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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.

STRAIGHT TALK TO UNION MEN

I WANT to have a little straight talk to you union men and women. It does not matter what particular union you belong to, I think the few words I have to say will be of interest to you. There are about three millions of you union people in the United States. At the same time there are about twenty-two millions of wage earners, that about fourteen per cent, or about one in seven of the workers are members of unions.

Now, three millions of workers, united, would be a tremendous force, and have a voice so great that it could compel any government to do its bidding. The three millions who are organized economically and politically have a good share of the brains and energy of the working class and largely control the unorganized element.

Now it is quite probable that you and I differ in this matter of unionism, but I am going to admit that you are just as honest as I am, and that if we cannot agree it is simply because we cannot see this thing like I. I am going to give you my views very briefly and all I ask is that you listen to me in the same spirit in which I talk to you.

You have been told by the capitalist papers and possibly by some of your leaders that the Appeal is your enemy and that Socialists are their dreamers or violent anarchists. You have seen and heard these things many times and if you have been influenced by them I ask you now in the interest of truth to think them over for yourself.

The Appeal is not your enemy, but your friend. Its friends are your friends and its enemies are your enemies. The Appeal has never in all its career raised its voice once against organized labor, or against the working class. From its first issue it has fought without concession and without compromise the enemies of the working class. Its record may be found in its files and challenge contradiction.

Now the object of the capitalist papers in putting the Appeal in the attitude of being an enemy to organized labor is simply to deceive organized labor into believing its friends to be its enemies and its enemies to be its friends. The very paper that warns you against the Appeal is itself your enemy, as you will find when there is a strike on and the line is drawn between organized labor and those who are trying to destroy it.

The Appeal has stood for the union through hundreds of strikes and never against it in a single one, and again I challenge the record.

In view of this fact I feel that I have a right to a few words with you. The supreme court of the United States has within a few days delivered three knockout blows to labor unions as follows:

First—It has smashed the Employers' liability law and wiped it from the statute books.

Second—It has smashed the law prohibiting railroad corporations from discharging and blacklisting employees for joining a labor union, thus virtually legalizing blacklisting and offering a premium to corporations for breaking up labor unions by discharging employees who join them.

Third—It has smashed the boycott and it has laid down the law that if a labor union deprives a hostile corporation of trade by any concerted action on the part of members it is a conspiracy, and the corporations so affected may hold the members personally and as a union liable for damages equal to three times the amount inflicted.

These three decisions following in rapid succession are all deadly blows to organized labor. The question is, what are you going to do about it? I'll tell you what I think and then you can do as you please. Of course, if you please to continue the capitalist class in power you need expect nothing more than the kind of decisions you have been getting. But I am assuming that you want to better your condition and that you are ready to listen to suggestions from those who have given the better part of their lives to the labor movement.

First—I think that organized workers should get together within one great industrial body, making common cause of the whole upon the principle of industrial unionism. This is bound to come sooner or later and the sooner the better. There can never be any true solidarity and effective action until the workers get together on the industrial field.

Second—You workers who are still in the republican or democratic party should not lose an hour getting out of those parties. Congress is made up of both republicans and democrats, but you get no legislation there. The reason is that there is not a single working class representative in the entire body. The supreme court is made up of both republicans and democrats, but you get no decision there. Same reason. And the same reason applies to every department of our government, national, state and municipal.

Third—When you have quit the old capitalist parties which have so long played you for suckers join the Socialist party, the only party made up of the working class and organized to put the working class in power to legislate in the interests of the working class. This is certainly simple enough and you should be able to understand it. The supreme court may prohibit workers from boycotting capitalists when a strike is on, but it cannot prevent them from boycotting capitalists on election day and electing every candidate on a capitalist platform to stay at home.

It is not a question of electing good or bad candidates, but of putting the working class as a class into power so that it can legislate in its own interests and look after its own welfare.

Fourth—I think the working class can develop a capacity for clear thinking and that there are plenty of representative wage-earners who are entirely qualified to sit in legislatures and in congress and to occupy the executive seat at Washington. Why then continue to divide your forces between the republican and democratic parties, and why continue to elect corporation lawyers, bankers and other parasites and flunkies instead of boosting your own class into power?

These and many other similar questions are now in order. It is high time you were giving thought to these questions. Of course, I can not begin to tell you all that I should like in this brief talk, but I can at least give you an idea of what I have in mind and of what you should have in yours if you expect to meet the great issues of the day and cope successfully with the great power of capitalism which is preparing to fasten upon you more securely the chains of wage-slavery.

Every issue of this paper discusses these vital questions and if you will read a few numbers I am persuaded that you will not differ from me very widely as to what should be done. There has never been a time when I wanted to reach as much as now the great body of union men in this country. I believe this paper has a message for them and in saying this I have no other object than their own welfare, for this paper was started in the interest of the labor movement and has no other mission than the emancipation of the working class. Could that be accomplished without this paper I should be willing to sink it to the bottom of the sea. If you are impressed with what I have said help me spread this paper among the union men of the United States.

Let us get together, boys, for the time is coming soon when organized labor will be put to a test that will strain every fibre of its being.

The trades-union on the one hand and in the Socialist party on the other hand; that industrially and politically they must act together as a class against the capitalist class and that this struggle is a class struggle, and that any workingman who deserts his union in a strike and goes to the other side is a scab, and any workingman who deserts his party on election day and goes over to the enemy is a betrayer of his class and an enemy of his fellow-man.

Let us all toe the mark square-

Let us all toe the mark square-

Let us all toe the mark square-

Let us all toe the mark square-

Let us all toe the mark square-

That Message.

President Roosevelt has sent still another message to congress, the tenth one this session. After occupying the presidential chair for almost seven years, during which time he repeatedly bombarded congress with words, the president discovers, now that congress is soon to adjourn and there is a national election at hand, that something must be done to placate the dissatisfied working class.

But what shall it be? Ah, the president is a wonderfully adroit politician when it comes to fooling and humbugging workingmen. He touches a button; orders a freight truck to the White House and a special message is carted off to congress.

In this special message the president recommends seventeen laws, or amendments to existing laws, among which is child labor, employer's liability, pension to government employees for injury or death, injunctions, traffic agreements, receivers for bankrupt railroads, anti-trust regulations, labor organizations, arbitration of strikes, boycotts, finance, tariff and waterways.

When this message was penned the president well knew that not one of these measures would be given serious consideration. The whole country knows that there is to be no important legislation at this session of congress; that beyond drawing their salary congressmen find it difficult to "kill" time. But then such recommendations will "look good" on the record and can be "pointed to with pride" by campaign orators.

It was this and this only that inspired Roosevelt's last special message to Congress. But to make certain that no action would be taken the president asks for the enactment of seventeen new laws.

What a joke! No sane man will for an instant believe that congress in its closing days will take up and pass these measures. It is simply a thinly-veiled ruse to fool the workers. This last "spiel" of the president is a grandstand play that may "hook" a few suckers but the intelligent workingman will not be caught by such a skin game.

The Rights of Labor.

The rights of labor! This is a dynamic phrase. It comprehends vast possibilities for the race. It includes the fundamental facts of human existence; the means, methods, processes, agencies, tools and materials wherewith men wrestle with nature for the means of subsistence, as well as the natural elements themselves upon which labor is exerted.

The rights of labor cannot be limited, extended, or destroyed by statute law, nor by the constitutions of organized society. Constitutions and statutes are ethically valid only when they conform with the fundamental rights of labor and give expression to them.

The rights of labor are the rights to live, to love, to have one's being on this beautiful earth which an all-wise power has created for the use of man, and to work out one's destiny after the manner of the children of gods; the right to marry and to give in marriage; to be surrounded by one's own offspring, clean, healthy, happy, and bright of eye; to be the possessor of one's own vine and fig tree; to live one's own life and develop one's own individuality free from the domination of economic circumstance and the oppression of one's fellow men.

The rights of labor comprehend everything which men have fought and bled and died for in all ages of the world. It means, in short, the right to be A MAN.

Woman in Socialism.

In Socialism woman will stand forth the equal of man—all the avenues will be open to her and she will find her fitting place and rise from the low plane of menial servility to the dignity of ideal womanhood.

Breathing the air of economic freedom, amply able to provide for herself in Socialist society, we may be certain that the cruel injustice that is now perpetuated upon her sex and the degradation that results from it will disappear.

The moment a worker sees himself in his true light he severs his relations with all capitalist parties, for he realizes at once that he no more belongs there than Rockefeller belongs in the Socialist party.

THE FEDERAL COURT AND UNION LABOR

BY EUGENE V. DESS.

The recent decisions of the supreme court of the United States leave no doubt as to the attitude of that tribunal towards organized labor. These decisions, so far as they are vital, are uniformly and emphatically hostile to labor unionism.

The decision outlawing the boycott and holding a union and its members liable for damages sustained by a boycotted employer practically disarms the union and places its members at the mercy of their employers.

The strike and boycott are now both virtually outlawed and this leaves labor without any lawful means of defense under the present system.

The decision of the federal court at Washington in the injunction proceedings instituted by the Buck Range and Stone company against the American Federation of Labor and its national officers not only makes the boycott unlawful but goes so far as to prohibit the officers and members of a labor union, "either by printed or written word, or orally," from calling their employers by name or making any allusion to their unfairness to labor.

To even whisper of an employer's hostility is to be in contempt of court.

It must be borne in reverential silence. Thou shalt not call the name of the employer, thy master, in vain! When this injunction was made permanent by Judge Gould, of the district federal court at Washington, and Mr. Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, was enjoined from publishing the usual "unfair list" in his official organ, it was intimated in the press dispatches that he would refuse to obey the order of the court. In an editorial in a succeeding issue he said: "With all due respect to the court it is impossible for us to see how we can comply with all the terms of this injunction." Nevertheless, Mr. Gompers did comply with it insofar as the "unfair list" was concerned, and it has not since appeared. In issuing his appeal for financial aid in defense of a free press and free speech Mr. Gompers said: "The injunction invades the liberty of the press, the liberty of speech." And yet Mr. Gompers, as the official leader of organized labor, abjectly obeys it.

Wendell Phillips once said that real men trample upon unjust laws and defy those who enact them. This decision, or order, of the federal court, enjoining the working class from publishing, writing, or speaking the names of its enemies is not even a law. It is simply the *ipse dixit* of a corporation lawyer who now happens to be a federal judge. That is all.

Most of the laws which now fetter labor unionism, restrict its operations within harmless bounds, and stifle its speech, are made in that way. The constitution of the United States never conferred any such power upon the supreme court and federal judges. They have simply usurped it; helped themselves, and the people have submitted.

There are times when forbearance is a disgrace and submission a crime. The labor movement should call a halt. To appeal to congress, composed of the representatives of the trusts and corporations for fresh laws to be declared unconstitutional, is the climax of folly and sycophancy. The supreme court is supreme and will be so long as the people tamely submit to its usurpation of power, and so long as its despotic and outrageous decisions remain unchallenged.

The working class is supreme when it so wills. I have been asked what I should have done in the place of Mr. Gompers. I should have expressed myself as Mr. Gompers did, only more so, and then I should have done what he did not do.

Upon that issue I should rather have been in jail than not to have been in contempt. I should have ignored the injunction, continued the "unfair list," and compelled the court to rescind its order or enforce it. Moreover, I should have advised all labor papers not carrying the list to incorporate it in their columns. And they would have done it, and in so doing would have been backed up by three million of union men.

Then let the supreme court of the trusts and corporations put the

American labor movement in jail for contempt!

It is just such spineless submission which invites such judicial contempt.

The labor decisions, or rather anti-labor decisions, of the federal court, are a travesty upon justice and an insult to the intelligence of labor, if it has any, and if once treated accordingly the court would in that hour purge itself of contempt for the working class.

The organized working men and women of this country should not hesitate to express their contempt for any court when it is deserved.

In this war of the classes in capitalist society labor has the undoubted right of refusing its patronage to its enemies and of calling them by name. If it has not that right it has no right at all and is in abject slavery; and any order which denies that primal right ought to be ignored and the court that issues it treated with contempt.

The organized workers of the United States would undoubtedly support an attitude of defiance to such an outrageous invasion of their fundamental rights as human beings.

Where Do We Stand?

What is to be the next move of union labor?

Relying upon the strength of its economic organization trade unionism has endeavored to secure better wages and shorter hours of labor for workingmen by means of the strike and the boycott. These are its weapons, but they have been taken away. Capitalism has destroyed them. In the economic game of chess capitalism has given "check." It is now the move of unionism. What will it be?

Let us briefly review the situation and see where we stand. In the Adair case, decided January 27, 1908, the supreme court said that employers of labor may boycott union men. In the Danbury Hatter's case, decided just one week later, the same court said that union men may not boycott employers of labor. Then here is where we stand—a boycott of employers directed against workingmen is perfectly legal, but a boycott of workingmen directed against employers is illegal! It is to this maze of contradiction that the "freedom of contract" theory proceeds.

What has been proposed by the leaders of union labor as a remedy for the difficulty into which unionism has been plunged by these decisions? More capitalist law!

Conferences have been held and as a result congress has been asked to pass legislation relieving labor from its present disabilities, and the threat has been made that every representative in congress who does not prove acceptable to labor shall be defeated at the polls. The request is fatuous and the threat is insane.

Granting that union labor may have the power to compel congress to enact such legislation as it demands, or, failing which, that it may elect its own representatives to congress and thus obtain the laws demanded. All such legislation must run the gauntlet of the supreme court, and here is the touchstone by which it will be judged:

"The right of a person to sell his labor upon such terms as he deems proper is, in its essence, the same as the right of the purchaser of labor to prescribe the conditions upon which he will accept such labor from the person offering to sell it. . . . In all such particulars the employer and the employe have equality of right, and any legislation that disturbs that equality is an arbitrary interference with the liberty of contract which no government can legally justify in a free land."

The above quotation is from the opinion of the supreme court in the Adair case. Is it not futile to enact laws in the interest of labor which must be submitted to such a rule of interpretation? Are not unionists dissipating their energies and chasing a chimera when they attempt to secure class justice from capitalist legislators and capitalist courts?

United and determined action in the political field is what is needed, but it must be such action as has for its object the capture of every branch of the government by the laboring class, and the exercise of every function of government in the interest of that class; such action, in short, as Socialism alone proposes.

The latest photograph of Taft bears a striking resemblance to a top spinning on its head.

WARREN'S IMPENDING TRIAL

IN THREE weeks Fred D. Warren, managing editor of the Appeal, will be placed on trial in the federal court. The charge is, as heretofore announced, having sent threatening, defamatory and scurrilous matter through the mails. The charge grows out of the offer of the reward for the fugitive Governor Taylor, of Kentucky, and was inspired by the kidnaping of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone and the legalizing of that infamy by the supreme court of the United States.

Having explained this matter in detail in previous issues it is not necessary now, on the eve of trial, to repeat it. Our readers understand fully that this whole proceeding is but a subterfuge to overwhelm the Appeal with court costs and if possible suppress its publication.

In face of the fact that every sheriff in the country circulates rewards for fugitives through the mails it is absurd to suppose that Warren has been arrested and is now about to be tried for any offense growing out of that charge. Nothing could be more ridiculous and everyone connected with the case knows it. But it has long time been the purpose of the "authorities," the political boss-men of the ruling class in the present regime, to put the Appeal in business. They have long had a watchful eye on it. No clue has been permitted to escape the argus-eyed special inspectors who have been upon its trail. No incident has been too trivial and no complaint too absurd to escape investigation.

Relentlessly have these special agents been on the track of the Appeal by order of their "superiors," and for the one purpose of trapping it in some infraction of the rules or some violation of the law, however slight or immaterial, to justify its exclusion from the mails. But the Appeal has not been in ignorance of these manoeuvrings. It has its friends, as well as its enemies, in the postal department, and it has not been foolish enough, in the face of repeated warnings, to violate the rules or laws in any particular that would warrant the revocation of its second-class privilege.

In this game the Appeal has been more than a match for those who have been pitted against it. It has given them no excuse to pounce upon it; no peg upon which to hang a prosecution; no warrant for ousting it from the mails. Every investigation resulted in a fiasco, so far as the Appeal was concerned. In every case the Appeal came forth with clear skirts.

Seeing that all attempts to trap the Appeal were proving hopeless and that something else must be resorted to if the Appeal was to be suppressed the brilliant thought occurred to the postal sleuths that the reward offered by the Appeal in the Taylor case furnished the long-sought opportunity to come down upon the Appeal with all the force of a federal indictment for sending threatening matter through the mails. This is the case in a nutshell. It is perfectly simple and easily understood. A federal indictment can put the defendant to any amount of expense and to no end of trouble.

This case has been pending now almost a year. It has already cost several thousand dollars for the best lawyers have to be employed. When the case actually begins large additional expense will have to be incurred and much valuable time given to preparing the defense. But the defense will not be neglected. We can assure our friends that it will be thoroughly made and that if Warren is "railroaded" it will be so flagrant a case of persecution by the federal court as the instrument of the trusts and corporations that the whole country will understand it.

The Appeal has even now its agents in the state of Kentucky who are making an investigation, the result of which will prove interesting to the prosecution. But we shall not anticipate. It is sufficient to say that we shall be prepared.

A day or two ago we had a letter from a Kansas comrade who warned us that the pins were all set and that Warren would surely be sentenced to prison. This comrade received his information in a confidential way from a certain court official who is closely allied with the prosecution and who doubtless knows whereof he speaks. Be this as it may, if Warren is convicted it will simply be in further evidence of the fact that the courts are instruments of oppression and subjugation in the present system and that they who are opposed to this system and have the courage to assert themselves must pay the penalty.

We are only desirous that the working class and the people generally shall understand the importance of the issue that is here involved. It is not because it happens to be the Appeal that we say this, but because we are in position to know that it is not the Appeal alone that is to be silenced if this conspiracy is successful, but the entire Socialist and labor press, so far as it is a menace to the prevailing system.

This case, therefore, aside entirely from Warren himself, or the Appeal, is of very decided moment to labor and to the American people. Its outcome may make it a very celebrated case in court annals. Warren is to be tried by the same court which has through its various branches and through its supreme tribunal launched its deadly decisions against trade unions and organized bodies of working men in every part of the country, gradually stripping them of their power with the object of reducing them to a state of maudlin fear and whining impotency.

When the Warren case is called at Fort Scott on May 4th it will be the first judicial assault upon the Socialist and labor press of the United States.

The Right to Quit Work.

In the Lennon case, which was an outgrowth of the strike of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers against the Ann Arbor railroad, the supreme court confirmed a judgment against Lennon, who was an engineer on the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railway, for quitting his employment rather than haul in his train a car belonging to the Ann Arbor railroad. His action was in obedience to a rule of his organization, and in furtherance of a policy adopted by the Brotherhood to force the Ann Arbor company to accede to its terms. The supreme court held that Lennon's action was an interference with interstate commerce, and that a man had no right to quit his employment at any time or place he saw fit, but if he wished to quit work he must do so in such a manner and at such a time and place as would impose no hardship upon his employer in the performance of a public duty.

In the Adair case, which involved the right of a master mechanic on the Louisville & Nashville railroad to discharge an employe named Coppage because of his membership in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, the supreme court said: "The defendant, who seemed to have authority in the premises, did not agree to keep Coppage in service for any particular time, nor did Coppage agree to remain in such service a moment longer than he chose. The latter was at liberty to quit the service without assigning any reason for his leaving. And the defendant was at liberty, in his discretion, to discharge Coppage from service without giving any reason for so doing."

Who will reconcile these two decisions? The truth is that even the right to quit work when and where he pleases is no longer possessed by a workingman. His employer may discharge him summarily and he has no remedy, but if he relies on the rule laid down in the Adair case and quits his job in a manner not satisfactory to his employer he will find that his case will be tried by the rule laid down in the Lennon case. The present system of private ownership must be abolished and the workers themselves made the owners of the tools with which they work, and to accomplish this they must organize their class for political action, and this work is already well under way in the Socialist party, which is composed of the working class and stands for the working class on a revolutionary platform, which declares in favor of the collective ownership of the means of production and the democratic management of industry in the interest of the whole people. In the class struggle the workers must unite and fight together as one on both economic and political fields.

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE

BY FRANKLIN FREEMAN, Correspondent Appeal to Reason.

WASHINGTON, April 3, 1908.—Every American citizen should have a copy of the annual report of the Isthmian Canal Commission for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1907. It's a big book, and contains a lot of pretty pictures, besides much interesting reading matter. The part that will have most interest for Socialists is the chapter on contract versus hired labor, pages 16 to 24 inclusive. The conclusion is against contract labor, and the arguments might well have been written by a Socialist. Here are some quotations that read well:

"It is not uncommon in the execution of comparatively large projects that the contractors have failed and the government carried successfully to completion, by hired labor, the work undertaken by the contractor. Notable instances of the government successfully completing work are the state, war and navy department building and the congressional library, Washington, D. C. Omitting profits derived from assistance and general stores, and assuming the hours of labor the same in both cases, it stands to reason that the government, when warranted in making the necessary outlay for plant, can do work cheaper than a contractor, for no question of profits enters into consideration."

"Experience has shown that continuity of construction is more apt to result in cases where the government undertakes the task than when it is turned over to contractors. This can be easily verified by an examination of the records (the number of failing contractors) to be found in the office of the chief of engineers. For all work done by hired labor continuity of work is merely a question of continuity of appropriations. It is true that continuity may be equally insured by turning the Panama Canal work over to contractors, if the contract is so drawn that practically all risks are assumed by the government, but why this should be done, at a considerable increase in cost, is not apparent.

"To anyone who has had experience with contracts on government work, the claim that letting a piece of work by contract is a reasonable assurance that it will be completed in a definite time is utterly untenable. On public works, including public buildings, it may safely be said that in the majority of cases the time limit is exceeded. An examination of the contracts for material to be supplied the Isthmian Canal, so far as the time limits proposed by the contracts are concerned, will clearly show that there is no assurance of completion in a definite time of any contract, even though the contractors themselves, when fully cognizant of all the conditions surrounding the work, fix the time for the completion or delivery. It certainly cannot be supposed, therefore, that in an enervating climate, like that on the Isthmian, and with labor below that in the United States in efficiency, this time failing record for contract work would be changed."

"There is no question that there are a number of people who will always believe and contend that any piece of work done by the government could have been done as well and more cheaply if undertaken by contract, but an examination of the records will generally disprove such a contention."

"This is punctured another stereotyped capitalist argument by our friends the enemy."

At a recent hearing before the Interstate Commerce Commission the processes by which the natural resources of this country have been wasted were forcibly illustrated. The hearing involved the greatest railroad and industrial interests of the Pacific northwest, and its occasion was a protest against an increase in lumber rates from the Pacific coast. President Hill of the Great Northern, and President Elliott of the Northern Pacific were among the star witnesses, and the facts developed were as follows:

impossible to make a rate low enough to move any but the very choicest grades. The finest trees could be cut into immense sticks of dimension lumber, or into the choicest board material, but in the process there were many trees of poorer grade which would not make better than second-class lumber; there was also a large waste in cutting up the best trees. This second-grade timber would have been extremely valuable but for the long haul. But it would not bear the haul to market it profitably in the east in competition with similar grades of lumber there, and there was no market for it on the coast. So it was thrown aside as useless. From time to time immense amounts of this timber, valueless simply because it was too far from market; valueless because that magnificent forest was being forced into the market ahead of its time in order that Jim Hill might make a profit for his railroad—were burned or left to rot. It was testified at the hearing that fully one-third of the potential lumber content of the cut over land was thus wasted. Nothing but the very choicest could be sent to market. The rest was lost.

Again, the heaps of waste left in the process of cutting made fire traps in the forests, and billions of feet of standing timber have been burned because of fires originating in them. Thus has something like half the social value of the greatest forest on this continent been wasted in order that private individuals might pile up millions of dollars in profit, and that a railroad might pay dividends to its stockholders. The natural heritage of generations yet unborn is ruthlessly destroyed in the insane scramble for private profit.

Child's Primer of Socialism.

The German Socialists have begun at the right end—that is to say, with the child. They are now recommending that the children of Socialists shall not be given toy cannon, tin soldiers and wooden guns. They would not have the little ones familiarized in their infancy with the notion of legalized murder. Thus they will stop the spirit of militarism at its very source.

The Socialists of Germany are wise. Socialists make a grave mistake in not teaching their children the spirit of Socialism in their earliest years. This, of course, does not mean that the little ones' heads should be stuffed with phrases about "surplus value" and "class-consciousness." No childish brain can comprehend the abstract idea of the collective ownership of the means of life. But Socialism is something more than a theory. It is—or at least will be—a form of living society. It will be a new and better era. And the beautiful spirit of this coming era—the spirit of universal brotherhood, of humanity, of equality, of freedom—can be taught to the youngest child.

What a cruel dwarfing and distorting of the child's conscience is constantly going on in our public schools! It is systematically poisoned with jingoism and snobbery, with false standards and sordid aims. The little child is early trained to be a selfish individualist. The "captain of industry" is held up as the hero for him to imitate. And the natural result follows. Our nation is rapidly growing more and more money-loving, venal and corrupt. How could it be otherwise?

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

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

The Appeal is publishing a *Child's Primer of Socialism* in practically the same form as the child of from 5 to 10 years of age uses in school, and containing some twenty illustrations and half-tones, to be sold for 25 cents by the single copy. We will send them by the dozen for \$2.50.

WHY TRADE UNIONISTS SHOULD BE SOCIALISTS

BY ROBERT HUNTER.

UNIONISTS, you have learned one great lesson—the power of solidarity, of unity, when battling with your employers. Alone, you are helpless; united, your power is invincible.

For the sake of yourselves and others you strike; if necessary, you starve.

The working man who helps the employer to defeat you in this battle you call a scab. This poor creature is more hateful to you even than the employer who oppresses you. The employer at least is fighting his own battle. The scab is fighting the battle of the enemy.

The Socialist party is a political union. It is an international organization with millions of members. In Russia, Finland, Denmark, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, England, your brothers work together in almost perfect political solidarity.

The Socialists here are endeavoring to build up a similar party. Several hundred thousand workmen now vote together politically. They are organized to fight every battle of the workers. They want trade union rights, the eight-hour day, the insurance of workmen against old age, sickness, invalidity, accident and unemployment. They ask for Labor the full product of its toil. They plead for unity and solidarity among the workers toward the end of obtaining the complete emancipation of Labor.

This political union; this party, owned, controlled and financed by the workers, will have in congress and in the legislatures their own official representatives, their own walking delegates.

While Socialists work to achieve political unity, many working men go to the polls and help the employers. They vote for democrats, for republicans, for Hearstites. They divide the workers, and render them helpless in this great political battle.

Do you wonder that Socialists are sometimes bitter when they see trade unionists, who loathe the scab at the time of a strike, vote like a scab at the time of an election?

You know what employers do when a strike is on. They import scabs, give them big wages, banquet them. They have the police protect them. They promise anything to the poor devils.

What do they do when the strike is over? They throw them into the streets among the other starving unemployed.

It is so in the political battle; and election time is like a strike. The politicians go out to divide labor. They promise anything. They banquet labor. They wine and dine the leaders of labor. And after the election they spurn and ridicule the very men who put them into power.

The leaders of two or three million men are now begging for legislation at Washington. They put the democrats and republicans into power. They helped democrats and republicans to divide labor and to defeat the political strike. And like the poor wretches that have defeated trade unionists in their battle against their employers, they find every hand against them when the strike is over.

Trade unionists, the Socialists ask you but one thing.

Vote as you strike. Unite yourselves.

The employers own your legislatures, your courts, your president, your governors. The democrats and republicans promise everything; they give nothing. They not only refuse humane legislation, but at the present moment they are even taking away your rights as unionists—your rights to combine against your employers. Union men lie in jail. Judge-made law ties you hand and foot. Union papers are censored. You can no longer picket; and the funds of your unions are the prey of your enemies.

Socialism is a philosophy; a great philosophy. It is also a political movement, destined to become the greatest political movement of all times.

Great meetings are being held in and about Chicago by William D. Haywood. The halls are all crowded to their capacity and many hundred have to be turned away. The enthusiasm is intense. The stirring pleas made by the big miner for working class unity are arousing many thousands who have heretofore managed to sleep on. Haywood has been peculiarly fitted for this great work. He arrives upon the scene at an opportune time. We have to thank the Mine Owners of the west for kidnapping him and putting him through a course of training for this difficult task and for furnishing him with greater audiences than greet any other speaker before the American people. And such audiences! They consist of the real aristocracy of the nation. The people who create all wealth, support all society, and conserve all civilization. Comrade Luella Twining informs us in a glowing report that Haywood is growing in power from day to day, and that his recent work is far more fruitful than any he has yet done. Truly, this is our year, and before it takes its last breath there will be the most far-reaching and effective agitation and the most tremendous changes in sentiment and spirit ever known in the United States.

WHAT PARTY?

BY F. M. CASSIDY, Editor Switchman's Journal.

His question seems to me utterly ridiculous and absurd, and when asked in sincerity by a wage-worker, surprises me to find one so superlatively stupid, that he cannot see where his interests lie and are best conserved.

There are four political parties in these United States today that have sufficient numerical strength to entitle them to recognition as national parties, viz: the republican, democratic, prohibition, and Socialist parties, respectively. The first three named stand for the wage system and the exploitation of the wage-earner; that is, for taking four-fifths of the wealth produced, thereby leaving but one-fifth to the wealth producer. The Socialist party, when it captures the powers of government, will give the creator of all wealth, the workingman, ALL that he produces.

Surely the worker with an ounce of brains should be able to determine which of these parties is HIS party. Recent supreme court decisions have virtually declared organized labor an outlaw; in fact, at this very moment organized labor is lying prostrate, shackled hand and foot, with a gag in its mouth, and what is the giant among the litigants going to do about it?

The presidents of the various national and international labor unions have held a conference in Washington, have discussed the advisability of organizing on the political field, and have adjourned without settling on any definite plan to capture the powers of government, other than to fight in a desultory way, supporting those on any ticket who profess friendship, and fighting those who have made no secret of their enmity for organized labor, as was done towards C. E. Littlefield and "Uncle Joe" Cannon. So all the talk about an Independent Labor Party has come to naught, and it is well that it has, since the toilers already have a party in the field that is controlled and financed by the wage-workers of this country.

There is no need, therefore, of an Independent Labor party. The fact is the wage slaves of this country have been voting too much independently of their own class interests. The Socialist party is controlled by and for the wage-workers of this country, and assures the laborer the full product of his toil. This is what, to a certain degree, organized labor is striving for on the industrial field. This being true, how in the name of common sense can a union man have any hesitancy in joining the Socialist party?

How can trade unionists possibly vote the republican or democratic ticket this year? It is simply inconceivable. If they have not been punished sufficiently, kicked from pillar to post often enough and hard enough, in the name of all the gods at once when will they have enough of capitalism? But reports are assuring. The eyes of labor are opening at last and we look for surprisingly big things this year in the labor movement.

Socialism now has the floor.

Until May 1st we will send the *Scarlet Shadow* (\$1.50), and the *Iron Heel* (\$1.50) and a subscription to the *Appeal* for one year, all amounting to \$3.50, for \$2.00.

UNION LABOR AT THE BALLOT BOX

BY A. F. GERMER, Vice President District 12, United Mine Workers.

THE recent anti-union court decisions, state and federal, should certainly open the eyes of union men. The silence of the democratic and republican parties in respect to these decisions should be sufficient proof that these parties have no interest in the working class.

Organized labor has in the past been utterly inconsistent in the use of the ballot and only too many of its members have voted the tickets of their masters. It is this political self-betrayal of union men which has sacrificed the interests of labor. The workers have sentenced themselves to political helplessness by supporting with their votes the parties of their employers, and then have complained that those nominated by corporations, whose campaigns were financed by corporations and the platforms on which they stood drawn up by corporations, failed to serve them.

Can it be expected that a judge, born with a silver spoon in his mouth, whose seat on the bench is secured through the influence of the money power, will turn a Judas Iscariot? and that the legislator elected on a platform declaring for the private ownership of the means of life will commit treason against the party whose servant he is?

A political office holder elected on a capitalist ticket has a mind that runs parallel with that of the party boss, and every workingman knows, or at least should know, that none of his class are bosses in either of the old parties.

So working men have nothing to look for from democratic or republican politicians! But however gloomy the past has been for labor, it is with rejoicing that I say, "The future looks brighter." Workingmen are awakening to the wrongs they have suffered, and the coming campaign will show that the democratic and republican parties are no longer looked upon as a Moses commissioned by the Almighty to redeem a people yearning for freedom.

Before the eyes of the workingman flames a new ideal. He is beginning to realize how abjectly he has been sacrificed in the past. In his heart throbs a new hope, that of seeing his fellow workers gather within the folds of a working-class party whose slogan is, *Industrial Freedom and Social Progress*.

He is beginning to see what he failed to see during all the tragic past, that to free himself from economic, political and judicial tyranny he must extend the hand of political fellowship to his fellow-workers all along the line, and that all who toil must rally round the standard of the Socialist party, the ONE party organized to emancipate the working class.

As evidence of the awakening of union labor I quote a resolution adopted by an overwhelming vote of the delegates to the Nineteenth Annual Convention, District 12 (Illinois), United Mine Workers of America, held at Peoria during the month of February, and who represented approximately 65,000 members:

Whereas, in the struggle between the employers and the employees, one of the strongest instruments is the political power, now in possession of the employers, which is used by them for the purpose of protecting their interests at all points and especially in the maintenance of private property in the things that are necessary to the life of the employee; and

Whereas, society as today constituted permits a few who revel in unlimited luxury, through the ownership of the means of life, to doom to idleness and starvation the great multitude whose existence is made possible only through an opportunity to have a job; therefore, be it Resolved, That we recognize the necessity of a united working class political organization for the purpose of wresting from the grip of trust magnates the avenues of life, and we further recognize as the only remedy for present ills the establishment of a system that guarantees to the workers an opportunity to obtain a living by honest toil and the full product of their labor.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the mighty giant in the caverns of the earth is rising from his slumber. He is aroused, he appeals to you, fellow-union men, to take your part in the battle for freedom. What the Illinois miners did, though but a spark, is going to set organized labor afire. It is grand to contemplate, and looking into the future, we behold the glorious vision of a world without a master, a world without a slave.

Fellow union men, the judicial and legislative clutch of capitalism is upon your throats, and the hour for political union has struck. When you cast your ballots cast them loyally for your class, for the emancipation of your class means the emancipation of all humanity.

A yeggman was shot and mortally wounded in an Illinois town while in the act of burglarizing a bank. Had this burglar been wise enough to adopt the methods used by capitalists he might now be filling the place of an "honorable" citizen instead of holding down a cold slab in the morgue.

Two Appeal Marches.

It is by comparison and contrast that striking changes are best noted. Thus the wonderful growth of the Appeal is seen in comparing two months a year apart. For such comparison we have chosen March, 1907, and March, 1908. We have chosen March 1907, because it was an exceptionally big and busy month for the Appeal and because during that month there were received 29,927 new subscribers, amounting to almost one thousand per day for every day of the month.

This was certainly a gratifying achievement. The Appeal was truly enjoying a boom. But there were many, some of them good friends, who predicted that this could not last; that it was but the crest of the wave upon which the Appeal was momentarily perched and that it would be sure to come down again and possibly fall even below its previous circulation.

But time has proved that the boom of the Appeal was to be a permanent one; that it is commensurate with the growth of the great movement of which the Appeal is an exponent, and that while there may and probably will be an occasional sag the general trend is bound to be upward and toward a larger and larger hearing until it numbers a million subscribers and more, and is recognized by capitalists and workers alike as the voice of the social revolution.

To show that the growth of the Appeal since March, 1907, has not only been steady but rapid, even remarkable, it is only necessary to say that for March of the present year the Appeal received 35,728 new subscribers, breaking the record for March of the previous year and adding in addition thereto 5,801 new subscribers to the list. In other words, comparing the two Marches a year apart the Appeal in that space of time increased its own record by almost 6,000 per month. This increase is continuing steadily from day to day and will doubtless do so through the entire campaign.

At this rate the Appeal is receiving an average of 1,400 new subscribers every business day of the week. It is a tremendous increase! There is no other paper in the United States that can equal it. The Appeal claims no credit for this, and is not egotistical about it in the least. The growth of the Appeal is simply the growth of the Socialist movement. The Appeal is a barometer of the great social revolution and in its rapid increase is reflected the rising tide of the international movement whose historic mission it is to free labor and emancipate mankind.

By Its Fruit.

If by its fruit we know the tree, so by the same token do we know our social system. Its corrupt fruit betrays its foul and unclean nature and condemns it to death.

The swarms of vagrants, tramps, outcasts, paupers, thieves, gamblers, pickpockets, suicides, confidence men, fallen women, consumptives, idiots, dwarfed children; the disease, poverty, insanity and crime rampant in every land under the sway of capitalism rise up and cry out against it, and hush to silence all the pleas of its mercenaries and strike the knell of its doom.

The immortal shibboleth of Marx, "Workingmen of all countries unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains—you have a world to gain" is the rallying cry of the class struggle, the inspiration of the working class, and is heard echoing and re-echoing around the world.

Market reports show a falling off in the price of wool. This decline is said by experts to be due to over-production caused by a largely increased number of workingmen refusing to have any more of the product pulled over their eyes by capitalist politicians.

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is a monthly magazine for workers. It applies Marx's historical method to the things that are happening now. It opens its pages to writers of all shades of opinion, but its editorial comments are from the viewpoint of the international working class. Every Socialist who wants to know more about Socialist thought will read each new issue of the Review with delight. Ten cents a copy, a dollar a year.

THE COMMON SENSE OF SOCIALISM

This new book by John Spargo, to be published early in April, will be the propaganda book of the campaign year. It is in the form of personal letters, as simple and readable as "Merrie England," but a great deal more scientific. It will start new people to thinking, and start them RIGHT. Cloth, \$1.00; paper, 25 cents. For \$1.50 we will mail a cloth copy and the International Socialist Review one year; for 60c we will mail a paper copy and the Review six months.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, 264 1-2 Kinzie st., Chicago.

CAMPAIGN HANDKERCHIEFS

This, comrades, deserves your instant attention. The Appeal is negotiating with the factories for a red campaign handkerchief, with the pictures of our candidates for president and vice-president. In order to get them so that we can sell them at any reasonable price, we must order for the first shipment at least ten thousand dozen. That means a terrible financial drain upon the paper's sinews. We have a splendid design for it drawn, showing a wonderful apotheosis of triumphant Socialism arising from the smoke of factories, holding in one hand a ballot-box, on each side of which will appear the pictures of the Socialist candidates for president and vice-president respectively, and around all the legend: "Workers of the World, Unite." They will be ready just as soon after the national convention as possible. We hope to sell them for \$1.00 a dozen, ten dozen for \$6.00. Don't send money now, but let us know on a postal card how many you will want and when ready we will notify you. Or fill out this order blank below and mail it with your first letter to the Appeal.

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