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Every Union Man Should Read No. 221. New Zealand Is Ahead of Us. Find Out All About It!

POLITICAL CERTAINTIES

IF EVER the labor unions in any city can be induced to break away from the old politicians who have been using them to draw chestnuts out of the industrial fires for the upbuilding of corporations and capitalists, if ever they once feel the good effects of having control of the places of power, the thing is done. It will spread like wild-fire; it will cause a peaceful revolution; it will change this country to peace and plenty more quickly than it has in New Zealand; it will usher in a new order. Labor has never had any conceptions of its rights; it has always submitted to any condition imposed by its masters, never for a moment feeling that it had no use for a master. To this end let us bend every energy. Show the workers how different it will be when THEIR advocates are on the bench, in the councils, and in the halls of legislation. They can dictate to corporations instead of being dictated to. It will take but one election and the feeling of power that comes, to show the boys how much better it will be for them to have the public own the industries that they may dictate the conditions and wages of labor. I feel confident that the initial move toward industrial peace will be made by Union Labor, and the leader who tries to sidetrack the movement will be laid on the shelf in infamy. Help the label that a bond of enduring friendship may be cemented between the political and industrial elements. Show the union men that we are friends indeed as well as in name.

A READER says he is a Bellamy socialist, yet for Bryan, because Bryan has the only chance of election. Y-e-s. So long as the people are willing to choose between two evils, they will always have a rotten cabbage and a rotten turnip to choose between, and when they get it what have they got? The reason society has not gotten what it needs is because it has not voted for it but has always been willing to compromise on some half-way measure or person. But for this trait of humanity, the trying to sneak into its rights instead of demanding them and being satisfied with nothing less, the world would long ago have been enjoying the benefits of the millenium. It has been the uncompromising fighters who have given the world its freedom and progress, and the worst opponents they have had have been those who hoped to get there a short road and have been willing to make compromises. Bryan would be worse for the people than McKinley. The way to dispose of bad rulers and conditions is to have the worst possible because the people can be more readily brought to see the iniquity. The worse the tyrant the more easily can the patriots organize against him. Bryan stands for private property; that is opposed to socialism and no conscious socialist can for a moment endorse it.

CREELMAN, the celebrated newspaper correspondent, writing of the Kentucky gubernatorial tragedy, asserts without equivocation that the assassination was the work of the L. & N. R. R. and other corporate influences. But then corporations are good things for they furnish employment. Furnished the assassin employment at likely very good pay. Such acts have always been committed by the owners of property in the interest of what they considered their vested rights. It was the same character of interests that hired the big brute King to assault with a club nearly to death the immortal Charles Sumner, the effects of which he never fully recovered from. The upholders of chattel slavery did this because they could not buy nor bully that great lover of human rights. It will always be so while private property is the ruling passion of men. For public property no like crime was ever done.

THE Springfield, Mo., dailies using the same press room in common, and having offices side by side, do not like the statement they are owned by the same man. Well, suppose two men own them, what is the difference? In Cincinnati the two German dailies, democrat and republican, are issued from the same office, just alike, except one or two columns of political matter. That is sensible. What idioy to set up the same telegrams in half a dozen different offices in one place. The paper men sink their differences when they can make or save money. That is just what the laboring people should do. When they quit voting as they have and vote for a system that will give them all the good things of life, they will be as wise as the editors who co-operate in production. I should judge there is a better feeling between the editors who use a common plant than those who will not.

ONE of the statements you run up against from the defenders of private monopoly is, that oil is cheaper since the Standard got control of the market than it ever was and therefore the private monopoly of oil is a benefit to the public. There is no monopoly in the production of cotton, which sold years ago for 25 cents a pound and later sold for 5 cents. How do you reconcile these facts? Improved methods of production, methods that have been thought out by working men, have made the cost of producing oil infinitely less. It is higher today than years ago if you will take the necessary labor or methods of the two periods into consideration. Oil is cheaper in money, but it is selling for easily ten times what is paid labor for producing and transporting, nevertheless. Private monopoly prevents the price of oil from falling to one cent per gallon.

THE New Voice sees the whole of human uplifting in the abolition of the saloon. It refuses to see that the saloon is an effect and not a cause. It is logical to the present system, hence it is. The Mohammedan, before the advent of this so-called civilization, did not drink. Today the drink habit is destroying that people the same as others. The saloon is because people can make money by it, and they want money because it is the only means that society will permit people to enjoy the desired things of life. Do away with the profit by making it a public monopoly where it can be controlled without private financial interests fighting for it, and the evil will gradually disappear. The drunkards the competitive system have made will still be, but the on-coming generations will be free from it. New Zealand has found a way to control the liquor sales to victims, and is feeling her way to an abolition. But abolition with the fierce competitive strain on the people is not possible. We have prohibition here in Kansas, and saloons are more open and shameless in many places than in states where licensed. The over-worked and the over-rich are both becoming more and more the victims of the habit, and drunkenness will increase. The New Voice points out the weakness of the argument that socialism will solve the drink habit by pointing to the cities of Glasgow and Huddersfield! Just as though England were a socialist nation! It is intensely competitive. Nor is the experiment of South Carolina to the point. To socialize the saloon the liquor must be made and dispensed at cost by the public. It has not yet been tried by any nation that we know of, but every step toward it has had salutary effects. The full principle applied would do much more, but would not wholly eliminate the evil so long as men are under great mental business strain. That calls for some stimulant in some people, at least they feel so, and there will be evil effects until the industries are all made co-operative and the competition has disappeared. When men live together in peace and harmony, when every one will have no fear of want nor struggle against his fellows to keep on top, then will the mental condition be such that no stimulant will be needed. Not before.

THE city of Macon, Ga., has a queer mayor, Bridges Smith. He is so insane that he actually believes people have a right to work and earn a living! The monster! He will not give public charity, but has announced that all who need it can come to the public works and earn their own living! Was such anarchy ever heard of before! And he does these things. He claims that any city always has work that should be done and that people who are out of work should be doing it. I wonder how such a fellow got elected? Must have been a mistake. People out of work and bread should be arrested, fined, the officers should be permitted to charge up their fees, and the fellows should be put in chains on the rock pile. That is the way to do it. What will officers do for a living if they are not permitted to get a living out of fines? Write him for his platform.

THE CARPENTER, organ of the brotherhood of carpenters and joiners, permits the whole of the editorial page to a plea for the workers to go into politics. What wonderful possibilities. What an easy road to freedom! I see in this day streaks of the coming of labor to its own. I would suggest one thing: that labor unions make the start; that they capture the political power in the cities; that no man who is in favor of labor, who will not serve it instead of the capitalists, shall ever hold office; that those who have been true to labor shall man the ship of state. That organized labor, with the aid of friends and their influence, can do this, there is no doubt. Show the world that you are as intelligent and wise as your brothers in New Zealand, who have blazed the way to industrial liberty.

THE St. Louis Republic asks: "Will somebody now tell us exactly how to prevent the gigantic trusts from crushing the people?" What good would it do? You would not follow the advice, if convinced, should it not meet the financial interests of your stockholders who also own interests in some of these trusts. Public ownership, as we have in the postal system, will do the trick, for the profit would go into the people's treasury or the prices would be reduced to the people. The postal system, a monopoly complete, does not crush the people, but it would if it were in private hands. The trouble with the Republic is that it does not want to know "how." It wants to jolly the people into believing that it is trying to serve them while it serves capital.

THE Weeeling, W. Va., Trades Assembly passed resolutions for political independence and appointed a committee to make arrangements for a convention, whose platform will be for public ownership, etc. This action by bodies of working men is getting quite common and portends something different from the old time party manipulation of the workers for the benefit of this, that, or the other set of self-seeking politicians. If working people vote they might as well vote for themselves and their interests as to elevate men to place who don't know how or who will not make laws to favor the workers. This is refreshing. We will not do a thing to the politics of this country when we get started. It's coming!

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

New York, Jan. 27.—It is believed that the building of the Rapid Transit tunnel will attract thousands of Italians and other South of Europe immigrants to this city. The commission says the agents of the various steamship lines are already posting the news of the big tunnel contract and the government officers at the various Italian ports report a "Klondike rush" in prospect.

You will notice that the government officers report a prospective rush. Now these officers and attaches of the government services abroad are the very men used by these contractors to put out the reports so that there will be a rush of men and a glut in the labor market. And what time they are not engaged in this they are employed in the capacity of commercial salesmen for the hunting up of trade for the goods of the monopolies of this country, and thus are paid out of the tax money sweated out of American workers to bring in cheaper labor and dispose of goods that are needed at home, which are sold in foreign markets for much less than they are to the men who make them. Suppose that this work was done by the city at so much per day, instead of by contract, do you not see that nobody would have any interest in this cheap and ignorant labor except the steamship companies? Then if the steamship companies were owned and operated by the government, do you not see that they would not be a party to such business? So long as contractors are used, or private operation of industries prevail, you will have just such incidents coming up all the time. If the working people do not want to meet these things they can have it all as soon as they will vote for socialism in office—not before. Only men who have strong convictions against the present system of doing things will ever change it. Only men opposed to chattel slavery abolished it. Only men opposed to wage slavery will abolish it.

The number of day's labor necessary to build, maintain and operate a railroad is the actual cost of transportation. If anything be added to this, the thing so added is extortion or robbery. It is the getting of something for nothing. If the number of men necessary to operate a train be ten per day (direct and indirect) and that all trains (and that train will carry 300 passengers, then the right tariff would be for each of the 300 to give up enough of time to make up ten days for each day's travel. Ten days of ten hours each would be 100 hours. If 300 people give up 20 minutes each it will amount to 100 hours. Therefore the cost of riding ten hours on a train would be 20 minutes labor for each of the 300 people. If only 150 people rode it would take 40 minutes; if it took twice as much necessary time to cause the train to move it would take 40 minutes. Thus it would be that with railroads operated under socialism not more than 30 minutes labor would be necessary to permit you to ride all day on a train. If you will once get this calculus in your mind you will be able to apply it to everything in life—to readily get at the cost of things by the necessary labor under the best condition with the best machinery. To get at that condition is the meaning of socialism. That condition will produce a brotherhood, because there will be no antagonisms in industries. Do you believe that people who want such a condition either crazy or dangerous?

THE steel sheet combine has been perfected with \$52,000,000 capital, four-fifths water. But you will pay an interest on it just the same. This is not getting something for nothing! The people who compose combines are opposed to socialism because they say it means the people want something for nothing, and of course they would not take something for nothing! They do not believe in the government furnishing the people employment—they want to do that themselves. It is so much better for the people to depend on capitalists whom they do not control for employment than on the government that they have the power to control! And some working people believe it!

THE great anti-socialist administration of Kansas has sent out notices that it will sell binding twine direct to the farmers and ignore the middlemen and the trust! This awful slaughter of private enterprise should not go unrebuked, and we may expect (?) at the next state convention resolution denouncing the tendency toward socialism! What will become of enterprise if the state propose to furnish binding twine at cost, or if sold at a profit to put into the state treasury? If binding twine, why not wheat and corn and bacon? Where is this republican socialism going to stop? And to think that republicans denounce public ownership!

THE Astoria, Ore., Herald, which I quoted last week as denouncing socialism as the wildest insanity, has evidently heard something drop. In the next issue it said: "The principles of socialism are good, with a very few exceptions." Now what exceptions? That must make the socialists there smile. There is only one principle in socialism and that is right or wrong. It is all wrong or all right. The editor had better read something and he will be less of a laughing stock.

BRO. McBRIDE sends me a copy of the Melbourne, Australia Age from his faraway home, in which I find a protest against the work of the army contractors who have been playing the same game on the helpless English soldiers in the Boer war that was played here in the Spanish and Philippine wars—bad food when good was paid for, poor guns when the best were paid for, etc. The guns from one whole army coming in, it says, were taken from them and others substituted which were wholly worthless, but the men on the government boards that had control of the matter were stockholders in the gun works and wanted it to pay profits, no matter how the government suffered nor how the soldiers might be butchered by the change. But men do these things for profit and profit is a great thing, don't you know. Great incentive, this doing business for profit. If you cannot see that had the whole machinery of war been produced by the public (government) by day's labor, where no private profit could enter, that nobody would have gained by such frauds, and that therefore it would have been honest goods in every case, you are exceedingly dull. You may say you do not not like these frauds, but if you support the private profit, contract system you support the frauds just the same, whether you are wise enough to know it or not. Public ownership is the remedy.

MUCH is being said in the press about Mr. Clarke, of Montana, for bribing his way into the United States senate. Why Mr. Clarke? Is it because he paid more money than any other member? Or because he paid it more openly? What he did nearly every member of that very respectable body has done. It matters not in final results whether it was done by money paid to members of the legislature or by money furnished to campaign committees, or sleek politicians—the senatorship was the object of the inducement and do you not know that every member has done some of these acts with the aim at getting the senatorial toga? Bribery is not always with open money—it comes in more subtle forms and therefore more dangerous ones. Is it any more crime to steal one horse than two? It is horse-stealing, and money paid to advance a man to the senate is bribery, whether paid to members after they are elected or paid to men before, or paid to men who are not members on the supposition that they have influences that will help toward the desired end. And that is what all the members of the senate have done. Clarke is not worse than the rest—only that he has been more open about the matter and had more ready cash to buy the place. All these are things men will do to get into places of power over their ignorant fellow men that they may control them.

CHICAGO is building a big tunnel, on which she has already spent a million and a half. It was let to contract and cost the city \$75 to \$90 a foot. The contractors threw it up and the city had to do the work. It hired men by the day, paid better wages and shorter hours, and the report of the city engineer just printed shows that the cost has been only \$25 a foot! There you have the two systems on the same work. All public work should be done without the intervention of the contractor. It is done better, costs less and the contractor's influence in lobby is done away with. Hundreds of like instances could be quoted, yet people think the way to get the cheapest work is to have it let to contract. That is why labor unions oppose the contract system. They get better pay and hours and it costs the public less.

You often hear the clatter that men with brains and money have raised the world from barbarism to civilization. The inference is always presented that money is the real thing. Now who has done the world the most good—the Christ, Milton, Shakespeare, Bunyan, Carlyle, Ruskin, Franklin, Emerson, Agassiz, Humboldt, Cartwright, Morgenthau or the rich men of the times these men lived in? Give every man the opportunity of developing all there is in him, by keeping off his back, and such men as these will multiply a hundred fold and the world will make more progress in a generation than it has in a thousand years. Money, private wealth, is the thing that chains genius so it cannot develop. Only here and there a bud is grown and attracts attention when the garden of the earth should be full of such flowers.

MESSRS. ROCKEFELLER, Pierpont Morgan, Whitney and about twenty of the richest men in New York were dined by Senator Depew in Washington City recently. Not a workingman was present! Mr. Depew was elected (indirectly) by the working people of New York. What would be said of some patriot if he were found dining and wining with the members of the royal families? Even dining with the king himself? Would he not be considered unsafe leader and adviser for the people who were struggling against the king? Well, on the same theory is not Depew an unsafe man for the working people, the great majority, to have elected to make laws and compacts that bind them? If not, why not?

DURING McKinley's reign so far there have been 20 commissions appointed that have had \$1,600,000 appropriated to pay their expenses. They were virtually a gift of that much to the men whom the president appointed to fill them. This is why we have such partisans in the nation.

THE Painters Union of Chicago, by its Treasurer, Mr. James J. Glackin, sent the APPEAL a check for \$205.25 in payment for one year's subscription for the entire membership—821. Now will you be good, That is the greatest amount ever paid the APPEAL for any single club. More good than even the money is the knowledge that the union is composed of men who see the need of a better political knowledge. When such actions become common, as they will, this country will see a political revolution like labor unions have accomplished in New Zealand. There they have everything their own way, and they have brought peace where there was disorder, justice where there was injustice, plenty where there was crying poverty. They have shown that they could govern the country better than the employing classes. And the men who labor in this country can do the same here. And what is more, they will do it in the next few years. Then the men who are put in position by the votes of the majority will not dare to serve the masters (the minority), but will serve the whole people and receive greater honor for their fidelity than has yet been accorded to but few men in this nation since it was founded. Let this action of the Chicago painters be repeated by other unions and there will be something drop among the high places.

EUGENE V. DEBS, a pleader for the common people, has been in Florida talking for the new civilization. Judging from the printed reports of the opposition press he had most wonderful audiences everywhere and captivated everybody who heard him—even the newspaper men, who are supposed to be impervious to anything not emanating from the capitalists whom they serve. If these meetings of Debs' were followed up by a good organizer it would be the means of a speedy change in the industrial system. The people are really tired of the present industrial hell but don't see just how to get at the change. The country is waiting for some great organizer. The man who fills the place will be the brightest star of the century.

THERE is no difference by taking from a fellow by threat of bodily violence and taking from him the same amount by extortion in price of the things the body must have or perish. In either case the body will suffer unless the tribute be paid. The manner is different but not the effects. People have been so blinded by the education that interest, rent and profit are right, that they do not see the injustice of the system. The people who murdered others because they could not see religious theories according to established rules laid down by men were blinded in the same way. They thought it right to kill heretics.

FRANK G. FISHER, a letter carrier in the post office has been promoted from \$600 to \$1,000 and Michael Hynes from \$600 to \$800.—St. Louis Globe-Democrat. Will the working people who are working for private employers note the fact that this was accomplished without any lockout or strike? Will they not see that it would be easy to get justice if all the people were furnished employment by the public? If these men had been employed by some individual that individual would have had \$400 a year in his pocket by not increasing wages—and they would not have been increased. As it was, there was a rule to go by and no one had enough interest to fight it. It will be that way under socialism.

If there is enough land for all the people to use if they have money to pay the landlord the required rent, there is enough land for all the people without the payment of any rent. The mere fact of ability to pay rent does not increase the earth's area by a single acre. Nor can the highest civilization exist with the present land laws. Every person has a natural right to live on the earth, and that too without paying tribute to any other person for the privilege. And that time will be in the coming few years.

AMERICAN coal is being sold in Mediterranean ports for \$3 per ton, while in the coal fields of our own country it is being sold for more. What a howl would go up if the government were to permit foreign users to patronize our postal system for less than our own people. But is so much better to have private ownership of the coal mines. Our people are not to be considered in the same day with the beloved subjects of some despot.

If you want to help, send \$5 or more and get postal card receipts for a year subscription. Give these to the subscriber and all he has to do is to write his name and address on one and put it in the mail box, and the whole matter is settled. These cards will be redeemed at any time at the price paid for them, so there is no loss to you in any event. 20 of them for \$5. Silkeest way in the world.

A SYNDICATE to control vaudeville theatres has had a meeting at Buffalo. Of course it will have only the good of the public at heart and the morals of the stage will be improved! It is better to have the stage in the hands of private capital to pander to anything that will make capitalists richer rather than have it under the public control. Why of course.

THE greatest help you can do for the APPEAL and the cause is to get members of labor unions to take the paper. It will be doing a work you have little idea of, but which will be of national moment.

Why 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 the farmer 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 counted—land, buildings, machinery, tools, and live stock—of \$15,582,267,689. 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, 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 \$4,169,000,000.

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 of 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 farmer's 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 the 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, \$559 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. Why 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 28.4 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 thresher, are too costly for the smaller farmer. With those 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 farm of the west, with its well-organized system of labor, one man can produce as much wealth as 19 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 bonanza 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 one 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 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, clothe, 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 could 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-constructed 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, educa-

tion, 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 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 warehouses 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 haysced," as some impolite people often call the poorer 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 we 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 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 dispel the midnight darkness of our despair and grandly illuminate the co-operative commonwealth.

Last November the APPEAL noted the marked success of the Boston city printing office, which paid the highest wages in the city and saved the city ten thousand dollars in the printing expenses the first year. The object lesson has not been without its influence. The Typographical Union of Boston has taken preliminary steps to have a state printing plant established and has had a resolution presented to the legislature to have a joint committee appointed to investigate the relative merits of private vs. state ownership. It has at last dawned on the printers of Boston that it is better for them to be employed by the state than by private or corporate employers. It means better pay, better treatment, shorter hours. The employing printers who have been skinning the state for so many years will defeat the measure if they can, for it will take away their opportunity of skinning the public. But it shows how quickly the Boston printing plant has borne fruit. President Metcalf of the Boston Typographical Union has appointed a committee to push the matter in the legislature, of which Geo. G. Cutting, socialist, is chairman. That is the way it began in New Zealand.

The Historical Basis of Socialism

The country having been again saved, and thanks having been duly rendered, now is an appropriate time to consider a scheme of government under which the country, being once saved, would remain saved, and happiness and prosperity would be so great and generally diffused that we could not compress a year's thankfulness into one day, but would feel constrained to give thanks every day.

It is impossible to treat exhaustively in the space you have so kindly placed at my disposal a subject as broad and comprehensive as socialism—a science that deals with all activities of human life, and in this, and in following articles, I will but outline, briefly, the fundamental principles on which this scheme for social regeneration is based.

But first, let me say that it is not a scheme for dividing property, nor for making the people equal, nor for enabling the idler to live at the expense of the industrious; neither is it a scheme of hair-brained visionaries, but a future economic system, the coming of which can be predicted with as much certainty as can an eclipse of the sun.

It is no longer necessary to apologize for being a socialist, for the big, brainy men of the whole civilized world, the scientists, the scholars, the leaders of thought, are all beginning to recognize the fact that socialism is inevitable.

Prof. Fy in "Socialism," page 38, says: "The leaders of socialism in the present century have generally been men of extraordinary ability, placing them far above the ordinary man. Nor can it be denied that those who are giving socialism its shape in the United States and elsewhere, are men who must command our respect, on account of their capacities of every sort."

They are men of thought who have pointed out the way for the men of action; they are those who, from their intellectual heights, have spied out the land of promise—the co-operative commonwealth—and beckon us to take possession. Before we can obtain a correct conception of our present institutions and their tendencies, it is necessary to examine their antecedents—the causes that have produced them.

A few generations ago our ancestors were savages who ate their uncooked food with their fingers, who knew naught of soap or combs, and who had their regular thanksgiving dinner whenever they killed an enemy.

How long our esteemed ancestors lived in this blissful state is immaterial, but "once upon a time" a shrewd, long-headed fellow, probably the progenitor of the trust magnates of today, conceived the idea of compelling his captive to work instead of eating him, and thus laid the foundation for the slave system, a system through which all peoples have passed, when they first emerged from barbarism.

The history of Rome is but the history of the rise and fall of the slave system. When the system was first established, and for some time after, the number of slaves was relatively small, and, owing to their primitive tools,

The Reporter's Say
Have you heard lately of a president or any other ruler doing anything of real service for the people of his country and doing it as a father would provide for his family? Think a minute. Think of the opportunities they have of doing it and then try to think of one that has availed himself of any of these opportunities. You can't think of one! It is as Grouland says, our rulers (president, congress, courts) are really committees of the rich, looking out for the interests of the "captains of industry," which is equivalent to saying they are looking out for the ruin of the majority. How strange it is that, some man with a great heart in him doesn't rise to the position of a ruler and teach the world a lesson. Never was there a greater chance for a man to make himself famous. It was the boast of Augustus that he found Rome of brick and left it of marble. But how much nobler will be the boast of that ruler who shall have it to say that he found bread dear and made it cheap; found humanity enslaved and left them free; found women weeping and children moaning, but left them in happiness and content; found men their own enemies, working for the common ruin, left them brethren working for the common good.

Kansas City, Mo., is howling for more revenue and sees no way of getting it except by raising everybody's taxes. Why not become the owner of the Metropolitan Street Railway system? Several hundred thousand dollars now divided annually among a dozen big stockholders and figure-head officials might just as well go into the city's treasury. Several of the men who get the biggest part of the people's nickels live in Scotland and England and do not see Kansas City once a year. The people of Kansas City could take charge of their own street railway and give a better service for less money and still have a good profit left. Let the conductors, gripmen, flagmen, power-house employes and superintendents be retained. They are competent and faithful. But the president and vice presidents who do nothing but draw salaries of \$10,000 apiece, and the stockholders who are drawing great revenues from the people—couldn't they be dispensed with? Why should these immense sums of money—these dividends—go out of the city every year? If a profit is to be made, why not let the city make it?
"Too much corruption," says someone. "Everybody would cheat the city and squander the funds and there'd be no money in it."

the accumulation of wealth was very slow. But the proportion of slaves gradually increased for two reasons: On the one hand the number of slaves were increased by birth, by captives and by those free citizens who were forced into the slave ranks; on the other hand the free citizens were almost constantly engaged in war, which served as a check on their normal increase.

The slave was given but enough food and clothing to maintain his existence, but even with his primitive tools he could produce more than that, and as the proportion of the slaves increased, wealth accumulated, which required more slaves for its management, who in turn produced more wealth, until we see a vast nation of slaves tilling the soil and turning the produce over to a few masters; but when the conditions were ripe, with the assistance of the so-called barbarians, they appropriated to their own use the results of their toil—and Rome fell. The so-called fall of the Roman empire, over which sentimentalists have mourned, and historians and philosophers have moralized ad nauseam, was but the transitional period between slavery feudalism. The slave system had outlived its usefulness, and with all its tinsel and glitter and hollow pomp, was tossed on the rubbish heap of time, and in its place arose the live, virile system of feudalism.

"'Twas but the ruin of the bad,
The wasting of the wrong and ill;
What'er of good the old time had,
Was living still."

As a child discards its outgrown clothes for larger ones, so society discarded slavery for feudalism, but suffice to say, the landlords were the dominant factor, politically as well as economically, and had laws passed exempting them from taxes and granting them special rights and privileges.

The serf was not owned, as was the slave, but had control of a certain amount of his time and products, which gave him an opportunity to trade; and out of the class of serfs arose a class of traders and manufacturers, that, about 150 years ago, became sufficiently powerful to demand a voice in government that they might enact laws favorable to their class interests. The landlords refused to give up their special privileges, the trading or commercial class insisted, and the result was the long series of wars which ended with the battle of Waterloo.

It was a contest between the young and vigorous system of capitalism and the decaying system of feudalism and capitalism won—ushered in with the rattle of musketry and the boom of guns, with its banners dripping red with human gore, and with the thousands of lives sacrificed to secure new markets, and the thousands more sacrificed in mill and mine, it has left across the century a trail of proletarian blood at which we would stand aghast did not its very profusion blunt our sensibilities, and deaden our moral sense to the heinousness of sacrificing human lives on the altar of mammon.—Frank Simpson, in San Diego Sun.

But suppose the same men who now do the actual work of managing and running the road were doing it for the city instead of for non-resident stockholders? Would these same men be any the less honest for one master than for another? Would they work any harder for capitalists they have never seen than for the city where their homes and families and all their interests are?

I read in Goethe's "Sorrow of Werther" the other day: "The human race is but a monotonous affair. Most of them labor the greater part of their time for mere subsistence." And I thought how few have time, in this mad frenzy of making a living, to think of the really great things of life. How little the masses know of astronomy, for instance, or of literature, to say nothing of the great things of the soul. We try to raise and train perfect horses, but not persons. We are insane to make money not to make men and women. How amazing that men can live in the "conflux of two eternities" and yet be oblivious of it! What a treadmill life! Something higher than all this! When the turmoil subsides—when the dust and smoke of twelve-hour-a-day toil clear away—there will be the silent stars overhead. Poor brute, burden-bearer, this is a rovelty to you—an infinite envelope the earth, eternities encompass it. Too long you have been gazing down into the coal pits. Above you, too, is something. Look up.

It is only through socialism that you will even get time to do it. You have to keep your eyes on the machine in the factory, now, where the rules forbid you to speak to your neighbor workman or even to laugh.

"Fredrick Engels, His Life, His Work and His Writings," translated by May Wood Simons; from the German of Karl Kautsky, has just been published, at ten cents, by Charles H. Kerr & Company of Chicago, and may be ordered from the APPEAL office. Engels stands in the front rank with Marx as one of the founders of modern socialism, and the lives of the two men are closely connected. This little book will be indispensable to anyone desiring to study the history of the socialist movement.

What Do You Think of This.
Caesar's Column; 368 pages..... 25c
A Tramp in Society; 244 pages..... 25c
Public Ownership of Railroads; 96 pages..... 10c
President John Smith; 290 pages..... 25c
The Co-opolitan; 208 pages..... 25c
Evolutionary Politics; 256 pages..... 25c
Merrie England; 160 pages..... 10c
All for one dollar. Mention Combination 3.

Socialism Defended

In his article on Socialism in the May Pulpit, Mr. Robert Gunther comes back at Mr. C. M. Davis and myself for our criticisms of his former article on that subject. It was not to be expected that a man of Mr. Gunther's "strong individuality" would give in tamely even to such a knock-out as Mr. Davis gave him; but it is surprising that he should not have been more careful in his defense, if he is really in sympathy with the individualist order (or disorder) of things.

Individualism in industry—as we have it—is simply industrial anarchy; its fruits we can see on every hand, in all the miserable extremes of poverty and wealth: on the one hand idleness, debauchery, corruption; on the other, overwork (or no work), ignorance, vice, crime, insanity, sickness, destitution and death. Will any just or sane man dare to say that this is a desirable state? If not, what does he advise to replace it? Mr. Gunther gives nothing; we must go on as now, with the strong tramping on the weak; the cunning and unscrupulous defrauding and over-reaching the honest and simple-minded; the best of us forced to take advantage directly or indirectly of the necessities of others, if we would be true to ourselves and those dependent upon us. It is a brutish demoralizing struggle. To say that the individuality of a few shall be fostered at such a frightful expense to the many; that the independence (i. e., selfishness) of the dominant class must be maintained by the dependence, degradation and enslavement of the millions who toil and serve is to deny all human justice. Better we should make no progress (if that were true); better that ambition should die out, inventions cease and genius perish, than that our moral and social virtues should die or be strangled as now; better, a thousand times, the quiet of stagnation (if that could be), than the hell of poverty, worry and strife we now are in—from least to greatest.

Mr. Gunther is doubtless sincere in believing a socialist government would be a failure; but if "looking after the incapables" is the worst indictment he can bring against it, he will not induce many to think as he does. One of the first objects of any government should be to protect the weak against the strong; to provide for those whom Nature has rendered incapable of self-support, and to establish conditions whereby those who are inferior, or below the average in ability, can live and work on equal terms with their more capable fellows. If he has studied the question as closely as its importance demands, he should know that socialism—by relieving men from the necessity of struggling, fighting, or scheming for a livelihood—would free their energies, and ambitions as nothing else could do. These things are born in people, and do not die on account of a full stomach or a well-clothed back, though they are often smothered or distorted by unfavorable conditions under the present system (?). Given a fair show—genius, talent, and ability of all kinds will develop and push their possessors to the front, in any society; this fair show socialism proposes to insure to all by equalizing the incomes of all, for in no other way can equality of advantages and opportunities be secured; this done, men must then rise or fall in social recognition or esteem according to their natural worth, and the success of the more able or gifted will in no way disturb the livelihoods of those less fortunately endowed. Will Mr. Gunther, or any other man, say what is wrong with such a system? There is only one thing—that it is not yet in existence. The small co-operative communities of which he speaks are object lessons in their way—some of them very successful—but that is not socialism; nothing short of the co-operation of an entire state or nation—using the whole machinery of civil government for the purpose—can be rightly called by that name.

"In union is strength." It stands to reason that a people working together, systematically and with a common purpose, can accomplish more than by the small and uncertain methods of competition, (could we go back to that); or by the larger but still more unsatisfactory methods of the trusts (so called), with their limiting of production and monopoly of results. What the average income would be, under such a system, can only be guessed at; but it is safe to say that, in a country as rich and resourceful as ours, it would, after a few years' operation, exceed that of many people who are accounted wealthy today; add to this freedom in choice of occupations: short, regular hours: ample vocations for all, and agreeable conditions of work under the merit system of promotion and reward; with the whole field of effort and ambition wide open to all alike—if that is slavery then I would prefer to slave.

Socialism is a matter of business. Majorities have rights, and the chief of these, as with individuals, is the right of self-defense. The evolution of industrial affairs has forced on society the necessity of reorganization. Socialism furnishes a plan by which all can be equally and very materially benefitted. It proposes, in substance, that the government take over, under the right of eminent domain, all private property, and make all business public business, with every citizen an equal partner therein and an equal sharer in the nation's product of wealth—provided he works. As to the justice of this equal-sharing principle, there is not room here for that, nor for the details of its application; but if Mr. Gunther or any other individualist wishes to find fault therewith, I am ready at any time, to defend it.

With a few further comments I will close this article. There is no conflict between Mr. Davis' statement and my own regarding the sale of Looking Backward; while the sale was large, the contract with his publishers was such that Mr. Bellamy received only a small percentage of the income.

Mr. Gunther is a little mixed up on my reference to the effect of his article on himself and the public; its literary merits, I said, concerned only himself, while its mis-statements, if not confuted, might lead a thousand thoughtless persons astray.

I am happy to believe, with Mr. Gunther, in the fact that "Nature is inexorable"; but that does not alter the fact that, as a part of Nature, we mould our own destiny. By his philosophy we should fold our hands and do nothing toward utilizing these laws. As a freethinker, I honor the work of Ingersoll—but I must give equal credit to Bellamy, Ruskin, Gronlund Marx and other great reformers for what they have done in another way but, to the same end—the good of humanity.

My remark concerning the raising of the wheat crop of the United States, in one half of South Dakota, was simply that such an estimate had been made; whether correct or not, I am unable to say. Something approaching this, however, is clearly possible. No; the increase in other channels of production would not be so great, as many of these have already been reduced to a system, while farming, in general, is still done on the one man plan. But admitting that production, in all lines, would be enhanced by nationalization to that point where a surplus of labor or products would arise, would that be so terrible? Would anyone object to working an hour or so less per day or taking a little longer vacation each year? I think not. Let Mr. Gunther find some better reason for opposing what he, in effect, admits would be all right if it would only work.—J. H. F. WENZEL in The Pulpit.

Chicago Worker's Call, deny that they are identified with the colony about to be launched in New Jersey. They call the scheme "utopian." Prof. Herron has gone to Europe to study the socialist and labor movement, and prominent Social Democrats in this country assume the belief that when he returns he will join socialist party.

So, the selection of reading matter for a Galesburg workman should comprise first his home labor paper. What next? Considering price and quality I should say The APPEAL TO REASON, Girard, Kan. If you oppose public ownership you should take this paper to know what the enemy is doing; if you favor it the APPEAL will give you new inspiration. Has 73,000 circulation besides the 18,000 copies sent weekly to every editor in the United States and Canada; 50 cents a year.—Galesburg, Ill., Labor News.

City and State, published at Philadelphia, speaks in strong language of the political corruption in the city of Brotherly Love. It says: "The odor of corruption is everywhere. Nearly all municipal functions are diseased through bad nourishment, entailing poor blood. Our mayors decline from Fitter to Warwick, from Warwick to Ashbridge. It is hard to keep even a few good councilmen in council chambers. Schemers flourish like the green bay tree and schemes abound. The nature of the tree is shown by its fruits. It is the bad theory bringing bad practice. As things go, selfishness is the moving motive, and, broadly speaking, nearly every man has his price of one kind or another." City and State hopes for reform through the Municipal League. Try socialism.

A Fable.

Once upon a time the King of Fooldom summoned his heralds and bade them go forth, even to the far boundaries of his kingdom, and summon all his subjects, and their numbers were great. When all the fools were assembled upon the beautiful grounds surrounding the royal palace, the king he did proclaim through the royal crier, to the effect that as he was growing old and had long been their ruler, he began to feel his incompetency, knowing that there were bigger fools in the kingdom than he. Therefore, he proposed to abdicate to the biggest fool in all the kingdom. All who felt qualified, whether royal or plebeian fools, were ordered to present themselves before the Great Council of Fifty Fools for examination. And many did so appear, but the rejections were so numerous, as none had the necessary qualifications, that fell despair seized upon the Great Council of Fifty Fools. "Alas! alas!" they exclaim in anguish and despair, "there is no worthy successor to our Old Ancient Fool." But hold! another applicant presents himself. There was egotism and conceit traced all over his countenance, and he strutted before the Great Council and in stentorian tones said: "Socialists are people who want to divide up all property equally." With an expression of relief and happiness the chief spokesman of the Great Council of Fifty Fools turned toward the multitude of cheap and common fools gathered beneath the palace windows. But it was not necessary for him to make proclamation. The multitude had heard the man speak. Thereupon arose a roar like unto the oncoming of a hundred ocean storms and the great multitude howled in unison: "Crown him! Crown him! There is none like unto him in the whole land and he is the greatest fool in the whole world." Thereupon the Old Ancient Fool King immediately abdicated and the Fresh New Fool was crowned with all royal honors as King of Fooldom and given the additional titles of Prince of Gall and Supreme Ass of all the World. None ever disputed his right or title to the throne, and he still reigns supreme.

CHARLES EBBETT BARNES.
Battle Creek, Mich.

Socialism or Competition, Which.

Society must be dominated by one or the other. There is no middle ground. Socialism is the love of man for his fellow man. It is applied christianity. It is pure altruism. It is the application of the golden rule in commerce or business. Socialism is founded in love. Competition is organized selfishness. It is commercial cannibalism. The strong devour the weak. It is beastly. The big fish eat up the little fish. Where love is there is happiness. Where love is not found happiness cannot exist. As socialism is the effect or fruit of love, happiness necessarily follows. As competition is the result of hatred or selfishness unhappiness unavoidably results.

Socialism is natural. Competition is artificial. "No man liveth to himself." Man is a social being. We draw most of our enjoyment from society. Socialism develops the better, higher, nobler qualities of man. Founded in love it begets love, and love begets happiness. The highest aspiration of man is happiness. All men are on the chase after it. And the only way to attain it is to attain love. Without love happiness is an impossibility. "Tho' I speak with the tongue of men and angels, without love I am a sounding brass and a tinkling symbol." "Tho' I possess all knowledge, and have faith to remove mountains, without love it profiteth me nothing."

Competition closes every avenue of love, dwarfs the sympathies, turns the heart to stone. It disqualifies the man for happiness here and hereafter. Indeed, the most fearful consequences of the practice of hatred, selfishness, or competition is the hereafter. Socialism is the worship of God. Competition commercially is idolatry. *Mammon Worship.* It is the "Pandora box," out of which spring all the evils which vex and agitate society. Poverty, murder, suicide, theft, gambling, trusts, monopolies, intemperance, brothel hells, wars and all the catalogue of evils, are its fruits.

REV. D. OGLESBY.

Get up a club for the APPEAL.

Hobart's Hard Hits

As Mr. Andrew Carnegie observes: "Poverty is a blessed heritage."

Next to having \$1.38 above expenses, poverty is the sweetest heritage that can possibly be inherited.

What is a poor man without poverty? Ah, what?

There is no sadder sight in all the spectacular scenes of this sphere than a rich man surrounded by his loving relatives, who fret for his funeral.

For the poor the fresh air of heaven and an appetite that coyly tempts them to bite shingle nails. For the rich nothing but the miseries of trussed terrapin and marmalade macaroons.

Oh the horrors of marmalade macaroons! Poverty is, indeed, a blessed heritage.

And so many of us are loaded plumb to the hatches with the b. h. How happy we should be.

Did you ever stop to think how cruel it is that a rich man has to go through the world without the blessed heritage of poverty?

We who wallow selfishly in our own b. h. seldom have time to sigh for the rich man who is permitted to sprinkle salt on the tail of a blessed heritage. Possibly we haven't time to sigh, because we are at that moment busily engaged in running 18 miles to the northeast, playfully pursued by a bill collector. The fact that the bill collector was inspired to catch us and whisper sweet nothings in our ears by one of the heritageless rich men who owns a bologna factory makes our selfishness all the more inexcusable.

Some day when you meet Mr. Andrew Carnegie on the street forget for a moment your pride and speak sweetly to him. Say unto him: "Hello, Andy! My heart grieves for you! You are lonely and unhappy without the blessed heritage of poverty. Take four dollars worth of mine—nay! nay! thank me not, Andy! It'll bring you a moment's pleasure take six dollars' worth, and give the amount named in small bills, please!"

Note with what avidity he will exchange his garish greenbacks for the pleasure of possessing even six little dollars' worth of poverty.

Yes. Note, incidentally, the haggard horrors that have been heaped upon him by relentless riches. His coat hangs from his shoulders just as though it had been made expressly for him, with never a button missing. Oh, the misery of it all! His necktie cost eight dollars a yard and looks like a map of Michigan struck by a rollicking rainbow.

Note that cruel scar under the lower lip. That was caused by a silver spoon. Yes, one evening while engaged in carrying a silver spoonful of scintillating soup to its terminal station, news was brought him that an employe had thoughtlessly kicked the ear of an inoffensive pig of iron. The shock caused him to lose control of the spoon's steering gear, and it entered into a hearty collaboration with a retiring part of his chin. At the

Horace Greeley Was a Socialist.

Greeley's biographer, J. Parton, speaks very fully of the enthusiasm of the great editor for social revolution. He, the biographer, says: "The winter of 1838 was very severe. The times were hard, fuel and food were dear, many thousands of men and women were out of employment, and there was general distress. As the cold months wore slowly on, this suffering of the poor became so aggravated and the number of the unemployed increased to such a degree that the ordinary means were inadequate to relieve even those who were destitute of every one of the necessities of life. Some died of starvation, some were frozen to death, while many through exposure and privation contracted fatal diseases. * * * In the better parts of the sixth ward a large number of mechanics lived whose cry was not for bread and fuel but for work! Charity their honest souls disdained. All this Horace Greeley heard and saw. He was a young man—not quite 26—compassionate to a weakness, generous to a fault. He had known what it was to beg for work from shop to shop, from town to town. Why must these things be? Are they necessary, and will it always be thus? * * * He procured the works of Fourier, read them with eager interest, and became completely captivated. * * * Horace Greeley made no secret of his conversion to Fourierism, on the contrary, he avowed it constantly in private, and occasionally in public print."

On Nov. 20, 133, he printed the following: "The earth, the air, the waters, the sunshine, were divinely intended and appointed for the sustenance and enjoyment of the whole human family. But the present fact is a very large majority of mankind is landless; and by law the landless have no inherent right to stand on a single square foot of their native state, except in the highways. Perishing with cold they have no legal right to a stick of decaying wood in a most unfrequented forest. Pamishing they have no legal right to pluck the bitterest acorn in the depths of the remotest forest. But the past cannot be recalled. What has been done, has been done. The legal rights of individuals must be held sacred. But those whom society has divested of their natural right to a share of the soil are entitled to compensation, i. e., to a continuous opportunity to earn a subsistence by labor. To own land is to possess this opportunity. The majority own no land. Therefore the minority, who legally own all the land which naturally belongs to all men alike, are bound to secure to the landless majority a compensating security of remunerating labor. But as society is now organized, this is not and cannot

same time the saucy soup, delighted to regain its freedom put an \$8 sear on a hemstitched tablecloth. Oh, the curse of gold!

Some day when you are weary with basking in the beauties of your blessed heritage saunter into the private office of John D. Rockefeller. John will be tickled into a frenzy to see you. We of the blessed heritage are so selfish, so selfish! We never think of running in on John to shake a day-dand cheer him up with our exciting little stories of the home life of those who are safely pinned to the extreme end of a blessed heritage.

John will lock up the safe any time to listen to a story of how the kerosene lamp exploded and set fire to the cat, and will thrill with pleasure when you tell him that the cat jumped into the bread pan and rendered the last baking you had in the house unfit for publication.

Saunter into John's private office some day. If J. Pierpont Morgan happens to be there cursing the luck that makes his income sloop over four million dollars a day, John will chase Pier out into the corridor and invite you to take a comfortable seat. Of course, you mustn't take the comfortable seat with you when you leave the building. The rich must not be made to feel too keenly their unfortunate position.

Take John's poor, wasted hand in yours and notice how the cruel scissors have left their awful marks around the thumb and second finger of the right hand. Possibly you may perceive a woful water blister peeping shyly from beneath that same thumb. All these miseries are caused by the daily toil of clipping coupons, and the disease is known as couponitis. But, be not afraid. It is not catching. Those who have the blessed blessed heritage of poverty are immune.

Pardon me just a moment. There's a lyric lingering in my larynx and I must let it loose:

- Trust in Leather,
 - Trust in Ales,
 - Trust in Copper,
 - Trust in Nails,
 - Trust in Whiskey,
 - Trust in Wine,
 - Trust in Iron,
 - Trust in twine:
 - Trust in Pickles,
 - Trust in Tools,
 - Trust in Gumdrops,
 - Trust in Mules,
 - Trust in Harness,
 - Trust in Meat,
 - Trust in Dry Goods,
 - Trust in Steel,
 - Trust in Rubber,
 - Trust in Hens,
 - Trust in Paper,
 - Trust in Pens,
 - Trust in Sawdust,
 - Trust in Rice,
 - Trust in Green Goods,
 - Trust in Ice.
- Here's the limit:
Andrew C.
Wants a Trust in
Poverty.

GEORGE V. HOBART.

he done "World work give us something to do! Anything that will secure us honest bread" is at this moment the prayer of at least thirty thousand human beings within the sound of the city hall bell. This is an enormous waste and loss. We must devise a remedy, and that remedy I propose to show is found in association."

From chapter 16 of "Life of Horace Greeley."
A. L. TAYLOR, Ottawa, Kas.

The Kansas City Strike.

The right of free speech has been denied the striking union printers of Kansas City, by the action of the police board of that place in arresting the printers for peacefully walking the streets and attempting, by fair persuasion, to induce non-union men to join the strike.

The printers had offered to arbitrate their differences with the Typothetae, and in this they were endorsed by one hundred of the leading business men of Kansas City. The arbitrary action of the Typothetae, in refusing to thus properly adjust the difficulty, will be condemned by all fair minded people.

The action of the police board is unwarranted in declaring against the striking printers, pressmen and press-feeders as outlaws, after listening to the false statements of members of the Typothetae, without giving the strikers or their representatives a chance to say a word in their own behalf. If the report be true, the striking printers have done nothing but what every American citizen has a right to do. No violence was offered, and certainly the strikers have a right to walk the streets which has helped to build and keep up by their taxes. They are law-abiding citizens, and as such they have the right to walk the streets of Kansas City unmolested.

At the instigation of the printers' employers, the police commissioners arrested five members of the Typographical Union No. 80, for having done nothing more than peacefully walk the streets in the vicinity of the printing establishments where they had been employed. Such high-handed proceedings are becoming altogether too common in this free land of ours. The Allied Printing trades are going to fight the case to the finish, and is hoped by all laboring people that they will win. A few employers of labor in Kansas City should not be allowed to compel their employes to work for such wages as might conform to their contracted idea of what a just compensation is.—Daily Press, Cripple Creek, Col.

The APPEAL endorses the struggle of the printers of Kansas City, and endorses all the Press says, and we add this: The class struggle which is now being waged in Kansas City, on the economic field, should also be supported on the political field. The Typothetae belongs to one class, represented politically by the old parties. The printers to another class—the working class—represented by the social democratic party. Printers of Kansas City take your stand with your class. Vote together as a class for your own best interest. Let the other gang vote together for their interest and then we shall see who are in the majority. Then we shall win both economic and political liberty.

There is no strike on the Great Northern railroad. President Hill says so, and of course he knows! Agents of the road are in all the cities hiring men to work. Just a big increase in business! Under government ownership Mr. Hill would not have any interest in cutting down the wages and increasing the freight rates. But the workers are afraid of government ownership—it would give them too much wages and permit the public to use transportation at too low a rate! And this is a world of queer people.

AMERICAN NOTES

The Sioux City, Iowa, high school will furnish hot lunches to pupils during the half-hour noon intermission.

Because of the influence of union printers, the government will do the census-blank printing instead of private firms.

A company of German Christian Socialists have a community at Dryburg, Va., and publish a paper, "Die Ernste Sichel."

H. G. Wiltshire, of Los Angeles, sends the APPEAL a large donation of his pamphlet, "The Problem of the Trusts." Price 5 cents.

Social Democrats of Washington who wish to organize, should write to (D. Burgess) New Whatcom, Wash., organizer for Washington, for information.

It is claimed that upward of 150 cigar-making establishments, including many of the leading plants in the country, are now in the trust recently formed.

The educational department of the woman's club, of Pueblo, Colo., has decided to devote its meeting every other week to discussion of questions in sociology relating directly to the every-day life of the people.

Now that all the electric lighting plants of New York have been combined the Rockefellerers are successfully amalgamating all lighting, street railway and power companies. The combined capital will be about \$800,000,000.

Governor Stone, of Pennsylvania, is determined that as much as possible of the forests of his state shall be saved from destruction at the hands of private interest by the state purchasing the land and taking the forests under its own protection.

The estimates of well-informed people average the number of men who have wealth over a million to be about 6,800. Owing to

the methods of perjury used to avoid paying tax to support the state, this may be far under the mark.

A self-feeder has been invented which will throw coal into the fire-boxes of steam boilers and it is said will displace firemen as effectively as the self-feeder displaced the band-cutter and feeder on threshing machines. It will be put to work in the near future on eastern lines.

Comrades Carey and McCartney, Social Democratic representatives to the Massachusetts legislature, are shaking up the dry bones of that plutocratic body. When it comes to arguments our boys have the winning side. As to numbers, set if they do not get there soon. Massachusetts is growing.

There is a gnashing of teeth in Boston. The newly elected mayor, Hart, though placed in power by the votes of thousands of workingmen, turns the traditional wooden ear to the demands of the trade unionists. They receive the usual snubs, and hence there is much talk of "independent political action."

The Farmers' Review as the first outspoken Populist paper in Texas. It has now declared for socialism. To use its own words, "it has entered the new year full of vim and true courage, and is the standard-bearer of class-conscious working people." The conscientious reformers of Texas are called upon to repudiate their quarrelsome leaders and take a step forward and join the new movement.

Debs' tour in the South is a repetition of his lecturing engagements in other parts of the country. In New Orleans thousands packed themselves in a great armory, and wildly applauded the famous agitator's caustic criticisms of capitalism and appeals for socialism. In Birmingham and Montgomery, Ala., Columbus, Ga., and other points, big meetings were also held and great enthusiasm manifested.

Both Mayor Jones, of Toledo, and Prof. George D. Herroo, in communications to the

