

Appeal to Reason

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THE two articles by Theodore Roosevelt in the Outlook— "Where we can not work with Socialists" and "Where we can work with Socialists"—have attracted wide attention.

But what Mr. Roosevelt has written is not true, nor half true, and so palpably evident is this that intelligent critics and fair opponents of Socialism are ashamed and conclude with Prof. Albion W. Small, head of the department of economics of Chicago University, that Mr. Roosevelt "slopped over" and that such an unwarranted tirade has a tendency to discredit all objection to Socialism, thereby promoting instead of checking the advance of the Socialist movement.

With but a single exception Mr. Roosevelt repeats all the stale and silly objections to Socialism which have been parroted by capitalist apologists and retainers during the past twenty years. With this included his rehash would have been complete. How or why did he happen to overlook the twin to his "free love" boggy—that Socialism proposes to "divide up" the wealth of the nation? Strange that this deadly count should have been omitted from his indictment.

Not a word from any accredited source in support of his sweeping allegations. Not a word from a fresh falsehood. Only a repetition of the threadbare freaks long ago discarded by reputable critics, garnished with irrelevant commentaries, and, of course, with hackneyed homilies about the uprightness of the upright and wickedness of the wicked.

The Socialist Party. The Socialist movement is represented by a party which has polled nearly half a million votes in the United States. It has its authorized declaration of principles, its platform and its program, adopted by the rank and file of the party, in which are clearly set forth the aims and objects of the movement and the means whereby these are to be accomplished. There is no occasion for misunderstanding. Here may be found the expression of the party itself as to what it stands for, and it is certainly a curious and noteworthy fact that it does not stand for a single one of the charges which Mr. Roosevelt brings against it.

Why did not Mr. Roosevelt quote a line from the party's platform? Why did he ignore every accredited author and writer except one whom he quoted with characteristic cunning to misrepresent? Why did he not quote a line from the literature of the movement? There are scores of Socialist papers and magazines, hundreds of books and thousands of pamphlets written by party members in the United States, but not a line did Mr. Roosevelt quote from them in support of his unfounded assumptions and allegations.

We are now prepared to understand, if our minds be open and without prejudice, why Mr. Roosevelt found it necessary to single out an individual member of the Socialist party to make his domestic misfortune the pretext for charging the entire movement with "free love" and with nameless filth and immorality. Coming from one who with his party had absolute power in Washington for seven years and where during all that time the rankest red-light district and the rottenest pornography flourished under his very nose this pure and pious affectation is neither more nor less than sickening and disgusting hypocrisy.

Moral Uprightness of Socialists. Surely it must be regarded as a rare tribute to the moral uprightness of the three million American Socialists that only one can be found among them all to serve Mr. Roosevelt's dire necessity of a horrible example. But even this lone individual must be denied him. It is true that a slanderous capitalist press has seemingly succeeded in fitting him for that indecent role, but those who know him know that Christ himself was not more cruelly maligned by the pharisees of his day, and that a purer soul never walked this earth.

What are the facts? Listen, Mr. Roosevelt! The man whose misfortune you seize upon as an excuse to stab Socialism in the back, and whom you crucify in public with the malignity of a dragon, was born in poverty and married as a mere boy. In his maturer life, realizing to his unspeakable sorrow that he did not love the woman he wed he was lawfully separated from her, by mutual consent, and lawfully married the woman he did love. In this he simply did what thousands of your republican friends have done and for which every decent man honors them, seeing that postulation is never so vile and shocking to every moral sensibility as when practiced within the marriage relation.

You have never criticized any of your republican friends for exercising this lawful right and moral duty, and you would never have dreamed of dragging our comrade into the limelight had he been a republican instead of a Socialist—and you know it. But I am not through with you, Mr. Roosevelt. The gentleman prepared by your foul and slanderous press

ized document, in the speech of no accredited representative of the Socialist movement does Mr. Roosevelt find warrant for a single one of his absurd charges and so he discreetly ignores them all and attempts to prop up his alleged professor of whom no one but himself has ever heard and from a renegade of the Socialist movement.

Upon the same vicious principle and pursuing the same illogical means and disreputable methods it would be easy to show that the republican party is a gang of horse-thieves, the democratic party a malodorous bunch of polygamists and the American people the most loathsome aggregation of degenerates on the face of the earth.

Hillquit, Spargo, London, Simons, Wayland, Warren, Vail, Sant, Hanford, Ghent, DeLeon, Wentworth, Hunter and a host of other American Socialist authors and writers are all conveniently ignored by Mr. Roosevelt. Their books are in all our public libraries, but Mr. Roosevelt can find nothing in them, nor even a line in a single one, to serve his malign purpose, and so he stoops down to the gutter and picks up, dripping with filth, "Socialism: the Nation of Fatherless Children," and bespatters the once-clean pages of the Outlook with its loathsome slime.

Mr. Roosevelt's Specifications. Let us now briefly pass over the principal specifications in Mr. Roosevelt's reckless indictment: First.—Mr. Roosevelt speaks of "the stage of savage Socialism." Never heard of it. Quite sure we can prove an alibi. There has never been any such "stage" except in Mr. Roosevelt's imagination. "Savage Socialism" Social savagery? Did you ever hear of such a ludicrous incongruity? We will have to give it up. Mr. Roosevelt must show where this unclassified "stage" was first dug up or discovered.

Second.—"The immorality and absurdity of the doctrines of Socialism as propounded by these advanced advocates," says Mr. Roosevelt. But why does he not name these "advanced advocates" and quote from their immoral and obscene doctrines? Not one does he name and not a word does he quote. Isn't it strange? We challenge him to produce his proof.

Third.—"The doctrinaire Socialists, the extremists, the men who represent the doctrine in its most advanced form, are and must necessarily be not only convinced opponents to private property, but also bitterly hostile to religion and morality." This charge is equally false. There is not a word of truth in it. Not one of these alleged "extremists" is named and not a word is quoted from their alleged "doctrine." Socialists are not opposed to "private property," except in the means of life, nor are they hostile to religion and morality. It is capitalism, in defense of which Mr. Roosevelt writes, that makes "private property" impossible to the masses by confiscating their products to enrich their masters. The millionaire capitalists and impoverished workers are sufficient evidence of this fact.

Private property forsooth! What chance have the millions of wage-slaves, doomed to work for a bare subsistence, to accumulate private property? The great majority of them have no private property and never will have as long as they are exploited as they now are of all they produce over and above the paltry wage necessary to keep body and soul together.

And as for religion and morality it is capitalism that defiles the one and destroys the other to perpetuate its brutal reign of greed and graft. Socialism, which means industrial democracy, proposes that the producers of wealth shall have that wealth, instead of idle parasites, and if this be opposition to private property the parasites and their special pleaders may make the most of it.

Fourth.—"Indeed, these thoroughgoing Socialists, especially in relation to all morality, and especially to domestic morality, a position so revolting—and I choose my words carefully—that it is difficult even to discuss it in a reputable paper. In America the leaders even of this type have usually been cautious about stating frankly that they proposed to institute free love for married life as we have it, although many of them do in a roundabout way uphold this position."

There is but one way to characterize this brazen and shameless charge. It is deliberate and vicious, damnable lie. It is a Socialist in America who has named it. I throw the foul calumny back into the teeth of Mr. Roosevelt. Not a scintilla of proof does he produce; not one "thoroughgoing Socialist" does he name and not one word does he quote in support of his monstrous falsehood. Socialists are the most intelligent of workmen and working women; they are uniformly clean in their habits and wholesome in their behavior. They are readers, thinkers and students. They are men and women of ideas and ideals and their modest homes attest their fealty to all the domestic virtues that sanctify the fireside and beautify the family life. All over the United States are to be found "these thoroughgoing Socialists." They are sober, industrious and capable; there are no illiterates among them and their names are never found on the police register except for the violation of lawless capitalist injunctions and in defense of the right of free assemblage and free speech.

What "thoroughgoing Socialists" are also class-conscious and liberty-loving, and it is this and not their alleged "immorality" and "free love" that provoke the wrath of Mr. Roosevelt. He knows that they know him, not alone by his words but by his acts, and in the stately advance of this grand army of "undersirable citizens" he sees his political doom.

Roosevelt who knows in detail how Socialists will manage industry when they secure control, how each will be allotted his work, how he will perform it, and what his remuneration will be. Socialists do not know this, nor do they pretend to know this, nor do they know all about it and as he can see no opening in Socialism for the parasite, grafter and scheming politician, he is sorely vexed and condemns the whole industrial evolution which is making for the Socialist commonwealth as an unmitigated evil which is sure to result in the "annihilation of civilization."

Socialism, Mr. Roosevelt, means industrial democracy, self-rule, and all the forces of evolution are working ceaselessly to that end. We workers have much to learn before we are fitted to assume control, but we are learning it day by day and your capitalist courts are among our teachers and the trusts you did not smash are clearing the way by cleaning up the small fry and recruiting our ranks with the dispossessed and unemployed. We are using our brains, improving our minds and developing our economic and political class power.

You have much to say about "guiding intelligence." We are going to develop that, too, in our own ranks, for we have brains with which to plan as well as hands with which to perform; we are going to fit ourselves by education and by our own self-imposed discipline to take control of industry from top to bottom and when that time comes we will decide about the jobs and the remuneration and we will do it to suit ourselves, and without regard to the protests of the parasites who now rule capitalist society. For the present it is sufficient to say that substantially the same objections you now make to industrial democracy were made to political democracy a century and a half ago. But the political king had to go all the same and in due time the industrial king will have to follow him. In the meantime we are not worrying about the distribution of the jobs and the pay of the rising generation. We have every reason to believe that as it will be a Socialist generation, it will be quite able to take care of itself.

Of course, Mr. Roosevelt, who believes in the "survival of the fittest," feels outraged to think that in Socialism the feeble man who does the best he can may possibly be awarded as much of the social product as any other, but what Mr. Roosevelt may happen to think now of what Socialists may do years hence will not prevent them from treating their weaker brethren in accordance with their own enlightened sense of justice and fair play.

Sixth.—"If the leaders of the Socialist party in America should today endeavor to force their followers to admit all negroes and Chinamen to a real equality their party would promptly disband." Here, to use a phrase, Mr. Roosevelt gives himself dead away. He has never read even the platform of the Socialist party or he would not make such a show of himself. He judges the Socialist party by the republican party, in which the "leaders" are the whole thing and the followers are many sheep for the shambles.

Almost everyone except Mr. Roosevelt knows that the Socialist party admits to its membership on terms of equality men and women of all races and nationalities, and this they do on a platform adopted by the rank and file themselves. The Socialist party is not a party whose platform becomes effective only after it is ratified by the party membership; it is the only real democratic party and therefore the only party in which the leaders take their orders from the rank and file and not the rank and file from the leaders. This will be new politics to Mr. Roosevelt and he may reflect upon it at his leisure. The Socialist party is composed of men and women who speak and act for themselves and not of sheep to be herded and fleeced.

Seventh.—Mr. Roosevelt says that "radical Socialists adopt the principles of free love as a necessary sequence to insisting that no man shall have the right to what he earns." At this point Mr. Roosevelt seems to have gone stark mad. As any rate it would be impossible to compress ranker idocy within fewer words. It would be quite as rational to say that polygamists in Utah is the natural sequence of earthquakes in California. What "free love" has to do with a man getting what he earns only the pormastic imagination of Mr. Roosevelt can perceive. He surely has "free love" on the brain and we may next expect to hear him wail the natives and wild beasts of Africa of the impending calamity.

What Socialist, radical or otherwise, as Mr. Roosevelt may choose to regard him, has ever said that "no man shall have the right to what he earns"? What other persons outside of a lunatic asylum, besides Mr. Roosevelt, would say any such thing? No Socialist has ever said that "no man shall have the right to what he earns," but the exact opposite, that all men shall have the right to all they earn, and that is precisely where the shoe pinches, for if all men get all they earn, as they will in Socialism, the parasites and grafters will have to go to work. As it is at present they wax fat and brutal out of the sweat and misery of the workers and when Socialists protest against this crime of crimes Mr. Roosevelt turns purple with rage and shrieks "free love," "free love," "free love" as he makes his escape and vanishes in the jungles of Africa.

Eighth.—"What their movement leads to may be gathered from the fact that in the last presidential election they nominated and voted for a man who earns his livelihood as the editor of a paper which not merely practices every form of malignant and brutal slander, but condones and encourages every form of brutal wrong-

doing, so long as either the slander or the violence is supposed to be at the expense of a man who owns something, wholly without regard to whether that man is himself a scoundrel, or a wise, kind and helpful member of the community."

Thus saith Mr. Roosevelt. And if it were true the writer hereof should be in the penitentiary and the paper upon which he "earns his livelihood" suppressed. The animus of Mr. Roosevelt toward the Appeal to Reason is easily accounted for. Its exposure of the "Alton Steal" and Mr. Roosevelt's executive approval of the bill that legalized the crime rankles in his bosom, and the recollection of the kidnaping conspiracy in which he was thwarted, and his intended victims snatched from the gallows to which he had condemned them, fans his rage into a perfect frenzy.

Look at him a moment, livid with hatred and malice, and then turn to the Outlook of November 7th in which Mr. Lyman D. Abbott, the venerable editor, announces that Mr. Roosevelt will be associated with the Outlook's editorial column because of his many virtues, including his "unfailing good humor." Oh, Mr. Abbott, what may be your idea of "unfailing good humor"? Is it that a man screams "hat" at every man who ventures to disagree with him?

It is too much, unless indeed Mr. Abbott has in his declining years cultivated a rare sense of humor. But to return to Mr. Roosevelt's charge. May we ask him to be specific and to name a single instance of "brutal wrong-doing" the Appeal to Reason has practiced and to cite a single case of "malignant and brutal slander," of which it has been guilty? To make a sweeping charge is easy enough, but we have a right to the particulars. If Mr. Roosevelt's charge is true he can easily prove it.

The Appeal offered a reward of five thousand dollars to anyone who would disprove Mr. Roosevelt's connection with the "Alton Steal," as charged and proven by documentary evidence in its columns, but there has been no taker. The "brutal wrong-doing" of the Appeal consisted in its uncovering the "brutal wrong-doing" of Mr. Roosevelt and his whilom friend Harriman in swindling the stock and bond holders of the Chicago and Alton out of sixty-three million dollars, the charge being specifically made and the figures plainly stated in the official report of the interstate commerce commission.

The Appeal to Reason has no apology to make to Mr. Roosevelt. What the Appeal has printed it stands by. If it has been guilty of slander let it be pointed out that it may be shorn of its power for evil and shunned of honest men. But its three hundred thousand subscribers know that it is for publishing the truth, and not slander, that Mr. Roosevelt hates and maligns it, and that for the same reason he did all in his power to have it suppressed during his capitalist administration.

As for the "man who earns his livelihood" on the Appeal and for whom almost half a million Socialists cast their votes for president, he claims very little for himself. He has not the distinction of having invented a spiked policeman's club to assist his "unfailing good humor," nor of having a gray-haired mother violently ejected from his domicile, nor of entertaining prize fighters, thugs and gun-toters, nor of shooting a fleeing fellow man in the back, nor of having made a heroic charge up San Juan hill by proxy, nor of having "settled" a coal strike by an award which the operators insist shall be made perpetual, nor of denouncing as a scoundrel the man who raised his campaign fund after writing him "we are practical men," nor of publicly condemning untried men in the shadow of the gallows who were later pronounced innocent by a jury of their peers, nor a good many other things in the category of virtuous achievement impossible to an "undersirable citizen."

Ninth.—"I wish it to be remembered that I speak from the standpoint of, and in behalf of the wage worker and the tiller of the soil. These are the two men whose welfare I have before me, and for their sakes I would do anything, except anything that is wrong."

An answer to this chapter might be written to show that Mr. Roosevelt and always has been the implacable enemy of the wage worker from the time (long before he became a politician and when he expressed his candid opinion) he declared that a drunken cowboy was far superior to a city workman. When he was governor of New York he proved that the wage worker's "welfare" was ever "before" him when he sent the troops to Croton Dam to crush the strikers who were asking to have the state law regulating the hours of labor enforced and to sustain the criminal contractors who were violating the law. He also showed his friendship for labor by using his power as president to have Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone hanged, and by rebuking the striking teamsters at Chicago and informing them that back of the mayor was the governor and back of the governor the president. His "settlement" of the anthracite coal strike also shows, when its terms are examined, that it defeated the strike and virtually destroyed the union. Sufficient proof of this is found in the fact that Baer and his gang of brigands are insisting that this "settlement" shall be binding forever.

Mr. Roosevelt's sympathy is with the capitalist and not the wage worker; he associates with and is entertained by the capitalist class and the only interest he has ever had in the "welfare" of the wage slave has been to get his vote on election day.

Who make colossal fortunes by exploiting the toilers." This is candid truth, fearlessly spoken, and Mr. Roosevelt is entitled to full credit for it. But what has Mr. Roosevelt done to mitigate this "dreadful suffering" and end this "brutal wrong-doing"? Nothing, absolutely nothing. For seven long years he and his party had complete control of every department of the national government and absolute power to correct these crying evils and yet Mr. Roosevelt is compelled to confess that crime and misery are rampant in the land. What fearful rebuke he has pronounced upon his own administration!

Who is responsible for this "dreadful suffering" of affairs? Mr. Roosevelt does not say. If the Social Party had been in absolute power, would all these years would Mr. Roosevelt also have refrained from fixing a responsibility where it properly belonged?

Eleventh.—"Take, for instance, the doctrine of the extreme Socialists, that all wealth is produced by manual workers, that the entire product of labor should be handed over every day to the laborer, that wealth is criminal in itself." Here we have a beautiful bunch of bores.

Where on earth did Mr. Roosevelt discover them? If any Socialist or anybody else has ever claimed that "all wealth is produced by manual workers," that "the entire product should be handed over every day to the laborer," and that "wealth is criminal," I have never until now heard of him. I have heard of freaks without number but this rare species must certainly be extinct. Can it be possible that Mr. Roosevelt is joking? Surely he cannot mean that any sane human being ever delivered himself of such idiotic drivel. It is too utterly imbecile to discuss and I will waste no time upon it.

Twelfth.—Mr. Roosevelt caps the climax of his ignorance of Socialism by classing Proudhon as a Socialist. Comment is unnecessary.

Thirteenth.—"Socialism is both a wide and a loose term and self-styled Socialists are of many and utterly different types." Not nearly such a "wide and loose term" as "republicanism" and "democracy," as used by the present capitalist parties, nor so many different types as there are so-called republicans and democrats! The New York World started an inquiry long ago as to "What is democracy," to which thousands of answers were made, but the World had to confess at last that discussion was vain and that the question remained unanswered. Upon fundamental principles all Socialists are agreed and they are united as one in opposition to capitalism and in favor of the Socialist commonwealth.

Fourteenth.—"It will be safe to adopt whatever they (the Socialists) advance that is wise, and to reject whatever they advance that is foolish." Having written them down as fools, freaks, fanatics and free lovers, Mr. Roosevelt, inferentially, still expects them to be "wise" at lucid intervals; or possibly he may himself in such an interval have felt a sting of conscience which moved him to placate them with a pleasing platitude.

Fifteenth.—"Screaming about 'wage slavery' is largely absurd; at this moment, for instance, am a 'wage slave' on the Outlook." This is a rich and juicy morsel. Who would not be a "wage slave" on the Outlook at a dollar a word? Mr. Roosevelt was reared in the lap of luxury and has no more conception of wage slavery than any other scion of aristocracy. Were he compelled to dig coal in a death trap, or switch cars on a sleety night, or serve as scavenger for a dollar a day, or work on a section in storm and heat in tents an hour, or fester in a sweatshop for a crust to eat and a rag to wear, as millions of others are forced to do all their lives, he would then have a right to talk as a wage slave and it would be safe to wager that in such a situation no "blatherskite" would "scream" more lustily about wage slavery than Theodore Roosevelt.

What other "wage slave" besides Theodore Roosevelt can indulge the luxury of a year's sporting expedition in regal style to the ends of the earth? Sixteenth.—Mr. Roosevelt concludes his articles with the statement that he stands for "such a division of the profits of industry as shall tend to encourage intelligent and thrifty tool users to become tool owners."

What tools now in use has Mr. Roosevelt reference to? Most of them are gigantic in size and capacity and owned by the trusts. Does Mr. Roosevelt mean these? Does he mean the locomotive or the wheelbarrow? The steam shovel or the pickax? The modern tools are titanic machines. Is it these that Mr. Roosevelt intends shall be owned by those who use them? Oh, no, for then he would be a Socialist and "free love" would gather him in. It is not that he means at all for in the same breath he talks about the "division of profits." When the tool users become the tool owners in modern industry there will be no "division of profits" for there will be no profits. The tool users will then take all their product for themselves and there will be no profits to hand over to a set of idle tool owners.

dence of Mr. Roosevelt himself that the Socialist movement, so far from being the monster he has painted it, is the most wholesome and helpful influence in the world today. First, let me call attention to the fact that there are Socialist representatives in the parliaments of nearly every civilized nation on earth and that their number is rapidly increasing. They have introduced and fought for thousands of Socialist party measures and their bitterest opponents are compelled to admit that practically all the reforms of the last thirty years are due to their intelligent and determined agitation. When and where has one of these representatives ever introduced a measure tending to establish free love, to break up the home, to disrupt the family and to license immorality? I challenge the public record. It is before the world. Let Mr. Roosevelt place his finger on a single instance of a Socialist occupying a seat of state introducing or attempting to introduce any one of the infamies he charges Socialists with advocating, or hereafter forever hold his peace.

And now to show that Mr. Roosevelt himself regards Socialism as a power for good instead of evil he may speak for himself.

"At the present time there are scores of laws in the interest of labor—laws putting a stop to child labor, decreasing the hours of labor where they are excessive, putting a stop to unsanitary crowding and living conditions, which should be passed by the national and various state legislatures; and those who wish to do effective work against Socialism would do well to turn their energies into securing the enactment of these laws."

Here we have it in a nutshell in Mr. Roosevelt's own words. Exact good laws and relieve the misery or Socialism "will get ye if ye do not watch out!" In the United States alone in Europe it is the fear of Socialism alone that promotes decent and wholesome legislation under capitalism. It is not for the sake of right that Mr. Roosevelt advises reform legislation, but only to head off Socialism—and yet he condemns Socialism as the most debauching influence on earth. And here we leave him with such trophies as he may carry from the field of Socialism.

The Socialist Movement. The Socialist movement is today the greatest and grandest on the face of the earth. More than thirty millions of men, women and children are marching proudly to its music and singing joyously the inspiring anthem of its approaching triumph.

They know Socialism is the product of evolution and that no power on earth can arrest its march to victory. They demand the earth and all its bounties for all mankind. They are animated by the high and holy spirit of universal brotherhood.

Revelled they have been and will be but they falter not for they well know that they must pay the penalty of being in advance of their time and clearing the way for a brighter day and a happier humanity. The countless charges brought against them to discredit their movement are not new in history. The Great Soul of Galilee was not only reviled but nailed to the cross by the pharisees two thousand years ago for his incomparably loving and god-devotion to the lowly and oppressed.

Socialists are Socialists because of their love of freedom and their horror of slavery; and they insist upon the equal freedom of all. They want nothing and will accept nothing that is not granted to all upon the same terms. They behold the poverty and misery of the aged and infirm, the sad-eyed and despairing fathers, the weeping mothers and the pinched little faces of the babes in their squalid cribs, and they declare in grim earnest that these frightful crimes and cruelties shall cease forever!

These men and women stand for social revolution; for the overthrow of capitalist despotism and the rearing in its place of an industrial democracy, in which the people shall own and control the means of life and in which there shall be work for all, abundance for all, freedom for all and leisure and joy for all, and to this emancipating program the Socialist party is irrevocably committed, nor will it cease its agitation until its labors are crowned with triumph.

"The Dear Love of Comrades." With such as these men and women I am proud and happy to cast my lot. I care nothing for the world's honors. Its prizes have no temptation for me. I began life, if I am not now, a wage slave. And there I stand today. The happiest privilege I have is to call the wage slave my comrade. He and I were long in the trenches together. We know each other. And we love and trust each other. I want nothing he may not have. He is my brother and when I clasp his honest hand I feel a thrill of joy. There is no slave on earth who is not my equal. Through his mask of misery and his shreds and tatters I recognize in the vilest scavenger my brother. For him I am ready to fight and if need be die. There is where I stand and where all Socialists stand—and this is our free love and immorality. And when Socialism comes—as come it will as certain as the Mississippi rolls to the Gulf—if I am still living, I shall strive to secure for my weaker brother and sister the same remuneration, the same treatment and the same even-handed justice I expect for myself. The present generation may revile Socialists and deny Socialism, but future generations will make immortal statement. EUGENE V. DEBS.



How Socialists Make Laws

The Socialists of the world have ever stood for pure democracy. Embracing the initiative, the referendum, the recall, majority rule, the preferential ballot, and all related instruments or devices intended to carry out speedily and fully the mandate of the popular will.

That the position taken is not a matter of preaching, but is carried into practice is best demonstrated by the manner in which the affairs of the Socialist party of America are conducted. Here facts join faith in the actual administration.

The case with which the last man or lay member comes to his final say upon any proposition or policy is reduced to figures as follows: Any party local may initiate a national party referendum and it goes to a membership vote, if endorsed by nineteen other locals, twenty in all.

Considering that there are more than three thousand party locals, it means that when one out of one hundred and fifty locals wants a question opened to a popular vote, it is submitted forthwith.

Taking a combination of circumstances by which a referendum is initiated by small locals, the membership of each being only equal to the number required to hold a charter, the fact is disclosed that according to present membership the desire of one man out of every 458 is effective for the purpose.

In the matter of election of officers, the nomination of one local is sufficient to place the name of a candidate upon the ballot for any office within the gift of the party.

Referendums are submitted entirely free of guide lines. The constitution specifically prohibits advice or comment by any official.

Here then is an instance of democracy in action and unequalled by any other organization. Here appears no by-paths to legislation; rather a highway to self-government leading to a solution of every question of common concern.

In the organic law and in all things, as they will, the last word is the voice of the majority and subject to revision or amendment only by the same court. The veto power against the majority is unthinkable.

Questions Answered

The Red Flag.

Why do not Socialists take the stars and stripes as their emblem?

American Socialists do not use the stars and stripes as their emblem for the same reason that Americans do not use the flag of England. Socialism is international. English, German or French Socialists could not use the stars and stripes. So the red flag is used as the emblem of international Socialism. But the red flag had been used as the emblem of internationalism before Socialism took it up. Hymn No. 416 of the Methodist Hymnal, by Ringold Heber, begins:

The Sun of God goes forth in war, A kindly crown to gath; His BLOOD-RED BANNER streams afar; Who follows in his train? It would seem from this that the Carpenter of Nazareth used this symbol twenty centuries ago.

No Free Love Socialists.

How many Socialists in America are practicing free love?

The Appeal does not know of one Socialist who is doing so. It does know of thousands of happy Socialist homes which are nearer ideal than the average capitalist home. Herron's case is often cited. It is true Herron was divorced and married again, but his home life is as sweet and pure as that of any man in America. Much was made out of the statement that Gorky, the Russian author, once visited America in company with a woman who was not his wife. The most that could be said of Gorky was that he was not married according to the rites of the Russian church, but at the time that the hard things were said of him he was legally married to the woman he was with. Were others judged as uncharitably as Gorky was, there is not a Protestant in America who is legally married according to the rite of the Roman or Russian church. This charge of free love has always been made against a real reform. It was made relative to abolitionism.

The Meaning of Socialism.

Tell me just what Socialism is.

At present it is a movement working for the socializing of industry. When triumphant it will be socialized industry. This merely means that the whole people will have charge of industry and reap the fruits of their toil, instead of having a few lords of industry on whom the people are dependents for the job and for markets. The people will come into control of industry by virtue of owning the implements of production and distribution. This involves public ownership of these things, but the result will be private ownership instead of trust ownership of the prod-

ucts. Industry, being publicly owned, will be socialized. Industry, being publicly ruled, will be industrial democracy. This is the whole scheme in a nutshell. There is no cut and dried program. There is no plot to rule you or take your property. Socialism proposes only to place the people where they may be masters of their own lives and able to retain the property which they produce. It is mere common sense and honesty as against imbecility and robbery.

Socialist Authorities.

Who are the chief authorities in Socialism?

The working class. There are no other authorities. Socialism proposes nothing in the world but industrial democracy, so whatever the workers decide to do will be authoritative under Socialism. There are men who are recognized as being clear headed; they have opinions which are valuable; but they are not authorities. Opinions differ. The only things about which Socialists are fully agreed are that the working class must be put in complete control of the things which concern their lives, and that this control can be secured to them in no other way than by them owning the means by which they make their living. All accusations against Socialism are, therefore, attacks on the people, denunciations of you yourselves. They are no more lies on us, no more insults to us, than they are on you and to you. They are merely the clubs with which the masters are trying to beat you down. Socialism will take nothing from you, but it will stop the profit mongers from taking from you the bulk of what you produce.

SOME OTHER OBJECTIONS.

That Socialism Means Equality. Socialism asks for equality in only one thing—that is, equality of opportunity. It has a plan for accomplishing this—by ending the exploitation of the many for the benefit of the few by means of the profit system.

Why Don't You Practice Socialism?

For the same reason that the free trader does not practice free trade when he is living in a country where protection rules. We are living under the capitalist system, and the individual who would try to live under any other system now would simply be crowded out.

Farmers Will Not Take to Socialism.

This is best answered by the fact that farmers are taking to Socialism. The union labor party was largely confined to the cities. The populist party was strongest in rural communities. The republican party gained its first strength in the north. The democratic party is strong in "the solid south." But the Socialist party is the most diffused of any party that ever came into existence, and that here in America.

That Socialism Means a Dividing Up.

No Socialist writer who is recognized by the movement ever advocated dividing up of property. On the contrary, Socialism proposes collective property in the means of production and distribution, which is the opposite of divided property. Individual property in these things is divided property, and it results in the workers—the employes, the renters—dividing their earnings with the owners of the machines and the houses. Socialism is and always has been the enemy of "dividing up."

That Socialism Has Proven a Failure.

Socialism has never been tried. Communism, communities and some "socialistic" features have been tried, but the one demand of Socialism—that is, the socializing of industry—has never been tried at any time or in any place. In fact, it has never been proposed until within the last century. It could not have been proposed for the reason that, while socialization has been growing for several centuries, the socializing of industry could not come until after the corporation of industry came.

Socialism Is a Foreign Movement.

Socialism demands the public ownership of the means of production and distribution solely because that will enable all men to get and hold private property. The present system has destroyed the institution of private property. Capitalism is supported at this day chiefly by corporate property, which is not private property, and the masses of the people are now practically propertyless. The one hope of Socialism is to substitute public property for corporate property in the ownership of industry in order that all the people may be enabled to secure and retain possession of private property. The reason that the people now have no private property is because corporate property exacts tributes of profit, interest and rent until they are kept poor. Socialism proposes to enable them to gain private property by the simple device of relieving them from the payment of this tribute. There is nothing visionary about it. It is not a ruling of the people, but a freeing of the people. It is not giving anybody anything, but only making it so the working class will not be longer robbed.

LESSON ON THE PLATFORM.

You are invited to read the official declaration of the party's principles, as adopted by referendum vote, and see if you can discover in it anything which attacks religion, the home or morality. You are also especially invited to consider the methods by which the platform was adopted, and the further fact that Socialism, when fully in power, contemplates only an industrial democracy. This fact is within itself a complete answer to all charges that are made against Socialism. Let us consider.

Suppose there were enough atheists to institute what is known in the party as an initiative demanding an abrogation of religion. Suppose, for argument's sake, there were enough free lovers to institute a referendum on the matter of adopting free love. The question would have to be submitted to the whole party membership, or, in case Socialism was really in power, to the whole people. That would include you and you. Would you vote for it? If you would not, if a majority of the people would not vote for these things, they could not be adopted. It would be impossible.

But that isn't all. Suppose, for the sake of argument, that a majority would vote in favor of free love or atheism, how do you suppose an enactment favoring them could be enforced? Could you be made to abandon your wife and go to an affinity? Could you be forced to give up your religion and become an atheist? Experience has shown that such things are impossible, and Socialists are not big enough fools to make any such attempts. Indeed, if you will consider, you must see that the very charge that such attempt would be made is absolutely silly and ought to fall to the ground of itself.

How in the world can the giving of power to you, the people, to rule industry and your own lives, which is the sole and only thing that Socialism proposes, cause you to do something which you would not want to do? Come, be reasonable, and think it out.

PROTECTING THE CHILDREN.

If the child of the thronged city cannot live in decent surroundings, have teaching, have room to play, have good water and clean air, then not only will he suffer, but in the next generation the whole community will to a greater or less degree share his suffering—Roosevelt.

Mr. Roosevelt knows that a million and more boys in New York, Chicago and the half dozen other large cities in this country have none of these things. He has been told so by his friend, Jacob Riis. If Roosevelt has not seen the suffering little ones he has seen Riis' photographs which tell the story as no words can. But has Mr. Roosevelt's party, either in its platform or in congress or legislature, advocated or enacted a single law that will remedy this wretched condition?

Not an effective legislative measure is to the credit of Roosevelt's party. And who is it that talks of "race suicide"?

Do you wonder that mothers hesitate to bring children into the world to be the footfalls of adversity and the playthings of the idle rich? The wonder is that the mother instinct has survived this century of cruel capitalism!

UPHOLDS MONARCHY.

Mr. Roosevelt quotes with approval a book recently published in England entitled "The Case Against Socialism," author unknown. He recommends it to his readers. This unknown gentleman lampoons the Socialists, much to the delight of the gentleman in Africa, because—because—now please don't laugh—because "the Socialists favor the abolition of monarchy!" Think of it—the Socialists of England, as well as of America—opposed to kings! The argument used to support the defunct and decaying institution of kingship in this anonymous opponent of Socialism (and endorsed by Mr. Roosevelt) is—well, guess? You couldn't in a thousand years! Well, here it is:

"The existence of the monarchy exercises a very considerable effect on the number of foreigners who annually visit this country, and leave behind them very large sums of money, disbursed during their stay."

A side show! That's it—and every petty tradesman and innkeeper rolls his eyes skyward and shouts "Long live the king—he brings suckers to our shores, and we get the ducats!" And because Socialists oppose this farce the Socialists are bad—bad—bad—d fellows and ought not to be listened to! Mr. Roosevelt please give us another one of your jokes. They are so ridiculously humorous, doncher know!

THE SOCIALIST HOME.

Even today home is the sweetest and best place in all the world. There is something sacred about motherhood. There is something beautiful in even the humble home, with the mutual interest, and the self-abnegation that comes in daily life. Competition spreads less terror there than anywhere else in the world. Even under the bloody feudal system it was said that "a man's home is his castle," when war waged without there was peace at home. In the world today there is strife and a constant effort to get the better of you; but at home the interest is mutual. Capitalism indeed does blight the life of a majority of the people, making the home a rented hovel, and the family hunted serfs; but in spite of this, capitalism is banished from the home itself as a horror which even the capitalist hates. No one is forced to starve there because he is weak. No one of the family is compelled to do all the work when he is ill, while the head

of the house absorbs all that the others make.

But the world has never known the full meaning of home. Some day it will know it, and then men will cease to dream of a future heaven for the joy of heaven below. There will be love then; and want will not threaten any member of any home. Every family will have a home of its own, from which no landlord can evict, and on which it will not have to pay a monthly tribute. The mother will not have to pinch and starve herself in order to give her child a chance. The father will not have to forego his ambition in life for a grind of work in the effort to keep hunger from the door. The child of talent will not be forced into the slum and sweat shop to earn a few pennies to drive away the hunger wolf, but it will grow like a flower in the sunlight by the brookside. Some day men will be civilized. Some time the home destroyers, the robbers of the poor, will be banished from earth along with the feudal lords and petty kings of old; and then home will blossom in sweetness and beauty and bear the fine fruit of ripe and noble manhood and womanhood.

"MEASURABLE OPPORTUNITY."

"We should do everything that can be done, by law or otherwise, to keep the avenues of occupation, of employment, of work, of interest, so open that there shall be, so far as it is humanly possible to achieve it, a measurably equality of opportunity."

Do you not know, Mr. Roosevelt, that your political economists have said that this system of production can not be maintained without an army of unemployed? Ask any employer what would become of his industry if all men were employed and there was no hungry, jobless horde on the outside of the gates ready, yea, eager to take a less wage for the same service? He'll tell you he would have to close his factory because with every man employed (and no women and children to hire) the workers would name the conditions and the wages and soon there would be no profit in industry as it is conducted under capitalism.

You are wise in saying that, every thing should be done to give a "measurably equality of opportunity to work." That's a fine phrase—but it means nothing. Why should not ALL men have a FULL opportunity to work—to show the stuff that is in them? Because if such were the case, your present system of production for profit—which means mother and child in the factory—would go to pieces.



SOCIALISM'S GAIN.

It is evident that a concerted fight is to be made on Socialism in the United States. Not only is an expedition attacking it; not only is the capitalist press printing all sorts of silly statements relative to its purposes; but the pulpit is taking up the cry in the hope of ending Socialism with a flood of denunciation. It is evident what the line of attack will be—a mass vituperation and misrepresentation. It means fight for the Socialists, not physical but mental and moral; but it marks a distinct advance and advantage for the movement in America. Socialists do their duty the misrepresentation will merely add to the propaganda and in the long run will discredit capitalism rather than Socialism. It is the forerunner of Socialist members of congress. After all, American Socialists are in as fine a condition as are Socialists in any part of the world. While it is true we have no Socialist members of congress as most other countries have, in those countries the Socialists can yet do little except foster reforms. In America the movement is wholly revolutionary, and the old parties, frightened at its menace to the special privilege, are offering to pass all sorts of palliative measures in the hope of thus ending the discontent. In other words, the old parties are willing to do the work of labor members, leaving American Socialists free to devote all their attention to the revolutionary program. It leaves Socialists free to concentrate on the one program which will end the system of robbery and murder and which, the more it is pressed, will secure more and more offers of palliatives. Mr. Roosevelt will need to add to the points where he can co-operate with Socialists, many times over, before he will find any results; and then the result will be a demand that the whole robbery of the profit system be ended and the people be put in full control of their lives.

ROOSEVELT'S SUBTLE THREAT.

Mr. Roosevelt reshaped his article from a book entitled, "The Case Against Socialism," written by an Englishman, who hasn't the nerve to sign his name to his own production. This book hints at the possibility of a "bloody revolution." This leads the doughty ex-colonel to throw out the following hint:

"Of course, long before such a event really happened the Socialist regime would have been overturned and in the reaction you would welcome any kind of a one-man tyranny that was compatible with the existence of civilization."

And then the ex-president looked squarely at Col. Roosevelt! "The one-man tyrant?" Who could play the part better than the hero of the Alton deal? Please don't forget this threat of Roosevelt's. Socialism can only come when a majority of the people of the United States through their ballots, issue the decree. Roosevelt broadly hints that he is ready to override the will of the majority and set himself up as a tyrant. Can you make anything else out of his words? If so, what is it?

SOCIALISTS AT WORK

Socialism when completed will be industrial democracy. But Socialism now is a movement that is ruled democratically. Republicans and democrats adopt their platforms in convention, and the masses of the voters have to stand for it, whether they like it or not. But Socialists adopt their platform by referendum vote, each article being voted on separately by the party membership—that is, the dues-paying members. That you may understand how this is, below is given the platform for 1908, which still stands as the official declaration of the party, and at the head of each article or clause is given the referendum vote on that article.

THE SOCIALIST PLATFORM.

Declaration of Principles.

Votes for, 8,570. Votes against, 56.

Human life depends upon food, clothing and shelter. Only with these assured are freedom, culture and higher human development possible. To produce food, clothing or shelter, land and machinery are needed. Land alone does not satisfy human needs. Human labor creates machinery and applies it to the land for the production of raw materials and food. Whoever has control of land and machinery controls human labor, and with it human life and liberty.

Today the machinery and the land used for industrial purposes are owned by a rapidly decreasing minority. So long as machinery is simple and easily handled by one man, its owner cannot dominate the sources of life of others. But when machinery becomes more complex and expensive, and requires for its effective operation the organized effort of many workers, its influence reaches over wide circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

In proportion as the number of such machine owners compared to all other classes decreases, their power in the nation and in the world increases. They bring ever larger masses of working people under their control, reducing them to the point where muscle and brain are their only productive property. Millions of formerly self-employed workers thus become the helpless wage slaves of the industrial masters.

As the economic power of the ruling class grows, it becomes less useful in the life of the nation. All the useful work of the nation falls upon the shoulders of the class whose only property is its manual and mental labor power—the wage worker—or of the class who have but little land and little effective machinery outside of their labor power—the small traders and small farmers. The ruling minority is steadily becoming useless and parasitic.

A bitter struggle over the division of the products of labor is waged between the exploiting propertied classes on the one hand and the exploited propertyless class on the other. In this struggle the wage-working class cannot expect adequate relief from any reform of the present order at the hands of the dominant class.

The wage workers are, therefore, the most determined and irreconcilable antagonists of the ruling class. They suffer most from the curse of class rule. The fact that a few capitalists are permitted to control all the country's industrial resources and social tools for their individual profit, and to make the production of the necessities of life the object of competitive private enterprise, and speculation is at the bottom of all the social evils of our time.

In spite of the organization of trusts, pools and combinations, the capitalists are powerless to regulate production for social ends. Industries are largely conducted in a lawless manner. Through periods of feverish activity the strength and health of the workers are mercilessly used up, and during periods of enforced idleness the workers are frequently reduced to starvation.

The climax of this system of production are the regular recurring industrial depressions and crises which paralyze the nation every fifteen or twenty years.

The capitalist class, in its mad race for profits, is bound to exploit the workers to the very limit of their endurance and to sacrifice their physical, moral and mental welfare to its own insatiable greed. Capitalism keeps the masses of workmen in poverty, destitution, physical exhaustion and ignorance. It drags their wives from their homes to the mill and factory. It snatches their children from the playgrounds and schools and grinds their slender bodies and unformed minds into cold dollars. It disfigures, maims and kills hundreds of thousands of workingmen annually in mines, on railroads and in the factories. It drives millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed and forces large numbers of them into beggary, vagrancy and all forms of crime and vice.

To maintain their rule over their fellow men, the capitalists must keep in their pay all organs of the public powers, public mind and public conscience. They control the dominant parties and, through them, the elected public officials. They select the executives, bribe the legislatures and corrupt the courts of justice. They own and control the press. They dominate the educational institutions. They own the nation politically and intellectually just as they own it industrially.

The struggle between wage workers and capitalists grows ever fiercer, and has now become the only vital issue before the American people. The wage-working class, therefore, has the most direct interest in abolishing the capitalist system. But in abolishing the present system the workmen will free not only their own class, but also all other classes of modern society. The small farmer, who is today exploited by large capitalist more indirectly, but not less effect-

ively than is the wage laborer; the small manufacturer and trader, who is engaged in a desperate and losing struggle for economic independence in the face of the all-conquering power of concentrated capital; and even the capitalist himself, who is the slave of his wealth rather than its master. The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, while it is a class struggle, is thus at the same time a struggle for the abolition of all classes and class privileges.

The private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation is the rock upon which class rule is built; political government is its indispensable instrument. The wage workers cannot be freed from exploitation without conquering the political power and substituting collective for private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation.

The basis for such transformation is rapidly developing within present capitalist society. The factory system, with its complex machinery and minute division of labor, is rapidly destroying all vestiges of individual production in manufacture. Modern production is already very largely a collective and social process. The great trusts and monopolies which have sprung up in recent years have organized the work and management of the principal industries on a national scale, and have fitted them for collective use and operation.

The Socialist party is primarily an economic and political movement. It is not concerned with matters of religious belief.

In the struggle for freedom the interests of all modern workers are identical. The struggle is not only national, but international. It embraces the world and will be carried to ultimate victory by the united workers of the world.

To unite the workers of the nation and their allies and sympathizers of all other classes to this end is the mission of the Socialist party. In this battle for freedom the Socialist party does not strive to substitute working-class rule for capitalist-class rule, but by working-class victory to free all humanity from class rule and to realize the international brotherhood of man.

Platform for 1908.

Votes for, 8,551. Votes against, 125.

The Socialist party, in national convention assembled, again declares itself as the party of the working class, and appeals for the support of all workers of the United States and of all citizens who sympathize with the great and just cause of labor.

We are at this moment in the midst of one of those industrial breakdowns that periodically paralyze the life of the nation. The much-boasted era of our national prosperity has been followed by one of general misery. Factories, mills and mines are closed. Millions of men, ready, willing and able to provide the nation with all the necessities and comforts of life, are forced into idleness and starvation.

Within recent times the trusts and monopolies have attained an enormous and menacing development. They have acquired the power to dictate the terms upon which we shall be allowed to live. The trusts fix the prices of our bread, meat and sugar, of our coal, oil and clothing, of our raw material and machinery, of all the necessities of life.

The present desperate condition of the workers has been made the opportunity for a renewed onslaught on organized labor. The highest courts of the country have within the last year rendered decision after decision depriving the workers of rights which they had won by generations of struggle.

The attempt to destroy the Western Federation of Miners, although defeated by the solidarity of organized labor and the Socialist movement, revealed the existence of a far-reaching and unscrupulous conspiracy by the ruling class against the organizations of labor.

In their efforts to take the lives of the leaders of the miners the conspirators violated state laws and the federal constitution in a manner seldom equaled even in a country so completely dominated by the profit-seeking class as is the United States.

The congress of the United States has shown its contempt for the interests of labor as plainly and unmistakably as have the other branches of government. The laws for which the labor organizations have continually petitioned have failed to pass. Laws ostensibly enacted for the benefit of labor have been distorted against labor.

The working class of the United States cannot expect any remedy for its wrongs from the present ruling class or from the dominant parties. So long as a small number of individuals are permitted to control the sources of the nation's wealth for their private profit in competition with each other and for the exploitation of their fellow men, industrial depressions are bound to occur at certain intervals. No currency reforms or other legislative measures proposed by capitalist reformers can avail against these fatal results of utter anarchy in production.

Individual competition leads inevitably to combinations and trusts. No amount of government regulations, or of publicity or of restrictive legislation will arrest the natural course of modern industrial development.

While our courts, legislatures and executive officers remain in the hands of the ruling classes and their agents, the government will be used in the interest of these classes as against the toilers.

Political parties are but the expression of economic class interests. The republican, the democratic and the so-called "independence" parties, and all parties other than the Socialist party, are financed, directed and controlled by the representatives of different groups of the ruling class.

The republican party has had control of the national government and has been directly and actively responsible for these wrongs. The democratic party, while saved from direct responsibility by its political impotence, has shown itself equally subservient to the aims of the capitalist class whenever and wherever it has been in power. The old chattel slave-owning aristocracy of the south, which was the backbone of the democratic party, has been supplanted by a child slave plutocracy. In the great cities of our country the democratic party is allied with the criminal element of the slums as the republican party is allied with the predatory criminals of the palace in maintaining the interest of the possessing class.

The various "reform" movements and parties which have sprung up within recent years are but the clumsy expression of widespread popular discontent. They are not based on an intelligent understanding of the historical development of civilization and of the economic and political needs of our time. They are bound to perish as the numerous middle class reform movements of the past have perished.

Program.

For, 8,305. Against, 354.

1.—The immediate government relief of the unemployed workers by building schools, by reforesting of cut-over waste lands, by reclamation of arid tracts, and the building of canals and by extending all other useful public works. All persons employed on such work shall be employed directly by the government under an eight-hour work-day and at the prevailing union wages. The government shall also loan money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works. It shall contribute to the funds of labor organizations for the purpose of assisting their unemployed members, and shall take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misuse of the capitalist class.

For, 8,518. Against, 267.

2.—The collective ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steamship lines and all other means of social transportation and communication and all land.

For, 7,511. Against, 224.

3.—The collective ownership of all industries which are organized on a national scale and in which competition has virtually ceased to exist.

For, 7,819. Against, 213.

4.—The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.

For, 7,901. Against, 248.

5.—The scientific reforestation of timber lands and the reclamation of swamp lands. The land so reforested or reclaimed to be permanently retained as a part of the public domain.

For, 7,721. Against, 176.

6.—The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

Industrial Demands.

For, 8,427. Against, 175.

7.—The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers.

(a) By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased productivity of machinery.

(b) By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.

(c) By securing a more effective inspection of workshops and factories.

(d) By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.

(e) By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all un-inspected factories.

(f) By abolishing official charity and substituting in its place compulsory insurance against unemployment, illness, accidents, invalidism, old age and death.

Political Demands.

For, 8,288. Against, 235.

8.—The extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the amount of the bequests and to the nearness of kin.

For, 8,247. Against, 245.

9.—A graduated income tax.

For, 8,467. Against, 146.

10.—Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women, and we pledge ourselves to engage in an active campaign in that direction.

For, 8,429. Against, 156.

11.—The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall.

For, 8,315. Against, 250.

12.—The abolition of the senate.

For, 8,334. Against, 214.

13.—The abolition of the power usurped by the supreme court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation enacted by congress. National laws to be repealed or abrogated only by act of congress or by a referendum of the whole people.

For, 8,237. Against, 213.

14.—That the constitution be made amendable by majority vote.

For, 8,397. Against, 229.

15.—The enactment of further measures for general education and for the conservation of health. The bureau of education to be made a department. The creation of a department of public health.

For, 8,382. Against, 247.

16.—The separation of the present bureau of labor from the department of commerce and labor, and the establishment of a department of labor.

For, 8,297. Against, 224.

17.—That all judges be elected by the people for short terms, and that the power to issue injunction shall be curbed by immediate

MAY DAY OFFERING.

May First is Labor's Great International Holiday. On that day Ten Million men and women with eyes aflame and hearts beating high with hope will renew their allegiance to the cause of Socialism.

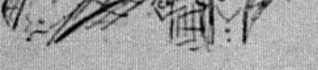
Do you remember the day when some persistent agitator handed you a copy of the Little Old Appeal and how it opened your eyes to a glorious vision of the New Time when Peace and Plenty will prevail the world round?

In commemoration of that Day of Discovery you will not on May First devote two hours to securing subscribers to the Appeal and thus help us carry our message of Hope and Cheer to others—to those whose help we need that our dreams may be realized?

No matter if you only secure two subscribers—that will help and when we count the results of this one day's work you will be glad you joined the May Day Band!

Use the Subscription Blank in this Issue.

OH! WHAT A DIFFERENCE!



BEFORE. AFTER.

Here's a couple of pictures that will tickle the Army. When things looked gloomy for the Little Old Appeal there was a broad smile of satisfaction on the face of the denizens of Pluteland.

But what a difference now that the circulation is going up. The report this week shows a net gain of 1,806 and next week it will beat that figure.

Won't you grab the subscription blank in this issue and devote all of May Day to getting subscriptions for the Appeal? That's the way, ten chances to one, you were made a Socialist.

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The republican party has been in power almost continuously since the capitalist system came into full dominance, and the evils which Mr. Roosevelt admits have been growing worse year by year.

We fight against privilege when it takes the form of a stock gambling operation which results in the watering of railway securities so that certain inside men get an enormous profit out of a windfall on the public.

It is a matter of official record that the most gigantic railroad swindle ever perpetrated was made possible through the signature of Governor Roosevelt. The Appeal's five thousand dollar reward to any one who proves that Roosevelt did not sign the bill that made the Alton steal possible is still hung up, with no takers.

There are dreadful woes in modern life, dreadful suffering among some of those who toil, brutal wrong-doing among some of those who make colossal fortunes by exploiting the toilers.

Thus speaks Mr. Roosevelt. And how do you suppose this wise law maker proposes to alleviate this suffering? Hold your breath while I divulge the secret: "Enact into law the immediate demands embodied in the Socialist Platform."

It is for the ill-paid toilers he wants this done? Oh, no! Here is the reason, in his own words, taken from the Outlook Magazine for April, page 662: "Those who wish to do effective work against Socialism would do well to turn their energies into securing the enactment of these laws."

No greater tribute was ever paid to the effectiveness of the Socialist agitation. A half million votes did this. A million votes will get the laws and the others. Two million votes will bring capitalism to the feet of the working class with every concession it can make—save getting off their backs. That will have to be done by labor shaking his brawny shoulders and standing erect in his sturdy manhood.

Ever since history was written, a large mass of mankind has toiled and moiled and suffered deprivations that a few men and women might live in purple and palaces and do nothing. This has been true regardless of race or color or nation. It was true in Egypt, it was true in Persia, it was true in Rome and Tyre and Babylon. And it is just as true today. The few have learned the secret of deceiving and controlling the many and keeping them at work, while the few have enjoyed the products of that work. They trained the many to open up their armies and fight and die for them, when the poor dopes had no interest whatever in the spoils of victory, but on the contrary had every interest in not compelling more serfs and hirelings to serve their masters.

In the various stages of human development the forms of this slavery have changed, but the essence has always been the same—that the many should serve the cunning few. Today the deception takes the form of making the many believe that private ownership of the jobs is right and sacred—and the few who teach it own the jobs and get more wealth than any of their baronial ancestors ever dreamed of. The steel trust has more work people making its owners wealthy than any king or potentate that ever lived previous to this time. It matters not whether they are called captives, slaves, vassals, hirelings or wage earners—the results are the same. They produce and others take. Only by the common ownership of the means of producing and distributing the wealth that labor produces can labor ever get what it produces. And this can be had only by the work people capturing the powers of government, as the capitalists have, and using that power to own the earth and the fullness thereof. Are you ready?

Make This Issue Count. Comrades and Friends: Please give me one minute of your time. This issue can be made to double the circulation of the Appeal, defeat the opposition that threatens it, and put it on a foundation of rock.

Take a bundle of Appeals with you, after having marked the particular articles you consider most effective for your purpose, and sally forth among your neighbors, friends and fellow citizens. Slight no one. There is no one too good or too bad to read the Appeal and to know the truth about Socialism.

Take a sub blank with you and every time you place a paper solicit a sub. All will not respond, but many will and at the close of the day you will have done your share.

See if you can not make your record on May 1st. It is the day of days for this work. Consecrate yourself to the great cause by adding a few names at least to the list of our readers.

Let us see what we can do by one grand united effort. We can make no better use of the day nor better prove our loyalty to the cause than by spreading the Appeal and lighting up the dark places.

Extra Copies of This Edition will be mailed to any address at the rate of 50 cents per 100; 200 copies, \$1; 1,000 copies, \$4.

Subscription Rates. One year \$1.00. Six months .60. Three months .35. In clubs of four or over (40 weeks) .25.

The Suppressed Report

The Appeal risks its mailing privilege by reprinting the following extracts from the report of the Homes commission appointed by Roosevelt to investigate conditions in Washington and New York. The report discloses such a vile condition existing in the homes of republicans and democrats that the senate declared the report unmailed and called on the Department of Justice to prosecute any one daring to circulate it. The Appeal dares to circulate it.

Investigation of prostitution was made in the city of New York. Here is what the Homes commission has to say relative to this substitute for the home that capitalism fosters so extensively: "Of the 3,000 persons investigated 490 were married, 71 of whom still lived with their husbands; 103 left their husbands on account of ill usage, 60 were deserted by their husbands, 43 were deserted by husbands to live with other women; others left their homes on account of non-support, drunkenness, infidelity and 75 cases no specific cause was assigned. There were also 294 widows in the general list. The author believes the principal conclusion to be drawn from the table which he presents is that the majority of this class widows are DRIVEN TO A COURSE OF VICE FROM THE DESTITUTION ENSUING ON HER HUSBAND'S DEATH. It has been shown that a large number of them are very young and it can be scarcely necessary to repeat that any young woman in a state of poverty will be surrounded with temptations she can with difficulty resist. Much as this state of society may be deplored, its existence can not be denied."

"The section dealing with hidden springs of the evil is of extreme interest. The causes assigned by the women themselves are as follows: "Inclination, 513; destitution, 525; seduced and abandoned, 258; drink and a desire to drink, 181; ill treatment of parents, relations or husbands, 164; as an easy life, 124; bad company, 84; persuaded by prostitutes, 71; too idle to work, 29; violated, 27; seduced on board of emigrant ships or in emigrant boarding houses, 24."

Doctor Sanger, in discussing the subject of inclination, adduces considerable evidence to show that if a positive inclination to vice was the proximate cause of the fall, it was but the result of other and controlling influences. "Of the 2,000 cases examined with reference to previous occupation, 933 BELONGED TO THE SERVANT CLASS, 499 lived with parents or friends, 285 were dressmakers, tailresses and seamstresses, and the remaining were engaged in miscellaneous occupations; 523 CLAIM TO HAVE EARNED ONLY \$1 PER WEEK; 335, \$2 a week; 230, \$3; 127, \$4; 68, \$5; 27, \$6; 8, \$7; 5, \$8; two had earned over \$20 a week and in 663 the question of earnings was not ascertained."

This is the situation under capitalism in Mr. Roosevelt's home city, New York. It is not Socialist talk, but is from the report of his own Homes commission, so carries with it capitalist authority. No wonder Roosevelt wanted to suppress it. Now here follows a report showing how Mr. Roosevelt's system "protects the children": "In discussing the subject of infant mortality in relation to the occupation of women, the influence of ignorance and poverty has been emphasized, and we quoted Sir John Simon to the effect that infants who should be at the breast are improperly fed or starved, or have their cries of hunger and distress quieted by those various fatal opiates which are in such request at the centers of our manufacturing industry. We have also referred to the injury done by abnormal cow's milk and the injurious quality of certain proprietary and other artificial foods. But when we contemplate the frightful mortality in illegitimate children and of the still birth, especially in illegitimate offsprings, we may well apprehend that this extraordinary destruction of life is induced not only by ignorance or poverty, but also by crime.—Page 266."

So much for capitalism as an enemy of the home taken from the report of Mr. Roosevelt's own Homes commission. There is another evil that is wide spread and which is attracting the attention of thousands of good men and women. That is the evil of drunkenness. It is scarcely necessary to enter into a discussion of the prevalence of the evil or of its real destructiveness, for these things have been abundantly proven. The main thing is what does Mr. Roosevelt's Homes commission, after investigation, place as the chief cause of intemperance? This is the report: Poverty and destitution; in other words, drunkenness is a fruit of the capitalist tree. Here is what the commission says: "Referring to the effect of low wages as a cause of intemperance, Mr. Warren Prof. Justice vs. Leitch, who declared: "Alcoholism is not the cause, but the result of distress. It is the exception to the rule for a well-to-do individual to become a drunkard. When on the other hand, a man's earnings are insufficient to provide the quantity and quality of food required for the restoration of his working capacity, there necessarily comes a day when he has recourse to alcohol."—Page 242."

It is up to Mr. Roosevelt, not to accuse where he can prove nothing, but to meet the finding of investigators, of his own investigators, as to what is debauching the people and destroying home life in America.

ROOSEVELT, STILLMAN AND THE OUTLOOK. The Outlook, of which Theodore Roosevelt is now one of the editors and in which he made his bow by launching a savage attack on Socialism, is an ultra capitalist publication. One of its principal stockholders is James Stillman, known as the silent man of the Standard Oil company, who is also president of the National City Bank, the Rockefeller institution of New York, and the business associate of Rockefeller, Harriman and other "malefactors of great wealth," whom Roosevelt has affected to denounce with righteous wrath in the name of an offended people.

It is entirely consistent that Mr. Roosevelt is now in the editorial employ of one of his chief "malefactors of great wealth." He always has been in their service for that matter, and they always furnished his campaign funds, but the fact of Stillman's being a stockholder of the Outlook company, which only casually came to light, lifts his mask and places him where he properly belongs.

Of course Mr. Stillman has a perfect right to own stock in the Outlook. We have not the least objection. The only point is that his being a stockholder indicates the true character of the Outlook. He would not own stock in it if its policy did not suit him and its policy would not suit him if it did not accord with his interests as "a rich malefactor." Mr. Stillman does not own stock in the Appeal to Reason. A straw shows which way the wind blows.

Nothing could be more eminently consistent and at the same time more significant and illuminating than for Theodore Roosevelt, the trust busting demagogue, in the service of a magazine owned in part and controlled wholly by the Standard Oil company to attack Socialism with all his savage fury at a dollar a word paid to him by the "rich malefactors" who are robbing the American people.

OUR TOILING BROTHERS. With bending backs I watch them pass To fields of toil. The working class. And I wonder why, As they pass along, The world can sing So glad a song.

The weight they bear Through all the years Should call from us A world of tears. And I wonder why, In God's great plan, Few tears are shed For toiling man. —Mary Nuton James.

SOME PEOPLE think that Socialists ought, at the present time, to set forth in all its details the precise form of the future Socialist state. "Show me this," they demand, "and then I can decide whether I prefer it to the present."

Some Socialist writers have attempted to paint a picture of the future Co-operative Commonwealth, but they have been no more successful than have our enemies who have undertaken to point out the disasters that are sure to overtake society if Socialism prevails.

Our revolutionary forefathers sought to show how much better a republic would be than a monarchy. The Tories predicted disaster. Both were wrong.

The slave master said: "Destroy slavery and your whole social structure will go down in ruins." He was wrong.

The Socialist can not give you the details of the future state—but he can guess—and your guess is as good as his. The only thing the Socialist is sure of is that the present order of society—like previous systems—will pass away, and a new one take its place. As the corner-stone of the new order will be democracy—he is quite content to let the people who will be alive tomorrow settle the details. No one else can.

A Pornograph. I sincerely wish we didn't have to write 'em, Mr. Roosevelt, but the existence of pornerasteries within sight of your late residence, and in every city, the prostitution of public office, the prevalence of tandem polygamy, with our detestation of both the literal and figurative pornerasticism of capitalist politics and society, make the pornographist absolutely necessary if we would ever cleanse society of its indecency. You do away with things pornerastic and there will be no more things pornographic. You talk like the mother who gave her child pitch and lamplack, then wanted to punish it for the effect on it. Or were you paying us a compliment and giving capitalism a well-deserved back-handed swat? Thank you, anyway. Long life to you, with plenty of time, ink and inclination to give us—anything you like!—E. Francis Atwood.

As Viewed by a Scientist

(Prof. Enrico Ferri, the great Italian criminologist, has written a number of important books on Socialism. From his "Modern Science and Socialism," published by Kerr & Co., Chicago, we quote the following paragraphs): "What, in substance, is the message of Socialism? That the present economic world can not be immutable and eternal, that it merely represents a transitory phase of social evolution and that an ulterior phase, a differently organized world, is destined to succeed it."

The different kinds of sport are for the leisure classes a substitute for productive labor which a physiological necessity imposes upon them, in order that they may escape the detrimental consequences of absolute repose and ennui.

When in a family financial affairs run smoothly and prosperous harmony and mutual good-will prevail; as soon as poverty makes its appearance, discord and struggle ensue. Society as a whole shows us the picture on a large scale. A better social organization will insure universal harmony and mutual good will.

Economic individualism carried out to its ultimate logical consequences necessarily causes the progressive multiplication of property in hands of a constantly diminishing number of persons. Milliardaire (billionaire) is a new word, which is characteristic of the nineteenth century, and this new word serves to express and emphasize that phenomenon of the rich becoming richer while the poor become poorer.

The collective ownership of libraries—which we see in operation under our eyes—does it deprive individuals of the personal use of rare and expensive books which they would be unable to procure in any other way, and does it not largely increase the utility that can be derived from these books, when compared to the services that these books could render if they were shut up in the private library of a useless book collector? In the same way, the collective ownership of the land and the means of production by securing to everyone the use of the machines, tools and land will only increase their utility a hundredfold.

Our aim must be the abolition of private ownership and the establishment of collective and social ownership in land and the means of production. This substitution can not be the subject for a decree—though the intention to effect it by a decree is attributed to us—but it is in course of accomplishment under our eyes, every day, from hour to hour, directly or indirectly. Directly, because civilization shows us the continuous substitution of public ownership and social functions for private ownership and individual functions. Roads, postal systems, railways, museums, city lighting plants, water plants, schools, etc., which were only a few years since private properties and functions, have become social properties and functions. And it would be absurd to imagine that his direct process of socialization is destined to come to a halt today, instead of becoming progressively more and more marked, in accordance with every tendency of our modern life.

When property shall have become collective, that is to say, under the Socialist regime, every one will be assured of the means of existence, and the daily labor will simply serve to give free play to the special aptitudes, more or less original, of each individual, and the best and most fruitful (potentially) years of life will not be completely taken up, as they are at present, by the grievous and tragic battle for daily bread. Socialism will insure to every one a human life; it will give each individual true liberty to manifest and develop his or her own physical and intellectual individuality—individualities which they bring into the world at birth and which are infinitely varied and unequal. Socialism does not deny inequality; it merely wishes to utilize this inequality as one of the factors leading to the free, prolific and many-sided development of human life.

All men ought to work in order to live, but each ought to devote himself to the kind of labor which best suits his peculiar aptitudes. An injurious waste of strength and abilities would thus be avoided, and labor would cease to be repugnant, and would become agreeable and necessary as a condition of physical and moral health. And when all have given to society the labor best suited to their innate and acquired aptitudes each has a right to the same rewards, since each has equally contributed to the solidarity of labor, which sustains the life of the social aggregate and, in solidarity with it, the life of each individual. The peasant who digs the earth performs a kind of labor in appearance more modest, but just as necessary, useful and meritorious as that of the workman who builds a locomotive, of the mechanical engineer who improves it or of the savant who strives to extend the bounds of human knowledge in his study or laboratory.

Notice.—All orders for extra copies of this issue which reach the Appeal on or before April 24th will be in the mails by 6 o'clock of that day, and therefore should reach you promptly. Orders reaching us on the days following will be in the mails the same evening.

Socialist Books at Cost. We have sold the Appeal book business to Charles H. Kerr & Company, 150 Kinzie st., Chicago. It is a co-operative company owned by over 2,000 Socialists, who know no other ends, but lay at cost all the books they want to read, to give away, or to sell. Share costs only \$10. Write them for particulars and a catalogue; they are reliable.

There is no tariff on capitalist lies, yet the industry is flourishing.

"SHOCKING NASTINESS."

Every reader is asked to keep his eye open for our issue of June 5th, in which the Appeal to Reason will have an exposition of the report of Ex-President Roosevelt's "Home Commission," A GOVERNMENT DOCUMENT WHICH HAS BEEN SUPPRESSED, the United States senate having declared it unmailed and the authorities, frightened by the horrible and seething iniquities it uncovers, having forbidden its circulation.

WE ARE IN POSSESSION OF THIS REPORT. The government has threatened to revoke the mailing privilege of any publication handling it. The Appeal proposes to defy the government to exclude it from the mails for making public an official report of its own salaried servants.

This report reveals a state of prostitution and moral rottenness that makes the senses reel and its publication will shock and stagger the American nation. Figures are produced in this report to show that the great bulk of this unspeakable moral putridity rests upon the broken lives and blasted hopes of the female victims of wage-slavery. The percentages of victims and the starting wages are set forth and will be reproduced by the Appeal in detail.

The system of morality for which Mr. Theodore Roosevelt stands and it is to perpetuate this pestilential regime that he is paid by the criminal capitalists who profit by it to attack Socialism upon the ground of immorality.

It is in no spirit of bravado that we say that before the Appeal gets through with Mr. Theodore Roosevelt he will wish he had let Socialism alone.

KEEP YOUR EYE OUT FOR THE ISSUE OF JUNE 5—No. 705.

"HEADING OFF SOCIALISM." HAS INVADDED AMERICA. The Mexican Dictator Dominating Our Courts as Well as the Press.

Tucson, Ariz., April 22.—According to information received here today the present indictments against Magon, Villarreal, Rivera and Manuel Sarabia will be set aside when the United States court convenes at Tombstone, Ariz., April 26, and new indictments will be returned by the grand jury. The prisoners are now charged with conspiring to violate the neutrality laws of the United States by setting on foot an armed expedition from Douglas, Ariz., into Mexico. As the evidence tending to establish the commission of the overt act is insufficient to convict the prisoners on the charge on which they now are being held it is declared that the new indictment will be returned for the purpose of admitting evidence which was used against Antonio de P. Araujo, who was convicted at San Antonio, Texas, and also the plea of guilty by Col. Encarnacion Diaz Guerra, who later at Del Rio was sentenced to a term at Leavenworth, Kan. Under the new indictments, it is said, the United States and Mexican officials, who are engaged in conducting the prosecution, will have little difficulty in proving that Magon and his associates are political revolutionists whose avowed purpose was the overthrow of the tyranny of Dictator Diaz and the establishment of political and industrial freedom for the Mexican people.

WANT AND AFFECTION. Want is the strongest poison for the human body and soul. It is the fountain head of all inhuman and anti-social feeling. Where want spreads out its wings there the sentiments of love, of affection, of brotherhood are impossible. When work is assured, when living is certain, though poor, then want, cruel want, is in the distance, and every good sentiment can germinate and develop in the human heart. The family then lives in a favorable environment, the parents agree, the children are affectionate. And when the laborer, a bronzed statue of humanity, returns from his smoky shop and meets his white-haired mother, the embodiment of half a century of immaculate virtue and heroic sacrifices, then he can, tired, but assured of his daily bread, give room to feelings of affection, and he will cordially invite his mother to share his frugal meal. But let the same man, in the same environment, be haunted by the spectre of want and lack of employment, and you will see the moral atmosphere in his family changing as from day unto night. There is no work, and the laborer comes home without any wages. The wife, who does not know how to feed the children, reproaches her husband with the suffering of his family. The man, having been turned away from the doors of ten offices, feels his dignity as an honest laborer assailed in the very bosom of his own family, because he vainly asked society for honest employment. And the bonds of affection and union are loosened in that family. Its members no longer agree. There are too many children and when the poor old mother approaches her son she reads in his dark and agitated mien the lack of tenderness and feels in her mother heart that her boy, poisoned by the spectre of want, is perhaps casting evil looks at her and harboring the unfilial thought: "Better an open grave in the cemetery than one mouth more to feed at home."—Enrico Ferri.

Socialist Victories. Socialism won numerous victories at the recent spring election, showing decided gains over the vote of last fall. Milwaukee elected a congressman at large and carried eleven wards. The fight was over the public schools, five thousand Catholic women working all day in order to secure part of the public fund for parochial schools, which the Socialists opposed. Socialists polled 2,525 votes, the citizens anti-social election, and secured 428 for its opponent, a vote of two to one. At Two Rivers, Wis., the Socialists elected Comrade Hoffman alderman and David Grover member of the county board. In Farmington township, near Farmington, Ill., the Socialists elected two trustees, one mayor and three aldermen—four out of five of their candidates. At Two Rivers, Wis., Socialists elected an alderman and a member of the county board. At McKeesport, Pa., a school controller was elected by a vote of 165 to his opponent's 135. 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