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# Appeal to Reason.

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 Managing Editor

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This is Number 616

LOOK at the yellow address label, and note the number following name. If it is No. 617 your subscription expires with the next number. You should renew at least three weeks before your subscription expires so that you will not miss any numbers.

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.

## THE TEMPLE SCROLL.

Millions of men have been called forth, formed into great armies and have given up their lives for a less cause than I now ask you to perform in the small service of taking the subscriptions of seven persons at 25c each.

Of those millions who died in other causes—most of the battles of the pressors—I can give you no names. They died as the worms of the earth cease to exist—in droves, in platoons, in brigades. A very few of them are known to history. It is the eternal fate of the Multitude to have been of the Many.

They rallied to the Standard when it was popular. Their supreme sacrifice of life itself became merged with the ocean of other drops—torrents, such as fall during the rain.

Had they been foremost in the thought when it was New, then, maybe, history would have accorded them a place.

But they were not foremost; they were hindmost. Consequently the Marching Ages fall even to record their names upon its archives.

The Appeal to Reason has just completed the Greatest Publishing Building on this earth today, which is exclusively devoted to the production of Socialist literature.

In the corner-stone of this great Temple of the Social Revolution will be placed the history of the Socialist movement in the United States up to the present hour.

On the Scroll, in the vault within the corner-stone, will be placed the name of every man, woman and child who forwards a club of Seven Yearlies at 25c each before the vault is closed.

It is a privilege to you to have an opportunity to write your name in a place where the Future cannot forget it—to write it indelibly as one of those who in the Early Days was Pathfinder on the Vast Desert of Competition.

The Pioneer Days of Socialism are almost gone. The chances to establish one's self with those who carried the Vision through the cold and dark and storm, are passing swiftly by. And when this vault is sealed you know, as well as I, that it cannot be opened until that opening means Honors and Applause for each name therein.

In the Rising Days of the Co-operative Commonwealth it looks plain and clear to me that the power and ability to honestly refer to the existence of your name on the Temple Scroll might be of great advantage to you in a way that you cannot now foresee.

Seven yearlies—for the good of the cause—will place it there.

LABOR is the exercise of the labor power that exists in the body of every well-developed human being. That labor power may be either of the brain or of the muscle, or it may be composed of both. One can hardly conceive of any labor being performed without exerting the brain as well as the limbs. It takes intelligence, as well as muscle, to dig good post holes; it takes muscle, as well as intelligence, to write a book or paint a picture. But both of these enter into the composition of labor power. The post hole and the book and the picture, when completed, contain a portion of their maker's life. If another appropriates my product to his own use, without giving me a full equivalent in return, he is taking my life as effectively as though he were to cut my throat. To be sure, he takes it a little at a time, but that only prolongs the agony. Socialism teaches that whatever of your life you put into the production of utilities should come back to you in the things you produce. If it goes to another in that form it amounts to the same as though he had taken your life by some other means.

Those New York grain brokers failed for five million dollars because the people failed to bite at their game and be robbed. But the government has not failed to come to the rescue of the betrayers of the people with the people's money.

UNDER capitalism the labor-saving machine adds to the profits of its owner while doing nothing for the worker. Under Socialism the labor-saving machine would also be a laborer-saver, for it would relieve him of that much work.

THOSE anarchistically inclined individuals who think that the ballot is no good are like the wild man who went to war and used his gun as a club because he didn't know how to shoot it. Ballots, like guns, are of little use to those who use them unless the user knows how to use them.

REMEMBER souvenir post cards with a picture of the APPEAL's new building will be given free to all comrades who ask for them. Send the cards to the persons whose subscriptions you pay for. It will introduce the APPEAL and arouse an interest in the little paper out in Kansas that holds the world's record for the biggest edition ever printed since time began.

SOCIALISM preaches the glad gospel of abundant life for all. Its purpose is to make this earth a fit and comfortable place for humane human beings to live in. It rejects slavery in every form and repudiates misery, to both of which it denies any place in the eternal scheme of the universe. It heralds the glad tidings of real democracy—the self-rule of all men upon earth, and has no place for masters, slave-drivers and exploiters.

SOCIALISM seems to be doing things in Texas. The *Waco Tribune* recently advised its readers to go and hear a Socialist lecturer for the sake of fair play and because the country is "drifting toward the socialistic basis." In commenting on this, the *Dallas Morning News* expresses the conviction that the populists of Texas have gone over to Socialism. To quote directly concerning the populists: "The most of them have progressed to Socialism and the most of the democrats are progressing towards populism."

THE powers that be are not waiting for Socialism to break up all the homes, but have made divorcing easy for all, especially in Russia and in that portion of Russianized America known as Colorado. In Russia either of the parties to a matrimonial contract can secure a legal divorce if the other leaves the orthodox church, and in Colorado divorces can be had at a flat rate of 30 cents. It now becomes the duty of Parson Buchtel to provide a bargain-day price on marriages to counteract the other inducement.

THE *Boise Statesman*, rabid capitalist sheet, traducer of Haywood and mouth organ of the mine owners, is placing a copy of Senator Borah's (indicted for timber stealing) speech in the Haywood case in the hands of every voter in the state, in the face of the fact that the jury declared Haywood innocent. The same old tactics of prejudicing the minds of the men who must do jury duty in the trial of Pettibone are being used. It is innocent blood these hounds want, and if the unlimited resources of the Mine Owners' association can do the job they will have it.

THE natives of Bellingham, Washington, have scandalized their town and the nation by forcibly deporting some 1,200 Hindu laborers who had been imported by the patriotic Citizens' Alliance for the purpose of putting down wages. The jumping jingo sheets are very much grieved over this deportation, but fully approved the deportation of American miners from the mining districts of Colorado. The Citizens' Alliance can take any side of any question till it comes to the issues affecting the relations of the employing and the working classes when they are invariably against the citizen who works.

BULLS, turkey cocks and capitalists are all peculiarly sensitive to the color red. Red flags are their pet aversion. They don't care so much about the red flag of the auctioneer, for they are financially or otherwise exempt from being sold out of house and home to satisfy their debts. They don't care so much about the red cross, though it is the emblem of an international society, but they hate with an intense hatred the crimson flag of international labor because they despise the men who carry it and hate the sentiments which it symbolizes. It can be said to the credit of the bulls and turkey cocks, however, that they do not make such fools of themselves over a bit of red cloth as do those highly developed human captives of industry.

WHENEVER a capitalist arises to say something in regard to his relation to commerce and industry, he talks of his responsibility and of his mission in serving the needy public. If the captains of industry have a mission it is to so direct affairs that plenty of the material means of life are supplied to those who need them, or at least to such as are able and willing to pay for them. And, supposing we take these professions of the industrial captains in all seriousness and with full faith and credit, how are the owners of the coal fields and the owners of the railroads to explain their responsibility to the people who will go cold this winter for lack of coal that they are willing to buy, but which the colliers and railroads are unable to furnish. It looks like the time is near when the capitalists should be relieved of their responsibilities and the people take over these industries under their own management; and if the dear people get cold enough perhaps they will.

A CIRCULAR letter issued by an inmate of the South Carolina Soldiers' Home calls on all good people to forsake the republican, democrat and Socialist parties and turn to God with an independent platform for their next president of the United States. It is not clear whether the author of the circular expects God to choose the candidate or whether pious voters are to do the nominating. If the nominee is to be chosen by mankind we would suggest that Henry Buchtel, mis-governor of the State of Colorado and aspirant for a methodist bishopric, is in line of promotion to the job, and would take to the office as a worthy cabinet member his pious friend, Mr. Orchard, of Idaho. What lingering wickedness the Reverend Bucktail couldn't talk down, his efficient assistant could blow up, all in humility and in the name of the Lord.

THE way for the governments of the world to abolish war and establish peace is for each government to increase its standing army. That is the way they are doing it. The Socialist way of abolishing war and establishing peace is to increase the standing army, but to take away its guns and give each soldier a spade or hammer or useful tool of industry in their place. This would transform the present armies of destruction into armies of construction—would organize men for making who are now organized for killing. There is no man so peaceable as the industrious man, and an industrial army of industrious men would solve the problem without any more red tape or ridiculous talk of the so-called peace conference at The Hague.

REPUBLICANS did, less than sixty years ago, everything they accuse the Socialists of trying to do now. They agitated against the existing order, and bitterly denounced many in authority. They broke the laws, were denounced as dangerous and were mobbed. They started a rebellion against the United States, and after they had captured the government and the south seceded, they broke up the legalized institutions of the south and confiscated millions of dollars' worth of what was at one time considered honest possessions. Republicans have furnished precedents for every phase of Socialist endeavor and practice, and quite a bit for anarchist work as well.

THOSE putty-heads who are so sure that Socialists are opposed to home life should take notice that Comrade T. J. Brown, a well-known Socialist of Erie, Pa., has recently been awarded a cash prize of \$100 for the best-kept lawn in that city. The dope-filled natives were very much surprised that a Socialist should win such a prize and got another jolt when Brown told them that he would stick to his home and family even when the working class captures political power and all who work get all they produce.

A PROHIBITION circular says of the liquor business and the efforts to suppress it, that "God helping us, we will carry it to the supreme court of our United States. We have already got it before the court of heaven." Our prohibition brethren should have taken their case to the supreme court first. If they take it from heaven to that infallible body it is a cinch that the decrees of heaven will be set aside as unconstitutional.

SO LONG as the men who own are permitted to take part of what the men who work produce there can be no such thing as industrial peace or permanent peace of any kind.

DEMOCRATS enslaved the blacks. Republicans enslaved the whites. It took force to do the former. It takes cunning to do the latter.

WITH the passing of chattel slavery the last hope of democratic supremacy passed, because every party rules by its own institutions.

J. A. BENT, of Denver, a discriminating reader of the APPEAL, characterizes Darrow's speech as "the greatest address made to a jury since that of Edmund Burke in the trial of Warren Hastings!"

REPUBLICANS destroyed chattel slavery and with it the fortunes of thousands of old-time democrats, as well as their political supremacy. Why should democrats be anxious to uphold republican or wage slavery? Do they hope to turn back to the old days?

THE acting adjutant general of the State of Idaho has announced the intention of Governor Gooding to bring four companies of the state militia to Boise for the alleged purpose of target practice some time in October. This is well timed so that a battalion of troops will be convenient to the purposes of Governor Gooding during the trial of George Pettibone.

THE racial agitation and the many cases of peonage in the south indicate that democracy still finds only chattel slavery comes natural to it. Republicans talk of the "full dinner pail" and advocate the tariff because wage slavery is its child and it comes natural to manage it. Each after its kind, but both look only to mastery and exploitation.

WHEN democratic slavery was in control of things the public officers were democrats. Since republican slavery has come into vogue, republicans are naturally put at the head of things. It is folly for democrats to hope for anything under capitalism, unless it be a chance to demonstrate their inability to manage that which they did not create.

AN EAGER investigator wants to know what will become of such sports as horse-racing, prize-fighting and base ball under Socialism. To tell the truth, we don't know. We are more interested in what is to become of the people who might or might not indulge in these sports if they had the opportunity. These people will attend to the sports when the time comes.

A SLAVE driver was quite a different type of man from the successful foreman of the present, though both are working for the same thing; that is, to get profits from the toiler. But one might as reasonably expect a slave driver to be given a foremanship in a big institution as to expect a democrat to get control of the modern means of production and distribution. When you vote for a democrat you throw your vote away. Mr. Democrat, you'd better vote for Socialism and help destroy the republican slavery, as republicans brought about the destruction of yours.

THOSE who fear that no one can be induced to do the dirty work under Socialism should remember that good old doctrine of the capitalists which maintains that every man has his price. If a capitalist wants any dirty work done, whether in his sewer or in the legislature, he simply has to pay enough and the trick is turned. It is right and proper that the dirty, disagreeable and undesirable work should be better paid for than the pleasant work. To be sure, the exact reverse of this is now done, but it requires no stretch of the imagination to conceive of paying enough for anything that is really needed to get it even from men who are not bound down to service in wage slavery.

LOUIS GLASS, the multimillionaire briber of San Francisco, is in jail, but not as much in jail as some people. A San Francisco paper says that three days in the county jail has made Glass the master of his jailers. He lives in the best part of the prison house, eats specially-cooked foods and is permitted to roam about while his fellow prisoners are caged tight in their cells because they haven't the coin that makes Glass master of the situation. It's the same old story of the privileges enjoyed by the rich, both in and out of jail, and often without parting with any of the money that commands these favors. The old song about "Equality before the law" is becoming more a chestnut every day.

IF THE present life is of no consequence, and if the life beyond what we call death is the only existence worth while, why waste our time raising wheat and corn, building houses and making clothing, which serve only to prolong the present existence and keep us the longer from the real life? A little common sense injected into every-day affairs would dictate that we make the best possible use of the present and neglect that which we know from the evidence of our own senses to be of present importance. No teacher of future bliss allows his enthusiasm to disattach him from the good things that he can get at the present time. No theologian short-lives himself to hurry into the better beyond. And why, in the name of all that's sane, shouldn't the earth-born expend a reasonable amount of energy in the effort to make this old world a decent place to live so long as we are here? Just keep your eye on the smooth trader who is ever ready to pay you a high seat in the good time coming as compensation for your degradation and misery here. Use your head.

THE human worker possesses the magic power of producing more than is necessary to feed, clothe and shelter him. If permitted to retain and use the surplus it becomes the means of unfolding higher faculties and of thereby improving the individual and perfecting the race. But the capitalist system of production enables another to take this surplus, leaving the average worker only enough to keep him in working order and to breed another generation of workers to take his place when he is "all in." The capitalist who takes this surplus overrears, overdrinks and overdoes everything but work, which he doesn't do at all. The too much is often as bad for him as the too little always is for the worker. When the workers get ready to keep and use this surplus they can get it by applying the simple methods of Socialism to government and industry.

Isn't it strange that the workers, who are the most numerous and, therefore, most powerful class, are the poorest fed, poorest housed and poorest clothed class in the world? There is only one explanation for this: the workers are not class-conscious. They do not realize the common cause that should bind the workers of all countries together. Their masters wisely manage to keep them divided over such matters as the color of their skin, the language they use and the peculiarities of their religion. But the change is coming. The workers are learning to stand together. They are becoming every day more conscious of their common interest and the common cause against their common enemy. In the language of Socialism, they are becoming class-conscious.

"Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work" is just as imperative as the command to rest upon the seventh day. There are those who are insistent upon other people resting one day who, so far as themselves are concerned, are content to rest also on the other six. They are willing that others should do all their work on the six days in exchange for the wind work they do on the seventh. Six days shalt thou labor applies to one as well as another, and the time-server who disobeys this command while preaching it to another is a fraud and a hypocrite.

If you would understand Socialism learn first the principles and the details will follow. Learn the science of Socialism, or as much of it as you can, and the application of Socialist principles to the many practical affairs of life will be as easy as the doing of anything after the principle upon which it is done is once grasped. To work out the details of Socialism at this time would require an ability to predict the future, and Socialists do not claim the gift of prophecy.

"THE International Socialist congress came to an end apparently without justifying its own existence," says the brilliant *Morning Star* of Muncie, Indiana. The editor of the Muncie jack-o-lantern has yet to learn that the International Socialist congress did not convene for the delight and delectation of such as he. The congress was very satisfactory to the Socialists, and for that reason is not at all pleasing to the apologists for capitalist graft.

"IF THE Moors get perforated it will be a 'holey' war," says a Yankee jokesmith, who is far enough from the perforators to be gay. Some wars are supposed to be holy and most of them are more or less holy, but all of them are wholly for the benefit of the profit-grabbers.

IF WE had Socialism this would be your country instead of the rich man's.

THE wage worker who doesn't see that he is a slave is blind as well as bound.

RACE riots come of private capital and the desire to "do" the fellow of another color.

THE man who does not desire freedom for others is unworthy of freedom for himself.

WHEN republican slavery is ended the ascendancy of the republican party will be over.

WHY should democrats uphold republican slavery? Not many of them get either pie or tariff under it.

CAPITALISTS think they can run the railroads without the telegraphers. They know how to use the "tickers."

IF WE had Socialism, "Don't Worry Clubs" would go out of business, because that which causes worry would be gone.

THE money a workingman spends for liquors makes him poor; the money a rich man spends for liquors makes him fat.

THERE are many capitalist devices that are labeled Socialism, and they frighten about as successfully as the average scarecrow does.

AFTER the wages system shall have been destroyed, it will have no more defenders than the institution of chattel slavery now has.

THE American people have just been held up by the school book trust—another private business that stands in with the legislature.

THE capitalist is quite right in saying that all men are not equal. He is far inferior to the man who earns his living at actual labor.

WHY should democrats uphold republican (wage) slavery? They have had no prestige in this country since republicanism gained ascendancy.

REPUBLICANS of old destroyed chattel slavery. The republican now who really loves liberty will help to destroy the modern wage slavery.

LUTHER BURBANK's latest is a thornless cactus. He should now tackle the job of producing an identical interest between the laborer and capitalist.

AFTER all the money spent on it, it is now urged that the American navy is antiquated. It is evident the steel mills want to sell some more armor plate.

SENATOR BORAH is to be white-washed, so he will look cleaner when he goes to prosecute Pettibone. It is to be hoped the mine owners will be fumigated.

WHEN chattel slavery went down wage or republican slavery took its place. All who uphold that system are really upholding the founders of that system, the republican party.

JAPAN seems to be pretty nearly Christianized. She now has a big war debt, has robbed Corea and threatens China pretty nearly as well as the older Christian nations could do.

SENATOR BORAH, it is said, charges his prosecution for timber stealing to a labor plot. He shares the views of John D., that nobody but laborers should be prosecuted for their meanness.

THE worker who upholds the wages system is in the same class with the slave who tried to maintain chattel slavery. His motive may be good, but he is working for his own degradation.

THE master who rules Belgium has turned over his country's "possessions" in Africa to a syndicate, of which he himself is the head. Private property apparently is a higher card than the king.

THE victory of the Japanese over the Russians is said to have made possible the revolutionary sentiment that is now moving the unhappy people of India to rebel against the oppression of British government and capital. The British ship all of the surplus product out of the country, and their greed sometimes causes them to take more than the surplus, which leaves the natives with less than enough to live upon. Under these conditions it is not at all strange that the Socialist propaganda has taken hold of the oppressed people so that the British officers are no longer able to keep them divided on the lines of Hinduism and Mohammedanism.

THOSE would-be teachers who write learnedly of "Reform Socialism" would do well to take a few lessons from some clear-headed Socialist before they go further in exposing their glaring ignorance. There is no such thing in existence as reform Socialism. The expression comes from the same kind of a muddled brain that used to discourse on "state Socialism" and other imaginary possibilities. It is clear to all who think that the so-called state Socialism is not Socialism in any sense, but is merely a form of state capitalism. It is also clear to all Socialists not befogged in a series of polly-bird phrases that reform Socialism is a gross perversion of language as well as logic. All reforms are of, by and for capitalism. All political reforms are for the express purpose of reforming the capitalist system, and for this reason could possibly be called "reform capitalism" though never can they be designated as reform Socialism. Socialism is revolutionary, first, last and all the time. Anything that is reformatory is capitalist. It is a distinction worthy of observance by all who presume to teach scientific Socialism.

SOCIALISTS don't believe in "dividing up" what the industrious produce. It is the capitalists who do the dividing. They divide what a worker produces into two parts: one part is wages and the other is profits. They make the part called wages as small as possible and the part called profit as large as possible. Then they give the wages to the producer and keep the profits for themselves. The Socialists object to this dividing. They believe that each worker should receive all that his labor produces. They believe that the men who now get profits that others produce should get no more until such time as they go to work and make as much as they take. It is this scheme of dividing and taking that makes the employers rich and makes the workers poor. When the workers come to Socialism they will abolish the "divvy" and become wealthy, and those who are now wealthy will have to work for what they get the same as all others.

THE day before the bridge disaster at Quebec, Canada, a message was filed with the telegraph company at New York for the foreman of the work on the bridge from the architect in charge and directing him to stop work until the reputed danger of the bridge might be investigated. It seems that the message was not sent, or not delivered, for seventy-five workmen went down to death when the bridge collapsed and the foreman is buried in the wreckage at the bottom of the river. This is a sample of the service the telegraph companies are rendering with the aid of scab employes. However, it's the companies and not the scabs who are to blame for accepting messages that they know cannot be properly forwarded.

NEARLY twenty years ago Rhena Rivers, a girl from Houston county, Alabama, was sentenced to twenty months in the mines. By mistake of the clerk who prepared the commitment papers they were made to read twenty years, and the girl had nearly served the twenty-year term when she died. At the time of her death the error was discovered, and a bill was introduced in the legislature to pay the girl's mother for the overtime served. But the courts are infallible and the girl's time is to be paid for, which squares the account according to the rules of capitalism.

ONE Mr. Shinobu is said to be the first oriental member of a board of trade. When his name was proposed for membership at New Westminster, British Columbia, there were some doubts as to the desirability of a Jap, but the desirable citizens of the board were reminded that this Mr. Shinobu is a Japanese gentleman, and as such is not to be compared with the Japanese coolies. Mr. Shinobu was unanimously elected to membership on this recommendation, which shows that Canadian capitalists are as loyal to their class as to their race.

THE *Ohio Farmer* tells the farmer that they are prosperous because "Our mines yield more than \$1,500,000,000, and our forests more than \$1,000,000,000. The output of our factories exceeds \$12,000,000,000, and the earnings of our railroads are more than \$2,000,000,000." How many of you farmers have a proprietary interest in these industries referred to as ours? This showing of prosperity for the farmers reminds one of the fox who said to the fat hen: "Now, we are going to have chicken for supper."





THE TEMPLE SCROLL

will contain the names of every one who sends in a club of seven yearlies at 25c each before the corner-stone vault is closed.

This Scroll is the gift of the Present to the Future—the Heirloom handed down by those who stood on the First Fields of Fearful Endeavor to plant the flags and banners of Socialism in the minds of the People.

The foregleams of victory are lighting up the darkness, and today, as we are taking a regretful farewell from the Hopeless Features of the Past Propaganda, it is well and fitting that we leave the testimonials of the men that made capitalism change its stare of pity and contempt into a wholesome respect for the Fighting Power to those comrades who will be directing the battle when this corner-stone is opened in the future.

Our little victory of a suitable building may, and doubtless will, look small to future generations. Perhaps the ungainly and uncouth tools with which we have worked may cause their smiles as well as tears—but as they read the Temple Scroll they will read the names of those who instituted and fought the First Great Battles for Socialism on American Soil.

Let me add your name to the list. You will never regret it.

FINANCIAL COLUMN

BY THE FINANCIAL EDITOR.

THE Associated Press is busy preparing the general public for a great calamity. The president, who already holds the Police Gazette ten thousand dollar diamond belt, and the world's championship for sending long and tiresome messages to the national representative bodies, is preparing to break his own record and establish one which no future president will ever attempt to break in his forthcoming document. It is observable that Mr. Roosevelt has apparently been silent ever since the returns came in from Boise, and the country, while somewhat suspicious, was in hopes that Theodore had been sufficiently extinguished to enable it to secure a little much needed rest.

The mayor of Pittsburg, Kansas, on the occasion of the Haywood demonstration last year, was heard to declare that if anyone dared to float a red banner in the parade he would shoot it down. The scabby editor of a "rat" paper in Kansas advocates "trampling the red flag in the dirt wherever seen."

Mr. Roosevelt has never made any reply to the statistics which prove that over 80 per cent of the manufactured product of the United States is produced by corporations, and that these corporations own over 70 per cent of the productive manufacturing property of the whole country and are daily acquiring more.

However long the president's message may be, it is not at all likely that he will make any reference to the fact that he is at present engaged in his favorite occupation of using the public money for the benefit of corporate interests.

We are publishing a concise history of the Red Flag, going way back into the time when flags were first used. The price is 10 cents, or \$5.00 a hundred for distribution.

Dun's report of failures for August this year show how rotten is the commercial fabric. The total liabilities for the month reach an aggregate of \$15,000,000,000, a sum exceeding that for August of any year since 1896.

Press dispatches from Boise state that George Pettibone is seriously ill and has been removed from the jail to a hospital, where it may be necessary for him to undergo an operation.

It is the old, old flag of revolt against unjust oppression; it is the emblem of Order, Justice and Brotherhood; it is the standard of the successful civilization whose dawn is heralded. Capitalism's "candles have burned out and Socialism stands tip-toe on the misty mountain tops."

Patience of Pettibone's friends is certainly being tried to the limit. Souvenir Post Cards of the new Appeal Building—the Temple of the Revolution—are being printed. When you receive the Appeal by your friends—ask for these cards and you will receive a bunch to be mailed in turn to your friends. They are attractive, inspiring and convincing. A movement that can build a new life, that has something to offer to all, that is unopposed by the forces of evil, when they receive the card. Use them by the million. They're free.

far as an actual rake-off in dollars is concerned.

The most plausible reason for the disinclination of these two worthies to give the people any information concerning the disposition of some \$5,000,000 of the public money is found in the belief that they are finding it necessary to secretly support some large financial institution which is in trouble, and which, if it closed its doors, would bring about a panic.

At the same time, desiring to put forth nothing but a reliable report, I will say that the situation is more favorable today (Sept. 8th), than it has been for a long time. For the first time in eighteen months there are indications that the militant plutocracy may be able to pull through with only a moderate gale—that is a number of large failures and a great many small failures, and some hundreds of thousands of men unemployed.

The reason of this is that most of the European stockholders have now sold out, and no more stock is coming from there to be taken care of—while on the other hand the actual investors in this country are beginning to buy. It depends almost altogether on whether this buying movement is continued. If it is, the large interests can unload enough of their watered stocks on "the public" to replace the funds they have removed from the banks.

Another favorable factor for the rich is the export of grain and cotton which is now setting in and will bring money to this country from Europe. This will offset easily any further sales of securities the smaller European holders may make from now on, while the large holders will not sell, because they are in so deep that they can't without the same sacrifice that Comrade Rockefeller would have to make.

While the financial tide may turn, the industrial tide will still recede quite a ways before it returns. Industry requires somewhat slowly to the financial situation, owing to the fact that the ignorant and reckless continue to spend, even when they are broke, in an effort to retrieve. Hence there are a good many businesses and industries running in this country now which will have to close soon because they are losing money. Better financial conditions cannot help that class any, for they are too far gone to be rescued.

THE RED FLAG.

A New York City magistrate recently declared from the bench his eagerness to send a Socialist speaker to jail for thirty days because he displayed a red flag on the streets.

The mayor of Pittsburg, Kansas, on the occasion of the Haywood demonstration last year, was heard to declare that if anyone dared to float a red banner in the parade he would shoot it down.

Now, let's see: It is not a misdemeanor or any other violation of law either in New York or Kansas. Then, if the anarchists advocate violence and disorder, the New York magistrate, the ex-mayor and the rat editor are anarchists, are they not?

Why do these fat-headed and "desirable citizens" of the Orchard-Roosevelt type throw fit after fit of the fanatics every time they think of the Red Flag?

It is the old, old flag of revolt against unjust oppression; it is the emblem of Order, Justice and Brotherhood; it is the standard of the successful civilization whose dawn is heralded.

We are publishing a concise history of the Red Flag, going way back into the time when flags were first used. The price is 10 cents, or \$5.00 a hundred for distribution.

PETTIBONE SERIOUSLY ILL.

Press dispatches from Boise state that George Pettibone is seriously ill and has been removed from the jail to a hospital, where it may be necessary for him to undergo an operation.

It is the old, old flag of revolt against unjust oppression; it is the emblem of Order, Justice and Brotherhood; it is the standard of the successful civilization whose dawn is heralded.

Patience of Pettibone's friends is certainly being tried to the limit. Souvenir Post Cards of the new Appeal Building—the Temple of the Revolution—are being printed. When you receive the Appeal by your friends—ask for these cards and you will receive a bunch to be mailed in turn to your friends.

They are attractive, inspiring and convincing. A movement that can build a new life, that has something to offer to all, that is unopposed by the forces of evil, when they receive the card. Use them by the million. They're free.

A Notable Series of Articles.

Comrade Warren Atkinson, of New York City, has prepared for the Appeal a series of six articles on "Government Ownership." He deals with this question of which we are likely to hear a good deal next year, from the Socialist point of view. I hope you will read them carefully and equip yourself to distinguish between capitalist state ownership and Socialism.

The titles of the articles, the first one of which will appear next week, are as follows:

- 1. "Government Ownership in Operation."
2. "Why We Oppose State Capitalism."
3. "Why We Advocate Government Ownership."
4. "Is Socialist Campaign Thunder Stolen?"
5. "Influences Against Us."
6. "The Conflict Inevitable."

THE REAL PEACE CONFERENCE.

The following editorial appeared in the New Hampshire Patriot, published at Concord, N. H. This editorial is peculiarly significant, coming as it does from this particular paper. The Patriot was established in 1809 not quite one hundred years ago. It has been a witness of the rise of this nation from a British dependency to the foremost nation in the world.

There is no doubt but that good will come out of the recent Hague conference. Every effort in the direction of national and international peace carries with it a blessing.

More competent to judge insist, however, that the conference at the Hague bind no nation and that war will continue while rulers and administrators continue to take offense. These say that it is not the men who occasion the fighting who do the fighting. It is not they who make food for cannon; it is not they who leave widows and orphans to mourn, and as long as it is not, war will continue.

It is possible that more practical good will come out of the International Socialist congress, composed of delegates from twenty-five different countries, the principal ones being the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, Japan, Australia, Norway and Sweden.

At the Hague conference there is much moral suasion, many appeals to tender sensibilities, but the question of personal interest is largely excluded or overlooked. At the Socialist congress personal interest is the controlling factor, hence this clause in the Socialist propaganda:

As soon as a situation shall be presented which openly or secretly, may give rise to an apprehension of a conflict between two or more governments, and render a war between them possible or probable, the Socialist parties of the countries concerned should at once, and upon the invitation of the International Socialist bureau, enter into direct communication with a view to determine upon a concerted mode of action on the part of the Socialists and workmen of the interested countries in order to prevent the war.

At the same time the Socialist parties of the other countries should be advised by the secretary of the bureau, and a meeting of the International Socialist bureau shall be held as soon thereafter as possible for the purpose of devising the most appropriate measures to be taken by the entire international Socialist movement and the organized working class to prevent the war.

The well-informed Socialist, like that ancient Greek philosopher, claims affiliation, on the basis of patriotism, with no country, but says: "The world is my country, and every man my brother."

The Socialist organization today is the strongest political organization on earth, and when that organization represents to its membership a certain course of action, and the members realize its inherent worth and decide to act upon the recommendation, the influence cannot fail to be felt.

There are those who insist that the Socialist movement is more than twenty millions strong, and when twenty millions of wide-awake, active, industrious, interested, energetic men and women in the civilized world demand peace, the cry for peace will cease to be a dream.

There is not much doubt in the minds of those who have watched the trend of events, that when the Socialists of Germany that if he engaged in a war of conquest they would refuse to fight beneath his banner, the information had a salutary and peace-creating effect upon Germany's ruler.

There is not much doubt that if the Socialists of Norway and Sweden, when these countries separated for purpose of government, had not declared to those in authority that they would not fight against one another that peace would not have prevailed.

In Germany there are 3,250,000 citizens enrolled in the Socialist party, and when war was being talked between Germany and France, the Socialists of both countries conferred with one another, and the result was, peace.

THE JAW BONE OF AN ASS

BY THE DINGBAT.

Once, in a far-off country—so I've heard the old folks say—lived a man named Samuel Samson, forgotten to this day. And Sammy loved a maiden—Delilah was the lass—and Sammy slaughtered thousands with the jaw-bone of an ass.

Now, Sammy tore up lions and lugged off cities' gates, and Sammy tore down temples, so history relates. And Sammy was the strongest man who ever trod the grass; he's the boy that killed his thousands with the jaw-bone of an ass. But all this happened long ago, and the world moves on apace. We're now another wonder who has taken Sammy's place. That is Big Tooth, the trust-buster, there's no other in his class; he can fake ten million people with the jaw-bone of an ass.

He knows how to kill a kitten, choke a chicken, bait a bear. He can slaughter any old thing, whether feathered or in hair. He can stab a man in prison, shoot another in the back; and, on "undesirable citizens" bring his stick down with a whack.

All hail to our Trust-Buster, who breaks trusts like window glass, while he rants and roars and rattles with his jaw-bone of an ass.

Same Old Dilatory Tactics.

The kidnapers' bureau of the Mine Owners' association, through its attorneys who serve the state by serving the capitalist conspirators who run the state, filed a motion September 7 in the district court at Boise, Idaho, to continue the case against George Pettibone which had been set for October 1.

The defense, which is ready for trial, opposed the motion, but Judge Wood decided that the Pettibone case must be postponed, although Pettibone has been imprisoned for over a year and a half and denied bail. The pretext for this delay is that the trial of Senator Borah on charge of defrauding the government out of timber lands should be tried first, although Borah is at liberty and was free to earn a \$5,000 attorney's fee in the prosecution of Haywood after the grand jury had passed upon his indictment.

The conspirators have also applied the "postponer" tactics to the case of Steve Adams, who is in jail awaiting retrial on the trumped-up charge of murdering a settler named Fred Tyler. The prosecutors demand a change of venue to some county other than that in which the alleged crime is said to have been perpetrated. This change would be of advantage to the enemies of the Western Federation who would like to have Adams tried where he is unknown and where the hostile sentiment aroused by the mine owners' papers might affect the jury and the environment. In his argument opposing the unjustifiable change of venue Attorney Clarence Darrow said:

It has been guaranteed every citizen of the state that the right to trial by jury shall be inviolate. It is a right he cannot waive himself and the state cannot infringe upon. The argument depends largely upon what a trial by jury means. Trial by jury means that the defendant shall be tried in the county and the district in which the crime is committed and that he get the benefit of his good name and character if they are preserved. He shall be tried in the county and district where the jury may have knowledge of the character of the witnesses testifying. This law was passed for securing a conviction. If this law, passed in heat, malice and connivance, is valid, then every man in the state, as well as Adams, may be taken to a hostile community and convicted because the power of the state and its wealth is raised against him."

It is evidently the purpose of the prosecution to leave Pettibone in jail while the whitewash is being applied to Senator, Borah. Then, when Borah comes forth in the purity of a made-to-order acquittal, he will again join the legal forces of the conspirators in their desperate attempt to discredit the Western Federation of Miners by convicting Pettibone.

It is a matter of public knowledge that Bulkeley Wells, prominent in the Mine Owners' association and military commander of the kidnapers' special that brought Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone to Idaho, has visited Steve Adams in jail and tried to make Adams swear away the lives of the Federation officials. His failure to Orchardize Adams is the cause of the further attempt to convict him since the disagreement of the jury at the first trial. With reference to the change of venue demanded by the prosecution in the Adams case, the following affidavit was filed by the defendant's attorneys:

"Steve Adams, upon oath, deposes he has read the application for a

change of venue by the prosecuting attorney; that it is not true as stated that a fair, impartial jury cannot be obtained in Shoshone county. Affiant further says that, on a warrant charging him with the murder of Fred Tyler, he was taken overland across a great portion of Idaho by the warden of the state penitentiary and that the trip required several days. Affiant says that extensive notices were given in the newspapers of the crime of which the defendant is charged, that interviews were given by public officials regarding the crime and that they connected the defendant therewith; that statements made by Detective McParland in the newspapers contained extensive accounts of the crime; that extensive notice was given said case and the defendant's connection therewith throughout the country. Notwithstanding the publicity given the case, only a few days would be required to secure a jury in Shoshone county, as the county has a large population and there are within it 5,000 persons eligible for jury duty.

"The members of the Federation who are eligible are only a small proportion of the general population. Comparatively little attention has been paid to the case since the district of last February and March and an impartial jury can readily be secured at the present time. Further, application for a change of place of trial is not made in good faith, but for delay and continuance until the officers in charge of the case have been further poisoned.

"Affiant further says proceedings against him are made at the instance of the officers and attorneys in charge of the prosecution of Haywood, Moyer, Pettibone and Simpkins; that compensation therefor was paid by the state, and that Henry P. Knight was employed by the state to assist in the prosecution. Affiant is informed that no part of the compensation of Knight or Hawley has been paid by the county, and that the same is true of J. E. Gyde. Affiant says that James H. Hawley, leading counsel for the state against Haywood, in his report of the expenditure of \$104,000 for the trial, included the foregoing and other items in connection with the former trial of this cause."

Colorado Civilization.

It used to be called Peabody civilization, but Parson Buchtel has added so much to it that the old Peabody article is no longer the thing. Colorado civilization has had its latest contribution from the Colorado Fuel and Iron company, which has just handed down a ukase to the effect that all union coal miners shall be run out of southern Colorado as soon as they can be replaced with scabs and that all union organizers shall be run out at once.

Deputy Sheriff William Thatcher, of Trinidad, acted promptly on these orders and raided the office of the United Mine Workers, where he arrested two organizers who were handcuffed and marched to jail, where they will be held on the charge of being nuisances until the Colorado Iron and Fuel company tells the sheriff what to do with them.

The sheriff has already issued bulletins notifying all labor organizers to leave the county under penalty of being arrested on some charge, no matter what, and being thrown into jail. This is Colorado civilization up to date. How can anyone, in the face of such high-handed corporation methods as this, have the nerve to say that all men are equal before the law? In Colorado the corporations are the law, and they deport whom they will without the least regard for the statutes supposed to guarantee to every man the rights of citizenship. The state of Colorado is rotten as hell, and the miserable cut-throats who have raised themselves to a throne of anarchy are only preparing for a dose of what they might reasonably expect in return for their prostitution of political power to the purposes of as conscienceless a band of pirates as ever scuttled a ship. But, then, no one seems to care.

It seems that thieves can work harmoniously in looting a common victim, but when it comes to the division and apportionment of the booty there is liable to be trouble. Captain Swain, of the Thiel Detective agency, and an important factor in the affairs of the Idaho body-snatchers, is now denouncing Governor Gooding and Saint McParland for parading themselves as heroes and making political capital out of the Federation cases. He says that the mine owners must have put up at least \$100,000 to get the testimony promised by McParland, which, together with the \$104,000 appropriated by the state, made over \$200,000 that was spent and for which nothing but Orchard's confession was secured. Swain says that the whole Gooding and Pinkerton bunch are discredited and that the people of Idaho will not stand for any more of their coarse work.

ECONOMIC CLASSICS

The Social Revolution.

THE contrast between reform and revolution does not consist in the application of force in one case and not in the other. Every juridical and political measure is a force measure, which is carried through by the force of the state. Neither do any particular forms of the application of force, as, for example, street fights, or executions, constitute the essentials of revolution in contrast to reform. These arise from particular circumstances, are not necessarily connected with revolutions, and may easily accompany reform movements. The constitution of the delegates of the Third Estate at the National Assembly of France, on June 17, 1789, was an eminently revolutionary act with no apparent use of force. This same France had, on the contrary, in 1774 and 1775, great insurrections for the single and in no way revolutionary purpose of changing the bread tax in order to stop the rise in the price of bread.

The reference to street fight and executions, as characteristic of revolutions is, however, a clue to the source from which we can obtain important teachings as to the essentials of revolution. The great transformation in France in 1789 has become the classical type of revolution. It is the one which is ordinarily in mind when revolution is spoken of. From it we can best study the essentials of revolution and the contrast between it and reform. This revolution was preceded by a series of efforts at reform, among which the best known are those of Turgot. These attempts, in many cases, aimed at the same things which the revolution carried out. What distinguished the reforms of Turgot from the corresponding measures of the revolution? Between the two lay the conquest of political power by a new class, and in this lies the essential difference between revolution and reform. Measures which seek to adjust the judicial and political superstructure of society, to changed economic conditions, are reforms if they proceed from the class which is the political and economic ruler of society. They are reforms whether they are given freely or secured by the pressure of the subject class, or conquered through the power of circumstances. On the contrary, those measures are the results of revolution if they proceed from the class which has been economically and politically oppressed and who have now captured political power and who must in their own interest more or less rapidly transform the political and juridical superstructure and create new forms of social co-operation.

The conquest of the governmental power by a hitherto oppressed class, in other words, a political revolution, is accordingly the essential characteristic of social revolution in this narrow sense, in contrast with social reform. Those who repudiate political revolution as the principal means of social transformation or wish to confine this to such measures as have been granted by the ruling class are social reformers, no matter how much their social ideas may antagonize existing social forms. On the contrary, any one is a revolutionist who seeks to conquer the political power for a hitherto oppressed class, and he does not lose this character if he prepares and hastens this conquest by social reforms wrested from the ruling classes. It is not the striving after social reforms, but the explicit confining of one's self to them which distinguishes the social reformer from the social revolutionist. On the other hand, a political revolution can only become a social revolution when it proceeds from an hitherto socially oppressed class. Such a class is compelled to complete its political emancipation by its social emancipation, because its previous social position is in irreconcilable antagonism to its political domination. A split in the ranks of the ruling classes, no matter even if it should take on the violent form of civil war, is not a social revolution.—Karl Kautsky.

WHAT IS 'THE GIRARD IDEA'?

THE fundamental principle of the "Girard Idea" is that a Socialist is just as good as a capitalist; that his brain-power is just as great; that his knowledge of the power of co-operation should enable him to play the commercial game as well if not better than his brother, Mr. Capitalist. Adherents of the "Girard Idea" do not believe it is absolutely necessary to be a ditch-digger to be a Socialist, or that a Socialist loses any of his Socialism because he climbs out of the ditch and puts some "down and out" capitalist or middle class non-Socialist business man in his place. At present a good many Socialists are, figuratively, ditch diggers. The "Girard Idea" is that the time is ripe for Socialists to begin climbing out of the ditch. As long as the present system lasts there must and will be ditch-diggers, but the "Girard Idea" is that as many of them as possible should be non-Socialists. We can never enjoy the full benefits of the earth until the Co-operative Commonwealth of Socialism has been established, but in the fight for the good things obtainable under capitalism there is no good reason why Socialists should not get a lot more than they are getting. Under Socialism we expect to co-operate—IF CO-OPERATION IS GOOD UNDER SOCIALISM, IT'S GOOD UNDER THE PRESENT SYSTEM.

The Appeal is trying to get the workers to co-operate at the ballot box; the trade unions are trying to get the workers to co-operate in the selling of their labor power; the "Girard Idea" is to get the workers to co-operate in the use of their purchasing power.

Adherents of the "Girard Idea" also believe Socialists who have any dollars to invest should invest them in enterprises owned and managed by Socialists. By working along this line we cannot, of course, own all the machinery of production, but WE CAN OWN A PART OF IT AND RECEIVE THE FULL BENEFITS OF THAT PART WE DO OWN.

The Girard Manufacturing Co. (formerly the Girard Cereal Co.), now composed of some nine hundred of the most clean-cut, class-conscious Socialists of the country, have created with their combined efforts, along the above outlines, a most perfect and far-reaching selling machine, through which the Socialists of the nation can be served with many of the common necessities of every-day life, and the profits from which will go to back up your propaganda instead of, as now, being used to further enslave you.

As Comrade Henry E. Allen writes from Chicago this week: "You ought to have a good sale in this city, and would have if all Socialists feel as I do about trade. I hold that it is OUR DUTY to be clean in trade. We should always give our patronage to our friends instead of our enemies. Capitalism will carry with us a long time IF IT IS WELL FED. Besides, I have more confidence in the Socialist than in the capitalist manufacturer. I want to see you succeed, and will do what I can for you."

Another in same mail from Wolfert, Fla., says: "You can count me as a permanent customer. Every Socialist should use Socialists' products when practical to do so; otherwise he is aiding to force his own chains. I find 'Made in Girard' goods are always the highest standard and perfectly reliable."

Before snow flies we will be in a position to supply a line of toilet and mechanics' soaps, made from vegetable products, entirely different from anything on the market, equal to the best, and superior to the most. We are also acquiring sole rights to some very profitable, attractive, rapid-selling specialties, which will offer sure jobs to comrades who may be out of employment, blacklisted, or in other ways temporarily unfortunate, and enable them to be independent and to own their own jobs, as most Socialists aspire to do. Meanwhile, every loyal worker for the Appeal and the cause it stands for is reminded of the opportunity he is letting go by when he fails to demand from his grocer goods "Made in Girard," and so long as he is unable to procure them to forward his orders direct to Girard to be filled.

We have flung our banner to the breeze, that this is a Socialist owned and operated concern, and by so doing we must expect a measure of hostility from the small tradesmen who as yet do not realize that he, like the red man, "belongs to a race that is fading away." Any comrade who has been to Girard is a reference for this company, and thousands who are constantly using our products attest the uniform high quality of all our goods and the square treatment they are accorded in dealing direct.

Following is a list from which to make up an order by mail, and at which prices attached the goods will be delivered to you prepaid. Make up an order at once, thus get your name on our mail list to receive all future issues of our "Message," which gives you further details from time to time concerning the great work that is already in progress.

Table with 2 columns: Item and Price. Includes Nutrel, cereal coffee, 1 gallon, \$1.00; Nutrel, cooking oil, 1 gallon, 1.25; Nutrel, cooking oil, second gallon same, 1.00; etc.

GIRARD MFG. CO., GIRARD, KANSAS.