

Things As I See Them

BY FRED D. WARREN

Everyone possessing property is interested in seeing this tremendous power of the few limited, others who the pendulum will swing to the other extreme and all property will be confiscated by an outraged people.

NO, this is not an extract from one of Warren's editorials in the APPEAL TO REASON. It is the words of a man who possesses millions of dollars and who by reason of this wealth controls many millions of dollars of other people's property and the labor of thousands of men and women. Rudolph Spreckles is the man who spoke these warning words. Seated in his sumptuous office in the heart of San Francisco's financial district, surrounded by all the evidences of affluence and ease, he calmly dictated the words I have just quoted above to a reporter for the *Portland News*, Jack Jungmeyer. Spreckles looks at the world from the top. I have been looking at it from the bottom. He reaches the same conclusion that I reached some years ago. I have been talking confiscation through these columns and in my speeches from that day to this.

It is by no means a new discovery. It has been practiced and preached for many centuries. Practiced by the rulers of the world; it is now being preached by the agitators!

After pointing out the now self-evident fact that the wealth of this nation is in the hands of a few billionnaires, and this concentration will be further augmented by the new currency law, he says: "Consider the control now exercised over our industrial and financial undertakings. Two hundred big corporations now have assets of over twenty-two billion dollars, with a gross income three times greater than that of the national government. A group of five Wall street banking houses are directly affiliated with and hold dictatorships in corporations having assets of about \$17,000,000,000." And then he uses the words I have quoted at the top of this column, which is my text for this week.

Why does Mr. Spreckles take this pessimistic view of the situation? Here it is: "This (power in the hands of a few) is a real menace to independent capital and the peace of the nation."

"A menace to independent capital!" That is why Mr. Spreckles, multi-millionaire, is talking confiscation by the outraged people! The big capitalists have confiscated, with the help of independent capital, all of the wealth of the working class, and now independent capital is feeling the gaff! The independent capitalists, if there are such, are now threatened with the necessity of going to work. And that surely would be a calamity for the fellows who have tasted of the joys that come from living on the sweat of other men's faces.

There is just one thing that can happen that will prevent the working class from confiscating the wealth producing property of this country. That thing is in process of happening: *Government ownership.*

The politicians, alarmed at the strength of this movement of the working class to possess themselves of the good things which their labor creates, will go to the Wall street gang of pirates and tell them that unless they sell their properties to the government, the people will confiscate them. And they will quote Spreckles: "The pendulum will shortly swing to the other extreme and all property will be confiscated by an outraged people," to clinch this argument. I have been watching the political and industrial horizon pretty closely for a good many years, but I must confess that I am surprised at the signs which are now visible of the approaching change. During the past four weeks, no less than five prominent railroad men, presidents and ex-presidents, have pointed out the inevitable end of private capitalism—namely, ownership by the government. This, then, being inevitable, they are preparing, with zealousness worthy of a better cause, to retain control of that government that will own and operate the industries!

Here is what the *Santa Fe Magazine*, edited and published by the Santa Fe railroad corporation, says in its November, 1913, issue:

Never before in the history of the United States has the question of government ownership of railroads been given the serious thought that it is now receiving—sad, curiously enough, it is not so much the general public that is revolving this question in its mind, it is the railroad fraternity that is discussing the possibility of government ownership. Railroad officials are considering it as a means of relief from the handicap they now work under—that of being made to assume all the risks of investment and operation, while allowed to make only the same profit as, or less than, that made in gilt edged investments. Government ownership is not the remote possibility that it was a decade ago. Government ownership of railroads is not so improbable as some people think; and those most active in securing it will be railroad directors having at heart the proper interests of the stockholders they represent.

Ex-President Mellen of the New York, New Haven and Hartford railroad says the same thing and some half dozen other important railroad men have publicly expressed their willingness to accept the inevitable. Politicians of all shades of belief are scrambling for position under the awning of the big tent.

The brutal facts are these: The railroad directors have soaked their roads with water and then sold the stock and bonds to the little capitalists. The railroads are now unable to meet the interest charges on the bonds, while many railroads have long since failed to pay any dividends on their common stock. The New York, New Haven and Hartford road, which has for forty years paid dividends on its common stock, passed its regular dividend the other day and three investors into a panic of fear. The looters of the roads, the Yoakums, the Harrimans, the Morgans, et al., with the swag in their safe-deposit vaults, are now quite willing to turn over their property (which they do not own) to the government, and exchange their uncertain securities for good government

bonds! And this of course will be done solely in the interest of the investors—the little stockholders. If they really want to help the little investors why don't they disgorge some of their legally gotten loot? Take the recent deal pulled off by Yoakum and his gang of buccaners in looting the Frisco railroad! But don't hop onto Yoakum—he merely played the game as it has been played from the time the first rail was spiked down to the present, and if Yoakum hadn't gotten the mazuma then some other shark would.

From all of which, I deduce the following facts: The railroad promoters are now tired of the game; they have enough personal wealth to enable them to live like princes the balance of their lives and leave their heirs fixed for a century or more; the little stockholders are clamoring for dividends which are not in the treasury box of the corporations, but which have been transferred to the private coffers of the big fellows; the people demand a change; the politicians want a new issue—and something must be done! And that something is government ownership!

I can't stop it, nor can the Socialists. Nor would we if we could. Government ownership is state capitalism, and it is the next necessary step in the march of the common folk to the Co-operative Commonwealth. What I hope to do is to let the common folks know that government ownership is not the goal—not even a stopping place—merely a necessary step, as the trust was a step in our progress to better things. Looked at from this angle, there is nothing to fear from state capitalism. But we will waste no time trying to bring it about. Our business, as Socialists, is merely to interpret these movements so that the working class understand them and not be fooled as they have been in the past.

Our big job, as I view it, is to capture the government that will, in a very short time, own and operate the industries of the nation. Once controlled by the working class, rules and laws will be made solely in the interest of the men and women who do the work. Children will not work—they will play and study! The glories and benefits of that time to that part of the population which bears the burdens of society are beyond the power of words to describe!

We can't stop progress—but we can boost!

The Unemployed Problem.

Dear Warren—I have been requested by local comrades to write you personally, asking your advice and information towards organizing for direct action. The people are entering the winter almost destitute of anything to live on. Lots of men that have been strong Socialists are afraid to speak or make the least move. Everything is at a standstill. The banks and little gamblers are standing together. I believe I know the sentiment of the people. They have reached the last ditch and about all they can stand. Please let me have your views on this matter.

This letter comes from a small town in Texas, in a country district where folks are supposed to have enough to eat and to wear, no matter how hard times are. This same question is coming from the cities where the condition of unemployment is causing great concern to the rich, because they know that when men are hungry, and with their ears filled with the cries of their children they are no respecters of laws and custom. In the letter above I am asked what these hungry men who have no jobs are to do. They can organize themselves into a body of peaceful marchers and go to the city hall and demand work. There is no place else to go. Instinctively people turn to the elected officials of a community for the relief which the capitalist is unwilling to give. If the city will not or cannot provide the funds with which to give employment to those out of work, then there is but one thing left for the hungry to do: Take whatever you need of food and clothes to supply your wants, but no more. I do not advise you to do this. But I tell you this is what I would do if I were in such a position. Unlawful? Yes, perhaps, but which is the greater crime, to prevent hungry men from obtaining food, or for hungry men to take it? I do not believe there is any higher law than life, and without food there can be no life. This problem of unemployment is knocking at our door for a solution and if democrats and republicans cannot solve it, then the Socialists will. The following letter, written by the mayor of a small town in Kansas, outlines one way that will be followed by the Socialists to provide work for the workless:

Dear Comrade Warren—I am writing to you for your opinion on the subject of providing work for the unemployed. I am the mayor of this town. The entire Socialist ticket was elected by a vote of 60 against 65 of the combined opposition. There are 125 families in our village. Fifteen of these families will have to leave this winter. Will it be against the principles of Socialism for us to petition and vote bonds for public improvements so that it will give work to the unemployed?—J. S. Hobbs, mayor, New Albany, Kan.

It will most certainly be just for you to impose taxes on the property of the well-to-do and use such taxes to provide work for the unemployed. This will prevent suffering and crime. There is nothing else you can do under capitalism, and the end justifies the means. I know that a lot of well-fed folks and some not so well fed, will object to this plan of taxing property to give work to the hungry. Some people will call it confiscation. But this should not deter a Socialist administration from doing its duty to the working class. The capitalists have failed. It is now up to the Socialists to prove that they are equal to the situation. Life comes first and we will recognize no rights of property that will interfere with life!

It is observed that those people who prate the loudest about the dignity of labor are most strenuous in their efforts to avoid it. If they work at all it is in an effort to reach a position of ease and comfort without work. It does not take a very shrewd man to detect in this attempt to dignify labor, a subtle effort to persuade other people to do the things they themselves do not want to do. Mark Twain relates the story of how Tom Sawyer, who was assigned the disagreeable task of white washing the back yard fence, got the job done by his boy

friends by impressing them with the importance of the task and the difficulties of its accomplishment. Tom's little trick worked and the boys eagerly fell to until the job was finished. It is the same trick that has been worked for a good many years on the workers. I wonder when they will tumble to the cheat?

Sheriff Turkington of Girard was asked by the general superintendent of the Frisco railroad to recommend reliable men to be sworn in as deputy United States marshals to protect railroad property from the telegraph operators employed by that system in the event of a strike. Said Sheriff Turkington to the railroad superintendent: "All right. I will recommend for appointment as deputy United States marshals every striking telegraph operator on the Frisco system in Crawford county." The strike was settled before the telegraphers walked out, but it is a safe bet that the railroad superintendent would not have called upon Sheriff Turkington for the names of men to be appointed as deputy marshals! Turkington reasoned that if these telegraph operators had brains enough to look after the lives of the thousands of passengers who travel the Frisco, then they had brains enough to protect Frisco property. It is unnecessary to add that Turkington was elected sheriff on the Socialist ticket.

SOCIALISM has but one country—the world!

If your head were fuller your stomach might be fuller.

MEN are fools because they are poor, and then are poor because they are fools.

SOCIALISM should get the worker's vote because it gets the employer's goat.

A BURNED child dreads the fire, but the stung voter always comes back for more.

WHAT you earn is the capitalist's. It's only what you get that's yours—and not all of that.

"ENGINEER blamed for fatal wreck."—*News Item.* Sure. What are engineers for, anyhow?

DEMOCRATIC soup house prosperity will now follow republican Lawrence strike prosperity.

THE idea of the currency bill is to give the bankers the currency while the people pay the bill.

THE high cost of living would come down with a rush if it were not supported by old party votes.

CAPITALISM thinks it is better that one rich man should have too much than that ninety-nine workers should have enough.

STREET cars are instituted among men for the purpose of enabling their stockholders to avoid the inconvenience of riding on them.

WHEN the plute quits financing the old parties it will be time for the workers to vote for them—because then there won't be any old parties.

THERE is no sex, age, race, color or religion in hunger. Hunger speaks but one language and listens to but one word. That word is, Food.

PRESIDENT WILSON and his cabinet are all "het up" over who is to sit down first at official banquets. The democratic voters in the breadline are not so fussy.

THERE is no use in replying when the democratic party is criticized as not knowing how to serve the business interests of the country.—*President Wilson.*

CONSIDER the workers of the field, how they toil. They cease not, neither do they rest. Yet Harry Thaw, in all his idleness, was never starved as one of these.

A SCIENTIST says gold can be made artificially out of other substances. The good old fashioned way of taking it out of the workers' hide has suffered no loss of popularity with the employers, however.

"FATHER out of a job; mother drinks acid; children in sorrow." Just a newspaper headline of one case in St. Louis. There are thousands like it. Did I hear you say that Socialism would break up the home?

THE man who can explain why a 12-hour-a-day laborer is entitled to only \$1.50 per day, while a pink tea fan who never did a tap of work in his life can have everything he wants, should be in better business.

DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, national suffrage leader, is surprised to find "robbery a function of the United States government." Wonder what the good doctor thought capitalist government was organized for.

JOHN SCHMIDT, aged 43, a working man, committed suicide in Milwaukee the other day. Schmidt had no job and could find none. They found four cents in his pocket. What was that I heard you say about Socialism breaking up the home?

DOMESTIC economy cannot be very economical where a thousand cook-stoves and a thousand washing machines and a thousand processes of cooking are employed when a score would do the work quicker, easier and cheaper, without in the least interfering with the privacy of the home.

A. I. DUPONT, powder magnate, wants the radium making business to be taken out of private hands and run by the government. Won't that destroy initiative, break up the home, smash religion and reduce us all to a dead level of savagery with not enterprise enough left to put poison in the baby's milk?

Founded 1885 by J. A. WAYLAND. This paper is paid for, if not by you by one who wants you to read it.

Appeal to Reason

FRED D. WARREN

FIFTY CENTS A YEAR
 Clubs of four or more (40 weeks) 25 cents;
 6 yrs., \$1. Lifetime, \$5. Foreign, 1 yr., \$1.

Entered at Girard, Kan., Postoffice as second-class mail matter.
 Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., January 10, 1914

This is Number 945

BUSINESS AND THEFT

The editor of the *Democrat*, Lyons, Kan., says there is no moral difference between the man who accepts money won in a gambling game and a horse thief. When one of his readers took him to task, he replied: "When you get money you in no wise earned it is either as a gift or as a theft. Money gotten in a game or in a bet is neither earned nor given as a present. The answer is easy." But where does that lead the editor of the *Lyons Democrat*? I'll bet a year's subscription against a plugged penny that he is afraid to follow his reasoning to its logical conclusion.

For instance: Yoakum, the Frisco railroad man, played a game. He did not use a roulette wheel or cards. He used printed slips of paper called bonds. He sold the bonds to the public for a million dollars, ostensibly to raise money to improve the Frisco railroad. He pocketed \$200,000 and turned the balance over to the railroad. The investors paid for a million dollars' worth of improvements and got \$800,000. Did Yoakum earn the \$200,000 he raked off in the deal, or did some one give it to him, or did he steal it? Business? So is dealing in stocks on the stock exchange business, but some folks call it gambling.

And in the name of business the small merchant does exactly what Yoakum did when he buys a suit of clothes for \$12 and sells it for \$16. You say he is entitled to this profit for his management of the store and that it costs him this much to distribute it. If it costs him that much to distribute it, he makes no profit and quickly goes out of business. The successful man in business, like the successful gambler and horse thief, must get something for nothing!

The fact that a good many who play the game get no profit doesn't change the principle one little bit. If the fellow who steals a horse gets caught and loses his loot, he suffers for the crime. There is no moral difference between the man who steals a horse or runs a gambling joint and the man who buys a paper of pins for a penny and sells it for two cents.

The preachment of my friend of the *Lyons Democrat* will be not accepted by the gambler, nor will my conclusions be agreed with by men in business, but the world is fast coming to the conclusion that the man who takes money in the form of profit, accepts money for which he returns no service, is a thief, and should be treated as such.

THE POWER BEHIND THE APPEAL.

To make anything go, there must be power. To find out what the thing that goes really is, look for the power that makes it go and then you will know what it is. This is particularly true of the APPEAL—more true of the APPEAL than any paper in existence. The power that makes the APPEAL go is not in Girard. The editor of the APPEAL is, and always has been, a very small factor in making the APPEAL what it is. The real power back of the APPEAL is the APPEAL Army! To kill the APPEAL it would be necessary to kill every member of the APPEAL Army. And yet that wouldn't kill the APPEAL! Because the same forces that made the present APPEAL Army would still be in operation and a new Army would come on the field to take the place of the Army that had been wiped out of existence.

Let me present you with the work of two members of the APPEAL Army so that you will understand the secret of this paper's great success:

Out in Ashland, Ore., lives M. Jacker. This comrade has developed his own peculiar way of getting subscribers. In the local paper he carries an advertisement which he changes from time to time. Here is his latest:

Jack London has joined the Appeal Army. All readers of the Appeal to Reason acceptable. Copy mailed free, or 25 cents for 40 weeks.—M. Jacker, 212 1/2 1st street.

He pays good money for the ad., but it puts him in touch with some new people whom he could not reach personally. He takes their subscriptions. The APPEAL does the rest.

The editor of the *Plain Speaker*, Frackville, Pa., is another good friend of this paper who puts the APPEAL in touch with the reading public. Here is what he said in his last issue:

The editor is getting up a club of twelve subscribers to the Appeal to Reason at 25 cents for forty weeks. The Appeal is checked full of facts and truth every issue, and is the best brain disturber that exists. If you want to go along hand us your name and 25 cents.

This is volunteer work. You can't all pay for advertisements in the capitalist publications nor can you all print papers friendly to labor, but each in his own way and with the materials at hand, can do his part. And many are doing it. That is why the APPEAL continues to grow stronger and more influential every day. No friend of the APPEAL should be satisfied until he has sent the APPEAL one subscriber or talked to someone about subscribing. The seed will yield a harvest in quite an unexpected way, never fear.

JUDGE SULLIVAN of the San Francisco police court recently imposed the shortest jail sentence on record. The eight men receiving this sentence—one hour in jail—were firemen on an English tramp steamer. They went on strike and were put off at San Francisco. They were British subjects and wanted to return home. They could not be deported unless convicted of some offense, so they agreed to plead guilty of vagrancy. After serving their one hour in jail they were taken in charge by the U. S. deputy immigration commissioner and will be returned to their home in Wales. Great system, isn't it? We are such a practical people!

If you know what you want, vote for it.

OH, Henry, Henry, ye asked the dems for prosperity an' they ha' g'iven ye a panic.

THE man who prays for righteousness and votes for the old parties must be fond of strange mixtures.

HEALTH and wealth is something everybody wants. Socialism will give you both. Are you "agin it"?

THE working people are not so much in need of government ownership as they are of ownership of government.

It costs the working class a good many millions to maintain congress to see that they don't get what they want.

CAPITALIST law and order can be enforced by machine guns and clubs. But only Socialism can establish justice.

You may have to "pray for them that despitefully use you." But thank the Lord you don't have to vote for them.

Oh, wait on my stomach, embezzle my pay. And better my head with a club. And I'll put you in office election day. Because I'm a Henry Dubb.

PATRIOTISM: Shooting penny pistols on the 4th of July and spreading corruption through the land the rest of the year.

EVERY move that congress makes proves the Socialists' claim that "capitalism will do anything but get off your backs."

A WORD to the wise is sufficient, but nothing short of a solar plexus punch with a Socialist ballot will convince the plutes.

CHRISTMAS in Chicago. An unidentified woman was found in an alley half frozen. So says a news dispatch. This is capitalism.

"Doc" WILSON's congress is giving a good imitation of a dog chasing his tail. The only difference is that a dog is usually in earnest about it.

ONLY the employer's political power enables him to continue robbing the workers, and only the workers' political power can compel him to quit.

Who says the working people never have any leisure? There are two or three million of them right now who are getting more leisure than they want.

THE whole world is now engaged in its last great war—a war against poverty. When this war ends never again will poverty find a place on this old earth.

"POVERTY has its advantages," says an exchange. Perhaps so, but those who live in poverty never get any of them. It is the beneficiaries of the system that causes all poverty who get all the advantages.

THE biological survey is to exclude undesirable animals from the United States. The donkey, elephant and bull-moose, however, will remain with us until 1916, when the working class will take care of 'em.

A CORRESPONDENT wants to know how much a United States senator earns. Up to the present time there is no record of a United States senator earning anything—he gets, however, \$7,500 a year and a few perquisites.

IN the old days cunning white men traded glass beads to the Indians for land and valuable furs. The Indians are about gone, civilized out of existence, but the cunning white men are still doing business in the same old way. But they are trading glass beads with the workers now, glass beads in the form of old party promises and fake legislation.

CAPITALISM is the same the world over. It's product in Japan is the same as it is in the United States. A cablegram from Tokio states that a famine prevails in several provinces that is the worst since 1869. Parents are selling daughters to keepers of evil resorts and to foreign white slave dealers. In some cases girls belonging to starving families are selling themselves.

AT an examination held by the civil service commissioners of California the other day, there were 375 applications for the one lone job of wharfinger. Only one person will be appointed while 374 will be disappointed. This is how it works under the system you vote for. Under Socialism there would be a job for everyone. But of course that would never do, it would abolish poverty and make people contented, and everything would go to the dogs.

THE information bureau of the U. S. department of agriculture states that 2,000 cases of assorted canned vegetables were recently attached by the U. S. marshal at Chicago. It is reported that most of these packages were in a state of decomposition known to the trade as "swells." It seems these goods had been under water in the Ohio flood. The local authorities at Hamilton, Ohio, condemned the goods for local food purposes and the owner shipped to Chicago to be sold for fertilizer. Spurred on by the ever present desire under capitalism to make more profit, it is reported the consignee was about to sort out the most presentable of the packages and offer them for sale for food purposes when the U. S. marshal stepped in and nipped his little scheme. This is that "incentive" that the old party orators are always telling you that Socialism will kill. And it will.

Mother Jones Deported

Not to be outdone by the brutal hirings of the Michigan copper barons, the military henchmen of the Colorado coal magnates have deported gray-haired Mother Jones from Trinidad. An entire squad of soldiers was detailed by the cowardly Adjutant General John Chase to see that the "Angel of the Miners" did not visit and comfort the workingmen who are striking bravely for more bread for their families. After seeing that Mother Jones had bought a ticket to Denver and boarded a train, General Chase declared: "The presence of Mother Jones at this time cannot be tolerated. If she returns she will be placed in jail and held incommunicado." That last word is something new in free America. "Incommunicado" means a prisoner cannot see any one—not even a lawyer, the United States constitution to the contrary notwithstanding.

Another Colorado outrage that is nearly similar to the action of the Calumet hoodlums in deporting Moyer is the recent storming of a court room in Steamboat Springs by a mob where strikers were on trial and the forcible deportation of 25 union men from the town. This mob was led by Harry Ratliff, superintendent of the federal forest reserve—an office holder under the Wilson administration. Picards which read, "Within a reasonable short time all able-bodied men in Oak Creek coal camp must go to work or leave," have been posted at Steamboat Springs by these lawless lickspittles of the Colorado coal barons.

In Colorado as well as in Michigan the enforcement of law and order by the elected officials is a farce. In each case the "public servants," elected by the votes of the workers, but on capitalist party tickets, are openly serving the master class and brutally oppressing the working class.

A SIGN OF POWER.

The most striking feature of the Calumet copper strike is the way it is reported by the Associated Press and the capitalist newspapers. In the main the accounts are fair to the strikers. Your capitalist daily, if you noticed it, gave full publicity to the deportation of Moyer and printed the affidavit of the doctor who treated Moyer's wound as well as devoting space to the demands of the strikers. Why this change? Why was it that the Moyer-Haywood outrage of several years ago was practically unnoticed in the capitalist press of that day? The answer is clear. The Socialist press is camping on the trail of the plute press. These newspapers well know that their conspiracy of silence and later their campaign of distortion in the Moyer-Haywood case were thwarted by the APPEAL and the other Socialist newspapers. They well know that they will print the truth if they will not. And they further know that the workmen of today have learned a few things about the subsidizing of the capitalist press by the powers that be and they are beginning to learn the lesson.

The capitalist papers will for some time try to use all their wonderful resources, mechanical and financial, to get the news that the people want. Let them do it. The APPEAL wants the truth known, but it will reserve the right to give the people the proper interpretation of what is happening. In other words, we will henceforth devote most of our energies and space to give the American working class the Socialist understanding of the news of the day.

Of course, the plute press may betray the workers at any time, but while they are publishing the actual facts let us rejoice at the power that we have at last reached—and remember that we must always be prepared and armed to meet any emergency.

A LEADER of the Calumet citizens' alliance says: "It is preposterous to suppose that any member of the citizens' alliance would attempt to disturb the Christmas celebration of the strikers' children." Also it is preposterous to suppose that their conferees would club women and children in Lawrence, Mass., shoot them at Holy Grove, W. Va., or bullpen Mother Jones—but that's what they did.

WORKING to make a living for your family is not irksome, but having to work to make a living for the exploiter's family does rub a little hard.

Four Years, \$1.00

We send the Appeal four years for one dollar and we shall never be satisfied until the name of every Appeal worker is on this four-year list.

Get your name on the four-year list and then you won't be missing two or three issues every forty weeks by forgetting to send in your renewal in time. This list is growing. We want it to grow faster. We want it to grow until it includes the name of every comrade who reads the Appeal. Here are just a few remarks culled from the letters of four-year subscribers:

"I could not keep posted on the system without the Appeal."

"Could not get along without the Appeal."

"I could not afford to do without the Appeal."

"I would not miss a copy for a good deal more than a dollar."

"I missed two copies by failing to renew in time. Never again. I've enlisted for four years."

"Every good Socialist should subscribe for four years at the first opportunity."

MAKING A START

We've got to start somewhere. Why not start with West Virginia? A Socialist movement in that State...

WHO BUILT THE RAILROADS?

The thrifty man with his savings built the factory. The capitalist with the courage of his convictions and willing to do the work built the railroad...

- 1. The workers built them.
2. The people paid for them.
3. They are made valuable solely because of the people who use the product of them.

IS IN DEEP WATER

In his debate with Hillquit in Everybody's Magazine, John A. Ryan, championing capitalism, makes this acknowledgment:

Between one-half and two-thirds of the wage earners of the United States, both male and female, are today compelled to accept less than living wages.

STRIKES AND PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

A strike is on among the workers on municipal undertakings at Leeds, England. Doctors, lawyers, clergymen and merchants have come in as strike breakers in order, as they probably honestly believe, to serve the city.

This brings into relief the fact that municipal or public ownership is not Socialism. Rather it is state capitalism. Its purpose, if not to make profits and so reduce taxes for the propertied, is to reduce rates for those who are able to use the utilities.

NOT AGAINST RELIGION.

Tell me if Socialism is against religion, and also tell us what makes people believe so. Socialism is not against religion. It is an economic movement, working for its ends along political lines.

erately to deceive and doing that to aid the robbers in the name of religion, yet against religion. It is an old cry. Every advance has been made through the charge that they who sought the people's good were fighting religion.

There is no greater enemy of religion than he who fights advancement on the ground that it is opposed to religion, and the more he pretends the more blamable his conduct is.

SOCIALISM is the science of getting what you earn.

THE farmer has often been touched but never reached.

SOCIALISM means enough of everything and not too much of anything—including work.

THE worker is a hired man. He makes himself a tool for producing things that the master owns.

THE capitalist's idea of dividing up is for the poor to do all the work and for the rich to get all the product.

ARCHAEOLOGISTS have found a prehistoric village of Indians. That'll swell the old party vote next election.

Oh, skin me alive, and work me to death. Shut off my allowance of grub! And I'll vote for you, boss, 'till my very last breath—Because I'm a 'Tionny Dubb.

THE mortgaged farmer pays interest, the tenant farmer rent, and the "independent" farmer profit. And there you are.

THE democrat votes for low wages and the republican votes for high prices, and the kind-hearted capitalist sees that we get both.

CAPITALISM provides the incentive to war, and then "sics" the workers on each other that the masters may profit by slaughter.

DEPOSITORS in postal savings banks may hereafter deposit sums in excess of \$500. This great administration triumph will tickle the \$1.50 a day wage slave 'most to death.

THE postoffice department wants congress to take over the means of communicating intelligence. What use can congress have for the means of communicating intelligence?

AN opponent of Socialism says the earning capacity of the capitalist is greater than that of the average worker. Suppose the matter be tested. Let the capitalist go to work and really earn something, instead of taking part of what the worker earns, and let's see.

HERE is a great remedy of the mushy mind: "Evaporate the watered stocks." Another puts it: "Let the government cancel the watered stocks." The watered stocks have practically all been sold to poor people who imagined they were gaining an interest in the industries and thus diffusing ownership.

THE American farmer is able to produce enough to feed the world, but he is given so little for it that he often has to sell below cost of production and sometimes cannot sell at all.

A BULLETIN on the cotton industry just issued by the census bureau brings out some interesting facts. For example, it is reported that 84 per cent of the cotton mills are under corporate control now as compared with 79 per cent in 1904.

WHAT a thing is political economy! It permits the trusts to tax the people a billion dollars in order that the government may get a million. It spends more for war in times of peace than it does for education.

THE government has just issued a bulletin on the artificial ice industry that is pregnant with suggestion. It appears that there are only 2,004 establishments in America making artificial ice and most of these are corporately controlled.

BETTER economic conditions produce better men and women and better men and women make a better world to live in. Socialists are working for better economic conditions. Won't you help?

Teacher—Willie, what is a political platform? Willie—Please, mum, Pa says it is what the old parties use to fool the people with.

Appeal's Answers to Questions

Insurance and Losses
Suppose a man is insured for \$1,000 for twenty years and has three years to go when Socialism is inaugurated, will he lose that money?

Banking Under Socialism
If people have money in banks will they leave it there under Socialism; or will there be banks then?

Gambling Under Socialism
Under Socialism will they still have race-tracks and book makers?

"Drawing Money."
Can any individual under Socialism draw money from the government without security? If so, how would he stand?

Populism advocates "loaning money" to individuals. It is but another form of special privilege.

The Henry Dubb Combination.
A few doses of the following, scientifically administered, is guaranteed to cure the most chronic case of Dubbitts:

MUST BE PRACTICAL
A New York friend writes that he has just seen the light of Socialism and proposes to sell his valuable farm and "go out to do things."

Non-sense! A man with such an idea is utterly incompetent to do anything for Socialism.

What is known as economic determinism is also known as the materialistic conception of history.

LIMITING LAND OWNERSHIP.
People here talk of petitioning congress to pass a law limiting land ownership to 160 acres.

Twenty-five Books Free.
Below is a list of cloth-bound books that sell for \$1 each.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

THE TRUTH ABOUT SOCIALISM. Benson.
"War—What For?" Kirkpatrick.
"Data: His Writings and Speeches," Reynolds.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

"2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."
The Road to Socialism.
The Thieves' Book.
Appeal's Answers to Questions.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

"2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."
The Road to Socialism.
The Thieves' Book.
Appeal's Answers to Questions.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

"2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."
The Road to Socialism.
The Thieves' Book.
Appeal's Answers to Questions.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

"2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."
The Road to Socialism.
The Thieves' Book.
Appeal's Answers to Questions.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

"2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."
The Road to Socialism.
The Thieves' Book.
Appeal's Answers to Questions.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

"2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."
The Road to Socialism.
The Thieves' Book.
Appeal's Answers to Questions.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

"2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."
The Road to Socialism.
The Thieves' Book.
Appeal's Answers to Questions.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

"2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."
The Road to Socialism.
The Thieves' Book.
Appeal's Answers to Questions.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

"2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."
The Road to Socialism.
The Thieves' Book.
Appeal's Answers to Questions.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

"2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."
The Road to Socialism.
The Thieves' Book.
Appeal's Answers to Questions.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

"2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."
The Road to Socialism.
The Thieves' Book.
Appeal's Answers to Questions.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

"2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."
The Road to Socialism.
The Thieves' Book.
Appeal's Answers to Questions.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

"2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."
The Road to Socialism.
The Thieves' Book.
Appeal's Answers to Questions.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

To a Critic.

A critic wants to know why the publishers do not combine and build their own paper. Will instead of my asking that the government do it for them.

Profit enters into every person's life and is therefore a matter in which all persons are interested.

Besides, if the newspaper men were to build mills, those on the inside would have the advantage of those who would later engage in the business.

I am not afraid of the government—only anarchists are. You must be an anarchist to fear your government.

ECONOMIC DETERMINISM.
Please explain in simple language what you mean by economic determinism.

Perhaps the best possible definition of economic determinism is by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto.

This becomes simpler when you begin to apply its statements. It means, for example, that when slavery prevailed the law and the church and the thinkers defended slavery.

What is known as economic determinism is also known as the materialistic conception of history.

LIMITING LAND OWNERSHIP.
People here talk of petitioning congress to pass a law limiting land ownership to 160 acres.

Twenty-five Books Free.
Below is a list of cloth-bound books that sell for \$1 each.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

THE TRUTH ABOUT SOCIALISM. Benson.
"War—What For?" Kirkpatrick.
"Data: His Writings and Speeches," Reynolds.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

"2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."
The Road to Socialism.
The Thieves' Book.
Appeal's Answers to Questions.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

"2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."
The Road to Socialism.
The Thieves' Book.
Appeal's Answers to Questions.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

"2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."
The Road to Socialism.
The Thieves' Book.
Appeal's Answers to Questions.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

"2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."
The Road to Socialism.
The Thieves' Book.
Appeal's Answers to Questions.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

"2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."
The Road to Socialism.
The Thieves' Book.
Appeal's Answers to Questions.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

"2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."
The Road to Socialism.
The Thieves' Book.
Appeal's Answers to Questions.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

"2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."
The Road to Socialism.
The Thieves' Book.
Appeal's Answers to Questions.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

"2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."
The Road to Socialism.
The Thieves' Book.
Appeal's Answers to Questions.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

"2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."
The Road to Socialism.
The Thieves' Book.
Appeal's Answers to Questions.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

"2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."
The Road to Socialism.
The Thieves' Book.
Appeal's Answers to Questions.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

"2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."
The Road to Socialism.
The Thieves' Book.
Appeal's Answers to Questions.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

"2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."
The Road to Socialism.
The Thieves' Book.
Appeal's Answers to Questions.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

"2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."
The Road to Socialism.
The Thieves' Book.
Appeal's Answers to Questions.

THE CHAIN. Socialist novel, Cook.
Select the pamphlets you want from the following list:

"2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."
The Road to Socialism.
The Thieves' Book.
Appeal's Answers to Questions.

only a question of time until there will be dispossession and landlordism, and when a new "divide up" system will have to be devised.

As Socialists have a logical and practical remedy for the evils that are recognized, they should press them forward, and not be taken in by half-baked reform measures.

THE cost of living will fall when the workers take a tumble.

THE best place to cast an old party ballot is on the dump heap.

"JOHN D. TAKES PART." reads a headline. The pious old gentleman is getting modest.

ALL the thieves in all the penitentiaries have not stolen as much as one multimillionaire has done.

THE only co-operation that appeals to some men is that which begins and ends with their own pocket-book.

ALL the murderers who ever expiated their crimes in death have not caused so many deaths as has one armor trust.

SUCCESS from a capitalist viewpoint is attaining a position where one may live from the sweat of other men's brows.

CAPITALISM is against individuality. The capitalist is made to sink his individuality in a corporation, and the worker to lose his name in a number.

"JIM" McNAUGHTON, president and general manager of the Calumet and Hecla Copper company, doesn't carry a red card, but he is making quite a number of Socialists these days.

WHEN the democrats get in power they give the republicans a shaking up, and when the republicans get in power they give the democrats a shaking up.

THE New York Call shows that many of the child slaves of the south are lineal descendants of the men who fought for freedom during the revolutionary war.

THE women who are urging men to oppose woman suffrage on the ground that it tends toward Socialism argue that the people should not rule, but that a few masters should.

THE Chicago Tribune says: "Men are almost dying of starvation in a city (Chicago) where there is abundance."

A SOUTHERN paper thinks Socialism is weak on the ground that aggregation of wealth, as found with great capitalists, can accomplish things small hoardings cannot.

SOME of the social workers from the upper classes say that the temptation of the rich girl is greater than that of the poor girl and that more of them "fall" in proportion to their numbers.

SAYS a news dispatch: "Several railroads stated that while many men had been laid off the causes were natural."

THE U. S. department of agriculture in a recent bulletin says: "There is not a single important step in the entire cotton handling and marketing scheme which owes its origin to special consideration of the producer's interest."

While it is something to hear this declaration from so high an authority, Socialists have known a long time that there is not a feature in all the capitalist scheme that is based on the welfare of the producer.

There is a cheerfulness in this view. It is not out of place for the Socialists to see in every advanced thought and every tendency of social consciousness an evidence of the awakening of which Socialism is the crown and finality.

It is always well to beware of politicians who offer something "just as good."

PHENOMENA OF THE DANCE
Not since the fourteenth century has there been such a remarkable revival of dancing all over the world as there is today.

There is something wrong with a system under which the average working man has to die in order to hand his family a few thousand dollars life insurance.

It should not be necessary for any man to live in poverty all his life in order to provide for his family after he is dead.

There is something wrong with a system under which the average working man has to die in order to hand his family a few thousand dollars life insurance.

It should not be necessary for any man to live in poverty all his life in order to provide for his family after he is dead.

There is something wrong with a system under which the average working man has to die in order to hand his family a few thousand dollars life insurance.

It should not be necessary for any man to live in poverty all his life in order to provide for his family after he is dead.

There is something wrong with a system under which the average working man has to die in order to hand his family a few thousand dollars life insurance.

It should not be necessary for any man to live in poverty all his life in order to provide for his family after he is dead.

There is something wrong with a system under which the average working man has to die in order to hand his family a few thousand dollars life insurance.

It should not be necessary for any man to live in poverty all his life in order to provide for his family after he is dead.

There is something wrong with a system under which the average working man has to die in order to hand his family a few thousand dollars life insurance.

It should not be necessary for any man to live in poverty all his life in order to provide for his family after he is dead.

There is something wrong with a system under which the average working man has to die in order to hand his family a few thousand dollars life insurance.

It should not be necessary for any man to live in poverty all his life in order to provide for his family after he is dead.

There is something wrong with a system under which the average working man has to die in order to hand his family a few thousand dollars life insurance.

It should not be necessary for any man to live in poverty all his life in order to provide for his family after he is dead.

The new year promises to be the most successful in the entire history of the American Socialist movement. Reports come to the Appeal that the comrades have adopted the literature method to swing the country to Socialism next fall.

As soon as all the returns on the Comrade X proposition are in, a final statement will appear in the Appeal.

"KEEP HANDS OFF!"
Harvey E. Jester, Washington press representative of the Cold Storage Warehousemen and Allied Industries, gives out the following for public consumption:

No legislation is necessary to regulate the cold storage business. No defense is intended to be made and no defense is necessary of cold storage as a business or as a factor in the food market.

Mr. Jester, although his name might imply otherwise, is a very serious sort of individual and has no intention of being humorous when he parrot-like repeats the cry of every other capitalist parasite—"no legislation is necessary."

THE POSTAL SURPLUS PROBLEM
A dispatch from Washington announces that the postoffice department is ahead of the game ten million dollars on last year's business.

Having succeeded in partially routing a few who hoped for reform rather than a complete overthrow of the capitalist system, the so-called progressive party may now go out of existence.

Here are some figures which show that the so-called progressive party, which fooled many who were hoping for relief through a reform party, is on the decline.

IN five states,
Republican 997,411 1,106,000
Progressive 950,032 469,129
Democrat 1,276,597 1,182,456

Having succeeded in partially routing a few who hoped for reform rather than a complete overthrow of the capitalist system, the so-called progressive party may now go out of existence.

Here are some figures which show that the so-called progressive party, which fooled many who were hoping for relief through a reform party, is on the decline.

IN five states,
Republican 997,411 1,106,000
Progressive 950,032 469,129
Democrat 1,276,597 1,182,456

Having succeeded in partially routing a few who hoped for reform rather than a complete overthrow of the capitalist system, the so-called progressive party may now go out of existence.

Here are some figures which show that the so-called progressive party, which fooled many who were hoping for relief through a reform party, is on the decline.

IN five states,
Republican 997,411 1,106,000
Progressive 950,032 469,129
Democrat 1,276,597 1,182,456

Having succeeded in partially routing a few who hoped for reform rather than a complete overthrow of the capitalist system, the so-called progressive party may now go out of existence.

Here are some figures which show that the so-called progressive party, which fooled many who were hoping for relief through a reform party, is on the decline.

IN five states,
Republican 997,411 1,106,000
Progressive 950,032 469,129
Democrat 1,276,597 1,182,456

Having succeeded in partially routing a few who hoped for reform rather than a complete overthrow of the capitalist system, the so-called progressive party may now go out of existence.

Here are some figures which show that the so-called progressive party, which fooled many who were hoping for relief through a reform party, is on the decline.

IN five states,
Republican 997,411 1,106,000
Progressive 950,032 469,129
Democrat 1,276,597 1,182,456

Having succeeded in partially routing a few who hoped for reform rather than a complete overthrow of the capitalist system, the so-called progressive party may now go out of existence.

Here are some figures which show that the so-called progressive party, which fooled many who were hoping for relief through a reform party, is on the decline.

IN five states,
Republican 997,411 1,106,000
Progressive 950,032 469,129
Democrat 1,276,597 1,182,456

Having succeeded in partially routing a few who hoped for reform rather than a complete overthrow of the capitalist system, the so-called progressive party may now go out of existence.

Here are some figures which show that the so-called progressive party, which fooled many who were hoping for relief through a reform party, is on the decline.

IN five states,
Republican 997,411 1,106,000
Progressive 950,032 469,129
Democrat 1,276,597 1,182,456

Having succeeded in partially routing a few who hoped for reform rather than a complete overthrow of the capitalist system, the so-called progressive party may now go out of existence.

Here are some figures which show that the so-called progressive party, which fooled many who were hoping for relief through a reform party, is on the decline.

IN five states,
Republican 997,411 1,106,000
Progressive 950,032 469,129
Democrat 1,276,597 1,182,456

Having succeeded in partially routing a few who hoped for reform rather than a complete overthrow of the capitalist system, the so-called progressive party may now go out of existence.

Here are some figures which show that the so-called progressive party, which fooled many who were hoping for relief through a reform party, is on the decline.

IN five states,
Republican 997,411 1,106,000
Progressive 950,032 469,129
Democrat 1,276,597 1,182,456

Having succeeded in partially routing a few who hoped for reform rather than a complete overthrow of the capitalist system, the so-called progressive party may now go out of existence.

Here are some figures which show that the so-called progressive party, which fooled many who were hoping for relief through a reform party, is on the decline.