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Appeal to Reason.

J. A. WAYLAND

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A SALINA, Kansas, reader says: "The contractor on the government building here beat several laborers out of part of their wages. One of the men used this as an argument against the public ownership of public utilities. How would you meet the argument?"

By pointing to the fact that private enterprise stepped in and swindled the men, because the contractor could and did profit by it. Had the government employed the men directly, instead of permitting the contracting or sweating system, the men would not have been swindled. I have never heard of an instance where the government failed to pay the agreed price. No one would have benefited by the swindle had the amount not paid the men went into the public treasury. No better argument than this instance could be cited to prove the injury that private enterprises does to the workers. Some years ago congress passed an eight hour day. There were not enough letter carriers employed to do the work in that time and the boys did their work, taking longer hours. Later they applied to congress for pay for this extra service and the claims were allowed, the men receiving in some instances as much as \$2,000 extra pay for that overtime. Did you ever hear of a private employer paying that way for overtime that had been done years before? The letter carriers are employed direct by the public and are not working under some government contractor as were the men in Salina. The Salina workers were not employed by the government but by the contractor—private enterprise.

WHAT giants of intelligence (?) we find where we least expect. Here I find *McKee's Shorthand Magazine* telling its pupils, for few others want it, that "Socialism has no following in the United States except among those of foreign birth or ancestry." The fellow thus states that only Indians are not socialists, because they alone are not of foreign birth or ancestry. Great head that fellow has—knows all about socialism! He tells us that Europe with its kings is communitist! When the facts are that it is just as far removed from it as the great properties held by a few families. Here is another chunk of bull's eye logic: "Socialism would have every government purely paternalistic by supplying labor to all its inhabitants. But this system does not form men." He must have had a very mean, good-for-nothing father to thus assume that paternalistic or fatherly care destroys manhood. Nor does he know the difference between paternalism and fraternalism. It does not form men to have them supplied with labor! Then of course to have no labor, to live without labor, forms men! As Mr. Southern so well said in the character of Lord Dunderbary, "Some men are asses and don't know it."

THE Chicago Journal of December 16, is authority for that statement that the great corporations in the city, including the Pullman Car Co., the street cars, gas and electric companies, have been exempted from all tax on their capital stock in plain violation of law and the decisions of the supreme court in test cases! The law says that the capital stock of all corporations shall be assessed at its full market value, aside from all tangible property. All small concerns have been thus assessed and forced to pay this tax, but these great fellows know the ways to prevent it—and do prevent it. Now what becomes of the argument that public property loses the tax that would be paid on private property? Don't get no tax nohow.

So you think there would be no incentive for men to do the work assigned to them when the income were an approximately fixed sum, eh? Sure of that now? Well, how do men work today who have fixed salaries, congressmen, senators, postmasters? Do they see how slow they can work because they cannot hope for increase in pay or even permanency in position? Do teachers, foremen, clerks soldier on their work more than those in private employment? Do postmasters and letter carriers become drowsy and sluggish and lose all interest in their work?

PERHAPS the plot thickens. One can't pretty nearly always sometimes hardly ever tell. In an interview with Senator Hanna, (Senator by virtue of the workingmen's vote in Ohio,) published in the *Washington Star* of Jan. 14, he declares that the republican party is in pressing need of funds to counteract the work of "labor agitators," which must be done without a moment's delay. Getting in a hurry, eh? Mr. Hanna asserts that they must at once employ men to counteract this influence; that "our men are of better character and of higher standing!" When one thinks of the report of the Ohio legislature on the election of Mr. Hanna he must smile at this. He has heard of the wiping out of a three-fourths majority of republican vote in Haverhill and Brockton, Mass., and appeals to the merchants, manufacturers and BANKERS to get on their armor! That means that money must corrupt their way to success. But it will not win against the socialist forces any more than the power of the emperor and the same combined elements in Germany have won. Real socialists have everywhere been proof against the corrupting influences of money. A few have fallen, but they have been almost zero in comparison to the movement. But Hanna has one good suggestion, when he tells the republicans that \$1 now used is worth \$5 later on. That is what I have been trying to impress on the socialists for months. What you can afford to put into the movement put in now before the heat of the campaign. The campaign this year is to be more corrupt than was the one four years ago. We will win out great victories, but we have to do much work before the national nominations. Wherever you can, get that interview with Hanna, then get the report of the Ohio senate proving how he got elected to the senate, and show it to the laboring people. If they will not convince nothing will. We must show up more than a million votes in the election this fall. We can do it.

GEN. MONNETT, ex-attorney general of Ohio, the republican official whom Standard Oil influences failed to bribe with a cash offer of \$400,000, was billed to speak on trusts in the People's Institute, New York, on the 28th ult. It seems that some Standard Oil people have an offer of \$500,000 pending as a donation to the institute and they heard of this intended lecture and sent word that if Monnett was permitted to speak that the half million would not be given. And Monnett was shut out, though no other thing occupied the house that night! That is what the trusts do to even republicans who will not bow the knee to their Baal. How do you like it? The Boston Evening Record of the 29th ult., is the authority for the statements.

Now what is the lesson this teaches? It is this: If the oil business were in the hands of the public there would be no private interests offended by such an address as Monnett proposed and there would be no denial of free speech. Such action is logical to this system, but would not appear under public ownership. The trusts in private hands will buy and bully their way to any goal, but when the people own them there will be nobody willing to put up money for bribery because there would not be enough in it. You never heard of the postoffice bribing its way to any goal, but you have heard of other corporations bribing postal officials to get enhanced values to private interests. Can you see?

THE Traveling Men's Anti-Trust League has opened headquarters in New York and already has a membership of over 12,000. I am quite anxious to see what they propose to do with the trusts. So far as I can figure out there is nothing to do except the public shall take them and operate them for the public good, unless we are to deny men the right to aggregate capital so they can use the best machinery and methods which can only be applied on a large scale. If we deny this right, it will destroy all the great factories and force production into old hand methods. And I feel sure that not one of these traveling men believe we are going to do that. Why, even their vocation is an effect of the system of greater production. If people go back to primitive methods there would be no traveling men employed. I think the traveling men are between beelzebub and salt water.

ACCORDING to the Macon Telegram of the 3d inst., a merchant of Griffin, Ga., has confessed to buying goods stolen by children. Had there been no profit the merchant would not have bought the goods, the children would not have been taught stealing, the losers would have not lost. Destroy profit by having the public own and operate all industries and you have taken away all incentive to all these crimes and all others that spring from these. It seems to me that this ought to be plain enough for any person to see. Why make conditions that offer a premium (profit) on crime and then denounce people for doing what you know they will do? Why not remove temptation?—lead us not into temptation but deliver us from evil." That seems to be good reasoning—and good theology—even if the most people who claim to be Christians do reject it.

This Paper is Produced by Union Labor on a Fifty-three Hour Week; Under Socialism the Workers Would Receive About Five Times as Much Pay for a Twenty-four Hour Week



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EQUALITY QUESTION

Men are not created equal, never were and never will be. As I understand socialism, so far as my reading goes, it proposes to make all men equal in benefits by its system. Do you conceive that the ten hours labor of the man who is capable of managing the U. P. railroad system, and is managing it, should be equal to the ten hours labor of the man who is only capable, by his mental and physical ability, to wield the shovel and pick and is so doing, on the same railroad system? The man with the shovel could not possibly manage that railroad system. How would you equalize them? This may be a detail matter, and if it is then I would like to know your conception of its solution. You disparage trusts as a whole, yet you warmly advocate activity among labor unions, labor trusts. How do you reconcile your position in this matter? If it is wrong to form a trust controlling iron, it is wrong to form a trust controlling labor.

Nobody assumes that men are equal mentally or physically, but we do assume that they are born on the earth and have an equal right to live on it without paying tribute to any person. They are born with a common desire for food, clothing, shelter, entertainment and instruction, but no two of them want the same kind of food or like just the same things in the others. If we assume that one man should have one dollar a day only and another should have \$100 a day, we assume that the one man needs to eat 100 times as much, wear 100 times as much, live in 100 times as many houses, attend 100 times as many entertainments and schools, as the fellow who gets only \$1 a day. Under socialism, where the industries are operated under a sensible plan, three or four hours a day will supply EVERY human being with all the things to satisfy all these five wants—what would a man do with more? Why would he want more? You go on the assumption that somebody worthy will have to go short on these things. They do now, but under socialism they would not. That will make all the difference in the world with the relation between the shoveler and the railroad manager. When the manager, who has been "running" the railroad and runs it into bankruptcy while drawing \$25,000 or more a year, and the matter is handed over to a U. S. judge as receiver, a man who knows nothing of railroads except deciding cases in its favor regardless of the evidence, and the judge puts it on its feet, do the people pay the judge the big salary given the alleged great brains of the manager? Not on your sweetness. The fact is, that the railroad employees really run the road without the interference of His Greatness and it soon pays. General managers are not paid great salaries for their knowledge of railroading, but for their ability to knock the pins from under other railroad business and bankrupt them if possible. The U. P. railroad is not so well managed as the postoffice and it secures a head for \$3,000 a year, and there are few indeed who would not take it in preference any road in the nation. The railroads, as one system, could run without a manager better than they could run without the man with the shovel. The railroads need managers, directors, presidents, and other such supernumeraries no more than does the postal system, except under private ownership. If the postal system were private property it would be adorned with these leeches just as the railroads and express companies are.

Labor unions are logical, necessary corollaries of capital combination—necessary like them in preparing the social state for the great change that is coming. One is harmonizing machinery ready for the public to take it over, the other is harmonizing labor to handle machinery and to do the taking over. Two years ago tin plates were selling at \$2.25 per box—now it is \$5.50. But the foreigner pays the freight, so what's the difference? Private trusts are a good thing, because prominent republicans and democrats know a good thing and they own the trusts. Am pretty sure that socialists and populists as a rule are too poor to own anything, so it must be that republicans and democrats have a monopoly in the trusts and teach their dupes how to vote so trusts will not be injured. Under socialism one of two things would happen—either the increased price would be paid to the workers in wages or the public would get it in the treasury, to be used for public purposes. But the foreigner pays the tax, I tell you, so quit your growling.

THE Cincinnati workhouse authorities, who sell the unfortunates to a private corporation, and doubtless get a little on the side, complain that Judge Schwab does not send enough prisoners to their slave pen. How much worse is Siberia than that? If justice were done, under even this system, these workhouse authorities would be wearing the stripes they put on better men than themselves. But of such is the kingdom of competition and private enterprise.

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THE Astoria, Ore., *Herald* man says: "The government has no right to own anything," because the postoffice runs behind six millions a year by reason of the railroad owners bribing public officials to pay them twenty millions more than it is worth to carry the mail. It says that "private enterprise would run the postoffice on less money and clear a handsome profit." Yes by cutting the wages of the employees as is done in other corporations. Private enterprise runs the express business and pays only one-eighth for carrying that it costs the postoffice, but compare the charges: That is what would be the result if private enterprise operated the postoffice. To show how inconsistent the paper is, in the same issue with this foolish statement appears this item, which gives opposite conclusions from the paper's statement that the government should own nothing and that it costs more to do things under public than private ownership:

Tallamook county has been building county roads with a portable saw mill owned by the county. They have just completed seven miles of road, including two or three bridges and nearly a mile of trestle at a cost of \$4,582.28. The cost of manufacturing the lumber was \$1.02 per thousand. \$4,582.28 would build about a half mile of road in Clatsop county. The roads we now have (they are called roads) cost about \$10,000 a mile.

How does the editor reconcile these statements? Does he think all his readers are so stupid that they cannot make comparisons? Does he not know that all the corruption in connection with government doing business comes from the efforts of private interests to get what does not rightly belong to them? It may be that the editor is too foolish to reason from cause to effect. I will take this view in charity rather than assume that he says these things against government *per se* out of desire to curry favor with the bankers, profit-mongers and to hold railroad passes. But the people are waking up and are not taking everything for granted as they once did. The APPEAL has more readers in Oregon than the *Herald*, for money, marbles or chalk. That shows how sentiment there is drifting.

THE New York *World* estimate that eighty millions were given in charities last year. It must be a begosh prosperous nation that can absorb so much charity. If it had not been taken from the people in unjust profits there would have been no need to have given it back. The people would have had it without the gifts. That sum of money would have furnished the land and machinery to have permanently employed more than a million of people, who would thereafter have been above the need of charity, not that there is any lacking of land and machinery now, but the people are not permitted to use it. But when they have consumed their charity they will be as poor as ever and ready for more charity. Charity is the buying of either ostentation or a surcease of conscience for illy-got wealth. Ruskin says that no one can bestow charity who has not been just to all men—gifts such as this item referred to are almsgiving. A bestowing on beggars whom the donors have fleeced into beggary, whether it be individuals or the public.

FOR the government to loan money to all the people who make the government at cost of printing and other expenses is one of those crazy populist ideas that carried so many farmers off their political feet a few years ago. They have mostly recovered from the fever, by severe doses of ridicule. The government could not afford to do such a foolish thing as to loan money on land, as is done in New Zealand, or on grain as is done by the banks. Of course it could not. It is now loaning Mr. Rockefeller some \$100,000,000 without interest and without security. Such means the recent orders of our servant, Secretary of the Treasury Gage, in making Mr. Rockefeller's banks the depository of all the internal revenue receipts. That is not paternalism. It is simply a recognition that the oily gentleman is more reliable than the government and that the money is safer with him than in the national treasury where it has heretofore been kept. I wonder if Mr. R. has turned populist? Oh, you old crazy farmers, go to.

JOHN WANNAMAKER, before the industrial commission, said that department stores are natural, useful and therefore inevitable. True. He said that the effect of the stores had been to reduce retail profits. Also true, but he failed to state that when they had crushed out all opposition they would raise the prices like every other trust. But they will. The men who control them are as greedy as the rest of us and will squeeze whenever they get the opportunity which a conquest of the field will give. He also failed to state the further fact that while retail profits are less than formerly, the trust profits from which the stores buy is greater, really absorbing what department stores have cut in the retail prices.

THE difference between Robin Hood and the trust bandits of today is, that Hood, by preference at least, robbed the rich and gave to the poor, while the trusts rob the poor on the articles they have to buy and give it to the rich churches and colleges. Bedads, and Hood was far the best.

Editor APPEAL: If the profits of the railroads are so great, why have so many fallen into the hands of the receiver? The receiver in times gone by? Chicago. J. E. AMENT.

RAILROADS DON'T PAY

Because it is always to some one's financial benefit to have them in the hands of a receiver. To understand this matter that bothers many people, let us go into the matter back of the receivership. A company builds a railroad that costs \$10,000 a mile (except in mountainous countries that covers the cost). They organize a company, get the right of way, and proceed to construct. They have bonds issued and sold at a discount to get the money to build the road, having no money of their own; they sell bonds as long as they can find buyers, some of these \$10,000 roads having issued as many as \$50,000 in bonds beside an equal amount of stock. These bonds and stocks are issued at different times and in different series. Of course a road that costs only \$10,000 a mile can hardly be expected to pay running expenses, big salaries to a horde of useless officers and directors, attorneys, bribery agents, passes to lawyers, papers, public officers, and then pay interest on \$100,000 of stocks and bonds. It defaults on its interest and goes into the hands of a receiver. Is that any evidence that the road does not pay? Can one say that when a \$10,000 property will not pay interest on ten times its value that it is proof that it does not pay? Then the big bondholders or stockholders get the property sold, buy it in and squeeze all the other holders out of their holding and get the property at half its capitalization. Then it is re-organized and the process is gone through again, to the sacrifice of more dupes who have put good money into it. You will note that the builders of the road have gotten the proceeds of the first bonds and stocks—a profit of all above the original cost of the road. They don't care what becomes of the road—they have made their jack, as the boys say. Most of the roads in this country have been built just that way, and most of them pay from 20% to 50% a year on the real cost, in addition to the necessary running expenses. If often happens that a road is a good property even at an exorbitant capitalization. Those who study the property find this out and proceed to cheat the others out of it. They get control of a majority of the stock, elect themselves officers at fabulous salaries, spend immense sums in improving the road, run it into debt and force it to default on its bonds, get it sold under the hammer and buy it in at a small part of what it is worth. But is that any evidence that the roads do not pay? All roads, if the private manipulation of them were out of the way, would pay big interest on the cost. There is not a road in the poorest place that will not pay, for roads are not so expensive to run as the public have been taught to believe. Those who run them want the people to have that impression, but people who have read on the subject know it is not so. Get a copy of "Public Ownership of Railroads" by Davis Stockwell, 10 cents, and even that little book will open your eyes.

I HAVE before me a 32-page campaign document issued by the republican committee of California in 1898, in which it is opposing some proposed constitutional amendment. I find this remarkable position taken:

"Are property rights held subject to the will of the numerical majority? Have 200,000 voters in California who possibly do not own land a right to confiscate the land holdings of the per, haps 100,000 voters who do? Are the property rights in land held subject to disposition by popular waves of feeling wrought up by demagogic enthusiasts and dreamers? If property rights in land are held by a tenure so frail, by what tenure more safe shall other property be held?"

"That a bare majority should have a legal right to inflict a confiscatory tax upon an unwilling minority may be open to some question, but that any majority should have a moral right to make such an infliction upon any minority, however small, is susceptible of debate only in circles where consciences are blunted and greed runs with full reins."

And now what do you think of that? Do you believe that a majority has a right to rule or do you believe that a minority have that right? And if the latter, which minority? There can be only one majority on a subject, but there can be an infinite number of minorities: What do you think of the position taken by the republicans that a majority have no right to make or change the laws? Are you one of those whose consciences are blunted that you believe a majority has a right to rule?

WITH an eye single to the glorious incentive for private gain, some rascals have been collecting and squandering some \$700,000 a year from the poor ignorant negroes of the south under promise of furnishing them a good pension through relief associations. Private enterprise is a good incentive to spur people on to progress—in just that way. Public operation of industries in which every citizen would be entitled to the best the nation could furnish when old and incapacitated, would offer no opportunity for the development of such genius to fatten off the credulity of fellow beings. But—well what is the use talking about what the skinners do not want?

Why the American Farmers Should Be Socialists

The average American farmer is dissatisfied with his condition, and well he may be. The capitalist system under which we live robs the farmer of two-thirds of his product. It likewise compels farmers to pay double and often four times the labor cost of everything he buys. He purchases a wagon for \$50 the labor cost of which was not over \$10. He purchases a harness for \$30 the labor cost of which is less than \$7. A few men dictate the price he shall receive for his labor—farm crops—and a few other men dictate the price he shall pay for the products that some other laborers have produced.

The census reports for 1890 show that a total of 8,385,634 persons engaged in agriculture. They had a capital invested which counts—land, buildings, machinery and tools and live stock—of \$15,982,267,689. The total farm products for the year were \$2,460,107,454 as reported by the census. But this sum is not over 60 per cent of the real farm value of the crops. Prof. J. R. Dodge, Statistician of the Department of Agriculture from 1863 to 1893, had in the appendix to a pamphlet, the "Farm and Factory" issued in 1883 gives a complete estimate of the real value. The aggregate value of all the products according to Prof. Dodge was for 1880 \$3,726,331,422. And this did not include the home consumption of orchard products, which must have footed up to at least \$100,000,000.

The Department of Agriculture gives the increase from 1880 to 1890 at 11.19 per cent. Applying that increase as per Prof. Dodge's tables we find that the total farm product for the census year 1890 to be \$4,163,000,000.

Mr. Edward Atkinson of Boston says that the department under-estimated the value of farm crops by one billion dollars. The consumer pays two or three times the sum the farmer receives. To illustrate: In our great cities the consumer pays an average of 7 cents per quart for milk. The average price the farmer receives is not over two cents per quart. A New Hampshire farmer recently sold a barrel of apples for \$1.50. In the barrel he placed a note asking the purchaser to inform him of the price paid. In six weeks he received a reply from a Nebraska farmer informing him that he had purchased the apples for \$3.75. That same New Hampshire farmer buys corn meal the Nebraska farmers crop and pays three or four times the price his brother farmer in the west receives. The great beef trust charges the people four times the price paid to the farmer. I have known corn to sell for 15 cents per bushel in Kansas and retail at same time in the Eastern cities for \$1 per bushel. If the census is correct the average value of products of each farm was, in the year 1890 \$539 or an average annual income to each person (counting 5 1/2 persons to the family) of \$94 or about 25 cents per day. This 25 cents includes all that is sold and consumed; it is the total average value for each person for the year 1890. Out of this small sum the farmer must pay his taxes, insurance, hired help, pay for machinery and interest on the mortgage, or rent on the hired farm. How much does he have left to buy clothes, pay

doctors' bills, pay for lectures, theaters, education and travel? Can the average American farmer enjoy a vacation? Can he travel? Can he and his family live as we ought to live in this age of machinery production? No, a thousand times no! A life of toil and drudgery for himself and family, with very little to show but a subsistence living. What is it? Are not our lands productive? None are more fertile. Do we not by the aid of machinery, produce forty or fifty times as much as could be done in our grandfather's days? Our farmers who toil long hours, who have few luxuries, who practice economy and temperance deserve something better. Their poverty and mortgage-curse misery is not due to intemperance, crime, or idleness, and yet the almost universal testimony is that "farming don't pay." Is it any wonder that the boys and girls flock to the city in a brave effort to escape this life of ill-paid labor. Very few farmers have succeeded in saving more than a home, and millions of them have even made a failure of this. The census of 1890 reported 4,777,608 real estate mortgages. The same census shows that there were 1,294,913 tenant farmers, or 23.4 per cent of the total, and the tenant farmers are increasing. Concentration in agriculture is going on, and in the near future we shall see the giant farm trust with its costly machinery as we today see it in the production of cloth, iron, steel, and hundreds of other manufactured products. The development of machinery from 1880 to 1890 decreased the number of farm laborers 319,815! It is only a question of time when capitalist production of farm crops will compete out of existence the small farmer. Like the small business man he is doomed to failure, no matter how long hours he may work, or how economical he may be, he can not compete with the bonanza farmer. Wheat, corn and cotton, can be produced on the great farm at one-fourth what it costs the small farmer to produce. The changing of the present gold standard to bimetalism—the free and unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1—can not in the least aid the farmer. The giant steam plough, cultivator, and the giant steam combined harvester and thrasher, are too costly for the smaller farmer. With these machines the bonanza farmer in an alliance with the elevator trust the railroad trust and the mill combine, can and will control the situation. And even now without that machinery, the great elevator trust reaching from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic, absolutely dictates the price of farm crops in the great west. In the east the farmer who buys corn and wheat (meal and flour) is compelled to pay two to six times what his brother farmer in the west receives.

No scheme of finance, taxation, or tariff can in the least prevent this. It is estimated that on the bonanza farms of the west, with its well organized system of labor, one man can produce as much wealth as 10 men can produce on the same land by the method of small production.

Professor Faucett says that a steam cultivator will plough a square field of ten acres in half the time occupied in ploughing two fields of five acres each, and with two-thirds the expense.

Already a gigantic cattle trust is forming. Experiments are now being made by the far seeing capitalist, with a view to the investment of large capital in banana farms. They like the Standard Oil company will be in league with the great railway corporations. It won't make any difference how many silver dollars are coined, the small farmer can not compete with machinery that produces corn for six cents, and wheat for 12 cents per bushel. Under capitalist methods one-half to two-thirds of the farm laborers will be forced into the army of the unemployed. Capitalist methods will compel the small farmer to become a hired hand, a tramp, or a suicide. The development of the capitalist system if given time will surely bring this about. There is only thing that can save the small farmer from this impending ruin, and that is the co-operative system—socialism. Under socialism the land for production, the mills, the mines, the forests, the transportation system, all the means of production and distribution, would be owned and operated collectively by the nation. Whatever you may think about this, it is absolutely certain that the socialist system would produce ten times the present wealth production, and what is of far greater importance the wealth producers would have the wealth they produced. An honest investigation will demonstrate beyond all question of doubt that every man, and every woman in this nation might enjoy an income of at least \$5,000 per year, with a short work day. Some students estimate the income per worker as high as \$15,000 per year with a four hour work day.

You say you don't believe this. Well let us see. Under the present system of competition, the farmer and all wealth producers, are compelled to contribute vast wealth which they never receive, but do produce, to feed, cloth, and keep in luxury the non-producers. Did you ever stop to think of how wealth is produced? Does not labor raise the crops, mine the coal, cut the trees, manufacture the clothing, the iron, and build the mills, the blocks, the homes? And does not labor build the great iron highways and operate them? Is it not labor that produces all? Then it is labor that pays for all. Labor then has to support the millions of non-productive workers, and the idlers. Labor and labor alone supports the lawyers, supports all professional men, all agents of all kinds, and worst of all it supports the capitalists and produces their capital. Under socialism nearly all waste and non-productive labor would be eliminated.

On twenty-five items of waste it costs the nation the gigantic sum of \$100,000,000 a day, equal to \$6 per day for every family in America, and every penny of this vast sum would be saved under socialism. Under socialism every child would have a college education. The mortgage would disappear forever. Is there any reason why farming should be carried on by individual small production? It is clearly proved that large production is economy. Small production simply results in a waste of labor. Competition is a wasteful system, the result of which in the end is the complete downfall of all small production. Why should 2,000 individual small farmers scatter over a large county and build 2,000 sets of ill-construct-

ed buildings, with 2,000 sets of poor animals, 2,000 sets of inferior tools and 2,000 unscientific ways of producing crops? The result being, that after ten years of toil and saving, 50 per cent of the 2,000 farmers will be hopelessly in debt to some capitalist. The farmers today produce, according to Prof. J. R. Dodge, statistician of the Department of Agriculture from 1863 to 1893, nearly \$1500 each per year, and they get on an average less than 40 cents per day. Convicts in many of our prisons receive more.

Under our present system our nation is divided into 5,000,000 farms, and each is divided into half a dozen or more tracts; the useless custom of fencing costs millions upon millions. Then, again, there is no intelligent direction as to what or how much of any crop shall be produced. A planless system that results in too much corn this year and too much cotton next, too little wheat one year and too much the next and so on. Our present system of isolated individual farming is the most wasteful and extravagant that could be devised. The isolated farm family has few of the advantages of this advancing age. Hundreds of the opportunities for the improvement of the mind and body are denied to the isolated farming class, because of their isolation and poverty. Under socialism the farmer would have all the advantages of a higher standard of living; he would have all the enjoyment that a noble civilization can give to the nation. Socialism would give the farmer all the advantages of travel, education, the lecture hall, the stage—every healthy enjoyment which only the capitalist can enjoy today. All very fine you say but how are you to operate? Let us suppose the co-operative commonwealth was here. The farmer and his family would live in the town, unless possibly some wanted to be hermits. In place of trusting the individual to produce good, bad or indifferent, milk, butter, etc., etc., we would carry on the business of farming with scientific methods. The people would elect their superintendent of agriculture for each respective district. Each and all would be interested in producing the best and purest milk, butter, and all crops. The crops would be shipped to the government ware houses and cold storage buildings. By the way don't you think one man, one horse, one wagon could supply the milk needed in a great apartment block, or a street, just as well or better, and with about the same time, as half a dozen can under competition, thus saving the time of five men and five teams? Just think it over. This one illustration will be even more plain if you will compare it with the socialist letter carriers. Just investigate and you will discover the vast amount of unnecessary toil, of wasted energy, etc., in place of the farmer living in isolation as he does today, with the chances of poverty and failure, he would be enjoying himself in the society of his brothers, enjoying the social advantages, and this would educate and elevate "the hayseed," as some impolite people often call the poor and not well dressed farmers of today. In a word the farmer could enjoy all the advantages, all the pleasures and all the conveniences of city life, without its present

evil surroundings. Please ask yourself would you be better off with such a life, or do you prefer worry and hardships? Would you prefer to work for the nation, (when that nation meant all) short hours for the full and large reward for your labor, or do you prefer to work long hours and be robbed by a miserable system of two-thirds of the wealth you produce? Do you prefer to have your wife escape the drudgery of farm life with its hand methods of making butter, washing dishes, cooking, and caring for farm hands, or would you like to have your wife enjoy herself by having only her household duties to perform? Do you prefer to have your sons receive a college education or do you prefer what a vast majority now receive? And would it not be better for the boys when they left school to be assured of steady employment with the nation at \$5,000 per year, or more rather than to flock to the city to compete for the dollar or two a day job with long hours and unhealthy conditions?

Just imagine a county of 5,000 or 25,000 acres, and just count up the present misery and unhappiness, and then just imagine that same county under socialism. A part would be used for fruit, a part for garden produce a part for dairy purposes, a part for stock and poultry raising, etc. In the center of the county might be located the county seat with ware houses, cold storages, hotels, public halls and library, the government stores, etc., and beyond these the pleasant homes of the people. Every house could be lighted and heated by electricity. All who wished could eat at the hotel, where dish washing and all the present household drudgery could be performed with electrical machinery.

The electric railways would take the workers to and from the farms and also transport the crops. Nearly all farm work could and would be done with machinery with electricity for the motive power. And all under the superintendence of officials, who are under your direct control, and subject to your recall. With such a system only those best qualified and most fitted would be elevated to positions of honor. For remember the superintendent and his lieutenants would receive no larger income than each able bodied worker. Is it not a thousand times better than the present condition? Is it not your duty to investigate? Is it not your duty to aid in building such a society? Our nation will become truly great only when we can say every family has a home and every man, woman and child is granted absolute justice. Our nation will be great and grand and noble only when all have established the brotherhood of man. Remove the bandages that now blind the mental vision of the nation, away with a partisan spirit that binds a nation in the bonds of capitalist slavery, and economic dependence. The interests of all wealth producers are identical. The farmer should join the city toilers and side by side and hand in hand aid in bringing about that happier day of brotherhood in which justice shall reign and whose sun is already peeping its glad rays above the social horizon; that will in the near future dispell the midnight darkness of our despair and grandly illuminate the co-operative commonwealth.

DIRECT LEGISLATION

At the outset it ought to be remembered—not for boasting, but rather for abatement—that American liberty by the first conscious action put conscience in command of all its forces. No greed of gain, no love of adventure, no hope to conquest, no lust of power, drew our fathers to the western wilderness. Conscience drove them down to the sea and pushed them off and beat them away with her wings until they caught the spirit of the rhythm, and fixed their eyes upon the sun and followed it west, where there was sky-room to worship God unwatched. Pride and avarice sent out their colonies, and they died or are dying. But every settlement Queen Conscience planted grew and multiplied and in its season bore the Union of the Fourth of July.

I only skim the history. Nothing more is needful for my purpose, for I do not seek to instruct, but to remind you. Read it again, if you have forgotten. Read it all, and teach your children from this day that the thing which came and saw and conquered here, and made the Star-Spangled Banner possible, was wide-winged, steel-bowed, unfettered, mountain-top conscience, and that is the American eagle. The highest plane will not be reached by sea power and gunpowder, and an alliance with England, but by conscience and truth and an alliance with common honesty at home.

But that is impossible unless and until the people get back into their own hands the power which they had at the beginning by whatever changes of method in our politics will enable them effectively to express the popular disgust. The American people are capable of self-government, but only serfs and thieves can live long under the present government of the boss, by the boss, for the boss. Our people are not the stuff for slaves. They are conscientious, chivalrous and brave. But they are dazed and stunned by the damnable impudence of the "machines."

Party government has proven utterly futile and hateful, not because it is intrinsically bad, but because the people have not provided any means of present discipline of their servants. It ought to be possible for the people to suddenly spank the fussy and babies in the United States senate, and

teach them that they are there to do business for the American eagle, and not to slobber over courtesies.

It ought to be possible for the people to order a plebiscite upon any question that seems great enough to them. But it is not possible now. The politicians may be feared and despised and repudiated in the public mind, but he stays his time, he lays his mines and places his bribes, while the people he is betraying have to work to pay his salary. They have no time to circumvent him; nor get in training for it. Agitators use and give their time and teach the masses, but the busy people fear to quit the party, and really cannot take time to think the situations through to a decision. But the vicious man has time, and though he is a trained thief of the people's power, his party machine stands by him, and he has his way. Usually no reform can be promoted without a party, and at the same time there is nothing the people distrust more than the man who proposes a new party.

The initiative and referendum, I think, would be, and the imperative mandate would be dignified, conservative, simple, safe, powerful. Representative government would be retained intact. Parties would still do the business of politics. There would be office-seekers still. The people would still be slow to move and hard to change, but it would be clear that our politicians were servants and the people master, and any man or woman who had a vision of new truth would have a chance to teach it without the intolerable handicap of party fear. I glory with you in the fruits of the act of July 4, 1776. But it is time a new and grander declaration of independence, and it is curious how nearly the former document will answer for the present crisis.

JOHN WOOLLEY

The death of M. Numa Droz, one of the fathers of the Swiss referendum, is reported from Berne. The deceased statesman, who was president of the Swiss federal republic 12 years ago, was constantly in request as an international arbitrator, and his high abilities justified the confidence reposed in him. M. Droz wrote largely on the referendum, his articles in the *Contemporary Review* and the *Revue Politique et Parlementaire* having done much to educate public opinion on the subject.

100 white envelopes, 6 1/2 with your name, business and address printed thereon, for thirty cents, postpaid.

AMERICAN NOTES

Next—a zinc trust.

Social democrats have organized a new branch at Alameda, Cal.

The Mishawaka, Ind., new public schools will be fitted with bath rooms.

The *Daily Press*, of Cripple Creek, Col., is printing lots of clear cut socialism.

"I stand up for the government right or wrong," is the howl of a real traitor to the people.

Here's a prediction: In twelve months from today you will see scores of labor papers supporting socialism.

The municipal ownership number will be the thing you can catch 'em with. A half million ought to be circulated.

Secretary Thomas O'Dea, of the National Bricklayers Union, reports sixty new unions and a total membership of 50,000.

The Rockefellerers have secured the Whitney interests and will control many heat and light franchises. She is moving O. K.

The Wagner and Pullman palace car companies have been consolidated. The corporations, trusts and syndicates grow larger and larger.

Charles L. Fair of San Francisco, has presented his wife with a cape of Russian sable fur valued at \$10,000. How much did yours cost?

To the workers everywhere: Organize, organize, organize! Both in the trade union and your political party, the social democratic party.

The *APPEAL* can be made the most powerful paper in the world. Would you like to see it done?—Comrades, you and you alone can do it.

Chicago has adopted the direct labor plan for the construction of sewers. The contract system is, and always has been, a fraud upon the workers.

The two old parties are a fraud. They believe in the present system that stands for robbery and misery. Be men and stand for your rights, and vote for your rights.

The Colorado State Federation of Labor is voting to go into politics. Good. Now let them organize under the banner of the

S. D. P. and win a victory that means something.

A poor man in Cincinnati stole a paiful coal to warm his wife and little children. He was arrested. The great railroad steals coal by the car load and the owners live on the fat of the land.

Social democrats in the Essex, Mass., congressional district, which comprises with other places, Haverhill, Newburyport and Amesbury, three S. D. P. strongholds, have organized and will place a candidate for congress in the field next fall.

The *Miners Magazine* Vol. 1, No. 1, edited by Edward Boyce is a bright well edited monthly defender of labor's cause. It is published at Denver, Col., and subscription price is \$1.00 per year.

The Standard Oil company has raised the price of oil to consumers three cents per gallon. We consume 970,000,000 in a year. This means an additional profit of \$29,100,000 in one year for Rockefeller and the gang.

The Philadelphia *Ledger*, a republican newspaper, says: "The wageworker who supported his family on \$1,000 last year must this year pay nearly \$1,200 for the same goods—a raise of nearly twenty per cent in the cost of living, besides higher rent."

Mrs. Harvey Gilsey of New York owns three \$10,000 dogs. They sleep in eider-down pillows and have the best of medical care, fine blankets that cost \$100 and live in style. And in New York there are 27,000 absolutely homeless people. Some people think we have a wise system!

"We are birds, we are—jay birds. We strike and boycott and fuss around in the business field where we are weak, for there money counts, and the other fellow has the money. But at the ballot box where the numbers count, we vote any old ticket for any old reason."—Big Eddy.

The national association of manufacturers and the large department stores are trying to get congress to pass a law admitting large parcels of merchandise in the mails at the low rate. Good thing for the consumer—good thing for the trusts but bad for the little two by four merchant.

Comrades, here is a pointer: "We, the undersigned agree to give the following sums for the purpose of placing a copy of

the municipal ownership edition of the *APPEAL TO REASON* in the hands of every voter in ———." Such a move will result in a circulation of 500,000 to 1,000,000 copies. Orders may be sent in now.

Talk about the increase in wages of railroad men. Why today five men are doing as much work as thirty-five did in 1870. Let us suppose the five men get \$15 per week—\$75. Well how much did the thirty-five men receive in 1870? Not less than \$425, a clear cut of \$350 per week. Nice system we have. It is high time the railway boys enlisted for socialism.

Thos. Noel, a man of great wealth, and owner of a Chicago department store, says: "Socialism has come to stay and engulf not only this but all other lands and people." And he adds: "In socialism we all see the only death to trust combinations. It is either of the two, socialism or anarchy, that we are drifting to, and it is the wealthy trusts that make the latter; and the just and noble the former."

"It is estimated that there are 350,000 commercial travelers who are paid on an average of \$5 a day for traveling expenses, and a \$5 a day salary, that is \$10 each per day or \$900,000,000 per annum. Besides saving this enormous expense, there are thousands of country papers which live on the advertisements of industrial products. Of course, this army of drummers and country papers will attack the so-called trusts, but they can never overturn them."—Pierre Lorillard. They can aid the socialists to socialize them.

The smelter trust, which was too poor to grant a slight increase of wages to its employees last summer, has already paid \$1,137,500 in dividends on its preferred stock. Another dividend of 1 1/2 per cent—7 per cent, yearly—will be paid on the 15th of this month. Take out the water in the stock and the dividends will go beyond 10 per cent, yet employees of the company are not able to buy first class meat and groceries to keep life flickering. The *Public Courier* wonders if the business men of the city who aided the defeat of the men are not by this time heartily ashamed of their action.—*Daily Press*, Cripple Creek, Col.

For the remainder of January I will send one of the strongest reform books of over 700 pages—price 50c—to every subscriber who remits 50c for a year's subscription, AND REQUESTS THE BOOK. I desire to test the effects of this little notice.

The Beginning of the End

The fact that the secretary of the treasury requested in the house of representatives and "directed" in the senate to explain his connection with the sale of the custom house site and his favoritism displayed by him in placing deposits in the National City Bank, of New York City, is of much greater importance to socialists and all interested in our very rapid modern social evolution than many who do not see beneath the surface may imagine.

On Thursday, January 4th, without a dissenting voice, both branches of congress passed resolutions calling upon Secretary Gage to furnish a complete history and a full explanation of the dealings of the treasury department, with the National City Bank and also a full account of the sale of the custom house in New York City. Whence comes this sudden compunction on the part of those so usually open to corruption? Why this howl of virtuous indignation and honest (sic) wrath from that senate, which, during the debate on the Dingley Tariff Bill, was transformed into an annex to Wall Street in which the senators speculated in sugar, and from those representatives who go to Washington, sent by misled voting cattle to do the mischief and avaricious bidding of a small clique of plutocratic herd.

Let us briefly consider some of the events which have culminated in this strange anomaly of pseudo integrity.

On December 15th, last year, a panic occurred on Wall Street different in its nature from those which have preceded it. Panics in the past have always evidenced a number of plutocrats struggling among themselves for the mastery of the market, but this last one was simply all the mighty money lords engaged in deadly conflict with the one great monster trust which is beginning to menace them all, viz: The Standard Oil Company, and the latter emerged from the fray victorious. Its victory was greatly assisted by the fact that Secretary Gage on December 18th, released from \$30,000,000 \$40,000,000 from the treasury to be placed in the national banks, and of this amount \$1,000,000 per day was deposited in the National City Bank, of New York City, a

financial institution which is dominated by the Standard Oil Company, thus aiding and abetting that trust. The First National Bank, of Chicago, in which Lyman J. Gage is a large stockholder, is also connected with the same monster combination and also received a large deposit.

Perceiving that a cabinet official was directly backing the great trust which is rapidly mastering all others, the mouthpieces of the trusts and capitalists, the daily press, both democratic and republican, the *New York World* and the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* (they have no political differences when it comes to capitalist issues) with many other sheets in all parts of the country raised such a hue and cry that congress, goaded by their importunities, took the step referred to in the beginning of this article. This action on the part of the subsidized press means simply that the smaller fry of trusts and capitalists carried the struggle from Wall Street into the press and from there they will go to congress and the national capitol will witness the third and last battle in this struggle of the syndicate Titans and will also witness the defeat of all others and the victory of the Standard Oil Company.

While the outcry was going on in the papers a good deal of dirty linen was publicly washed. When thieves fall out honest men learn the truth. The *New York World* of January 5th, gives the following facts about the sale of the custom house site:

"The United States Government on July 2 last sold to the National City Bank of New York the old custom-house property in New York for \$3,265,000.

"The sale was made under the provisions of a special act of congress providing that the purchaser of the old custom-house should permit the government to continue to occupy it until the new custom house was completed, the government to pay as tenant of the old building 4 per cent. upon the purchase price, or about \$130,000 a year. The day after the sale James Stillman, president of the National City Bank, went to Washington, taking with him a certified check, drawn on his own bank, for \$3,225,350—all but \$40,000 of the full price agreed upon. This

check Mr. Stillman personally handed to Secretary Gage, who immediately handed it back to President Stillman to be deposited without interest in the National City Bank.

"Secretary Gage has never turned the proceeds into the treasury, as required by section 4 of chapter 337, under the terms of which the sale was made.

"The \$40,000 'held back' was for another purpose. The deeds of the custom house are still in the treasury department at Washington. The title of the property has not therefore passed to the National City Bank and the city of New York can collect no taxes upon the land, as it is nominally government property, although the National City Bank owns and receives rent for it. The \$40,000 held back was therefore merely a legal excuse for not proving the title, and for evading taxation."

By not paying the full amount, Lyman J. Gage and James Stillman between themselves swindled the city of New York out of \$72,000 taxes. What is that but compounding a felony.

These developments mean to socialists and to the mass of working people that the system of trusts and combinations is rapidly reaching its inevitable climax, viz: One great plutocratic oligarchy, one monster trust controlling all the industrial activities of all the people. Meanwhile the valuable propaganda work for Socialism carried on by the *APPEAL TO REASON* and by the socialist workers and agitators is preparing the minds of all thinking men for that great and portentous change which will bring about the public ownership of all trusts and their direction and manipulation by the public government for the public welfare: The co-operative commonwealth.

The trust is simply the material manipulation of a great change of which socialism is the soul. Let all sincere workers then by spreading literature and teaching our ideas impress upon the workers that they should in the words of William Morris:

"Near a word, a word in season,
For the time is drawing nigh,
When the cause will call upon us
Some to live and some to die."

Newark, N. J. JAMES ALLMAN.

It provides for the advance of four-fifths of the appraised market value of a dwelling, and restricts the advance to a maximum of \$1,500. Upon houses worth more than \$2,000 no advance can be made. The money thus advanced to the ambitious workman or clerk is to be repaid within thirty years, the city, of course, taking up a mortgage to protect itself. The rate of interest on the loan is carefully prescribed and is never to be more than one-half per cent. above the rate at which the city itself borrows the money. The law also prohibits a man borrowing funds if he is already the owner of a house; it also prescribes that he shall occupy the house himself and not rent it. In essence, the act really establishes a government building association.

As an example of the progress of the government in England this law is a singularly appropriate one. It may be followed up by the passage of an old age pension act.

England do move—New York Verdict.

Defenders of Slavery.

Slavery of all kinds and degrees has always had its defenders. Conservatism always defends the thing that is. It defended King George, it defended chattel slavery and today it is defending industrial slavery. At the recent municipal election in Massachusetts, the eight hour work day for municipal employes generally won by very large majorities. This together with the fact that the attorney general has recently ruled that over time work (this applies to the ten hour law) is unlawful because the editor of *Foster's Democrat*, a republican newspaper (?) published in Dover, N. H., to froth at the mouth. This editor believes in the long hour system. Doesn't believe in majority rule, and laments the fact that property will have an additional tax to pay.

Every political economist the world over agrees that labor creates all wealth. If that be true, labor and labor alone pays all taxes. For years the great common people of Massachusetts, and Wendell Phillips was one of their leaders, fought for and finally won the ten hour law.

Unless that law provided against overtime work it would be a farce. The fact that one or two weak minded workers wish to shorten their lives by over work does not change the justness of the law, any more than the fact that many colored people who fought for slavery made the emancipation proclamation unjust. This republican editor has not made any progress since 1861, when, as the defender of the democratic copper-heads, he hid under a barrel to escape the just wrath of the liberty loving abolitionists.

This editor, like all such good anarchists, places the individual above society and the dollar above the man.

Recent Elections in Canada.

The recent municipal elections in Canada resulted in several socialist victories and an increased vote all along the line.

In London three socialist aldermen were elected and the socialist mayor was defeated by only 210.

In Oshawa, Ont., the socialists won electing their candidate for mayor.

Twenty-five towns voted for municipal ownership of gas, water and electric light plants. Say boys, we have got to move pretty fast or Canada will beat us yet.

CITY OWNERSHIP

Princeton, Ill., has voted to purchase the electric light plant.

Knoxville, Tenn., has a citizen's ticket in the field with a platform; "no more franchises given."

The *Laramie Times* is making a fight for city ownership of electric lights. It says the city in 25 years has saved \$100,000 net by owning the water works.

City ownership is an entering wedge to socialism. Use our coming city ownership edition to win your butcher, baker, barber, tailor, and groceryman. Show the little fellows what city ownership does then take their subscription for a year.

CITY OWNERSHIP IN ENGLAND.

The development of the principle of municipal ownership of public utilities grows apace in England. City after city, attracted by the profitable example of Birmingham, is buying up gas and electric light plants and street railways as fast as their leases to private corporations expire. The people are awake to the fact that the fat dividends earned by these private corporations represent just so much money that might have, under judicious management, gone partly into their individual purses and partly into the municipal purse.

Manchester, one of the richest and biggest manufacturing cities in the kingdom, quite recently determined that private ownership of public utilities shall no longer continue and that what of profit there may be in furnishing light, water and transportation to the people shall go into the public purse instead of insatiable private pockets. Where are the city authorities have decided to buy all the present street car lines, build new ones, and extensions of old ones, equip them electrically, and manage them for the general municipal good.

The Manchester project has been talked of and debated for many years; in fact ever since the authorities of "Joe" Chamberlain's town, Birmingham, demonstrated that municipal ownership was a profitable practicality and not a socialistic dream. There is a great deal of "bustle" of the American sort in Manchester, and so when last year the matter of municipal ownership was again resurrected the members of the municipal council backed by the press and the people, took hold of the proposition and pushed it through rapidly.

They did not proceed without opposition, however, for the corporations, owning the street railway franchises fought vigorously for the extension of their valuable franchises. They made all sorts of offers in the way of reductions of fares, better service and increased remuneration for franchises, but the council was abdustrate. Finally the companies offered to pay into the city treasurer twice the sum of money they had paid heretofore, but even that bait was not alluring, and they had to relinquish their coveted franchise from which they had made immense sums of money. As the lines under city ownership and management are to be operated electrically, a high power house is to be built. The surplus current will be used for lighting the streets; and, in time, it is hoped, the city will be enabled to provide current for house and shop illumination and for power purposes.

While municipal ownership is being adopted rapidly by all the cities and towns in England, there is also to be noted a drift toward measures of legislation that are in

their essence pure socialism; measures that would make the average American of substance rise up and emit loud cries of "Anarchy." Yet conservative old England accepts them without arousing the voice of demagogue to futile oratory. The leader in promoting this class of radical legislation is curiously enough, Joseph Chamberlain, the conservative secretary for the colonies in a cabinet that is ultra-Tory to the backbone.

It was Chamberlain, who in the hustings of '95 advocated a law under which employes injured in the performance of their work could hold their employers for damages. All the corporations and employers of labor in the kingdom fought the measure bitterly.

Chamberlain was denounced as a socialist and anarchist and a menace to that venerable old bulwark of greed, "vested rights." Nevertheless, the measure was enacted into law and has been found very beneficial to all concerned—particularly the workman.

Not content with this measure, and braving the taunts of "socialist!" and "anarchist!" Chamberlain (Joe) as he is fondly called by the British proletariat everywhere, ventured even further into the domain of sheer socialism. He engineered through the ministry and through parliament an act the object of which is to enable a workman to obtain public funds to aid him to purchase his modest little dwelling house. The law is known as the "Small Dwelling Acquisition act." It is not mandatory upon city and county governments but may be adopted by them if they see fit; and a surprisingly large number of them are seeing fit.

This law enables any municipal or county government to advance to any citizen within its jurisdiction applying therefore a sum of money sufficient to enable him to purchase outright and own the house in which he dwells. Of course the law provides sufficient checks and safe guards against fraud

Do We Want Socialism? :: By ex-Senator R. A. Dague Editor the Chronicle, Paula, Cal.

Why should the United States adopt the socialists suggestion of government ownership of railroads?

Answer: Because the people are taxed to pay dividends on twelve billions of dollars which sum the officials claim the roads cost, but which in fact cost only six billions or less, and because they could be duplicated for about four billions and would, under socialism, save the people annually \$750,000,000. Fifty-four governments now own their railways. Germany owns 26,000 miles. She makes an annual profit on them of \$125,000,000. She gives the employes fifty per cent. higher wages than private owners formally paid. Switzerland owns 2,500 miles. She sells tickets for \$57.00 good for the whole year—the traveler to ride on the cars every day if he wants to over the entire system. New South Wales owns 2,706 miles. She gives employes higher wages than American roads and carries freight and passengers much cheaper. The government makes a profit over expenses of five millions of dollars. In the United States, we have given private owners of railroads millions of acres of land; they watered their stock to the amount of \$6,000,000,000 more than cost and they tax the people so as to earn dividends on this vast sum of bogus stocks; then they pay their chief officers \$25,000,000 salaries annually; they employ 40,000 lawyers; they issue tens of thousands of free passes; they pay out hundreds of thousands of dollars to lobbyists to influence legislation and to secure the election of their favorites to office and then they net to the stockholders about \$375,000,000 per year average.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

Why should not towns and cities own their electric lights, water works and street railroads as proposed by the socialists? A great many European cities have adopted public ownership and have better service and make a great saving to the tax payers. Blackpool, England, a city of 40,000 population owns and operates her street railways. It carries passengers for three cents and is earning a fair profit for the city. Several other cities charge but two cents, and pay all expenses of operation and make a profit beside. The water works and lighting plants also earn a good net revenue for the municipality. In the United States with

the exception of a few cities these public utilities are owned by private corporations that have watered their stocks from 50 to 200 per cent. The stockholders get princely dividends on fictitious valuations and the people pay three or four times more for the service than they would under public ownership.

BANKING.

In England, Germany and several other European countries there are government savings banks. The people deposit their money and receive interest on it and a government bank never suspends and bank panics are very rare. In the United States about every ten years a panic sweeps over the country causing a loss of millions to the people and demoralizing all business. In 1893, 600 American banks suspended. The socialists want the government to have full management of the banking and currency of the country instead of allowing private parties to control so important a matter. Who should not their suggestions be adopted? Ergy postmaster general from Creswell? Carey urged congress to establish postal savings banks.

DIRECT LEGISLATION.

The New York Board of Trade and Transportation said: "The railroads control absolutely the legislatures of a majority of the states of the union; make and unmake United States senators, congressmen and governors, and under our forms of government are practical dictators of the government policy of the United States."

In view of this well known fact socialists propose a pure democracy. They advocate "direct legislation" and the "imperative mandate." Under that system the people originate and approve the laws that they want and veto those they do not want. If a representative in congress of the legislature betray them he can be called home before his term of office expires and a more faithful representative set. This system is in successful operation, in Switzerland.

UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD.

Socialists believe that this world was made for the whole human family and not for a few. They therefore advocate "equal opportunities for all, special privileges to none." For war they would substitute arbitration; for competition, co-operation; for

selfishness, generosity; for charity, justice; for monarchy, democracy; for slavery, liberty, for cruelty, kindness; for hate, love and sympathy for their fellow man. Who can say these fundamental principles of socialism are impracticable? Are not some or all of them in practical operation somewhere now? Do they suggest anarchy or violence? On the contrary will they not abolish war, right grievous wrongs and inaugurate peace and happiness throughout the world? Will their adoption destroy good government? Not unless monarchies and despotisms are good and "governments by the people, of the people and for the people" are bad. Are these socialistic principles antagonistic to true religion? A careful study of the life and teachings of Jesus Christ has led the writer to believe that they are not, but on the contrary they are in harmony with the doctrines of the Great Teacher himself.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE.

Is there any ground for hope that the United States will ever adopt socialism? Yes; The cause is going forward rapidly. Our postal system; our common schools; our hospitals and public libraries; our county farms and public parks and fire departments and county and city bridges and many other public utilities owned and operated by the national, state, county and city governments are socialistic in their nature. The government will in the near future construct the Nicaraguan canal, irrigate the desert and arid lands of the great west, construct harbors and when public sentiment demands carry forward other needed public works, while towns and cities will own and operate street railways, electric lights, water plants, etc. The rapid formation of great trusts are rousing the earnest thoughts of the people and they are fast coming to see that the interests and well being of the masses demand that they shall in due time be operated to the benefit of the whole people to save them from industrial destruction or slavery. There is an awakening from ocean to ocean. The public meetings of Eugene V. Debs, leader of the social democracy, are attended everywhere he goes by an immense outpouring of earnest and thinking people and the enthusiasm with which he is greeted are propitious signs of the near approach of the great revolution.

FOREIGN ITEMS

Socialism is rapidly growing in Poland.

The trust fever is booming in Germany.

Belgium has a general election this year.

Italy has enacted an old age pension law.

Socialism is rapidly growing in the large cities of South America.

The railway workers of England are demanding an eight hour work day.

Both the French and German social democrats are nearly all free traders.

The labor members of the West Ham council have abolished sweating dens.

Brentford, another English city, has decided to erect 24 municipal dwellings.

Manchester has just opened a municipal lodging-house with room for 363 men.

A London paper estimates the socialist strength of Europe at 7,516,000 votes.

Tarnopol, Austria, has a municipal bakery and sells bread at cost price to citizens.

Stroke-on-Trent and Ilford will both establish municipal electric lighting plants.

The Russian workers are organizing into trade unions in the great industrial centers.

The Duke of Northumberland owns 200,000 acres of land in the north of England.

Socialists of Spain, at their recent convention, denounced the war in South Africa.

Vienna operates municipal brick yards, and sells part of the product to private parties.

The Rhenish Westphalian Coal Syndicate is to Germany what the coal trust is to America.

In Liverpool the death rate in the slum district is three times the average of the whole city.

A school teacher was recently arrested at Wilna, Russia. Socialist papers were found on his person.

The great strike at Zwicken, Austria, has been won. Social Democrats aided the trade unionists.

The social democrats of Brussels have decided to found a night school which will teach socialism.

The Leeds municipal gas plant made a net profit of \$185,000 last year. How much did St. Louis make?

In the death of Comrade Edward Peey, the S. D. P. of Hamburg, Germany have lost a valuable and veteran worker.

W. T. McLean, M. P., of Toronto, recently addressed the Canadian Socialist League, coming out flat footed for socialism.

Leeds, population 370,000, will spend \$560,000 in the purchase of slum property. She will erect dwellings for the working-class.

The Dock Workers' Union and the socialists of London are planning to build a \$100,000 hall, capable of seating 1,500 people.

In Berlin, women shirt makers receive only 30 cents for making a dozen fine shirts. Germany enjoys both the gold standard and the high protective tariff.

The *APPEAL* has quite a number of subscribers in Mexico, as well as South Africa, Australia and all the nations of Europe. It circulates round the world.

The labor party in New South Wales holds the balance of power. It is reported that the old parties are already making concessions. It pays big to vote for our own party.

The Fabian socialists held a general meeting in London and declared that the war in South Africa had "debased the conscience and lowered the democratic spirit of the English people."

The Duke of Westminster, who recently died, was the richest man in England. He owned miles of houses and blocks in London, and London has a million people that are slowly and surely starving to death. Last year 780,000 people were aided by charity. Great is London.

New Zealanders have achieved what working men in other lands are clamoring for. Among the functions of the government is the providing of work for all who may apply. This has been done for some time, and every Newzealander is sure of a job at \$2 per day of eight hours.—*Citizen and Country.*

Huddersfield was the pioneer town in the matter of municipal lodging-houses. It had erected its common lodging-house twenty years before Glasgow began to consider the question; and it provided accommodation for women as well as men, and for married as well as for single. Huddersfield was also the first local authority in the country to obtain parliamentary powers to operate its own tramway.

A Union of Socialists.

Capitalists make a success of uniting. They are wise. Socialists don't make a success by dividing. Are they unwise? Is that true or not? You know how to answer. Unite and win. Divide and lose. Be wise or be foolish. GORDON.

CLEARANCE SALE

That sounds funny in the *APPEAL*, doesn't it? But I want to put a new edition of "Hard Times" and "Trusts" to press in better print and on better paper and will sell the remaining portions of these books at \$1.00 per hundred, this being one-third off. There are only a few thousand of them and they will not last long, so if you get left, like many of the boys did about the New Zealand books, it will be on you.

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

APPEAL ARMY

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

Comrade S. A. Houge, Cokeville, Pa., banged us with 31 subs.

Comrade A. P. Franchen, Newcomb, Tenn., got to the bat with 19.

Comrade E. J. Cooper, of Oregon, helps things out with a club of 25.

Comrade W. C. Moore, of Swanson, Texas, corraled 15 Texas rangers.

W. S. U'reen, of Oregon City, Oregon, comes regularly with another club of 26.

Comrade John Fielding, Fitchburg, Mass., took 29 scalps and forwarded them to us.

Comrade A. L. Roecker, of Chilton, Wisconsin, has increased our circulation by 25.

R. C. Massey, is a Fargo, North Dakota, comrade we are proud of. He sends us a club of 42.

Comrade M. P. Starm, of Albuquerque, New Mexico, sent us a big club from the southwest.

Comrade Z. C. Denny, Mount Vernon, Mo., worked just one hour and captured 47 yearly subs.

Comrade John A. McKee, of Marion, Indiana, didn't do a thing to us but send in 30 for a year.

D. T. Gerdes, of Astoria, Oregon, fished up 26 good citizens who will read the APPEAL for a year.

Ernest Hohenek, Whangamomona, Stratford, New Zealand, is the address of a New Zealand comrade.

The city sending in the largest order for the Municipal Ownership edition will receive 2,000 copies FREE.

There are 20,000 readers of the APPEAL who can in one day secure 5 subs. Do it and see what we'll do.

Comrade J. E. Manning, of Alexandria, Indiana, comes to the front with 26 soldiers enlisted for 12 months.

Every day we get clubs from doctors. Dr. H. R. Dean, of Oklahoma City, O. T., just sent in another club.

Comrade C. L. Caylor, of Columbus, O., devoted a few hours of spare time and captured 25 Boer patriots.

Comrade Davis Haines, of Hutchinson, Kansas, sends in 26 scalps. We will forward them plenty of war paint.

Comrade Mrs. M. E. Montgomery, of Knightsville, Indiana, is a lady we are proud of. She sent us a big club.

Comrade E. P. Helpingstine, of the San Diego, California, chieftains, sends in 19 more subs to keep his paper company.

Comrade F. C. Davis, Benedict, Kansas, kicked a ripe watermelon through the front door containing 26 men enlisted for a year.

Comrade F. Shaffer, Omaha, Neb., shelled us at long range and hit us just 66 times. This makes our circulation in that city about 375.

The municipal ownership edition will be different from anything you have seen up to date. Save your pennies now for a big order.

Comrades Pearson and Smith, of Hawley, Texas, entered into a partnership to do a fighting business. Their first load was 25 scalps.

Comrade Geo. Koop, of Chicago, is the kind of a trade unionist that fills the bill. He has just captured 55 yearly subs and is looking for more.

Comrade Paul M. Perrier, of Brockton, made us glad with a club of 29. The Brockton gang propose to educate all the workers in that town.

Comrade A. A. Anderson, Palouse, Wash., and Thos. Jorghensen, South Omaha, Neb., both got in a two base hit at the same time, landing 25 each.

No time should be lost in organizing branches of the Social Democratic party. Write to Theo Debs, 126 Washington street, Chicago, for full information.

Comrade H. D. Jeffery, of Winona, Minnesota, has been on the war path and landed 37 nice citizens down here. Hereafter Jeffery will be known as captain.

Wanted—1,000 of the army to send in one subscriber a week for the next ten weeks. Ask the man you trade with, and all of his clerks. You can capture all of 'em.

Comrade H. J. Hartwig, of Evansville, Indiana, wrapped his old pocket-book in an envelope placed it in care of Uncle Sam and the result is our circulation is increased by 82.

Comrade J. A. Rannels, of Astoria, Oregon, captured 33 Filipinos and landed in the shanty in the best conditions. We have ordered a brigadier-general's commission for Col. Rannels.

Comrade M. H. Landers and three other had men of San Francisco raised \$9 and sent in a big list of hotels on the Pacific coast. The APPEAL will make a weekly call during the next three months.

It won't be any trick at all to reach the hundred thousand mark will it? You know we have about 20,000 that is not counted in the box, for reasons given you some weeks ago. We won't do a thing to them!

Are you keepin' of your eye on the figger in the box? It is going to the 75,000 mark rapidly. A few more weeks and some city S. D. P. branch will have as elegant a band as the plates. Whew! won't the boys be in it!

Comrade W. P. Harrington, of Grove City, Kans., bombarded us with a Brown-Segment cannon, landing 50 yearly subs the first shot. When warm weather comes Harrington will warm up that gun in great shape.

Some of the APPEAL Army are trying this: They raise a fund of one or two or three dollars. Send the APPEAL to a selected list free for three months. Then they canvass those same names for subs. It's a great scheme. Try it.

Well, well. The Los Angeles boys got after us with another war balloon engineered by Comrade J. T. Van Rensselaer. We unloaded the thing on the common and found 133 subscribers as passengers for one year with tickets prepaid.

The APPEAL will occupy the corner lot on the public square, the best corner in the city, its own building, and one of the most convenient quarters of any printing plant in the country. You workers have shown your faith in the paper to an extent that I could not see it illy-housed.

You single socialists should hurry up the co operative commonwealth so you can afford to have a wife. Just think that the APPEAL office has Stella, Grace, Clara, Lena, Pearl, Hula, Agnes, Edna, Mable, Ida, and two Maggies, all good looking and looking for you! The rest of us are only men.

The vote in Brocton, Mass., in 1898 was something like this: Republican, 4,000; democrat, 1,300; socialist 300. In 1899 the vote was something different, reading this way: Republican, 1,869; democrat, 1,869; socialist, 3,394. The circulation of the APPEAL was just about in proportion to the vote of the socialists at each election, but it does not claim it did all the work—it only helped to do it. It will help you in your town if you want it too.

Interest. It is man's duty to be a thinking, active and investigating being for his own happiness and the well-being of others. Thinkers who express thought are the world's greatest benefactors. Interest is thought to be a necessity in our world because of blind selfishness. When the kingdom of heaven is realized on earth, interest will play no part in man's selfishness. The Lords prayer ought to be answered, "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." Can it be possible that usurers ply their trade in heaven, if not why should they on earth?

Interest is an agent of mans selfishness, and one of the easiest, indolent and most effectual ways of reaping a harvest from the labors of others, known to savage or civilized life. It requires one talent to succeed in the interest business, that is—selfishness.

Interest has been a Sabbath breaker from remote ages and I have never known of its Sunday work being reproved by ancient or modern devout Sabbath observing christians. It knows no Sabbath, no natural day of rest in christian or heathen lands. It does not commence at 9 a. m. and quit at 4 p m., but works incessantly all hour, all days, all seasons, cold or hot, wet or dry, summer or winter, zero weather, or forty below, does not effect its accumulative selfishness. It has no cold fingers, or weary worn body or mind to suffer. It has the profligating spirit and soul of selfishness. It is the distilled essence of unchristianlike civilization of the present. It knows nothing of the Christ spirit which lends hoping for nothing in return. If Sabbath observing christians would say we will not take interest that occurs on Sunday we would consider them more honest and sincere in their Sabbath observance.

Stockholders in their moneyed investments demand interest and it does not matter how much stocks cost or has been watered, "all the traffics will bear," is legitimate business.

Interest is the sole agent of accumulation of moneyed corporations and trusts to reap a harvest upon watered stock, or plunder by law the many to enrich the few. Drawing interest on a fictitious capital or over capitalization of stocks is one of the greatest sins of the present century. A severe drouth, cyclone or frost, as they come sometimes, will badly damage a farmers crops, but interest is not harmed by extremes in nature, for it is sure to bring a crop when it is hitched to something substantial like a mortgage. One does have to plough, sow, hoe, cultivate, reap or mow, for it accumulates money without labor.

Interest takes no cognizance of the heart-aches, head-aches or inconveniences that man is often heir to to satisfy its selfish demands.

The devil of selfishness in this marvelous age of invention has failed to invent to introduce a scheme or principle that takes the place or supersedes interest as an accumulative agent of selfish greed in this money-worshipping world of ours.

Interest often takes the necessities of life from those who need and transfers to those who have an abundance. To banish interest we as people must pray for, seek after a comprehensive co-operative and Christlike system of civilization which will reward every one according to his work.

Money at six per cent. interest on watered stocks or fictitious bonds is not a necessity our heavenly home or soul life when we become highly civilized and Christlike.

GEORGE F. BAKER.

Have you read a copy of the magazine "Conscience"? Mention the APPEAL and send 5 cents in stamps for a sample copy. Mr. Phelps, the publisher, did not tell me I could do this, but I will stand good for it that you will get a copy for that price if you send. Address, "Conscience," Berthoud, Colo.

The APPEAL in clubs of 25, 25c per year

The Socialist Party of Oklahoma.

The socialist party of Oklahoma met in Oklahoma City over the old postoffice for the purpose of completing a permanent territorial party organization. The work included the selection of a committee and of officials, the settling of the question of a territorial newspaper for the treatment of purely local issues. Thirty-two delegates were present representing the following counties: Pottawatomie, Lincoln, Oklahoma, Logan, Noble, Kay, Grant, Kingfisher, Canadian and Blaine. The counties represented by proxies were Woods, Washita, Roger Mills, Cleveland, Payne, Garfield and Pawnee. E. T. Tucker, of Mulhall, the temporary chairman of the organization presided. H. E. Farnsworth, of Newkirk, acted as temporary secretary. Later the temporary organization was made permanent. It was decided to place a territorial ticket in the field, and a convention will be called for this purpose in the spring. Letters were read from leading socialists all over the United States wishing the new organization good luck.

Dr. Delos Walker, of Oklahoma City, delivered an eloquent address of welcome. He spoke encouragingly of the new organization and a feeling response was made by Chairman Tucker.

A committee was appointed to look after the establishment of a social newspaper in the territory.

Prof. Wm. Gebbs, a colored teacher of Guthrie, delivered a very able address on the relation of the negro to socialism.

Among the socialists present were several men who were leaders in the middle-of-the-road Populist movement in the campaign two years ago. One of these was J. H. Clark, who was formerly county chairman of the middle-of-the-road Populists of Oklahoma county. In speaking of the outlook of the Socialist party Mr. Clark said: "I think most of the middle-of-the-road Populists and many of the other populists who are dissatisfied with fusion will join the socialists."

Many men prominent in the old parties have signified their desire to join the new movement.

The evening address was delivered by Capt. C. A. Bogardus, of Aurora, Ill., the champion rifle shot of the world and a new champion in the cause of socialism. He had a good crowd—seats all full—and a crowd with only standing room.

The following executive committee was then chosen: E. T. Tucker, Mulhall; H. E. Farnsworth, Newkirk; M. P. Brown, Oklahoma City; A. K. Gore, El Reno; Wm. Gibbs, Guthrie; Walter Olds, Chandler; A. M. McCormick, Norman; J. W. McFall, Medford; A. M. Renshaw, Lacey; E. B. Fleming, Bryan; Mark W. Pringle, Cloud Chief; H. A. Boyce, Augusta; H. P. Reenes, Perry; E. S. Smith, Tecumseh; D. Warraa, Pesham; Alex. McFadden, Stillwater; Wm. McAnerny, Wash.; Max Rein, Cestos; A. B. Davis, Geary; H. C. Ricks, Navjoe.

H. E. FARNSWORTH, Secretary, territorial committee.

Think. "Do you hear the children weeping, O my brothers, Ere the sorrow comes with years? They are leaning their young heads against their mothers' knees; And that cannot stop their tears. The young lambs are bleating in the meadows; The young birds are chirping in the nest; The young fawns are playing with the shadows; The young flowers are blowing toward the west; But the young, young children, O my brothers, They are weeping bitterly. They're weeping in the playtime of the others 'In the country of the free!"

In one of the big department stores in Kansas City, where I went to do some shopping a few days ago, I saw something that set me to thinking. There were women in rich dresses (with a carriage) and footman waiting at the door who didn't seem to think anything about it, but I did. It was this: Near the counter where I stood I noticed a little girl not over seven or eight, standing wearily in one spot, watching the throng of shoppers. She was bareheaded, and I wondered why. No one seemed to be with her, and I wondered about that, too, for she seemed too little to be there alone. Occasionally finely-dressed little girls with their mamma's went past her and she looked at them with a longing, wondering expression that I shan't try to describe. Her eyes looked as though tears had dried in them and she looked so tired.

I was still wondering about the little girl when the woman behind the counter, who was waiting on me, cried out: "Number 9!" The little girl trotted up to her, took the bundle I had just bought and the dollar I had given in payment for it and ran towards the cashier's cage. The clerk called out after her: "Be quick now; hurry up!" She was only a little cash girl, standing or running on the hard floors from early morning until late at night. Did she ever want to play? Did she ever want to go to school with the other little children? Did she get tired and homesick and want to see her mamma, who perhaps had to work in some factory, too, I leave those questions for you to answer. I simply ask you whether it is necessary for the support of this nation, that little children work? If all the men were doing an equal share of the work of the world, and receiving an equal share of the products of their toil, would it be necessary for either women or children to work? Assuredly not. Even the men would not have to work more than four hours a day.

You have been wanting information about the cost of operating various city utilities. You will have it in Municipal Ownership Edition. Orders will be filled in order of reception. Per 100, 40 cents, per 1,000, \$4; on book paper 20 cents per 100 extra. Order at once.

BRASS BAND. consisting of seventeen 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, Four " E-b Tenors, Two " E-b Baritone, One " E-b Bass, One " E-b Drum, Two " E-b Cymbals. Every subscriber, no matter where from, helps it along.

SOCIALISTS..

It is the duty of socialists to everywhere affiliate with and aid Organized Labor, and create a bond of friendship of enduring character. The growth of the social democratic party in Europe, where its vote exceeds that of any other party, though not yet in an absolute majority in any nation, is due to this method. Nearly all labor organizations there are socialist. Labor Unionists want more pay, socialism will give them more than \$5,000 a year for a four-hour day. Get them to understand this and that is all that is necessary. They will then vote for it. Already many unions are beginning to use the APPEAL and other socialist literature. There are millions of members to the unions. When they get a common thought they will control the elections. Join the unions and work with them. They are natural allies of the social democratic party. All of them will become members when they understand.

CONSCIENCE..

The new magazine which the APPEAL can afford to solicit for, is needed in the field of propaganda. It will reach some classes that the APPEAL will not. It will be sent with the APPEAL for price of magazine—\$1, both for a year.

The Union Label.

Why should socialists and decent men support union labor and the union label? For thousands of years, in one form or another, there has been fought the unequal contest of the workers, for an increased per cent. of the wealth they produced. Today organized labor all over the world is making the same fight. The union label is simply a guarantee that the goods you buy have been produced by organized labor. And that means that the workers had more decent conditions. It means a shorter work day. It means better wages. It means that you are not buying your products of the sweat shop, or child labor. The trade union movement is one of the chief emancipating factors in the labor movement of the world. Demanding union made goods means that we are aiding the working class, our own class, to receive a larger per cent. of the wealth they and they alone produce. Demanding union made goods means less robbery for the workers who produce the goods. Comrades demand the union label.

A READER desires to have an explanation of the labor commissioners' report concerning matches. On page 1313 of 2d vol. 13th annual report of the labor commissioner you will see the statement that 100 gross boxes round sulphur and composition matches, 100 in a box, explains the table on page 61, vol. 1, in which that quantity of matches have a labor cost of \$3.229.

If 100 gross of matches cost \$3.229 then 1 gross of matches costs one hundredth part of that which is a shade over 3 cents.

Now 1 gross of matches means 144 boxes, thus the labor cost of 144 boxes of matches, 100 in a box is a little over three cents. This was the best machine method in use in 1895, since which time new appliances have reduced the cost very materially, probably one-half. It is therefore safe to say, on the basis of the government report, that 90 boxes of matches cost but 1 cent, that is—but 1 cent in wages is paid for the production of 90 boxes of matches. I trust this will elucidate the point asked for.

What Do You Think of This.

Caesar's Column: 368 pages.....25c
A Trump in Society: 244 pages.....25c
Public Ownership of Railroad: 96 pages.....10c
President John Smith: 290 pages.....25c
The Co-politain: 298 pages.....25c
Evolutionary Politics: 256 pages.....25c
Merrie England: 160 pages.....10c

All for one dollar. Mention Combination No. 3.

Social democrats have organized branches at Ticonderoga, N. Y., Tonner, N. D., Granite falls, Minn., Birmingham and Liberal, Mo. It requires but five to organize, lose no time. Address Theo. Debs, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill., for full information.

ARE YOU IN IT? At the present rate of increase the band worth several hundred dollars will be awarded next month. Is your city in it? Are you doing anything to help increase the circulation? The city that gets the band will have the best propaganda machinery at its command. You ought to interest all musicians in the matter, whether they are socialists or not.

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

ONE of the stock arguments that one meets everywhere from the friends and defenders of private monopoly, is that the postoffice is a loss to the public and could be made to pay in private hands. To this point a friend in Washington City writes:

Every day there are tons of mail matter sent out of this city upon which there is not one single cent of postage paid by the sender. That is, every department sends its mail under the "Penalty Stamp," or Departmental frank. In other words, while the sender pays two cents for sending his inquiry to the Department the answer is sent back free, or the two letters go for one cent apiece. The same is true of every other National or State, department throughout the land and the amount of mail matter thus carried free mounts into the thousands of tons, for which the railroads get the same price for haulage that they get for the stamped matter. Another way to look at the deficit and show that the post-office is self-sustaining is that those who use the mails pay the rates established by law, and the entire people pay the rest in the way of taxation through the customs and other dues. In other words, the people pay for the service that is rendered either by direct payment or by indirect, and therefore, there can be no "deficit" anymore than there is for running the White House or the Capitol or any other department.

The great palace where Queen Victoria makes her home, Windsor palace, was built by labor that was paid a penny a day. Perhaps you will say that the palaces therefore rightly belongs to the rulers who hired the working people at these wages to prison, and many were executed for complaining of the labor. Yet they were free Englishmen, and would have resented the imputation that they were not or that they had not the most glorious country on earth. The palace rightly belongs to the working people who built it, and their children are rightly heir to it. Yet they would be arrested today if caught on the ground unless in the capacity of a hireling. But then the rich can do no harm. If the working people were to use their power to treat the rich as the rich have treated them you would hear a howl go up to heaven that would frighten the angels.

Do You Want a Ten-Acre Farm

FREE One will be given to the person sending in the greatest number of yearly subscribers during the month of February. Clubs sent in by syndicates will not be counted in competition.

GO OUT AND GATHER THEM IN About 100 will probably get it. It is worth several hundred. It will be the making of a good home.

BOOKS. KEEN-EDGED WITH WISDOM

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

- Waiting For The Signal; cloth.....H O Morris 1 00
- Wells Against Commonwealth; cloth; 500 pp., Lloyd 1 75
- Capital.....Karl Marx; paper, 1 20; cloth 1 75
- The New Economy; cloth.....L Greenland 1 25
- Le Labor Socialiste; cloth.....Cannon 2 50
- Socialism from Gen. to Rev.; cloth.....Ray F M Sprague 1 00
- Looking Backward; paper.....Edw Bellamy 1 00
- Equality; 420 pp.; Edw Bellamy; paper, 50c; cloth 1 75
- Socialism; 400 pp.; Edw Bellamy; paper, 50c; cloth 1 75
- Proportional Representation.....Cannon 2 50
- Social Reform and the Church.....Prof J R Commons 75
- Taxation in American States and Cities.....Prof R T Ely 75
- Problem of Today.....Prof J R Commons 75
- Socialism and Social Reform.....Prof R T Ely 1 50
- Labor Movement in America.....Prof R T Ely 1 50
- Social Aspects of Christianity.....Prof R T Ely 90
- Socialism of John Stuart.....Cannon 2 50
- Communism of John Ruskin.....Bliss 25
- On Christ Came to Congress.....Howard 80
- Open Letter to the Rich; 60 pp.....Sam Flint 80
- Social Platform and Program.....Cannon 2 50
- Guerrasy Market House.....Owens 15
- Seven Financial Conspiracies.....Emery 10
- Ten Men of Money Island; eight for 25c.....Kortin 90
- Capital; six for 50c.....Cannon 2 50
- The Railroad Question.....Larraee 75
- Public Ownership of Railroads.....Davis-Stockwell 10
- Government Ownership of Railroads.....Gordon 10
- National Ownership of Railroads.....Clegg 10
- National Ownership of Railways.....Fall 15
- Dogs and the Fiesas..... 25
- Science of Political Economy.....George 2 50
- Progress and Poverty.....George 2 50
- Social Problems.....George 2 50
- The Condition of Labor.....George 2 50
- The Land Question.....George 2 50
- Organization of Free Trade.....George 2 50
- Secrets of the Rothschilds.....Hobart 25
- The Co-politain.....Clarke 25
- Evolutionary Politics.....Mills 25
- Man or Doller—Which..... 25
- Sixty Hours..... 25
- Story from Polimitowa.....Dech-Meyer 25
- President John Smith..... 25
- Society of the Future.....L Abbott 25
- Modern Socialism.....Bliss 25
- Modern Socialism.....Vail 15
- Heterodox Economics and Orthodox Profits; Ashplant 15
- Elementary Principles of Economics; 400 pp.; Chase 1 25
- History of Scientific Socialism..... 15
- Caesar's Column.....Ignatius Donnelly 25
- Even As You and I.....Bolton Hall 40
- Science of the Millenium.....Maybell 15
- Man's Time—Cause and Cure..... 15
- Philosophy of Happiness; 80 pp.....Beresford 10
- Utopia A D 1815.....Sir Thomas More 10
- Property; 15 pp.....Pyburn; 50 3 for 10
- Land—Machinery—Inheritance.....Pyburn; 50 3 for 10
- Human Nature Under Socialism.....Pyburn; 50 3 for 10
- Voices of the Future (poem).....Chavannes 25
- The Future Commonwealth.....Chavannes 25
- In Brighter Climes.....Chavannes 25
- Trump in Society.....Cowdrey; 15c 2 for 25
- Man—Past, Present and Future.....15c 2 for 25
- Ruin of Empires (A D 1788).....15c 2 for 25
- History of Paris Commune.....Henham 25
- Direct Legislation.....W Sullivan 25
- In Hell and the Way Out.....Allen 15
- Legal Revolution 1902..... 15
- The Millenial Kingdom.....Redding 50
- A Traveler from Aitruiria.....W D Howells 1 75
- The American Pinocracy.....Howard 25
- Driven from Sea to Sea..... 25
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- Any three cent books for twenty-five cents; six of the five cent pamphlets for twenty-five cents; sent paid to address as in United States and Canada. Canadian postage stamps taken.

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Books Received. "Miss Chank;" by Lee Mervin; price 15 cents. By Walter Vrooman, Walswright building, St. Louis, Mo. "Socialism, or the Reconstruction of Society, Government and Property," by Louis Mueseler. Address, John A. Lant, Tarrytown, N. Y. "Diagnosis of the 1908 Bond Issue," by Dr. Squam. By the Puritan Book Co., Buffalo, N. Y. "The Labor Question," by Madison Jenks. Gags. Price, 75 cents. By The Truth Seeker Co., Lafayette Place, N. Y. City. "Just Think About It," by Geo. A. Eastman, 130 Orchard St., Detroit, Mich. Price, 15 cents. "Is It Civilization or Looking Backward," by J. Page, Sacramento, Cal. "To What Are the Trusts Leading?" by James R. Smith, 222 West Washington St., Chicago, Ill. Price 15 cents. MORALS AND SOCIALISM. Latest Issue. Price 15c. A heavy, five cent, C. E. Roy & Co., 115 East Chicago