

The Woman's Edition of the Appeal that will be issued MAY 30th, will be double ordinary size, illustrated by Lockwood, and should be sent to all your lady acquaintances. Mailed directly to them at half a cent per copy.

Appeal to Reason.

This is Number 389
Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., May 16, 1903.

25 Cents a Year.

OWNERSHIP of the EARTH
By ALL the People, and Not by Part of the People.

LET US CELEBRATE

Jubilee Edition of the Appeal to Be Issued on the Great American Holiday—General Orders to the Army

Fifty-five years have now passed by since Karl Marx formulated his materialist conception of history, and gave to the world its first science of economics. The Communist Manifesto reads like a document written yesterday. The multiplication table must have been the same six thousand years ago as it is today. A truth is a truth for all time. Therefore, when Marx analyzed society and found that ethics, morals and religions are all the products of economic or material conditions, he was able to predict with certainty the future conduct of society, even as does the astronomer predict the coming of an eclipse. For more than fifty years the capitalist economists have delivered their broadsides against the Marxian analysis of society, only to see their shots rebound from his economic fortress. Slowly the working class of the world have organized against the capitalist class. There have been no ebbs and flows in the tide of Socialism. There have been no retreats in the onward march of the working class, toward the time when they, and not the bourgeoisie will be the ruling class. We look at the rise of Socialism in Germany. We see its leaders under the ban of a monarch. We see them in prison. We see them forbidden to organize, but meeting secretly. We see the iron chancellor, Bismarck, with his despotic laws, attempting their overthrow. We see the leaders banished to foreign shores. But through the smoke of conflict we see the Socialist ranks unbroken, their numbers ever growing. We see them enter the German parliament, and thunder their denunciation of capitalist tyranny into the sacred ears of monarchy. We see them rise to be the greatest party in all Germany. We see them an impregnable force, undaunted and unconquerable, and we see the emperor forced to admit to J. Pierpont Morgan, the American industrial monarch, that "Socialism will soon be the most stupendous question everywhere." We watch the rise of the movement in France, and we see the president of the French Republic compelled to invite a Socialist leader to his cabinet. We look at Belgium, and see the Socialists forcing the king to grant the working class suffrage. We see the army invaded, and the last refuge of kings taken away. We see the poor Bohemian working-class begin to organize for Socialism, and persevere through bitter persecution. We see the poverty-stricken Italians rise in revolt under the very eyes of the Pope, and through trial and persecution enter the Italian parliament. We see the Socialists encroaching on the domain of landlord-cursed England, and later, poverty-stricken and oppressed Ireland. All of Europe begins to awake, and now Russia, despot-ruled Russia, trembles with a mighty uprising. To this continent, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, fled the oppressed of Europe. The freedom of the forest bred a spirit of liberty, which culminated in the Revolution and the Declaration of Independence. Our forefathers thought they had established a democracy. They did not know that they had laid the foundation for the free and untrammelled development of capitalism. Equal rights to all and special privileges to none, soon came to mean that the strongest shall survive in the struggle, and from the industrial conflict thus begun emerges a Morgan and a Rockefeller, who, having the right to beat every one in the industrial conflict, master the field, and compel their class to unite for the organization of production and distribution, on a capitalist basis. With the rise of capitalism in America, comes Socialism as its natural opponent, and in 1900 we see the first typical American Socialist movement inaugurated. Once the seed is planted among the industrial masses, and the movement spreads more rapidly than in Europe. One hundred thousand voters in 1900 swells to nearly four hundred thousand in 1902, and in the spring of 1903 this grows until our strength cannot be far from eight hundred thousand.

Ten years ago a Socialist paper called the Coming Nation was started in a little Indiana town. It was started when Socialism was supposed to mean anarchism in this country, and it ran a devious course. Sometimes it paid a profit, oftener it was published at a loss, but it persevered, even as Socialism in Germany persevered. Its losses were met from a private purse. In 1895 it became the Appeal to Reason, and in 1896 came to the little town of Girard. It began to grow, for it had created throughout the country a band of faithful workers, whose generosity and fidelity has never been exceeded in any country. It outgrew its quarters every year, and also its facilities. When the votes were counted last fall and its management realized that the Socialist movement had at last got beyond its experimental stages, and was about to sweep over the land like a tidal wave, it became evident that preparations must be made to give the movement a great paper that would fittingly represent what the American-Socialist movement would inevitably be. Accordingly, improvements were projected involving a cost of \$25,000. Included in this was a monster printing press that will turn out a product which no capitalist publication with equal circulation can excel. The plan for a million circulation was devised, and enough devoted comrades have signed the pledge for a million to make it a possibility. A telegram received today notifies us that the press will be here the last week in June. It will mark the greatest epoch in the history of the paper. Under these circumstances, is it not proper that we should celebrate this event, and if so what better can we do than to issue a jubilee edition, that shall be ONE MILLION COPIES, typical of the ONE MILLION to be, when the Army makes good? And if we issue the jubilee edition, what can be better than that we make it expressive of the Socialist movement of the world, for this paper goes to every civilized country on the earth?

We have decided on a jubilee edition, and have further decided that it shall be written by the Socialist writers and leaders of the world. We shall invite Hyndman of England, Kautsky and Bebel of Germany, Vandervelde of Belgium, Ferri of Italy, Jaures of France, and so on. Such the list of European writers. We will have their articles translated into English, and presented to you so that you can understand that Socialism means the same in every land. In our own land, we will endeavor to give you a complete presentation of the movement as it appears in every state and section. To this end, we shall ask for a descriptive article from each state secretary, and from the national secretary. Included in the American symposium, we shall invite contributions from Comrades Debs, McGrady, Hagerty, Mills, Simons, and others, that are making history. Along with these articles will be the pictures of the writers. The paper will be TWELVE PAGES in size,

handsomely illustrated, and printed in colors. No such document has ever been issued anywhere in the world, and when issued, we intend that it shall be worthy a place in the historical documents of the party. As a propaganda document, its value cannot be put in words, for it will present the Socialist movement in a way that will stagger the casual reader. The Socialist movement is vastly greater than the best informed of us can conceive. The Socialist thought is the mighty thought that is sweeping over sea from land to land. Although all Europe is aflame with its fervor, and Germany swells the international chorus with three million votes, yet writers of all countries agree that we will conquer here before Europe succumbs. This is because capitalism is most developed in America, and the class struggle will become more bitter. Socialism is both scientifically and morally right, therefore it needs only to be understood to be espoused. IF WE CAN PLACE A MILLION COPIES OF THIS EDITION BEFORE THE AMERICAN PUBLIC IT WILL OPEN THE EYES OF THOUSANDS. There is just one way it can be done, and that is for the Army to rise to the spirit of the occasion and declare in its co-operative might that it SHALL BE DONE. We cannot set a definite date for its appearance, but we have set our mind on the Fourth of July as the time. And now we want to tell you something about what it will take to get this paper out. It means, THAT IT WILL REQUIRE SIX CAR LOADS OF PAPER TO FEED THE PRESS. This will mean 150,000 pounds, and will require \$1,500 for postage alone. The big press must run day and night for ten days to do the printing, and an army of mailers will be required to handle the product. It means that the trains will pull out of Girard loaded to the roof with Socialism. Six thousand dollars will be required to deliver the paper to you.

Now we propose to deliver these papers to you on credit, and permit you to pay for them after they are in your hands. But in doing all the foregoing, we are going to ask you to do something greater than you have ever done for the movement, and that is to pledge yourselves to buy a million copies. It is the easiest thing in the world if you will all act. Let us see how it will work. To begin with, there are 3,500 volunteers for the million. If you will each buy 300 copies, the deed is done. What better advertising could you do to get subscribers than to distribute such a paper among your people? But it can be done another way. There are in round numbers, more than 15,000 members of the Appeal Army. If each one will buy ONE HUNDRED COPIES, it will foot up to 1,500,000. However, there is still another way. Get your local to buy 1,000 copies, and all of you co-operate to help out. We do not want any profit on this edition and will make it to you at the cost of the white paper and postage, which is 75 cents per hundred. If we issue a million, we must get our paper now, and we must provide storage, for six carloads of paper will fill every vacant building in Girard. So we want you to act quick in this matter, and to that end, we publish a pledge below. Sign this pledge at once and return to us, and when signing the pledge, make your order as large as you possibly can use. Don't stop short of getting one for every family in your precinct. If you make it two million, all the better, for there are plenty of people. See the other comrades and find how much they can help you. If your own precinct is supplied order enough to cover

"There Cannot Be Any Reconciliation Between Labor and Capital."

By DR. GEORGE D. HERON IN METROPOLITAN MAGAZINE.

Socialism is the ownership of the sources and means of production and distribution by all the people and for all the people—common labor and common privileges being the common lot of mankind. Socialism involves the theory that society has developed through struggle between classes; that each state of society is the outcome of the struggle of a ruled class against a ruling class for the possession of power, that power has always been economic in its nature, and the class war a struggle between an owning and a non-owning class for the sources of economic production and supply; that the present or capitalistic mode of production has so fully developed, become so intense a form of the exploitation of society by private individuals, that the people will have no escape except through Socialism or the co-operative commonwealth.

The term "class struggle" is offensive to many, and surprise is expressed that some of us should cast in our lives with a movement which rests its integrity upon the development of a conscious and definite distinction between classes and their interests. This surprise is because of a misinterpretation of the class struggle as class-hatred, and a delusive faith in the moral superiority of sentiment over fact. In reality, the class-consciousness of the working class, and the clear recognition of the fact that there can be no equality or identity between their interests and the interests of the capitalist or employing class, furnish the only foundation for the achievement of an honest or ethical society.

The beginning of any true interpretation of life must be with facts. Not with what we would like to have true, but what is true without regard to our liking—this must be the basis of faith. We have never had any such thing as living or telling of truth in society. Before we can have ethics we must have honesty—the free look at life and the free telling of what we see. The facts of life are such that we can have no more beautiful and trustworthy than any sentiments of life imposed upon it.

Socialism begins with this—that the history of the world has been economic. The world's sentiments and religions, its laws and morals, its art and literatures, are all rooted in the struggle between classes for the control of the food supply. Moses and Jesus, Wickliffe and Mazzini, Marx and Millet are products of the stress and injustice of intensified economic conditions. War is but a final mode of economic competition. Religions, in their first and purest expressions, are all economic revolts—appeals and protests against the ownership of souls involved in economic ownership. Beethoven and Wagner are social revolutionists who took to music instead of arms, just as Angelo and Millet took to paint, and Savonarola and Zwingli took to politics.

As we have already said, history has always been a struggle between those who produce the things upon which the world lives and those who live on the things produced. There has always been a ruling class compelling a working class to support it. Whether the labor of the world be organized in chattel slavery or wage slavery matters not to this discussion. What really matters is this—that up to the present time the institutions and culture of the world have developed through one class exploiting and appropriating the labor of another class. The only civilization the world has ever had or known has been a parasitic civilization. Laws, creeds, governments, morals, and arts are chiefly the expression of those who have lived off of other people, and who have made laws and religions and arts and morals for the purpose of compelling these others to support them while they should fight or preach or make laws or write books. Civilization and its ideals are the product of economic coercion. No language can make the fact vivid and awful enough—the fact that one class of people lives off another class. The chasm between these two classes cannot be bridged or closed except by the elimination of every class through

another village or ward or township, and do some missionary work. THE PAPERS WILL NOT BE THROWN AWAY, FOR THEY WILL BE ATTRACTIVE. If you prefer to have them sent in single wrappers we will mail them up to 250,000 at the rate of seventy-five cents per hundred, but we cannot accept more than a quarter of a million in singles. In order to present the Socialist movement to a million voters of the United States, Canada, and to many other places, I, the undersigned agree to pay at the rate of 75 cents per 100, for copies of the paper, to be mailed as follows: Name Street P. O. State

the triumph of the working class. Until then we cannot have social peace or equilibrium; until then we cannot have a society that shall be both stable and fluid. Ethics cannot coexist with economic inequality, nor can liberty exist. We shall live in lies and tyrannies so long as some people have privileges which other people have not; so long as some people own the things upon which all people depend. As long as one class does the world's work, and another class makes its institutions and ideals, the class making the institutions and ideals will continue to make them in such a way as to keep the working class in subjection to itself. Until the labor and the privileges of the world become common and equal, any civilization that we may have will be but the survival of brute force. We must recognize the fact of a class struggle before we can wipe it out through the socialization of the world.

But now we come to the historic test. If it were ever an open issue and fight to the finish between classes there would long ago have been but one class—the working class—which would also be the privileged and the ruling class. But never by direct struggle has a ruling class conquered and persisted. No problem of the people has ever been really solved. No battle of competition has ever been fought out. No revolution has ever been gone through with to the end.

How has the ruling class always conquered? By concession and compromise. It has been the policy and successful practice of the world's masters and owners, from the beginning of history, to defeat every revolution by adopting it; to destroy the rise of the peoples by befriending them; to make concessions that would become a bit and bridle in the mouth of revolt, and then ride it to new ruling-class power and glory. It is this that makes history so baffling and sickening to hope. It is by the favors which they receive from their masters that the three generations of men are beaten back into the historic helplessness of the world's disinherited. The masters of the world have always first resisted the people, whether in the form of a religious movement or political revolution, and then have granted favors which made them masters of the movement or revolution when it became powerful.

It is in this precise way that capitalism will seek to withstand Socialism. Capitalism will seek to defeat Socialism by giving it some of the things for which it seeks. We cannot have the co-operative commonwealth without having the whole of it. Capitalism may give the Socialist movement one-half or even nine-tenths of what it demands and still retain the control of power. For instance, the public ownership of so-called public utilities, without the social ownership of all the tools of production, would simply bring forth a new middle class and delay the industrial development that would issue in Socialism. Capitalists know this very well, know it much better than the working class, and are preparing to save themselves by their knowledge.

Thus we come to the political and spiritual as well as economic necessity of clearly defining the class struggle and its issues. Unless the workers of the world become conscious of themselves as the producing class, unless they understand that to them as the producers belong the product and the control and the privileges of their industry, they will achieve no kind of economic freedom. No masters have ever handed down freedom to their slaves. Capitalism cannot grant Socialism to the working class. The workers must achieve their own freedom through their own efforts, and out of themselves bring forth their own organization of labor and distribution of privileges; out of their own struggle and labor bring forth their own institutions and ethics. The whole capitalist interest, the whole interest of the church, the whole interest of organized education, the whole interest of our sickly and brutal literature, will lie in the direction of preventing the working class from taking possession of its inheritance.

Election Returns.
At the election in Chillicothe, Mo., May 5, the Socialist vote for mayor was 51 against 18 last November—a gain of 200%. Garver.
The Socialist vote for mayor of Baltimore at the election May 5, was 682. That is more votes than were cast in the entire state last November.
At the first time the Socialist put a ticket in the Alva, Okla., town election it polled 13 votes out of 90.

The New Crisis.
This work has had an enormous sale. It is a 50 cent work, but in order to close it out we will send it postpaid for 25 cents. It is hot stuff and most interestingly written. Not a dry line in its finely printed pages. At 25 cents while they last. No other edition will be printed.
Hannibal, Mo., city election may 5th resulted in giving the Socialist ticket 161 votes out of a total of 2,536. What this means may be drawn from the fact that there were only 24 Socialist votes in the entire county last November. Talbot.

A representative example of this is a recent statement of a very revered bishop in an inconceivably mongrel and ignorant discussion of the issue between "labor and capital," in which discussion some twenty or thirty conspicuous men have been taking part in a daily newspaper. The good bishop says: "I confess the gravest question seems to be to me 'How can workingmen and employes be helped to a better understanding of their mutual interest, and, indeed, even before that, of the fact that their interests are mutual?'"

Now the supreme evil that confronts the people lies in the danger that they shall be deluded into thinking that there is some mutual interest between the capitalist and the laborer. It is not the division of society into the clearly-defined class struggle, but the lack of such a struggle, that menaces the people. To create such a class struggle should be the supreme task and summons of moral passion. There cannot be and there ought not to be any reconciliation between capital and labor. The economic and moral liberty of the people depends upon this clear discernment—that the interests of "labor and capital" are inherently antagonistic, and must never be mutualized or identified with each other. To attempt to build civilization or social peace upon such mutuality is to build upon the fundamental lie of history. The labor of the world must become the owner of the world before we shall have any social truth to build on.

Now we shall have troops of "social reformers" of the showman type. We shall have "social reforms" and "reconciliation boards" under the benign guidance of such eminent reformers as Chauncey M. Depew, Lyman Abbott, Adam Forepaugh Jr., and the Ladies Home Journal. We shall have municipal ownership movements and public ownership planks in capitalist political parties. But the whole crew of "social reformers" and "reforms" will be in the nature of capitalist retainer services, supported by capitalism through its finkies. If ruling class capitalism can hide the fact that one class of people is forcibly appropriating the labor of another class, if it can hide from the eyes of the workers the issue between them and the owners of their labor power, if it can keep the people from seeing that civilization as now organized is a colossal parasite living off the blood and toll of the people, if it can keep the people from seeing that the governments and armies and commerce of the world exist by sheer brute economic might and have no basis at all in right, then capitalism can perpetuate itself—perpetuate itself by so confusing the lines and causes of battle that the workers shall destroy one another instead of the capitalist system. It may be that capitalism will at first succeed because we have not the wit or strength of character to clearly see that our social reforms are but capitalistic measures for self-preservation.

Compromise has always been the mother of tragedy, and by the favors they have received from their masters the workers of all ages have made the inhabitants of a slave world. Capitalism knows that it is doomed the moment the workers become as class-conscious as are the capitalists. The bishop knows that there will be no bishop's palace when the people come to their own, and the politician knows that his occupation is gone when the capitalist goes.

Up to date, the human race has developed strength through competition; Socialism comes from the development of the race through co-operation. Capitalism proceeds through the brute struggle of the survival of the fittest; Socialism comes from the fitting of all to survive. Capitalism causes every child to be born with the world as its enemy; from the beginning of consciousness the child must fight, a pitched battle—a life and blood-battle—while civilization for bread; Socialism comes to surround every child from the moment of his birth, with all the resources and opportunities, the love-making facts and will-making forces, that the co-operative

A general strike on the Northern Pacific is threatened.
The Northern Securities decision has been handed down—but the merger continues business on the old basis. There is not the least difference since the decision. The rich can do no wrong.
The effort to turn the Socialist party over to the democratic party through the door of the alleged "Labor Union" movement was wide spread, but the Appeal nipped the movement in time to prevent it bearing its ill fruit.

This government is to make a display of its navy before the emperor of Germany, that half crazy, half fool, who by accident of birth rules the German nation. This is done, says the dispatches, to pacify the tyrant's pique over the incident of some remarks by an American officer. Think of the American eagle humbling itself before the German war lord. This will cost hundreds of thousands of dollars, a tax on the American asses, but a KING must be appeased. To what base depths has the American money-grabbing nation fallen! There was a time when the American hated kings—now they cringe to please and please them.

labor and good will of the world can produce. We shall never know the truth about the universe, nor read the secret of life, as mere individuals competing with each other. The public will give up its secret only to the co-operative man. Not to the individual, but to the world-soul, will the universe become an open book. It is the socialized man that the winds and the waves and the stars will all obey, and the universe hold following with.

So the urgency and the religion of the hour is to preach the class struggle as the sole beginning of economic and political freedom and of spiritual integrity. The only way to the social peace that will abide is through the class war through to the Socialism. When the workers of the world organize their own Socialism, their own life, their own social order, their blossom in the beauty of their common labor, and sing the song of their common aspiration, then will the peace of good will fill the world.

The men who control this nation would sell it and the whole American people to any king for a cash consideration. They sell laws to the corporations to tax the people. They sell finkies to the courts of law to make self decisions from the bench to the highest bidder. But they are not American asses! You are!

In the natural course of things, according to the recent legislative actions, the Socialists will carry two congressmen in Massachusetts, one in Missouri and one in Montana. It will be almost sure to elect them a United States Senator. The future has only a rosy prospect.

Workingmen should know that the owners of corporations and control of both the republican and democratic parties, and that when the men vote either of these parties are voting to have their own militia, the army and the judges. Only by working for the Socialists these arms of plutocracy will be the majority—the workers.

When ten men produce a net of \$2,400 each they take \$1,950 of it and the other \$450 they should oppose the cause they want to stop. That is just what the Socialists do not do up. Under Socialism the employer would get the \$2,400 they would not have to drive an employer, for they would hire to an employer. Their own capital and labor.

It has now been proven Goebel of Kentucky was James Howard who was do it by republican governor of Indiana. He is protected by the permit the office from a republican official love and hate assassinated against anarchy! He is a candidate was a man. And that tells the Corporations commit from theft to murder their power.

The People's Gas Co. are employing non-union. The masters have plant and are trying to break up labor unions. sent a wagon load of restaurant, the 250 restaurant struck. Workingmen should together against the set of men were not other set. But the those who vote the That gives the political hands of the masters every strike of the Do you hear?

In a recent issue Uncle Sam as being pile of gold that which is supplied belled prosperity. the pile of gold re the people are ro the national treas more the people are what the people would not pay if instead of cunning price of consumer king's treasury know the people when our treasury hundreds of millions like the Panama that we are very children believe in the public!

In making his marriage Howard was certified to his "gentlemen." To useful reaction and grace. I think it is appropriate to sioner—while the poor by means of foolish workmen. sajkle, who paves sumes more tag, usual That is what alty call the workers wealth while believed that ruined it. They have "gentlemen" who workers—now they cringe to please and please them.

Working Class Brains Versus Capitalist Brains

"Brains win." How often is this statement hurled into the face of the working man who has been unable, in spite of all his intelligence, to win in the struggle against the dollar? Brains win, sometimes. But in the fierce competition for existence under the capitalist system, brains are no match against gold and silver, stocks and bonds.

There is another field, however, where a millionaire has no more power than even his lowest employe. That is the political field. Rockefeller's vote is worth no more than that of the man with the hoe. Here brains will, indeed, win.

The capitalist class know enough to train public teachers that will influence the minds in the interest of the capitalist class. But as long as the working class listen to the teachings of capitalist professors, lawyers, preachers and politicians, the capitalist brains will surely win over the working class brains, also in politics.

The working class must produce its own teachers. And these must train working-class brains to understand and promote working-class interests. The influence of the working class on the working-class brains must overcome that of the capitalist teachers. The hypnotic spell of capitalist suggestion over the working-class mind must be broken. For every capitalist suggestion, if followed by the working class, is a defeat for the working-class brain. But every working-class suggestion that destroys the influence of the capitalist suggestion, is a defeat for the capitalist brain.

The working-class brain is today divided against itself. One part is under the influence of the capitalist suggestion, the other is breaking away from this influence and developing its own class life. The working class as a whole will not be able to live its own class life, until the whole working-class brain will think its own individual working-class thought.

As long as the greater part of the working-class brain is held in the thrall of the capitalist suggestion, neither the working class as a whole, nor that part which has broken the capitalist spell, can realize its own class individuality. The enslaved majority keeps us all enslaved.

But the emancipated working-class thought is the greatest creative force which the world has yet seen. Like every class thought, it aims to create its own class environment, a world after its own image. All other class-thought before ours, carried with it the suggestion of slavery, for all previous class environments were built on the slavery of a lower class. But the working-class thought of our time carries with it the suggestion of freedom, not alone for its own class, but for all formerly ruling classes. The working-class brain, by emancipating itself, at the same time emancipates all other-brains from the environment of slavery.

FREEDOM is the most powerful suggestion which can be given to the human brain. The capitalist brain cannot give this suggestion to the working-class brain. Therefore, the free working-class brain is the most potent force in present society. The test of its class individuality is that it is feared and hated by the capitalists.

ANY WORKING-CLASS FORCE WHICH THE CAPITALISTS FEAR, DESERVES THE HEARTY SUPPORT OF THE WORKING CLASS. THE FORCE WHICH THE CAPITALISTS FEAR MOST IS THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

The Socialist brains represent that part of the working-class brain which has emancipated itself completely from the capitalist suggestions. The more Socialist literature is read, the more Socialist thoughts are read and spoken, so much more will Socialist ideas penetrate the rest of the working-class brain. Every Socialist idea is a germ of life, which penetrates the inert capitalist suggestions and drives the working-class brain forward on the road of self-development.

The workingman who reads, thinks, and speaks Socialist thoughts, is a living protoplasm in the vast and slumbering working-class consciousness. He is the force that will permeate the dormant mass like a leaven and cause it to create a working-class world, the basis and life of which will be freedom.

The working-class brain, once aroused to self-consciousness, is superior to the capitalist brain, for the same reason that freedom is stronger than slavery. Arouse your friends to a working-class consciousness! Help them to assert themselves! A working-class body with a capitalist brain is like Prometheus chained to the rock and tortured by the vulture. Break the capitalist chain and drive the vulture away!

The immense majority of the American voters are working men. Therefore, their combined intelligence, cannot be resisted by the capitalist brain.

Here are two suggestions which will decide the political battle in favor of the working-class brain: ABOLISH CAPITALISM! ESTABLISH SOCIALISM!

Cover the country with literature that will saturate the working-class brain with these two suggestions! E. U.

NEWS FROM The WARPATH

Socialists of Grant county, Indiana, organized on April 19. Secretary, Brose S. Horne, Marion, Ind.

State Secretary Willett of Montana asks us to "Keep our eyes on Montana and you will be surprised at the way we tally up in 1904."

Comrade Peter E. Burrows is about to publish "Revolutionary Essays and Manifestos," price \$1. Address 1233 16th street, New York City.

A state organization has been formed in Vermont, but regular application for a state charter has not yet been made. Instructions how to proceed have been forwarded to the newly elected state secretary.

Organizer C. J. Lamb of Michigan, reports that the system of stations being established for summer agitation in Michigan promises to be very successful and effective, and great good will from it.

Attention is called to the revised edition of the leaflet "Socialists Pay Dues," which is being disseminated from the national office. Address Wm. Malloy, 117 Arlington Block, Omaha.

A state committee of Kansas has been organized as follows: F. B. ...; Chas. Dobbs, vice

divided among themselves over some imaginary issue.

Twenty thousand mill workers are on strike for higher wages at Lowell, Mass., and the whole state is aroused. On Monday, April 12, the strikers held the largest parade seen for years, also holding enormous mass meetings. The principal speakers at the meetings were Representatives James F. Carey, and Frederick O. MacCartney, Father McGrady and Louis B. Talbot, Socialists.

The general results of the municipal elections are very satisfactory and the comrades are now working harder than ever to get everything shaped up for the fall campaign. The official count from Youngstown gives them from 135 to 220 votes instead of the amount reported formerly. This is a large increase and they feel much elated over the results. Cuyahoga Falls received 42 votes in their first attempt with a ticket which is good for the side of the state fall to comprehend the terrible struggle that took place here this year. The state legislature in special session adopted an entirely new set of code laws for the government of municipalities. These laws were a radical departure from the old system and they were made in such a manner as to give the municipal officers largely increased salaries and unusual powers of appointment. The mayor was granted an unusual amount of patronage to distribute among his faithful ones. On account of these new laws all city officers were elected this spring thus making a new set entirely. Both parties made the greatest fight ever known in the history of the state. They held shop noon-day meetings, open air night meetings, ward meetings, made house to house canvass and in fact adopted every method that is known to the Socialists for propaganda work. In spite of all this work we have not only held our own but in nearly every case have increased our vote, and in many cases doubled and trebled it. Thus the comrades have great reason to feel proud of the results attained.

THE FOVERTY LINE

The poverty line cannot be technically defined, yet in a general way the writer undertakes to describe it from ideas gotten from a late English work on "Poverty and the Wage Earner." Does the condition, thus generalized, fit any condition of American citizenship? Read it—think over it and see. The poverty line may be said to be the minimum which will allow a bodily existence and provide the primitive necessities of food, clothing, etc.

A family upon this scale (line) may spend a penny on railway fare or omnibus. They must never go into the country unless they walk. They must never purchase a half-penny newspaper or spend a penny to buy a ticket to a popular concert. They must never write letters to absent children, for they cannot afford to pay the postage. They must never contribute anything to their church, or give help to a neighbor which costs them money. They cannot save nor can they join a sick club, a lodge or trades union or labor society, because they cannot pay the necessary subscription (dues).

The children must have no pocket money for dolls, marbles, toys or sweets. The father must smoke no tobacco (nor chew), and drink no beer (this really ought to apply to all, but not as a result of the reasons indicated. The mother must never buy any pretty clothes for herself or for the children, the character of the family wardrobe as of the family diet being governed by the rule of absolute necessity.

"Nothing must be bought except that which is essential for the maintenance of the physical health, and what is bought must be of the plainest and most economical description. Should a child fall ill, it must be attended by the public doctor; should it die, it must be buried by charity."

In short, the wage earner and family working and living along this line must never be absent from his labor for a single day or a fraction thereof. The superimposed conditions and necessities imperatively demand it. Yet society insists that he perform the functions it has assigned him, and that he discharge his duties to the government, and that he pay the same price, if not more, for the little that he is forced to have—per the cravings of nature and social imposition—as the more fortunate ones above the line.

There is somewhere a wrong, an injustice in our body politic. There is too much suffering, and relatively there are too many on the suffering side of this line. Those loyal to humanity will eventually solve the problem—but when?

Grand and glorious men and women are those who have sided, ere now aiding and will continue to aid the "sons of men" to hasten the realization of "peace on earth and good will to all men," and of that social condition expressed in the verse of Robert Southey's song:

"Order is the sanity of the mind, The health of the body, The peace of the city, The security of the state, As the beams of the house, As the bones to the microcosm of man, So is order in all things."

Editor Appeal to Reason. Do Socialists believe in the abolition of money as a medium of exchange?

A medium of exchange will always be necessary for the exchange of products in modern society. If we were to abolish all mediums of exchange it would signify that all exchange had been abolished. That eventuality could only occur, if the Socialist society were to produce such an abundance of products, by the help of new machinery and inventions, that the problem of production would resolve itself into mere machine work. As long as this stage is not reached, a medium of exchange will be required to carry on production and consumption. Whether this medium will be money, or paper money, is another question. Whatever course will be adopted, the majority will decide. And this is all that can be said about the question at present.

Appeal to Reason, 25 cents per year.

BLOSSOMS AND THORNS

The capital of the Washington, D. C. banks has more than doubled in the last ten years, says a press report. That explains why the farms have been getting fewer.

Prosperity has struck the meat business and the prices for beef, pork, mutton, and chickens are soaring upwards. Nobody has heard so far that the wages of the working class have taken the same flight. Wonder who's to blame?

American working men will toil henceforth to earn a plentiful income for the earl of Yarrmouth, husband of Miss Thaw, who enjoys an income of several millions from three trusts. What would we do if we were all earls?

So far there are only three democratic candidates in the field: Parker, Cleveland and Hearst. If the democrats continue the like this until 1904 they will have a "collection." The chances are that they will have more candidates than votes.

An international trust to control electricity has been organized which will include all the great American and European electrical works. If the electrical workers will now join the Socialist party, they will be members of an international organization that is the only champion of labor against the trusts.

The assembly of Wisconsin passed a resolution calling for a constitutional convention to vote an amendment to the federal constitution providing for the election of United States senators by direct vote of the people. That's all right, providing the people will vote for senators of their own class, on the Socialist ticket.

The Declaration of Independence is to be seen no more in public. An order has been issued that the historic document shall henceforth be kept under lock and key. That is quite in keeping with the times. The capitalist system and the Declaration of Independence do not match. Either the one or the other must go. Which shall it be?

Judge Parker, of the New York Court of Appeals, who is mentioned as the prospective candidate of the gold democrats for president, has declared the clause in the eight-hour law unconstitutional which prohibits contractors from working their men more than eight hours a day. He evidently cares more for the votes of the contractors than for those of the working men. How do you feel about this?

It has been decreed by the infinite wisdom that rules over the fate of the coal combine that the price of anthracite coal shall be raised to \$5.00 a ton and that miners who will demand higher wages shall be discharged. When will the people who are supposed to be the rulers of this country, make up their minds to send that divine wisdom where it really belongs, to the bottomless pit? They can do it, as soon as they stop quarreling among themselves.

The captain of an American transport has been caught smuggling silverware into the Philippine Islands. The quality before the law, which we all are supposed to enjoy, manifested itself at once in the form of a well-paid lawyer who took up his case. If a poor Jack Tar had been caught that way, there would have been a great moral resentment in the capitalist press about the depravity and lawlessness of the "lower" classes. And Jack would have been promptly treated to a dose of lockup, and perhaps the sweatbox, first because it is his misfortune to be a Jack, and second because he cannot pay a law twist. But a captain—ah, that is a smudge of another color. No, there are no classes in this country.

Bryan's Commoner, Vol 3, No. 15, contains a cartoon representing the assault of the federative reorganizers' brigade on the Kansas City democracy. Conscious among the reorganizers are J. P. Morgan, J. D. Rockefeller, W. C. Whitney, and J. J. Hill, the men who have a finger in every individual pie; and standing behind every administrator, republican or democrat, are the Kansas City democracy, what is its platform and program? "Smash the trusts!" A wonderful issue to conjure labor with. No, gentlemen, the American working man will find little use either for the reorganized or for the Kansas City democracy. The one spells really republican, and the other is hopelessly behind the times. Get out of the way for a real live party.

The Wisconsin assembly passed a bill amending the child labor law so as to raise the age limit from 14 to 16 years and prohibiting the employment of children from 9 a. m. to 6 a. m. The immediate result will be that children who were 14 years old today will be 16 years old tomorrow. And just watch how that provision against night work will be enforced. Some day in the future there will be a sudden "revelation" of violations of the child labor laws, and the whole capitalist press will pretend to be surprised that such a thing could ever happen. This same has now been going on for more than a century. But in spite of all legislation children are working their lives away for the profit of the capitalists now as a hundred years ago. Only Socialism can solve the child labor question by abolishing all child labor.

The Methodist clergymen of Minneapolis were treated to a great mental feast, according to the Minneapolis Journal of April 27, when T. B. Walker, the richest man of that city, addressed them on "The Essential Basis of Social and Industrial Development." Mr. Walker evidently knows his business. If he can imbue the clergymen with the true capitalist spirit and induce them to champion

the divine right of the capitalist and the eternal duration of the capitalist system, he can wield a power over the minds of the Minneapolis churchgoers that will be hard to break. Hard to overcome, not because it has any mental superiority, but because neither he nor his clerical champions have the courage to discuss social and industrial questions on a platform, where these statements can be challenged. It is all right before an audience of capitalist clergymen to call Socialism "a theory, an imaginative system." But a working class audience would soon convince him of the contrary, if he had the manhood to make such a statement in the presence of a Socialist speaker. It is all right before such a safe audience as had to claim that "all experiments in Socialism have shown that the plan of living together in harmony and common ownership of property has proven to be a visionary theory that does not work in practice." But if he were to make such a contention on a platform which a Socialist speaker would occupy after him, he would soon be very sorry he spoke. He would be asked to kindly explain where and when such "experiments in Socialism" had been made. He would be told that what he observed among American Indians was communism of a very primitive sort, but by no means Socialism. He would be shown that Indians raising potatoes for sale in a capitalist environment, and Indians raising potatoes under a communist environment were two different propositions. And he would soon find out that there were quite a number of people in his audience who were not at all certain that "capitalism makes the whole world better off than the world would be under any possible system of Socialism."

But then Mr. Walker is a successful capitalist and knows his business. But is he American enough to meet the representative of the movement, which he has slandered in open debate, before an audience of working people? If he is, a note to the Appeal to Reason will bring a membership of the staff of this paper to Minneapolis for a public debate on Socialism in any good-sized public hall of that city.

POLITICAL TACTICS

From "TACTICS AND STRATEGY," By Thomas Berford. Price 10c.

At the election held November, 1902, the Socialists of San Francisco were persuaded not to put up a local ticket because of the Union Labor party. The principal and only plausible argument advanced for such a policy was: That the Socialists have for years been advising union men to go into politics, and now that they have done so we should not oppose them.

The argument is very sophistical. It is true that Socialists have advised workmen to discuss politics in their unions, and to make use of the political weapon; but straight Socialists have never advised workers to vote for capitalism. And a union man is no more enlightened voting for capitalism in one party than when voting for capitalism in another party. Voting will do the workers no good unless they vote for the right principle; and if it is right to cater to error and fallacy because union men advocate it, why is it not right to support the union men who vote the republican ticket?

To advise the workers to vote for what you know will not do them any good is to teach them falsely, in short it is to mislead them, and betray them into the hands of their enemies. And that such is the effect is proved by the fact that the Union Labor party nominees for the assembly (and for congress) became the nominees of the democratic party and were pledged to vote for a democrat for United States senator. In other words the union men were led back once more into the democratic party.

The advocates of fusion argued that by catering to the Union Labor party we secured its respect. Such an argument shows how superficial is the reasoning of the average opportunist. To secure respect you must have the power to command it. When the Socialist party does not put up a ticket it ceases to be a factor, it is not even thought of. When it puts up a ticket it can almost invariably secure so many votes as to destroy the chance of Union Labor party nominees. Thus the contention of the opportunists is the very reverse of the truth. The best way for the Socialist party to secure respect is to put up a ticket and make itself felt.

As to the argument that we antagonize union men by opposing their party—union men must be told that Socialists are as sincerely interested in the labor question as they are, and the reason they will not support the Union Labor party is because they know the folly of dealing with effects instead of causes.

It is claimed that we should support the Union Labor party because it is a LABOR party. The question then arises: What constitutes a labor party? Is it its personnel or is it its principles?

If it is the class of men who vote for it that determines its character then the republican party is a labor party, since the majority of its supporters are unquestionably working men. If it is the platform and principles of a party that determine its character, then the Union Labor party is no more a labor party than the democratic party. Indeed it is not even so radical, for one plank of the democratic state platform declares "against every form of private monopoly."

Socialists maintain that it is necessary to carry into the political field the same antagonism between capitalist and worker that exists in workshop and factory. To capitalist politics we must oppose labor politics and to capitalist principles we must oppose Socialist principles. And this brings us to the point that Socialists are the only real representatives of working class interests because the Socialist platform is the only class-conscious one. It can be proved logically, that nothing short of Socialism

can permanently better the condition of the workers; therefore "to truly represent the interests of labor we must advocate and strive for Socialist control and management of the industries. All parties that are not composed of class-conscious Socialists will always be mere instruments of the capitalist class."

A party that is not class-conscious is sure to be controlled by political schemers.

Even if such a party has one or two quasi-Socialist planks, it should not be supported because such planks do not give the workers a clear insight into the economic system. Workingmen are not good at drawing distinctions; anything that blurs the issue confuses them, they can therefore be easily misled.

The issue cannot be too clearly stated to them nor the line of demarcation too clearly drawn. If the workers were logical and educated, it might not be so necessary to be straightforward, but the ignorance and illogic of the masses is such that if they deviate in the least from the main track they are certain to wind up in the shambles of the old parties, and for these reasons it is better for the Socialist party to err on the side of straightforwardness and narrowness, than on the side of compromise and reaction.

There is no National Union Labor party, consequently the San Francisco Socialists were compromising with a mere local group of union men. And a mere party or local organization should have no right to compromise the entire national Socialist organization.

A Union Labor party could never be a success nationally because there are not more than two million union men, and many non-union men are prejudiced against unions. The Union Labor party therefore could represent only a part of the working class. The votes of the non-union men would offset the votes of the union men and, by thus neutralizing each others' votes, the entire working class would suffer.

There is no need of any labor party other than the Socialist party; it has all the qualities necessary, and any party really desiring to help labor would have to adopt Socialist principles in any case.

The Socialist party holds regular weekly propaganda meetings to educate the workers, and regular business meetings to protect their political interest. The other parties do not; they simply seek the votes and not the education and emancipation of the workers.

Information for the Eager

Editor Appeal to Reason. Please answer through the columns of your paper the following questions:

1. Have the Socialists elected any senators or representatives in congress?

2. Are there any Socialists in the state legislatures, and how many mayors in this country are Socialists?

There are no Socialist senators or representatives in congress at present. There are three Socialists in the legislature of Massachusetts and three in the legislature of Montana. The following cities have Socialist mayors: Brockton and Haverhill, Mass., Sheboygan, Wis., and Anaconda Mont.

Editor Appeal to Reason. In a recent issue of the Appeal you say that the majority of the members of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union could undertake the most sensitive and delicate artery of commercialism if they were Socialists. Would you kindly enlarge on this a little more?

All the secrets of the capitalist world go through the hands of the commercial telegraphers. They learn more about the innermost secrets of the capitalist market, and the capitalist schemes, than any other class of working men. Above all, they know where their fellow telegraphers are stationed, and soon find out, per wire, what kind of fellows they are. Most of the present commercial news is of comparatively little practical value to the Socialist movement. But it would even now be very valuable if the Socialist telegraphers along a certain line were to adopt a secret code among themselves, by which they could converse without being overheard by the capitalist telegraphers. It would not be necessary that all should have the same code. On the contrary, a variety of codes, would make it all the more difficult to betray them and to catch them unawares. In times of great political stress a string of Socialist telegraphers stretched out across the capitalist continent and communicating with one another, or with a secret representative of the Socialist party, would be able to keep the party organization posted on any move which the capitalist magnates might contemplate. They would be like so many pickets of the Socialist army doing outpost duty for their party. It might also become of the greatest importance for the capitalists to intercept Socialist messages. This could not be done without the knowledge of some Socialist telegraphers. The most important power which the commercial telegraphers could wield, would be to assist in a general strike of the railroad men, miners, and steel workers. By so doing, they could practically tie up the whole capitalist machinery, and force an issue to the front in a presidential campaign, which no other party but the Socialist party could win.

The Socialist telegraphers in the commercial service should also seek to keep in touch and establish connections with the Socialist telegraphers in the government service. We want to be posted on the diplomatic movements of the capitalist enemy as well as on the commercial movements. The European Socialists are well served by their comrades in all political and commercial stations, and there is hardly one important document, hardly one important messenger, however guarded by codes and ciphers that does not find its way to Socialist headquarters. The capitalists cannot get along without telegraphers. A majority of Socialist telegraphers, therefore, who would constitute themselves into a department of telegraphy for the Socialist army would be one of the most important means of securing our victory.

DON'T STAY SICK

When a Postal Will Bring You Help. Write me today, for each day's delay means a day more of ill-health. Just tell me which book to send. I will mail you an order—good at any drug store—for six bottles Dr. Shoop's Restorative. You may take it a month on trial. If it succeeds, the cost is \$5.50. If it fails, I will pay the druggist myself—and your mere word shall decide it.

While you are waiting, thousands of others are cured. Out of each 40 who make this month's test, there are 39 who pay for it gladly, because they get well. I willingly pay for the rest. You don't need to have faith in me. I have the faith; for I know the remedy; and I take the risk. Won't you simply try to get well?

I have spent a lifetime in learning how to strengthen weak inside nerves. My Restorative brings back that power which alone operates the vital organs. I treat a weak organ as I would a weak engine; by giving it the power to act. My way always succeeds, save when a cause like cancer makes a cure impossible. And most of these chronic diseases cannot be cured without it.

You'll know this when you read my book. Simply state what book you want, and address Dr. Shoop Book Co., 914 Hattie, Wis. Mid cases, not chronic, are often cured by one or two bottles. At all druggists.

Without wishing to make any unpleasant distinctions, we are nevertheless constrained to remark that the American Labor Union Journal is perhaps the brightest and most forcefully edited labor publication that comes to our exchange table. It is thorough and uncompromisingly Socialist. What a relief it is to turn from some of the dimmer publications, with their vapid utterances to this radical journal that heads a movement that is making history every day. Its editor, in fact, is the best. Smith and Hanna is not an intimate terms with him.

Do Your Part. "We are living, we are dwelling, In a grand and awful time, In a time of ages telling, To be living is sublime."

But shall we live as the ox or swine, to die and be forgotten or as the Boilvans and Washingtons and Lincolns, to endure while time shall last?

The decision rests with us. Humankind faces the social crisis. Many stand for things as they are. A smaller number stand for things as they ought to be. We will be among the first. The first are the obstructionists; they will be forgotten. The second are the saviors of the race; they will live forever in the hearts of a grateful posterity.

You want to make the most of life. To do so you must do the most good. To do this you must join the band who would break the shackles which bind mankind. You must be a Socialist.

But to be an effective Socialist you must inform yourself. You must develop and train your powers. You must be ready, when the moment comes, to strike and strike hard.

The American Socialist College provides the facilities; superior teachers, devoted to the cause; splendid instruction; inspiration for the highest work. Come and equip yourself. Address AMERICAN SOCIALIST COLLEGE, Thomas Silmer Will, Ph. D. Pres. Sedgwick Bldg., Wichita, Kansas.

10 DAYS FREE TRIAL

We will send any bicycle to any address, with the instructions and accessories, for a 10-day free trial. You can return it to us at any time, and we will refund you the full amount of the purchase price, less the cost of the shipping charges. This offer is good for the month of May, 1904. Write to us today for the name of the nearest dealer, or to us directly, and we will mail you a bicycle, with the accessories, for a 10-day free trial. The name of the nearest dealer, or to us directly, and we will mail you a bicycle, with the accessories, for a 10-day free trial.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST COLLEGE, Thomas Silmer Will, Ph. D. Pres. Sedgwick Bldg., Wichita, Kansas.

Class Struggle in America is a new book by A. M. ... It is a history of the United States, from the time of the first settlers to the present day. It is a history of the struggle between the capitalist and the working class. It is a history of the struggle for freedom and justice for all.

Good Bye, (Over Class, Over Religion, Over Race, Over Color, Over Sex, Over Age, Over Nationality, Over All) is a new book by A. M. ... It is a history of the United States, from the time of the first settlers to the present day. It is a history of the struggle between the capitalist and the working class. It is a history of the struggle for freedom and justice for all.

SISTERS READ MY FREE OFFER

Having made a special effort to meet the needs of the women of America, I have prepared a special offer for you. I will send you a copy of my new book, "The Women's Question," free of charge, if you will send me a list of the names of all the women in your household, with their addresses. This offer is good for the month of May, 1904. Write to me today for the name of the nearest dealer, or to me directly, and I will mail you a copy of my new book, "The Women's Question," free of charge.

