements and arguments defining what Socialism is. These are coming from ministers, lawyers, merchants and men of that class. In view of the fact that there are too many of these to answer personally, this paragraph will have to be accepted as a reply. "Socialism From Genesis to Revelation," by Rev. F. Sprague, of Springfield, Mass., (\$1.75) is perhaps the strongest and best indexed and reference work by an American. "A Co-operative Commonwealth," by Gronlund, (\$0.50) is one of the standard books on the subject. It has run through many editions. Both published by Lee & Shepard, Boston. The Appeal sells them for \$1 and 40 cents respectively. "Looking Backward," (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 50 cents), and "Equality," (D. Appleton & Co., New York, 50 cents), both by Bellamy, have had the largest sales of any books, and have perhaps set more people to thinking on the subject than any other work in this country. Harper Bros. publish a large number of works on Socialism. There are likely two thousand works on the subject printed in this country. There is no subject which has so voluminous a literature.

Would it not be a delightful thing and a beauty and use forever to have the highways of the nation lined with fruit trees instead of useless ones or none? A department of government could plant and care for these scientifically and the fruit resulting would be a blessing to every citizen of the nation. Fruit requires technical scientific knowledge in its production and care. This is not possible with any one unless they devote all their time to it and that requires large capital in lands, trees and appliances. The highways would furnish the land, the trees could be had and the highways would make all the trees accessible. The wages of the men to care for them would be more than offset by the public benefit of the fruit.

A false accusation always and eternally reacts against the accusers.

SOCIALISM IN GERMAN EMPIRE.

PROPAGANDA BY WHICH IT HAS INCREASED RECENTLY.

Wiesbaden—The recent election for the Reichstag at Memel-Heidekrug was a most significant example of the rapid increase of Socialism in Germany of late years.

About one-fourth of the total electorate voted for the Socialist candidates at the last election. Though this may be partly explained by the economic evolution that has taken place in Germany since 1874, by the wonderful industrial development of the country and by the concentration of capital, the success of the Socialists is largely owing to the splendid organization of their party.

The German Socialists long since understood that the success of their party depended to a great extent, upon the financial independence of their leaders. The Socialists have succeeded in making their party a wealthy one. Every member contributes to the party fund.

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One of the greatest difficulties which the Socialist leaders have to meet is to secure suitable halls for their gatherings. The police exert great pressure on the restaurant keepers to prevent them from letting their halls to Socialists.

But, even after the hall has been secured, the Socialists are not at the end of their troubles. Though the laws concerning public political meetings vary in the different states of the empire, they are invariably severe and are applied in the harshest manner possible.

From the time of Bakunin and Proudhon down to the present time, in every land on the face of the earth, the only party that has fought the philosophy, denounced the individual representatives, exposed the propaganda, and by every means in its power sought to make anarchy impossible, is the Socialist party.

As a system of economics, Socialism opposes extortion and monopoly; it pleads for justice for the working classes; it urges compulsory education, that the children may become useful citizens; it opposes all violence and hopes to inaugurate needed reforms through the ballot box.

But the Socialists have other means of spreading their doctrines besides public meetings. The "companions," as they term one another, meet at various singing and social clubs, generally at small restaurants belonging to members of the party.

A MARKED ADVANCE IN UNDERSTANDING

on the part of those papers and speakers who a few years ago were the outskoken opponents of Socialism is evident from the array of matter from republican and democratic sources which the Appeal presents below:

New Orleans Picayune, (dem.) Sept. 16.

The Socialist must not on any account be confounded with the anarchist.

T. C. Star, Sept. 18.

It is easy enough to understand the anxiety of Socialism to wash its hands of anarchy. The two really resemble each other no more than vice and virtue.

Chicago Inter-Ocean, Sept. 17.

The Rev. John R. Crosser, in addressing the Presbyterian ministers, said that the anarchy which most threatened the life of the government and its institutions was "the anarchy of the boulevard, which bribed legislatures."

K. C. Daily Times, (dem.) May 12, 1896.

There is no word which is so often misunderstood as "Socialist." It really means one who studies and works for society, for the people. And so far from being a reproach, to call a man a Socialist is to credit him with the purest and deepest of philanthropic feelings.

Chicago Tribune, (rep.) Sept. 12, 1901.

Upon every occasion when anarchists break loose and put in practice their "gospel of force," there is a popular tendency to include Socialists also in the general condemnation. This, however, is a mistake. The Socialist would have the state control everything; the anarchist would abolish the state and have the individual control everything, which would mean chaos.

Boone, Iowa, Independent, (dem.)

Several times in the last week articles have appeared in leading papers which spoke of Socialism and anarchism in synonymous terms. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Socialists believe in the government being supreme, that everything should eliminate from and be controlled by the general government, just as our postal department is now managed. They believe that every person has equal rights before the law, that

the government should protect the weak and strong alike.

Tacoma, Wash., Daily News, (dem.)

There may be a disposition on the part of some people who have not followed the question to confuse in their minds the doctrines of so-called Socialism with the destructive policy of anarchists. Of course, no one who has given any thought to the great social and economic questions which are now pressing for a solution would be in danger of any such confusion of mind, but to many newspaper readers the terms Socialism and anarchy may have much the same significance. Socialism is simply the application of the principles of natural right and justice and equality to the economic questions in which society is interested. When applied to matters of government, we call the principle democracy. Socialism is the extension of the principles of democracy from politics to economics. We are steadily grafting Socialism upon our democracy and giving it more and more recognition in politics. Municipalities all over the world are dealing with the problems of Socialism. The public ownership of certain utilities, such as the light and water service in Tacoma, is a step in the line of Socialism rather than what we term democracy. The question of trusts is one which is now uppermost in the minds of the Socialists in this country today.

But Socialism and anarchy are wholly distinct and they are diametrically opposed to each other. A man cannot be a true Socialist and advocate anarchy any more than he can be a follower of Jesus Christ and at the same time be a murderer and assassin at heart.

Sibuquerque, N. M., Journal-Democrat, (rep.) Sept. 11, 1901.

The Journal-Democrat has no sympathy with anarchism or Socialism. It believes that the principles of the republican party are the best principles upon which this country can be governed. But it cannot refrain from expressing its surprise at the de-

gree of ignorance which crops out in some unexpected places regarding the character and nature of the two isms above named. There may be a few who call themselves Socialists who are in sympathy with anarchism and possibly a few anarchists who are in sympathy with Socialism, just as there may be some republicans and some democrats who are in sympathy with various isms outside of their respective parties, but in their principles the Socialists and the anarchists are as far apart as the poles. The anarchist wants to destroy all government of every sort, and leave every man absolutely free to do as he pleases in everything, without any restraint of any kind, while the Socialists believe in so much government that they want the state to run everything—railroads, telegraphs, telephones, street cars, water works, big factories, and, in short, everything that touches the public interest. Anarchists believe in violence and seek to attain their ends through murder and assassination, while Socialists are opposed to force in any form, even to strikes among workmen, and teach that in any country where men can vote the ballot is a sufficient remedy for all wrongs. They are also opposed to war, and believe that all disputes, whether between individuals or nations, should be settled by arbitration. Indeed the Socialists might properly be likened to the Quakers, because they are opposed to the employment of force in any form.

The ignorance which prevails to some extent among certain classes of persons in this country, and even in the columns of some public journals, regarding the difference between anarchists and Socialists sometimes brings about situations that are highly amusing. For instance, we saw not long ago in one of our contemporaries a very violent item demanding the extermination of all Socialists on account of their pernicious doctrines, while in an adjoining column was the declaration that "the city ought to own the water works, gas works and other public utilities,"—thus hanging Socialists in one column and endorsing their fundamental principles in another, and both in the same issue.

The Causes Which Produce Disorder

Are being given intelligent consideration by men recognized as authorities by the papers and writers begin to perceive that the conditions which the Socialist has pointed out, are alone responsible for the anarchical condition in which we find society today. As they continue their investigations, they will be forced to admit that the Socialist is the only party which proposes a remedy adequate to meet and remove these conditions.

Rev. A. Hinckley, Philadelphia.

When the policeman of a great city are permitted to do unlawful things, when the mayor and other officials of a great city are permitted to undermine and defy the forms of law—that is anarchy. When the people are indifferent to these things, when they do not see their import, when they cease to revere institutions under which they live—then is anarchy encouraged. When good people sit quietly by and see self-constituted bosses usurp the power of government; when good men can contemplate the administering of justice as it is now administered in some communities, they are at one end of a line, at the other end of which is assassination. We must learn what faithfulness to free institutions means.

Springfield Republican, Springfield, Mass.

If one is seeking for causes, there is much more reason to point to the spread of lynching and burning at the stake in this country as responsible for an anarchistic assault upon the head of the state. What is lynch law and burning alive to satisfy mob vengeance but anarchy. The mob flouts the law and attacks the foundations of social order. Anarchy is lawlessness, and it follows that all violation of law, whether by a mob or a thief or a great corporation, breeds anarchy in a real sense. The world certainly reaps what it sows, and one of the sober lessons of that shot in the Temple of Mosaic—not the only lesson, to be sure—is that the people cannot violate or evade the laws of the state, under any conditions, without paying the penalty somehow, some time. These anarchists of our day, whose suppression is as necessary as the suppression of any enemy of law and the state, are quite as much encouraged and served to desperate deeds by the spectacle of laws successfully and defiantly broken by men of wealth and respectability, by corporations evading just taxation, or by widespread violence to the marriage tie, as by anything that can be cited as inflammatory to weak or disordered minds. They observe society as closely as a child watches the habits of a parent, and they are influenced for good or bad by its behavior, and form their opinions of it as a child is influenced by the example set before him.

What is needed is the reign of law in all departments of life, from the highest to the lowest.

A. M. Simons, editor Intern'l Socialist Review

From the time of Bakunin and Proudhon down to the present time, in every land on the face of the earth, the only party that has fought the philosophy, denounced the individual representatives, exposed the propaganda, and by every means in its power sought to make anarchy impossible, is the Socialist party. It alone has always dared to denounce murder, whether it be of ruler or ruled, whether it be on the throne or in the workshop, whether by slow starvation or the bullet of the assassin, and it alone can go into the court of equity of the future with clean hands, and rest assured of what the verdict will be.

Ex-Senator R. A. Dague, Alameda, Cal.

As a system of economics, Socialism opposes extortion and monopoly; it pleads for justice for the working classes; it urges compulsory education, that the children may become useful citizens; it opposes all violence and hopes to inaugurate needed reforms through the ballot box; it appeals to the reason and conscience of the people; it stands for co-operation, brotherhood and peace, and the chief plank in its platform is: "Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you." All great movements having for their object the uplifting of humanity have been misunderstood and misrepresented in their infancy.

The Social Economist, Bohann, Tex.

Socialists believe in the principle of evolution. They believe that society will socially advance as material progress goes forward. Socialists do not believe that any-

Philadelphia North American, (rep.) Sept. 11.

If it be true—and who can deny it?—that disrespect for the makers, the interpreters and the administrators of the law breeds anarchists, this is a time when a peculiarly painful sense of turpitude should afflict many highly placed citizens. Among them:

The members of a legislature that openly sold a United States senatorship to a man who escaped conviction of the crime of misappropriating public money by pleading the statute of limitations—a legislature whose general scorn for common honesty gave it a disgraceful eminence even in a state accustomed to corrupt legislatures.

A governor who became the accomplice of a band of politicians and speculators and conferred on them by his official signature the legal privilege of stealing the streets of the state's cities.

An attorney general who made one of a gang of marauders that tried, with the legislature's help, to steal the coal lands of the state.

A justice of a supreme court, appointed by the governor whose former law partner he was, and who secretly revealed to that governor in advance how each justice would vote on a case in which the governor was politically interested.

The mayor of a great city who turned blackmail in the effort to protect himself from newspaper criticism, who habitually jobs in contracts, gives away enormously valuable franchises to his confederates, connives at the existence of illegal and profitable dens of vice, and from being a bankrupt when he entered office is reputed to have become a millionaire.

The chiefs of a political machine which carries elections by padding the assessment rolls, employing repeaters, stuffing ballot-boxes, and surrounding the polls with policemen who play the part of bullies and thugs—by these means teaching the people that the citizen's vote avails him nothing whenever those in official power consider it their interest not to permit an honest expression of the public will, thus undermining faith in the ballot as the only remedial agent under a republican form of government.

Surely all these are active promoters of disrespect for the makers, the interpreters and administrators of the law, and therefore prolific breeders of anarchists.

Philadelphia North American, (rep.) Sept. 12.

Anarchists are enemies of our present social system; Czolgosz is an anarchist; therefore all who are not satisfied with our pres-

ent social system are sympathetic with and promoters of assassination.

That is the sort of logic we are hearing from newspapers that make a specialty of speaking for "capital," and which render men of wealth the serious disservicer of making it appear that they are small-brained and hard-hearted enough as a class to believe that so long as they themselves have plenty it is unardonable in anybody else to complain.

The argument that because anarchy represents one form of social discontent all forms of social discontent are equally irrational and dangerous with anarchy is put forward by those who assume that in addressing the American people they are speaking to fools. Only a very extraordinary kind of fool can be made to believe that because a murderous wretch has attempted the life of the president it becomes everybody's patriotic duty to cease criticizing the trusts, cease discussing the problem of poverty and the dangers threatening the republic through the rapid growth of enormous fortunes which have their roots in monopoly. Notwithstanding Czolgosz, and notwithstanding the equally silly and repulsive efforts of the organs of a mindless variety of monied conservatism to turn Czolgosz's crime into an argument against all reform, all progress, the American people will still discuss questions which involve the common welfare. The single-taxer will persist in insisting that poverty would vanish were all taxes laid on land. The Socialist will continue to declare that the government should take possession of the trusts, and that the trusts themselves are the most efficient workers for the incoming of the Socialistic ideal of a Co-operative Commonwealth.

Men who are neither single taxers nor Socialists will continue to debate the wisdom of government ownership of the railroads as a means for destroying the discriminations between persons and places, and by thus converting the iron roads into national highways, break the backbone of the trusts which are favored, as the Standard Oil company is favored, by the transportation companies. Democrats will continue to regard a protective tariff as the mother of monopolies, and republicans will not be dissuaded from considering free trade as a scheme for ruining the industries and impoverishing the labor of the country. And men who love the republic will continue to "speak evil of dignities" while any of the dignitaries whom it has pleased Providence to set in authority over us do evil things.

The Socialist View.

war instead of encouraging the war spirit and thirst for blood. Teach men to worship Justice more and Greed less. Teach them to improve conditions so that not a human being shall be in want or misery. Let us remove the cause of crime, and in order to do that we must consider the economic life of the people. When all men are in full enjoyment of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, when the gaunt wolf of hunger no longer haunts the doors of labor, when the fear of poverty no longer exists, crime will disappear for the reason that the cause has been removed. Can poverty, the mother of crime be removed? It can if the people decide that it shall be because there is now more than enough wealth produced to provide every man, woman and child of this nation with all the necessities and comforts of life and most of the luxuries as well. The capitalists who hire labor to produce wealth for profit rather than for use, are devising ways and means of exporting over two billions of that wealth in order to prevent a glut in the American market. This average of \$150 per family could be very well used at home. But it is only one item showing the tremendous possibilities of this nation. There is no excuse for a condition where the many eke out a bare subsistence and the few pile up millions and billions of wealth that they cannot use, and so long as this state of affairs exists, so long as the capitalistic profit system of production exists, it need not be surprising that half-crazed cranks spring forth here and there and blindly attempt to wreak vengeance on those whom they believe to be responsible for present unjust conditions.

Max Hayes, editor Cleveland, O., Citizen.

Assassination or murder cannot be abolished by law. The crime is as old as the human race. Sometimes murder is committed by individuals; sometimes by nations. War is murder on a large scale, and, therefore, all the more horrible and deplorable.

To expect that congress can enact a law that will prohibit assassination by increasing the penalty or imprisoning some one who may be suspected of being murderously inclined is to pin faith on something unrealizable, for suspects may be innocent while those with murder in their hearts walk at large, and penalties are recklessly disregarded by those who are consumed by the desire to take life and commit crime.

The best method to be pursued is to foster education. Teach the people the injustice and wastefulness and criminality of

The International Trust.

The World's Work for August.

It has been reported that the salt companies of the United States and Canada and Great Britain are to be united into one, or are to come under the management of a single organization. If such a consolidation be made it will control the production and the market in all these countries. It will, therefore, be an international trust.

Organizations that practically control the market in several countries are not new. The Standard Oil company and the American Tobacco company are among the conspicuous industrial organizations, which have such extensive foreign markets that they at least approach international trusts. But these companies were not made by the consolidation of companies that had grown up in different countries, and definite international organization is the new fact about the reported Salt Trust.

International trusts are sure to come sooner or later; for only one thing is in the way of their organization—the customs duties of some governments, and these are not as serious obstacles as they are supposed to be. The only difference between an international trust and a domestic one is that the monopoly is made theoretically the more complete. But we have already gone so far into successful monopolistic production that the movement is bound to extend across national boundaries.

Men who have not made up their minds to the swift coming of such an era of sweeping monopoly—or of a nearer approach to it—are lagging behind events; for consolidation is a tendency stronger than any legislative or other restraining power that has yet asserted itself. Whether the experiment lead to industrial wreck and to social oppression, or bring an era of very much cheaper production and of social benefits, we shall in due time discover; but, whatever be the result, the extension of monopoly is the strongest commercial tendency at work today, and it has not by any means yet spent itself. The probability is that its development has only fairly begun. Nearly every effort that has been made to check it has furthered it. The law, for instance, against railroad pooling hastened great railroad consolidations. Every well-informed railroad man now in active life expects to see practically all the great roads in the United States come at least under the practical control (if not the ownership) of a very small group of men. The same group of men will control steamship lines across the two great oceans.

Nor is it in the United States only that the tendency to consolidate is strong. In Germany our example is followed. There are reports, for instance, of a consolidation of steel makers under the leadership of the Krupp. In England the same tendency, if yet somewhat weaker, is still at work. As the movement gains strength in any one country it will necessarily gain strength in another. For instance, one reason that has been given for the organization of an international salt trust is, the crude method yet used by the English company. By American management and method it is said that a very handsome profit could be saved without increasing the price.

Certainly we have passed the time when political oratory or social essays or even legislation is likely to change this world-wide tendency. The movement will work itself out, successfully or disastrously, and no exterior or artificial force is likely to check it.

Utopianism.

Men who consider themselves good practical men of business are very apt to dismiss as Utopian any proposals which are beyond their limited range of vision. On this subject Ruskin said: "Utopianism is another of the devil's pet words. I believe the quiet admission which we are all of us so ready to make—that because things have long been wrong, it is impossible they should ever be right—is one of the most fatal sources of misery and crime from which the world suffers. Whenever you hear a man dissuading you from attempting to do well, on the ground that perfection is 'Utopian,' beware of that man. Cast the word out of your dictionary altogether. There is no need for it. Things are either possible or impossible—you can easily determine which, in any given state of human science. If the thing is impossible, you need not trouble yourself about it; if possible, try for it. It is very Utopian to hope for the entire doing away with sin and misery out of the world; but the Utopianism is not our business—the WORK is."

A Doubtful Boston Precedent.

Boston has set an example of large logical consequences in granting clemency to the pastor of a little Presbyterian church who was caught shoplifting in one of her stores, on the ground that his salary was so small that he could not make his wife a present unless he stole it. As the vast majority of Protestant country pastors are too poorly paid to make presents to their wives unless they get them by "condemnation proceedings," so to speak, the Boston precedent is open to serious question. For can it be reasonably contended that there is any special "benefit of clergy" in the matter of shoplifting which laymen, many of whom are also too poor to buy presents for their wives, may not also claim. Boston's heart got the better of her head in this case. But there is one good feat in it—the pardoned pastor has promised to quit the ministry and find some occupation that will pay him enough to live on and be honest.—New York World.

Socialism in German Empire.

(Continued from first column.)

At Munich there are a dozen or more such restaurants, the principal one of which is kept by a former workman, dismissed by his employers for his active part as a Socialist leader. Deprived in this manner of his only means of a livelihood, he started a small restaurant. The money was advanced from the party funds. Today about twenty-five Socialist veterans are habitués of this restaurant. The noon meal, consisting of soup, meat and two vegetables, costs twelve cents, beer included. Adjoining the dining room is a library, where many of the habitués spend their evenings, reading the Socialist newspapers, the Vorwaerts and Leipziger-Volkszeitung, kept there on file.

The party choral societies are one of the most powerful mediums of Socialist propaganda. There are 635 societies of this kind, with a total membership of more than 24,000. The purposes of these associations is to spread a wide knowledge of Socialist songs among the people. When not interfered with by the police, these choral societies officiate at all the great Socialist newspapers, the Vorwaerts and the Socialist festivals and also at the weddings and funerals of members of the party. There are a number of Socialist fete days besides the first of May, among them being the birthdays of LaSalle and Karl Marx and March 18, the anniversary of the Berlin revolution of the year 1848.

