



**To the Workers**

Shall you complain who feed the world?  
Who clothe the world?  
Who house the world?  
Shall you complain who are the world,  
Of what the world may do?  
As from this hour  
You use your power,  
The world must follow you!

The world's life hangs on your right hand!  
Your strong right hand!  
Your skilled right hand!  
You hold the whole world in your hand.  
See to it what you do!  
Or dark or light,  
Or wrong or right,  
The world is made by you!

Then rise as you never rose before!  
Nor hoped before!  
Nor dared before!  
And show as was never shown before,  
The power that lies in you!  
Stand all as one!  
See justice done!  
Believe, and Dare, and Do!  
—Charlotte Perkins Stetson.

**POLITICAL CORRUPTION  
ITS CAUSE AND CURE**

By Charles H. Vall

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the fact of political corruption, most people are so familiar with it that it is taken as a matter of course. They say that "government is utterly corrupt, it is run in the interest of the few and there is no hope of improvement." Such people have no clear conception of the cause of this condition, but they have observed that government is managed in the interest of the wealthy class and have participated, perhaps, in many futile efforts to secure good government.

On the other hand there are those more optimistic, due perhaps to lack of experience, who inform us that something can and should be done to remove this ever growing evil. These people are actuated by noble motives but their efforts betray an utter lack of knowledge concerning the economic question, and consequently of the causes of the evil they seek to remove. Failing to trace the evil to its source, they waste their time in dealing with its effects. They observe that men in public position frequently betray their trust and so conclude that the fault lies with the individual, and consequently demand that better men be nominated and elected to public office. This accomplished, they think the problem solved!

Usually such advocates of reform have but little conception of practical politics and absolutely no conception of the fact that the economic rulers are the political rulers. They little realize the power they are up against and the difficulties in the way of getting men nominated and elected that are not tools of the ruling class. They have also failed to observe that their remedy has been tried time and again and usually proved ineffective even where the difficulties have been surmounted and good men placed in office. The temptations which beset the public official under the present system is often more than his weak human nature can stand.

This brings us to the main question, What is the cause of political corruption? The cause of this corruption is the opposition of private to public interests. Self-interest is the root. Legislators and councilmen are bribed, either directly or indirectly, by those owning vast aggregations of wealth that special privileges may be obtained. Every trust, corporation or important business interest today is admitted to be politically corrupting power. If necessary the officials are bought outright but frequently a little stock a railroad pass, or trolley blue ticket is all that is required. So long as individuals or corporations can advance their own interests at the expense of the public, so long there will be legislative corruption. The lobby, of which so many complain, is but an effect of which self-interest is the cause. It is a perfectly natural concomitant of the present system of industry. Many a man who was upright and honest when he entered public life has fallen from grace. The incentives today to corruption are too great to hope for much improvement. If men were perfect beings they might administer the present government honestly and justly, but in the present stage of human development the temptations seem more than frail humanity can bear. So long as government must be administered by imperfect beings it would seem the only wise course to remove the motive of perjury and dishonor. It is surely the height of absurdity for reformers to place all their efforts upon getting "good men" in office and leave untouched a system of industry that makes them bad as soon as they get in. If the powers that be are unsuccessful in corrupting the official, he finds himself isolated and at the expiration of his term laid upon the shelf. The party has no use for a man that does not do the bidding of the master class, the campaign contributions are not forthcoming unless the nominee is believed to be all right, and usually only those who have been tried and found faithful are allowed on the ticket.

The would-be reformers, then, are working at the wrong end of the problem. It is futile for them to blame individuals, to censure public officials for doing the very thing they are expected to do. If we support the system we ought not to make war on those who administer it. Neither does it do any good to rail at the political machine and

boss. These are effects, not causes. We might destroy a certain political machine and boss, but unless we change the system another machine and boss would come into existence. No political boss could long maintain his power were it not for the contributions he is able to secure from corporate interests in return for favors rendered. It is corporate pap that builds up and maintains the political machine. In New York city the municipal ailment is not Tammany Hall but the business interests that use Tammany Hall to buy legislation at Albany and franchises at the city hall. Behind the political "ring" is the private owners of public franchises. Public corruption is merely the overflow of business corruption. Our corrupt business system corrupts our political system, even in our highest courts. Political corruption has become an integral part of our business system—legislation, municipal, state and national, is now bought and sold in the open market. It is mere shortsightedness that blames the ward politician and public official. A little careful examination will reveal the fact that the ward politician and public official are merely agents of those who are endeavoring to subvert their material interests.

What is the remedy for this deplorable condition? If the cause of political corruption is the opposition of private to public interests, the remedy, private

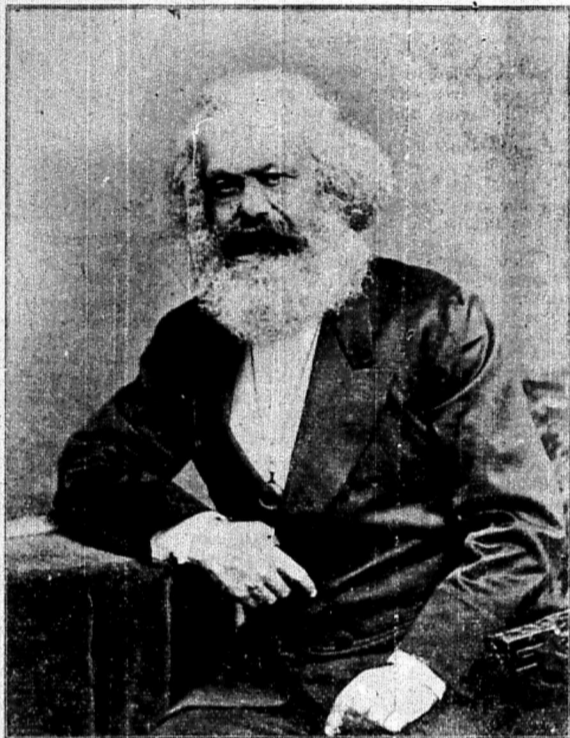
systems, etc., is a recognized source of corruption. Many examples might be given of the good results to government from placing these monopolies under public control. Public ownership will remove both the motive and opportunity for this corruption, it will pluck the evil up by the roots. What is true of the municipality is true of the state and nation. It is everywhere private interest opposed to public interest that is the cause of the evil. Collective ownership of the means of production and distribution is the only remedy, and just in proportion as this is realized the evil will be removed. Remove the cause and the effect will disappear.

Socialism would greatly simplify government and render unnecessary its obnoxious powers which result from our false organization of society. Socialism means industrial self-government, a social democracy in which the people are their own masters. Let all who desire the abolition of political corruption join in the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

**THE SOCIAL IDEAL**

By Leonard D. Abbott

I know that it is not strictly "scientific" to have ideals, but I frankly confess that I cannot help it! Of course we most of us recognize that the great



KARL MARX

world is pursuing its course regardless of what your ideal or my ideal may be. Yet after all we cannot but cherish more or less definite hopes of what society may one day become, and in so far as we exert any influence upon the thought of our time, we influence and shape the nature of the society that is to be. It will be a sorry day for our Socialist movement when it loses its idealism. Every idealist ought to be a Socialist; every Socialist must be an idealist, whether he is conscious of it or not.

It is impossible in a few words to adequately describe the glorious ideal of Socialism, to which the men and women of our movement are consecrating their lives today, with a whole-heartedness and a self-sacrifice almost unparalleled in the world's history. We can only say that it is the mightiest ideal that ever stirred the heart of humanity. We can only say that it is essentially revolutionary, and that it represents almost the antithesis of existing conditions. In place of strife, we shall have rest and fellowship; in place of misery, happiness; in place of inequality, equality; in place of ugliness, beauty.

What appeals to one first of all in this new life is its comfort and security. There will be no more of this mad, heartless scramble for wealth, no more of this mean, sordid commercialism. Our life will be sane and normal. We shall no longer conduct society on the principle of the herd in the pigsty, but rather in the spirit of kindly altruism and the recognition that an injury to one is an injury to all. We shall not need to think very much about the physical and material side of life at all. A few hours of pleasant labor, organized in scientific fashion on a national scale, will produce enough—and more than enough—to satisfy every human need.

My soul rises up within me to greet the wholeness, the equality, of this new epoch in human history. As I dream of it, I feel like one transported from some pestilential swamp to a mountain summit, with its bracing ozone, its splendid panorama. Think of the petty and nauseous stupidity—the utter woodenness—of so much of our life today, with its snobbish castes and grades into which we so solemnly divide ourselves, its so-called "higher" and "lower" classes. Consider, on the one hand, the butterfly life of the ball-room; on the other hand, the drunken soddenness of the saloon. What inspiration it gives us to even think of these things swept from the earth forever! What joy it is to know that we shall one day have a society of real men and women,

instead of (too often) dolls! The world will never realize the pitiful waste and degradation of human life that has been going on through the long centuries, until Socialism produces a new race of men.

Socialism will mean simplicity. It will mean that we deliberately turn our backs on the myriad shams around us. The luxuries of today—the twelve-course dinners, the two hundred dollar dresses, the multitude of servants—are simply signs of disease. It is hard to say which is the more detestable, the overbearing conceit of the plutocrat, or the cringing servility of the flunkey. How pleasant it is to think of the society of equality, enthroning honesty, simplicity, fellowship, and relegating to the ash-heap the pompous shams and the silly "respectability" of today!

Lastly, Socialism will mean beauty. I am sure that one of the first things men will turn their attention to, after the nightmare of capitalism has passed away, will be the beatification of their environment. We will no longer be able to tolerate for an instant the wretched shabbiness and sordidness of modern commercial life. We will put our souls into the architecture of our towns, and make them an ornament to nature, instead of a blot upon it. Everything in those days—from the cup and platter to the steamship—will be worth admiring. We will make the world a garden of beauty.

To my mind, William Morris' "News from Nowhere" is the most beautiful picture of the ideal society ever planned by the hand of man. And I think one might search long without finding anything to equal the exquisite charm of his verses:

Then all Mine and all Thine shall be Ours,  
and no more shall any man crave  
For riches that serve for nothing but to fetter  
a friend for a slave.

And what wealth then shall be left us, when  
none shall gather gold,  
To buy his friend in the market, and pinch  
and pine the sold?

Nay, what?—save the lovely city, and the  
little house on the hill,  
And the wastes and the woodland beauty, and  
the happy fields we till.

The homes of ancient story, the tombs of  
the mighty dead,  
The wise men seeking out marvels, and the  
poet's teeming head.

The painter's hand of wonder, and the mar-  
velous fiddle-bow,  
And the banded choirs of music—all those  
that do and know.

For all these shall be ours and all men's, nor  
shall any lack a share  
Of the soil and gain of living, in the days  
when the world grows fair.

**THE MAN UNDER THE DRAY**

"A heavy dray broke down in the street and a man was crushed and held captive beneath it. On top of the dray was a load of merchandise and on top of the merchandise were sitting a lot of Monopolists.

"A crowd of men gathered about and began to discuss how to relieve the man crushed by the dray. They stayed so long and discussed so hard that the people finally created them into a Legislature.

"Then they called in a lot more men, called Political Economists, who decided that the man had always been so crushed; it was his natural condition, and it was useless to think of releasing him.

"Edward Atkinson said it would overturn civilization to let the man get out from under the dray—and so it would.

"Next, chairs were added in universities to teach that the man was there because he was not fit to survive, or that he had too much overproduction on top of him; that even if he got out he could not walk, because of lack of experience in walking.

"Then came the Theologians, who said the man's heart was bad and that he must be saved before the stuff could be taken off; finally, that if his heart could be got right he need not have the weight taken off.

"And the Theologians secured a life job for centuries, just for preaching that the man could not possibly be anywhere than where he was.

"Finally a man came along who said: 'Why, take the stuff off and let the man go free.'

"That man was a Socialist."—George D. Herron.

**Social Question and the Answer**

The social problem is a problem to organize the world so that all men may be equally secure in the material means and social resources needful for a complete life. Public ownership of the sources and means of production is the answer to the social question, and the basis of spiritual liberty.—Herron.

**Prosperity and Freedom**

Property, when first instituted, was endurable; it did not take away from anybody the right and the means of becoming a land-owner, for there was no money, while there was vacant land in abundance. From the moment, however, that every free man could no longer appropriate a part of the soil, property has ceased to be a right. It has become a crying evil, and the cause of the misery and destitution of the masses.—Weitling.

**WHAT I HEAR PEOPLE SAY**

The people are being educated—some by choice, but more from necessity. Employers are studying the "logic of events," owing to trusts. Employees are forced into this great "student class" by the infrequency of food in their stomachs and the frequency of patches on their clothing. It is true that some are only in the A B C class, but they are all earnest students!

A real estate man who used to occupy a large suite of rooms with help galore, but who now has "desk room," says: "There is something wrong somewhere; I can't make things move."

A lady whose business it is to supply ladies' furnishings remarked: "It is terrible the number of people in the silk business who are thrown out of work by the combination."

Two business men who used to have offices of their own are now working for insurance companies. I asked one of them how he was getting along. "Fine," he replied. "The company has done more business this year than ever before." "Oh," I said, "of course the company is doing well. Nearly all the big companies are doing well. The country is run in the interests of the big companies. But I remember the time when you used to have your own business in your own office." He sighed! I inquired of the other one if he had noticed this peculiarly partial phrase of "prosperity" and if he intended voting for the "prosperity" men again.

Another real estate man is also thinking. He has noticed the growth of trusts and the fact that they get anything they want from congress down. I gave him some facts and figures on Socialism, municipal ownership, and what has been done in New Zealand. It is his opinion that "something like that will have to be done here. It seems that everything tends toward trusts, which throws out not only thousands of employes but many employers as well, who are forced to join the workers."

Still another real estate man, who has grown tired of being part of the great but stupid public who are not only being "skinned" by the street railway companies but crowded and almost frozen to death as well, says: "I am in favor of municipal ownership of public utilities; I can't go as far as you do." Nevertheless he is in the lane that leads to the great Socialistic highway, and I can see his finish!

James T. Fishel, a private in the Seventeenth United States Infantry, recently completed his term of enlistment and returned from the Philippine Islands. In an interview in the Chicago Record a few days ago he said: "I should like to go back to the Philippines if Otis would allow me a license to go into business, but his policy is 'once a soldier, always a soldier,' and he will not grant them to any of the boys who have served out their time."

Think of it! That man went there to fight for his country, as he supposed, but that was a great error on his part. In reality he was fighting for the trusts. He can't go into business in the country he helped to grab, but the trusts and rich men, who dodge taxes and don't do any of the fighting except with their mouths, can engage in business there.

"Trade follows the flag," you know! A lot of moral buzzards follow the flag, too, but they follow it after the Fishels risk their lives to place it there. A vote for either of the old parties is a vote for a continuance of generals who are kind to the trusts. Don't forget that.

I think Mr. Fishel ought to be cutting his economic eye teeth!

Miss Frances E. Willard, the great temperance agitator, in her address before the Woman's Christian Temperance union at Buffalo, N. Y., October 29, 1897, spoke of Socialism as follows: "What the Socialist desires is that the corporation of humanity should control all production. Beloved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it is the higher law; it eliminates the activities for a selfish life; it enacts into our everyday living the ethics of Christ's gospel. Nothing else will do it; nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood."

To all who believe in a religion that touches men's homes and families and pockets—a religion that is a reality and not a Sunday suit only—I make this solemn appeal: Get some simple Socialist literature and read it until you understand it. Socialism is not robbery—it is justice. If it were robbery it would not number among its followers such men as the Rev. George D. Herron, W. D. Howells, Henry D. Lloyd, Washington Gladden, Mayor Jones of Toledo and others. And after you understand it, vote for it.

A vote for the Social Democratic ticket is a vote for a great principle; it is a vote for the universal brotherhood of humanity without distinction of race, creed, sex, caste or color.

A vote for the old parties is a vote for the old system of genteel but remorseless plundering of the people.

Forrest S. Green.

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20 MONTHS' RECORD AT THE BALLOT BOX

[From the Social Democratic Red Book, edited by Frederic Heath; price, 15 cents]

Table listing candidates and their vote counts for various districts across different states like Wisconsin, Massachusetts, and New York.

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SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PRESS. The following is an incomplete list of the weekly newspapers in the United States giving an entire or partial support to the Social Democratic party.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE. The Political Strength of Socialism from 1867 to 1898.

Table showing the political strength of socialism from 1867 to 1898, with columns for year, country, and vote count.

They Hewed the Path. The sword of Gideon, sword of God. Be with ye, Boers. Brave men of peace.

The Paupers of the Land. We've toiled through life in grief and strife. And earned a pittance bare.

Socialist Vote in the United States from 1890 to 1897. California cast 1,611 votes for the Socialist candidate for president in 1896.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month. MINNESOTA, MISSOURI, MONTANA, NEW JERSEY, NEW YORK, CONNECTICUT, ILLINOIS, INDIANA, IOWA, KENTUCKY, MARYLAND, MASSACHUSETTS.

Buffalo Conference and the Democratic Party. A PAMPHLET FOR THE TIMES BY IMOGENE C. FALES.

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Pacific Coast Socialists. Books on economic subjects can be ordered to your advantage from the Bureau of Socialist Literature.

JOS. BARONDESS FIRE AND LIFE INSURANCE. CLUBBING OFFERS. The Herald and Appeal to Reason .70.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY. Karl Marx, Capital, Cloth. \$2.00. F. W. Sprague—Socialism, from Genesis to Revelation. Cloth. 1.00.



