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Appeal to Reason.

J. A. WAYLAND

GIRARD, KANS., U.S.A., JANUARY 20, 1900

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY

FOR PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF MONOPOLIES

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..... ORGANIZE BRANCHES OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN YOUR CITY NOW

Literature has made millions of socialists. It will make more. It will make a majority. You know what that means with socialists. Is it not worth working or even starving for a time to get? Work now, work hard, for this grandest of all movements that ever stirred the souls of men. Roll in the names. Here and there among them we wake up a giant of strength in the agitation. They help to push it faster. We are winning, the opposers are losing. Keep it up and we have done the work in short time. Write to every friend you have to subscribe or get up a club. It was hard to get it started but it will be easy to keep it going. It has taken twenty years of sacrifice to get it where it now is. Put your soul in the movement.

In a recent sermon on "The New Earth," Talmage gets a glimpse of the socialist state (probably borrowed it as he did his sermon on Mt. Arrarat that he did not deliver), which he paints in these words: "He asks his guide, 'What are these structures whose walls are falling down and whose gates are rusted on the hinges?' He is informed, 'Those were once penitentiaries filled with offenders, but crime of the world has died out. Theft and arson and fraud and violence have quitted the earth. People have all they want, and why should they appropriate the property of others, even if they had the desire?' Therein lies the whole secret—when people can have all they want they will commit no crime against property. There is not a person of sense today who does not know that with modern machinery the people of the earth can create all the wants of all the people. The only reason there is want, poverty or crime is the rules that men have placed around the holding of property. I wonder if Talmage believes his picture can be realized with the ownership of the industries in the hands of a part of the people? How could they have more than if property is owned as it is today than they have today? How would people have all they want? The people can have all they want now and here if they will change the rules regarding wealth. If they will not change these rules they will never have enough and the New Earth will never come to men. Mr. Talmage is evidently a reader and he knows this. He will not tell it because it would interfere with his social standing and his income while the present system lasts. He, in the same sermon, tells them that this new condition will come in one or two hundred years. Why not now? Why wait two centuries for what is knocking at the door for admission now? Socialism will produce just the conditions that he has pictured. It will give every one all their wants and crime will leave the earth. It will do justice to all people. It will injure none—that is it will not deny to any a single right which is justly his. A sermon without pointing out the way is no good.

THE most pleasing bit of news lately is that Mr. Rockefeller has embarked in the banking business, applying the Standard Oil methods to finance. No methods are better. There are several thousand bankers in the country who will learn what this means before many years. One Boston bank has felt it. If these little fellows think that they are going to get the cream or even ordinary skimmed milk out of the banking business, they are mistaken. That is easier, far easier, than the oil business to monopolize. What they have will be gradually scooped by the Rockefeller interests and the owners will be merely clerks to his imperial finance. The country bankers are being used as cat's paws to control the public and they will get taken in by the very system they are helping to erect on the necks of the nation. There are chickens that come home to roost. What they are so anxious to do to others will be done unto them.

How would you like to have your government supply you with money free? That is just what it does the bankers. You say the bankers put up government bonds for the bank notes. True, but is not a bond simply property like your house or farm? Not so much, even, for what would government bonds be worth if there were no houses or farms in this country? Your homes and shops, not the bonds, are the real base of the bankers notes. They really are enabled to use them because of your property. What lunas you are to allow one kind of property to issue money and not your kind. That is because the holders of bonds are wise enough to study the situation and go after what they want, while you are not.

If the corporations can divert public attention from the oppression of their rule to the money or tariff questions, they will practically have won the next national campaign. Socialists can check this by scattering socialist literature and agitating on the trust question. Do permit the other fellows to choose the ground and the methods of attacking it to let them win. Don't discuss non-essentials.

NOTING the immense growth of socialism in this country, the press that serves the present spoils system, seeking for some new tact to check it, tries to frighten the people by pointing to the corruption of today which these papers uphold, as a reason why socialism will not do! Take this statement from the Dallas, Texas, News of Dec. 25:

There are in this country many citizens who might become converts to that kind of socialism which is apparently taking root in certain of the New England towns if they had any confidence in the parties and politicians who usually control municipal affairs. Comparatively few towns will be found in this country in which it would be sensible or safe to increase or enlarge the power of the spoilsman now in control of the public business. In many instances the public business, even as matters now stand, is run first of all as a party snafu. The want of confidence is made even greater by an apparent eagerness on the part of the spoils politicians to waste into socialism as far as possible. He insists that everything in sight should be taken over by the city and left under his control—for party and personal uses.

You note the acknowledgment of the "taking root" process, so these New England people must have confidence in the men of new ideas and lost confidence in the men of old ideas. And in every contest, east or west, where the people have had a chance to vote on it, they have voted for public ownership. It is not a New England disease—it is becoming universal. Nor is it true that politicians favor public ownership—they are opposed to it. If the politicians in congress wanted public ownership of railroads, telegraphs, etc., why have they not voted for it? If the politicians in cities want it, why have they always voted against it? The News speaks as one through his head covering.

The mistake of the News is, that such venal and ignorant officers as it supports will be in office under socialism. They know they will be shelved and hence oppose it. The News admits they are corrupt, yet it has aided, and does today aid in deceiving the people to elect them. It is thus a self-confessed political criminal and yet it wants people to believe it about socialism!

If the people of this country were well rid of the highly respectable political organizations by which a majority of the cities are exploited and ruled there is no doubt that there might be a significant turn toward the advantages to be found in a more general co-operation, especially in large and closely crowded communities. Before any such general change can be expected there must be an end to spoils politics.

That is just what socialism will do. It will rid the country of the highly respectable political organizations which the News and other papers of its kind support, and then the people can get the admitted advantage of general co-operation. Socialism will put an end to the spoil system by placing the legislative and judicial functions in the hands of the people and taking it out of the hands of misrepresentatives, few in number, and therefore more easily purchased by large interests. All the people cannot be corrupted nor can a majority be corrupted, but when a minority makes a law large sums which do corrupt can be and is paid to the small number of representatives and corruption is because of this fact. Men do not become corrupted, except temptation is placed in their way.

The Indianapolis Press insists that the average American would prefer that railroads, telegraphs, lighting plants and most things known as "public utilities" should be conducted by private corporations, which thus make money out of his commonest necessities, for no other reason than because he fears they would be productive of fraud, corruption and oppression and would give inadequate service if conducted by government agency—and he fears this because the civil service is based upon political "pulls."

Which is saying that it is better for the people to submit to having money made out of them on the commonest necessities of life, over which they have no vote or control, than to have this matter in the hands of officers over whom they can exercise authority! That private robbers will rob less when their actions are not body's business but their own than public robbers whose actions are open for inspection! That assumes that everybody are thieves and robbers and there are no honest men to be elected to office! That fraud, corruption and oppression of public servants are more to be feared than fraud, corruption and oppression of private interests that are not open to inspection! But of such is the logic of the upholders of the competitive system.

If the socialist would score new triumphs he must destroy first of all, root and branch, the spoils politics to which the political organizations of the cities, without any principles to fight over, stand fully committed. In this way only can he hope to inspire a confidence that would lead a reasonable person to commit greater power to public officials. He must at the outset silence the masters of spoils politics, in whom the intelligent public has no confidence, when such matters easy to present audacious arguments in favor of a socialism that would commit to their own hand and pocket even greater interests than those upon which they have fed and fattened in the past.

How here is another logical observation. The socialist is told that before he can score new triumphs he must destroy the spoils of politics! Just how the socialists are to destroy the spoils before they get into office is one of the problems that the average astute editor knows all about! Before socialists can change things they must certainly get the control, yet this editor insists we must change things before we do get control! But that will not discourage us, as we have made triumphs in the past in spite of them and we will score new triumphs in the future. We shall reap in this country a larger victory than the socialists in Germany who started in 1869 with less than a thousand votes and today commands the suffrage and confidence of two and one quarter million of the German voters. All the objections that the opposers here present against socialism has been better presented, more persistently presented, in Germany than the American press has as yet been educated to use. It did not stop the growth there, nor will it stop the growth here. That public

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officials there, as here, serving the present system have been corrupted, is not an argument against socialism but one in its favor.

It must be humiliating to point to the corruption of ones own public officials as an argument that it will not do to elect socialists to office. It is saying "see what thieves we have elected to office. Now, it will not do to have any more officials in public life because they are all corrupt." Socialists have more faith in humanity than that. Men who seek office for the sake of the spoils, and men who seek office to carry out their convictions on some theory are quite different people. All the gold the southern confederacy could have collected would not have corrupted John Brown to support slavery. All the gold of the monarchs of Europe have as yet failed to corrupt but two socialist officers, among the tens of thousands that has been elected, nor have any of the socialists elected there, or here either, been accused of malfeasance in office. Quite a different estimate from the position of the News regarding its officers.

THE anarchist republican supreme court of Ohio has just decided that the telephone companies shall pay on the rental value of each phone, \$233, instead of the actual value, \$3 40 each. What have my indignant republican friends to say to this piece of confiscation of property? If this is confiscation, then they must quit their party, or endorse confiscation; if it is not confiscation, then it makes clear the right of the public to tax at the public estimate of the value and at such a rate as the public shall decide will produce the needs for public purposes. If the public has this right, and only anarchists deny it, then the public can levy a tax of 1% or 50% on the real or rental value of all property for the purposes of buying railroads, building schools, making roads or any other thing that the MAJORITY shall decide will be good for the people. But I am not filled with delight at this laying of tribute on the corporation because it puts more money in the public treasury under the present system, for that means that it will be so much more money that will be eaten up by public officials. The people will get no added benefit. Under the present system nearly all officials are non-productive. They produce nothing for their salaries. Under socialism, industrial democracy, every official would be a producer, just as the foremen and superintendents of factories are officers yet producers, and would cause no tax for their maintenance. It makes a good deal of difference if the fellows you employ draw a salary for assisting in production or not. No public officials today, excepting in schools and streets, do anything for the people out of whose pockets come their pay. They are leaches, doing what should not be done.

Speculation on a margin is plain gambling, and it ought to be stopped by law. It does harm. It promotes panics.—New York Journal.

A truth withheld is equal to a lie, often more injurious. Will the Journal take the position that buying and selling on 5% or 10% margin is gambling and buying and selling on 100% is not? If 10% is plain gambling, is 5% more than gambling? And what is 7%? The facts are that speculation is gambling, no matter how much nor how little the margin put up, or if the whole price is paid down. This applies to every form of exchange. It is not worse in principle to gamble with cards and dice than with stocks of goods or real estate. Whoever gets or tries to get something for nothing speculates, gambles. It is alike injurious to the winner and loser. Our whole social fabric is built upon the speculative or gambling theory. A man really gambles his whole capital when he goes into business that he can succeed against all opposition—just what the fellow does with the dice. He bets he understands the business better than his competitors, that he will make whether they do or not. The Journal should tell the whole truth, and not let its questioner go off with an impression that one kind of "business" is worse than another.

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SOMEWHERE in history I remember having read where a king was to be chosen to govern a people. The test of fitness was to be decided by starting and reaching a certain goal within the shortest time. A horse race, if you please.

CHOOSING A KING One of the shrewdest of the competitors the night previous to the contest placed iron spikes along the race course, excepting in one path where he ran. Now these spikes crippled the other horses and the cunning fellow naturally was the only one to reach the goal and was hailed as king divinely appointed by the ignorant populace until the deception was uncovered. One poor fellow followed the horses on foot and when the outrage of the horseman was discovered this poor fellow was taken up and made king, and the historian tells us that the nation never had a better. The poor man had been raised among the people, knew them and their needs, hence being honest, was better able to serve them.

When a majority of a nation are workers, as is always the case, people from the upper classes are not fit to govern because they know not the needs of the people but desire masterhood and seek appointment on that idea. As in the appointment of this king, fighting people desire a fighting king. When commerce is the predominant thought they choose commercial kings, as we do in the United States; when the attention of the people is centered upon developing industries by which we live, then will they choose industrial servants. Like people, like rulers. That the rulers of the United States are corrupt, as the papers daily chronicle, is because the masses of people have been corrupted. Yet get the attention of the people centered on any idea and you can change the history of that people. For instance, the agitators of 1776 centered the attention of the people on the idea that they needed no king. It was done. Later, by persistent agitation showing the evils of chattle slavery, it was abolished, and then again, when public attention had been directed to the evils of Spanish rule in Cuba and Porto Rica, the power of the nation was used to change that rule which had been under the noses of the people for one hundred years. Had that war required it, all the industries of the nation would have been diverted from the peaceful channels of a generation of peace to the making of instruments of war.

Now, socialists, do you see what I am driving at? The agitation we are engaged in, as soon as we have centered the nations' mind upon it, will surely wipe out the last vestage of the competitive system of industry as it did these exercises I have mentioned. That the world is today being directed to the socialist movement is apparent in any direction you cast your eyes. You see it in the daily press; hardly has a successful book been published in the last ten years that has not had the socialist thought for its basis; it is entering the pulpit; you find it in the law courts; it is rearing its head in legislative bodies; it is a subject for discussion in the hotel lobbies, in the depots, saloons, the corner grocery, on dry goods boxes and the streets. Ten years ago there was scarcely a mention of the subject. Today there are millions of people actively engaged in arousing the people. Every day we are gaining thousands of new converts. Men who a short time ago were counted cranks and anarchists, to whom none would listen, but laugh to scorn, are today receiving consideration wherever they are pleased to take up the subject. The greatest audiences are given socialist speakers and the greatest circulation is being given to socialist papers and literature. A thrill of enthusiasm pulsates the entire being of every socialist as he notes these evidences of coming success. We are as the man who followed in the king's contest on foot, the ridicule of the crowds. Our ideas will soon control the nation.

DRIVEN by the bitter cold, nine little newsboys in Cleveland huddled into the warm corners of the hall of the Benedict block and were arrested, on the complaint of the janitor. They had nowhere else to go. They will be the men of the next generation, and do you not think they should love the government and society that denies them warm clothes, food, schooling and even drives them out into the bitter cold? "As ye have have done it unto the least of these so ye have done it unto me." And this is a christian nation! A lovely civilization! One producing the greatest incentives! This is one of the effects of competition. National co-operation or socialism would feed, clothe, shelter, instruct and entertain every child, that it could develop the best that is in it.

A READER wants to know whether we are in the 19th or 20th century. When any epoch of time began, it had to continue 365 days to make 1 year. All these days the people were living in the year 1. They must live 100 of these years to make the first century. The first century did not close with the year 99, but with the ending of the year 100. As the first century did not end until the year with two 00 had continued until the last day, so all other centuries must likewise wait until the two 00 year is 365 days old. We are in the 19th century. The 20th century will begin next January 1.

Will the Omaha Excelsior, which takes exception to my comment on the sending home of Logan's son in pomp at public expense, please explain why it is "proper" to do that with officers and not with the rank and file? What would an army without soldiers be? And I deny that "our mothers' sons are sent home at public expense." They are poisoned on corporation embalmed food and buried in trenches. Yes I know who Logan was. But he was paid for his services, and if he had not desired it he need not have accepted. He did nothing to help the working people of this generation and I doubt of any other generation. He directed the shooting off of much powder at a great expense to the nation, he drew a big salary, he served the interests of the rich while drawing a salary from the whole people to look after their interests,—but I see no reason why his wife should be better pensioned than the wives of other soldiers. She needs no more food, clothing or shelter they need. She is a good woman, but that has nothing to do with the equity of the case. The only reason that an officer gets more pay or pension than the other men is because the king and the nobles who fought for them were supposed to be of different flesh and blood from the common herd. They made a distinction and we have aped them. It is unrepugnant, undemocratic and totally without reason or justice. Intelligent men should refuse to permit its continuance. Any man who has produced the needs of society all his life has done more for the world than Logan or any other of like profession.

A DISPATCH from Washington on Dec. 9 tells how the very honorable officers in the navy make a little pin money. Not satisfied with many times the pay that the men under them get, they steal everything that is loose. All these war ships are provided with a library. Books that Putnam's Sons, publishers, sold to the government for \$4.03 per volume were entered up as having cost \$18.50 each! And everything else that was purchased has been likewise manipulated. But when these people see their superiors doing the same thing, only stealing millions, what else can you expect? War is a good thing. We ought to go into it more extensively, especially as it gives employment! The foreigner pays the bill, you know. Now let us suppose we had a war under socialism. Everything used would be made in publicly owned and operated industries. How could the officers have raised the vouchers and got credit and stole any thing? Couldn't be done, even if they were inclined to be dishonest. The only place fraud would be possible would be in paying wages to men, giving credit on the books of the nation, to names that had no bodies. Then these credits would have no one to draw them. Nobody would gain by that and it would not be done. All things are done today there is a profit for every fraud. And that is why fraud exists.

AN anti-trust convention will be held in Chicago on February 12. Several millions of small ones are held every day between the fleeced purchaser and the merchant, when the people buy goods at an extortionate price. Trusts are good things to wake the people up. When they find they cannot control them they will take them and own them. The anti-trust convention will and can do no good, except in directing attention to the matter. Public ownership is the only remedy. If you found some one was not paying you as much for your products as he should, and over-charging you for his products into which yours were used, would you not want to own a plant to make you independent of him, if able? Certainly. Then why should not society protect itself? The trusts do not pay society enough for labor and overcharge society for products. Society is as rich as the whole capital of the nation and needs not be exploited by a few unless it likes to be skinned.

SPECULATORS in New York are feeling their way to get the public markets that are worth many millions and on which they tell the people they are losing money. The same argument could be used against the public schools. The city loses many millions every year on the schools which turn no money into the public treasury, but on the other hand cost many millions a year. Therefore the public should sell the buildings to private enterprise and they will make them pay. If sold, either the people would have to pay more for the use of the markets which would be paid in increased cost of goods, or else the purchasers would lose money. It all comes out of the people somewhere, somehow.

THE street car company of Wauwatosa, Wis., refusing to comply with the law, twelve leading citizens refused to pay fare and were ejected. The courts issued an order enjoining them from bringing suits and testing the equities of the case in the courts! The courts are only to uphold corporate power and not for the people. I'll venture a pretty penny that the judges hold passes. If the street cars were public property, these injustices would not occur, these bitternesses not be engendered, these corruptions not been created. How long will a sensible nation permit private ownership to control the public streets and extort from the public?

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GERMANY

SOcialists everywhere point with pride to the great social democratic party of Germany. There is no single feature in European politics so interesting, so full of hope and courage to the socialist heart as our magnificent party in Germany. As early as 1793 the great Fichte wrote several works that were largely socialist. In his works we find such expressions as: "The only legitimate title to property is labor. He who will not work has no valid claims to the means of life. He should not be allowed to sustain himself in idleness by exploiting the production powers of another. Society owes to all the means to labor and all must labor to live." The Utopian writings of St. Simon and Fourier were reprinted and discussed. The "Wandering Jew," "Mysteries of Paris" and such works were largely circulated and eagerly read. They produced thought and discussion on the growing social problem. Among the early workers in the cause of radicalism were Bernhardt, a journeyman tailor, who, about 1838, became very popular.

Dietsch, another workman, published a socialistic book in 1839 entitled "The One Thousand Years Kingdom," which had great influence among the wage workers. One of the first of the noted agitators was William Weitling. He lived the life of a martyr. He was expelled from Germany, France and several cities in Switzerland, and died in New York in 1871. Prof. Winkelblech and Robertus were men of great learning, and wrote much on scientific socialism.

In 1843 Engels published his great work on the "Condition of the Working Class in England." Engels and Mart met in Paris one year later and came in contact with many of the leaders of the "League of the Communists," as the working class movement was then called.

In 1848 Mart and Engels' "Communist Manifesto" was issued. The Revolution of '48 was largely of a middle class character, yet many of the socialists took an active part in it. Comrade Julius Vossteich who recently died in Chicago, and who was a member of the S. D. P. of that city, lived in Leipzig in 1862, and it was on his suggestion that Ferdinand Lassalle was invited to advise the working class as to the best means for amelioration, and the best program for propoganda. Lassalle, more than to any other single man, is due the rapid growth, the enthusiasm and the solidarity of the S. D. P. He was born in Breslau in 1825. After the Revolution of 1848 he de-

voted himself to literary pursuits and established a great reputation as a learned and talented man. At the congress of workmen held in the spring of 1863 in the city of Leipzig, an organization known as the "General Society of German Workmen" was formed and Lassalle made president. He entered upon his gigantic work with tremendous enthusiasm. He was a splendid orator and writer, and during the next 15 months he carried on a propoganda that is without a parallel in the history of the labor movement in Europe. He was killed in a duel at Geneva on the 31st of August, 1864. One month later the International Association of Workmen was organized by Marx, Engels and their friends, with headquarters in London. What is known as the Lassallian movement and the Marxist movement became divided in the matter of tactics and for several years there were two socialist parties in Germany. It was about this time that many independent societies of workmen were organized.

In 1869 at a congress held in the city of Eisenach, Liebknecht and Bebel, who were Marxists, and who had been foremost in calling the congress, made great efforts to unite the socialist forces. They could not agree, however, with the Lassallians and the Marxists at once organized the "Social Democratic Party."

In 1871 this party polled 101,927 votes and 3 years later polled 351,670. From 1871 to the present time the socialists have been bitterly persecuted. The effect, however, of this persecution was to unite the socialists into one party which was effected in May, 1875, and the two official organs were amalgamated into one, the famous "Vorwarts." At this congress both parties made concessions in the interest of a united socialist party. Having a united party the social democrats now increased their agitation and their numbers with great rapidity. In 1877 they were issuing thirteen daily papers, thirteen semi-weekly, twelve weekly and three bi-monthly, and besides this there were fourteen trade union papers that gave their support to the social democrats. They polled in 1877, 486,843 votes. One year later their vote fell to 437,158. This was due to the outrageous and partly successful attempt of Bismarck to place the blame on the socialists for the attempted assassinations of the emperor. Hoedel, who made the first attempt, had no connection with any party. Dr. Nobiling, who made the second attempt, was a member of the National Liberal party.

A new parliament having been elected which did the bidding of Bismarck, then commenced the most cruel persecution. Socialist papers were prohibited from being published. Sixty-seven leading social democrats were ordered to leave the city of Berlin within two days. But Bismarck had overdone the thing, and a reaction took place. In the election of 1881 there was a loss. But in 1884 the vote went up to nearly 600,000 and twenty-four socialists were elected to the Reichstag. In the election of 1887 the socialists polled 763,128 votes, and in the great city of Berlin, their vote was 93,335, or 40 percent of the total vote. At the election of 1890 the social democrats astonished the world by casting 1,427,298 votes and 3 years later they polled 1,786,738. In 1898 their vote was 2,200,000, or 400,000 larger than the next strongest party in the German Empire. This is a phenomenal growth, indeed, but still greater victories are coming.

The social democratic party is a solid organization, they vote as one man, they are steadily gaining at each succeeding election. The world has never seen the like in a political party. Their literature is as solid as their party. They have 56 members in the Reichstag. The "Vorwarts," the leading official organ of the party, published daily at Berlin, has just published its financial statement for the past year, showing the steady increase in the strength of the party. During the year 1899 five new socialist newspapers have been founded, making a total of seventy-three party papers, two of them being comic weeklies.

The "Vorwarts" made a profit last year of 64,677 marks. The total expenditure was 343,207 marks as follows: Trials and prisons cost 7,741 marks; agitation, 4,470 marks; electioneering propoganda, 16,215 marks; socialist members in the Reichstag 25,700 marks; salaries and management of the journal, 14,742 marks; loans, 54,439 marks; assistance to individuals, 23,301 marks; grants to other journals, 53,434 marks; and capital investments, 95,060 marks. The socialist papers are owned cooperatively and those that pay a profit aid those that are published at a loss. The trade union papers almost unanimously support the social democrats. In fact 95 percent of the trade unions are socialists.

The socialist punishment sheet for the year shows that the total terms of sentences of imprisonment passed on socialists amounted to seventy-four years and one

month, while fines were levied to the amount of 23,251 marks. One or two more elections and the revolution organized twenty-nine years ago will have made a new nation of Germany. No power can stop its progress or its final victory.

The two most famous leaders of the social democrats are August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht. Liebknecht was born in 1826, was a student of the Universities of Geissen, Marburg and Berlin. In 1850 he lived in exile with Marx in London. He was made editor of the "Vorwarts" and in 1870-1 both he and Bebel were sentenced to two years imprisonment. Bebel the famous author of "Woman, Past, Present and Future" was born in Leipzig and at the present conducts a wood manufacturing plant.

The preamble of the party is quite that of all socialist parties. It declares for the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution and their democratic administration. Their demands are:

1. Universal, equal and direct suffrage by ballot in all elections for all subjects of the empire over twenty years of age, without distinction of sex. Proportional representation, and, until this system has been introduced, fresh division of electoral districts by law after each census. Two years' duration of the legislature. Holding of elections on a legal day of rest. Payment of the representatives elected. Removal of all restrictions upon political rights, except in the case of persons under age.
2. Direct legislation by the people by means of the right of initiative and of veto. Self-government by the people in the empire, state, province and commune. Election of magistrates by the people, with the right of holding them responsible. Annual vote of the taxes.
3. Universal military education. Substitution of militia for a standing army. Decision by the popular representatives of questions of peace and war. Decision of all international disputes by arbitration.
4. Abolition of all laws which restrict or suppress free expression of opinion and the right of meeting or association.
5. Abolition of all laws which place the woman, whether in a private or a public capacity, at a disadvantage as compared with the man.
6. Declaration that religion is a private matter. Abolition of all expenditure from public funds upon ecclesiastical and religious objects. Ecclesiastical and religious bodies are to be regarded as private associations,

which order their affairs independently.

7. Secularization of education. Compulsory attendance at public national schools. Free education, free supply of educational apparatus and free maintenance to children in schools and to such pupils, male and female, in higher educational institutions, as are judged to be fitted for further education.

8. Free administration of the law and free legal assistance. Administration of the law by judges elected by the people. Appeal in criminal cases. Compensation to persons accused, imprisoned or condemned unjustly. Abolition of capital punishment.

9. Free medical assistance and free supply of remedies. Free burial of the dead.

10. Graduated income and property tax to meet all public expenses which are to be met by taxation. Self-assessment. Succession duties, graduated according to the extent of the inheritance and the degree of relationship. Abolition of all indirect taxation, customs, duties and other economic measures, which sacrifice the interests of the community to the interests of a privileged minority.

For the protection of labor the German social democrats also demand to begin with:

1. An effectual national and international system of protective legislation on the following principles: (a) The fixing of a normal working day, which shall not exceed eight hours.
- (b) Prohibition of the employment of children under fourteen years of age.
- (c) Prohibition of night work, except in those branches of industry which, from their nature and for technical reasons, or for reasons of public welfare, require night work.
- (d) An unbroken rest of at least thirty-six (36) hours for every workingman every week.
2. Supervision of all industrial establishments, together with the investigation and regulation of the conditions of labor in the town and country by an imperial labor department, district labor bureaus and chambers of labor. A thorough system of industrial sanitary regulation.
3. Legal equality of agricultural laborers and domestic servants with industrial laborers. Repeal of the laws concerning masters and servants.
4. Confirmation of rights of association.
5. The taking over by the imperial government of the whole system of workmen's insurance, though giving the workmen a certain share in its administration.

AMERICAN NOTES

An anti-trust conference will be held in Chicago February 12.

The mine workers national union gained 26,000 members last year.

Debs has been lecturing to tremendous crowds in Illinois and Iowa.

In London, there are 260,000 families in receipt of one guinea or less a week.

The anti-deleon S. D. P. will hold a convention at Rochester, N. Y. Jan. 29.

The public ownership party of Erie, Pa., stands ready to join a united socialist party.

The "Daily Press," of Cripple Creek, Col., is putting in some good lies for socialism.

In England and Wales there are 1,745,000 families who receive \$5 and less per week.

A vote for the gold bugs or a vote for the silver bugs is a vote for more and more misery.

Street railway men in New York have had 15 miles added to their daily runs. Prosperity!

Capitalists who desire success organize. If socialists are wise they will organize a branch of the S. D. P. at once.

Principal Crane, of the Dunville, Ont., public school expressed his sympathy for the boers and was promptly fired.

One dollar will send the APPEAL to FIVE of your friends for one year. A pretty good way to convert three men to socialism.

The laundry proprietors of Chicago got tired of "the life of trade" competition and are organizing a little \$2,000,000 trust.

The Youngstown, O., "Labor News," in a well written editorial, advocates working class politics in the union. Its coming.

Social democrats have organized branches at Jacksonville, Riverton, Streaton and Kewanee, all in Illinois, and Birmingham, Mo.

B. P. Willett, proprietor of a job printing plant in New York City, has been arrested for printing boycott circulars against the Sun.

The Brockton Journal is a bright new paper—Vol. 1, No. 1, of Brockton, Mass. It will support the trade union and S. D. P. movement.

"Why the American Farmers Should be Socialists" is what you want to reach the farmers; next week's APPEAL. Order 100—forty cents.

Cornelius Vanderbilt has just expended \$25,000 in dogs. Twenty-five thousand little children go to school without any breakfast in that same city.

If the bosses increase wages 10 per cent. in "good times" and decrease them 20 per cent. in hard times, how long will it take us to find out where we are at?

The Massillon coal trust, capitalized at \$7,000,000, will release scores of traveling

salesmen besides many retailers, clerks, book-keepers etc. Will you think?

Old party militia officers in Michigan have been indicted for pilfering \$35,000 of the states funds. Gee wizz! if a socialist should do that the party would be blamed for it.

Erasmus Pellenz, a member of the Socialist Labor Party, has been appointed, and accepted, the office of fire marshal of Syracuse, N. Y., at a salary of \$4,000 per year.

Want to "divide up," do I? Nit. One more "divvy" and I'll be "on the hog." Want to stop this blamed dividing up. Let the exploiters fish or cut bait.—Big Eddy.

The wealth of South Carolina, with its million and a quarter inhabitants, increased last year \$3,000,000. Rockefeller's wealth increased \$30,000,000 in the same twelve months.

The "Farmer's Review," of Bonham, Tex., has been enlarged to an eight page paper and price reduced to fifty cents per year. It is a first class socialist paper, supporting the S. D. P.

Comrades, is it wise to vote against socialism just for the sake of defeating the republican party; or, is it wise to vote against socialism just for the sake of defeating the democratic party? Think, think, think.

An exchange says: Should the republicans next year nominate for vice president Root of New York, and the democrats select Mr. Hogg of Texas as a running mate for Mr. Bryan, the voters of the country will have to choose between Root, Hogg or die.

The report of the Ohio mine inspector shows that the average monthly wages paid the past year, in the pick mines of that state were \$22.30; machine loaders, \$19.80, and machine runners \$34.98. This is prosperity, indeed!

Silberman Bros., wool speculators of Chicago, recently made over half a million dollars on the rise in wool. The workers who produce cloth out of that wool get 95 cents per day, and the farmers who raised the wool get even less. We are a great nation!

Forty miners were destroyed in a mine explosion at Brazell, Pa. If the owners of the mines were compelled to work in them there would not be such a loss of life, and if we owned the mines we would see that we had protection. Capitalism, and that alone is responsible for such terrible crimes.

Parry Manufacturing company, of Indianapolis, says that to the factory price of goods must be added: 5 per cent. for salesmen, 10 per cent. for commission merchants, 20 per cent. for jobbing merchant, retail merchant 20 per cent. Here we have 55 per cent. added to the factory cost, giving to the workers a wage equal to about 18 per cent. of the consumers price.

The Union Label

on anything you buy is a guarantee that the producers thereof receive a fair rate of wages for its production.

INSIST ON HAVING THE LABEL

Why the Post Office Doesn't Pay

Socialists often point to the post office as a socialistic institution, showing that in its dealing with the public it comes very near equity. We also point out the fact that the average wages paid are \$900 per year for an eight hour work day, and that Uncle Sam will carry a letter to far away Alaska—6,000 miles—for only two cents. About this time some old party partisan howles, "the post office don't pay." The next time you run up against one of those fellows just remark that the public schools don't pay and see him look like a sheep. But why don't the post office pay? At the time we reduced the postage from three cents to two, the department was paying an annual profit of several millions dollars. For the year ending 1898 there were 73,570 post offices doing business. The total revenue was \$89,012,618 and the total expenditure was \$98,033,523. The largest item of expense was for transportation being \$51,780,283. There were 500 postal cars in use, for which the government paid over \$3,500,000 for rent. The cost of these cars is less than \$2,000,000, and they will last for 20-years. The government pays the New York Central railroad \$8,500 a year for each postal car and they can be built for \$3,500. The government pays in addition to this, for the transportation of the mails at the rate of one cent for each 56 miles carried or eight times as much as the express companies pay, and 50 times as much as shippers pay for the transportation of merchandise. Thousands of tons of mail sent out by the different government departments are carried free, such

as agriculture seeds, books, pamphlets, etc. There are 560,000 copies of the "Year Book" on agriculture sent through the mails every year. And there are millions of other publications. There are millions and millions of letters sent by the departments and by members of congress free.

If the franking service was abolished, in other words if the departments had to pay the regular rates of postage, the postal department would make an annual profit, even with the transportation robbery.

The railroads rob Uncle Sam of more than \$30,000,000 annually on the transportation of mail.

Some years ago congress passed a law giving county papers free transportation in the county where published. This is really returned to the people in cheaper subscription rates for county papers. Yet, it costs Uncle Sam some millions to give this free transportation.

If we charge to income the free list that alone gives a net profit to our post office department of nearly \$4,000,000, and if to this we add the \$30,000,000 annual robbery by the railroad we find that our socialistic post office could by correcting this evil, give us penny postage, and make a net profit of several million dollars each year. The British post office makes a net profit of \$16,000,000 a year. Nearly all the postal systems of the world show a profit; even those in sparsely settled Australia. Only in America, we are so wise we present to the railroad barons a present of \$30,000,000 a year!

Social Ironics.

Monopoly and "prosperity" are twins.—? Competition and poverty are a pair.—? Get the monopolies and we've got the world.—???

"Oh, that's socialism. You fellows want to pull down and divide up."

You are a pearl! But you have cast yourself before swine and verily, the "swine" will devour you.

The worker turns out a ten \$ product and turns in a one \$ wage. Brilliant!

Of course the capitalist owns the raw materials, the market and the coin. Being master over industry why should he give the worker more than grub and shoddy clothes?

Under socialism this worker would get a ten \$ equivalent for a ten \$ product.—? GEO. S. TAPPAN.

Different Uniforms.

The regulation wardrobe for a second lieutenant of marines costs \$600. His salary is \$1,500 a year, besides board and lodging. The American workman with patches on his trousers and a nine-dollars-a-week job pays his salary and buys the uniforms. And, if he votes for imperialism next election he will deserve to continue paying for it—and wearing patched clothes.—Justice.

100 white Envelopes, 6¢, with your name, business and address printed thereon, for thirty cents, postpaid.

Nihil Halico Nihil Curo.

As to further reductions in his income the workman might truly say, *nihil halico nihil curo*. He has no fears for the future because he has now only the bare supply necessary to keep him. (Come what will, he has no share either in prosperity or adversity.—Karl Marx in "Capital," book 1, part VII.

"Nothing I have, for nothing I care!" Loudly, defiantly, rang out the cry; The crowd looked round with terrified stare At a gaunt visaged working man standing near by.

A large crowd it was of middle class folk, Who listened with keenest approval and glee To an oily-tongued who fluently spoke Of the home of the brave and the land of the free.

About tariff reform and of silver and gold, And this glorious land of all lands in the world The greatest and best. When lo! Loud and bold Into their midst was so suddenly hurled, The wild battle slogan of the proletaire.

Nothing I have for nothing I care.

"Nothing I have for nothing I care What meanings have all your soft lyings for me?"

Exclaimed the rough workman in tones of despair, "This home of the brave, this land of the free, Is a huge bondage land where in slavery toil The cowardly many in suffering and woe, And the few live like gods on the fruits of their spoil;

No homestead have I, no country I know And having no hope hence have I no fear. No property, prospects nor brightness I have Mid your meaningless babblings the time may be near

When in his despair the hopeless wage slave May revolt in his wrath. Oh! ye rich fools beware!

Nothing I have for nothing I care."

JAMES ALLMAN, Newark, N. J.

Why Artists Are Socialists

Many artists are socialists, all of them ought to be. There is no need of mentioning names. To state briefly a few reasons why they are socialists is the purpose of this article.

In the first place most artists would rather work for the state than for private individuals. They don't like to be upper servants of the rich. The position of a painter or a sculptor dependent upon the whims of some crusty old capitalist is not dignified. The man who does large work for the government knows that it will be seen by everybody; the painter of small easel pictures is aware that what he does will be incarcerated in some aristocrat's private gallery. Public art is the art we need.

Then, too, the artists do not like the looks of the world for which the present industrial system is responsible. It is nasty to look at—filled with cheap, tawdry display and ugly squalor. The artists believe that co-operation in industry will make clean cities and beautiful rural districts. They hold that ugliness is no necessary part of civilization.

Not only is the external mold of today an eyesore; the lives of men have become stale and flat. Work used to be a privilege as well as an obligation; today the artists are almost the only class of hand-workers who

can thoroughly enjoy their craft. The artists believe that socialism will restore to all men the right to an interesting occupation.

Under socialism men will be able to pay more attention to the fine arts than they now can give. Co-operation will mean increased individual productiveness and greater industrial freedom from excess of labor. What the artist does will be better understood and appreciated under socialism.

Finally the artists feel that the coming age will be less cynical and ignoble than the present age. They are for the most part a sincere body of men; they take their art seriously. What they lack, however, is the inspiration of high national and social ideals. When an enthusiasm for mutual helpfulness shall have been established, when the industry of the world shall have been organized upon a basis of honor rather than dishonor, when the nobility of the many shall have asserted itself against the meanness of the few,—then we shall have a great inspired art, an art which shall be as comprehensible to the common everyday man as to the dilettante collector. It will be the art of humanity.

Art is criticism of life. The nobler the life, the finer the criticism.

That is why the artists long for the reign of social justice. F. W. CONWAY.

THE BROCKTON SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

The rise of the social democrats of Brockton to power has been more than a seven days' wonder to the old party politicians. Starting fifteen months ago with only eight members, the party rapidly grew to an even hundred—then it went by leaps and bounds to over 400 organized members. The condition of labor in Brockton is above the average in this nation. In fact the wages are thirty per cent. higher than in the average cities of thirty-five to the hundred thousand population. Brockton has 40,000 population and is a new and beautiful city. The leading city of the world in the production of mens and youths fine shoes. With the first eight members of the branch were the present mayor, Charles H. Coulter and the present city marshal, Carlton S. Beals.

Comrade Frank S. Walsh was a most faithful and earnest secretary of the branch during its growth from a few to several hundred.

Of the foreign population the Swedes largely predominate. Before the advent of the S. D. P. they almost unanimously supported the republican party. Comrade Ernest Nordberg was one of the first Swedes to join the new party. Comrade Nordberg is a magnificent worker, a man of great

ability and a true comrade. He has devoted both time and money to the upbuilding of the party. Soon after the organization of the branch the policy of holding weekly meetings was inaugurated. These meetings were addressed by Debs, Carey, Chase, McCartney, Porter, Barr, H. N. Casson, and others and by local speakers. As Comrade Grady has so well stated: "We circulated thousands of copies of 'Hard Times' 'Municipal Socialism,' 'Looking Backward,' 'APPEALS,' 'Heralds,' etc." The branch sold and distributed nearly 4,000 copies of 'Hard Times.' A splendid brass band was organized early in the campaign and at Carey's first out door meeting he addressed over 3,000 people. For right down earnest work with uncommon ability, for self sacrifice and honest work, the Brockton comrades may be compared with the socialist organizations in any part of the world. The two daily papers of Brockton, the *Enterprise* and the *Times*, have been fair in their treatment and in the space given us. Comrades Thompson and Wood, reporters on these papers, have done a work for the cause that deserves the earnest thanks of every social democrat in America.

In Comrade John Cox, the first socialist

band in America has a most generous and able leader and socialist worker. In every movement for progress the world over the Jews have always taken a leading part. They are the most sacrificing and hardest workers in the cause of socialism. There are few Jews in Brockton, but Comrade Cohen and others are counted with the best workers. Comrade Skinner, a veteran reformer, was one of the charter members. Ill-health compels him to do less work than formerly. Comrades Packard and Malpas, as chairman and vice chairman, have done splendid work for the cause. Comrade W. P. Bosworth has done a great deal of work of which even the comrades in Brockton know nothing of. He has paid many a bill and said nothing. He has been a tower of strength to the party. Comrades Rev. S. L. Beal and E. R. Perry, the two alderman elect, as well as Comrades Spence, Brothers, Bunn, Chandler, Ross, Joe Caldwell, Drake, Guinn, Monette, and others, have done untiring and unselfish work in the cause. The ladies, too, have done a splendid work. The songs of Mooney, the reading by little Miss Lowell, daughter of Comrades Mr. and Mrs. Charles Lowell, of Whitman, have immensely pleased the large crowds at our meetings.

The success of the movement has been made by hard work and the sacrifice of both time and money. The movement is in safe hands; it will go on and on gaining strength. In no city in America are the workers better educated than in Brockton.

WAGES AND WEALTH PRODUCTION IN BROCKTON.

From the United States census reports for 1890, (See Page 744, Compendium) Brockton, in 1890, contained 21,120 inhabitants. She produced that year manufactured goods to the value of \$21,160,161. This would average a production on the part of every man, woman and child of \$1002. And it would average a production on the part of every family the astonishing sum of \$5,761. It is shown by the report that less than 11,000 people produced this wealth. There were 7,829 shoe makers which included all the skilled, unskilled and pieceworkers. They produced \$16,171,624, or an average of \$2,065, for each worker. The shoe factories in Brockton will not average to work over nine months in a year. This would give a wealth production measured by twelve months of an average of \$2,750 per year, factory price. If to the factory price we add the cost of selling the goods, to-

gether with rent, interest and profit, we find that the workers received \$1 for producing \$7 in value, or if reckoned at the factory price they received \$1 for producing \$4.50. If we subtract the cost of raw material, we find that the workers received \$1 with which to buy back 85 of their own wealth production. These facts are from the census reports of ten years ago. Since that date the productivity of the shoe maker has greatly increased, and it is safe to say that the increase has been at least 30 per cent. This would give a yearly production of \$3,375 per worker, factory price. If to the factory price we add only 50 per cent. as the consumers price, we have a total wealth production of \$5,212.50 for which the workers receive at present not over \$600 in wages. Subtracting the cost of raw material \$1800, and the product is \$3,412.50. Knowing these facts, is it any wonder that the workers of Brockton enlisted in that cause which means justice to them? Again, at least 10 per cent. of the work in the competing shoe factory is waste; that is, under socialism 10 per cent. of the factory cost would be saved. What has been done in Brockton will be done in a thousand other places in the near future. On with the fight.

THE COMMON PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES VS. JOHN DOE PROFIT, RICHARD ROE INTEREST AND PETER METALLIC MONEY

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.
Tribunal held in the Capital at Washington, D. C.
Common People of the United States,
vs. John Doe Profit, Richard Roe Interest and Peter Metallic Money,
Defendants.

SUMMONS.
To above named defendants:
You are hereby summoned to answer the complaint herein at the polls on Nov. 6, 1900, and in case of your failure to do so judgment will be taken against you by default for the relief demanded in the complaint herein. EUGENE V. BREWSTER, Attorney for one of the Plaintiffs, 26 Court St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.
Common People of the United States,
vs. John Doe Profit, Richard Roe Interest and Peter Metallic Money,
Defendants.

COMPLAINT.
Plaintiffs above named, complaining of the defendants, respectfully show to this court and allege:

1. That in all the times hereinafter mentioned plaintiffs were the owners of all the products of their toil, which include all the wealth now in this republic.

2. That between the 4th day of July, 1779, and the 1st day of January, 1900, defendants jointly and severally entered into and did carry out a conspiracy against plaintiffs whereby defendants were enabled to seize a large and exorbitant part of the products of plaintiffs as aforesaid, and that defendants have failed to render an accounting to plaintiffs or to return to plaintiffs any part of the products aforesaid, save as hereinafter mentioned.

3. That plaintiffs acknowledge payment of an amount equal to starvation wages during said period, whereby plaintiffs were enabled to obtain food, clothes and shelter, but that the same were of an inferior quali-

ty and of an exceedingly limited quantity.

4. That the conspiracy hereinbefore mentioned was concocted and carried into effect by defendants by and through legislation and government which it owned, operated and controlled.

5. That the said ownership, operation and control was obtained by defendants by unlawful means, such as bribery, theft, deceit and other means of corruption.

6. That the will of the people was never done by said legislators and said government, and that the people themselves were hoodwinked, deceived and otherwise imposed upon by their representatives through the said acts of defendants.

7. That plaintiffs have been damaged to the extent of the present value of all the wealth now in the territory of this republic, to-wit: \$80,000,000. Wherefore, plaintiffs demand that the said wealth or its equivalent be returned to plaintiffs; that the laws be so changed that such unjust seizure shall no longer be possible; that the people have recourse to a system of initiative and referendum and imperative mandate so that their representatives may be compelled to do plaintiffs' bidding; that defendants be abolished from the land in order that plaintiffs shall hereafter receive the full product of their toil; that the defendant, Peter Metallic Money, be hung for treason; and for such other and further relief as to the court may seem just and proper.

EUGENE V. BREWSTER, Attorney for several plaintiffs, 26 Court St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.
(BRIEF)

Common People of the United States,
vs. John Doe Profit, Richard Roe Interest and Peter Metallic Money,
Defendants.

STATEMENT.
This is an action brought by plaintiffs in

the cause of humanity. Plaintiffs claim that the producer of wealth is entitled to all the wealth he produces. They claim that the toiler, the workmen or laborer, includes not only the man with the hoe, but also the man who otherwise assists in the production and distribution of their products, such as clerks, salesmen, superintendents, bookkeepers, etc., and that these are the creators of all the wealth. They further claim that, through fraud, deceit and conspiracy, the defendants, who represent the idle classes, have appropriated to their own use a large portion of the wealth created by plaintiffs without giving ample return.

Plaintiffs also call attention to the fact that all of the wealth on earth was created by labor and that labor now enjoys none of it.

POINT I.
CAPITAL

Defendants will, no doubt, claim that capital has produced much of the wealth and that it has paid to labor the usual wages and that capital is therefore entitled to the remainder of the joint product of labor and capital. This is a misleading argument. In the first place labor created all capital and labor is therefore entitled to all capital. In the next place capital must have labor to protect and preserve it. Capital creates nothing. Labor creates everything. Capital is entitled to no profit and no interest. When it gets insurance, maintenance and taxes it is getting all it deserves. Labor can get along without capital. Capital cannot get along without labor.

POINT II.
PROFIT

The true price of an article should be the labor cost. There should be no profit to anybody. If there was no profit labor would get all it produced and therefore

everything. If all the means of production and distribution were owned by the people collectively there could be no profit. Where one man makes a profit, some other man must have a loss. There can be no gain without a loss. If some men grow rich on profit, without creating anything, labor loses just so much.

PART III.
LAND

Private ownership of land is the cause of much private profit. The earth is the source of all wealth. Land gets its value from its surroundings, and from the use and occupation thereof. Land in itself has no value. No man has a right to monopolize any more land than he can use. He has no right to hold vacant land and wait for his neighbors to make it valuable for him. If land values were taxed, and nothing else, no man would want to hold vacant land. Occupancy and use would be the only object of acquiring land, and then his title to it would be good only so long as he was making use of the land. No man has a right to squat on a piece of land and say it is his and make other men pay rent for the use of that land. Land is now being monopolized by the few, while the many must either pay the few for the use of it or leave this earth and emigrate to some other planet.

POINT IV.
INTEREST

Interest is sucking up the life blood of labor. Interest means compound interest. If Jesus had left one cent to his heirs, and they had put it out at interest, and again put out the principal and interest at compound interest to the present day, they would have enough money to buy 600 globes the size of this earth, all of solid gold! Labor finally pays every cent of interest in

the world. The burden of the enormous interest, stupendous profit and appalling rents of all the world all fall upon the shoulders of labor.

POINT V.
MONEY

The system of money having intrinsic value, so-called—that is, commodity money, is heathenish. Money is not capital. It is not wealth. It represents wealth. It can represent it better if it has no value in itself, or rather, has no commodity value. Paper makes the best money. Paper money, issued direct to the people from its source, would help to do away with interest. We are now wholly dependent upon money lenders for our supply of money. The government should give us the money direct, without interest, provided we have proper security. Better still would be a system which would make a dollar be a certificate for a day's work. The present money system was designed by and is carried out for the benefit of money lenders. The money lenders own the government. We are slaves to the government. Therefore we are slaves to the money lender.

PART VI.
SHYLOCK

The names of defendants herein simply represent the process by which labor is victimized, enslaved and robbed by the idle classes. The real name of defendant is Shylock. Rent, interest and profit, with the able assistance of metallic money, are the agents of Shylock, through which Shylock is enabled to corner nine-tenths of the products of labor without doing a stroke of useful work. Plaintiffs therefore contend that they have a good cause of action against defendants. Respectfully submitted,

EUGENE V. BREWSTER, Plaintiffs' attorney.

CITY OWNERSHIP

Memphis, Tenn., constructed 35 miles of sewers at a cost of \$100,000 with an eight hour work day.

Hannibal, Mo., wishes to purchase the private owned water works. The company ask \$250,000 for what cost them \$58,000.

Alton, Ill., is taking steps to purchase the water works plant. City ownership won by a big majority at the last election. The eight hour work day for city employes has been established.

By a vote of 479 to 104 the electors of Woodstock, Ont., have declared in favor of the purchase of the electric light plant. The daily *Sentinel-Review* has been an able champion for municipal lights.

A correspondent of the *Indianapolis Press* says: The town of Edinburg, south of this city, has attained almost a national reputation because of wonderfully successful municipal ownership. Incandescent lights for residences cost but 15 cents a month and business portions are served for 20 cents. The light is better than that for which Indianapolis is paying a minimum of \$1 for. It is claimed that no city in the world can beat this rate. Water is but \$1 per annum, and telephones 50 cents and \$1 a month. Edinburg is a thoroughly up-to-date city and still has a feeling of rivalry for Franklin, the county seat.

Through municipal ownership of public franchises the great problem involved in the financial dickering between politicians and city contractors will be solved. It will enable a more liberal and wider use of the resources of the city for the social advancement of the inhabitants. It will bring into local politics real issues in connection with city affairs, and will make city elections more than mere ballot box scrambles to see which set of politicians shall divide the profits of government. By means of municipal ownership the citizens will be brought into closer touch with the municipal administration.—*New York Journal*.

A municipal lighting committee of Washington, Ind., has been investigating municipal ownership in Indiana, and this is what they found:

That the city of Logansport owns its own electric light plant, and is now contemplating the purchase of the telephone system.

That up to the year 1893 the city of Logansport was furnished electric lighting by a private company at the rate of \$96 a year per arc light, and that private consumers were charged one cent an hour for incandescents. In 1893 the city purchased an electric light plant for \$54,000. The capacity we found to be too small to meet the increased demand for lights, so that it has been increased to the value of \$125,000. The plant is up to date and well equipped. All repair work is done by the regular employes. The lights furnished are equal to the lights furnished this city, the street lights being much stronger.

That under the present management the city of Logansport gets its street lighting free.

That the city furnishes private lights at 5 cents per 1,000 watts, which is about 18 cents a light per month, assuming that a 16-candle power light will consume 3,600 watts in 60 hours, the average period that a light is used per month.

That said city furnishes electric light to its patrons through the meter system, for which it charges for meter services 25 cents a month.

That the city has had constantly to increase the capacity of the plant to meet the increased demand for lights.

At the time the city purchased its own plant there were 500 consumers for private light; this has increased to 1,100 customers, who burn more than 24,000 incandescents of 16 to 32 candle power, from which the city last year derived a revenue of \$19,570.81. The cost of operation last year was \$13,907.20, leaving a net profit of \$4,653.61, and the city has secured its street lighting and lighting for all public buildings absolutely free.

The plant is managed by a board of trustees and a superintendent. The superintendent in charge has served since the plant was purchased. The trustees are not chosen with regard to political beliefs. Though the city is democratic, the trustees are republicans.

The plant is run by steam and water power. Steam is made by the use of coal and natural gas.

The city is now using 182 arc lights. Since the city bought the plant the incandescents have increased from 3,600 to 24,000.

That the receipts of the plant doubled the second year the city owned it, and the demand for lights increases so rapidly that now the city is unable to supply all that have made application.

We have taken from the books of the city prices paid by different consumers and patrons of the plant. The price is the average price per month of the entire number of lights used for the first nine months of the year 1899:

Barber shop, using six 16-candle power incandescents, \$1.10 a month.

Grocery, using nine 16-candle power lights, \$1.18 a month.

Dry goods store of 25 lights, \$1.75 a month.

Carpet store of 50 lights, \$3.05 a month.

Hotel of 300 rooms, 16 and 32-candle power lights, \$30.82 a month.

Saloon of 30 lights, \$5.65 a month.

Dwelling of 67 lights, \$1.29 a month.

Dwelling of 14 lights, 98 cents a month.

Mitchell, a town of 2,000 inhabitants, owns a \$15,000 plant. It is successfully operated. The city uses 40 street lights and furnishes incandescents at 25 cents a month. The operating expenses are from \$300 to \$600 greater than the receipts from private lighting each year. This makes the street lights cost about \$15 a year.

North Vernon, population 3,000, has a municipal light plant. The city uses 61 arcs and furnishes private consumers 2,000 incandescents. The rate to private consumers is 25 cents a month, or 5 cents per 1,000 watts. The plant is a moneymaker, and the revenue pays two-thirds of the cost of the street lights.

Anderson bought two electric light plants at a cost of \$72,000 and consolidated them. The rate is high from the fact that the city is making heavy payments each year. The meter charge is 91-0 of one cent per ampere, with discounts running from 10 to 50 per cent. according to the quantity of light used, and averages about 60 cents a light a month. The city furnishes only 4,000 incandescent lights, as natural gas is used almost exclusively at only 10 cents a light a month.

FOREIGN ITEMS

New Zealand will establish penny postage.

The social democrats have won a sweeping victory in Bacsiacaras, Hungary.

August Jacobey, for the past four years editor of the Berlin *Verwaerts*, is dead.

The recent civic election in Bremen, Germany, was won by the social democrats.

The Japanese government owned railways paid a net profit of 7 1/2 per cent. last year.

Comrade A. Geisendorfer has been elected Burgomaster of Germany in Lower Bavaria.

The annual congress of the social democratic party of Belgium will be held January 14.

The German social democratic party has recently won several victories in the rural districts.

The Australian trade unionists have declared the British-Boer war one of conquest and plunder.

The *Osaka Weekly* is a clear cut socialist paper, published by the Japanese Labor Association, Japan.

Germany has the gold standard, high protective tariff policy and wages are less than 40 cents per day. Think this over.

The income tax in England for 1899 was \$95,000,000. After all, the wealth producers paid it. And they pay all the taxes in every civilized nation.

Prof. I. Abe is giving a series of lectures on socialism to the students of the Seamon school, Tokio, Japan. Already two-thirds of the scholars are socialists.

The London Printers' Union, the strongest local organization in the world, voted money out of its treasury to help elect several of its members on the socialist ticket.

France maintains \$500,000,000 of silver at a ratio of 15 1/2 to 1. She also has a protective tariff and the wages there average about 39 cents per day. Think this over, too.

At the recent municipal election in London, Ont., Comrade Frederick J. Darch,

the socialist candidate, received 2,419 votes, against 2,638 for the coalition ticket. David Ross, socialist alderman in ward 3 was elected.

Jules Guesde has accepted a candidature to the senate from the socialists of Gaudaloupe, West Indies. Socialist Deputy Legitimius is making an agitation tour of the island.

The recent convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, passed resolutions in favor of independent political action. The resolutions are to be submitted to a referendum vote of all the affiliated unions in Canada.

Abbe Daens, the christian socialist priest, of Belgium, has been forbidden by his bishop to wear clerical attire. This is one of the greatest punishments that a priest can have. However, the abbe has appealed to the pope, and meanwhile is carrying on his propaganda.

Emperor William's new stables will cost \$2,000,000, and will provide room for 270 horses and 300 vehicles. The average rate of wages in the German Empire are less than 40 cents per day, and out of those starvation wages they must pay for crazy Bill's personal pleasure.

The town of Orea, Sweden, has an annual income of \$150,000 through municipal ownership and operation of tree planting; as a result of this socialistic enterprise there are no taxes. Railways, telephones schools and many other things are free.

The socialist party has suffered a great loss in the death of Leopold Fagnart, deputy for Charleroi. He was 50 years old, and was educated at the College of Nivelles and the University of Brussels. Ever since 1876 he had been in public life, advocating democratic measures. In 1893, he, with Jules des Essarts and Jules Destree, founded the Democratic Federation, as the result of vain efforts to unite the working class with the Liberal party. He was elected deputy in 1894 and again in 1898. His funeral, on December 3, was a great public event, being attended by every democratic, socialist, free thought and Masonic body from near and far. The colonel of a foot regiment offered its services in attendance, but at the last moment the war office would not consent to it.—*The People*.

SOCIALISM AND MILITARISM

Gaston Mock in "Justice" Translated by Jacques Bonhomme

When history shall draw up the balance-sheet of the nineteenth century, one will have to admit that socialism has, from its beginning, and in all countries, systematically undertaken a struggle against war and militarism. It is true that it would not be right to pretend that its followers were the only persons who wished to see Europe a federation of free people who should settle in a legal manner any inevitable difference of opinion. This peaceful doctrine existed before socialism began, and men of all parties, orthodox economists and even a few Clericals hold these opinions.

But the socialist party is the only one which has adopted this idea, as a party, and all its members at all times have held it without exception and without fear. The pacific socialists are isolated among other parties; a non-pacific socialist would be and would always have been a contradiction in terms.

One ought to be able to say the same of any republican. The man who believes in justice and liberty, that is to say, in the two ideas which sum up republicanism, recognizes that it is just and therefore necessary to respect the liberty not only of his fellow-citizens but also that of men of all other countries. He is, therefore, necessarily opposed to any aggression against neighboring nations: he will ask always that any international difference should be settled amicably, or if that is not possible by arbitration.

But it is not sufficient to wish for peace if one wishes to enjoy it. One's neighbors must also wish for it, or—what is practical—

ly the same thing—they must not be tempted to break it. It is, therefore, both legitimate and indispensable that precautions should be taken, either against backward nations whose civilization is still in the military stage, or against those whose morality is higher but who are still under governments which are not very scrupulous.

Even the most pacific nation will, therefore, have to consider the problem of a good defensive military organization. And though by its definition the socialist party is international, though it puts at the head of all its programmes the pacific idea and imprints it in the hearts of all its adherents, yet this problem has to be faced by the party perhaps more than by any other.

Even if the military question did not interest every citizen on account of the heavy sacrifices which it demands of him, still it would be one of those questions which socialism has no right to neglect. The advent of socialism will not be simultaneous in all the countries of Europe and will arouse terrible animosities against the first nation which tries the experiment, and it will therefore be necessary that that nation should be powerful enough to prevent other nations crushing her.

The socialists were not only the first party to oppose war, but they were the first who tried to secure to a country the maximum of defensive power at the minimum cost of military charges. They have seen that to attain the "armed nation" it was not necessary to turn the nation into an immense barracks, and to drain it of its life's blood;

they have understood that the conditions of the existence of modern nations have changed the military problem, not only in restricting it to a defensive war, but more so in rendering the latter far easier.

But it is not sufficient to state that the problem has altered and become simpler. It must be studied in all its details, which are very numerous and complicated; its rational solution must be determined, its realization must be prepared by adopting temporary measures which will enable us to pass from the present to the future system without shock and without interruption, that is to say, without endangering for a time the national defence. For the latter must be improved and not left to chance, not even for a single day.

This is a formidable undertaking which cannot be done in a day or by one man. It will demand the deep study of many specialists when the principle of the reform has been decided.

But to arrive at this preliminary result we must first take a preliminary step towards this principle by making the country agree to its necessity, that is to say, to make it desire it. And to do this we must draw up a sketch which, without going into details of organization, will show the military value and the economic and social advantages of this scheme.

It is well to remember that the public does not know what an armed nation is—those words only make people think of a kind of national guard—without training or

discipline. We must, therefore, first prove that we do not wish to allow an invader to come into France, but that we wish to reduce the sacrifices which can be demanded from its citizens in order to guarantee her independence as well, if not better, than by the present system. For we must admit that the adversaries of militarism have not shown much ability up to now. They have begun their campaigns without ammunition—I mean without having made those preliminary studies which are indispensable in order to reassure the nation, and that is why they have had such little success. The militants are the masters of the situation, and this is clearly shown by the fact that, while in Germany military service has been reduced to two years, French citizens have not protested against the affront which they patiently endure by continuing to serve for three years.

Therefore it is well to begin by studying the organization which is best for a pacific democracy, that is to say, by determining the general conditions of the organization of a militia army.

It must not be thought that this work is one of pure theory or imagination. If it were so the results would not be likely to convince the country. But the model of this organization exists, and is easy to study; it is at our frontiers in a country most of whose inhabitants speak French. I am speaking of the Swiss army. I do not wish now to say anything about the remarkable qualities of this citizen army, nor of the imperfections of detail which may be found in it.

I only notice that it exists, and that it has received praise from all competent judges, and that it affords us a model for imitation except that certain details may have to be modified.

We may also see that it does not follow that standing armies are a necessary consequence of a capitalist system. And we also find that a capitalist state like Switzerland—which is not isolated like the United States, which also has no large standing army—threatened by neighboring nations, is yet able to do without a standing army, and only needs a military force strictly necessary to the defence of its territory.

The importance of this fact is evident. If standing armies can only be abolished by the advent of socialism then this reform would be opposed by all non-socialists, and Europe might for a long time go on being ruined by the present state of armed peace. But any man who hates violence and robbery, i. e., any really civilized man, will be in favor of a rational army if the idea is clearly put before him. This reform might be carried out to-morrow and is only kept back by prejudices which have nothing to do with any economic doctrine. In one word, though this reform is urgent, and though it must interest socialists if only on account of the vast sum of money which it would be possible to use for useful objects, yet it is not necessarily a socialistic measure.

The socialists have first conceived this idea, and it will be to their honor to try and carry out this reform and thus obtain many allies and many adherents.

APPEAL ARMY

Requesting changes of postoffice or street address give expiration number or send in the label on your paper.

Use next weeks Appeal for the farmers 100 copies 40 cents.

Comrade H. A. Boyce, Augusta, O. T. has sold 54 Indians for us.

A third type-writer has been added to the office to keep up with its wonderful growth.

Comrade E. S. Pilsworth bumfussed us with 54 good brave citizens of Battle Creek, Mich.

The real thing in the city ownership line will be out about February 15th. Get ready for it.

Comrade J. W. Quick, of Philadelphia, is just swift enough to grab 25 scalps and ship them in.

R. H. Chapin is a Washington state comrade we are proud of. He sends us a nice club of 27.

Comrade C. C. Hitchcock, of Ware, Mass., sent in 30 rebels. We sentenced them to one years reading.

The Chicago APPEAL TO REASON club has got into working order, and just sent in the first installment of 25.

J. T. Skelenar, Montgomery, Minn., sent us a club of 33—Just to remind us that Minnesota was in line.

Comrade W. H. Arthur, of Port Arthur, Ont., captured 77 Boers with an old army musket several hundred years old.

Our correspondent at Boone, Ia., corrects a slight mistake. Bro. Boone was the candidate for representative, not mayor.

One man orders 2,000 copies of the APPEAL containing "Socialism and Drink". He is looking for prohibition scalps.

"The Beginning of the End," by James Allman, Newark, N. J. In next weeks issue. Order 100 copies—40 cents.

Quite a number have lately sent in small clubs at 50 cents, we don't ask them to do this, but it does help out wonderfully.

P. Frank and friends, of Portsmouth, O. gave us a little surprise party this week with 33 callers, who will stay for a year.

Comrade J. S. Mattos, of Ogden, Utah, rounded up 50 Gentiles and suggests that we try the APPEAL gun on 'em for a year or so.

The last few days the APPEAL army has been buying about 1,000 extra copies of the New Zealand edition. We can supply all orders.

I. F. Stewart, of Poteau, Ind. Ter., captured 31 tame Injuns, I reckon. The APPEAL will look after them for the rest of the year.

Comrade Thos. Lamay, of Concordia, Kans., will do his part to see that the APPEAL circulation is doubled before spring, 25 this trip.

It will cost you just 40 cents to show 100 farmers why they should join the Socialist movement. Next issue. Order 100 now—40 cents.

You thought the country editors wouldn't read eh! Ten of them have sent in orders for books and subs the past week. It is coming boys.

Comrade D. H. Haukes, of Seattle, Wash., is a pretty swift lad. He didn't do a thing to 66 of his friends—except to get them for a year's subscription.

Comrade Johnson, of Vancouver, B. C. may live in a cold country but he is a pretty warm baby. Anyhow he warmed things up down here with a club of 40.

The APPEAL received a public acknowledgment from the business men here last week that it was the greatest thing in the city. Heretofore it had been ignored.

"Jewhittlebooks," but that Toledo socialist club is doing business. They forwarded

39 subs. and have just began. They meet every Monday night at 141 Summit st.

One of the APPEAL orders swamped the type foundry, last week. They wrote that they had never received a like order since they had been in business! We're some pumpkins, we are.

Your work on the APPEAL is attracting wonderful attention to the paper and what it advocates from every section of the land. You would never tire if you could see these effects like we can here in the office.

We told you to wait till Greene and Grieves got to the bat. well, Greene made one strike and landed 47 right through the side of the APPEAL shanty, Charlie says he will make a home run in the next inning.

Comrade Arthur Phippen, of Lawrence, Mass., saw an APPEAL the other day for the first time. What do you think he did? Got 10 of his friends to take the paper for a year, suppose you all did that? Think it over!

Our old veteran comrade, John D. Haskell, of Abilene, Kans., came in again with a big club. John never quits and he won't be quiet until every man woman and child in his county is a regular subscriber of the APPEAL.

Comrade W. B. Bridgeford, of Frankfort, Ky., landed 25 big blue grass citizens with us for safe keeping. Bridgeford and the rest of the APPEAL gang in Kentucky will yet organize and carry that state for the S. D. P.

There is a gang of two bad citizens in Detroit city, Minn. They told us they were thankful that they were living, and also thankful that the APPEAL came to that town once a week. Then they let bang at us, and the first thing we knew we had 86 of their neighbors enlisted for a year.

Comrade Fred Heaths, of Milwaukee, 182 Mason st, writes that they propose to do some big things for the APPEAL right soon. The boys will most likely have a local edition. Comrade Heaths is the author of "The Hand Books of Social Democracy," which contains a history of Socialism in America up to date, a most valuable book that every socialist needs, and the price is only 15 cents.

Dr. Duncanson, of Ontario, Cal., gave a gold watch and chain to his club of 200 subscribers to the APPEAL. It was drawn by Geo. H. Rice, who was not at the meeting, not even living there, but he writes me that he was hunted up by the Doctor and presented with an elegant time piece, of which he feels very proud. Talk about workers, the APPEAL has the most enthusiastic corps of any paper on earth. Duncanson is one of the old reliable, who never balks.

Comrade J. W. Sawyer, of Louisville, Ky., gives up considerable of his advertising space in the papers to telling the people that he will give a year's subscription to the APPEAL to every purchaser of flour. He goes on the theory that man cannot live by bread alone. Many of the comrades are buying space in their local papers to advertise the APPEAL. Succeed with such men as that? Of course the movement will succeed. It is impossible for right to fail with such work.

Comrade W. C. Burges, of Pendleton, Ore., sent in a club of eight, all at 50 cents each, and ordered 100 extras. And right here is a pointer. Such clubs help to even up things. We send out a good many thousand copies free, and nearly all the subs come in at the 25 or 20 cent rate. I'll just tell you something on the quiet, I know the "one boss" has to do some tall figuring pretty often to make both ends meet. Comrade, when you find a man ready to give 50 cents for a years subscription. Just remember for the above.

By goah, them fellows in California, mean business. We were knocked all over the shanty last Sunday, just after the afternoon freight came in with the mail. Hy-

Meyer, San Francisco, was first to the at with 25, then came a club from Pomona with 20. The Commonwealth Shoe Factory of Petaluma, didn't want to be out in the cold so they sent in 25. The next ten came from the golden state had 5 to 16 subs., each. Just then Doc Stevens' big bomb exploded with 104 subs., and the whole business for a year. We haven't got room to tell you about the mail from that state for the balance of the week.

Between you and I and the gate-post, the APPEAL is having a brick building 150 feet deep, on the corner next door to the post-office, erected for its home. It will then be able to handle its enormous business with more ease and satisfaction. It will have office rooms in front for its editors, business manager, clerks and stenographers seven people; next will come the composition room in which a linotype will be installed; next the stereotype room; next the press room; next the mailing room with a door opening into the back part of the postoffice and behind that a paper room that will hold seven cars of print paper and other stock. Like the office, it will have no plaster paying interest—that is one usual ornament it will forego. Hope to have all this in shape by March first.

- A few of those who sent in clubs are:
- Klamroth, traveling agent, 100
 - Geo. Condie, Ceres, Okla., 26
 - John Gait, Costalia, S. D., 28
 - Wm. H. Spurr, Lion, N. Y., 26
 - Frank D. Freeman, St. Paul, Minn., 25
 - J. J. Durand, Northport, Wash., 31
 - A. P. Farrell, Breckenridge, Minn., 32
 - S. S. Bunn, Mallott, Wash., 25
 - A. L. Maxwell, Brainbridge, O., 25
 - W. A. Harrington, Springdale, Ark., 25
 - J. C. McGlady, London, Ont., 25
 - Geo. C. Jefferson, Woodland, Cal., 26
 - John J. Joyce, Brockton, Mass., 25
 - F. H. White, Topeka, Kans., 25
 - C. F. Gray, Silver City, Idaho, 25
 - F. A. Zillgitt, Vernonia, Ore., 25
 - W. Grant Weaver, Mott Haven sta N. Y., 25
 - G. H. Duthie, Harrison, Tenn., 26
 - Henry Krieger, Rockville, Conn., 32
 - H. W. Clark, Peoria, Ill., 25
 - D. D. James, Russell, Idaho, 25
 - T. T. Hunter, Safford, Ariz., 50
 - Ed. Berteaux, Rich Hill, Mo., 25
 - M. J. Wade, travelingman, 30
 - T. C. Saltzman, Mt. Airy, Idaho, 25
 - E. D. Edwards, Kent, Wash., 25
 - Wm. Hempelman, Quincy, Ill., 28
 - H. O. Davis, Jersey, Ga., 19
 - E. P. Reeves, Perry, Okla., 18
 - C. C. Compton, Strange, Neb., 25
 - Dr. J. G. McCatheron, Guthrie, Okla., 25
 - Edson & Blaine, Lynden, Wash., 30
 - W. H. Pitt, Lodi, Cal., 25
 - Lyda & Erwin, Zaniesville, O., 25
 - F. S. Parker, Devils Lake, N. D., 25

Count Leo Tolstoi has written a letter to Mr. Ernest Crosby with reference to his new book of verse "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable" (Small, Maynard & Co., Boston) in which he announces his intention of having it translated in part into Russian as follows:

"I like the book very, very much. Some of the pieces—the choice is difficult because all are very good—I will have translated into Russian and published. There is nothing more new and interesting than the most common subjects looked at from a Christian point of view, and that is what you are doing in your book, and doing with talent and sincerity."

consisting of seven-teen pieces (and two drums), finely nickel plated, superior in every way to an ordinary band, will be given to the social democrats having the

LARGEST NUMBER OF SUBSCRIBERS

to the APPEAL when the circulation reaches 75,000. This band is composed as follows:

- Three Maracas E-b Cornets
- Four " E-b Alto
- Two " E-b Tenors
- One " E-b Baritone
- One " E-b Bass
- Two " E-b

Every subscriber, no matter where from, helps it along.

The Argument of Wealth . . .

The North American, Philadelphia, Dec 12, "A Gentleman" thus said: "Senator Quay"

Quay and his machine exist because popular government is a demonstrated failure. The proof that the many are incapable is supplied in the fact that the capable few employ such means as Quay and his machine to preserve their supremacy.

The argument runs thus: "Mr. Quay is a professional scoundrel. He makes merchandise of legislation. The organization of which he is the chief cheats at elections, bribes where it cannot bully or coax and by a system of corruption and terrorism retains control of the State government. Therefore Mr. Quay should be excluded from the Senate to which he has been refused reelection by the Legislature, and his machine should be smashed."

Granting that everything charged against Mr. Quay and his machine is true, I still hold that it would be wise to seat him in the Senate and to preserve his machine from serious damage.

His machine is a growth due to its environment. That environment would be seriously disturbed were the machine to be violently uprooted. Remove Mr. Quay, and another like him would take his place; the fact that he and his machine exist demonstrates that both are the result of commercial, political and social necessity. The process of replacing them would be so disturbing, so painful, so costly that no judicious person—especially no person of considerable means—can view the prospect without the gravest apprehension.

The propertyless, the frivolous-minded and the riff-raff of society in general are

The custodian of the Indiana wire fence factory at Crawfordsville, Ind., which was recently absorbed by the trust, acting under instructions from headquarters, destroyed three new wire fence machines. These cost \$1,500 each and had been used but a few weeks when the factory closed. They were broken to bits and the fragments were sold to junk dealers.

Now what do you think of that, you people who have to pay more for nails and fencing and other things into which wire enters as a factor? You paid for those machines the increased price of wire, and then to see them destroyed before your very face! Great system of industry, this, that destroys machinery that has been made at great expense, and then charges more for the products of the remaining machines to make up for it. What if socialists should propose such insane methods? You would doubtless

BOOKS. KEEN-EDGED WITH WISDOM

"Empty thy purse into thy head."—Shakespeare.

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- A Co-Operative Commonwealth; 304 pp.; L Gronlund 1 50
- Socialism from Gen. to Rev.; cloth; Rev. F M Sprague 1 60
- Looking Backward; paper; Edw Bellamy 1 75
- Equality; 420 pp.; Edw Bellamy; paper; 50c; cloth 1 25
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- The Condition of Labor; George 35
- The Land Question; George 35
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- Evolutionary Politics; Mills 25
- Man or Dollar—Which; Thorston 25
- Story from Pullmanward; Adams 25
- President John Smith; Adams 25
- Society of the Future; L D Abbott 25
- Merch England; Katschard 25
- History of Economic and Orthodox; Val 25
- Elementary Principles of Economics; 400 pp.; 25
- Principles of Socialist Socialism; Val 25

The Argument of Wealth . . .

ever eager for change. To them it is agreeably exciting, and, besides that, change always has in it the possibility of betterment for those who have nothing. But sir, wealth is conservative. Its self-preserving instinct warns it of the danger of innovation. The educated are far better able than the masses to understand and detest the grossness of the evils which accompany machine rule, but however bad that rule may be it is infinitely to be preferred to the sort of rule that we should get were the mob dominant in government. Frauds at the ballot-box such as you have recently exposed are in themselves regrettable, doubtless, yet in the last analysis they simply signify that when real need arises intelligence will ever be equal to the task of over-coming mere numbers. Frauds of the kind may shock our moral sense when resorted to for inadequate cause, but back of the shock is the comforting assurance that the civilized few are not at the mercy of the barbarous many.

You and your superficial kidney cry out that the associated wealth of the State is behind Mr. Quay and his machine—as though that fact were to the discredit of wealth! Sir, wealth—which is but another name for brains, respectability and, in short, civilization—does what it must, not what it would like to do. So long as we have universal suffrage there will be ever-present peril from the ignorant and vicious mob—from the majority. Therefore, so long as we have universal suffrage wealth will rule by the means that happen to be available. To ask otherwise is equivalent to inviting gentlemen to turn their club over to the servants who wait upon them and the tradesmen who deliver the supplies at the back door.

feel like mobbing them. Yet you say that socialism is impractical and impossible! And this system is the REAL thing! Now be real honest with yourself, don't even think it out loud, what DO you really think of such a system as the one that destroys fine machinery that way? That builds great refineries and never operates them? That builds two lines of railroad where one can do all the work? It is immense, isn't it?

The APPEAL in clubs of 25, 25c per year.

Coming.. A Corker

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- Even As You and I; Bolton Hall 25
- Science of the Millennium; Maybell 10
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- Philosophy of Happiness; 80 pp.; Gordon 10
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- What are We Doing? Wiley 10
- Socialism; Wiley 10
- Object of Labor Movement; 36 pp.; Johann Jacoby 25
- Scientific Socialism; Ch Bessford 25
- Book of Statistics; Bessford 25
- Feudalism Feudalism; Bessford 25
- Mystery of Civilization; May 25
- Socialism; Reply to Pope's Encyclical; Blatchford 25

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