TO THE WORKER

propagate Socialism.

udies in Socialis

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STUDIES IN SOCIALISM.

ure of 70,000. Since the last issue been added to the list. This is cer- evolution of industry. tainly a fine showing, and to me inthis copy, with the very best material His money can get him out of it, unis good today—and will be good to- the same tickets as the rich. morrow. Every Appeal Army worker should add his name to the working class of Russia to sustain its list of subscribers for a bundle of brutal nobility than for you Amer-STUDIES IN SOCIALISM.

2 cents a year when fifty copies of spends comes out of the labor of lights now, and, as things always each of the four issues are subscribed Can't you get next to the game? lights now, and, as things always have been this way, it follows that they had them in colonial days!

\$1.00 pays for 50 copies each issue for

ne year. Extra copies, a 100, 50c.

The Slight Difference.

Chattel slavery took the products of its victim's labor through immediate ownership of specific individuals. Wage slavery takes the results of its victim's labor through imper-opulence? Why the many denied a sonal ownership. Chattel slavery produced by open force. Wage slav ery takes from the workers the sur-order must be overthrown, and this plus product of their labor so stealthly that they do not know they have cialist movement.

Chattel slavery gave the victim

jobs and the food. Chattel slavery made laws com-

victim to find a master or starve.

not always that. ventive race of workers, who are im- on you? mensely profitable to their masters.

Chattel slavery buried its propwith the real sorrow of owners. Wage cal colleges without a tear or regret.

istence by controlling the legislative and didicial machinery of the state, is plenty of room on earth and plenty Chattel slavery maintained its exand fell when it lost political power. by controlling the legislative and by controlling the legislative and the equivalent of what he produces, judicial machinery of the state, and To give him more would be unfair will fall when it loses this political)

of aristocrats who had a permanent to divert the streams of profit from interest whatever in their victims.

Chattel slavery met its Waterloo

WHAT is the difference whether you call men nobles and give them a big income out of the labor power of the people, or call them capitaiists and give them a big income out of the labor of the people?

PRIVATE ownership is rapidly givng way to corporate ownership. HE total edition of STUDIES Corporate ownership must in time IN SOCIALISM for last quar-ter reached the enormous fig-tions necessarily employed, must give way to democratic management by 10,222 yearly subscriptions have those who do the work. Such is the

WHEN a poor man breaks any of dicates that the quarterly in its new the petty rules of society he is we can produce. The truth here less some other and richer man has printed will never grow stale. It counter interests. And the poor vote

Is it any more foolish for the icans to sustain your brutal aristocracy? What they have and what tion 100,000 copies. The rate is just as what the Russian nobility the electric lights! We have electric would be best for you? That's the We are anxious to make this edi- they spend comes out of your labor

WOULDN'T it be amusing to see the rich people trying to find something ne year.

S2.00 pay for 100 copies each issue for to eat and to keep clean and to care chattel slaves and that two million sold pay for 100 copies each issue for their horses and other animals soldiers went down there and freed if all the working people were to them from chattel slavery! But that se year. \$10.00 pays for 500 copies each issue for go on a month's vacation? They they tell us that if it were not for and, as things always have been this the capitalists the work people would way, it follows that they always have of stopping the concentration of

> THE better nature of man revolts against the iniquities of the existing regime. Why should the many toil in poverty that the few may riot in decent livelihood to afford the few their own degeneracy? This brutal is the historic mission of the So-

CAPITALISTS are always in politics one and a known master. Wage slav- for their own benefit-why shouldn't ery gives the victim many and un-the working class use politics in their interest? The capitalists are Chattel slavery fed and cared for strong in money and can beat the fts victims in childhood, age and workers on the economic field, but sickness. Wage slavery feeds its vic- the workers are strong in votes and tims only so long as they produce can beat the capitalists on the political field, and by politics they can

THE kind of legal justice that the pelling the victim to remain in the work people of America get is the possession of a certain master. Wage same kind that the czar dishes out to slavery makes laws compelling the his work people. He causes tens of thousands to be legally convicted quite evenly distributed, and the ple to do everything from the rud-Chattel slavery gave its victims every year; he legally shoots them only enough of what their labor pro- by platoous; he legally tortures them duced to keep them in working or- worse than the Inquisition ever did; der. Wage slavery gives its victims he does all this under the forms of merely enough to exist upon, and law. But he makes the laws. Capitalists here make the laws, just as Chattel slavery produced a lazy, the feudal ruler of Russia. The laws careless, ignorant race of workers, never punish the nobility in Russia who produced comparatively little nor do they punish the rich in this state. profit for their masters. Wage slav- country. Will you work people never ery produces an active, frugal, in- get wise to the game being played

Isn't the use of a farm or of a Chattel slavery did not produce a millionaire in two hundred years. dwelling all you can possibly get Wage slavery has produced about out of them unless you make them dustries has developed and changed eight thousand millionaires in fifty a means of speculation or of getting like a kaleidoscope before our very part of what some renter produces? What does the ownership of such ertyless victims on the plantation property amount to other than a means of getting a third or a half slavery buries its victims in a pau-per lot or sells their bodies to medi-wage slave's income? Ownership of some serf's crop or a slice of some does not make property any more useful, but gives the owner the power Wage slavery maintains its existence worker the use of what he needs and and to give him less is robbery.

produce more or better articles, but Chattel slavery produced a class to the men who can devise schemes proprietary interest in their victims.

Wage slavery has produced a class of aristocrats who have no personal petitor for his employer. Under Soperior of aristocrats who have no personal petitor for his employer. Under Soperior of the supplementation of their victims. place for this kind of cunning. Unwhen capitalists found that wage der Socialism the man who can make slavery was more profitable. Wage two blades of grass grow where one the workers find that co-operation any way to the increase or perfection to get them. and socialized industry are to their of things that satisfy human needs.

A World of Change.

this way and they will not always be lot to get what you want? this way.

Things have always changed continually.

The man who can't see that must be blind, indeed.

We have always had street cars, for example, haven't we? We always have had steam rail-

Certain muddle heads have tried to make us believe that the lights which appeared in the belfry on the night when Paul Revere watched for the signal and then made his memorable midnight ride from Boston candles. But everybody knows that the colonial heroes merely turned on lights now, and, as things always question for you to answer.

The historians have tried to delude the people by telling them that is all a hoax! The negroes of the be helpless as babes. Yet South are now working for wages, been wage slaves and never were chattel slaves at all!

What nonsense! Things were not this way ten thousand years ago, nor five thousand years ago, nor one thousand years ago, nor five hundred years took from the workers whatever they the special privilege of exploiting ago, nor one hundred years ago, nor

> Before civilization began, society was not divided into classes. There lived in a state of communism-not outdo or overreach one another financially.

For several centuries after civili-For several centuries after that,

Chattel slavery owned the man and control the capitalists every time. they were divided into feudal lords the land. Wage slavery owns the Can't you see?

And, after the fedual system had run its course, the present wage system, or capitalist system, began.

Even seventy-five years ago, in this very United States, wealth was people had approximately equal opportunities.

Even fifty years ago, the concentration of wealth into the hands of a few had not progressed very

Even twenty-five years ago, it had by no means reached its present

Even ten years ago, the centralizaand combines had not reached any- get your own. thing like its present stage of completion.

Labor saving machinery in all in-

Decidedly, things have not always een this way. Still more decidedly, things will

not always be this way.

This is a world of change, not of stagnation .- John M. Work.

filled with wealth until none could bot, and this is the crowning glory have any unsupplied want. That is of ts philosophy. what the people lose by following a false ideal, believing in false theotions of society?

all these things for half the exer-

Where does the capitalist come in? laws in their own interest.

Ar the ballot box the work people No, things have not always been weak. Why don't you use your bal-

> A MAN who will use a club, when he has a gun, to defend himself from a lion is certainly silly. What shall strike against their masters when they have the ballot?

form meets a demand for purely promptly arrested, tried and senpropaganda literature. It is filled some of the grave rules of society to the brim, as you will note from the can never be brought to trial.

We always have had steam rail ways and we always will have them! Ways and we always will have them! It is all a dream that people used to lieve in it?" Well, suppose we gave get no men to take the places of the brim, as you will note from the can never be brought to trial.

It is all a dream that people used to lieve in it?" Well, suppose we gave get no men to take the places of the workers when they refused to no prospect of electricity ever taking ditions or system? Wouldn't it still submit to poor pay or bad condi-You are very wise, you are.

> for the wealth they got; today they trade for it. But in both instances the poor produce it and the rich get to Lexington were made with tallow it. Under Socialism the industrious would have it and the lazy or useless would have none of it. Which can't get it in any other way. If

For fifty years the politicians have been telling you that they were opposed to the trusts, and have kept you waiting and hoping for the time when the trusts should be banished. At the same time the politicians were busy making laws to help the rich, and have been sharing in the plunder. Isn't fifty years of waiting enough to convince you that the men wealth even if they can? How much longer will they be able to fool you with their promises and trickery? You are certainly an easy generation.

I READ in a book the other day that "A mechanic is simply a wellthinking. A black mechanic in the south sold for more than a common it time we were abolishing wage slav-Socialism, but communism - and ery? Do men like to be used like men made no attempt whatever to field slaves were to simply pile up bigger fortunes for the owners of the jobs? Really, do you? Under Socialism no man would own your tries and get all the products. Wouldn't that be better for you?

THE rich say that the poor haven't enough sense to govern themselves or operate the industries. But the rich find it profitable to gull the people with such talk. They hire peoest form of drudgery to the skilled labor of management. If hirelings are able to manage as well as drudge for their masters why can't they manage and work for themselves? Just because they think as they do, and they think as they do because they believe what the rich tell them without thinking for themselves. Work your heads more and your tion of the industries into trusts muscles less and you will begin to

ONE of the most gratifying feain Finland, where the Socialists came parliament, the first time in the histhis Socialist movement, to thus de-By lack of system, caused by the Oh yes, it's too bad, but Socialism conflicting individual interests, only is the only theory of society in which one-third of the wealth that could woman comes into her heritage of be is produced, and the world is equ'il freedom with man and in poverty-stricken when it should be which there is perfect freedom for

mere scramble for profit will find like submissiveness. As a servant, working, planning and scheming to nity. something better to do. Socialism he is trained to obedience to his see how much of the products of recognizes the value of ability; but master, like an ox to the voke. He labor they can get. That is their

All as Quick as Part. A reader wants us to advocate a

to unemployed at a bare existence wage until they can get work. The reader is informed that it is not to done. If there were not a lot of to have a home of your own. "Why don't you Socialists give unemployed men they would be no prospect of electricity ever taking ditions or system? Wouldn't it still submit to poor pay or bad conditions place of steam!

Certain muddle heads have tried You are very wise, you are. to limit the price of their goods. If the workers want relief, they can what ties that they prefer to vote for them and starve, why there is nothing to no matter what he is called. be done for them. Socialism offers the workers the full product of their thousand dollars of wealth for a such a program, it is silly to expect them to vote for a set of men who will give them a labor agency and wages enough to keep them just There are many things that alive. would help the lot of the workers, but they will not vote for the men who want to do these things. All they know is one or the other of the old parties, with their program fifty years ago, nor even ten years trained slave." And I set myself to trusts. So long as the workers vote the same tickets as the trust owners field hand: It does look like the not deserve and will not get any was no master class. The tribes statement is close to the truth. Isn't other treatment than that which they have been receiving for the last fifty years. Socialism will soive the problem, and it can be taught just as that enable the rich to "do" them.

> made a study of the work that they have. were to be employed for. But when you employ a man to be mayor, to men whom you would not CRIME will exist as long as men may profit by it. Make conditions

Eo LONG as men had confidence in act and men will not commit that more; and it matters not how much condition. Wage slavery is a law-made paid not to the men who actually rulers. Isn't it about time you and nobles ruled. When men lost Make it impossible for any man to produce more or better articles, but consider the king and nobles, so long the king and nobles ruled. When men lost Make it impossible for any man to produce more or better articles, but consider the king and nobles, so long the king and nobles, so long the king and nobles, so long the king and nobles ruled. When men lost make it impossible for any man to produce more or better articles, but consider the king and nobles, so long the king and nobles, so long the king and nobles ruled. opened your eyes to the real condi- confidence in kings and nobles and live without useful work and you and profits come from the same opposed them the kings and nobles will have abolished the conditions source it amounts to a conflict over disappeared and a new set of rulers that make for crime. When men and the division of the wealth produced. Every act of your life has been called capitalists appeared. As long women can have the good things of The workers take as much as they to supply yourself with food, cloth- as men believe that capitalists are life only by having evidence that can get and the capitalists take as ing, shelter, housing, instruction and their friends, so long will the capi- they have been aiding directly in much as they can get—the conflict cialism there would be no need or pleasure. Socialism will arrange in- talists rule, but when they vote producing the good things of life is continuous and irrepressible. Were dustry so that you will be supplied against capitalists as they strike crime could purchase nothing. Crime the capitalists to take the workers in against them, then capitalists will increases more rapidly than popula- as equal partners the arrangement slavery was more profitable. Wage two blades of grass grow where one slavery will meet its Waterloo when has grown or who can contribute in the man who can make against them, then captured the slavery will meet its Waterloo when has grown or who can contribute in the man who can make against them, then captured them would not satisfy those who work, would not satisfy those who work, and without any disappear, and the workers will rule tion because the conditions are fawould not satisfy those who work, workers find that co-present the conditions are fato got them. here whether the capitalists are here rich, honest men remain poor. Most those who wouldn't work. Only by THE average man has no part in or not, just as the country and its crimes are committed according to making all workers and securing to will be in demand; but those who the making of the moral code and wealth were here when the king was law. Laws do not make wrong right, each the value of what his labor proposed was the making of the moral code and wealth were here when the king was law. now waste time and talent in the statutes, yet he obeys them with dog- driven out. Capitalists are always but cash purchases laws and immuduces can the conflict between the

THE system that gives one man an income which he has not produced by his own labor is at the same time government employment agency and withholding from some man part of for the government to furnish work what he has produced.

Ir the homeless people, those who don't own a foot of real estate, will we say of the millions who use the the interest of the capitalists, who vote the Socialist ticket we won't run this government, to have this need the votes of the others. Vote

IF I wanted to skin you I would rather control your job than control your vote, if you would promise not the workers when they refused to to use your vote to take away my control of your job. 'Are you on?

CAPITALISTS extol the idea, of to do this as to expect the capi- meekness-in the working class. In olden times the strong fought talists to make a law that would com- They can rule those who are meek pel them to pay a standard wage for and grovelling. What men who a certain fixed number of hours and labor need is some iron in their

WHAT is the difference between a get it through their votes, and they judge appointed for life and a king who is ruler for life? The man they think so much of the old par- from whom there is no appeal is your king, your emperor, your czar,

If you had not been raised up labor-something more than two under the wage system you would revolt before you would submit to year of eight-hour days, and employ- its extortion. But, like the Moment for every man and woman who hammedan, you can't see its horrors desires employment. If they can't because you have become accustomed be induced to vote for men who want to it, and don't see any other system.

ARE you silly enough to think that the kind of men who bribe public officials are too honorable to commit other crimes for the sake of profit? Is a bribe-giver too virtuous to stuff a ballot box? Is he too patriotic to refrain from anything that will add to his gain? It is the rich who bribe, and the rich will for the benefit of the capitalists and do anything to perpetuate the advantage they get over you by keeping up the process of capitalistic -democrat and republican—they do kinning. The profit-monger who bribes public officials will steal your liberty whenever he gets the chance, and for that reason is a public enemy.

THE life of a savage is much betreadily and just as soon as any half- ter than the lives of many of the way measure. The great army of poor working people of the great unemployed is greater day by day, eities. The savages never suffer for For several centuries after civili- section to get a control of the several centuries after civili- section began, the people were divided job. All you workers would be the while the capitalists are howling pure air, they never starve if there into masters and chattel slaves. owners and operators of the indus- prosperity, and the pressure is slowly is anything to be had, nor do they reaching to the small towns. In the feed their children to the mills and stress coming men will have to think stunt their bodies. I don't know but and think fast, or die and get off what the savage existence is superior the earth. The workers starve, at to the lives of well-to-do people who least never live decently, and the breathe steam heated atmosphere and shirkers live in luxury. Don't blame smoke, and live the worried lives the rich-it's the votes of the poor they do in this alleged civilization. Socialism would be as much better than this system as the average per-You would not employ a printer, son believes capitalism to be supeblacksmith, a carpenter or a phy-rior to savagery. Let's all work and sician unless you knew they had vote for something better than we

> CAPITALISTS who secretly bribe run the town, or to sit in its coun- public officials also secretly bribe cils, or to make the laws for the every labor leader whom they can state or nation, you not only do not corrupt. When you hear a capitalenquire whether he has any knowl- ist break forth into denunciation of edge that fits him for such work, but a labor leader you can bet that he you don't even know what the has tried and failed to make that science is called that he should study leader a traitor to his class. When tures of the glorious election returns to be qualified. You elect to these a capitalist goes out of his way to near capturing the whole works, was the election of eleven women to the who have not studied the science of fixed so that he will not endanger society (sociology) are not fitted for the graft of the bribers. When you for of the kingdom that a woman has been chosen to "profane" the temple of legislation. It is awful, is why you are having such a time dove to those who laud him. And strey the natural dignity of woman with your public officials. If you when he is harmless to your enemies. by making her the equal of man, knew anything of the subject you while pretending to serve your interwould vote quite otherwise than you ests, you can know that he is a traido. So it is you who do the voting for to you men who made and who that are at fault, more than the fel- maintain him. Are you blind enough lows you vote for. Do you catch on? to trust men who are the favorites of the enemy?

It matters not how much wages so that no profit will result from an labor gets, it will always be wanting classes be brought to an end: This talk about harmony between capitalrecognizes the value of ability; but the ability to produce, not the ability to change the flow of profits, is the ability that makes wealth and the dictation of others.

The working people think ple live on as little as they do. How the work people think ple live on as little as they do. How they are the work people the work people the work people the work people think ple live on as little as they do. How they are the wo of the labor of the people?

The people who work go in sholdy and the idlers go in silks and fine lines. They both vote the same fine lines and lines and lines and lines are controlled in the clothers, all the clothers, all the houses, all the country and all will be ben-fort they are extravagant, what about the same system of industry that Socialism the entertainment of the world. But then, the latter don't have to the capitalists will make laws will be ben-fort the country and all will be ben-fort they are extravagant, what about the same system of industry that Socialism the entertainment of the world. But then, the latter don't have to control ignorant, illiterate people who work for what they spend.

A Page of Questions About Socialism Together With Answers

Which increases Because of Age?

It is impossible to set forth the Marxian theory of value with the proofs of its correctness in the limited space of this column. The the ory is briefly stated in Vail's "Prin- REFORMERS AND THE DESIRED END ciples of Scientific Socialism" and fully presented with incontestible proof in the book, entitled "Capital," by Karl Marx. The theory that hu-man labor is the creator of value was supported by Ricardo and Adam Smith, as well as Marx, and was never questioned until the capitalists saw the use being made of it by Socialists to overthrow capitalist exploitation of laborers.

You err in assuming that when wine has been extracted, fermented and barreled, labor can add nothing more to it. There are few things made that can't be improved in qual ity and increased in value by additional labor, and wine is not an exception to this general rule. That labor is required in aging wine is evident when the necessary factors in that process are taken into consideration.

You realize at once that the cask that contains the wine is a product of labor, and that if the cask is consumed or worn out in fulfilling its function that the cost of the cask becomes part of the total cost of the wine. To the extent that the cask is worn out or consumed in holding and preserving the wine, to that same extent the value of the cask is transferred to its contents and changes from cask value to wine

But the storage of wine consume other products of labor than the cask. A suitable place must be provided in which the cask and contents can be protected from the weather and maintained at the proper tempera-Under average conditions (which are the only conditions of consequence to economics) wine in storage demands not only a cask, but also a wine cellar. It takes labor to build wine cellars, and wine cellars wear out the same as casks and other utilities. As the cellar is consumed by inevitable decay its cost becomes a charge against the things for which it was made or for which it exists. In this process cellar value, therefore, becomes wine value; and, like the cask, perpetuates the value created by the labor expended in its construction by transferring it to the wine. The wine becomes the depository of value that formerly existed only in cask and cellar.

But, more than this, the satisfactory storage of wine requires greater or less amount of personal attention. The personal attention and energy, or labor, of someone is required to the extent of guarding the cask and contents from two-legged and four-legged rats. A defense must always be provided for private property against ing numbers by the mills of capithe cure often comes many days afto the attack of the small animal life that infests cellars as well as tavern bedsteads. Many a "fine old stock" of wine has been reduced to vinegar by rats gnawing the bungs and admitting the air.

In the instance under consideration a cask of wine acquires a value of \$70 in twenty years—an average of \$3.50 a year or less than a cent a day. When you take into consideration the amount of human labor involved in all the things necessary to the storage and care of the vinous beverage, you will see that human labor does contribute materially to the aging of wine.

WHAT WILL BECOME OF THE OLD? If Each Gets All His Labor C.cates How Will the Disabled Be Cared For?

If, in the Co-operative Common-wealth, all get the full product of their toil, where will the funds come from to pension the old and disabled?

kindly with the weak. Such pen-sions could be provided for by a system of insurance to which each shall and who shall not work. could contribute of his earnings while able and from which he could

IS VALUE DETERMINED BY LABOR? damental purpose of Socialism is to SOCIALISTS SEEM DISRESPECTFUL market, and he had to pay road rent every time he went to town. The Would There Be Any Use for a Navy in Does Labor Add to the Value of Wine so that every worker can and will I frequently meet people who criticise there will be few instances wherein he will need pensions or charity in any form. When he gets this will be able to follow the inclination to thrift and lay by a store for the future; and he will head a store for the future; and he will head a store for the future; and he will head a store for the future; and he will head a store for the future; and he will head a store for the future; and he will head a store for the future; and he will head a store for the future; and he will head a store for the future; and he will head a store for the future; and he will head a store for the future; and he will head a store for the future; and he will head a store for the future; and he will head a store for the future; and he will head a store for the future; and he will head a store for the socialist Republic?

Would there be any navy under Socialism?

That is a matter for the majority that is, owned by the users instead to pass upon when the time comes. Socialism is not a scheme worked out ciple applies to ownership of the in detail for veters to account the socialism. get the full value of what his labor What is the proof of the theory that the value of commodities depends upon the amount of human labor required for their production? If a capitalist buys a cask of wine for \$30, sets it away for 20 years and then sells it for \$100, how do you account for the additional \$70, since no labor has been expended to produce it? future; and he will have such an be a privilege and a pleasure rather

Why Socialists Do Not Commend Reform as Tending Toward Socialism.

Why, in the case of such men as posevelt and Bryan, who are inaugurating popular reforms, does not the Appeal and others commend such action as tending toward the desired end?

On the contrary, their tendency is

system of industry. The object of and their families. popular reformers is to patch the and thereby prolong it.

edy to the cause rather than waste ing; so, for the sake of precision and disadvantage. energy on useless treatment of the clearness, let's call a spade a spade effects. Reformers are generally when it is a spade: one-idea people. One reformer fights I believe that the average Social-

caused by drink; but, after the heroic a dog. struggle of a lifetime, she acknowl- | Some one has classified society erty is not caused by intemperance, fakers.

monopolies, and have insisted on one of them a hot fact. tariff reform; but the careful observer knows that monopolies have skinned people. It may be that at risen and flourished in free trade as some time in some way a thought

ment work have been systematically skulls. It has happened, and will organized and carried on for years likely happen many times in the hear with little impression on the misera- future.

We have learned by experience that the patchwork of reform is an endless and hopeless task. The remedy must go deeper than the surface and remove the one cause that produces all these conditions. Socialists have the remedy, which is not in a series of popular reforms, but in the revolutionary act by which the working class will secure the use of the land and machinery

needed to produce the means of life. The actions of Roosevelt and Bryan do not tend toward that end. Both are in favor of prolonging the present system, that permits the capitalist class to exploit the workers. You should read "Patching the Old Garment," by A. M. Stirton, a pamphlet that shows more fully the difference between the patchwork of reform and the revolutionary prin-

WHAT do the capitalists mean by Pensions for the old and disabled the "open shop"? Do they mean must always be provided for by the that the work people can go there ference of landlords. If you can use young and able. No one is author- and employ themselves at their a hundred acres of land to advantyoung and able. No one is authorized to positively state that there pleasure? Try it and see. You age by working it yourself, you will be such pensions in the Co-op-erative Commonwealth, but it is likely that just economic conditions likely that just economic conditions will increase the desire as well as much goods in a day as you can buy the public and of charging some the ability of the strong to deal back with the wages you receive.

Ir the homeless will vote for Sodraw when disabled by accident or cialism, under which each will have age. Do not get the idea that So- a good home, they will carry the cialism is a cut-and-dried scheme day. A majority today are renters invented and patented ready for use. In the land of their birth—having the highways were private property in the land of their birth—having the highways were private property in the land of their birth—having the highways were private property in the land of their birth—having the highways were private property in the land of their birth—having the highways were private property in the land of their birth—having the highways were private property in the land of their birth—having the highways were private in Table

Literature Criticise So Severely?

and financial pirates.

Such people go to church and hear ished. themselves repeatedly referred to as and displace the present capitalist uating the system that robs them getting a livelihood.

the liquor traffic, another fights mo- ist does have some feeling of respect nopolies and another would purify for the real capitalist who gets somethe slums. While the reformer is thing substantial out of his efforts in the sweat of fheir faces, but also the full equivalent of what your labusy applying his ointment to the to skin the gullible; but how can a one pimple visible to his shortsight- Socialist be respectful toward the edness a thousand others are break- half-starved apologists for a system ing out on the body politic. that robs them. There may be vir-Frances Willard labored many tue in a dog's fawning before the ears to reform the liquor traffic un- foot that kicks it, but there is no virder the conviction that poverty was tue in a man's playing the part of

edged her mistake and said that pov- as composed of makers, takers and but that intemperance is caused by ers who make everything and get poverty and that poverty is caused only a part of their own labor's prodby the prevailing industrial system, uct. The takers are the capitalists Weary years have been largely who produce nothing, but so manipwasted by the Grange, the Farmers' ulate laws and governments that Alliance and similar movements to through the present system of incheck the growth of monopolies; dustry they can fleece the workers. but monopolies; trusts and mergers The fakers are the retainers of the have developed with increasing ra- takers; the cheap skates who get litmined opposition. Some have la- ready to prostitute their talents to as apply to others. bored under the hallucination that a justification of the robbers and the tariff has been the breeder of take offense when a Socialist hands

Don't worry about these thinwell as in protective tariff countries. will get through their tender epider-Slum cleaning and social settle- mis that can't penetrate their thick save he chastens with the rod of the cure often comes many days after the application.

WOULD SOCIALISM TAKE HIS LAND? In the Co-operative Commonwealth Would His Farm Be Taken From Him.

have a hundred acres of land from which I get my only income. Will the Socialists take my land from me? lones owns a whole county and a national bank; will they take away his land and leave him his bank?

You do not wish to have your land taken from you because, under the present system, you would lose your income. It is not the ownership of the land that feeds you, but it is the income from the land. If you owned no land whatever, but had an income equal to that which the land now yields, you would be as well provided for as you now are.

So far as the land is concerned, the object of Socialism is to make it possible for every worker to apply his labor to the land without interfarming it.

The land is necessary to man' subsistence, and whoever is willing to work should have the opportunity to apply his labor to the land. The Pensions are not an essential part to pay some landlord for the privi-of the Socialist program. The fun-lege of remaining in the country. The fundament of the farmer from his

Why Does the Socialist Press and its every time he went to town. The owners of the private roads did not use them, but made those who did criticism?

ciple applies to ownership of the in detail for voters to accept or reThe truths of Socialism are necother lands. When the roads were ject as a whole; but is an analysis of abundance that the sharing of his essarily unpleasant to the defenders taken over from their private owners of the capitalist system. But, when we call a capitalist a robber we are were not deprived of their right to the new industry and new society telling a truth no matter how harshly the statement may grate upon the timate purposes, but the same right sensitive ears of commercial bandits was extended to all others and the Revolutionary fathers, when surplus with the very few needy will of the capitalist system. But, when and made public the former owners determine the principles upon which unjust toll or road rent was abol- agitating for separation from Eng-

sinners, but take no offense at the is plenty of land for all, to give ity of prophesying just what will the collective ownership of the charge because it is so indefinite and every worker the opportunity to use happen after a revolution has trans- means of production so that any so general in its application. So, what land he can farm to advantage? formed society into a new system? man, either white or black, who is cialists tell the capitalists wherein Would that not be more just and Patrick Henry wanted liberty, and willing to work, can have access to Popular reforms do not tend to- they sin, and do not forget at the equitable than to allow a landlord saw as the first condition of getting the land or machinery needed in ward the end desired by Socialists, same time to tell the workingmen to fence off portions of the earth and his wish the necessity of political making a living.

On the contrary, their tendency is wherein they are even greater sin- make the actual worker pay him for separation from England. The Soto delay and temporarily defeat the ners than the capitalists. We tell the privilege of using it? This need cialists want liberty, and see, as the no more right to vote than white end for which Socialists are working. the capitalists that it is nothing less not prevent the private ownership condition of getting greater freedom, women? If we have said it we will The end of the Socialist is the than robbery to take the product of of a home or of anything that is the capture of political power by the stick to it, and say further that white establishment of the Co-operative the laborer without rendering an privately used, but will prevent the working class, the overthrow of the women have no more right to vote Commonwealth; and the establish- equivalent. We blame the workers monopoly of land which must be capitalist system of production and than the negro. What is right, is, ment of this new system will abolish even more for their part in perpet- used by the many as a means of the establishment of the collective that every citizen, old enough and

Of course, the landlord, who by must be collectively used. Whenever anyone becomes angry rents gets his living without work, weak spots in the capitalist system at the statement of a truth, be as- will not take kindly to this proposed tions of society as the Socialists ad- he or she is governed. No human sured that it's a truth that needed arrangement. His ownership of the vocate, it is inevitable that all the being sufficiently intelligent to be Reform methods are like those of telling. The use of cuphemisms or carth enables him to live at case off institutions now based on the printhe physician who would cure scrof- sugar-coated substitutes for straight- the labor of his renters. He is slow ciples of the capitalist system will should be denied the right to vote on ula by healing, one at a time, the forward statements of fact does not to let go of a snap, just as the slave also undergo radical changes; but the officers and on the laws by which many sores that appear on the sur- lessen the evil so slurred over by po- owner was loath to part with his just what these new institutions will be or she is controlled. face, when the proper method would lite verbiage: A kleptomaniae is, in black man. But the workers are in be must necessarily depend upon the be to cleanse the blood and thereby plain English, a thief. It does not the majority, and when they get needs and desires of the people at that negro votes to much as they wish the negro votes to become Socialists. It make a thief any less a thief to call tired of being taxed by landlords time. You will have a voice in the negro voters to become Socialists. It The Socialist seeks the origin of him a kleptomaniac. Mealy-mouthed they have the power to put an end decision of these questions, and if the would be no favor to Socialists or social ills and would apply his rem- blarney is as confusing as it is pleas- to an arrangement that is to their

Your neighbor Jones, like every other human being, should have access to enough land to which he may apply his labor and get a living by his own work; but it is an injustice produces. will become obsolete, and he will

You should read a standard book on Socialism, like Spargo's "Socialentific Socialism." which will give gram. you a clear idea of the aims, objects and methods of the movement, which it is impossible to give in the limits of a newspaper article.

- FOR

Investigators

Books and Pamphlets

for those who would

know the Program

and purpose of

SOCIALISM

Would There Be Any Use for a Navy in the Proposed Socialist Republic?

present-day society and industry to

land, were asked this same question. Would it not be better, since there But who would take the responsibil- the white man. Socialism advocates ownership of the things that are and not disqualified by idiocy or mental

Deeds to Land," shows that there is ens. make false teeth or grow turnot a valid title to a foot of land on nips in the Co-operative Commonearth; and when the many renters, wealth, but do you want an induswho not only earn their own living trial system in which you will get has told so well, they will likely; at italist and secure access to the earth white and black. labor to gain a livelihood?

If you wish these things, the Socialist movement provides a way for skinned. They all have red blood, you to work for them and get them; and that is why red is the Socialist Socialist economies shows how it can to the many to permit Jones to keep be done and the Socialist party pro-The makers are the work- them away from the land until they vides the means of agitation and pogive him part of what their labor litical action. If these things are When all mankind own brought about in our generation it he tools and land which they must will be largely through the efforts use to make a living. Jones will of many who are, as yet, not Socialunable to operate his bank; ists; because it will require a mafor they will not be compelled to jority to establish the Co-operative borrow money to pay rents or buy Commonwealth, and a large part of machinery. His trade as a banker that majority must come from those who now vote with the capitalist pidity despite the long and deter- the out of the plunder, but are always have to go to work on the same terms parties. Any speculations that may now be included in as to the retention or abolition of the navy must, therefore, be wholly personal and not ism" or Vail's "Principles of Sci- committal of the party or its pro-

Of what use is the present navy other than to protect the property of the wealthy, force a way into foreign could. Now that the workingmen markets for the merchandise of of all colors are striving for free-American capitalists, kill men and dom from wage slavery and are trydestroy wealth in time of war and ing to escape from the capitalist threaten other powers in times of master, we ask the black man to be peace? By means of a navy we sub- class-conscious and as true to his jugate the Philippines and collect debts due capitalists from such dead- true to his fellow slave. beats as the Sultan of Turkey; but where does the workingman get anything out of all this other than the privilege of manning the guns and becoming a target for the infernal

machines of other nations? In the Co-operative Commonwealth the magnificent vessels now dedicated to destruction and slaughter can certainly be put to better use, and likely will be. Would it not be better to have these vessels fitted out to carry passengers and merchandise, and thus contribute to DOES SAVING MAKE A CAPITALIST? peace and production rather than to war and destruction. 'If the voters under the new regime decide to do something of this kind, we will yet have a navy; but such a navy would guard to protect you while you are erty: hoeing corn. A nation with an What a workingman saves doesn't armed navy is like a blubbering boy make him a capitalist.' Neither does rather than to reason.

pital ships. Had a squadron of such

probability is that at some time is the near future civilized nations will lay aside their wasteful armament even as the civilized savage discards

SOCIALISM AND THE BLACK VOTER What Do They Offer for It?

There is the same in Socialism for the black man that there is for

Have we said that the negro has derangement, should have a voice in With such a change in the founda- the enactment of the laws by which

majority shall then agree with you to Socialism to have anyone vote the it will be as you wish. The question Socialist ticket unless the voter un-Herbert Spencer, in his "Title now is, not how they will pick chick- derstood and believed in Socialism. We have no sop to offer the negro or any other person for a mere vote. What we need and wish is the negro worker's intelligent co-operation in the establishment of the Co-operative maintain non-producing landlords in bor socially produces? Do you wish Commonwealth, which will provide idleness, learn what Herbert Spencer to escape the exploitation of the cap- equal industrial opportunities for There is a coman end to this form of exploitation, and other means of applying your mon interest and a common cause for all the world's workers, whether color. Socialism stands for the workers of all countries without distinction of sex, race, color or creed; and it is because of this international character of the movement that Socialism seeks the help by ballot and brain of every worker.

If we can't arouse the negro to the consciousness of his interest in the working class and in Socialism, the political representative of classconscious workers, we will have to get along without his vote. In old slavery days, when negroes were moved by love of freedom to escape from their southern masters and flee to Canada, the negroes usually helped each other. They were raceconscious. They kept each other's secrets and helped a refugee as they ne formerly

Be assured that the negro who endorses Socialist principles and quits the old parties that have enslaved the white as well as the black man, will be received as readily into the party organization as if his skin were of alabaster whiteness. And more than this, the object of Socialism, which claims for every worker, the full product of his labor, applies equally to the men and women of one race as to those of another.

Would Socialism Compel Those Who Have Saved to Give Up Their Property?

Take a workingman who has toiled have a navy; but such a navy would be radically different from the one we now maintain as a dangerous toy. America needs a navy for protection about as much as you need an armed about as much as you need an armed cruard to protect you while you are

with a pistol. Such a nation and mere accumulation of property make such a boy are prone to rely more the owner a capitalist. It is when on pistol and cannon than on com- the owner of property begins to use mon sense and fustice. The boy is that property in such a way as to liable to hurt himself, and so is the exploit or make profit out of the nation. Both are disposed to be producer that he becomes a capitalquarrelsome and to appeal to arms ist. For instance, if the supposed workingman should rent one or more Suppose the nation owned a navy of his properties, or, if he should composed of fleets to carry passen- place them in any relation to the gers, freights, mails and serve as hos-commercial system whereby they would be a means of exploiting ships been on the Pacific coast at others, he would then become a capthe time of the San Francisco dis- italist. No one could justly be reaster it could have rendered more quired to give up property earned service in temporarily caring for the by labor; but he could justly be preunfortunate of that city than all the vented from using such property to battle ships of history. The ten-fleece others.

London Christian View of Socialism Reply to Fairbanks e Growth of Socialism Little Sentimental Socialism by the Church Opposes Socia e Question Box

The Question Box

Compiled answers to 1: questions
Class Struggles in America, by Simon
Jine key to American History,
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APPEAL TO REASON, GIRARD

SOCIALISTS WHAT DEMAND.

National Platform of the Socialist Party Adopted in Convention May 5, 1904, at Chicago-Official Statement of the Principles and Program of the Party.

vention assembled, makes its appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of liberty and self-governself. Sources of profit.

wages; for the wages, for the wages, for the wages; for the least toward products of the least toward producing them.

Evidence is everywhere that to show a quoted is not expectation. ment, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standas the only political movement standforc, is a world-movement. It
means of transportation, communiforced and that those who evade that ing for the program and principles knows of no conflict of interest be-cation and exchange; for the grad-by which the liberty of the individ- tween the workers of one nation and political organization that is dem- for the freedom of the workers of ocratic, and that has for its purpose all nations; and, in so standing, it employment and improvement of the the democratizing of the whole of makes for the full freedom of hu-

To this idea of liberty the republican and democratic parties are equally false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further en-

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon work has increasing economic un-workers that may be wrested from work has increasing economic unby the capitalist class as the means from among the people. Our state lectual misery for its portion. come the mere agencies of great private ownership of the means of every man elected to any executive come the mere agencies of great propertied interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practive only them produced only the things of whatever will lessen the They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to be tray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor the making of goods, has long tray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor the making of goods, has long to the labor the labor that the farmer patiently these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the Co-operative Commonwealth. Such measures and political powers of the gapitalist and increase the like powers of the capitalist an the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take away unawares—working together for the same end powers of government, in order that the right of the workers to a vote or voice in public affairs. By en-

promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths upon which our institutions were founded. But, under the guise of defending But, under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it acceptance or rejection. It is but freedom of the whole man. impossible for the vast majority of the interpretation of what is, sooner

vate ownership of the mean; of em- but a sign and form of the developployment grounds society in an eco- ing socialization of the world's work. nomic slavery which renders intel- The universal increase of the uncerlectual and political tyranny inev- tainty of employment, the universal

and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increas- stroy them. ing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

International Movement.

As an American Socialist party, terests of the world's workers are all its citizens. It is the first time separated by no national boundaries. at the mind of man has ever been at the mind of man has ever been are all its citizens. The condition of the most exploited directed toward the conscious organand oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitsocialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall by the people in common depend shall be for the people in common depend sh Industry and finance are no longer tion shall be for the direct use of The Political Economy of Jesu Industry and finance are no longer national but international, in both organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries, and of the so-called patriotisms which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power tion is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to been the workers of the world from to the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers and that all opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

Immediate Demands.

To the end that the workers may to have a first point to Socialism. The Political Economy of Jesus, Principles and Program of Socialism. The Question Box. Some Suppressed Information. Unionism and Socialism. Trying to Cheat God. What Isn't. Railroads and Reform. N. A. Richardson. Class Conflict in Colorado. U. S. Labor Report.

HE Socialist Party, in con- each other in the struggles of con-vention assembled, makes its tending capitalist interests for the

ual may become a fact; as the only the workers of another. It stands ances, franchises and land values, the manity.

The Class Struggle.

The Socialist movement owes its development or world-process which ment of strikes; for the free adminis rapidly separating a working or istration of justice; for popular gov-producing class from a possessing or ernment, including initiative, referslavement and degradation of labor. duces nothing possesses labor municipal home rule, and the recall joyments these fruits afford, while of officers by their constituents; and the class that does the world's real for every gain or advantage for the certainty and physical and intel- the capitalist system, and that may

suffrage as to take away unawares the right of the workers to a vote or voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself, or for the common good.

Power of Property.

—working together for the same end but this co-operation in production in production is not for the direct use of the things whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

Appeal to Workers.

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class. It may be that the reader is a division of society into two classes; to use all political power, as fast as beneficiary of the present arrangement.

Not a Mere Theory.

human beings ever to become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize of life.

Capitalism is the account of life.

[Copies of this platform in leaflets supplied at 20 cents a hundred, postpaid, by Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kandard, Capitalism is the enemy and de- or administer the work of the world, Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces, labor of the working class produces, of industry. The so-called trust is capitalist determination to break A Christian View of Socialism. Socialism comes so to organize in- down the unity of labor in the trades dustry and society that every indi- unions, the widespread apprehen- The Human Body a Co-operative Comvidual shall be secure in that private sions of impending change, reveal property in the means of life upon that the institutions of capitalist Why White Ribboners Should Be Social which his liberty of being, thought society are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon de- Science and Socialism, C. F. Dight, M.D. though capitalism,

Into the midst of the strain and erisis of civilization the Socialist The Capitalist Class.

The Class Struggle. movement comes as the only conser- The Communist Manifesto. vative force. If the world is to be Socialism and the Farmers.
The Introduction to Socialism saved from chaos, from universal 'As an American Socialist party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of International Socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the Socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished the interests of the world's workers are all its efficiency. It is the first time.

Saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the Church Opposes Socialism. The Wrongs of Capitalism. The Wrongs of Capitalism. Socialist party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the latter of the socialist Party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of the world's workers are all its efficiency. It is the first time.

Socialism means that all those

To the end that the workers may uniting, and to throw them against seize every possible advantage that

may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of govrnment, and thereby the sooner establish the Co-operative Commonwealth, the Socialist party pledges itself to watch and work, in both the economic and the political struggle, for each successive immediate interest of the working class; for short- those who labor the most get the ened days of labor and increases of least of the wealth created by their wages; for the insurance of the labor, while those who enjoy the workers against accident, sickness greater part of labor's products do proceeds to be applied to the public complete education of children, and their freedom from the workshop; for the prevention of the use of the birth and growth to that economic military against labor in the settlecapitalist class. The class that pro- endum, proportional representation, duces nothing possesses labor's equal suffrage of men and women. relieve the suffering and strengthen This class struggle is due to the the hands of labor. We lay upon Wherever and whenever man striving to procure whatever is for which he used, economic independ, economic and political powers of the

By controlling all the sources of eries, inharmonies and contradic-social revenue, the possessing class tions of our civilization.

and from it have sprung all the mistishall be entrusted to us by our fellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate think it into their one should array think it into their one should array. diate interests and for their ultimate think it just that one should array is able to silence what might be the Between these two classes there and complete emancipation. To this himself in fine linen and dine sumpvoice of protest against the passing can be no possible compromise or end we appeal to all the workers of tuotsly every day on foods and fabvoice of protest against the passing of his protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public school, the pulpit and the press, and the arts and literatures. By making these class division carries in itself the controls the protest against the passing can be no possible compromise or end we appeal to all the workers of the protest against the passing can be no possible compromise or end we appeal to all the workers of the workers and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their faithful to a commandment fundamental to Christian ethics, and, disinterestedly give their days and moreover, unfaithful to his duty toeconomically dependent upon itself, seeds of its own destruction. Such energies unto the workers' cause, to ward his fellow man. it has brought all the forms of public teaching into service submission injustice. There can be no possible Socialist party. Our appeal for the responsible for the statement that, its own interests.

Our political institutions are also freedom, for mental and moral har- workers is at once an appeal for their tien with those of Christianity."

The ethics of Socialism are identical institutions are also freedom, for mental and moral har- workers is at once an appeal for their tien with those of Christianity." being used as the destroyers of that mony, except in the conscious and common good and freedom, and for Whother this be correct or otherindividual property upon which all complete triumph of the working the freedom and blossoming of our wise it is certain that the two are liberty and opportunity depend. The class as the only class that has the common humanity. In pledging harmonious on the issues involved ourselves, and those we represent, to in the above text from Genesis. be faithful to the appeal which we The Socialist program is not a make, we believe that we are but pre- alize a social and industrial system

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A SERMON ON SOCIALISM.

In the sweat of thy face shalt tho

If this text means anything it means that he who eats should the enough useful labor to produce the equivalent of what he consumes. It is a remarkable fact, however, that

law are not regarded as immoral, but, to use a common expression, are "our best people."

The eminently respectable gentleman who, in defiance of bible pre cepts, maintains his household on interest collected from his neighbors, is not eating bread in the sweat of his face; but is eating bread in the sweat of the faces of those whom necessity compels to pay him un-

The landlord whose labor is limited to the collection of rents and the occasional eviction of a penniless renter, is sweating his bread out of his tenants.

The employer, who graciously grants a dollar in wages to the worker who has produced two dollars worth of merchandise for him need not burden his own brow with perspiration, for his bread is the crystalized sweat distilled from the blood of the workers in his factory.

The trust magnate, who sets the price upon both what the farmer

while others have millions of uncarned wealth to lavish upon them-

Secialism teaches and seeks to re mand to the Thessalonians is identical with the demands of modern Secialism, which would secure to evry worker the full social product of his toil.

In the establishment of the new so all order it is not necessary that evn the capitalist should perish. but that he should conform to this grat law of labor, remove his heel from the neck of the poor, cease exploitation and do his part in the world's work.

Socialism calls upon the workers of the world to unite and secure a

I'm men organized can be more eferive than a hundred pulling ever which way. Capitalists are oranized. The work people should jon the Socialist party, where all thir force will be put against their msters in a way that will tell.

Wt. are ruled by a senate compeed of corporation owners and thir attorneys; by a congress compeol of corporation owners and thir attorneys; by governors who at corporation owners or their attenevs; by judges who are corporatin owners and their attorneys. Of cor-e, the people will get protec-

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TENURE OF AMERICAN HOMES.

Official Figures on the Ownership of the Sixteen Million Homes Occupied by American Families-Over Half of the Homes in Free America Are Rented.

Owned Owned

From the Twelfth U. S. Census, Vol. 2, Page 662, Table 105.

State.	Owned	Owned		
Alabama	Free	Mortgage		Aggregate
	94,692	20,549	231,180	370,980
Alaska	7,190	33	1,644	12,183
Arizona	13.259	1,009	10,545	27,817
Arkansas	95,510	16,469	130,411	262,421
California	100,228	40,216	162,275	324.690
Colorado	39,000	12,923	61,386	122,349
Connecticut	37,930	37,496	119,094	200,640
Delaware	7,739	5,115	23,835	39,007
District of Columbia	8,441	4,261	40,753	.55,465
Florida	40.810	5,469	55,920	113.629
Georgia	101.114	17,603	291,447	430.712
Hawaii	5,172	438	21.086	29,763
Idaho	20,163	3.215	9.218	35,819
Illinois	273,594	161,615	547,369	1.024.189
Indiana	200,035	103.643	242,588	567.072
Indian Territory	17,809	463	47,746	76,017
Ilowa	163,640	112.877	183,053	476,710
Kansas	116,784	61.504	126,240	319,422
Kentucky	172,042	35,034	204,009	434,228
Louisiana	64,861	12.204	181,577	281,449
Maine	75,262	24.296	55,028	161.588
Maryland	58.577	27,108	135,353	239,837
Massachusetts	108,766	93,502	379,696	604,873
Michigan	191.863	128,939	198,078	542,358
Minnesota	126.181	74.634	118,034	337,284
Mississippi	73.159	23.517	194,637	316,114
Missouri	193.229	118.742	307,492	646,872
Montana	23,656	3,398	20,556	52,125
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North Carolina	130,650	24,735	188,162	367,565
North Dakota	33,409	13,710	11,863	63,360
Ohio	317,012	149,376	431,301	934,674
Oklahoma	50,246	6,532	23,157	85,929
Oregon	37.284	10.771	33,745	87,545
Pennsylvania	326.687	174,920	742,385	1,303,174
Rhode Island	14.506	10,780	64,362	92,785
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South Dakota	37.153	17,115	22,610	82,290
Tennessee	146.763	20,995	206,077	399,017
Texas	196.165	50,160	299,312	582,055
Utah	31.344	4,292	17,012	55,208
Vermont	26,712	19.662	31,014	80,559
Virginia	133,836	26.530	177.087	360,749
Washington	44.681	10.421	45.113	107.171
West Virginia	77.972	14.831	80,759	183,780
Wisconsin	161,059	104.966	137,009	420.327
Wyoming	7.779	1.078	7.388	18.632
			,,006	10,002
UNITED STATES4	.739,914	2.180,229	8.216.747	16,006,437

meaning. Less than five million from some capitalist. families live in their own free homes. while over eight million families are

Cut this table out and preserve it live and the greater is the propor-Study the figures and think of their tion of renters who hire their homes

[Note-That the figures in the first while over eight million families are renters in this blessed land of capitalist prosperity. Look at the figures for your state. You will observe that the older the state and the longer a community has enjoyed the blessings of the capitalist system, the smaller is the proportion of families owning the home in which they

ARE you not a little unreasonable; the law deals with them harshly, when you expect all the virtues in and deals with the rich with a soft the working class, when the upper and tender care. class are openly grafting and flout-

THE capitalists can't down the ing their stolen luxuries in the face work people in an open fight, either of the people? When United States with force or with the ballot. So senators, congressmen, governors and they deceive the work people by valegislators, state and county officers, rious traps laid for them by the use are stealing, and the papers are full of their crimes daily, should we expect the poor and needy to have all pulpiteers. They have played this the virtues of a god? The rich have game for centuries and have always no need of wrong doing, but the kept the upper hand. Strategy is necessities of the poor drive them to their game. Why be deceived by petty infractions of the law-and them forever?

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BY REV. CHABLES M. VAIL.

We hear much talk, by the defenders of the present order, of the harmony, partnership, and identity of interests between labor and capital. It is true, there is harmony between been transferred to hired employes. labor and capital, but not, as our In fact, we mean by capitalist one friends wish to imply, between la-borers and capitalists. Those who are fond of declaiming about this The capitalist today is purely a use harmony utterly fail to recognize the changed methods of production.

When the laborer and capitalist were united in the same person, as in the days of individual production, there was a most complete harmony. But when these functions are separated, as is the case in modern industry, there is nothing but discord. The interests of one are diametrically opposed to those of the other. The wealth produced by labor, as we have seen, is divided into two parts. One portion goes to the laborers in the form of wages, the other portion | is divided into rent, interest, and profit, and pocketed by non-producers. It is because the capitalist has monopolized the means of production that he is able to appropriate a portion of labor's product. It is thus that capital becomes productive. Its productivity consists in its spongy capacity of absorbing surplus labor. This becomes clear when we glance at the nature of produc-'All leading industries today are

joint-stock concerns, and a capital-

ist may hold stock in a score of such industries. He purchases, say, \$10,cated. He simply takes the stock and locks it up in his safe, and at the end of the cated the safe, and at the end of three months receives his dends come from? The capitalist, Here, say, 1,000 men have worked for three months and have produced a certain amount of cotton cloth. by labor; the stockholders render no service whatever. Dividends, then, arise from the fact that the labor-TREASON means, if it means any produce. Now we have seen that the produce which labor produces is divided into two portions, and it is axiomatic that a thing cannot be divided into two shares so as to increase the portion of each. If the capitalist who have embezzled public related produces 86 worth of wealth as any and the capitalist keeps \$5, there is only \$1 left. But if, on the other hand, the laborer can secure \$5 there is only \$1 left. But if, on the other hand, the laborer can secure \$5 there is only \$1 left. But if, on the other hand, the laborer can secure \$5 there is only \$1 left. But if, on the other hand, the laborer can secure \$5 there is only \$1 left. But if, on the other hand, the laborer can secure \$5 there is only \$1 left. But if, on the other hand, the laborer can secure \$5 there is only \$1 left. But if, on the other hand, the laborer can secure \$5 there is only \$1 left. But if, on the other hand, the laborer can secure \$5 there is only \$1 left. But if, on the other hand, the laborer can secure \$5 there is only \$1 left. But if, on the other hand, the laborer can secure \$5 there is only \$1 left. But if, on the other hand, the laborer can secure \$5 there is only \$1 left. But if, on the other hand, the laborer can secure \$5 there is only \$1 left. But if, on the other hand, the laborer can left in the gladiatorial arena for the manusement of the wealthy. The amusement of the amuse ers do not get the entire wealth they

From this it is evident that the interests of laborers and capitalists are not identical. - It is to the interest of each to get as large a por-tion of the product as possible. The success of one means the failure of the other. Indeed, the harmony between laborers and capitalists is like the harmony between the horse-leech and its victim, or the flea and the dog. The capitalist, like all parasites, lives off of others.

Many superficial persons have been led to consider the interests of laborers and capitalists identical through a failure to distinguish between capital and capitalists. La-

borers could not get along very well without capital, but they could do very nicely without the capitalists. If all the capitalists should take it into their heads to emigrate, industry would not be greatly disturbed, for, in fact, the directing function once performed by the capitalist has less organ in production. We find in all nature that as soon as an organ is redundant it is eliminated, means of making a living.

The capitalist must pay the penalty We expect people to diff that nature has imposed upon all useless functionaries.

The antagonism between the capitalist and proletariat class is due to the contradiction between the social production and capitalist appropriation. The instruments, method and product of production are now social, but the form of appropriation remains the same as in the days of small production when the laborer owned his tools and consequently the product. The present social instruments of production are incompatible with the old method of appropriation. Social production with individual appropriation means individual appropriation of the products of social labor. Private property in the instruments of production is becoming every day more and more incongruous with the nature of those instruments. Thus the interests of laborers and capitalists are becoming more and more antagon, which he may be peculiarly fitted. istic with the development of mod-000 worth of stock in each of these this contradiction in the capitalist knows nothing. His broker has con-bim that they are paying invest-ments and that is all he cares. He ments and that is all he cares. He nistic interests of laborers and capi-nistic interests of laborers and capinever goes to the factories or even talists are not incidental, but inher-

The apologist cannot longer hoodwink the laborers into believing that a product that much greater than United States do not want to be dividends. But where do these divithose of their exploiters. The work- will certainly be no injustice for him surely, has not produced them. The ing class is beginning to study the to get more than I do, since he will retail price. Address the Appeal to answer is not difficult to find. Take the cotton factory as an illustration. Here, say, 1,000 men have worked that such errors will soon be dis-

This is transported to the market tented no matter how much they are what is ours-no more and no less. and exchanged for money. From making, but they preach content. Do not allow the enemies of Sothe other portion is called profits capitalists want to increase their What the Socialist demands is perand is divided among the capitalists holdings, not out of their own pro- fect justice, not perfect same ress. in the form of dividends. Now, duction, but out of what the work Nothing would be gained by cutting note, the whole product was created people produce. What do you think off the seven-footer to make him onabout it?

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will give you a vote as to who shall heard and who have died in povety. the product of labor, one cannot be be your foremen, superintendents There is no kind of genius, exept increased without decreasing the and managers in the industry in the genius to steal, that is rewarded which you work. It is up to your under the capitalism that rules. Icvote whether you have it or not.

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other things. It takes all kinds of offering \$1,500 to get the job. people to make a world, although it is by no means necessary that part of those people revel in luxury while those people revel in luxury while per 100. Order No. 41 "Studies in Socialism." ist in want and misery.

be able to produce more than another; some will do a better grade of too stupid to see a point as plain work than others; in short, the proposed arrangement will enable each posed arrangement will enable each The more the rich accumulate, a supplement, "Jesus or Mammon," by J. Felix Cloth, 50 cents. adapted.

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Italy and Egypt. Then why, well poverty and ignorance prevail he, isn't it the fault of government? Over there the people think tilt governments are all right—which one of the evidences of their income of the evidence of their income of their income of the evidence of their income of their income of the evidence of their income of their income of the evidence of their income of their income of the evidence of their income of their income of the evidence of their income of their income of their income of their income of the evidence of their income

"Socialism is a beautiful dream." we are told, but it cannot be realized in this life, with humanity as imperfect as it is. Well, how long do you think it will take to fit humanity for a beautiful dream while they live in this horrible nightmare?

every particular, but that all people invest \$1,500 in the stock of a cershall have an equal opportunity to tain company, provided they would use the land, machinery and all guarantee him a job. How things have changed! In the days of chattel slavery the owner of the job was willing to pay \$1,500 for a worker by Wilhelm Liebnecht, translated by We expect people to differ in ca- willing to pay \$1,500 for a worker pacity, taste, disposition and many to do the job, now the worker is

WHENEVER one man gets a dollar A stock argument of silly oppo- that he has not carned it is a sure nents is the oft-repeated phrase that thing that some other man has some other man has down to a dead level. We would neither level people down nor level more property than he has not carned it is a sure. The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. By Frederick Engels. Translated by Ernest Untermore property than he has not carned it is a sure. The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. By Frederick Engels. Translated by Ernest Untermore property than he has not carned it is a sure. The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. By Frederick Engels. Translated by Ernest Untermore property than he has not carned it is a sure. neither level people down nor level more property than he has actually people up; but we would give each an opportunity to apply his labor to natural resources and let him makes. How the property than he has actually kautsky. Translated by A. M. and an opportunity to apply his labor to property is evidence that he has lessources and let him makes. natural resources and let him make gally or otherwise robbed others. I natural resources and let him make gally or otherwise robbed others. I the most possible of what is in him. plead guilty to legal robbery, but a plead guilty to legal robbery, but troduction by the Author. Cloth, 50 what chumps you work neonle are It is likely that under such condi- what chumps you work people are tions of equal opportunity one will to let me and others beat you out of be able to produce more than anywhat your labor produces! Are you that the produce more than anywhat your labor produces! Are you that the produce more than anywhat your labor produces! Translated, with Critical Introduction, Clerk 50 confa.

the higher they pile the loot, the Giving the fullest possible play to more they use the courts and armies the talents of each is one of the against the common herd, the more things that will produce results that they corrupt legislatures, the more knows nothing. His broker has told bim that they are paying investgive 'em post mortens,' etc., the more they flaunt their ill-gotten wealth in the faces of the struggling poor—the sooner will come the delare compelled by circumstances to "To hell with the constitution; we'll perform labor to which they are not give 'em post mortems," etc., the adapted wealth I work at the bench beside a poor-the sooner will come the delman whose skill enables him to do a uge that will wipe capitalism off M. Simons and Marcus Hitch. Cloth, third more than I do he will essent the earth. The workers of the forms. third more than I do, he will crease the earth. The workers of the Mexicanized.

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