

If You Don't Want SOCIALISM Quit Professing to Believe in the "GOLDEN RULE" as a RULE OF LIFE.

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Published Every Saturday. OWNERSHIP of the EARTH AND THE FULLNESS THEREOF By ALL the People, and Not by Part of the People.

THE SAME OLD, OLD STORY!

Repent ye and believe the gospel of Socialism. The best man is an unsafe example, so follow principles only. Confess Socialism with the mouth before men every opportunity you get.



The Great Dragon will be cast out, that old serpent called Capitalism, which deceiveth the whole world; he will be cast into the earth, and his supporters will be cast out with him. No one can save any one from economic slavery by dying for him.

When the dragon of capitalism saw that he was to be cast down, he persecuted the people which brought forth Socialism. He that believeth in Socialism hath everlasting assurance of being charmed against the viles of the capitalist politician.

Woe unto you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for you devour widows houses, and for a pretence make long prayer; therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation. Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves. Mathew XXIII.

The Socialist agitator goeth out to sow. And when he soweth, some seeds fall by the wayside, and the vultures of capitalism come and devour them. And some fall on stony hearts where there is not much soil for them to grow.

JESUS, THE CARPENTER OF NAZARETH

Society vs. the Christian Church. A comparison of what Jesus, the Apostles, and the "Fathers" taught, with what the church teaches 1900 years after. Some history that you ought to commit to memory.

Compiled by A. W. Ricker.

More than 1900 years ago there was born, amid lowly surroundings, in the small country of Palestine, a man whose life and deeds have more powerfully influenced the mind of the world than any other character known to history. This man was Jesus, the carpenter of Nazareth. According to fragmentary history he was born in a manger, was reared in a home of poverty, worked at the carpenter's trade, and at the age of 30 began to preach doctrines that brought to him the love and fidelity of the poor; the contempt and hatred of the rich.

Unfortunately, history is not precise in dealing with the career of this man. There were no printing presses in his time to publish his words, and no short-hand reporters to take his discourses as they fell from his lips. If we are to understand his mission we must know that at the time of his public life, Rome had conquered the world, and that the Jewish states were subject territory. The Roman state ruled only for the purpose of gathering tribute, and the internal affairs of Judea were administered by the priests of the Jewish religion. The priests and ruling classes had reduced the once powerful Jewish religion to a mere matter of form, hypocrisy and merchandise. We are told that the temple had been transferred into a bank for the changing of money and a medium for dispensing the various birds and animals used by the Jews for sacrificial purposes. Jesus began to preach against the system then in existence. His pulpits were the lakesides, the highways, the street corners, and occasionally the synagogues. He spurned wealth and sought to annihilate riches. He taught simplicity of life and the foolishness of striving for material things. He gathered about him a band of students to whom he taught his philosophy of life. These men forsook their customary pursuits and pledged their lives to the spreading of the "new truth." All of these men were poor and all working men except Mathew, who was a tax-gatherer. All were taught the aims and purposes of Jesus, and save one, Judas, remained true to the new system to the end. Jesus did not content himself with teaching a new and positive system of life, he opposed and attacked in such vigorous terms the existing system of Judea, that he was finally led to the cross, to die the death of a criminal, BECAUSE HE HAD OPPOSED AND DENOUNCED THE RULING CLASS OF THE JEWS. History likewise reveals the fact that his disciples also, each and all, save John, were put to death for the same cause.

NEED WE WONDER?

Is there any doubt about this? Then let us call in the testimony of the fathers of the church and the researches of the Renan, as compiled in a most masterly manner by Prof. Francesco S. Nitti of the Catholic University of Naples, Italy, and translated and published by Macmillan and Co., New York, 1895. No Catholic priest or protestant preacher will dare impeach the testimony of this book, for its authenticity is established beyond a peradventure.

Jesus denounced the Pharisees, the reigning Jewish sect, for their hypocrisy, cruelty and meanness. He compared them to whitened sepulchers, fair outside, but full of corruption within. According to report he scourged them from the temple, because they had made the house of God a den of thieves. He opposed the entire system of profit, of interest and wages then in vogue. Parable after parable was uttered to show the injustice and wrong of these things. Space forbids extended analysis, but a Bible is in every home. Open its lids and read the anathemas hurled against the ruling class of the Jews. Read his parable of Dives, the rich man, and Lazarus, and the account of the rich young man who sought membership in the communist society which Jesus had organized. When Jesus said "Sell all thou hast, etc.," the young man went away sorrowing, and Jesus said, "How hardly shall a rich man enter the kingdom of heaven." Jesus never uttered a discourse that he did not repeat this sentiment. Take the sermon on the Mount. What is it but the laudation of the beauties of a simple life, free from the stain of ill-gotten wealth, and how does he address the rich? "Woe to you that are rich, for you have your consolation," etc. Jesus was an humble carpenter, a poor working man. Was it not natural that he defended his own class? He taught the brotherhood of man. Do you imagine that a brotherhood could exist where a few robbed the many? If the teachings of Jesus had been accepted would they not have changed the entire economic system of Palestine? Naturally so, and because Jesus was an agitator who attacked existing institutions, the Jewish priesthood and the well-to-do excited the religious prejudice of the population to the point where they were willing to have Jesus crucified. Just so today. The capitalist class has hired that portion of the clergy that can be bought with gold and favors to excite the religious and superstitious element to the point where they will cry "crucify Socialism."

WHAT THE APOSTLES TAUGHT.

Jesus was slain for his radical utterances, as he time and again said that he would be, but after him came the Apostles, who went on teaching just what Jesus had taught, viz. Communism. The first organization of the Apostles was at Pentecost, and the following was their first act as recorded in Acts 4-32, 34 and 35:

"And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul; neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own, but they had all things common. Neither was there any among them that lacked; for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold and laid them down at the apostles' feet; and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need." This form of social organization continued for three hundred years. St. Paul considered the rich man a parasite, and said: "If any man will not work, neither let him eat." Precisely the position that Socialists take today. St. James said, Chap. 5, verse 1-6: "Go to, now, ye rich men, weep and howl in your miseries which shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupt. Behold the hire of the laborers, who have reaped down your fields, which by fraud has been kept back by you, crieth, and the cry of them hath entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth." Read the vision of John on the Isle of Patmos and note in what burning words he has described our industrial system, and how precisely he predicts the downfall of capitalism and the establishment of a new system, where there shall be no more buying and selling for profit.

The Apostles died, and the "fathers" succeeded them. We now have three hundred years of Christian communism. We have the burning at the stake, the boiling in oil, the dens of wild animals in which Christians were thrown, the slaughter by Nero and the tyrants; the Christians living in caves and the catacombs of Rome. Why all this persecution by the ruling class? Christians are courted by rulers now. The priests and preachers are objects of special consideration on the part of the ruling classes. England pensions her clergy by taxes drawn from the working class. Nearly every country of Europe has similar provisions. In this country the clergy rides on the railroads at half fare—they are frequently given palace cars—for their various convention trips, and even Congress pays deference. Is this change of treatment on the part of the ruling class due to a change in the ruling class or a change in the program of the Christians? Ah, the change is in the Christians, I fear. In the early days, the followers of Christ were attacking the evils and cruelties of the Roman state. They were creating discontent. Now, the chosen teachers of Christianity are defending the state in war, oppression and exploitation. Then Christianity was confined to the poor. Now it is the special property of the rich who have no personal use for Christ or his radical doctrines, but who use the church to quiet and suppress the discontent of the masses. Let us see. "It is certain that the early Christians practiced communism, or community of goods," says Nitti.

The following is quoted from Prof. Nitti's book "Catholic Socialism," and is testimony that must go unchallenged:

In the fourth century, Christianity had become the religion of the poor throughout a great part of the Roman Empire. The wealthy class still remained faithful to the old pagan worship. The religious conflict transformed into the economic conflict only increased the hatred between the two naturally hostile classes. "According to the primitive church, avarice was one of the greatest crimes. Usury, (lending at interest) was strictly forbidden. "We are bound to admit that Christianity was a vast economic revolution more than anything else." "All is in common with us except women," says Tertullian. "We carry on us all we possess and share everything with the poor."—St. Justin. "The soil," says St. Ambrose, "was given to the rich and poor in common. Wherefore, oh ye rich, do ye unjustly claim it for yourselves alone?" Nature gave all things in common for the use of all—usurpation created private right. "Behold," writes St. John Chrysostom, "the idea we should have of the rich and covetous: they are truly as robbers who standing in the public highways despoil the passers by." "A common life, Oh, brethren," says St. Cle-

ment, "is necessary for all, and most of all for those who wish to serve God without end, and to imitate the life of the apostles and their disciples. For the common use of everything in this world should be free to all men. But through iniquity, the one claimed this belonged to him, and the other that, and thus came division among men." For St. Augustine, property is not a natural right, but a positive right, founded simply on civil authority. "Unhappy ones that you are!" says St. Basil the Great, addressing the rich: "What answer will you make to the Great Judge? You cover with tapestry the bareness of your walls, and do not clothe the nakedness of men. You adorn your steeds with most rich and costly trappings, and despise your brother who is in rags. You allow the corn in your granaries to rot or be eaten up by vermin, and you deign not even to cast a glance on those who have no bread. You hoard your wealth, and do not deign to look upon those who are worn and oppressed by necessity. You will say to me: 'What wrong do I commit if I hoard that which is mine?' And I ask you: 'Which are the things that you think belong to you? From whom did you receive them?'" In his homilies, St. John Chrysostom speaks

with profound contempt of the rich of Antioch and Constantinople. "You received," he says to them, "your fortune by inheritance; so be it! Therefore, you have not sinned personally, but how know you that you may not be enjoying the fruits of theft and crime committed before you?" He never ceases from stigmatizing the rich upon all occasions, and notwithstanding the persecution they carry on against him, by which they finally succeed in ruining him, and forcing him to quit Constantinople, they cannot, however, silence him or prevent him from openly declaring his aversion to wealth. One day, in speaking of the misfortune of SS. Saturninus and Aurelianus, having violently censured the rich men of the city, he exclaims: "They say to me: 'Wilt thou never cease from speaking ill of the rich?' Still more anathemas against the rich! and I answer: 'Still your hardness towards the poor!'" The rich of those times reasoned very much in the same manner as do some individualist writers of the present day. "The poor," they said, "deserve their lot. They are idlers who do not even wish to work; noxious parasites whom it would be better to do away with. Some of them are simply beggars, who speculate on people's kindness of heart. No," they added, "God does not love the poor, for if He

loved them He would remedy their misery." But to these objections, St. John Chrysostom replied with most severe accusations. "You say that the poor do not work," he cries to the rich, "but do you work yourselves? Do you not enjoy in idleness the goods you have unjustly inherited? Do you not exhaust others with labour, while you enjoy in indolence the fruit of their misery?" An infinity of citations might be given on the subject, for almost all the fathers of the church, up to the seventh century, considered communism as the most perfect and most Christian form of social organization. Usury, by which, like Christ, they meant simple lending at interest, was according to them, a capital offence. According to St. Jerome, "Opulence is always the result of theft, if not committed by the actual possessor, then by his predecessors." For St. Clement, private property is the fruit of iniquity. St. Basil considers the rich man as a thief, and St. John Chrysostom insists on the necessity of restoring to all costs community of goods. According to St. Augustine, private property originated in usurpation, etc. Such maxims have, moreover, left profound traces in the Canon Law. In the Corpus Juris Civilis, private property is also considered

as an evil, since according to Divine Law, all things are common to men, as air and light. Similar theories could be received by the church, when it was but the refuge of the poor, the asylum of the helpless, when community of goods was more or less practiced. But when Christianity became the official religion, and was adopted as a social necessity, even by the rich, even by those who up to the last had continued in the old Pagan worship, it became necessary to mitigate the old evangelical doctrines on property. The doctrines held by the early fathers of the church on the nature of property are perfectly uniform. They almost all admit that wealth is the fruit of usurpation, and, considering the rich man as withholding the patrimony of the poor, maintain that riches should only serve to relieve the indigent; to refuse to assist the poor is, consequently, worse than to rob the rich. When, after Constantine, Christianity became, on the contrary, the official religion, and was embraced by the rich and by members of the government, the ecclesiastical writers manifested quite different opinions on the subject of property.

WHAT WE HAVE PROVED

We have proved by the foregoing that Jesus taught a new economic system based on the brotherhood of man and exemplified in communism. Second: That his disciples taught precisely the same doctrines and organized the first Christian church on communal lines. Third: That the fathers of the church taught the same doctrines, and that because of these doctrines Christians were persecuted and martyred. Fourth: That when Constantine espoused Christianity, he took complete charge of the church, changed all its policies and compelled a new interpretation of the scriptures.

We have only to add to this the further fact, that from the time of Constantine to the present, the church, both protestant and Catholic has thoroughly misrepresented the purposes and doctrines of Jesus and from a body of believers seeking to establish the brotherhood of man, has become the supporter always of monarchy in Europe, and commercialism and capitalism in this country.

In the name of that same Jesus, who gave up his life in penalty for his attack on the same evils in the Jewish state that still exist--the church supports and defends every species of wrong, cruelty and injustice known to the hellish ingenuity of man. It supports the tyranny of the Czar of Russia, the emperor of Germany, and monarchy in Europe everywhere. It goes to war when the monarch goes to war, and sends its priests and preachers to ask God's blessing on the red slaughter of battle. It winks its eye at the brutal war spirit of William of Germany. It is silent when the King of England becomes known as the great roue of Europe. It sleeps while Turkey slaughters the innocent Armenians. In this country it lauds and supports Capitalism. It prays for Rockefeller, when the people shiver. It preaches war and prays for imperialism. Its hand is in the pocket of the whole hellish system of Capitalism and its mouth is closed with gold. Capitalism has filled the land with 300,000 prostitutes, if we are to accept the figures of Mrs. Lucy Charlton, the purity evangelist. One hundred thousand coal miners in the anthracite regions live like slaves. One million little children are destroying all possibility of development by wearing away their lives in factories when they should be in school. Five million women are guiding the wheels of industry when they should be rocking the cradle. The land is full of millionaires and poverty. Dogs and monkeys are banqueted while babies starve. With this situation staring the church in the face, what does it do? **IT HAS THE BRAZEN EFFRONTERY TO BOLDLY SUPPORT CAPITALISM.** A preacher, who every time he prays, uses the name of Christ, defends the things which cost Christ his life to condemn. A Hillis breaks out in New York, and attacks Union men. Who owns Hillis? The capitalist class. Next it is Parkhurst, who preaches the gospel of the revolutionary Nazarene, to a church full of plutocrats. Then comes Sherman, a Catholic priest, of Chicago, who swells the chorus of his protestant brethren. After these notables come a procession of lesser defenders of the capitalist system, all similarly inspired. All speak in the name of Jesus.

The time has come when the people must know the truth; when the hypocrisies of those who pretend to speak for Jesus must be laid bare. The clergy and priesthood are drunken with an exaggerated sense of power and prestige. They imagine that because our forefathers bent the knee and dropped the head when ecclesiastical authority spoke, the present generation will continue to do so. Do you not know, you foolish preachers, that the printing press can expose your hypocrisy and false presentation of history? Cannot the masses read what Jesus said? Have they not the Apostles? Have we not the writings of the Fathers, and do not all these silent dead, slain by ancient capitalism bear silent, though eloquent witness of your perfidy and dishonor? Does not every line they have written stare you in the face in mute accusation? What will you do with their testimony? History says that the early Christians practiced communism. If so, then Jesus must have taught it, and he did. The ethics of communism and Socialism are identical--the two systems differ only as they apply to different states of civilization, and production. In the time of Jesus, communism was a practical state of life and Socialism was not. Today communism is out of the question, but **SOCIALISM IS NECESSARY TO THE EXISTENCE OF THE RACE IN A STATE OF CIVILIZATION.** When Jesus lived there was no machinery but of the crudest kind. The application of steam and electricity was unknown. The people could live in communities, producing from the soil and the vine enough to supply their wants. Co-operation then meant communism. Today, machinery does the work, and can be made to serve the race. Under Socialism the working class will own the machinery collectively, but the product will go to individuals for private use. If Jesus were living today he would be a Socialist instead of a communist as he was in his time.

The Priesthood and the clergy that have opened their mouths to defend capitalism, have supposed that they were attacking Socialism, but, as a matter of fact, everyone of them, without a single exception, have attacked Communism, **THE IDENTICAL DOCTRINE WHICH JESUS TAUGHT.**

It is the privilege of the church to support the capitalist system if it chooses, but in doing so it must not drag in the name of Jesus to support its sins. Jesus boldly attacked the ruling class of the Jews. The church today defends the ruling class, which is the capitalist class. Jesus attacked every species of wrong. The church today openly defends war, profit, interest and rent. Jesus always espoused the cause of the working class. The church today defends the master class. Between the life and teachings of Jesus, and the present political program of the church there is a gulf as wide as space. Socialism is purely an economic question and as such does not concern itself with religious philosophy, and when the Co-operative Commonwealth is established, any man or any woman can believe any species of religion that is most satisfactory without interference from the government. With Mohammedanism, Buddhism, Catholicism, Protestantism or any other ism it has nothing to do. It is only when the church enters politics and supports capitalism that Socialism arrays itself in opposition. Socialism is engaged in a death-struggle with the capitalist system. It will fight, not only the capitalist class, but all who defend it. If the church chooses to defend capitalism, then Socialism will open its batteries on the church, for it will recognize the church as part of the capitalist system. The Socialists will not permit the church to lead the masses to believe that Jesus ever defended capitalism. The Socialists have a higher regard for Jesus than has the church. Gladly do they place Jesus and the Apostles along with Marx and those who have taught the world that mankind should be a brotherhood. Let the church choose whether it will follow Jesus or Mammon, and if it deliberately chooses to follow Mammon it may expect to be antagonized by the rising and irresistible power of Socialism. In vain will the priesthood and the clergy warn the working class against Socialism. Its voice has been silent while capitalism has driven childhood and womanhood to the factory--silent while the onward march of Commercialism has swept the working class into tenements and hovels--silent while womanhood has been debauched and manhood prostituted to the greed of capitalism. Now that the working class has begun to arouse from the sleep of ignorance and superstition, and to measure strength with the capitalist class, the priesthood and the clergy are suddenly alarmed for the welfare of these same working slaves. The working class must not think, because thought will lead to action and action will destroy capitalism. In vain does Rome and Babylon howl, for while the working class will hear gladly the gentle words of Jesus pointing the way to a higher life, it will close its ears to that priesthood, Protestant or Catholic, whose inspiration is in the bank vaults and the stock exchange.

AN AWFUL ARRAIGNMENT. Such Words as Robber, Incendiary, Murderer and Hypocrite Flung at Young Rockefeller.

The most famous bible class in the world is that in New York presided over by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., nearly all the members of which are multi-millionaires. The leader is not the less remarkable, being the son and heir of perhaps the richest man in the world. In conducting his class Mr. Rockefeller gives expression weekly to opinions and sentiments which would do credit to the most devout and self-sacrificing preacher, and these expressions coming as they do from a man of his enormous wealth and unequalled prospects, are always read with interest.

Next Sunday Mr. Rockefeller will not need to be without topic and every one is wondering if he will accept the challenge given by Henry Frank, the leader of the Metropolitan Independent church. Mr. Frank has addressed

to him an open letter and calls upon him to reply at the next meeting of the bible class. Here are some of the questions Mr. Frank asks:

Is it possible to be a consistent Christian, assured of salvation in the Kingdom of Heaven, and at the same time a usurer, a robber, an oppressor of the weak and defenseless, an incendiary, a murderer and a hypocrite?

Is a highway robber justified in the eyes of God for all his sins by giving away to the poor and needy a small modicum of his vast stealings?

Is it not true that the enormous wealth which has accrued to the benefit of the Standard Oil company, of which your distinguished father was the founder and is the present head, was secured by the methods of the usur-

er, the robber, the oppressor of the weak and defenseless, the murderer and the hypocrite?

Is it not true the proprietors of the Standard Oil company were at one time indicted as sharers in a conspiracy to blow up the oil wells of a competitor, involving the loss of both life and property? Is it not true that a grand jury found that the facts presented warranted such an indictment? Is it not also true that the judge who quashed that indictment afterward procured his re-nomination for the judgeship through the direct influence of the Standard Oil company?

Is it not true that the Standard Oil company unconsciously purchased the election of Henry B. Payne as United States senator, paying as high as \$5,000 for single votes in the Ohio legislature?

Is it not true that the history of the Standard Oil company is replete with acts of violence, of oppression, of the power of might over right, of injustice and of the violation of almost every commandment of the decalogue?

And lastly let me ask, Do you not believe that such manifest hypocrisy, such unblushing denial of all the ethical doctrines of the greatest Moral Preceptor of the race, such unconscionable efforts to purchase eternal salvation with "gold and silver"--that particular sin which Peter so earnestly condemned in Simon Magus--is doing more to cause the final overthrow of the Christian system of belief than the combined labors of a hundred aggressive Voltaires or a thousand unequalled Ingersolls?

Believing that you would not purposely pose as a conscious hypocrite before the world and

that you must realize that continued possession and enjoyment of stolen wealth is particularly criminous, I ask you sincerely whether if Jesus were now physically accessible you do not believe he would command you to restore to those whom you have cheated of the wealth which they themselves created all that which is their due? Would he not again, think you, command to "render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's," meaning thereby not the government, but the tolling people whom the Standard Oil company has so long robbed and outraged? Would not he who despised hypocrisy and the whitened sepulchres of pretentious Phraesisms denounce the spectacular gifts of millions of dollars to religious and educational institutions whilst restitution had been denied those who were its rightful owners?

WHY NOT YOU?

The appeal we made two weeks ago to our single list subscribers has met with astonishing response.

Ala. 1, Ark. 2, Ariz. 1, Calif. 10, Colo. 9, Conn. 1, Fla. 1, Ida. 5, Ill. 11, Ind. 7, I. T. 2, Iowa 13, Kans. 11, Ky. 3, La. 4, Mass. 7, Mich. 8, Minn. 6, Mo. 12, Mont. 2, Neb. 7, N. H. 2, N. M. 4, N. Y. 4, N. D. 1, Ohio 4, Okla. 9, Ore. 15, Pa. 15, R. I. 1, S. D. 4, Tenn. 6, Tex. 7, Utah 5, Vt. 1, Wash. 12, W. Va. 2, Wis. 6, Wyo. 1, Can. 2. Total, 224.

We had intended to announce the contract for our new press in this week's edition. Representatives of both the Goss and Hoe Press companies are here, and before this paper reaches you the contract will be let.

Volunteer No. (Do not use above space.) J. A. Wagland, Editor Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas. Comrade:—You may enter my name on the roll of Five Thousand for the "Twelve Month Campaign" for a Million Circulation.

Anticlericalism and Socialism.

Christianity, in its origin, found expression in two distinct forms of communism. One of them consisted in the union of the faithful, who renounced marriage and the family, and retired into a convent, separated from the contact with the outer world.

After this introduction it is easy to understand the religious policy of the capitalist class, its history and reasons. As long as the capitalist class were a revolutionary class, and opposed to the existing order of things, they were also at the same time enemies of the whole church, not only of the religious orders, but also of the secular clergy who were then in the service of the existing rulers and stood in the way of the elevation of the capitalists to supremacy.

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great number of holy days which seriously interfered with capitalist production, were considerably reduced, even in overwhelmingly Catholic countries. The charity work which formerly gave to the church the possibility to resist the exploitation of the poor by capitalism, does not cause any more annoyance to the capitalists.

Now the scope of this influence is wholly due to the negligence of the capitalist state in matters of public education and works of public assistance. Transfer the schools from the hands of the municipalities to those of the state, remove the influence of religious sects from them, reform the school program in conformity with the demands of modern pedagogy, introduce the experimental and practical method, pay good wages to public school teachers, make school restaurants a part of the public school service, and you will have done more to weaken the in-

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ing them its own. For this reason it is opposed to the church, which constitutes one of these instruments of class rule. But the church does not limit itself to this function. The religion which it professes and teaches still meets the pressing wants of great masses.

This problem is not confined to our attitude against the church alone. The bureaucracy offers another example of those institutions which are instruments of class rule and at the same time serve a useful function. In fact, our present social life lacks those elements which are only possible under a Socialist order, elements which will cease to place the bureaucracy as a special class above the mass of the people who are forced to serve the bureaucracy, instead of being served by it.

It is the same with militarism. The Socialist movement must strive to abolish armies which are instruments of class rule, the same as the church and the bureaucracy. But armed forces are still a necessity, and it would be too simple to demand their abolition.

While all Socialist parties are fully agreed on this attitude toward the secular clergy, they are not so in regard to the religious orders. Now it is certain that any law of exception passed against these international orders constitutes a greater danger for the liberty of the internationally organized working class than for the religious orders themselves.

The extension of industries, the industrialization of agriculture, the numerical increase of the wage working class, the increase in the means of transportation, and the diffusion of education favor the Socialist party in its aims.

fluence of the church on the schools than by expelling a few sisters from institutions of learning. If private schools are closed as well as all institutions that do not conform to the pedagogical system of the public schools, and if especially those institutions are prohibited where instruction is only a veil for economic exploitation and mental enslavement of the children, we have no objections to make, because in that case the schools of the religious orders would be the first to suffer.

Historical motives enable us to understand why the majority of the French Socialists should have been inclined to fight the religious orders by violent means, instead of supporting a policy that would have gone to the root of the clerical influence.

The increase of clericalism does not hurt the Socialist movement. But it hurts liberalism which loses ground continually. Anti-semitism and nationalism are only chips from the old liberal block, and as long as they pursue a reactionary policy they invariably transform themselves into pure clericalism.

On account of this return toward religious sentiment, which the church endows with a political character and action in order to preserve it, and in which the working class itself takes part, after leaving the illusions of the unfulfilled liberal promises behind, Socialism alone can successfully meet clericalism.

But above all, the methodical manner in which the Socialist party meets the inevitable class struggles in which the church finds itself involved, the greatness of the Socialist ideal, the whole ideal force which springs from Socialism, the uniformity of its aims, the bold and direct progress of our party toward its known and professed goal, to which it subordinates all its actions—all this distinguishes the Socialist parties from the confused, timid,

hesitating, liberal parties, that weaken themselves in the midst of their measures. For this reason the Socialists must not make common cause with the liberal capitalists in the struggle against clericalism. That would be throwing sand into the spring of our force and taking all the strength out of our propaganda for the sake of fleeting and doubtful advantages.

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