

Orders for the Jubilee Edition for the week, 74,730

Appeal to Reason. This is Number 398. 25 Cents a Year. Published Every Saturday. OWNERSHIP of the EARTH AND THE FULLNESS THEREOF BY ALL THE PEOPLE, AND NOT BY THE PART OF THE PEOPLE.

FOR RIGHT TO LIVE

Philadelphia Textile Workers, to the Extent of 90,000 Battling With Commercial Greed.

MOTHER JONES AT THE HEAD OF 400 CHILDREN. Employes to March Through the Country to Show the Public What Child Labor Means.

Nothing since the great anthracite miners' strike has equalled the battle of labor against capitalism now on in Philadelphia. The strike is for a reduction of hours of labor and not an increase of pay.

When I think of the present and future I fear for my country. The criminal classes keep increasing. Large sums of money are being poured out for almshouses, prisons, churches, soup-kitchens, insane asylums, reformatories and schools for defectives, but they are only a drop in the bucket.

A woman's body is unable to bear fatigue and privation as well as a man's. This makes her condition the more deplorable, because her earnings are correspondingly smaller.

The eight of little children at work in mills when they ought to be at school or at play always rouses me. I found the conditions in this city deplorable, and I resolved to do what I could to shorten the hours of toil of the striking textile workers so as to gain more liberty for

A GREAT CONVENTION.

Iowa Socialists Convene at Des Moines on the National Holiday and Nominate a Full State Ticket.

For Governor—John M. Work of Des Moines. For Lieutenant Governor—A. K. Gifford, Davenport. For Supreme Judge—L. S. McCrillis of Des Moines.

The Register and Leader, Iowa's greatest capitalist newspaper, gives a three-column report of the Iowa Socialist convention, and from the manner in which the reporter was a fully fledged Socialist, and we might remark in passing that every daily newspaper in the land is afflicted in the same way.

The convention was called to order at 10:30 a. m. by State Secretary W. A. Jacobs. E. Dunkel, of Rock Rapids, was made chairman, and J. J. Jacobson, of Des Moines, secretary.

which their labor should entitle them. A Socialist government alone can give. To this end we ask every member of organized labor, every wage earner, and exploited producer in the state of Iowa, whose interests are one and identical, to join us in our struggle for political power.

After the reading and adoption of the platform, nominations for state offices were taken up and resulted as announced above. John M. Work was re-elected as national committeeman for Iowa, and the following vacancies in the state committee filled:

Second District—W. A. Jacobs, Davenport. Third—E. Holtz, Dubuque. Sixth—J. West, of Des Moines.

Charles Francis Adams, one of the civic federalists, proposes a law by congress that in labor disputes the president shall have the power to appoint commissioners who shall have the power to arbitrate, and to get at evidence shall have access to every other document of any firm.

I am going to picture capitalism and caricature the money-mad. I am going to show Wall street the flesh and blood from which it squeezes its wealth.

Mr. A. Dodge, Detroit, Mich., writing in the Philadelphia Ledger, says that we need a leisure class to prevent the workmen from returning to barbarism!

POTATO VINES NEED BUGS.

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THE WORKING CLASS.

Prof. Blakewell, of the University of California, at the graduating exercises recently, lectured the graduates and warned them against Socialism, saying "that for the first time in the history of America the country is threatened with the control of a party that is avowedly in the interest of a certain class."

PRIVATE CAPITAL THE CURSE.

Speaking of the awful corruption that exists in the public service everywhere, of the selling of laws to oppress the people to the highest bidder, of the bribery of congressmen by the great kings of industry, McClure's Magazine editorially says: "The only force that can stop it is patriotism."

THE INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSION.

Under the heading "Increasing Conservatism in Trade," the San Francisco Call (Spreckles) paper says: "These are quiet days in trade. From one shore of the country to the other come the same reports of diminished movements of merchandise and apathy in trade."

Get the People to Understand That the Land Is Theirs.

Some writers honest enough to admit that the land belongs to the living generation in common are perplexed to know how it can be appropriated by all.

A REPUBLICAN ARGUMENT.

The Republican of Baxter Springs, Kan., says that Socialism should be judged by what its members would bring on the auction block.

THIEVES AFRAID OF LIGHT.

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weather or labor troubles, for both these adverse factors are less pronounced than some weeks back. The fact is the country has reached its limit of purchasing power. The country's failures for the week were 273 against 240 for the same week last year while the railroad earnings were 10% larger than last year.

JOHN WESLEY.

John Wesley, the "father of Methodism," has just had his 20th anniversary celebrated by his followers (7). Speaking of the rich in his time Wesley said:

FOOLS AND THEIR LABOR SOON PARTED.

There is an old saying that lawyers' houses are built on sand. The Union League of Chicago is building a club house that is costing a million dollars.

BUNCOING THE PUBLIC.

The Kansas papers are crowing over the fact that the deposits in Kansas banks show \$25 for each man, woman and child in the state.

ROBBERING THE FARMER.

It seems that under some act of congress the swamp lands in Oregon became the property of the state. Thirty-two farmers settled on lands and made their homes on it, improving it for years.

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AFTER THE BATTLE

"What Next?" the Anxious Question of the Reactionaries in Germany.

SOCIALISM IS SURELY PENETRATING

Into all Classes and its Early Victory is Now Absolutely Assured.

It is now definitely known that the Socialists have elected 51 representatives to the reichstag. This victory has been won by the UNAIDED EFFORTS OF THE SOCIALISTS.

A comparison of the election results in the second ballot shows that the Socialists came within a few hundred votes of electing their candidates in eight more districts in 8 other districts they were only about 1,000 votes short.

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has been a marked accession to our ranks from the intellectuals. In the polling place of Berlin, where the ministers of the empire and the imperial councillors cast their votes, there were 123 Socialist votes in a total of 423. In the aristocratic districts Nos. 68 to 614 of Berlin, the Socialist vote was surprisingly high. As there are very few proletarians in those districts, this vote can only come from the well-to-do class.

Christian Socialism in America

In a former issue of the Appeal I stated the position of the Marxist Socialists on sentimental Socialism, of which Christian Socialism in America is a part. I showed that in this country Christian Socialism was an ally of scientific Socialism, not its opponent as in Europe. At the same time I pointed out that every sincere Socialist should be a member of the Socialist party.

This editorial has created a good deal of commotion in the Christian Socialist camp. The writer was deluged with letters varying from most un-Christian denunciations to objective and academic criticisms. I am glad to acknowledge the fairness of the latter, and I seriously deny the justification of the former. In order to remove all doubts about my position, and about the motives of my former editorial, I reproduce the declaration of principles, which Comrade Edwin D. Wheelock, the president of the Christian Socialist League of America, has kindly sent me at my request:

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA

Exists for the dissemination of the following doctrines: The teachings of Jesus furnish an interpretation of social relations and natural rights, which, translated into life and law, would change civilization from one of strife, hate, war, want and competition, to one of brotherhood, love, peace, plenty and co-operation; to a CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH, economically just and ethically Christian.

That the present competitive administration of society not only prevents economic justice, but also makes it impracticable to live the complete Christian life, dwarfing the moral character and sapping the spiritual vitality of men as individuals to the same extent that it denies them equality in rights, privileges and opportunities as members of society.

We therefore advocate a social system which shall bring about co-operative employment of those human energies which supply universal or general needs, and co-operative distribution of the entire resulting product, in place of profit-making and wage-slavery.

We recognize the following to be natural rights, inalienable and perpetual, the denial and disuse of which are the cause of the existing social injustice:

1. Liberty of thought, within the lines of individual self-respect.
2. Liberty of action, up to the point of encroachment upon another's equal right.
3. Liberty to be honest without loss, and just without denial.
4. Use of some habitable part of the earth without compensation to any other person or any group of persons smaller than society at large.
5. Access by each, according to his taste, to the best of all things of nature's offering or man's devising, conditioned upon an exact equivalent in his labor at whatsoever task.
6. Opportunity and encouragement to express completely the individual's utmost capacity, which implies absolute political equality; and
7. The total yield of the individual's every productive effort, through common ownership of the means of production and distribution.

We therefore favor every measure and movement to establish, in law and social conditions, the free exercise of these rights, and thus, by the realization of CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM, render to mankind not only its due of social justice, but also the full opportunity to live the Christian law of love expressed in mutual service.

Comrade Wheelock further supplements this declaration with the following comments:

1. The League's purpose is purely educational—to make Socialists. It aims to counteract the misrepresentation of the capitalist press by revealing the fact that the ethics of Socialism and of Christianity (true Christianity) are identical.

2. The League is not in any way allied with any church, but stands for Socialism which was practiced by the early Christians, before CONSTANTINE made an ecclesiastical and political machine of the church. It is AGAINST the thousand and one sects which misrepresent Jesus and almost wholly ignore his social teachings.

3. The League views Socialism as the greatest ethical and spiritual movement of history—a movement which will abolish capitalism, because it is wrong and establish economic justice because it is right. A movement to which all classes are now, consciously or unconsciously, contributing.

4. It looks upon Jesus, the carpenter of Nazareth, as the truest Socialist of history, and his teachings as the clearest guide to social justice and human brotherhood.

5. It believes that the ends sought must be accomplished through political action, and it therefore seeks to make Socialist voters.

There is evidently nothing in the aims of the League to which any Socialist, sentimental, utopian, scientific, opportunist or revolutionary, may not subscribe. We all have the same aim. The League is working for the establishment of Christian Socialism as they interpret "Christianity"; we are working for the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth of the working class. Both may be regarded as substantially the same thing. Therefore, we all belong into the same political party. Comrade Wheelock himself states that our ends must be accomplished through political action.

But whose political action? Here is where we differ.

This difference is not merely a matter of academic hair splitting but of scientific precision and of supreme tactical importance. The League wishes to make Socialists by revealing the fact that the ethics of Socialism and the ethics of "true" Christianity are identical. The scientific Socialist, on the other hand, wishes to make Socialists by making the working class conscious of its historical mission. The question of ethics is not of supreme moment in this historical movement. Neither is it peculiar to the Christian creed. The scientific Socialist is aware that the so-called Christian ethics were PHASED thousands of years in the geneses of the primitive nations before they were TAUGHT as abstract principles by the various religious teachers. They were taught in Babylon and Egypt before they were adopted as the basis of the ethics of Christianity. And they will again be practiced, whether taught or not, when Socialism will create conditions that will make their practice natural. So much for ethics.

Comrade Wheelock says that the League stands for Socialism as practiced by the early Christians. This is not in accord with the League's declaration of principles, which calls for the common ownership of the means of production and distribution, as does the platform of the Socialist party. Comrade Wheelock, and most of the members of the League who have criticized my editorial, seem to be under the impression that the early Christian communism and modern Socialism are identical. But all historical data prove that the early Christian communism was modern Socialism, that is community of production and distribution, but individual consumption, which is quite a different matter from early Christian communism. The early Christian communism, if adopted as the program of the modern working class movement, would not solve the problem of the abolition of capitalism. But International Socialism will solve this problem, and also that of the reconstruction of society on the basis of collectivism. To judge by the letters written to this office by Christian Socialists, the members of the League are not all in favor of endorsing the International Socialist party as the final historical power for the solution of these problems.

Comrade Wheelock views Socialism as the greatest ethical and spiritual movement of history. The scientific Socialist does not deny that the Socialist movement is ethical and spiritual, but he insists above all that it is ethical because it is a movement of the working class for the abolition of all classes and of all class rule. It will abolish capitalism, not so much because the latter is wrong, but because the laws of capitalist development must inevitably bring this system to its historical end.

The scientific Socialist recognizes that all classes are contributing toward this end. The capitalist class by undermining its own foundation through economic evolution, the middle class by reactionary opposition, and the working class by organizing for the conquest of the political power. But the scientific Socialist also knows that the only conscious and direct contribution to the emancipation of the working class through the class struggle is made by the class-conscious element of this class, the only very few individuals of the other classes join them for this purpose.

Therefore the scientific Socialist does not make his strongest appeal to all classes, but to the working class. And his appeal is not made on the ground of ethics or of abstract justice, but of historical necessity and the instinct of freedom. The reason for this is that sentimental appeals to the ethical sense have ever been powerless against the promptings of class interest. Besides, the scientific Socialist recognizes that there is a distinction between abstract ethics and class ethics. Our appeal to the strongest motive power, the self-interest of the working class, is founded on the practical class ethics of the exploited, not on sentimental ethics regardless of class lines.

We may accept the fact that Jesus was a teacher of social justice. But at the same time we cannot be blind to the other essential fact that in his time the means for the realization of social justice were not present. Political action of the working class was then out of the question. For under the Roman constitution the working class could not vote for candidates from its own ranks, but only for the candidates of the privileged classes. There were only two ways of aiming at the abolition of class rule then. One was violent rebellion. That was hopeless, as was amply proven by the various slave rebellions. The other was sentimental philosophy. Jesus chose the latter. It was intended to prevent bloodshed and gradually raise humanity, regardless of class interests, to a higher conception of life. History has proven that it accomplished nothing.

At the present historical stage, Christian Socialism, as conceived by the League, is of service to the cause of the working class, because there is a class-conscious working class movement marching toward victory. Without this essential factor in the social evolution, Christian Socialism would be as impotent as all its sentimental predecessors have been. But under the present conditions, it helps to round up those stray individuals on the outskirts of the working class army who, without class consciousness, still have derived the inspiration for social progress from abstract ideas of right and justice.

With this understanding, the class-conscious proletariat of the world will recognize the services which Christian Socialism in America renders to the Socialism.

INFORMATION For the Eager.

Editor Appeal to Reason: Can you tell me how to become the happy possessor of the report of the "Coal Strike Commission"? I put the question to our Honorable (?) representative in congress, but he either does not know or does not care to inform me.

W. M. R. FOSTER, Ohio.
Write to the U. S. department of labor and ask for bulletin No. 46, May 1914, "Report of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission."

Editor Appeal to Reason: Under Socialism will it be possible for a person to acquire a title to a house, horse, vehicle, and things of this class, and to use them as he pleases?

JOS. B. FLACKSHAU.
Most assuredly. The title for land will be one of occupancy, and will be granted on application without cost. The title to a house will be acquired through payment of the cost of production. The title to any other product will be given to the producer. Whatever a man buys with his wages will be his own personal property. The only things that will not be for sale will be land and the machinery of production and distribution, such as mines, factories, railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steamships, etc., that is all things which all must use in common in order to create and produce. But all articles of personal use will be personal property.

Editor Appeal to Reason: How will you prevent the old parties from stealing the Socialist vote, if you do get a majority? To me this seems to be the real danger. The old parties steal out each other, what is hinder them from coming together and dividing down by stealing the vote? The old parties have control of the election machinery.

With the increase of the Socialist vote the Socialists become entitled to a certain number of election judges and commissioners. Besides, the Socialists have the right to send watchers to the polls. Of course, the old parties are stealing Socialist votes all the time, and our vote is considerably larger than officially reported. But our victories in the various parts of the country show that the old parties cannot steal all our vote all the time, and gradually we shall teach them a lesson in honest vote counting.

Editor Appeal to Reason: In what respect will life under Socialism be better than life under a monarchy?

Under Socialism the working class will be the sole class in society. There will be no ruling classes or privileged individuals of any kind. The working class will control the economic and political institutions by direct legislation. The workers will elect and control their own superintendents in their special industries. Therefore they will be free, economically, socially, and politically. Under a monarchy, or under a capitalist republic like the present United States government, the workers have no direct representation in the government or in the industries. The government and the industries are in the hands of privileged classes. In a monarchy, the privileged classes hold the power through inherited privileges. In a capitalist republic, the capitalists control the industries through their ownership of the means of production, and the government by inducing the working class to vote capitalist candidates into office. Under Socialism the workers will have abolished all privileged classes and be the masters of their own country.

Editor Appeal to Reason: William P. Daniels, formerly grand secretary, and treasurer of the order of railway conductors, writes in the Denver "Opportunity" "Another fallacy that is claimed for and by labor, and is extensively argued, is the claim that all wealth is created by labor. THEREBY MEANING PHYSICAL LABOR." The economist involved in the words underscored I have had dug in my face some hundreds of times; and now I would like to see what the Appeal to Reason has to say for Socialism on that point.

J. L. MCCREERY, Washington, D. C.
The classics of Socialism claim that labor produces all wealth by transforming raw materials into products for human use. In no instance does any Socialist writer of any repute claim that any physical labor creates wealth. That assertion is a fabrication, which cannot be substantiated from any Socialist textbook. We fully recognize the value of mental labor, but it must be different from the kind which the Appeal has performed in the above statement.

Editor Appeal to Reason: Your work is that of a pessimist, is it not? Should any lazy, stupid fellow receive an equal part of the reward of Edison's ingenuity and hard work? Would you share your money with me? EDW. STINGEL, Rogersville, Ohio.

If we were pessimists. In this office, such questions as yours, and others asked by "people too lazy and stupid" to think and study, would have driven us to suicide long ago. But we Socialists are the most optimistic people in the world. We believe that reason will finally prevail over ignorance and stupidity, and we don't get tired answering questions, even if they are as silly as yours. As for Edison, his discoveries were made possible only through the advance made by the human mind through untold thousands of years, and without the assistance of the total society he could not have made his discoveries nor put them into practice. We do not recognize his sole right to his inventions, because these inventions are largely built up on the work of others that have come and gone before him. Therefore the whole of society is justly entitled to the product of Edison's work as well as to that of all other workers in field, factory and office. Whatever Edison has produced by his own unaided efforts, that is rightly his. But whatever he produces by the help of society, belongs to society, of which he is a part, and it is the right of society to determine what shall be his compensation. The whole of society has the right to his discoveries, and the whole society is, therefore, entitled to a share in them. And so it is with all other products. Modern production is carried on by the help of complicated machinery, which no single man can make and handle, and which no single man is permitted to use. It is just because the products of these machines force the workers who must use them to divide up the product of their labor with those idle owners, that we Socialists are demanding a reorganization of society on the basis of co-operation and the free distribution of wealth. Why should I divide my money with you, any more than with anybody else? I am willing to divide the products of my labor on the basis of an equal exchange with all other workers in the world, and that can only be done by the abolition of Capitalism and the inauguration of Socialism.

"Civilization Civilized" is the old stand-by for putting things right. It is a platitude in the Socialist field. Fifteen cents each.

Class Consciousness In America. For the Eager. The Aim of. What Implies. Socialist Philosophy.

CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS IN AMERICA.

ANY wage-worker is class-conscious who understands that the present economic system is creating two classes—a small class with property and a large class without property—and who is conscious of the unity of the interests of the wage-working class. But the wage-working class, the proletariat, is not a fixed class in any country, and least of all in America. There is a constant flux to and from the proletariat in every class nation. Entire sections of the middle class are driven to it by the concentration of production, or by the effects of competition. On the other hand, many wage-workers sink beyond the proletariat and become tramps or criminals. And in America there has been, and to some degree there still is, another reason for the instability of the proletariat. Because of the comparatively great natural resources and its vast "oil-belt," the American proletariat until very recently had a chance to become independent and leave his class. Such chances exist even now in a more limited degree. Energetic individuals seek to get out of the laboring class, instead of organizing for resistance.

We must add to this that the feeling of class-distinction in America, at least among native workmen, has not the same historic foundation that it has in Germany, France or England. There the people were accustomed for over a thousand years to have distinct classes and castes, and to recognize the "class-consciousness" of the British wage-workers cannot compare with that of the German Social Democrats, where the word "class-consciousness" has an ethical meaning based upon the history of producing classes in that country. But even in Germany the conception of what constitutes "class-interest" and "class-consciousness" is now undergoing a change. One needs only to look at the recent literature of German Socialism and at the public discussions of this question to satisfy himself of that.

The wage-workers, artisans and farmers in short, the producers of the nation—those who work and produce with hands and brain, let us so mind, vitally the same interests in the end, and may be organized into one class-conscious army.

It would be false class-consciousness for the workers of the factory, who have lost control over all their implements, to antagonize the workers of the field because they still retain control over a part of theirs.

A monetary advantage either of these two wings of national production gains over the other—for instance by higher prices—is sure to come right home by a smaller consumption.

The understanding of the economic forces of the coming revolution and the readiness to assist in every measure to bring about the proletarian revolution ought to form the true basis of a class-conscious understanding among all producers of wealth.

VICTOR L. BERGER, Editor "Die Wahrheit."

CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS FOR UNIONISTS.

FOR the tradesunionist to become class-conscious means that he shall become conscious of the economic class to which he belongs and throw all his economic and political power with the class to which he belongs. Does the interest of the tradesunionist lie in the possession of political power to the interest of the capitalist parties to make the worker believe that the interests of each are identical and that they must always work together? To work in harmony with capitalist interests means that the worker shall be exploited to the limit. That this is now done becomes the one astonishing fact the careful observer will not fail to notice. It is not to the interest of the capitalist parties to make the worker believe that the interests of each are identical and that they must always work together. To work in harmony with capitalist interests means that the worker shall be exploited to the limit. 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The Socialist Woman.

What She Is Doing.

Conducted by MISS JOSEPHINE CONGER.

Who Will Get the Piano?

A Great Contest to Begin September 1st

HERE is the home that would not be better with music, and what mother does not wish that her daughter could have a piano? There is no lack of musical instruments in the factories, and there is no scarcity of skilled labor competent to turn them out on demand. But between the wage worker who builds the instrument, and the wage worker who wishes to buy there is the interest capitalist, the rent capitalist, and the profit capitalist, who take an article of which the labor cost is \$41, and sell it to the purchaser for \$200 to \$1,500. It is therefore obvious that though music is as sweet to the working class as to the capitalist class, and the poor man's child is endowed with as much genius as the daughter of the rich, yet under this system genius must be smothered and individuality crippled. It will never be otherwise till Socialism has made the production of pianos public, when all may have the most beautiful instruments at the labor cost of production and distribution. While this is being brought about, and to stimulate effort in spreading the gospel of Socialism the Appeal is going to give away one beautiful piano that is priced in the catalogue of Wing & Son, piano manufacturers, at \$1,100. We are going to give this beautiful piano to a woman, and only to a woman, and we are going to give it to the woman who can do the most for Socialism in a given period. The Appeal has set its eyes on a million actual subscribers, and when the Appeal takes hold it never lets go. It is true that only one woman can get the piano, but in the getting of one of the most beautiful instruments that it is possible for skill to produce, many number of women will have a chance to participate. A woman can beat a man any day taking subscriptions, for it is a hard cold man who will refuse to give a woman a quarter for a paper. Then this contest is going to be so eminently fair that no one woman will have any advantage over another. The city woman will have the most people to see, but on the other hand, the country woman can more easily procure the subscribers, because she will come in contact with people less often solicited. A country girl for example can persuade her father to supply a horse and buggy, and with this conveyance she can canvass a whole county. What at first will seem like a difficult job will in time become a source of fun, and the person who wins the piano will be paid tenfold for her work. On the other hand, the city woman, if she is brave, can canvass whole streets of people, and thus you see the thing will be balanced. Our contests hitherto successfully concluded demonstrate that the winner has been the most surprised person in the bunch, for he had always supposed that the winner would have to get more subscribers than it required to win the prize. There is an equal chance for all and the woman who does not enter this contest is going to regret it before it ends. Another thing, we are not going to make this a long drawn out affair, but we are going to do the whole matter up in a hurry. We are going to give you six weeks to get ready for business and then give you 60 days for actual work.

THE TERMS.

- 1st. The contest will begin Sept. 1 and end Nov. 1.
 - 2nd. No subscriptions are to be sent in on this contest till the first day of September when you may mail your first lists, marking them Piano Contest.
 - 3rd. You must use subscription blanks, and the cash must accompany each list.
 - 4th. No one may enter this contest who is in any other Appeal contest, and none but women will be accepted.
 - 5th. The contest will close on the first day of November this, allowing 61 days of actual work.
- We set the date at Sept. 1st because the busy season is then over in the country, and the warm season in the cities, and because you will have the big Jubilee issue to use for samples. The best way to proceed is to get enough of the Jubilee edition to serve as samples, and a supply of subscription blanks, and then plan your campaign. A cut of the piano and its description and guarantee will be given next week. In the meantime prepare for business.

Class-Consciousness.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE TWO.)

Party makes its political plans accordingly.

Those who rely on sentimental ethics as the motive force in social development and reject the idea of class-consciousness through the agency of the class-struggle, overlook the fact that the class struggle is the means by which the working class puts its ethical ideals into practice.

These working class ideals furnish the basis for the practical ethics of all future humanity. Class-Consciousness, in its logical development, viz., the abolition of all classes and the inauguration of the brotherhood of man, will lead to racial harmony and the universal education, the principle of animate creation, can we undertake the conquest of nature and bring it to a victorious consummation.

ERNEST INTERMANN, Associate Editor "Appeal to Reason."

THE SOCIALIST PHILOSOPHY.

NOBODY will deny that the possessing classes have stored up class hatred against the proletariat. But no thinking man can fail to recognize that the POLITICAL education of the working class far exceeds that of any other class, and that the working class is really THE CLASS OF POLITICAL THINKERS. It is the nobility represent the class of business men. Everyone of these classes has been made what it is by the instinct of self-defense.

To think politically means for the working class to think the SOCIALIST PHILOSOPHY. The supremacy of the ruling classes is based on the most preposterous premises. It is impossible for the working class to be ignorant of the class struggle. The noblest and the most advanced of the working class has been made what it is by the instinct of self-defense.

These efforts merely prove that they are intended to disprove. They are the best evidence of class-consciousness on the part of those who make them. They are in reality the class action that is the result of class-consciousness. This consciousness of class interests is indispensable to, and always best developed in a ruling class. Indeed the fact of their attaining the position of a ruling class is conditioned on such development. And a class that is rising to power only secures power as this perception of class interests is developing.

Such is the position of the proletariat today. They are attaining power through the development of class-consciousness. Hatred can have no place in the mind of the class-conscious proletariat. He recognizes the economic forces that have produced antagonistic classes in society, and understands thoroughly that no individual is responsible therefor. He sees clearly the necessity for the existence of the capitalistic stage of society, as clearly

as the necessity of its passing away to give place to a higher economic method of production. So he does not even resort in kind upon the capitalist when charged by the latter with "class hatred." He simply replies, "We perceive the antagonism between the material interests of your class and ours. We know that men must and will follow their material interests—your own class action is a proof of that—therefore we work to secure the supremacy of our class as against yours. We do not hate you, neither do we charge you with hating us. We are simply class-conscious as you yourselves are."

The importance of this perception to the propaganda of Socialism, and the frequency with which it is referred to by the term "class-conscious," has to some extent the effect of making the phrase appear a mere formula to those who are disinclined to seek its real content. But to the Socialist agitator, writer or speaker, who comprehends its scope and significance, it is not only much more than a vain repetition, but the most powerful motive force in the progress of the race towards better conditions and higher ideal.

JOS. WANHOPE, Editor "Erie People."

CONSCIOUSNESS OF BEING SLAVES.

WHAT do we mean by class-consciousness? We mean the realization of being slaves—that the world is a slave pen in which the capitalists are the masters and all the rest menials. It matters not what wages one receives, the condition of slavery remains. Slavery was once thought to be right by the slaves, but whenever men work for the profit of another there is slavery. It does not alter the condition because a slave may become master, or that some may be given ten times what others receive no more than it afforded slavery because some were well groomed and attended their masters in their travels. The working people exist solely for making wealth for others to possess. When they realize this truth they will strive by every means in their power to abolish the system, just as they would if a law were made by which they were legally classed as slaves and their conditions prescribed as was the case in former times. Slavery was once thought to be right by the slaves, but one principle runs through ALL of them—that they are PROFIT-MAKERS for those who direct their labor. And that principle is the most prominent in the lives of the working class in modern life—no matter how many declarations or laws that slavery has ceased to exist. Slavery was once thought to be right by the slaves. They became more intelligent and now refuse slavery—such as existed ages ago. The masters, no longer able to control in the old ways, revise their methods and get the service of the working class just the same, while preaching the freedom of the race. The modern kind of slavery is called capitalism. It is the most profitable kind. Spurred by the hope of becoming masters themselves, the workers create more wealth than in other forms, and the whole of this goes, sooner or later, into the hands of the most cunning. Being conscious of this state of things is what makes class-conscious Socialists, and one who ever realized the condition ever since from it. It is the sphere of the modern state and church to prevent this view being realized by the working class.

J. A. WAYLAND, Editor of "Appeal to Reason."

Ten Socialists were elected members of the City Council of Lucerne, Switzerland. A Socialist has been elected mayor of Baden, Germany.

Socialism is growing rapidly in Japan, several new works having been just published. The Japanese have been attending public meetings and arrest all labor leaders.

The Socialists of Spain elected no members of parliament at the late election, but increased their vote by thousands, making gains in the rural districts as well as cities. The Socialist vote for parliament has been: 5,000 in 1891; 7,000 in 1893; 14,000 in 1896; 20,000 in 1898; 29,000 in 1901 and 29,000 in 1903. The republicans, many of whom advocate part of the Socialist platform, made large gains. In England \$2 out of every \$5 derived for taxation in the past year has been paid in salaries. The Irish Trade Union convention declared for Socialism.

The Socialist papers of Italy notify the authorities that they will visit the Russian tyrant if he visits Rome. Enrico Ferri, Minister of Justice, has been prosecuted for exposing priestly thievery.

The Belgian Socialist women refused to associate with the middle class women suffragists, saying the latter do not recognize the class struggle. One hundred and ninety-six thousand Belgian women are wage earners, receiving from 30 to 16 cents a day, working in many cases 16 hours a day, especially in the lace industry, where they come in competition with the girls who are worked in the nurseries for their bare, coarse food. Laces for which \$2.60 are paid for making sell for \$1.40. The convent women and girls are shamefully exploited. As orphans or pupils they live in convents until about 30 years old.

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Everybody shout, Comrade Pitts has just reported that he has at last prevailed on the city authorities of Ottawa to permit the Socialist party to hold a party that city. He will storm the streets for two weeks and something will be jarred loose in the cracker state.

The first batch of souvenir watches has arrived and R. A. Southworth, of Des Moines, has completed their quota. We will send full name and address for engraving on the case.

Comrade J. E. Snyder, deputy state organizer for Kansas, has just started on a tour of the State. He is the most profitable kind. Spurred by the hope of becoming masters themselves, the workers create more wealth than in other forms, and the whole of this goes, sooner or later, into the hands of the most cunning. Being conscious of this state of things is what makes class-conscious Socialists, and one who ever realized the condition ever since from it. It is the sphere of the modern state and church to prevent this view being realized by the working class.

J. A. WAYLAND, Editor of "Appeal to Reason."

Foreign Notes

By AGNES WARRFIELD, Boston, Mass.

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Socialism is growing rapidly in Japan, several new works having been just published. The Japanese have been attending public meetings and arrest all labor leaders.

The Socialists of Spain elected no members of parliament at the late election, but increased their vote by thousands, making gains in the rural districts as well as cities. The Socialist vote for parliament has been: 5,000 in 1891; 7,000 in 1893; 14,000 in 1896; 20,000 in 1898; 29,000 in 1901 and 29,000 in 1903. The republicans, many of whom advocate part of the Socialist platform, made large gains. In England \$2 out of every \$5 derived for taxation in the past year has been paid in salaries. The Irish Trade Union convention declared for Socialism.

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LATEST.

AT OMAHA

A private letter from Comrade Mally to the office is brim full of enthusiasm. The new quorum has met and together with Comrade Mally has arranged for a vigorous assault on the unorganized states and territories, together with the weaker sections, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, and Indian Territory have been taken into consideration. Comrade George Gobel, of New Jersey, has been selected as national organizer for this territory. This will be good news for the comrades in the places named, and we can personally assure the boys of the southwest that they have one of the brightest and broadest men in the movement in the person of Comrade Gobel. Comrade Ray will be sent into the Carolinas as soon as he finishes his Alabama trip, and Delaware, Maryland and West Virginia will also be invaded.

Things will get hotter than the August days pretty soon, and the Socialist pot will be boiling over the lid.

As we go to press Comrades Breckon and Wayland have just returned from Pittsburg, Kans., where they held a big meeting to suitably wind up Mitchell day, and the great annual meeting of the local in Pittsburg has grown from 25 to 32, and the boys say they will make it a hundred in 30 days. On Saturday of this week Comrades Breckon and Ricker will invade two big coal camps in this district. Comrade Breckon goes to Chicopee and Tucker to Weir.

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CONSCIOUSNESS OF BEING SLAVES.

WHAT do we mean by class-consciousness? We mean the realization of being slaves—that the world is a slave pen in which the capitalists are the masters and all the rest menials. It matters not what wages one receives, the condition of slavery remains. Slavery was once thought to be right by the slaves, but whenever men work for the profit of another there is slavery. It does not alter the condition because a slave may become master, or that some may be given ten times what others receive no more than it afforded slavery because some were well groomed and attended their masters in their travels. The working people exist solely for making wealth for others to possess. When they realize this truth they will strive by every means in their power to abolish the system, just as they would if a law were made by which they were legally classed as slaves and their conditions prescribed as was the case in former times. Slavery was once thought to be right by the slaves, but one principle runs through ALL of them—that they are PROFIT-MAKERS for those who direct their labor. And that principle is the most prominent in the lives of the working class in modern life—no matter how many declarations or laws that slavery has ceased to exist. Slavery was once thought to be right by the slaves. They became more intelligent and now refuse slavery—such as existed ages ago. The masters, no longer able to control in the old ways, revise their methods and get the service of the working class just the same, while preaching the freedom of the race. The modern kind of slavery is called capitalism. It is the most profitable kind. Spurred by the hope of becoming masters themselves, the workers create more wealth than in other forms, and the whole of this goes, sooner or later, into the hands of the most cunning. Being conscious of this state of things is what makes class-conscious Socialists, and one who ever realized the condition ever since from it. It is the sphere of the modern state and church to prevent this view being realized by the working class.

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IF—

- If you learn your interests you will vote your class into power.
- If the workmen were not so generous there would be no poverty.
- If you will get busy in your interest you will uncover a big field for your activities.
- If you will quit being a political scab, starvation, murder and suicides will cease of the face of the earth.
- If the producer was as wise in economics as he is in mechanics the wheels of industrial freedom would go round.
- If you ever expect to get anything worthy of the name of your class you will have to organize your class and take it.
- If the Socialist philosophy were as illogical as your kicks against it you would not see the organized resistance to it that is now on "Sabé".
- If you but say the word the earth will swing under your control—it is yours, and you are giving it over to your exploiters to rob you.
- If you will force by your ballot co-operation in distribution as you have been forced to socially produce, we will have the co-operative commonwealth.
- If you once recognize your political strength and use it, no other power will arrest him, but the power of government. You are six times stronger than your enemy.
- If you will think a moment you will realize that your old party vote will leave to children the heritage of hell. Why not leave them the heritage of complete industrial liberty?
- If you were wiser capitalism would have run time. You are so "easy" that ward heisters carry you in their pockets. They rate you as a d—d fool. Better look up your pedigree.
- If you should wage your neighbor by urging him to vote the Socialist ticket, you would probably find some venom, you would also discover an image of yourself as you were before you had your eyes opened.

STATEMENT

Of the Appeal Publishing Co. for week ending July 4, 1903:

Cash on hand June 27, \$18,882.00
Receipts for week, 1,762.36
Expenses for week, 820.44
Balance on hand, 19,217.78
Obligations for press, paper, etc., about \$25,000.00

All money above actual operating expenses of the plant will be turned into Socialist propaganda fund. No charge for use of capital employed.

Francis McDevitt, 14 years old, was arrested in Baltimore charged with having no visible means of support! The boy said he had no parents or home and could find no one to employ him! Thereafter he said that what a good government to see that every child has a schooling, and has the food, clothing and shelter that he needs, and when he grows up that he has a place to work and make an honest living. If a government does not do that, what is it for? Of what use is a government that does nothing for the working class who are the great majority? Shame on such a condition. That boy ought to love HIS country when he grows up!

U. S. Immigrant Commissioner Sargent gives out a report that the steamship companies have flooded Europe with agents who are inducing immigration to this country in the interest of the steamships. He knows but did not say that they are also in the interest of the great corporations, who are seeking the most ignorant and cheapest labor in Europe. And this steamship trust is seeking subsidies from congress! And it will get them, too, for it can pay the price and laws are for sale to the highest bidder.

A man may wish his ten year old child 12 hours a day, and people will see it and say, "You are going to make a man of that boy." Let that same man hitch up a 3-year-old colt to a wagon and there will be a cry of "d—d fool, you are killing your horse."

The boy needs education, but all the horse needs to know is to start and stop. Kill men, women and children by overwork and poor conditions; fight bulls, dogs, chickens; have monkey dinners—all of which is barbarism, pure and simple. FRED LARSON.

PARTY NEWS.

FINANCIAL REPORT.

RECEIVED.

National dues from state committees.	
Alabama	1.40
Arkansas	1.70
California	49.24
Colorado	20.00
Connecticut	15.00
Florida	10.00
Idaho	5.00
Illinois	20.00
Indiana	30.20
Iowa	20.20
Kansas	50.00
Michigan	16.00
Minnesota	22.99
Missouri	23.00
New Jersey	100.00
New York	50.20
Oregon	10.00
Pennsylvania	50.00
Texas	5.00
Vermont	2.15
Washington D. C.	20.00
Locals in unorganized states and territories.	
Alabama (for April)	5.00
Arizona	7.01
California	1.70
Indian Territory	4.23
Louisiana	12.85
Maryland	1.75
Mississippi	2.80
Nebraska	2.10
Nevada	6.89
Tennessee	1.30
Wyoming	4.80
Washington, D. C.	1.90
Members at large	1.90
Total for dues	\$538.45
Total for supplies	62.96
Special organization fund	182.29
Miscellaneous	74
Total receipts	\$854.46

EXPENDED.

Exchange	5.75
Expense	13.63
Express	17.31
Office equipment	35.00
Office help	95.50
Postage	22.13
Printing	45.50
Stationery	11.40
Telegrams	28.90
Salaries:	
William Mally	83.00
W. E. Clark	50.00
Office rent	15.00
On acct. Chicago N. E. B.	40.00
Theodore Debs	40.00
A. S. Edwards	40.00
On acct. Springfield N. E. C.	40.00
C. H. Vail	40.00
Geo. J. Speyer	40.00
M. Hillquit	27.00
Expenses of national com. meeting.	10.00
Expenses of quorum meeting June 21	87.50
Whitehead & Hoag for buttons.	101.63
Organizing expenses:	
John C. Chase	40.00
M. W. Wilkins	50.00
John M. Ray	50.00
John W. Brown	45.25
J. W. Slayton	10.00
D. A. White	6.05
Miscellaneous expenses	26.85
Total	\$1078.54

RECAPITULATION.

Receipts for month	\$ 854.46
June 1st, balance	689.31
Total receipts	\$1543.77
Total expended	1078.44
Balance	\$ 465.33

WILLIAM MALLY, National Sec.

TO FATHER M'GRADY.

Hail, dauntless Luther of our latter day
Whose trumpet tongue indicts this present
Time
For its dark led of economic crime.
Fear not the Pharisees who flee and say
The helpless widow while they preach and
pray.
Smite horns, great heart; the Lord of Sabaoth
Beholds the wage slave's sorrow and is
wroth.
On with God's armor! Forward to the fray!
Girded with truth; faith's shield before thy
breast,
Christ be thy comrade in the glorious quest!
Strive with hope and peace for all oppressed.
Wearing the helmet of truth's freedom sweet;
Love's sword in hand, millions thy coming
greet.
While hell's fierce darts fall shattered at
thy feet!
LUCIEN V. RULE.
Goshen, Ky., July 8, 1903.

THE VACCINATION GRAFT.

The people of Chattanooga are getting some hard blows in the neck from the capitalist class and their hunkers. The water works is owned by a private corporation of Pittsburg, Pa. The rates are so high that many cannot use water. This causes sickness here for the last six months. Athens, a neighboring town, has quarantined against us and Judge Clark has adjourned the United States court on account of smallpox. A gang of political fakirs have control of the board of health and draw salaries of \$5 and \$10 a day as alleged experts in smallpox. In the meantime sanitation is ignored and nothing is being done except to enforce the law.

EXPERIMENTS.

Learn Things of Value.

Where one has never made the experiment of leaving off coffee and drinking Postum it is still easy to learn all about it by reading the experiences of others.

Drinking Postum is a pleasant way to get back to health. A man of Lancaster, Pa., says: "My wife was a victim of nervousness and weak stomach and loss of appetite for years and was a physical wreck; although we sought to numerous methods of relief one of which was a change from coffee to tea, it was all to no purpose.

"We knew coffee was causing the trouble but could not find anything to take its place and cure the diseases until we tried Postum and Coffee. In two weeks' time after we quit coffee and used Postum almost all of her troubles had disappeared as if by magic. It was truly wonderful. Her nervousness was all gone, stomach trouble relieved, appetite improved and above all a night's rest was complete and refreshing.

"This sounds like an exaggeration, as it all happened so quickly, but we are prepared to prove it. Each day there is improvement for the better for the Postum is undoubtedly strengthening her and giving her rich red blood and renewed life and vitality. Every particle of this good work is due to Postum and to drinking Postum in place of coffee."

Name given by Postum Co., Battle Creek, Mich.

Ice cold Postum with a dash of lemon is a delightful "cooler" for warm days.

Send for particulars by mail of extension of time on the \$7,500.00 cooks contest for 75¢ money prizes.

compulsory vaccination in order to give employment to a lot of political doctors. These things are too much even for the capitalist and the local papers are warning them that the people will be forced into Socialism if such outrages are not stopped.

The Socialists are preparing to run a ticket at the municipal election next October.

W. B. HOLCOMBE.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Regular meeting of the state committee held on July 6, Comrade Rihl presiding.

Charters were granted to locals Loyalsock, Lycoming county, and Allegheny, Allegheny county.

Communications were received from the following locals: Williamsport, Avonmore, Pittsburg, Wilkesbarre, Pottstown, West Newton, Hazo, Goodwill Hill, Lansford, Lehigh and Delaware county.

Avonmore reports that the movement has lain dormant there for some time but is beginning to wake up now and they are making arrangements for a speaker on Labor Day.

Pittsburg is making arrangements for their county convention on July 12th.

Comrade East of Reading spoke in Pottstown on Sunday, June 21, to a good meeting, taking in 7 new members, making a total of 14 in two weeks.

Comrade Moore of Philadelphia will address a meeting at Reversford on July 11 and July 13. Comrade Gobel of New Jersey will speak in the same place.

Luzerne county convention was held on July 4, a county platform was adopted and the following ticket was nominated: District Attorney, D. O. Conighlin of Luzerne through; Clerk, George M. Mikolajczyk of Plymouth; Probationary, William M. Evans of Hazleton; Jury Commissioner, John F. Festini of Durysa.

The following officers were unanimously re-elected for the year: County Chairman, J. G. Roth; County Secretary, C. F. Quinn; County Treasurer, F. Schorr, Sr.

On Independence day Delaware county also held their convention and made nominations as follows: For Prothonotary, Wm. Robertshaw of Swathmore; for Director of the Poor, James W. Sullivan of Chester; and for Jury Commissioner, Andrew Mayes of Darby.

The police in Media, Delaware county, have been trying to break up the meetings there, and passed an ordinance prohibiting any two people from stopping and talking on the sidewalk. At one of the open air meetings the police ordered the people to move on and the crowd started to move in a circle around the speaker's stand and made the police look so ridiculous that they left them they might as well stand as keep moving that way.

Comrade Clark spent two days in Philadelphia. Comrade John Spargo of New York will give a week of his best energies to the service of the Philadelphia comrades in their agitation among the 100,000 striking textile workers of that city at the expense of the national headquarters. He will work from July 5 to 12.

On Sunday, July 12, there will be a committee go to Mauch Chunk to choose a place to hold a reunion on the 9th of August, the day of the Socialist excursion to Mauch Chunk. The national secretary has been compelled to cancel the dates in Pennsylvania for Comrade Chase, not being able to secure any dates for him in Ohio, and not hearing from Pennsylvania in time.

FRANKLIN H. SLICK, State Secretary.

CONNECTICUT CHAT.

