

## TO THE WORKER

Belongs the full value of what his labor produces. The object of Socialism is to secure that for him, and the mission of this paper is to propagate Socialism

# Studies in Socialism.

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There are more Socialists today in this country, during the time we are told of its greatest prosperity, than ever before. Socialism is not produced by hard times, but by thinking.

Work people have no confidence in their own class. They think only the well fed, well groomed, well-dressed parasites are fit to hold office. When the workers read up they will vote only for their own class.

When did the old parties put up a real workingman—one who made his living by his own hands—for governor or congress? The work people, though largely in the majority, have no members of their own class in government.

The fellows who oppose Socialism, sneering at the idea of the public furnishing employment, are much in evidence these days, with a glad hand soliciting the voters to elect them to a public job! And most of them are too ignorant to know that they are asking for public employment.

Under the present capitalist system the more wealth the workers produce the richer grow the capitalists and the poorer grow the workers. Poverty is worse in this country today than at any other period of its history. Under Socialism the workers would be richer than at any other period of the world's history. Are you a worker?

When a law is passed that the corporations do not want the courts are appealed to and it takes years for the cases to be decided, and in the meantime the corporations go right along doing as they please. But when a law is passed that pinches the work people—it is in operation Johnny on the spot. Law is a farce when applied to the rich.

Workmen build a house and then pay back all their wages and more for the use of it! The more they build, the more they have to pay directly in rent, or else for an added profit on goods to enable the merchant to pay the rent. If the public erected its own buildings there would be no rent and the workers would thus be benefited by what they produced.

So long as private ownership of franchises is recognized by law, to get them men will bribe your public servants and you will be sold out. Hasn't fifty years of experience proven that to you? How much more proof than the thousands of bribery exposures do you need? But, perhaps, you prefer bribery to voting against your party? Just as if the majority of you ever got a cent through politics!

Notice that useless thing in female form, attired in silks and furs, going down street or riding in her auto. If she were to pass near your over-worked, tired old wife, dressed in calico, she would pick up her silks for fear of contamination. She would look at a farmer's wife as though she were some animal curiosity. That is the wife or plaything of the man who owns your job, the horse you live-in, the farm you work or the bank that fleeces you. Does it never strike you as peculiar that those who do honest work are merely the servants of those who never work? And you voted again for it.

So long as the means of production and distribution are owned by a class, before the great mass of workers can use them, and use them they must or starve, the owners can dictate the terms upon which the workers can use them. And these terms will average in the life of the worker simply a bare living for himself and his children, whom he raises to take his place when he becomes useless. Upon the other hand, the capitalist class is placed so that it can accumulate vast wealth at the expense of the workers, and the faster it accumulates, under the methods of compound interest, the more powerful become their means of exploitation and extortion. As time passes and new countries are taken up and closed against further expansions upon the part of the workers, vast wealth accumulates in the hands of a few, and the great mass are left in dependence without property. Off of every worker the employer levies tribute in the form of interest, rent or profit, the amount of which is determined by the alternative that the worker may find of employing himself in new or unexploited countries, and these are now closed, as the march of civilization has encircled the globe.

## Misery and Misery.

If all the work people should suddenly become frugal and save every cent possible, what would become of the country? Wouldn't the factories that now are run on their spendings have to close? Wouldn't most of the merchants shut up shop? Yet how often do I meet men who tell me that poverty is the fault of the individual! It is not. Societarian conditions are responsible for all the poverty and crime that exist. If society did not provide public schools, would it be the fault of the millions that they were illiterate? If you were to raise your boy in a saloon or your daughter in a brothel, would it be their fault if they became degraded? If the people did not spend money as freely as they do the commercial structure would tumble into chaos. Under Socialism people will spend freely and have no thought for the morrow, for each day will bring its labor and labor will produce the things needed. To spend is natural; to hoard and live miserly is unnatural. But under the present system those who do not live unnatural lives, who do not skimp and save, will be of the very poorest and will surely come to absolute want. Thus unnatural lives are forced upon those who do not want to become dependents upon cold charity in their old age. Under a miserly system the miser will survive; but that does not mean that he is the best. Can you see it?

"The fundamental purpose of Socialism is to abolish every form of exploitation, and when all industry becomes co-operative this end will be accomplished. Socialism does not seek to establish a compulsory co-operation; that is, one backed up by coercive law and physical force, but it seeks to establish economic conditions where co-operation will be the natural and voluntary course of action. Under present economic conditions the worker is compelled to accept the terms of his employer, not because of any immediate law to that effect, or a policeman, but because of conditions. Under Socialism men will not be forced to co-operate by legislation, but because prevailing conditions will demonstrate to them that it is more desirable. In this connection it may further be said that if there is any kind of industry that can be conducted as economically, efficiently and agreeably by individual, as distinguished from collective effort, there is nothing in the program or principles of Socialism which would hinder such individual effort.

As we look abroad and see things as they are, the capitalists entrenched and fortified and the workers impoverished, ignorant and in bondage, we are apt to be impressed with the magnitude of the task that lies before the Socialist movement, but as we become grounded in the Socialist philosophy, as we understand the process of economic determinism and grasp the principles of industrial and social evolution, the magnitude of the undertaking, far from daunting the Socialist spirit, appeals to each comrade to enlist in the struggle because of the very greatness of the conflict and the immeasurable good that lies beyond it, and as he girds himself and touches elbows with his comrades his own latent resources are developed and his blood thrills with new life as he feels himself rising to the majesty of a man.

What chance in life do you think your little boy will have against the growing power of the monopolies? But, perhaps you think more of your party prejudices than you do of the little chap you have brought into the world. That is possible, absurd as it may sound. If you have read history you know that mothers have thrown their babies to crocodiles by reason of the teaching of those they looked to for advice. But, of course, you have none of that ignorance in your make-up! Of course not!

Socialism is a menace to the predatory rich and the parasites generally. That is why they fear it and try to prejudice their dupes against it. Abolitionism was likewise treated once upon a time, but it had enough virtue in it to survive. Socialism is the next step upward in the history of society.

Debs well says that if you horny-handed workers would use your think tanks more you would have less horns on your hands and more money in your pockets. That is what the masters do—they read, and think how to get the advantage of you on election day. Why don't you wake up?

Capitalists co-operate while praising competition. The work people compete and are gobbled up by the co-operators. What the capitalists advise is just the opposite of what the work people should want.

Socialism contends that if there is any institution in the world today, no matter how sacred it may have become by its hoary age, no matter how much it may have become hedged about by law or custom, if that institution enables a man or set of men to live without labor it should be abolished, for it is very clear that if they live without labor they must live upon the labor of others.

From the time of the discovery of the rudiments of agriculture, which enabled the worker to produce more than his keep, human society has been divided into two classes. All history is the account of the class struggle between these two classes. Down through the ages, under various forms and guises, it has raged incessantly, and it still rages with undiminished fury in this, our boasted Christian civilization of today.

The man who says he believes in competition either lies or talks much like those individuals who are given to prevarication. No man wants competition in business—he wants a monopoly. He will do everything possible to crush out competition and have a monopoly. This applies to little business men the same as to the great trusts. I have known those who prate about competition being a good thing, to rent a building and hold it vacant for a year to keep out a competitor. Actions speak louder than words.

If I build a house costing \$10,000 and get \$1,000 a year rent, that rent is added to the cost of the goods handled in that building; and thus in ten years the workers have paid back all their wages and must continue to pay back \$1,000 a year as long as the building stands and is occupied. That is the reason every improvement that draws an income makes it harder for those who labor. Under Socialism the public will build the houses and will own them, and there will be no rent to pay. It is queer that the workers can't get onto a problem so simple.

The politician is my shepherd. I shall not want for anything during this campaign. He leadeth me into the saloon for my vote's sake. He filleth my pocket with good cigars; my cup of beer runneth over. He inquireth concerning my family, even unto the fourth generation. Yea, though I walk through the mud and the rain to vote for him, and shout myself hoarse when he is elected, straightway he forgetteth me. Although I meet him at his own house he knoweth me not. Surely the wool has been pulled over my eyes all the days of my life and I shall dwell in the house of a chump forever.—Exchange.

You have heard of armies being flanked? When one general sets his mind on one course of action, and the opposing general gets in and strikes him where he is not expecting it and beats him, it reminds me of the way the capitalists flank the work people in their efforts to become free. The capitalists discuss tariff, money, and other immaterial issues, and while the work people are fighting them the capitalists continue to scoop in millions by reason of the ownership of the jobs. When the work people wake up and demand possession of the world's wealth, which they alone have created, then there will be something doing.

A large store is merely the co-operation of a large number of dollars under intelligent management; the small stores are merely the lack of co-operation of a large number of dollars under conflicting managements. Now, really, which do you think is the fittest to survive? Do you think that forty little armies fighting each other, and fighting a big army too, could defeat the big army? Isn't that about the way the thing stands? In the Industrial Republic we will have all the capital and all the people working in co-operation; there will be no conflicting forces, and the only failures will be the failures of the human mind to understand what it wants. And this is what the crazy capitalists tell their dupes is anarchy! And the dupes believe, and fight each other as the best way to succeed! Is it any wonder we have the desperate conditions that now exist?

## Capitalists Unnecessary.

The capitalist is the factor that keeps the laborers away from employment. Most people have been educated to believe that the capitalist is the chap who gives employment to labor. You apply for employment in the APPEAL office and see if I am not the fellow who will not let you work. I know a man who owns a million acres of Texas land. I know of lots of fellows who would like to go on that land and raise crops and make a living for themselves and their families. But that capitalist stands between them and the making of a living. We do not need capitalists any more than we need a king. We need capital, and have lots of it, but the capitalists will not let the workers use it except on such terms as they are pleased to give. Were it not for the capitalists, who consume and waste much of what the workers produce, what would the workers do? It would make them sick if they didn't have to divide up with the useless gang, wouldn't it? They wouldn't know what to do with all the food, clothing, houses, and other good things they make! Just think of a nation where every one who worked had all he could use, and be deprived of any parasite to take most of it from him! Surely under such a condition the workers would go crazy!

The working class alone does the world's work, has created its capital, produced its wealth, constructed its mills and factories, dug its canals, made its roadbeds, laid its rails and operates its trains, spanned the rivers with bridges and tunneled the mountains, delved for the precious stones that glitter upon the bosom of vulgar idleness and reared the majestic palaces that shelter insolent parasites. The working class alone—and by the working class I mean all useful workers, all who by the labor of their hands or the effort of their brains, or both in alliance, as they ought universally to be, increase the knowledge and add to the wealth of society—the working class alone is essential to society and therefore the only class that can survive in the world-wide struggle for freedom.

Goods for which labor is paid only ten cents for producing are often sold to you for one dollar. Now, if you could buy for ten cents what is produced for ten cents, it would be as if your wages had been increased ten times the present amount. Of course, not all goods are produced at such a ratio to price; but on an average you pay five times what is paid for production, so that you are receiving but one-fifth of what you should have on an average, no matter what your wages. In the Industrial Republic, which we Socialists are trying to establish, you will be able always to buy an article at just what it cost in time or money to produce and deliver it to you. Isn't that what you want? Or do you want to sustain parasites at every turn of the industrial machine?

If the principles of Socialism are strong enough to enable the comrades in Germany and France to wrest from the king and nobility an ever-increasing power, do you not know we shall be able to do it in this country? Prepare yourself by study to have an important hand in the great change that we are now entering. Never was the young man offered such an opportunity of being something in the world worth while as is now offered by this movement to wrest from the capitalist class their control of the earth. Those who study economics are as certain to be something at the top as were the first who studied electricity in the early days of its discovery. Young man, can you reason? Think!

A farmer works and produces wealth and takes it to market and asks the buyers what they will give him for his labor already performed. The other workers know beforehand what they are to get. The farmer is thus worse off, more dependent, than the daily laborer. He has to perform his work first and take what is offered. The "independent farmer" is an "iridescent dream." He puts the price on neither what he sells nor what he buys. He is jollied by the office seekers into giving them his vote every year. He feeds and clothes the world, and works long hours in isolation and with no advantage of the great progress in which his masters wallow. He never studies politics, and, though he has the majority of votes, he is kept ignorant of the game he plays.

With modern machinery man can produce all his requirements in one-sixth the time his ancestors required. Yet can he maintain six families as well? If he can't there must be something radically wrong, else the multiplication table is a lie.

Trades unionists will succeed better when they dethrone those of their leaders who trade on their votes with the old party politicians. It is pretty hard to get the workers to understand that the politicians here are their enemies, just as they are in Europe.

The masters tell you that political economy is a dry study. Such as they teach is rather verbose and uninteresting, but if you will read the political economy of the working class—Socialism—you will find it interesting and exciting enough. Your masters do not want you to read it. Why? Read it and you will find out.

Wouldn't it be a funny action for masters to make laws liberating their slaves, or for merchants to make laws to abolish customers? Yet there are many people who believe labor legislation will be made by the masters whom they elect! If labor ever gets any laws it will be when it elects the wisest of its own members as law makers.

Do you want to stop child labor? A vote for the Socialist ticket will serve notice on the old parties that unless they make laws to that effect and enforce them, you will leave them and elect another party that will. They will give you effective child labor legislation if they see you leaving them. But why should they, so long as you continue to vote for them? Doesn't that say you endorse what has been and is being done.

Why do the Russian autocrats prohibit the circulation of Socialist literature in that country? Isn't it because they want to keep the masses in ignorance of what it will do for them? And isn't that the very reason your political masters try to prejudice you against the taking of Socialist papers and the reading of Socialist books in this country? If not, what is the reason?

It costs the government as much tax in expenses to law the trusts to keep them "good" as it would to own and operate the trusts themselves. If the government can employ men honest enough to prosecute the trusts, why can't it employ men honest enough to operate them? Why pay the trusts twenty times as much in profit as it costs to operate the national government? What good does that do?

Your wages is represented by the things that you spend the money for—not the money. Therefore, your wages consist in so much rent, food, clothing and other things that you buy with a week's pay. Did you ever think how much average labor it takes to produce these things? Perhaps you don't know what "average labor" means. Then ask your boy, who goes to school—unless you have him slaving in some industrial hell-hole making his master richer.

I never built a house with my hands, or made any of the material that enters into a house; yet I own some houses, and I never collect rent from them without a feeling of surprise that men seem satisfied to pay rent. They do often complain about the rent, but then they vote to have a rent system. I vote against the rent system, but so long as the majority vote to have it, I prefer to receive rent instead of paying it. Under Socialism I could not collect rent, but would have to do useful work for all I received from the public. Is that plain enough for you to understand?

Much of the work done in the world today is not only useless, but injurious to society. Think of the millions of people engaged in making adulterants for commodities; in false teaching; in cunning deception; in undoing what others are trying to do; in making vicious laws by which a few may profit; in maintaining an army of men with guns and clubs to keep the people from their own! If all men were thus engaged, the world would be depopulated in a year. So it is not a question of work only, but also the character of the work. If all these millions were put to doing something needful, how it would lighten the labor of those who now moil their lives away! But then it isn't respectable to work at something useful—that is for the wage slave. Can you see it?

## Crowned and Uncrowned Kings.

I am against kings, no matter whether they are crowned or uncrowned. The crown doesn't make any difference. Rockefeller gets more income from the American donkeys than all the crowned heads of Europe get from their donkeys. I would oppose a king even if he were a good one. I do not like kings. But I am wise enough to know that it is not only the man who wears the purple that is king. The man who owns the things I must have to live a full life is my king or master. I may buy his good will, by the payment of money, but that only shows my vassalage. Do you think it would cost us any more to bestow a title of nobility upon Rockefeller or Vanderbilt? They would still live upon their income as capitalists. They might even pay back something to the people in return for being called duke or count or king. To rule is kingship. And if these men do not rule the American people, who the deuce does get ruled? Wake up, thou sluggard, and learn that it is the possession of capital that makes the real king. Who owns the sources of your food can and does dictate to you; who owns your job owns you, body and soul? Wake up!

One of the saddest sights that greet my eyes is that of men sitting around where some work is going on, looking hungrily at those at work, waiting for some boss or master to tell them to go to work. The poor, stupid creatures have been trained only to use their muscles, never their minds. Like horses, they have to be bridled and saddled, and directed which way to go. To suggest to them that affairs could be arranged whereby they would always have employment without so much as asking leave of some fellow man sounds to them like insanity. Under Socialism, employment will be by society for society, and each man or woman can have such place as they can by examination prove themselves fitted for, can have it any day or hour, and can have the full results of what is produced. None will get any profit for driving them like dumb cattle to work. But if they do not work, they can have nothing. It will be up to them to make good if they would have the service of exchange that society provides.

If you were a politician and had repeatedly been elected to office on a certain line of action, would you change the course if you wanted to be kept in your place? Hardly. Well, that is how the old party politicians feel. So long as you vote and elect them they won't change their actions toward entrenched wealth. Why should they? If a majority by their vote say they like things as they are, why should they change? They are giving you what you vote for. When you begin to quit the old parties and vote the Socialist ticket, it will serve notice on the old parties that they must change or lose out. And they will change, for they want to hold power over the nation. Each Socialist vote is a note of warning to the old party politicians that something is wanted. Every vote for the old parties is notice that things are as the people desire. Are you wise enough to use your vote effectively?

When Socialism is adopted farmers will not be serfs and peasants; they will not work twelve hours a day; they will not have to live isolated lives; they will be situated to receive the benefit of every improvement that is produced; they will have all the advantages that any other class of citizens enjoy; they will not have to take any chances of drouth, famine or failure; they will not be subject to the ups and downs of any market prices; they will not be taken advantage of by a thousand sharpers; they will be able to travel as much as other citizens; they will dress as well and live as well. If they only knew!

The president is ordering many investigations and prosecutions of "trusts," but I have yet to see or read of one that has gone out of business. It must be a soft snap to have millions to pay to your friends to bring suits that do the people no good. What a farce it all is! None of this would be necessary if the people owned the trusts. But, then, that would prevent the manufacture of millionaires. And we just dote on millionaires.

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# QUESTIONS ABOUT SOCIALISM

## Queries of Investigators Answered.

1. Would private homes be public property?
2. Would Socialism remove selfishness?
3. What would Socialists do with the army and navy?
4. Could Jews or Masons ruin the Socialist party?
5. What would be done with the foreigner?
6. How would Socialists get possession?
7. To what extent does Socialism demand public ownership?
8. Why do Socialists oppose political fusion?
9. Why don't workmen organize co-operative industries?
10. What is the attitude of Socialists toward the Bible?
11. Would the present owners be paid for their property?

### 1.—The Home.

When the Socialists get in power will they make our homes public property, and, if so, will they pay for them, and how? Suppose a person, unable to work, owns property, the rent from which is his only means of support; how would he fare when no longer able to own or draw an income from his property?

In the Co-operative Commonwealth things that are collectively used will be collectively owned, and things that are privately used will be privately owned. Homes, being for private use only, should be privately owned.

But it should be remembered that a home is a home only when owned by the occupant and occupied by the owner. No one, whether of sound or unsound body, should be permitted to rent houses, lands or money to another. It is the evils that spring from interest, rent and profit that Socialism seeks to abolish.

There is no reason why those who now own homes should not retain them when industry becomes socialized. It is the large tracts of land now worked by renters, and the factories now operated by wage-workers, that must become collective property, because they are collectively used.

Private ownership of property that is collectively worked makes the owner master of the propertyless workers. The owner owns not only the land or machinery which the workers must use to produce a living, but he also owns the jobs of these same workers. The workers are at his mercy, which is not always tender, and thus, the ownership of things collectively used, though of course a handsome thing for the owner, works a hardship to the laborer.

One cannot accurately predict just how the new society will deal with its members who are physically unable to produce their own livelihood; but we are safe in supposing that people will be more helpfully inclined toward the needy when a decent living is assured to all who will and can work than they are under present unjust conditions.

Your property-owning invalid is supported by society today through the payment of his rental income, but the system that permits this method of caring for the few disabled having property places upon the backs of those who work an additional burden of property-owning parasites who are physically able to produce their own living, but do not because, through their ownership, they can compel others to work for them.

In the Co-operative Commonwealth we will be able, and without doubt willing, to help the unfortunate; but to do this does not require the maintenance of a capitalist class of able-bodied drones, as is the case today. As a matter of fact, most of the disabled ones have little or no property now, and are the charges of either relatives or the public. The capitalist system confers no favor upon them because of their needs.

The new system will provide homes for all who will work and work for all who are willing. Even those physically incompetent for ordinary manual labor will find opportunity to render some service to a socially-conscious society, and in so doing feel that they have a place in the world's work and are not wholly a burden.

You should read some standard work on Socialism which would give you a clear idea of the principles and enable you to solve such problems for yourself. Socialism, as a science, has discovered and formulated certain principles, which, if clearly comprehended, will enable anyone of ordinary intelligence to work out the problems that come to an investigator.

### 2.—Selfish Ideas.

Suppose the work of an artist, a painter for instance, were so much in demand that I, a lover of the artistic, would be unable to own any of it; would this revive the old selfish idea of possessing more than your neighbor?

It might and it might not, and it wouldn't matter if it would. Selfish ideas are not necessarily evil; and when they are, they cannot injure others until they take the form of selfish acts. Self-preservation is the first law of nature. To obey this law is to be selfish and live; to disobey this law is to die. To

obey it intelligently is to live the higher life; to obey it brutally is to live the lower life.

Much mouthing and maundering over duty and unselfishness has obscured the fact that selfishness is both necessary and commendable. It is the striving to do something for self that makes us pool our interests with those of others who have like needs and desires. The best things to be had can be secured by one only by getting them for the many; we try to get them for the many so we ourselves can enjoy them.

Beware the hypocrite who prates of unselfish duty; for back of his pretensions is the coarsely selfish desire to have you neglect yourself in the service of him or his. The same man is selfish and jealous of his own welfare; the wise man is selfish and jealous of the welfare of all whose well-being is inseparable from his own. He first objects to being a slave, and next objects to competing with slaves in the labor market; he abolishes slavery of self, then abolishes slavery of others—not for other's sake, but for his own sake. He first becomes self-conscious; and, with greater experience and intelligence, becomes class-conscious. When the mission of Socialism is accomplished in the abolition of classes he will move upward to race-consciousness, made possible by new conditions. But through all this he will remain selfish, as he always has been; and the degree of his attainments will be determined by the quality of his selfishness, not by its suppression or abolition.

Fine art, says John Ruskin, is the expression of a worker's joy in his work. There is no art in work expressive of drudgery. The work of a chattel slave is coarse, because from no higher inspiration than the lash. The work of the wage slave is remarkable only for quantity produced under the pressure of necessity. The work of quality, which is fine art, is possible only to the free, who stamp their work with the divine expression of creative goodness.

Most of what is called artistic is only a miserable imitation of what has been art. When mankind becomes industrially free there will be such a wealth of the beautiful that no soul need starve for want of the true and artistic.

When real art becomes possible there will be no disposition on the part of its patrons to exercise an exclusive ownership of it. When you and others attain to a civilization where the artistic in man finds free expression, your desire will not be to own fine paintings, but to have the greatest possible amount of that work done that the greatest number may appreciate them and constitute a society fit for you to live in. If it is too fine a conception of art, then it is too fine a thing to be thought of.

### 3.—Army and Navy.

What effect would Socialism have on the United States army and navy?

About the same effect civilization wrought on "gun totin'" in Texas. Crude society relies upon force and firearms; the cowboy upon his gun, and pirate nations upon standing armies and navies.

Socialism seeks a realization of the time foretold when swords shall be beaten into plowshares and the productive arts of peace shall make good use of the lives and energy heretofore wasted in the destructive art of war.

In the great changes which will come with the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, not so much thought will be given to the fate of the army and navy as to the welfare of the soldiers and sailors. No one will care what disposition is made of battleships, cannon and the infernal machinery of death; but the life, liberty and happiness of all mankind, including those of the soldier and marine, will then be the concern of all, that the men of war may become men of peace and enjoy all the advantages of the higher civilization.

### 4.—Jews and Masons.

Do you believe that the Jewish or Masonic element are looking toward Socialism to gain some influence by joining our party? It might be that either would try to gain authority by false representations, then act as they please.

The experience of the writer with Jews and Masons leads him to the

conclusion that the members of the Hebrew race and the Masonic fraternity do not differ materially from other people. There are all kinds of people in any of the fraternal societies; and history tells of all kinds of Jews, from Judas Iscariot to Jesus of Nazareth.

For this reason no particular significance attaches to what the Jews or the Romans or the Masons or the Odd Fellows may attempt to do to Socialism. There is more than enough good in any race or fellowship to offset the evil. If we get them one at a time, they will enter the party as individuals and must conform to the requirements of the party pledge. If they come to us in a body, which is unlikely, we will get the good ones with the bad and the average will be about the same as the membership gained from other sources.

If they, or part of them, try to get authority to misuse it, the membership retains the right to pull them down and put them out just as they would any other traitor to the cause. To be sure, there will always be those who try to get ahead at the expense of others; but provision is made in the party organization for the elimination of such, and they must be weeded out whether they are Jews or Gentiles, Masons or anti-Masons.

In the Co-operative Commonwealth, officers will not be elected for a period of years to do as they please after they have been installed; but the right will be reserved to recall and depose any officer who does not do the will of the majority. The same right is at present exercised by the membership of the party, and no one can last long, either as an official or as a member, after it is found that he is not true to its principles.

### 5.—Immigration.

Kindly state what you intend to do with the foreigner, if a majority vote against allowing him to work. And how are you going to stop immigration?

If you and I were today working in the same shop we would have a common interest in getting as high wages as we could. But we do not own the shop, and the boss who does own it is interested in getting us to work for as low wages as possible. If he can get foreigners to do what we do for less pay, he will likely exercise his right of running his business to suit himself, discharge us and get the cheaper men.

If we get fired and two Italians get the jobs we called ours we become sore at our brother workmen from sunny Italy, call them "dagoes," and demand some means of keeping them out of the country and away from the jobs we call our own. But the country is not ours; we do not own the tools and machinery with which we work; we do not even own the jobs of which we are so jealous. The tools, the machinery, the factory and the political power of the country belong to the employing class and are used by that class to its own advantage. We own nothing but our power to labor, which we are compelled by necessity to sell to an employer on his own terms.

In the industrial system proposed by Socialism the situation will be entirely different. The jobs will then belong to the workers, because they will then own the tools, machinery and shops. We can then make a valid claim to this being our country, because the working class will have captured the political power and abolished the political power of the capitalist drones who now rule and absorb the greater part of what our labor produces.

Every worker, whether native or foreign-born, will produce all, or the equivalent of all he consumes; and will get all, or the equivalent of all he produces. The foreign worker will no longer be a competitor for the favor of a private owner or for the job that owner now controls. When competition for the jobs is abolished, the presence of the foreigner will no longer work a hardship, and it is unlikely that we will then want to keep him out. There may come a time when population becomes so dense as to demand a restriction; but that condition is remote, and when it comes, if ever, you will have a voice in the establishment of such regulations as may be necessary for relief. The Chinese are now excluded from the United States, and there is no reason why such exclusion should not be made applicable to all foreigners if it becomes necessary and the majority demand it.

### 6.—Taxation.

Will collective ownership of the means of production be secured in part, or to any extent, through the taxing power of the state?

This is a question that can be answered only when the people decide to put collective ownership into effect. The first and most important thing to decide is whether you will have collective ownership. When a majority want it the means of getting it will be forthcoming and the methods employed will depend largely, if not altogether, upon the

temperament and disposition of the people who establish it.

You should remember that taxation is only a mild form of confiscation, and that confiscation is only a radical form of taxation. Taxation takes a little of your property each year for the use of the collectivity, while confiscation takes a greater part or all of it at one time for the same purpose. Theoretically, you receive something in return for both taxes and the property confiscated. You get the use of public schools and public highways in return for taxes paid, and you usually get paid for property confiscated, as when by condemnation proceedings part of your land is taken for a railroad right of way.

But by far the greatest tax paid is not paid through the official channels to the government, but through the industrial channels to the capitalist; and by far more is confiscated by the captains of industry through the trading process than is officially taken by the government. While the government makes at least a pretense of payment for taxes and property confiscated, such institutions as the Steel Trust return nothing for what they tax you out of in the form of profits and confiscate through their power of monopoly.

The capitalist system of production has enabled private persons to accumulate enormous wealth taxed from the laborers for centuries. If the people awaken to a realization of how they have been expropriated it is very likely that they will reverse the process and tax back into their own possession the wealth that has been taxed out of it. To accomplish this end the working class, which has had the products of its labor taxed out of it, will form a class-conscious political party to capture the powers of government or the legal taxing power. When this is accomplished the working class will be able to impose such a tax upon its former fleecers as the majority may determine. Whether the world's workers tax back a little at a time or confiscate the whole at once will be determined, as before stated, by the majority at that time. If the working class should take all the property at once without pretense of remuneration, they would do nothing more than has already been done to them through the slower process of expropriation by the capitalists. Even then the workers would not break even, for who would compensate them for the misery imposed through the centuries of slavery, serfdom, wage-bondage and drudgery?

But Socialism purposes not a retaliation for the wrongs the workers have so long endured. If the property of the people is taken back from the capitalistic robbers, we propose to pay, and pay well, for the property taken by admitting the capitalists to an equal share in the benefits of the Co-operative Commonwealth. To be sure, the capitalists will object to paying this tax, just as they dodge the payment of taxes imposed by their own governments; but the result will be beneficial to them as well as the workers in an ethical if not in an economic way.

### 7.—Public and Private Property.

To what extent does the Socialist party advocate the government ownership and control of property?

The Socialist party advocates the collective ownership of all things collectively used. Enemies of the movement often state that Socialism advocates the common ownership of all property, but such statements are without warrant, and the result of ignorance or prompted by a desire to deceive.

We believe in the collective ownership of the things that are collectively used and in the private ownership of the things that are privately used. Mills, mines, ranches and all industries wherein a number of workers co-operate in production cannot safely be entrusted to private ownership, as such private ownership is the condition that enables the owner to exploit the workers.

But homes, furniture, clothing, and the many things of that nature that are privately used, should be the personal property of the user; provided, of course, that he has rendered to society service equal to that required for their production. A well-known Socialist often answers this question by saying that collective ownership should go as far as the front gate. Private ownership begins at the front gate and applies to the home and all its property.

The object of collective ownership is, first, to prevent the taking of the laborer's product, which private ownership of public necessities makes possible, and, second, to secure to each worker the full equivalent of what his labor socially produces. Whatever value the workers' labor produces is his private property; and it is the business of Socialists to make him secure in this right.

Under the capitalist system the landlord takes part of the worker's product in the form of rent, the money shark takes part of it in the

form of interest, and everybody with whom he has dealing gets part of it in the form of profit. The fact that he makes more wealth than his wages will buy proves that he is exploited, or, in plainer language, robbed.

The object of Socialism is to put an end to this process of taking from the worker part of his private property which he has produced by his own effort. The collective ownership of land, machinery and tools are all to this purpose. Socialism is not to abolish private property, but to make private property possible to those who have the only right to it—the workers who produce it.

### 8.—Fusion.

Why don't the Socialists and the populists get together? Both advocate the welfare of the working class. Why not eliminate petty differences and strive shoulder to shoulder for right and justice to all mankind?

The history of the populist party is the best possible answer to your question. Populism grew rapidly until its leaders got the "get together" idea into operation, and now, like the lion and the lamb who got together with the lamb on the inside, the populist party and the democratic party are together, with the populist organization destroyed and its betrayed members disheartened.

A few days ago Tom Watson led the last remnant of Georgia populism to the support of the democrat, Hoke Smith, for governor of that state. Populist leaders, like Watson, have betrayed the party organization to its ruin; and fusion always ends in just such confusion. Thousands of populists are left without a political home because shrewd democratic politicians cultivated the "get together" idea to the glory of democratic pie hunters and to the ruin of the people's party.

Socialism is either right or wrong. If it is wrong, it cannot hope to fool populists who have been already hoodwinked. If it is right, the thing for populists to do is to leave the forlorn hope, join the Socialist party and labor consistently for its success. Socialists are unalterably opposed to any compromise or any political trading. We will fight it out to success by straightforward methods or go down with colors flying.

You are mistaken in the statement that the populist party advocates the welfare of the working class. Populism is distinctly a middle-class movement. All its efforts have been toward legislation to benefit the small capitalist. Much has been said by populists supposedly favorable to the farm owner, but not a thing advocated that would help the farm laborer or the farmer as a laborer.

The Socialist party is the only avowed and consistent political advocate of the working class. Farmers are to some extent capitalists, but they are more identified in interest with the workers. They belong in the Socialist party, and will never get home till they join the party of the working class. There is reason for that kind of a "get together," and none whatever for the fusion you propose.

You will see by careful examination that the differences between Socialism and populism are not "petty." The difference is so great that Socialists will never be enticed into a fusion deal and disrupted by any party as the populists have been by the miscalled democrats. We are standing shoulder to shoulder for right and justice to all mankind. When you get ready to cut loose from all capitalistic parties and support a genuine working-class movement we will be glad to have you stand with us, as thousands of populists have done, and fight the good fight to a successful finish.

### 9.—Mere Co-operation.

Why doesn't organized labor subscribe sufficient capital, form a gigantic industrial trust, employ itself, and, by competition, gradually absorb or put the present capitalistic enterprises out of business?

Because merely subscribing sufficient capital doesn't provide the funds to form a gigantic industrial trust. They might subscribe till doomsday, but subscription won't raise the necessary. If the members

of organized labor had the money to subscribe to such an undertaking they already would be capitalists instead of laborers.

There is a story of a striking union man who was asked by an officious clergyman what he had done with his wages. The worker told the minister in confidence that on Saturday night after he had drawn his wages, paid the rent, paid the grocer, paid the milkman, paid the butcher, baker, doctor and candlestick-maker, he took all that was left and put it in a barrel. When a barrel was filled he put in the head and stored it with many others in the cellar.

You seem to think that the average wage-worker has a barrel full of money somewhere with which to pay for the stock in this proposed industrial trust; but the workers have nothing of the kind. Their capitalist masters have seen to it that the surplus above what is required for the workingman to maintain existence has passed to their own coffers; and that is the reason the capitalists have the cap. They have it because the workers who produced it haven't it.

But your suggestion that the workers should go into business for themselves is a good one, and is just what the Socialists have been advocating for many years. But before they can do this they must learn how to go about it in a practical and systematic way. The first thing for the laborers to do is to collect what belongs to them, and they will have more than enough to finance the enterprise. When they make the masters restore the wealth that has been sweated out of their hides for centuries they will have the mills, mines, railroads and machinery with which to go ahead.

But collections are made by law through courts and constables; so, before the collection is made and the stolen goods returned to the owners, the workers must get control of the collecting power. Organized labor is but a fraction of the working class. Let the whole working class organize itself into a class-conscious political body and capture political power by electing their own people as judges and constables. Then they will be able to claim their own and get it by legal and peaceable means. It is the failure of the workers to go into politics and business for themselves that has made them hirelings. Their lack of the business instinct and its possession by the trading class is what has made them slaves and made their masters wealthy.

But they must take back not only the surplus that has been appropriated by captains of industry, but the land as well, that kings, pirates and aristocrats have seized by force of arms and held by cunning. The way to put capitalistic enterprises out of business is to put working-class enterprises into business.

### 10.—Socialism and Bible.

What position does the Bible occupy in the Socialists' creed?

The bible occupies the same position in the creed of Socialists that it does in the creed of party republicans and democrats. There is no more necessary connection between the political principles and the religious creeds of individuals than there is between church and state.

All political parties contain people of every shade of religious and irreligious belief, and the Socialist party is no exception to the rule. Among the prominent writers and speakers in the American Socialist movement are Catholic priests, Protestant preachers of all denominations, agnostics, atheists, Jews and believers in religions and philosophies too numerous to mention, and the party membership is gathered from people holding all kinds of doctrines as to matters non-political.

Robert G. Ingersoll, the most widely known opponent of the bible, was a republican and an agnostic, while C. C. McCabe is a republican and a Methodist bishop. Robert Blatchford, an English Socialist writer, is perhaps as prominent in his opposition to the bible as Ingersoll.

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# IT IS UP TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

## To Explain Why He Contributed Money to Free a Lawfully Convicted Republican Assassin, while Condemning to Death Untried Workingmen.

THE following Associated Press dispatch, dated February 5th, from Georgetown, Ky., appears in the daily papers:

"Caleb Powers, Kentucky's most noted prisoner, was called into court today to again stand trial for alleged complicity in the assassination of Governor William Goebel, seven years ago. Powers has already been tried three times for the crime charged against him, being twice sentenced to the penitentiary for life and once to die on the scaffold, but each time the court of appeals came to his rescue. Every prominent republican in the United States has contributed to the fund for his defense, and among them are mentioned President Roosevelt, the late Senator Quay, Secretary of State Taft and the late Senator Hanna."

In the first place let us say that, being opposed to capital punishment, we are not in the least opposed to the efforts that are being made to save the life of Caleb Powers.

What we want to call attention to is vastly more important than the life of an individual, for it involves the integrity and possible fate of the nation.

In the case of Caleb Powers, who has been convicted of assassination by three separate juries and sentenced to death, President Roosevelt stands before the country declaring him innocent and subscribing money to secure his release.

In the case of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, who have never been tried, never convicted, never sentenced, and who under the law are presumed absolutely innocent, President Roosevelt stands before the country pronouncing them guilty and condemning them to die on the gallows.

A copy of No. 586 of the *Appeal to Reason*, containing the article on Roosevelt's connection with the Powers-Goebel feud of Kentucky, was mailed to the president under registered postage. The attached photographic reproduction of the return receipt shows that the president received the paper, but up to this date no reply has been made to the question propounded. Is Roosevelt, the hero of San Juan, afraid to tell the American people why he contributed money and used his influence to secure the release of a man three times convicted of murder; and why, on the other hand, he publicly declared three men guilty of murder before they had been tried?

11—"Good" Employers.

When private enterprises are absorbed under the new system, will their owners be paid for them? How will this apply to those that have treated their employees exceptionally well?

What will be done at the establishment of the new system probably will be determined by the people at that time. There are many who will take part in that re-organization that now either are indifferent or are opposed to the change; and it would be as practical as wrong to attempt to settle the question in advance.

It is pertinent to state, however, that there is a growing conviction that the workers already have paid for the wealth invested in private enterprises. Inasmuch as labor has produced all wealth, the laborers feel that all wealth belongs to them, notwithstanding the fact that most of it has been withheld from them.

There used to be a reckless old brood sow on the farm that made a business of upsetting beehives to get the honey. She was persistent in such efforts, but the bees always drove her away before she had done much damage. The human workers don't stingle the capitalists who upset their little hives of industry and reduce them to wage slavery. They have the ballots to sting with, but don't have the courage to use them. If the bees had been as kind to the sow as the workers are to the capitalists they would have let her come every day and take all their surplus product. Then, if the bees had been as conscientious as our human workers and the sow as much of a hog as our capitalists, the cloven-hoofed animal would have sold the honey back to the starving bees at Christmas time.

If you were to decide the question you have asked, would you advise the workers to buy stolen goods—goods that not only had been stolen, but stolen from the very ones who are expected to buy them?

Those employers who have been exceptionally kind to employees might fare much the same as a highwayman who has been exceptionally polite in his manner of holding up wayfarers. It is no doubt more pleasant to be robbed in a genteel way than in a boorish fashion; but matters of etiquette have little bearing on problems in economics. An investigation of the facts shows that it is the capitalist who has enjoyed the exceptionally kind treatment in that he didn't get stung when he began to exploit labor and has been permitted to systematically rob the hive for centuries.

But if the few who have taken the honey can make the working class think the robber should be paid for stolen goods, perhaps the workers will be as kind as ever and pay for what they already have earned.

What is there about wealth that men ever seek to hide the amount of it they possess? Isn't there something crooked about it, and don't they feel it? Why should they not be proud of how much they have if it is rightly and properly in their possession? Their very secrecy shows the defenseless character of the ownership.

The *Appeal to Reason*, in the name of its million and a half readers, puts it up to President Roosevelt to answer the following questions:

First—Why do you, Mr. President, pronounce Powers innocent after three juries have pronounced him guilty?

Second—Why do you pronounce Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone guilty before they have been tried at all?

Third—Is it because Caleb Powers is a republican that he is innocent in spite of three lawful convictions?

Fourth—Is it because Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone are workingmen and Socialists that they are guilty without having been tried at all?

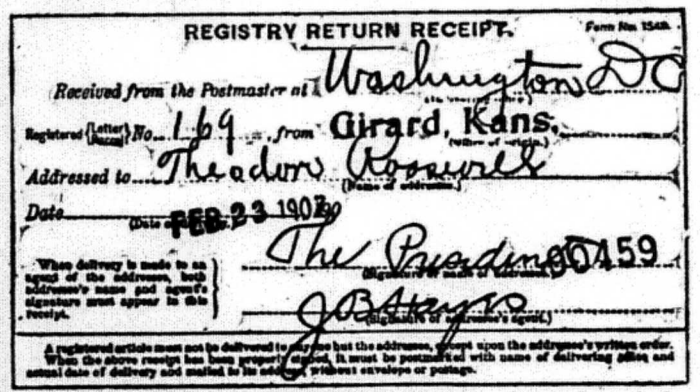
Fifth—Is your activity in these two particular cases, seeking in the one to free a man three times lawfully convicted and in the other to kill three men by pronouncing their guilt before they have been tried, becoming the high office of president of the United States?

Sixth—In the face of the above stated facts, are you to be considered a law-abiding citizen?

The columns of the *Appeal* are wide open to the president. The case is up to him and it certainly demands explanation.

The president cannot escape by sneering at the *Appeal*, for it talks to enough people to make up one-fifth of the entire population of the nation and of the class which does its work and produces its wealth.

The president will receive the paper containing this article by registered, personal mail, and a million and a half of thinking American people will await his answer.



Five million workingmen are interested in this answer. Will Roosevelt speak or is he a coward?

**THE AMERICAN ESPERANTO.**  
Capitalism is international. Its only hope of a continued existence is in keeping the working masses in ignorance of their own power, and by the contrivance of bogus issues and the flaunting of fake political battle-rags to make them accomplish their own subjugation. The rich themselves cannot suppress this working class movement—they are in their own power no stronger than a wisp of hay in the grasp of a tornado. They must make the working men oppress each other. To accomplish this they have poured out the blood of a million million of their slaves, without remorse. But there came a day when, in the Roman circus, the men trained to fight each other for the sport of nobles turned with the light of sudden understanding in their eyes and presented a bristling front of menacing steel to their former owners. They had become class-conscious.

And today the mechanics of America are turning out magnificent engines of destruction to accomplish the murder of their brothers whenever the whim of capitalism may demand it. They, too, must be made class-conscious and must stand shoulder to shoulder and refuse to slaughter the comrades of other nations and other languages.

Other languages? Not necessarily. The gulf which has separated the nations for centuries past has suddenly been bridged, and there is now a language which none can claim as his own, yet is the common possession of all—*Esperanto*. Very properly the dukes and princes of Europe were dismayed when they learned that there had been invented a language so simple that it can be learned well in two or three months, and by means of which persons of different nationality, who have never even studied it, can understand each other. Too late was their effort to suppress it. Already it has spread to thirty-five nations, and Socialists all over the world are learning the wonderful new tongue. Ninety-nine per cent of the college professors and language teachers of America are ridiculing the language, and in some schools the pupils are openly forbidden to study it. It smells of revolution!

That's just why we Socialists need it. The *Appeal* editor has studied very little, but can read letters from every quarter of the globe written in the language. *Esperanto* is absolutely destined to be the means of fusing the workers of the world into international solidarity. Study a few hours, and you can make yourself understood, in speech or writing, by millions of comrades throughout the world.

Extra copies of this issue of "Studies in Socialism" at the rate of 50 cents per 100. Order No. 40, "Studies in Socialism."

There has just been compiled, by Arthur Baker, editor of the first Esperanto magazine in America, and a young man of unflinching faith in the Socialist movement, a complete compendium of Esperanto, which is about to be issued under the title of "The American Esperanto Book." It is to be the most complete work on Esperanto ever published in any language, and is especially prepared for the use of persons who have not been to college, with explanations which they can readily understand. The book will be of pocket size, convenient for carrying to and from work, and will have over three hundred pages. It will contain the full international exercises of Esperanto by Dr. Zamenhof, inventor of the language, with translations and notes by Mr. Baker; a complete grammar of the language, explained in simple language; a vocabulary of over three thousand Esperanto words, a large vocabulary of English words with the Esperanto translations, with other useful information for the student. The *Appeal* wants to publish this book. Esperanto is absolutely essential to the success of the international movement, and we are more than anxious that the plates of this splendid work be not allowed to pass into capitalist hands. The *Appeal* fully understands the importance of Esperanto, and every member of the staff is studying it. But we want to know that you will stand by us in this undertaking, which involves the investment, to carry it to success, of several thousand dollars. To do this, we must have, in the next thirty days, five thousand orders for the book.

You've stood by us before in every endeavor, and we want to assure you that never have we undertaken anything more important than this. It is outside of our regular line and we don't know just how the rest of you fellows feel about it, and that's why we ask this advance assurance of your support. Whether you come to our aid or not this book will be issued, but we feel that its possession by the *Appeal* will be a tremendous weapon in the fight against capitalism. Send no money with your order. Simply write us on a postal card that you want a copy.

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Enough crimes to damn the present social system are recorded in a single issue of any metropolitan paper.

The nobility and clergy of Russia, according to a dispatch, say that a compliance to the demands of the peasants for a return to them of the lands "is impossible." You see, one of the earliest things the cunning found out was that to possess the lands made the others their servants. In the conquest of every country the lands were taken from the owners and handed over to the conquerors. That enslaved the people who had no lands, for they had to live on the land and must, therefore, serve those who owned the land. Yet, strange as it may seem, in America, with all its schools and books and papers, the great majority, who are landless, do not know that they have been enslaved by this age-old method. They pay one-fourth to one-half of all their lives for the use of God's free earth, and don't have wit enough to see the cheat. Do you?

There are house builders, architects and material enough in the world to build beautiful houses for each and every family, yet millions live in shelters that are unfit for human habitation. These men want to work, and all want to live in good houses. Why then is the world so poor? If one part produced food, another houses, another instruction and another pleasure and entertainment, don't you know there would be enough of these in the world for all who helped to produce them? Then why don't they do it? Because man, in his ignorance and cunning, has devised rules that give to those who do not produce the larger part of what is produced, and thus themselves do not help, leaving the greater burden on those they exploit. The many, in all ages, have been too stupid to see this cheat, and thus the cunning have ruled and robbed and the useful have slaved and gone with scanty fare. To which class belong you?

Did you ever think of what anarchy you live under? There are the republicans pulling one way, democrats another, reformers another, a hundred religious sects pulling against each other, every capitalist pulling against every other capitalist, every working man and woman pulling to get a job, when there are not enough to go around, every merchant pulling against his competitors, and so on down the line of a million conflicting interests. Even when all the people are set at some work for the public, a thousand private interests are trying to graft on it, and thus we have "confusion worse confounded." If this is not anarchy, what is it? Now, in the Socialist republic there will be but one interest—that of the whole people. There will be no private grafting because there will be no incentive for it, and there will be no opportunity for it. But, then, Socialists are such impractical fellows! It is so practical to have everybody trying to undo what everybody else is trying to do! We live under what is known to philosophers as commercial anarchy. And you didn't know it!

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The above publications, whose regular price amounts to \$1.75, together with "Studies in Socialism," all one year for \$1.00

Workingmen, if you were to study principles instead of men you would be better equipped to judge what men want the thing that would benefit you. Capitalists study out principles that will benefit them, and then support men for office who carry out those principles. Why not be as wise as your masters? You know well enough that you are ignorant about government and laws, yet you play the game and "get it in the neck" every time. So does the working class of Europe. The rulers study their interest—you study little or nothing except your work, so you will become more efficient wage slaves. Get a think on yourself.



ESPERANTO.

The World Republic! It's coming has never been obstructed by a more formidable obstacle than ignorance; liberty is ever the possession of those who intelligently desire it. And the workers of the world are beginning to desire it, and to couple that desire with intelligent action and logical thought. They ponder it on their way to work, this select and ever-increasing number; they study it by the evening lamp in their humble homes; they read with gladness its signs in the news of the day; they are singing it in their theaters, while from pit to galleries there swell the echoing thunders of applause—the Brotherhood of Man! The World Republic!

But no such republic is possible while hundreds of languages prevent understanding between the nations. That is why the attention of intellectual Socialists, the world over, has turned to Esperanto, the new international language. The wonderful thing is the product of a Russian genius, Dr. Zamenhof. It is so simple that well-educated persons can practically read it at sight, yet so expressive that no other language even approaches it in accuracy of expression and fineness of detail.

It is built up from European languages, the author having selected all words which are already international and simply conferred upon them the Esperanto spelling. It is spelled as pronounced and pronounced as spelled. Taking a root word for the central thought, prefixes and suffixes, about forty in number, are used to express the various phases of thought radiating from this center. For example, *lerni* means to learn. From this, a few of the words one could make for himself, without the aid of a dictionary, would be: *Lernanto*, a pupil; *lernantino*, a female pupil; *lernejo*, a school-house; *lernejestro*, a schoolmaster; *lernolibro*, a textbook; *lernejaro*, a university; *lernulo*, a learned man; *lernema*, bright, apt, quick to learn; *lernigi*, to teach; *lernadi*, to study. Many more words, for which English would employ totally different forms, may be thus made, and the student knows the meaning of each from the simple root word.

The *Appeal to Reason* sees in Esperanto the means of uniting the workers of the world in intelligent organization, and the whole editorial staff is studying the language. The first Esperanto publication in America is called *Amerika Esperantisto*, and is published by a Socialist, of course. It is a handsome little monthly, designed to spread the use of the language here in the United States, and subscriptions are received through the *Appeal* office at the regular price, \$1.00 per year. All subscriptions will commence with the January number, which contains the full grammar of the language and a list of about 500 of the most useful words. Let every Socialist subscribe for this paper and learn the language. When he can correspond directly with comrades of every nation, or read what they have written before it has lost part of its significance by translation, he will understand as never before the class struggle throughout the world, and will experience a glorious confirmation of his faith in the coming of the World Republic.

To the Appeal Army:

I know you recognize a good thing when it is handed to you. I, therefore, feel confident that you will at once appreciate the value of this issue of *STUDIES IN SOCIALISM*. You are acquainted with *STUDIES IN SOCIALISM* as a small pamphlet, varying in number of pages from 8 to 64. You will like this new form better. You will be at once impressed with the strong and effective propaganda matter contained in these four pages.

This has been adopted as the permanent form for our quarterly. It is printed and folded on the big Goss press and can therefore be furnished much more economically than in any other shape. The rate has been reduced to *two cents per year*, where a bundle of 50 copies is taken. This makes *STUDIES IN SOCIALISM* the most economical propaganda literature yet offered for sale.

Every line in this issue is vital and alive. It is good for every day work for three months. You will find it a powerful auxiliary to the *Appeal*. It can be used with good effect in many places where you can't get the *Appeal* wedge started.

A bundle of 50 copies each issue for one year for \$1.00. Add your name to the subscription list of the newest of Socialist publications. I want a list of 100,000 at once.

J. A. WAYLAND.



# HALF SLAVE AND HALF FREE

BY EUGENE V. DEBS.

It requires no strain of the imagination to conjure up the shade of Lincoln in melancholy meditation upon plutocracy triumphant in the land he loved.

King Pluto is on the throne, and, in our picture, Lincoln rises from his grave and speaks more powerfully than he ever could in words in his earthly incarnation.

The upper portion of this picture, from the *Boston Tribune*, in its original form and conception, depicts a middle-class condition. Our artist has changed the perspective and now flashes a full and up-to-date panoramic picture of capitalism and wage-slavery into view.

This change has been made by the addition of the lower half of the above picture, taken from an illustration used in "The Silent War," by J. A. Mitchell, editor of *Life*.

"Old Abe" had not a drop of plutocratic blood in his honest veins. He sprang from the virgin soil of our common humanity and lived close to the hearts of the people.

He foresaw, and spoke in dread of, the insidious approach of danger. He was not mistaken; his fears were not groundless, nor his warning words idly spoken.

Capitalism is now plutocracy.

Only the empty shell of the republic remains.

The president has power absolute, The senate is a house of lords, The supreme court a capitalist committee, The people more or less docile subjects, The working class slaves.

Look at the picture to see them writhing in their misery. There is not a city in the union in which this picture cannot be duplicated a thousandfold in the very heart of the so-called splendors of our so-called civilization.

At the top, bloated, vulgar, hideous display of pomp and power.

At the bottom, the festering mass of slavery, the slums, the sweat-shops, the squares of squalor and miles of misery.

Lincoln said of chattel slavery in the republic fifty years ago, "This nation cannot endure half slave and half free." This hardly applies to wage slavery today. It would be nearer right to say three-quarters slave and one-quarter free, and, if the moral aspect is considered, wholly right to say ALL SLAVE.

There is a moving appeal in this picture. It touches the heart and tempers the nerve; quickens the blood and strengthens the will.

The inspiration seizes us and we resolve to destroy King Pluto's profit system and rear the Socialist Republic.

Socialism is like the anti-slavery agitation—it will not down. It will be heard. It stands to conquer.

I would rather have a tenant who would give me one-half of the crop than to own three slaves outright.

Extra copies of this issue of "Studies in Socialism" at the rate of 50 cents per 100. Order No 40, "Studies in Socialism."

It isn't the poor devil who doesn't work that is a burden on you—it is the rich devil who spends thousands a month and who doesn't work.

If one half the things the old parties say about each other are true—and presumably they are—the only thing any decent man can do is to vote the Socialist ticket.

What a sight for the gods to see a hundred strong, brawny men humbly begging a spindle-shanked, debauched capitalist for the right to work! Surely the pyramid is upside down.

The rich must, like kings, snicker in their sleeves at how easy it is to fool the people into supporting them. They can rob the people, flaunt the loot in their faces, and still the people will vote to have them continue it.

Corporations are capitalist unions, and they are recognized by law. But organizations of labor unions, of men who do the world's work, are not recognized by law. Why? O, just because the work people don't know what their votes are for, that's all.

There are good kings and bad kings, but I am opposed to any kind of kingship. There are good capitalists and bad capitalists, but I am opposed to capitalists of all kinds. The tribute a good capitalist levies on me hurts just as much as if he were a bad capitalist.

The hirelings of the monopolists declare that there are no classes in this country. In the next breath they denounce the Socialists for trying to array class against class! If there are no classes, how can we array them against each other? There are classes here and the excusers of monopolies know it, and they are well defined, as they are in Europe. In other words, we have arrived at European conditions.

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