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"Nor can the Christianity of Christ alone solve the question. It is not merely a moral and religious question, but an economic and political one as well, and one that demands positive action by civil authority."
 —Father Vaughan in a recent speech in New York.

Every man has a right to that which will enable him and those dependent on him to live comfortably. If he can't get it by bargain, and he and his family face starvation, he has a right to take it by force.

The Pope's Representative States the Catholic's "Case Against Socialism"

Father Vaughan came from England to America as special representative of the pope at Rome to stem the rising tide of Socialism in this country. Anxious to know only the truth, the Appeal tendered Father Vaughan the first page of this issue to present his case, space that would readily sell to advertisers for twenty-five thousand dollars, guaranteeing him an audience of a million or more. Father Vaughan failed to take advantage of this offer that would carry his message so far. Why, do we not know. Whether he feared to present his case in argument with the Socialist presentation of Socialism can only be surmised. But the Appeal has demonstrated that it is willing that the other side be heard even if Father Vaughan has not. Father Vaughan preached six sermons against Socialism in New York city. In the absence of a specially written article from him the Appeal prints copious extracts from these sermons, copied from the New York Times. On another page an answer to Father Vaughan is given. In addition various charges that have been made against Socialism by other prominent Catholics are printed, and answered, the objections to Socialism covering more than a page. For months Socialism has been bitterly attacked, accused of being everything vile, by thousands of priests and lecturers and pamphleteers all over the country. In answering the objections urged here the Appeal replies to them all, for many of them are either echoes or hysterical accusations. Because names are not given of some of these assassins of Socialism character who have not the stamina to present, as the Appeal does, the other side of the case with their gross misrepresentations, it does not mean that they are unanswered. We have advanced too far in the road toward tolerance and decency for these unfair accusations, unsupported by facts, to count; and this presentation of both the pro and con of Socialism going to Socialists and Catholics alike to those who defend and those who attack of all denominations and beliefs, will clear the atmosphere, and force the enemies of Socialism to fairer and more manly methods. They will be forced to stop mud slinging and to seek to do something for the worker. The Appeal will rejoice when they make this attempt knowing that, however they may start they must of necessity at length adopt the Socialist remedy.

BY FATHER VAUGHAN.
 SOCIALISTS have laid us under a deep indebtedness in two ways. In the first place, they have set us a splendid example, not only of energy and of enterprise in working for a cause, but they have also shown us a spirit of generosity, not to say of self-sacrifice, by the way they go to work in their attempt to establish a commonwealth with a very problematical future and a very uncertain destiny.

In the second place, they have done a great and valuable work in calling our attention to some of the social evils of the day. In fact, reading the history of Socialism is almost like reading the history of the quest for the Philosopher's Stone, which was to transmute all metals into gold. The object sought for in both cases is unattainable. You can no more revolutionize human nature than you can turn iron into gold. Yet the search in both cases has resulted in a number of by-products not without their use. Alchemy gave all impetus to modern chemistry, and has not Socialism given incentive to social science to which many Socialists have contributed valuable service? Righteous indignation at injustice and strenuous endeavor to right it spring spontaneously from human nature wherever it is found unspoiled, and I am one who firmly believes that the spirit to make what is all wrong all right is a spirit that is growing all the time. And publicly, I wish to express my indebtedness to the Socialist press for reporting my remarks so fairly and so fully. But after paying my debt of praise to Socialists for having arrested and fixed the attention of lawmakers, capitalists, philanthropists and others on the

many social sores and industrial burdens weighing down and hurting the workingman, I must now part company with them; I can no longer call them "comrades."

I CONDEMN Socialism because it has taken for granted what is not true—that all the social and industrial evils of our day are wrongs inherent in the system of private capital. It will not do vividly to portray the troubles and the wrongs of the wage-earning classes—their cold and hunger, their poverty or penury, their want of wage and of work, their wretchedness and misery, and, then, with a lightning jump of logic, to exclaim: "This is all due to and is a necessary consequence of private ownership of the means of production." We must proceed calmly and surely in judgment, and before passing a verdict on a case involving such tremendous issues as does the one before us, we must first of all give a patient hearing to both sides of the case, bearing in mind that, while on the one hand Socialism saddles upon capital the entire responsibility and burden of all our present-day social wrongs, there are on the other hand, thousands of their fellow-citizens, men upright of purpose, sound in judgment, students of history, well read in sociology, ripe scholars and earnest Christians, solicitous, nay, most anxious, to safeguard the rights of all their fellow-countrymen, of which both parties alike complain, are not due to nor essentially inherent in private ownership, but, on the contrary, are due almost entirely to certain economic and industrial abuses that have been imported into the system. As a man and a Christian, I am compelled to condemn Socialism. First, because, whether I consider it from the standpoint of philosophy or from the standpoint of Christian ethics, I find it bound up with principles, postulates and consequences which by no legitimate mental processes can be made to fit in with the laws of justice, equity and right as promulgated by the Christian dispensation. Secondly, as a man and a Christian, I condemn Socialism because even if it were an economic theory only—and, as I have shown you in former conferences, it is far more than economic theory—it would still be fraught with consequences pernicious and even disastrous to the individual, to the family, to religion, and to the state.

I WOULD speak to you of the attitude of Socialism toward revealed religion, toward Christianity, and in particular toward the Catholic church. That attitude is hostile, and to prove that I take not the utterance of social reformers, of hangers on, nor of the weak-minded Socialists who do not count, I go to the teachings of Marx and Engels. Even so well informed and so thoroughly respectable an authority as H. G. Wells says that the Socialism of Marx and Engels is very anti-Christian in tone. It must be. Real Socialism fills a man brimful, as an eggshell is full of meat, as a bottle is full of wine. There is no room inside for anything else. There is no room in the Socialist for Christianity.

According to Bernstein, Marxism had anti-Christian principles for its very foundation, and Marx himself felt that it was the mission of Socialism to expel from the minds of men and women and children the "spectre of religion." They, the comrades, are taught to look upon revealed religion as a ghost got up to frighten children into being good and to frighten old women out of their money. If this is their theory, then they ought to sweep Christianity out of existence. John Spargo says that the founders of Socialism held up all dogmas to ridicule and scorn. That is what Socialists ought to do, or else quit Socialism.

OF course I hold and have so stated in my sermons that Socialism is a matter of far deeper significance than a bare question of economics. It means far more than the promise of a far away Arcadia. A leading Socialist has declared Socialism to be not only the philosophy of human progress, but the theory of evolution as well. It is ethical as well as economic. The Socialism held by millions today is that based on the materialist teachings of Marx and Engels.

I am not at all interested in Socialism as a cold, abstract principle of political economy or as a promised, if distant, co-operative commonwealth. But I am intensely interested and have many times so stated in this living, moving, modern Socialism with its well organized press, its propaganda, which is a marvel of energy and self-sacrifice. What I have tried to do during my discourses in St. Patrick's was to show whether it be wise and more ennobling for a Christian people to join the Socialist movement, or better for them to organize a movement for the reestablishment of the principles of Christian justice and charity in both our social and industrial life. Shall we march on to Socialism with its brave statements, or shall we go back to the teachings of Jesus Christ, which have proved to have been the one great reforming power in the civilized world? Both the Catholic church and Socialism protest against the wrongs of modern society, the fierce individualism, the iniquitous competition, the colossal wealth in the hands of the few. But

THIS is not the doctrine of the Appeal to Reason, nor of the Socialist party. It is a statement taken from the address delivered by Father Vaughan in St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York City, as reported by the New York papers. The Appeal assumes no responsibility as to the reliability of the quotation. It has not been denied by Father Vaughan, and we have therefore every reason to believe that he is correctly quoted. This doctrine is the reasoning of the thief who robs at night. But when the thief is caught, the law and the church do not consider his need as a justification for his act. The one condemns him to prison and the other to hell. The Socialist does not endorse Father Vaughan's philosophy of might. There is a better way to secure those things needful for our comfort. In this paper you will find discussed the pros and cons of Socialism by its opponents and by its advocates.

there is a gulf as wide as infinity between the two as to remedies.

AND who are the physicians ready to take care of the patient and see him through? I see but two in the field. One is the supreme pontiff, the pontiff, the Socialist philosopher. The other, unlike the Socialist, has lived in close intimate contact with humanity for 2,000 years. He surely knows something of the character and temperament of the patient. He has been on terms of intimacy with both rich and poor, high and low, learned and unlearned.

No class or section of the community has been or is now alien to the pontiff. Read any impartial historian and you will always find that no matter what may have been the faults of some of the pontiffs privately they have always stood up for the rights of the people against the tyrannizing of kings and nobles.

How about our Socialist philosopher? Who is he, in what school has he been trained? What is his knowledge of human nature, how long has he had such knowledge? What are his qualifications, where are his diplomas? What has he done for humanity?

He has had the assurance to assure the world that the cure-all for present social and industrial wrongs is the transfer to the community of all the instruments of production and distribution of wealth.

That, he assures us, is the essence of Socialism. If it were, I would be the last person to have made Socialism the subject of my Lenten sermons. If Socialism were nothing but what it is represented to be in the campaign books of the Socialist movement it might interest the Catholic sociologist, but certainly not the Catholic preacher.

YOUR Socialist Congressman Berger was recently frank enough to say that the last and most powerful enemy to stand against Socialism will be the church of Rome. He is right, absolutely right. And why? Because at the very beginning of the battle we hold conflicting views as to the origin and destiny of man.

No matter what they say or how much they deny, Socialism is a living, going concern based not merely on an economic, political principle, but has its roots deep in a philosophy repudiated by every Christian man.

Socialism seeks to establish a state without God. It has no use for God. It ignores Him when it is not convenient to actually deny Him.

We may be sure that our present-day struggles, our present-day evils, our present-day unrest and rivalry and class hatred, fight for bigger dividends and bigger wages and are in no small measure the outcome of an apostasy from God and a revolt against Christ and His Christianity.

What is the remedy to be? I claim it is not to be and cannot be in Socialism. What we want on both sides of the Atlantic is a trained and highly developed social conscience. We must have a general development of private initiative.

Nor can the Christianity of Christ alone solve the question. It is not merely a moral and religious question that we face, but an economic and political one as well, and one that demands positive action by civil authority.

SUCH a Socialist state as they picture would be a very house of bondage, where a man would not be able to choose his own occupation, where he would not be able to employ labor nor to put by a bit for his old age or for his children, where he could not obey the injunction to multiply his talents. Oh, it is quite foolish to start a race where one of the rules of the game is that one must not out-run the other.

Suppose, in this Socialist state, a man were injured by some state official. What redress would he have? All the lawyers would be state officials. All the judges would be official newspapers, and his letters of protest would not be printed. He could turn only to that resort and privilege of the fool, knave, and ass—the anonymous letter.

By the way, during the last week I have been pelted with anonymous letters. Let the writer who disagrees with me put his name to his opinion, so that

we can know where we are. Is this your Socialism—that you are afraid of signing your own name? If there be any "comrades" here today, I would have them believe that I am speaking from a sincere heart that I am uttering my own.

Why, my brothers, the apostrophe of the state would lead you to suppose that the state is some god, or, at the very least, the ideal superman. Now, as a matter of fact, what is the state, I should like to know? When it is robbed of its war paint and stripped of its stage clothes, isn't it just a middle-class, middle-class group of public officials, a co-operative body of political office holders with an axe to grind and a purse to fill, and whose motto might well be, "We are the state"? That is what I find it to be in England and Germany. What you find it to be in this country



is not for me to say, but I do say that many of you have come here to this land, this bright republic, that you might be freer where the state is less meddling and less meddling.

MY implacable quarrel with Socialism is this, that in its recognized classics, in its propaganda, in its press and in its unguarded utterances it propounds and proclaims a gospel about wedlock and family life altogether subversive of the teaching of Christianity. No sane man can give himself up to the study of Socialism without coming to the conclusion that, taken as an ethical and as an economic theory of life, it is committed to doctrines about marriage which it would seem most inevitably destroy the home, and so undermine the state. Socialism is founded on a philosophy of life which makes the indissolubility of marriage ridiculous.

When you rise up and fight Socialism you are fighting to save the child and the family, for it would make motherhood not a duty, but a trade, and would make of the children, but tools of the state. Oh, my brethren, better the Massacre of the Innocents than that such a thing should be! It is an onslaught on the home.

Socialism, if we study it ethically, we shall find committed to a set of ideas about wedded life and its most sacred duties that are not only foreign but repulsive to those who have been trained in the school of Christ. I speak of the Socialist who is something more than a mere social reformer. The latter is a mere barnacle on the ship of state—he may hinder progress, but he can never direct the course.

The Socialist who is more than that cannot well avoid attacking the institution of the family as we know it. It is bred in him to do so, because it is an essential constituent of historical Socialism, and when I say this, I am borne out by a cloud of witnesses.

Take the book called "The Origin of the Family," and referred to by Socialists as "an intellectual treat," a "great Socialist classic." In this work we are assured that "monogamy was not founded on nature, but on economic considerations, namely, the victory of private property over primitive and natural collectivism." The author informs us that under Socialism marriage will no longer be indissoluble. He informs us that marriage is moral only as long as love lasts.

The duration, he writes, "of an attack of individual sex-love varies considerably according to individual disposition."

Until Socialism shall have shifted its centre of gravity from anti-Christian premises, until Socialists shall have publicly renounced the philosophy of life as formulated by the founders of their cult, and until their men of light and leading shall have made it clear to us that Socialism indorses, upholds, and enforces the time-honored traditions of the Christian family and the Christian home, we have no alternative but to denounce Socialism from pulpit and platform, in public and in private, as a most insidious menace to the state, which must rest on its own God-given, foundation, the home.

WE need a more general distribution of the fruits of toil. The poor are oppressed by the wealthy. These relations between luxury and poverty must be ended shortly or they will be ended roughly. There must either be distribution or revolution. No man has a right to oppress another man with a sweated wage.

Every man has the right to that which will enable him and those dependent on him to live comfortably. If he can't get it by bargain, and he and his family face starvation, he has a right to take it by force. A more powerful right than bargaining is the right to subsistence. This doesn't mean the right to steal indiscriminately. Each case must be considered in the light of circumstances. The duty to live implies the right to the means of living. Any bargain where these means of living are withheld is a violation of the laws of justice and equity.

There should be some profit-sharing plan between capital and labor and such equitable distribution can be brought about only through the combined efforts of the church and state.

The gospel and the law must go hand in hand. Nothing can be done until we get God into the hearts of men. That is where the church and the Socialists differ. God has no place in the Socialist program of reform. The Socialist is satisfied to live without God if he can but live in a Socialist state.

REMEMBER, too that we all may have the use of property, but not the control. The man who possesses wealth is a steward, and God will exact an account of his stewardship. When this is recognized more generally we shall have passed many milestones on the road to the solution of the question between capital and labor.

And labor is fine. It is dignified. Have we not the picture of Christ standing knee-deep in the sweet-scented shavings with the perspiration on his brow? This life is like a chess game. There must be bishops, knights as well as kings. The Catholic church sees these little distinctions, knows that they must be, and she says to you, "Play the game! Play up!" But the Catholic church says to you that after the game is over, all the pieces—pawns, bishops, kings, knights—all must go back into the same box.

A policy of grab—what else does this that we see and hear about us mean? This Milwaukee business; the street strikes, and the things stirring—shall I say astounding—my own country? Over there the people are saying: "All this is ours," and all politicians are bowing down and offering incense to the workingman and the workingman has put them to the right about.

THEY—my separated brothers—will tell you that the Pope is on the side of the capitalist in the existing struggle, and that from him labor can expect no sympathy. But it is not true. All history, read by the impartial

man, written by the unbiased man, will tell you that it is not true. They will point out that in times past the Pope blessed the autocrat for whom we have no use today, the autocrat who has to prove on. But we must not judge the Dark Ages, as they are called, by the light that is thrown across the floor of life today. In the Dark Ages the autocrat was necessary to preserve order in a time of turmoil. Does that say that the Pope sympathized with autocracy? Why the Pope has ever been the champion of the toiler, and there were dark times when the Pope was the workingman's only friend.

The Catholic church has never recognized a distinction between the likeness of Christ in the serf and peasant and the likeness of Christ in the peer and prince. She is splendid. She knows. And she knew, too, in those dark days when the toiler stood all alone, when he had no voice, no eager, friendly press, no bonds of unionism. In those days the toiler had only the papacy to back him up.

This same church gave us trial by jury, it gave us our representative system of government, and all the great organizations of today are a network woven by the Pope sympathized with autocracy. Why the Pope has ever been the champion of the toiler, and there were dark times when the Pope was the workingman's only friend.

The church dominated the people as the cathedrals dominated the landscape. They sneer and snarl at the Irish for their villages which, poor, many of them, at least have the church as their one fine building. God bless Ireland, I say, for giving a respectable home to God. For those who do not believe, any harm might be good enough to pray in; but no abbeys, no church, no cathedral is good enough for a Catholic in which to lodge his God.

As in the past, so today, the Pope is the friend of the workingman. Leo's encyclical is the very magna charta of the workingman. In his Letter on Labor, Leo XIII reminded the employer of labor that there was a dictate of nature more imperious and more ancient than any bargain between man and man; that remuneration for work must be sufficient to support the wage earner in decent comfort; that the right to live implied the right to a living wage, and that to be impelled to accept less or go to starve was to be made the victim of force and injustice.

This was the Supreme Pontiff's record. But what of the Socialist philosopher?

His cure-all for present social and industrial wrongs is the transference to the community of all the instruments of production and distribution of wealth.

THE church teaches men to do things because it is right to do them. Three things must be done away with—fierce individualism, iniquitous competition and colossal wealth of the few. Between the church and Socialism there is a gulf as wide as infinity.

Under the equal division suggested by Socialism, there would not be enough to go round. They start with the false principle of the exchange value of commodities. There would be no development of character, no doing good of one's own will. Man would be only a nerve center embodied in the Socialist state, a mere cog in the state machinery. Homes would cease to be what they have been for 2,000 years.

We want no modern Samson in his blindness to tear down their support. If the Socialist is true to his principles, there is nothing God can do for him. He wants no draft on the bank of heaven.

There is no doubt that the forces of free-thinking and infidelity are making progress. But man will never voluntarily give his fellowman the rights which are his unless he has God in his heart. If every Catholic will carry the gospel in one hand and the laws of his country in the other, Socialism will vanish like night before the day.

It is a Socialist doctrine that all evil comes from capital. Almost worse than capital in the opinion of Socialism, is the church, because they say it

upholds capital. Of course the church upholds capital. And why not? The church has had the experience of 2,000 years. Surely she has learned human nature.

TO employers I would say: Rally to the standard of Christ, the civilized world's Great Reformer. Inspire and Liberate. Exchange the rivalry between wealth and wages for a fairer division of the profits. Instead of making exorbitant profits your aim, let profit-sharing be your ambition. Come once more to realize the fatherhood of God means a spirit of justice and charity manifesting itself in sympathy, patience and forbearance with all men. You are only the stewards of God. You will have to give an account of your goods. You will have to give an account of how you shared them with the men who helped you win them.

To wage earners, men and women, I would say: You have a right to form unions and by means of unions en-

force your just demands for a living wage and human conditions both in your workshops and in your homes. But there is a word of warning which you must let me add. It is a word which I utter as a friend of the workingman, as a friend who in season and out of season has lifted his voice in behalf of the toiling masses, and who during these conferences had nothing more at heart than to win a hearing for the toilers. That word of warning is: In your labor unions, your disputes with your employers, may even in the sad necessity of a strike, never, never commit yourselves to the leadership of men who are the enemies of Christ and who, if true to their principles, must rob you of the dearest possession you have, your Christian faith.

To all I would say, no matter what our position and work in life may be, let us make it our ambition, as it is our mission, to teach all the world that we all have a common origin and a common destiny; that the same human nature in us has the same yearnings for peace, rest and happiness; that we have all the same Savior, that in less than no time our present differences will vanish like a dream, and then, if we be worthy, shadows shall give place to realities. In your labor unions, hope shall be more than realized, and all men who discover that the conflicts of time were meant to be victories for eternity, and the rivalry of the brotherhood a rivalry of service in the interests of our common Father in heaven, whose home and whose love shall be ours throughout the everlasting day of eternity.

THE five million men now in enforced idleness in the United States could build all the homeless good houses this sum-



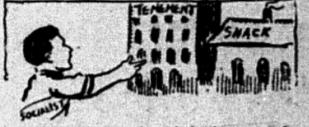
mer, if put to work. But capitalism won't let them do it. Why doesn't Father Vaughan protest?

"Nor can the Christianity of Christ alone solve the question. It is not merely a moral and religious question that we face, but an economic and political one as well, and one that demands positive action by civil authority."—Father Vaughan. That utterance suits Socialists to a dot. Socialism is engaged in the political and economic crusade, seeking the intervention of civil authority in behalf of the worker. It is not, as it expressly states in its platform, seeking to attend to the religious side. Let Father Vaughan and other churchmen see to that, and let the Socialist do the work, admitted as necessary to be done, along political and economic lines.

We are asked why Socialists elect Bebel to the German reichstag and circulate his book, "Woman," if they do not endorse all he says about the future of womanhood. They do it because he has really served the toilers, and because his 500-page book, though having faults, is the best history of womanhood in existence. Why do you not reject the declaration of independence on the ground that Thomas Jefferson, its author, was an unbeliever? Happily, we have arrived at that point of toleration in the world's history where advanced people are willing to accept good service from anyone, without reference to his private beliefs.

The Catholic worker, the devout Christian worker of any denomination, needs food, shelter and clothing the same as an atheist does and vice versa. Therefore, the interest of all is to work for an ending of exploitation. More wages is not all that is due you; you are entitled to ALL you produce. Socialists would aid you to secure this. If others would not, you have a right to ask why, and you owe it to yourself and your family to work politically with those who would aid you to secure all that is justly yours.

SOMEHOW nobody cared how the poor was housed until the Socialists, who



are said to be enemies of the home, took the matter up.

SOcialism says you may believe or not believe and still be a Socialist; you may be a Catholic, a protestant or a Mohammedan, orthodox or any of them, and be a Socialist. But, judging from the attitude of critics of Socialism, a man cannot be a Catholic and Socialist at the same time. Which attitude is more liberal? And which is right?

Socialism is materialistic in the same sense that brick-laying and farming are materialistic. But they may all be made the means of feeding the ethical and spiritual.

THE many who quote Edward Carpenter and Nietzsche to prove that Socialists favor free love are respectfully informed that neither is a Socialist.

Objections to Socialism

THE objections to Socialism are as a rule weak and baseless and there is little difficulty in disposing of them. Below will be found the answers to some recent objections which have been widely circulated by the capitalist press.

The main article of Karl Marx's creed, viz., "All wealth comes from labor"—that is, unskilled labor—is the bedrock of the various systems. It has been styled "the right arm of Socialism" by Father M. Phelan, S. J., St. Louis.

Yes, Marx undoubtedly held that "all wealth comes from labor," but by what right does Father Phelan twist and distort this as applying to "unskilled labor" alone? This perversion of Marx is purely Father Phelan's own invention, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the "reverend" father deliberately misrepresented Marx to discredit his economic and make Socialism appear false and ridiculous.

Let us ask Father Phelan these two simple questions and insist upon direct and unequivocal answers: First, if all wealth is not produced by labor, what part is not so produced and how is that part produced? Second, are the workers who produce all wealth entitled to all the wealth they produce?

The second pillar of the Socialist system is the rate of wage. It is called the left arm of Socialism. They assume that all wealth comes from labor—Father Phelan.

does not exist or that the statement in regard to its payroll is not true. According to this payroll the average wage in this anonymous Detroit manufacturing is \$832 per year. The latest census report for 1909 shows that the average wage in manufacturing establishments in the United States is but \$718 per year. It is not strange that Father Stritch did not name the Detroit manufacturing concern that pays its thousand employees an average of \$16 per week—the statement of its "treasurer" does not hold water and will not bear investigation.

Let us consider the economics of Socialism. The Socialist tells you that productive wealth, instead of being distributed as formerly, has come into the hands of the few. This is not true. I know of one railroad that has 246,000 owners. It is the management that is in the hands of the few, and managers are picked or elected by the workers.

Now if Father Stritch will be good enough to name the railroad which has the 246,000 owners and let us get at the stock record and see to what extent this railroad is owned by 246,000 persons and to what extent it is owned by 5 or at the most 10 per cent of that number, we will have an illuminating answer to his proposition.

As a matter of fact, the industrial condition would be much worse than now. Now a man can choose for whom he will work, and so is not a slave. Under the present system, call it what you will, each man would be a slave of the government, because he would have to work as the slave of the State.



DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

WE commend to the careful consideration of our Catholic critics and of all Catholic workmen the following declaration of principles. On this platform the Socialist party takes its stand. No individual Socialist has any right or authority to read into the platform any principle of government not specifically stated therein.

The Socialist party of the United States declares that the capitalist system has outgrown its historical function, and has become utterly incapable of meeting the problems now confronting society. We denounce this outgrown system as incompetent and corrupt and the source of an unending misery and suffering to the whole working class.

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Working Program. As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its economic and political demands, we pledge ourselves to the following program:

Collective Ownership. The collective ownership and democratic management of railroads, wire and wireless telegraphs and telephones, express services, steamships, lines and all other public means of transportation and communication and of all large-scale industries.

are called revolutionary, and we are, but the revolution means nothing in the way of violence. It means only such a change as will end forever the robbery of the worker at the expense of the owner. Remember, Socialists demand this for Catholics. Your priest, who is anxious for political power, does not offer you one-tenth of this much. Why should we follow him in matters of politics when his interest lies on the other side.

from Cardinal O'Connell, of Boston, that there are no Irish Socialists. And there are others. Of the 110 Socialist members of the German Reichstag, 23 belong to the Protestant established church, 4 are Catholics, 7 are Jews, 10 belong to other dissenting religious bodies, 52 belong to no church, 6 declare they have no religion whatever, and 2 refuse to tell what their religious views are on grounds of principle.

Political Demands. 1. The absolute freedom of press, speech and assembly. 2. The adoption of a graduated income tax, the increase of the rates of the present corporation tax and the extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the value of the property.

THE Catholic press of the United States has recently been running a series of articles giving high praise to the Christian unions of Germany. It was stated that these unions were founded by the Catholic church, that they received the full support of that church, that they were militant unions, that they were striking and gaining a better condition for the workers.

Subscription Rates. One year \$1.00. Clubs of four or more, 40 weeks, 25 cents. The Girl Scouts. One reports show that the girls are beating the boys in selling the Nation.

The Change is On. The hue and cry about the "threat of Socialism" will end soon. It is the voice of the standpatter, and the fate of Cannon, Aldrich and Tait will remind the men behind this new accusation that such methods do not pay.

It is really a piece of impudence when one is seeking to free the workers from exploitation, to be asked, "Are you an atheist or are you not?" What has that to do with it, one way or another?

There is no truth in the charge that Socialism is against religion, or would destroy the family. Socialism is purely an economic matter. It has no more to do with religion than it has to do with astronomy.

THE hundreds of thousands of tramps and prostitutes in America prove that capitalism is breaking up the home. Why doesn't Cardinal Farley protest?

THE Girl Scouts. One reports show that the girls are beating the boys in selling the Nation. People buy of the girl to encourage her. This means that the buyer reads Socialism.