

No man is great enough or rich enough to get this paper on credit or for a longer time than paid for. It is published as an advocate of International Socialism, the movement which favors the ownership of the earth by ALL the people—not by a PART of the people.

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Appeal to Reason.

This is Number 492

J. A. Wayland.

IF NUMBER 493 IS ON YELLOW LABEL YOUR TIME EXPIRES WITH THE NEXT ISSUE.

Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., May 6, 1905.

The total receipts of the Appeal for the week ending April 22, were \$1,351.60; expenditures \$2,467.93, leaving a deficit for the week of \$1,116.33.

All the Appeal Army gang who want to change the complexion of that statement are requested to hand in a bunch of subs. It's up to you, boys.

THIS paper is a peculiar institution. It depends completely upon its army of friends for its support. If these comrades were to charge for their services the paper could not run. Hence it is always in their hands. If the subscription list goes up—you do it. If it falls down, it is because for some reason you have neglected to hand in your regular bunch of subs. You have watched the "ons" and "offs" for several weeks. There has been a decided slump. I have no desire to hide this fact from you, like the politician who tells you of the prosperity that does not exist. You should be, and I believe you are, as much concerned as I am. It means as much to you as to me. You know why you have relaxed your efforts—I don't. I have frequently pointed out that when the Appeal reached that point where it could not advance it could not long maintain itself. There must be more subscriptions received each week than go off, or the expenses of the shop can't be met. In all my twelve years' experience I do not believe there has ever been a time when people were so anxious to learn about Socialism. The mass of radical literature being dumped on the public by the so-called conservative magazines is creating that mental condition which makes people easy to approach. I fear some of you have assumed that the attacks on the trusts are all that is necessary, and are resting. This is a mistake. One might read Lawson for a century and never become a Socialist. You might read forever about the beef trust, but never once understand the solution. THE REAL WORK OF MAKING SOCIALISTS DEPENDS UPON THE SOCIALIST PRESS—and always will. Others, frightened at their own acts, may point out the failure of capitalism, but with no directing force to show the way chaos would result.

I want to urge you, comrades, to get busy—NOW—and hand in a bunch of subs and let's change that showing. It must be done. I can't hold down the lid much longer at this end of the line.

Many of you remember the first copy of the Appeal that came into your hands—and how it changed your whole life and made a new man—politically speaking—of you. Your first impulse was to go out and induce others to see the light. That's the process which has made Socialism the biggest movement in the United States today. Understand I am not trying to discredit the work which our friends of the trust are doing to hasten the social revolution—I am simply pointing out how you happened to get into the harness. There are no large cities in the United States where there are not Socialists—but there are still small towns and hamlets where we need to have a foothold. I have had a list of 7,264 towns of from 200 to 1,000 population compiled where we have no Appeal readers and where no Socialist votes have been cast. I want you to help me start something in these 7,264 towns. All of these places boast a barber shop, and to the barber shop go most of the male population at some time during the week. You can readily understand what a stroke it would be to have an Appeal going into each one of these centers—where hundreds of old party voters, like you were a few years ago, congregate. If you think this would be a good plan, send the Appeal a dollar for the "Barbers' Fund," and we will capture seven thousand more towns for Socialism in less than a year.

WHAT do you think of your life insurance policies by this time? Like to have your money spent for can-can dinners and personal liveried servants for the officers? Must give you great confidence in the system of graft that pervades everything. What a lot of suckers this nation seems to be made of! You can skin them time after time and still they will be ready for another game of the same kind. I am wiser than most of you, in this matter at least. I don't carry any life insurance, and they are not drinking champagne with a lot of sporting women at my expense. What a heap they care for your wife and children, whom you have been trying to protect! You wouldn't have the public do the insurance, which would be absolutely safe and its affairs all public! Not much! That would be too much like Socialism. You prefer to insure with a lot of grafters who use your money for their private benefit and speculate with it, and thus skin you so neatly. If you have any brains, why not use them?

Two months ago L. M. Roberts was conducting a little butcher shop at Gowen, I. T. One day he purchased some cattle and killed them. It was discovered that the man from whom the cattle were bought had stolen them. The butcher was arrested. After the evidence was all in Judge Clayton said, among other things: "Mr. Roberts, the evidence in your case was not sufficient to convict you, but you are stuck just the same." He got three years in the penitentiary. The fact that Roberts was a Socialist and the real thief an old party man may or may not have had anything to do with the judge's decision. Never mind, Judge Clayton, there'll come a time when such "justice" will not be tolerated in this country.

THE Detroit Free Press has just awakened to the fact that Socialism is growing in this country. It is, me boy, it is, and has been for some time.

IT MEANS SLAVERY.

THE supreme court of the nation has declared that it is unconstitutional for any state to enact any number of hours as a legal work day! It declares that such act nullifies the right of a citizen to dispose of his labor power. This in effect re-enacts legal slavery. For if a man can agree to a contract that can be enforced to work any number of hours and for any time, he can then sell himself into slavery for the balance of his life for just such grub and clothes as the master sees fit to give him—and such an agreement, according to this decision, could be enforced by law! And would that not make the worker a slave on just the same level as was chattel slavery? This decision makes it possible for a man to sell himself into slavery for life, and his right over his family would compel them to follow him into such slavery. That is just what it means. Poverty will force men to accept any agreement to keep from starving. Great and glorious country! Capital is in the saddle, and riding the people to death. And the people vote to have this condition! Great heavens! Americans, have you lost every element of manhood and love of liberty? Are you willing to have one man—(the decision was five to four)—override the will of a majority of the people? Wake up, sluggards, and see where you are at.

THE California supreme court has decided that the people cannot make a law compelling a faithless public servant to come down out of the office he has prostituted. You will remember that Los Angeles, Cal., adopted a charter which provided that when one-fourth of the constituents of any official of the city petitioned for a new election to replace him, that such election should be had at once. This was adopted by the people by a large majority. The supreme court, true to its capitalistic masters, has decided that such officer cannot be ousted from the office, no matter how corrupt he is! The courts are the greatest enemies the people have. On them the capitalists depend to hold the people, and upset any law in the interest of the people. With Socialists on the supreme benches we would make short work of the fine mechanism that capitalists have built up to perpetuate their thieving. But until the people get enough of this kind of thing, of course, they will continue to vote the capitalist tickets and then spend the balance of their time damning the men they elect. What fools the voters are!

COOLLY, calmly, defiantly, Victor Morawetz, general counsel of the Santa Fe, told the senate investigating committee that his railroad violated the laws every day, and that if they did not chaos would result. In other words, the railroads know better what sort of laws the American people should have than do the people themselves. And these are the men Mr. Roosevelt proposes to "regulate."

THE Bank of Ladoga, Ind., closed its doors the other day. A highly respected pillar of society overdrawed his account \$96,000 and forgot to make it good. E-s-s-y; well, I should smile.

THE capitalists' United States supreme court has made the open shop certain as long as the constitution remains as it is, or as long as the capitalists appoint the judges.

JOHN W. GATES lost a million dollars on the Chicago stock exchange the other day. John smiled. A loss of a little bunch of money like that causes him no uneasiness. There are eighty million people in America—and they are just waiting to be skinned.

THE capitalists are always advising the working people to avoid Socialism and praising such labor leaders as use their influence against Socialism. This should be reason enough why the working class should investigate Socialism and see why their masters are so opposed to it.

ACTIONS or customs are the result of opinions held by the people; the only way to change these actions is to change the opinions of the people by giving them a better or different conception of things. In no other way can social changes be made. You don't have to change human nature—only change opinions.

THE beef trust investigation is still in progress. The grand jury is working hard and it is thought by well informed persons that by next winter the astral body of a clerk in the canning department will be arrested on an indictment for eating a cheese sandwich while on his way to lunch. Great victory for Roosevelt!

THE general manager and the secretary of the Cayuga Brick and Coal company, of Cayuga, Ind., went on a strike March 31st. A notice was posted that the works would shut down on that day—and would not resume operations until the men accepted the terms submitted by the company. The governor did not call out the militia to quell the strikers.

WHEN the trusts have to appear before a Socialist judge and jury and take sentence for their crimes against the race, there will be no whitewashing done, as is done today. The Socialists are men and women of conviction, like John Brown, Wendell Phillips, Garrison and Patrick Henry. With such men the power of money is impotent. "There are passions more intense than avarice."

THERE seems to be as great agitation in religious circles as in political circles. Great bibles are saying that the bible is only a collection of writing of various unknown people, and no more inspired than other books. Others are upholding the theory of spirit return and communication; others are going over to the free thinkers; others are preaching what would have been heresies a few years ago. What is the world coming to?

EVERYTHING progressive comes from the intellect. Every intellect that catches a glimpse of a new mind picture makes one of the disturbing factors that is uprooting the present and building the future. In the lower animal, there seems to be no intellect, for the animals live and have the same habits they did when man was a savage in the forest. All codes imposed on man are non-progressive, and oppose all change, and yet progress cannot be made without change.

WHAT are you working, planning, scheming and skimping for? Isn't it all to have something to enjoy? Sure. Did you ever think that Socialists were doing the same for the same purpose? What has all your planning and work done? It has given you only a miserable existence. Socialists know that you deserve much better and propose to change things so that the same or a less amount of labor will give you several times as much as you get, by making it impossible for a few drones to gather hundreds of millions. You should catch on.

EX-GENERAL BELL is considering the proposition of going to Venezuela and assuming charge of Castro's army. Bell is an adventurer of the mercenary type—he fights on the side that offers the most pay. Last year he wanted the Appeal's special Colorado correspondent to join him in an expedition to Mexico for the purpose of stirring up a revolution—a sort of Dr. Jameson raid. The Appeal man declined with thanks. He was engaged in stirring up a revolution on his own hook—the weapons being ballots instead of bullets.

FOOLING THE PEOPLE.

Every practical ideal which is espoused by Socialism is adopted by one or the other, if not both, of the leading parties, and both parties are prepared to incorporate in their platforms any reasonable reform which public rights may require. The circumstances of American life do not need a radical third party.—St. Louis Republic.

THIS is absolutely untrue. If the old parties desire to give the people relief they have the absolute power to do so, and they have had for years—and they have done nothing, and will do nothing. The old parties are controlled by the very men who are robbing the people by ownership of the nation's industries, and they will not give up their graft. As well expect thieves to make laws punishing theft as to expect monopolists to make laws preventing monopoly. Look at the convicted senators, congressmen, legislators—are any of them punished? Not one. Their pals in crime will not permit their being sent to prison. The trusts own the governmental machinery. Corporations openly defy the law and boast of it. Walter Wellman, spokesman for the president, writing in the Chicago Record-Herald of April 23, quotes a prominent railroad man as saying that "all the roads violate the anti-trust law every day" and says that it is not probable that the government will prosecute the roads. And the president is riding over the country in a special train furnished him by men who acknowledge that they are criminals and will not be punished. Democrats uphold republican thieves. They are in the same boat with them. They stand together against the people. The courts are mere puppets used by the corporations to hold the people while the corporations skin them. If the people desire the conditions of graft and corruption that exist to continue, all they have to do is to elect republicans and democrats in the future, as they have in the past. If the people want relief they will have to select men for office who believe the people have rights superior to any capitalist corporation. The people are being forced to Socialism. There is no other place to go, and just as fast as they come to a sense of themselves they are coming to Socialism. A corporation, whose owners are interested in graft, owns the Republic, as other corporations own the other papers, and they are not going to tell the people the truth. It is not to their interest that the people ever learn the truth.

Mrs. Anna Jewell was the mother of three bright little children. She lived at 1823 Cedar avenue, Cleveland. Last February her husband died. She was left alone to struggle. There were not enough jobs to go round—too many mothers and young girls looking for employment—and so she committed suicide at the city hospital. Wm. Lamb, aged 65, an inmate of the same hospital, got up from a sick bed and hanged himself. He was afraid he would get well and have to leave the hospital—and he had passed the age limit! These items are taken from the Cleveland Press, April 17th.

THERE are collection agencies in the United States that make fat fees collecting back subscription accounts. Publishers of cheap periodicals send sample copies to any name they can secure, and then undertake to bulldoze the recipient into paying. There is no law that can compel a man to pay for a newspaper after his subscription has expired, whether he continues to take the paper from the postoffice or not.

SOCIALISTS IN OFFICE. Under this head will be printed each week the picture of some Socialist, with short sketch, who is at present holding some elective municipal or state office in the United States.

THE democratic hoodlums at Kansas City insulted and drove off the street a woman Socialist speaker during the campaign, and when a man took her place they served him the same way. The Socialists then went to another place in the city and the republicans organized a mob of 500 negroes and they, filled with booze, repeated the mob program of the democrats! And this is the love of right and liberty which the grafters of the old parties hold for free speech! This is the kind of cattle they use to carry elections! Surely they love the working class. No wonder the working class gets it in the neck.

THE United States supreme court has paid its compliments to Gompers' tactics for an eight-hour legal day. Gompers has spent immense sums lobbying in Washington and other capitals for an eight-hour day. Will the working class never get wise enough to see what such leadership amounts to? Will labor never learn that it can win only at the ballot box? Will it ever remain a cringing slave to the capitalists it elects to office? Labor can never free itself until it elects enemies of the capitalist system to every office from president down. Capitalist-minded officials will never change the system. By reason of the leadership of such men as Gompers the working class has lost twenty years of its life, living in poverty which it could have had plenty; living in dependence when it could have had independence; living in fear of the future when it could have had confidence. How much longer will it follow the leadership of men who vote for men who want the laboring class to be object slaves?

ANDREW OLSON, Member Illinois Legislature, Chicago, Ill. In the house of representatives of Illinois we had Andrew Olson, elected by the Socialists of the district.



Andrew Olson was born in Sweden and came to the United States in 1888, became a naturalized citizen in 1890. He resided in Chicago 14 years, and is a stationary engineer. Belongs to the Steam Engineers Union, No. 3, in Chicago. First year of the contest his first vote for Socialism and united with the party two years ago. He is a well-known and tried Socialist, and is filling his position as because a member of the Socialist party.

WITH few exceptions the magazines which formerly sold at ten cents per copy are now fifteen cents. The paper trust is doing business without a great flare of trumpets.

ONE supreme court judge has more power than all the state legislatures in the nation. But we wouldn't have a king, oh no! Bet yer sweet life! Don't use your votes to benefit yourselves! Would be unpatriotic, don't you know!

WE gain all the time, everywhere, and the other fellows lose all the time, everywhere. It is merely a matter of time when we will have "a triumphant election by the working class," and then the struggle and worry of life will be abolished.

THE Massachusetts senate by a vote of 19 to 11 killed the "public opinion" bill. This was a measure providing for submission to the people questions of public policy. I wonder why the politicians are so fearful the people will get a whack at making laws?

A BALTIMORE joker inserted an advertisement in the daily papers, advertising for 150 laborers to be on hand at 4 o'clock in the morning with their tools, April 1st. Over 1,000 anxious laborers were on hand ready for the jobs. It was a great joke.

COMMISSIONER GARFIELD's talk about busting the industrial machine and going back to the days of the stage coach reminds one of the Watson-Bryan-Hearst talk of Jeffersonian democracy. Jefferson was all right—in his day. We don't want Jeffersonian democracy any more than we want Jeffersonian stage coaches. We want—and propose to get—a democracy of the twentieth century.

THE larger salary you pay men to look after your business the more they will graft you. Look at the insurance and banking systems and judge for yourself. Give a bank or insurance president one hundred thousand a year for his great genius and brains—and the working man \$3 a day! It seems to me that the working man is not smart enough to steal so much and would, therefore, be safer. Great country, this.

EVEN \$100,000 salary for life insurance presidents does not satisfy their greed. They must take millions out of the policies you have paid to protect your family! The rich are eminently respectable and working people should not presume to criticize their superiors. Working people are not supposed to have enough sense to attend to business. But could they make any worse showing than the grafters who have been doing the insurance and banking acts of the nation? Really, now, could they?

THE democratic hoodlums at Kansas City insulted and drove off the street a woman Socialist speaker during the campaign, and when a man took her place they served him the same way. The Socialists then went to another place in the city and the republicans organized a mob of 500 negroes and they, filled with booze, repeated the mob program of the democrats! And this is the love of right and liberty which the grafters of the old parties hold for free speech! This is the kind of cattle they use to carry elections! Surely they love the working class. No wonder the working class gets it in the neck.

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The Spirit of Socialism.

(The following editorial appeared in the Boston Herald, Thursday, April 20th. Every Socialist worker will read it with interest. It is your work that has forced this significant utterance from one of the most conservative of the plutocratic papers of the east. It is doubly significant when it is recalled that just two years ago the Herald editorially threatened "that if the beneficial influence of Socialism could not be checked otherwise, the republic must be overthrown and a strong centralized government established that would check its vicious growth." Everything is coming Socialistward these days. Let us press the work with vigor!)

[From the Boston Herald.]

We suspect the politicians in the East are not fully aware of the strides that Socialism is making in some parts of the West. We do not mean in particular acts like the municipal ownership policy recently so emphatically approved in Chicago, nor the Kansas revolt against the Standard Oil monopoly. These are incidents of significance, to be sure, but they are rather revolts against a special fact that appears to be oppressive than symptoms of a general and controlling policy. We refer rather to certain evidences of the progress of Socialism as a cult reflected in elections that have not received much attention in this section, possibly because they were local elections in comparatively small places, and were seldom reported beyond the state where they occurred. But it is not unusual for candidates to be nominated and voted for as Socialists in their principle and purpose, and they are often successful as against republican and democratic candidates. In the presidential election last year Mr. Debs, the Socialist candidate, received 386,965 votes, which is less than 14,500 fewer than the combined vote cast for the prohibition, populist and social labor candidates.

Before us is the issue for April 13 of the Appeal to Reason, an organ of the Socialist doctrine, published in Girard, Kansas. In it are published reports of recent elections in some thirty places where Socialists elected their candidates, running as avowed Socialists, or largely increased their party vote over the vote given for local candidates a year ago, or for Debs in November. For example, Racine, Wis., cast a Socialist vote for mayor of 1776 in a total of 5128, and three aldermen and three supervisors on their ticket were elected. Buena Vista, Colo., Socialists elected the mayor and several members of the city council; in Oswego, Kans., they elected the mayor; in Kansas City, Kans., the Socialist candidate for mayor got 568 votes; last year, 339; in Laurium, Mich., the Socialist vote in a local election was 438; in the whole county (Houghton) last fall Debs got but 527 votes; in Battle Creek, Mich., the Socialists elected an alderman and gave their candidate for mayor 529 votes; in Cuba, Missouri, the Socialists elected five of the seven officers voted for; in Blair, Neb., they elected a councilman; in Calumet, Mich., the average vote for Socialist candidates was 342, a gain of ninety-two over the average vote a year ago; in North Platte, Neb., with four Socialist candidates in the field, two were elected. Of course, such showings are not important in themselves; the significant thing is that everywhere the vote of this party was larger than ever before.

There is a meaning to facts like these, and it is worth while to try to find out what it is. The German historian, Mommsen, who died not long ago, is quoted as having said shortly before his death: "Today this (Socialist) is the only great party which has a claim to political respect." On what is its claim based? It is based primarily on the principle that the wage worker, the worker with his hands, the producer, is not getting his fair proportion of the wealth he creates, but the larger share—the larger share—is appropriated by those who employ his labor; that the few obtain wealth and luxury while the majority obtain a meagre and precarious subsistence. The Socialist believes that this is an upside down condition of the social fabric that ought to be remedied, and ultimately will be remedied, through the instrumentalities of education and the ballot. To this end he works in all promising ways. It does not concern, or, at least, does not appall, him that this purpose is condemned by the fortunate beneficiaries of the present order of things as a war of class against class. He acknowledges that, but he holds that the capitalist, not the worker, has established the fact of classes, and that his own aim is to abolish that unfortunate fact and introduce an order of life in which there shall be a condition of substantial equality instead of inequality, and one in which those who do the actual work shall have preference over those who now exploit them for selfish interest. The weapon relied on for accomplishing this revolution is the ballot.

The instructed Socialist has little use for the strike. He knows how crude, costly and unserviceable it is for the attainment of his ends. An educated man and a wealthy one, an officer of one of the greatest life insurance companies (not the one whose affairs have become a public scandal) lately stated the case in this way: "Now, what is the weapon with which, thus far, the working class has been fighting in this war? Only that poor, pathetic weapon, ceasing to work, commonly miscalled striking. Their own starvation is their weapon, coupled, of course, with clumsy efforts to enforce the dictates of class ethics upon those weak-conscience individuals who shirk the call to starvation."

This question of what will happen is a serious one in proportion to the probability that the working classes get the power some of their leaders hope to obtain. The chances that they will some time get this power are by no means inconsiderable. One thing may be set down as certain, they will not be prevented, but only encouraged and stimulated, by any course that seems to them oppressive and contemptuous. The employers of labor cannot hope to control the votes of labor, by either legitimate or illegitimate means, in the long future, if they persist in courses that breed discouragement and hostility. They can hold this vote by sincere sympathy and demonstrable justice, but in no other way. Denunciation of Socialism which is inspired by the misunderstanding and selfishness of those who have wealth will not put it down. On the contrary, it will breed Socialists and make them bolder and desperate. They may be in error as to facts and the right course for the evils they feel; but they cannot be made to change their minds by any course that damns their ignorance and their motive. As for their motive, it is quite as generous, as patriotic and moral as that which actuates those who cherish a conceit of superiority. Bishop Potter, Carroll D. Wright, Washington Gladden and many others who have had much to do with the settlement of controversies between employers and employed have testified emphatically that in their experience the workingmen were not the least intelligent, reasonable and fair-minded of the parties to the controversy under consideration.

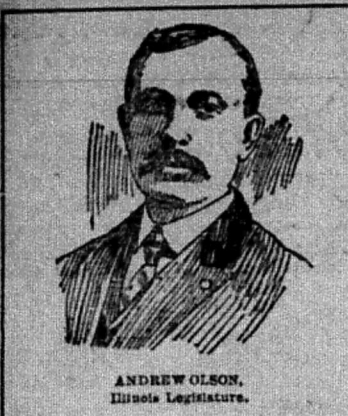
Socialism as a theory of government may be subject to many serious objections; but plutocracy and monopoly are more objectionable on many accounts, and vastly more hostile to every genuine ideal of a democratic commonwealth. Hence they are more to be distrusted by the Christian and the sagacious patriot. Those whose fundamental aim is to promote essential equality of conditions and opportunities, of work, privileges and responsibilities, are not necessarily the most dangerous class of citizens, nor is there any prima facie reason for regarding them as the most incapable, immoral and fanatic. At any rate, they are not already conspicuous for dishonesty in business and dishonor in politics. The corrupting bribers and grafters do not come from their ranks. They are not to blame for a situation which makes Socialism seem tolerable to many serious minds as a correction of wrongs which grind the poor and make the future seem hopeless of betterment.

Hence we say that it is wisdom for those who fear the growth of Socialism in the land to have a care that their own courses do not promote it. They will be judged by their deeds, not by their professions. Such facts as the eager courting by the churches of the gifts of a man like Rockefeller, and the revelations concerning the management of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, make more Socialists in a month than the professional propagandists of theoretical Socialism could hope to make in many years.

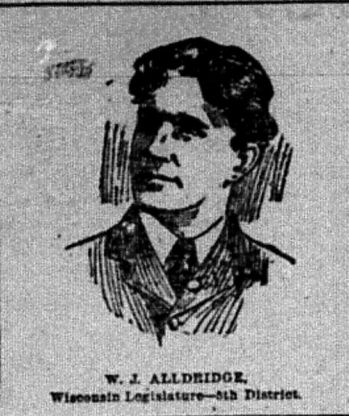
F. B. THURBER, who is now president of the Civic association, which is sending out literature showing how beneficent is Mr. Rockefeller's monopoly of the oil industry, was president of the now defunct Anti-Monopoly association. "Nunny how a man's economic interests shape his opinions."

If I had a policy in the great insurance companies I surely would keep on paying money to squander in Louis XV. balls! What a protection to your family the disclosures show! And all these years you have been paying and believing! What have the Socialists been telling you?

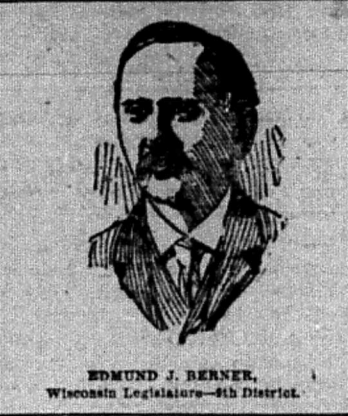
Socialist Law-Makers in the United States



ANDREW OLSON,
Illinois Legislature.



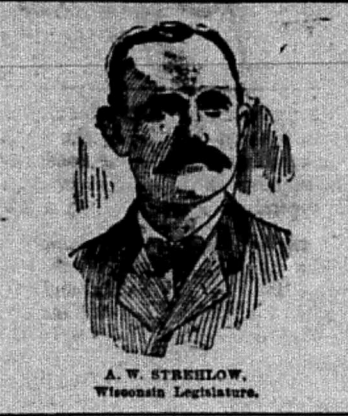
W. J. ALDRIDGE,
Wisconsin Legislature—5th District.



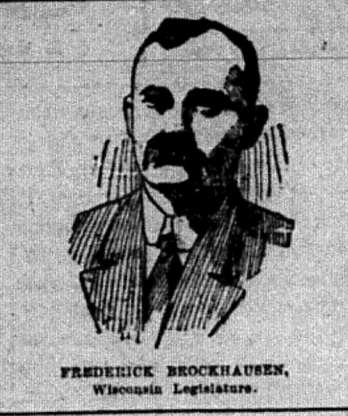
EDMUND J. BERNER,
Wisconsin Legislature—8th District.



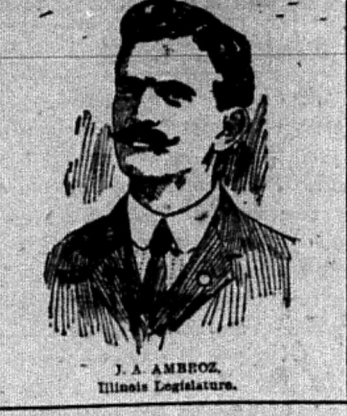
JACOB HUMMEL,
Wisconsin Senate.



A. W. STREHLOW,
Wisconsin Legislature.



FREDERICK BROCKHAUSEN,
Wisconsin Legislature.



J. A. AMBROZ,
Illinois Legislature.

National Socialist Platform

Socialism and How We Propose to Get It.

Adopted Chicago
May 4, 1904.

THE DEFENDER OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY.

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

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

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

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

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

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces above its subsistence wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

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

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM VS. CAPITALISM.

II. As an American Socialist party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of International Socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the Socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably

tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national, but international in both organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries, and of the so-called patriotism which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending capitalist interests for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

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

THE WORKERS VS. SHIRKERS.

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

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

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

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

SOCIALISM THE ONLY SAVING FORCE.

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

passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

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

Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall be by the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together, and that all opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

TO SECURE IMMEDIATE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS.

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

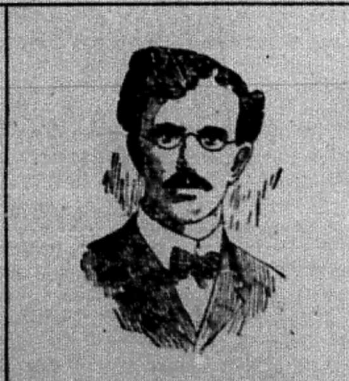
But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the Co-operative Commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold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

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

A Group of Socialist Aldermen in American Cities



WILLIAM H. CLIFFORD, Brockton, Mass.



F. A. KULP, Battle Creek, Mich.



NICHOLAS PETERSEN, Milwaukee.



EDMUND T. HELMS, Milwaukee.



FREDERIC HEATH, Milwaukee.



ALBERT J. WELCH, Milwaukee, Wis.



GEO. A. MONE, Brockton, Mass.

"The original deeds were written with the sword; . . . blows were the current coin given in payment; and for seals, blood was used in preference to wax."—Spencer.

TITLE DEEDS TO LAND.

"Violence, fraud, the prerogative of force—the claims of superior cunning—these are the sources to which those titles may be traced."—Spencer.

Every intelligent man or woman has heard of Herbert Spencer, the great philosopher, but few have read him. All they know of him is the sound of his name. The following is the famous ninth chapter of his "Social Statics," which has done more to arouse the people of the earth to the enormity of the Roman law, which all "civilized" nations now recognize, than any other same number of words ever written. The English aristocracy forced him to leave this chapter out of the late editions of the book, but the truths are so self-evident that once understood they can never be expunged from the reason of men.

GIVEN a race of beings having like claims to pursue the objects of their desires—given a world adapted to the gratification of those desires—a world into which such beings are similarly born, and it unavoidably follows that they have equal rights to the use of this world. For if each of them "has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other," then each of them is free to use the earth for the satisfaction of his wants, provided he allows all others the same liberty. And conversely, it is manifest that no one, or part of them, may use the earth in such a way as to prevent the rest from similarly using it; seeing that to do this is to assume greater freedom than the rest, and consequently, to break the law. Equity, therefore, does not permit property in land. For if ONE portion of the earth's surface may justly become the possession of an individual, and may be held by him for his sole use and benefit, as a thing to which he has an exclusive right, then OTHER portions of the earth's surface may be so held; and eventually the WHOLE of the earth's surface may be so held; and our planet may thus lapse altogether into private hands. Observe, now, the dilemma to which this leads. Supposing the entire habitable globe to be enclosed, it follows that if the land owners have a valid right to its surface, all who are not land owners have no right at all to its surface. Hence, such can exist on the earth by sufferance only. They are all trespassers. Save by the permission of the lords of the soil they can have no room for the soles of their feet. Nay, should the other think fit to deny them a resting place, these landless men might equitably be expelled from the earth altogether. If, then, the assumption that land can be held as property involves that the whole globe may become the private domain of a part of its inhabitants; and if, by consequence, the rest of its inhabitants can then exercise their faculties—can then exist, even—only by consent of the land owners, it is manifest that an exclusive possession of the soil necessitates an infringement of the law of equal freedom. For, men who cannot "live and move and have their being" without the leave of others, cannot be equally free with those others.

Passing from the consideration of the possible to that of the actual, we find yet further reason to deny the rectitude of property in land. It can never be pretended that the existing titles to such property are legitimate. Should any one think so, let him look in the chronicles. Violence, fraud, the prerogative of force, the claims of superior cunning—these are the sources to which those titles may be traced. The original deeds were written with the sword, rather than with the pen; not lawyers, but soldiers, were the conveyancers; blows were the current coin given in payment; and for seals, blood was used in preference to wax. Could valid claims be thus constituted? Hardly. And if not, what becomes of the pretensions of all subsequent holders of estates so obtained? Does sale or bequest generate a right where it did not previously exist? Would the original claimants be non-suited at the bar of reason because the thing stolen from them had changed hands? Certainly not. And if one act of transfer can give no title, can many? No; though nothing be multiplied forever, it will not produce ONE. Even the law recognizes this principle. An existing holder must, if called upon, substantiate the claims of those from whom he purchased or inherited his property, and any flaw in the original parchment, even though the property should have had a score of intermediate owners, quashes his rights.

"But time," say some, "is a great legalizer. Immemorial possession must be taken to constitute a legitimate claim. That which has been held from age to age as private property, and has been bought and sold as such, must now be considered as irrevocably belonging to individuals." To which proposition a willing assent shall be given when its propounders can assign it a definite meaning. To do this, however, they must find satisfactory answers to such questions as, *How long does it take for what was originally a WRONG to grow into a RIGHT?* At what rate per annum do invalid claims become valid? If a title gets perfect in a thousand years, how much more perfect will it be in two thousand years?—and so forth. For the solution of which they will require a new calculus.

Whether it may be expedient to admit claims of a certain standing is not the point. We have here nothing to do with considerations of conventional privilege or legislative convenience. We have simply to inquire what is the verdict given by pure equity in the matter. And this verdict enjoins a protest against every existing pretension to the individual possession of the soil; and dictates the assertion that *the right of mankind at large to the earth's surface is still valid*; all deeds, customs and laws notwithstanding.

Not only have present land tenures an indefensible origin, but it is impossible to discover any mode in which land CAN become private property. Cultivation is commonly considered to give a legitimate title. He who has reclaimed a tract of ground from its primitive wildness is supposed to have thereby made it his own. But if his right is disputed, by what system of logic can he vindicate it? Let us listen a moment to his pleadings.

"Hello, you, sir," cries the cosmopolite to some backwoodsman smoking at the door of his shanty, "by what authority do you take possession of these acres that you have cleared, 'round which you have put up a snake-fence and on which you have built this log house?"

"By what authority? I squatted here because there was no one to say nay—because I was as much at liberty to do so as any other man. Besides, now that I have cut down the wood, ploughed and cropped the ground, this farm is more mine than yours or anybody's, and I mean to keep it."

"Aye, so you say. But I do not yet see how you have substantiated your claim. When you came here you found the land producing trees—sugar maples, perhaps; of maybe it was covered with prairie grass and wild strawberries. Well, instead of these, you have made it yield wheat, maize or tobacco. Now, I want to understand how, by exterminating one set of plants and making the soil bear another set in their place, you have constituted yourself lord of this soil for all succeeding time."

"Oh, those natural products which I destroyed were of little or no use, whereas I caused the earth to bring forth things good for food—things that help to give life and happiness."

"Still, you have not shown why such a process makes the portion of earth you have so modified yours. What is it that you have done? You have turned over the soil to a few inches in depth with a spade or a plough; you have scattered over this prepared surface a few seeds, and you have gathered the fruits which the sun, rain and air helped the soil produce. Just tell me, if you please, by what magic have these acts made you sole owner of that vast mass of matter, having for its base the surface of your estate and for its apex the center of the

globe? all of which, it appears, you would monopolize to yourself and your descendants forever."

"Well, if it isn't mine, whose is it? I have dispossessed nobody. When I crossed the Mississippi yonder I found nothing but the silent woods. If some one else had settled here, and made this clearing, he would have had as good a right to the location as I have. I have done nothing but what any other person was at liberty to do had he come before me. Whilst they were unreclaimed these lands belonged to all men—as much to one as to another—and they are now mine simply because I was the first to discover and improve them."

"You say truly when you say that 'whilst they were unreclaimed these lands belonged to all men.' And it is my duty to tell you that they belong to all men still, and that your 'improvements,' as you call them, cannot vitiate the claim of all men. You may plough and harrow, and sow and reap; you may turn over the soil as often as you like; but all your manipulations will fail to make that soil yours which was not yours to begin with. Let me put a case. Suppose, now, that in the course of your wanderings you come upon an empty house, which, in spite of its dilapidated state, takes your fancy; suppose that with the intention of making it your abode you expend much time and trouble in repairing it—that you paint and paper and whitewash, and at considerable cost bring it into a habitable state. Suppose further, that on some fatal day a stranger is announced, who turns out to be the heir to whom the house has been bequeathed; and that this professed heir is prepared with all the necessary proofs of his identity; what becomes of your improvements? Do they give you a valid title to the house? Do they quash the title of the original claimant? No."

"Neither, then, do your pioneering operations give you a valid title to this land. Neither do they quash the title of the original claimants—the human race. The world is God's bequest to mankind. All men are joint heirs to it; you amongst the number. And because you have taken up your residence on a certain part of it, and have subdued, cultivated, beautified that part—improved it, as you say, you are not, therefore, warranted in appropriating it as entirely private property. At least, if you do so, you may at any moment be justly expelled by the lawful owner—Society."

"Well, but surely you would not eject me without making some recompense for the great additional value I have given to this tract by reducing what was a wilderness into fertile fields. You would not turn me adrift and deprive me of all the benefit of those years of toil it has cost me to bring this spot to its present state?"

"Of course not; just as in the case of the house, you would have an equitable title to compensation from the proprietor for repairs and new fittings, so the community cannot justly take possession of this estate without paying for all that you have done to it. This extra worth which your labor has imparted to it is fairly yours; and although you have, without leave, busied yourself in bettering what belongs to the community, yet no doubt the community will duly discharge your claim. But admitting this is quite a different thing from recognizing your right to the land itself. It may be true that you are entitled to compensation for the improvements this inclosure has received at your hands; and at the same time it may be equally true that no act, form, proceeding or ceremony can make this inclosure your private property."

It does indeed at first seem possible for the earth to become the exclusive possession of individuals by some process of equitable distribution. "Why," it may be asked, "should not men agree to a fair subdivision? If all are co-heirs, why may not the estate be equally apportioned, and each be afterwards perfect master of his own share?"

To this question it may in the first place be replied that such a division is vetoed by the difficulty of fixing the values of respective tracts of land. Variations in productiveness, different degrees of accessibility, advantages of climate, proximity to the centers of civilization—these and other such considerations remove the problem out of the sphere of mere mensuration into the region of impossibility.

But, waiving this, let us inquire who are to be the allottees? Shall adult males, and all who have reached twenty-one on a specified day, be the fortunate individuals? If so, what is to be done with those who come of age on the morrow? Is it proposed that each man, woman and child shall have a section? If so, what becomes of all who are to be born next year? And what will be the fate of those whose fathers sell their estates and squander the proceeds? These portionless ones must constitute a class already described as having no right to a resting place on earth—as living by the sufferance of their fellow-men—as being practically serfs. And the existence of such a class is wholly at variance with the law of equal freedom.

Until, therefore, we can produce a valid commission authorizing us to make this distribution—until it can be proved that God has given one charter of privileges to one generation and another to the next—until we can demonstrate that men born after a certain date are doomed to slavery, we must consider that no such allotment is permissible.

Probably some will regard the difficulties inseparable from individual ownership of the soil as caused by pushing to excess a doctrine applicable only within rational limits. This is a very favorite style of thinking with some. There are people who hate anything in the shape of exact conclusions; and these are of them. According to such, the right is never in either extreme, but always half way between the extremes. They are continually trying to reconcile YES and NO. Ifs and buts and excepts are their delight. They have so great a faith in "the judicious mean," that they would scarcely believe an oracle, if it uttered a full length principle. Were you to inquire of them whether the earth turns on its axis from East to West, or from West to East, you might almost expect the reply—"a little of both," or "not exactly either." It is doubtful whether they would assent to the axiom that the whole is greater than its part without making some qualification. They have a passion for compromises. To meet their taste, Truth must always be spiced with a little Error. They cannot conceive of a pure, definite, entire and unlimited law. And hence, in discussions like the present, they are constantly petitioning for limitations—always wishing to abate, and modify, and moderate—ever protesting against doctrines being pursued to their ultimate consequences.

But it behooves such to recollect that ethical truth is as exact and as peremptory as physical truth, and that in this matter of land tenure, the verdict of morality must be distinctly YEA or NAY. Either men HAVE a right to make the soil private property, or they HAVE NOT. There is no medium. We must choose one of the two positions. There can be no half and half opinion. In the nature of things the fact must be either one way or the other.

If men HAVE NOT such a right, we are at once delivered from the several predicaments already pointed out. If they HAVE such a right, then is that right absolute, sacred, not on any pretence to be violated? If they HAVE such a right, then is his Grace of Leeds justified in warning off tourists from Ben Mac Dhul; the Duke of Atholl, in closing Glen Tilt; the Duke of Buccleuch, in

denying sites to the Free Church, and the Duke of Sutherland in banishing the Highlanders to make room for sheep walks? If they HAVE such a right, then it would be proper for the sole proprietor of any kingdom—a Jersey or Guernsey, for example—to impose just what regulations he might choose on its inhabitants—to tell them that they should not live on his property unless they professed a certain religion, spoke a particular language, paid him a specified reverence, adopted an authorized dress, and conformed to all other conditions he might see fit to make. If they HAVE such a right, then is there truth in that tenet of the ultra Tory school, that the land owners are the only legitimate rulers of a country—that the people at large remain in it only by the land owners' permission, and ought consequently submit to the land owners' rule, and respect whatever institutions the land owners set up. There is no escape from these inferences. They are necessary corollaries to the theory that the earth can become individual property. And they can only be repudiated by denying that theory.

After all, nobody does implicitly believe in landlordism. We hear of estates being held under the king—that is, the state; or of their being kept in trust for the public benefit, and not that they are the inalienable possession of their nominal owners. Moreover, we daily deny landlordism by our legislation. If a canal, a railway, or a turnpike road is to be made, we do not scruple to seize just as many acres as may be requisite, allowing the holders compensation for the capital invested. We do not wait for consent. An act of parliament supercedes the authority of title deeds, and serves proprietors with notices to quit, whether they will or not. Either this is equitable or it is not. Either the public are free to resume as much of the earth's surface as they think fit, or the titles of the land owners must be considered absolute, and all national works must be postponed until lords and squires please to part with the requisite slices of their estates. If we decide that the claims of individual ownership must give way, then we imply that the right of the nation at large to the soil is supreme—that the right of private possession only exists by general consent—that general consent being withdrawn it ceases—or, in other words, that it is no right at all.

"But to what does this doctrine, that men are equally entitled to the use of the earth, lead? Must we return to the times of unenclosed wilds, and subsist on roots, berries and game? Or are we to be left to the management of Messrs. Fourier, Owen, Louis Blanc & Co.?"

Neither. Such a doctrine is consistent with the highest state of civilization; may be carried out without involving a community of goods, and need cause no very serious revolution in existing arrangements. The change required would simply be a change of landlords. Separate ownerships would merge into the joint-stock ownership of the public. Instead of being in the possession of individuals, the country would be held by the great corporate body—Society. Instead of leasing his acres from an isolated proprietor, the farmer would lease them from the nation. Instead of paying his rent to the agent of Sir John or His Grace, he would pay it to an agent or deputy agent of the community. Stewards would be public officials instead of private ones, and tenancy the only land-tenure.

A state of things so ordered would be in perfect harmony with the moral law. Under it all men would be equal landlords; all men would be alike free to become tenants. A, B, C, and the rest might compete for a vacant farm as now, and one of them might take that farm without in any way violating the principles of pure equity. All would be equally free to bid; and all would be equally free to refrain. And when the farm had been let to A, B, or C, all parties would have done that which they willed—the one in choosing to pay a given sum to his fellow-men for the use of certain lands—the others in refusing to pay that sum. Clearly, therefore, on such a system, the earth might be enclosed, occupied and cultivated, in entire subordination to the law of equal freedom.

No doubt great difficulties must attend the resumption by mankind at large of their right to the soil. The question of compensation to existing proprietors is a complicated one—one that perhaps cannot be settled in a strictly equitable manner. Had we to deal with the parties who originally robbed the human race of its heritage, we might make short work of the matter. But, unfortunately, most of our present land owners are men who have, either mediately or immediately—either by their own acts, or by the acts of their ancestors—given for their estates equivalents of honestly earned wealth; believing that they were investing their savings in a legitimate manner. To justly estimate and liquidate the claims of such is one of the most intricate problems society will one day have to solve.

But with this perplexity and our extrication from it, abstract morality has no concern. Men, having got themselves into the dilemma by disobedience to the law, must get out of it as well as they can, and with as little injury to the landed class as may be.

Meanwhile, we shall do well to recollect that there are others besides the landed class to be considered. In our tender regard for the vested interests of the few, let us not forget that the rights of the many are in abeyance, and must remain so as long as the earth is monopolized by individuals. Let us remember, too, that the injustice thus inflicted on the mass of mankind is an injustice of the gravest nature. The fact that it is not so regarded proves nothing. In early phases of civilization even homicide is thought lightly of.

The suttees of India, together with the practice elsewhere followed of sacrificing a hecatomb of human victims at the burial of a chief, shows this; and probably cannibals consider the slaughter of those whom "the fortunes of war" has made their prisoners perfectly justifiable. It was once also universally supposed that slavery was a natural and quite legitimate institution—a condition into which some were born, and to which they ought to submit as to a divine ordination; nay, indeed, a great proportion of mankind hold this opinion still. A higher social development, however, has generated in us a better faith, and we now to a considerable extent recognize the claims of humanity. But our civilization is only partial. It may be and by perceived that Equity utters dictates to which we have not yet listened; and men may then learn that to deprive others of their rights to the use of the earth is to commit a crime inferior only in wickedness to the crime of taking away their lives or personal liberties.

Briefly reviewing the argument, we see that the right of each man to the use of the earth, limited only by the like rights of his fellow-men, is immediately deducible from the law of equal freedom. We see that the maintenance of this right necessarily forbids private property in land. On examination, all existing titles to such property turn out to be invalid; those founded on reclamation inclusive. It appears that not even an equal apportionment of the earth amongst its inhabitants could generate a legitimate proprietorship. We find that if pushed to its ultimate consequences, a claim to exclusive possession of the soil involves a land-owning despotism. We further find that such a claim is constantly denied by the enactments of our legislature. And we find, lastly, that the theory of co-heirship of all men to the soil is consistent with the highest civilization; and that, however difficult it may be to embody that theory in fact, Equity eternally commands it to be done.

Outwitted the Beef Trust.

Clever Work of a Packing House Stenographer—Packers Trembling in Their Shoes.

The first witness of importance which the Chicago grand jury has succeeded in getting before it, is Mrs. Mary E. Marcy, who for two months has been confidential stenographer in the employ of the Armour and Swift establishments. A dispatch from Chicago, dated April 24th, says:

Tremendous excitement reigned in the offices of the district attorney when Mrs. Marcy delivered the secret correspondence, every scrap of which the packers believed to have been burned or destroyed. The letters are said to contain signed statements of the workings of the "Big Five" that show how they manipulated the market, placing buying and selling figures at figures to suit their fancy, and even playing detective on each other in so that the fixed rates were not secretly cut.

In a stenographer Mrs. Marcy worked secretly for the Armour and Swift establishments, and while writing the confidential and secret correspondence that passed between the members of the trust. She became prominent in their secret code which the "Big Five" used in their rate setting, and it was through her that the secret code was broken.

Although every one of these confidential stenographers was watched "day and night" by the

Mr. Marcy as a "woman detective" made carbon copies of many and kept the original manuscripts of the rest. It is declared by the attaches of the United States district attorney's office that Mrs. Marcy is the most important witness of the beef trust investigation.

Mrs. Marcy's evidence is considered doubly important because most of the letters are written directly to or signed by the great millionaire heads of the packing houses themselves, direct evidence for which no "dummy" clerk can be held responsible.

Mrs. Marcy is being kept under a heavy guard of secret service officials, and although it is said that she is registered at the Victoria hotel under an alias, her place of residence is being closely watched.

Mrs. Marcy is a clever writer and a student of social economics. Her remarkable series of letters, published by the International Socialist Review, under the head of "Letters from a Pork Packery's Stenographer," attracted much attention. The following is an excerpt from one of them, indicating doubtless the line of her testimony before the grand jury:

"I have been very busy all morning writing your branch house managers to go through their letter books and de-

stroy any evidences of our understanding about prices with former competitors." Mr. Graham and Mr. King had a long consultation with Mr. Robinson, the company's chief attorney, which resulted in the following wire, which I dispatched to one of our branch house managers at a Southern point:

"Regarding summons reference beef trust investigation, have decided will all ignore same. Do not appear."

"All, of course, means the five companies in the combination; so you see, there ARE some real American anarchists—if a rich man ever can be an anarchist. Father Graham was very keen about competition in those letters he wrote to Pierpont, but he was not so keen but that he buried the hatchet when he found he could make larger profits by a little understanding with his old enemies. You remember he said what he wanted was 'results.'"

"I wonder if you understand how omnipotent we really are! We represent the only market on which the farmer and stockman can dispose of his product, and, on the other hand, we are the only people from whom the Public can buy. Of course, there is nothing monopolistic about this state of affairs. There is a 'free' country; if the farmer

is not satisfied with our offers, he can ship his poultry and eggs back home. The stockman can do likewise with his cattle, if he asks more than we care to pay. And the dear public has always the privilege of—going without."

"There is a crazy little man, of the name of Hayden, at Higginsville, Ill., who is running a small butcher shop in competition with our retail market there. He doesn't know, of course, that the company he buys his meat of has opened a parlor market to compete with him, because it is not known as a Graham shop, but is run under the name of 'The Peoples' Market.'"

"Mr. King wrote our manager at that point to shade his prices a trifle to the consumer, and we have meanwhile raised our prices to Mr. Hayden, and Mr. King says this man ought not last two weeks."

"It is only a question of time, Mr. Graham says, until we will completely do away with the middleman. There is no good reason why meat should pass through the hands of three or four men before it reaches the consumer; and he don't intend that it shall."

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MR. HEARST WANTS INFORMATION

Mr. Hearst's syndicate of newspapers covers the four corners of America; it has leased wires connecting ocean to ocean; it has trained correspondents in every city; it has a corps of brilliant editors, and yet this is what appeared in the editorial columns of the Journal-American-Examiner:

It might be worth while, since Mr. Roosevelt himself directs attention to the subject, to inform ourselves as to what the Social Democrats—who are to govern us if we don't look out—really amount to. THE NEWSPAPER LACKS THE NECESSARY INFORMATION; IT ISN'T PREPARED TO SAY, OFFHAND, JUST WHAT THIS SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT AMOUNTS TO IN AMERICA.

Mr. Hearst has been called a Socialist—gentle Ella Wheeler admitted that his papers were rather socialistic—yet his chief editorial writer states publicly that he is not in possession of sufficient informa-

Social Democracy (Socialism)

amounts to in this country. He could step across the street and get a copy of the latest edition of the World almanac, which would tell him of the magnificent vote cast for the Socialist candidates at the last election; or he could have sent one of his reporters to the local or state headquarters of the Social Democracy, within a few blocks of the Journal office. The fact is, the Hearst papers have tried to ignore the Socialist movement—BUT IT WILL NOT BE IGNORED. While Hearst and his supporters have been chasing a will-o'-the-wisp the Socialists have been putting up a gallant fight for the class he pretends to favor. The working class movement has reached such proportions that it forced from the president of the United States the remarkable confession that "Unless we repudiate, with full power in the

executive and legislative departments of the government, satisfy the people and reform existing conditions, we will be overwhelmed" by the Socialists.

Bryan with his six million votes could not force the arrogant republican party to this realization—but a handful of Socialists DID! Mr. Hearst, take my advice and post up on the greatest political movement of the twentieth century or close up your shop as a leader of public opinion.

In Chicago the employers' organization refuses to even talk with the delegates of the defeated striking drivers. Wonder when the men will use their ballots, where they are many to one, against the masters? If the masters had the majority of votes there would never be one cast for a friend of the working class. But the workers are so generous they refuse to vote for any of their friends.

It's worth while reading "What's the deal with the Socialists?" For our people.

President Roosevelt says:
 "Socialism will sweep the country, if the
 republican party does not do something."
 The republicans can't—so we've got a cinch.

COMING NATION

The Saturday Evening Post says:
 "To fight against Socialism, you must un-
 derstand it; to fight for Socialism, you must
 understand it." And that's correct.

The Most Interesting Phenomenon of the 20th Century

The following address was delivered by Rufus W. Weeks, secretary and second vice-president of the New York Life Insurance Company, at the annual dinner of the Alumni Association of the High School, Newark, N. J. In reading the words which follow, keep in mind the fact that Mr. Weeks is several times a millionaire and a capitalist high in the circles of Greater Newark. The title of his address was "The Most Interesting Phenomenon of the Twentieth Century."

"That great movement of which we have seen the beginning in the nineteenth century, and of which the twentieth century is very likely to see the consummation, is the uprising of the working class. Before speaking of this movement, let me spend a few uninteresting moments in definitions. By the term working class is meant those people who work with their hands for wages; the term, therefore, does not include all workers, by any means, but only that largest section of the workers called the manual proletariat, whom the conditions of their employment force into a potentiality of common feeling and thought, of a common indignation, a sense of common needs, and a sense of power in common action.

"Other workers have not this potentiality of community-consciousness; for instance, there are the farmers, the clerks, the professional workers. The farmers imagine themselves independent units, and do not know the trick of coalescing for common advance; the clerks all imagine themselves to be on the road to be head-clerks or even corporation officials, and so cannot league together in comradeship; the professional worker is dominated by pride in his individual ability and training, and so he cannot grasp the notion of mutual help as the main hope.

"The working class, then, the proletariat so-called, means those who are hired in herds, mostly by corporations, and mostly to work at machines of one kind or another; from the point of view of the corporation they are simply an extension of the machine. This very merging of these men into the machine throws them into an unity with each other; it is an education, it teaches the hopelessness of resistance except by the way of mutual help; and so from guerillas they are forced to become a phalanx. Slowly, slowly, the lesson is ground into them, slowly the phalanxes themselves learn the trick of grouping into an army. An army of resistance, not essentially of aggression; for their effort is to resist that inexorable inevitable constant pressure which is inherent in the capitalist system of production—the pressure by the employing class to get the utmost possible product out of the worker for the least possible share of that product. It is this pressure and the answering resistance which are called the class-struggle; the class-struggle is, hence, a mathematical and economic fact, though so many of our pastors and masters unite in pious rebukes of the wicked agitator who points out that fact.

BALLOTS INSTEAD OF STRIKES.

"Now what is the weapon with which, thus far, the working class has been fighting in this war? Only that poor, pathetic weapon, ceasing to work, comically mis-called 'striking.' Their own starvation is their weapon, coupled, of course, with clumsy efforts to enforce the dictates of class ethics upon those weak-con-

scienced individuals who shirk the call to starvation.

"But now it is dawning on the mind of the proletarian giant that there is another weapon handy; we of the 'better classes' created it for him when we established universal suffrage, and we put the possibility of the use of it into his mind when we established universal education. Gifts, these (the suffrage and education) which having once given we can never take back. The new weapon is the ballot; and what will it mean when the working class awakes and takes this weapon in hand to work out its mind? The ballot means the whole power of the state; courts, police, army; and what will happen when the working class takes in hand all these powers to establish and enforce the idea of justice innate in its mind?

"Even in this country the numerical predominance of the working class grows apace. The successive censuses tell the story in such items as these: The rapidly diminishing ratio of farm owners to the entire population, the decimation and reduction to powerlessness of the small independent business men, the deposition of the male clerk by his sister, and, greatest of all, the enormous increase of the factory population. The coming dominance of the working class even here is as sure as mathematics; in Europe it is already a numerical fact; and twenty years ago I heard James Bryce say that the drastic use of this power is only a matter of a few years, being a corollary of the universal suffrage. The ballot-armed proletariat, awake and aware, will then be able to work out its purpose. The grave question now is: What will that purpose be?

"There is in the world a group of thinkers who think they know the answer to this question. This group is international. Its members are most numerous in Germany, next in France, but increasing now in Great Britain and rapidly in this country. These men are unsparing analysts, and inexorable forecasters; they have sounded the depths of the self-unconscious proletarian mind, and they have announced what the will of the working class is to be, as fast as it comes to its sense of itself. Of course there are critics aplenty in the cultured classes who handle the conclusions of this group with all shades of condemnation and contempt; but these critics are themselves of many and shifting schools, and amidst them all what alone remains unchanged is the terrible certitude of the Socialists, for by this name is known the group I mean. They alone feel they know the future; none of their critics dare speak with any confidence of an alternative outlook.

SOCIALISTS AND ANCIENT CHRISTIANS.

"Standing, as I do, before you, and speaking of the Socialist movement, I feel something as a possible ancient incarnation of myself might have felt, standing before an audience of cultured and refined persons in Rome at the end of the first century, trying to talk to them of the Christians. For, as soon as the word 'So-

cialism' is pronounced, the average person thinks of something subterranean, something fantastic, a mixture of a lovely dream and a dynamic nightmare; and that is just what the educated Roman thought of if any one said 'Christian' to him. The average Roman of culture and refinement looked with aversion upon the Christians as underminers and overthrowers of the existing social order and institutions, just as today the same kind of person looks upon the Socialists as workers towards some cataclysmic horror.

"The resemblance goes further. Even as the disreputable Christians were at that moment the potential lords of the future, so may at this moment be the despised Socialists; and for parallel reasons. The Christians had the future because they were the only set of men possessed of a clear and passionate conviction in the midst of a tumultuous world of weltering half-beliefs and of cruel selfishness; today it is likely that the Socialists have the future, because the world of today is a tumultuous sea of half-held beliefs, and of the cross purposes of the self-seeking powerful; and the Socialists are the only compact body of men in sight who know what they believe and what they are resolved on.

"Further runs the parallel; the Christians succeeded because the doctrine they preached was one which had an irresistible fascination for the masses in the promise it held out to them of a world of bliss close by, only separated from them by the easy door of martyrdom; the Socialists, it seems, must prevail because their doctrine has an irresistible attraction for the masses of today—promising, as it does, a surcease of sordid struggle—with only one door to pass before entering upon that better state—the door of a triumphant election.

"How the history of these times to be written by and by will speak of the Socialists may, perhaps, be guessed from what the venerable German historian, Mommsen, said of them a year or two since: 'Today this is the only great party which has a claim to political respect.'

NO PRODUCT; NO INCOME.

"Supposing, then, that the Socialists have read truly the subconscious mind of the proletariat which is to fix the ways of the future community—let us go on to ask what those ways are to be? What, first, is to be the standard of right and justice? To this, the Socialists say that the workers' law will be: 'No product, no income;' that every man must be a producer, or be actually useful to the producers, or else be scorned and denied share in the product. One puff of the giant's breath will blow away all that fine mechanism of law and business through which we now mulct the product of the worker on all sides under such guises as rent, interest, profit, fee and salary. The only citizenship held honorable will be economic citizenship—comradeship in production and in the sharing of product.

"If in this attempt to read the social mathe-

matics of the times I have read aright, it appears that the working class are to be our masters! Let us hope they will be good to us. After all they will demand no more of us than the Northern states demanded of the Southern—to come in and be one with them on equal terms. We of the 'cultured' and business classes will have to go into the game on the new condition—the condition of being useful to the workers—or else will have to get out of the game. In the latter case we shall, of course, have to get off the ground where the great co-operative machine is working. I see in fancy the bulk of us shipped to some island—clerks, ministers, professors, storekeepers, bankers, lawyers, insurance men, speculators, gentlemen all—and there, without any producers to make a living out of, trying to get salaries or profits out of one another.

"This discussion ought to be summed up in a concluding definition; but Socialism is a living phenomenon, and, like all live things, eludes definition. A live thing can be viewed at so many different angles, and, besides, it changes so insensibly from moment to moment, that to sit down and make an all-around definition of it is a task nearly hopeless. The militant movement of today known as Socialism I should define from the point of view of this present treatment as follows:

MILITANT SOCIALISM.

"Militant Socialism is the attempt to formulate the sense of justice and the will of the working class; further, it is the doctrine that that will ought to be, and must be, and will be the scheme of life of civilized mankind in the near future. The humble origin of this doctrine makes it hard for the educated classes to grasp its intellectual worthiness; and the seeming fact that the doctrine is against the interests of the educated classes makes it hard for them to see its moral worthiness. Hence not many of the educated may be counted on to rally around the standard of Socialism; and here again we may find a close parallel with the early days of Christianity. It was said then: 'Not many wise men, not many mighty, not many noble are called; but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are.'

"The record of the Gospels, especially the Gospel of Luke, suggests, to those who will read it over without bias, a view of the carpenter of Nazareth very different from the traditional view. There are many such students who hold that he was a thoroughgoing proletarian, and that one large section of his religion has been ignored from the start by the ecclesiastical machines which have claimed to represent him, and that the social justice and universal brotherhood which he proclaimed can come only as a sequel to the uprising of the working class."

Great Gains of Socialism.

Figures from Various Countries Show Great Importance of Socialist Vote—Its Increase in This Country Leads to Question: Will Socialists Soon Hold the Balance of Power in a Presidential Election.

Under the above heading, spread over three columns in large black type, the Boston Globe tells of the remarkable growth of Socialism in this and other countries. You don't have to take the Socialists' word for this—the old party press is becoming seriously concerned over the outlook. The late Senator Hanna knew exactly what he was talking about when he said: "Socialism is the coming political power." Comrades, we can hasten the day of our deliverance by pushing the work—let no effort be overlooked. The great unrest, fomented by the radical utterances of the capitalist press, is a time for Socialist propaganda which we should take advantage of. The Globe says:

Students of political conditions have found in the growth of the Socialist vote in this and other countries material for serious consideration.

During the past winter the Socialists have succeeded in attracting more widespread attention to their cause, by literature and speakers, than ever before in the history of the movement in this country. The reason for this has been their material for argument based on their gains in votes all over the world, and especially in our last presidential election. The presidential returns have been employed back the suggestion that the gain

in the Socialist vote suggests startling possibilities in the political field in the near future.

It appears that in the last election the Socialist party cast 403,338 votes, including the votes cast in Arizona and Oklahoma for delegates to congress, showing a gain of 304,914 over the total Socialist vote cast in 1900, and an increase in the strength of the party fourfold in four years.

The Socialists say that they have a principle to maintain, and that they will fight their battles out at the polls without coalition with other political organizations. But it has been suggested that if some candidate—radical in his views and in strong affinity with them—should be the nominee of one of the great parties, these 400,000 and odd votes might be sufficient to elect him. In other words, the question has been asked, has not the Socialist party the balance of power?

The Socialist vote has steadily gained in this country since 1888. Since that time the vote has been:

| | | |
|------|------------|---------|
| 1888 | 2,068,189 | 53,550 |
| 1892 | 21,572,188 | 82,204 |
| 1896 | 30,120,180 | 58,424 |
| 1900 | 38,225,182 | 227,393 |
| 1904 | 36,275,194 | 403,338 |

That the United States stands

well in the front in the Socialistic movement the world over is shown by the following figures of the Socialist vote polled at the last general elections in the countries named, in most of which the elective franchise is restricted:

| | |
|---------------------|-----------|
| Argentina, 1903 | 5,000 |
| Austria, 1901 | 780,000 |
| Belgium, 1901 | 302,771 |
| Bulgaria, 1902 | 10,000 |
| Canada, 1902 | 8,925 |
| Denmark, 1903 | 53,479 |
| France, 1900 | 850,000 |
| Germany, 1902 | 3,000,000 |
| Great Britain, 1900 | 100,000 |
| Holland, 1901 | 29,000 |
| Ireland, 1902 | 1,000 |
| Italy, 1904 | 301,000 |
| Norway, 1903 | 24,779 |
| Spain, 1902 | 50,000 |
| Sweden, 1902 | 29,000 |
| Switzerland, 1902 | 48,000 |
| Switzerland, 1902 | 100,000 |

Engene V. Debs, presidential candidate of the Socialists in the last election, carries on a tireless campaign in the interests of his cause.

In speaking of the progress of the Socialist movement in the United States, Debs said recently:

"The Socialist party is organized in almost every state and territory in the American union. Its members are filled with enthusiasm and are working with an energy born of the throbbing and thrill of revolution. The party has a press supporting it that extends from sea to sea, and it is as vigilant and as tireless in its labors as it is steadfast and true to the party principles. The Socialist party stands upon a sound platform, embodying the principles of international Socialism, clearly and eloquently expressed, and proclaims its mission

of conquest on the basis of the class struggle. Its tactics are in harmony with its principles, and both are absolutely uncompromising. Viewed today from any intelligent standpoint, the outlook of the Socialist movement is full of promise—to the capitalist, of struggle and conquest; to the worker, of coming freedom. It is the break of dawn upon the horizon of human destiny, and it has no limitations but the walls of the universe.

"What party strife or factional turmoil may yet ensue we neither know nor care. We know only that the principles of Socialism are necessary to the emancipation of the working class and to the true happiness of all classes, and that its historic mission is that of a conquering movement. We know that day by day, nourished by the misery and vitalized by the aspirations of the working class, the area of its activity widens, it grows in strength and increases its mental and moral grasp, and when the final hour of capitalism and wage slavery strikes, the Socialist movement, the greatest in all history—great enough to embrace the human race—will crown the class struggles of the centuries with victory and proclaim freedom to all mankind."

THE GROWING GIANT.

ELLA WHEELER WILCOX, a recent issue of the New York Journal, says:

During two months recently passed in California I was somewhat startled

to find the tremendous growth of Socialistic thought since a previous visit in 1903. The spirit of Socialism in California is calm, not tempestuous. It is patient, but it is powerful. Los Angeles seems to be its centre. It is interesting to trace the growth of this thought wave back to a woman—for, without doubt, the remarkable history of the Standard Oil monopoly by Ida Tarbell has done more to awaken the people of America to existing dangers than any other one effort of the generation.

It is not my desire to dim the lustre of Miss Tarbell's fame, but I must protest in the name of the countless thousands of Socialist workers in the United States against Mrs. Wilcox's last statement. The Socialist movement in California was well started and growing vigorously before Miss Tarbell began writing about the Standard Oil company and its operations. The things which Miss Tarbell said about the Standard Oil were well known among the Socialists. Miss Tarbell, it is true, has aroused the spirit of protest against the exactions of the modern commercial pirate—but her writings have made no Socialists. This has been left for the Socialist agitator and the Socialist paper. Miss Tarbell did not expect to do more than effect a reform in commercial methods—she did not anticipate a revolution in society—and without this revolution no relief can come to the workers of America.

The daily press unconsciously preaches "economic determinism." In speaking of how beautifully the national bank act is now working,

the Kansas City Journal says: "Prejudice and sentiment give way when confronted with solid financial reasons." Sure enough, they do. Sentiment and prejudice stand very little show when confronted with

dollars—get this thought in your mind and many things will become clear to you. You will begin to understand the motive back of the moves made on the social chess board.

SOCIALISM AS A LIVE ISSUE.

With a suddenness that must be startling to those who note only the surface of events, Socialism has become a factor in our moral, political and industrial life. The Socialist vote for president last fall attracted a good deal of attention—more, perhaps, than in itself it deserved—but it was in no way a measure of the importance of the Socialistic movement. And year by year, as science compels consolidations and co-operations on a scale impossible in the past, the collectivist proposals formulated by the German Jew, Karl Marx, out of the theorizings of the great French economists of the eighteenth century, are bound to receive more and more attention.

Whatever one believes about it he must inform himself. For, while Mark Hanna's prediction that Socialism would be the storm center of the next great political battle in this country seemed exaggerated when he made it a few years ago, his farsightedness is already vindicated. To fight against Socialism you must understand it; to fight for Socialism you must understand it.

—The Saturday Evening Post.