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J. A. WAYLAND

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Socialist National Ticket for 1900.

For President, EUGENE V. DEBS, of Indiana. For Vice President, JOB HARRIMAN, of California.

SOCIALIST TICKET FOR 1900.

THE campaign of 1900 has opened. The socialists have nominated Eugene V. Debs of Indiana, and Job Harriman of California, for their standard bearers.

That the masses of people do not know this, that they do not see that they are robbed, does not alter the case in the least.

It may be that the workers will not support these men in force enough to elect, but a beginning has to be made. This will be to wage slavery what the campaign of 1856 was to chattel slavery.

You have elected republicans and democrats and democrats and republicans, and what have you to show for it? Sometime the working people will elect men to change the SYSTEM.

Debs means a new social system. McKinley or Bryan means the same old system. Which?

A NEW STAR.

THAT "trifling may follow fawning," many professors (study what the word professor really means) are breaking out in wild jesticulation against socialism.

Value is the measure of the extent to which we want a thing, therefore it is not applicable to the socialist theory.

Which is saying that under socialism men would have no wants! That people would no longer desire food, clothing, shelter and entertainment! Great head, that. Let me ask the "professor": If a man had an artery severed and the professor had the only bandage that could be had quick enough to compress the wound between the injury and the heart,

APPEAL TO REASON—Please send me 40 yearly postal card receipts. Idea is good. GEO. R. SMITH.

And with it was enclosed a money order for \$10. It was written on a card 2x4 inches. That is what I call mutton in parvo, or words to that effect.

LETTERS from all over the nation from erstwhile populists inform me that they have done with that organization and from now on are with the socialists.

If you want to be a factor in the coming revolution, if you want the earth to feel you have lived for more purpose than a worm, if you want your children to feel proud of their ancestor, organize branches of the Social Democratic party in your place at once, and begin the campaign for industrial liberty.

THE king has sent some of his most corrupt and tyrannical courtiers to rule and rob Cuba, and they are doing it in excellent form and are forcing the Cubans into discontent so as to get an excuse to send an army and whip them and then annex the island.

If the Loud postal bill becomes a law it will legislate out of existence most of the papers in this country, and will place in the hand of the political party in power almost absolute control of the circulation of papers where the mail is used.

THE platform on which Debs is running for the presidency demands that the government shall own everything and that everybody shall be paid by the government, whether he works or not.

The platform demands nothing of the kind. The T.-H. simply lies and knows it lies. The tramp will vote the same old tickets whose administrations have made him a tramp.

Do you believe that out of the national treasury your sweat has helped to fill, that EIGHTY MILLIONS OF DOLLARS should be taken and handed over to a corporation to build a cable to China, when the government will be the greatest patron of the thing?

WHEN they feel that the old game of fooling the people is getting a little thread-bare, the ruling classes will come out great for reform and say they must have a change—that the town must be run on "business principles," and that business men must be elected to do it.

And with it was enclosed a money order for \$10. It was written on a card 2x4 inches. That is what I call mutton in parvo, or words to that effect.

This Paper is Produced by the Labor on a Forty-seven Hour Week Under \$3 Salary His Workers Would Receive About Five Times as Much Pay for a Twenty-four Hour Week



If No. 226 is on your label your subscription expires with the NEXT number.

WANTS DOLLAR A DAY MEN.

COMMENTING on the fact the APPEAL gave him for his economic ignorance the editor of the Inland Printer, says:

All of which (that labor creates \$10 of wealth per day) might better appeal to reason if it were founded on fact.

The statement is founded on authority of the United States report in the matter. Has the Inland Printer better testimony? Does it want men to be satisfied with a system that pays them only \$1 to \$2 a day for creating \$10 in wealth?

One man is born into humble circumstances, grows up a dullard, is satisfied to dig ditches for \$1 a day, or enough to buy him a bed or bread to eat. His brother, with a keener brain and a stronger ambition, works his way through school and college and by many self-sacrifices and much hard labor, becomes, say, a civil engineer, able to command a salary of thousands a year.

And it wants a system that will deprive the mass of human beings of the advantage of being anything above "dullards" so it will be able to hire them for bread and bed! It thinks a brother would serve a brother so! That would be brotherly! It thinks it necessary to sacrifice to develop! Then why not abolish the public schools? That would make it still harder and therefore still better for many who now become "civil engineers" and get big salaries.

A GREAT PROFESSOR.

PROF. MAYO-SMITH of Columbia College, one of the paid defenders of the capitalists, in a recent address, said:

The trust is both natural and a good evolution because it has developed business talent to a very high degree.

Monarchy is both a natural and a good evolution from freedom, because it has developed ruling talent to a very high degree! See, it made a Napoleon, a Bismarck, a George the Third, and other great men.

A LITTLE girl writes me that she sent for several copies of "Trusts," "Hard Times," and other pamphlets, covered them with stiff paper and has had them read by nearly every family in her neighborhood.

WHY PUBLIC OWNERSHIP FAILS.

THE capitalistic profit hunters who have had some good picking out of the public crib of Boston curtailed, laid their cunning plans and elected one of their number mayor in place of Mayor Quincy, who had been developing the municipal ownership idea.

EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYEE.

THE interests of the employer and the employee are diametrically opposed. They can be harmonized never. It is to the interest of the employer to get all the work possible out of his working people and pay them the least possible.

DO YOU WANT THE NEW ZEALAND LABOR LAWS?

If I could induce the labor organizations of this country to send and get a copy of the Labor Laws of New Zealand, I could do no greater service for them. I sent for a copy, and I read it with a delight that one would feel if he could get a glimpse into some heaven where the sun of justice shines, if not in its fullness, at least in promise of it.

CHARLES—Should you lose a postoffice money order, you can get another by applying to the issuing office. It will cost nothing except a few days delay. There can be no loss in money orders.

The serious problem for our government, the problem upon the successful solution of which the continued existence of our great republican fabric depends, is so deeply impressed upon all thoughtful minds that everyone will know to what we refer without specifying it.

The writer, in the first sentence, refers to socialism, but fears to mention it. No matter, it is being mentioned and explained in papers of wider circulation and influence than the Interior.

VOTE DIRECT FOR WHAT YOU WANT.

THERE be some of you who desire to favor Bryan because he has some chance of election, yet you want the benefits that will flow from nationalizing the industries as fast as this may be done without confusion.

In the "Social Democracy Red Book" the author makes a feature of "A Trip to Girard." My excessive modesty (?) prevents my reprinting this very clever pen picture of the APPEAL office and its founder.

THE PROBLEM OF LABOR.

Address by America's Greatest Orator, Eugene V. Debs, before the Nineteenth Century Club at Delmonico's, New York City, March 21, 1899.

In my early years I stood before the open door of a blazing furnace and piled in the fuel to create steam to speed a locomotive along the iron track of progress and civilization. In the costume of the craft, through the grime of mingled sweat and smoke and dust, I was initiated into the great brotherhood of labor. The locomotive was my alma mater. I mastered the curriculum and graduated with the degree of D. D., not, as the lexicons interpret the letters, "Doctor of Divinity," but that better signification, "Do and Dare"—a higher degree than Aristotle conferred in his Lyceum or Plato thundered from his Academy. I am not in the habit of telling how little I know about Latin to those who have slaked their thirst for learning at the Pterian springs, but there is a proverb that has come down to us from the dim past which reads "Omnia vincit labor" and which has been adopted as the shibboleth of the American labor movement because, when reduced to English, it reads "Labor overcomes all things." In a certain sense this is true. Labor has built this great metropolis of the new world, built it as the coral insects build the foundations of islands—built it and die; built from the fathomless depths of the ocean until mountain billows are dashed into spray as they beat against the fortifications beneath which the builders are forever entombed and forgotten. Here in this proud city where wealth has built its monuments grander and more imposing than any of the seven wonders of the world named in classic lore, if you will excavate for facts you will find the remains, the bones of the toilers, buried and imbedded in their foundations. They lived, they wrought, they died. In their time they may have laughed, and sung and danced to the music of their clanking chains. They married, propagated their species and perpetuated conditions, which, growing steadily worse, are today the foulest blots the imagination can conceive upon our much vaunted civilization.

And from these conditions there flow a thousand streams of vice and crime which have broadened and deepened until they constitute a perpetual menace to the peace and security of society. Jails, workhouses, reformatories and penitentiaries have been crowded with victims, and the question how to control these institutions and their unfortunate inmates is challenging the most serious thought of the most advanced nations on the globe.

The particular phase of this grave and melancholy question which we are to consider this evening is embodied in the subject assigned the speakers: "Prison Labor, its effects on Industry and Trade."

I must confess it would have suited my purpose better had the subject been transposed so as to read: "Industry and Trade, their effect on Labor," for, as a socialist, I am convinced that the prison problem is rooted in the present system of industry and trade, carried forward, as it is, purely for private profit without the slightest regard to the effect upon those engaged in it, especially the men, women and children who perform the useful, productive labor which has created all wealth and all civilization.

Serious as is the problem presented in this subject of our discussion, it is yet insignificant when compared with the vastly greater question of the effect of our social and economic system upon industry and trade.

The pernicious effect of prison contract labor upon "free labor," so-called, brought into competition with it in the open market, is universally conceded, but it should not be overlooked that prison labor is itself an effect and not a cause, and that convict labor is recruited almost wholly from the propertyless, wage-working class and that the inhuman system which has reduced a comparative few from engaged idleness to crime, has sunk the whole mass of labor to the dead level of industrial servitude.

It is therefore with the economic system, which is responsible for, not only prison labor, but for the gradual enslavement and degradation of all labor, that we must deal before there can be any solution of the prison labor problem or any permanent relief from its demoralizing influences.

But we will briefly consider the effect of prison labor upon industry and then pass to the larger question of the cause of prison labor and its appalling increase, to which the discussion logically leads.

From the earliest ages there has been a prison problem. The ancients had their bastilles and their dungeons. Most of the pioneers of progress, the haters of oppression, the lovers of liberty, whose names now glorify the pantheon of the world; made such institutions a necessity in their day. But civilization advances, however slowly, and there has been some progress. It required five hundred years to travel from the inquisition to the injunction.

In the earlier days punishment was the sole purpose of imprisonment. Offender against a ruling class must pay the penalty in prison cell, which, not infrequently, was equipped with instruments of torture. With the civilizing process came the idea of the formation of the culprit, and this idea prompts every investigation made of the after day problem. The inmates must be set to work for their own good no less than for the good of the state.

It was at this point that the convict labor problem began and it has steadily expanded from that time to this and while there have been some temporary modifications of the evil, it is still an unmitigated curse from which there can be no escape while an economic system endures in which labor, that is to say the laborer, man, woman and child is sold to the lowest bidder in the markets of the world.

More than thirty years ago Prof. E. C. Wines and Prof. Theodore W. Dwight then commissioners of the Prison Association of New York, made a report to the legislature of the state on prison industry in which they said:

"Upon the whole it is our settled conviction that the contract system of convict labor, added to the system of political appointments, which necessarily involves a low grade of official qualification and constant changes in the prison staff, renders negatory to a great extent the whole theory of our penitentiary system. Inspection may correct isolated abuses; philanthropy may relieve isolated cases of distress, and religion may effect isolated moral cures; but genuine, radical, comprehensive, systematic improvement is impossible."

The lapse of thirty years has not affected the wisdom or logic of the conclusion. It is as true now as it was then. Considered in his most favorable light, the convict is a scourge to himself, a menace to society and a burden to industry; whatever system of convict labor may be tried, it will ultimately fail of its purpose at reformation of the criminal or the relief of industry as long as thousands of "free laborers" who have committed no crime are unable to get work and make an honest living. Not long ago I visited a penitentiary in which a convict expressed regret that his sentence was soon to expire. Where was he to go and what was he to do? And how long before he would be sentenced to a longer term for a greater crime?

The commission which investigated the matter in Ohio in 1877 reported to the legislature as follows:

"The contract system interferes in an undue manner with the honest industry of the state. It has been the cause of crippling the business of many of our manufacturers; it has been the cause of driving many of them out of business, it has been the cause of a large percentage of reductions which have taken place in the wages of our mechanics, it has been the cause of pauperizing a large portion of our laborers and increasing crime in a corresponding degree; it has been no benefit to the state; as a reformatory measure it has been a complete, total and miserable failure; it has made total wrecks morally of thousands and thousands who would have been reclaimed from the paths of vice and crime under a proper system of prison management, but who have resigned their fate to a life of hopeless degradation; it has not a single commendable feature. Its tendency is pernicious in the extreme. In short, it is an insurmountable barrier in the way of the reformation of the unfortunates who are compelled to live and labor under its evil influences; it enables a class of men to get rich out of the crimes committed by others; it leaves upon the fair escutcheon of the state a relic of the worst form of human slavery; it is a bone of ceaseless contention between the state and its mechanical and industrial interests; it is abhorred by all and respected by none except those, perhaps, who make profit and gain out of it. It should be tolerated no longer but abolished at once."

And yet this same system is still in effect in many of the states of the Union. The most revolting outrages have been perpetrated upon prison laborers under this diabolical system. Read the official reports and stand aghast at the atrocities committed against these morally deformed and perverted human creatures, your brothers and my brothers, for the private profit of capitalistic exploiters and the advancement of Christian civilization.

What a commentary on the capitalist competitive system! First, men are forced into idleness. Gradually they are driven to the extremity of begging and stealing. Having still a spark of pride and self-respect they steal and are sent to jail. The first sentence seals their doom. The brand of Cain is upon them. They are identified with the criminal class. Society, whose victims they are, has exiled them forever, and with this curse ringing in their ears they proceed on their downward career, sounding every note in the scale of depravity until at last, having graduated in crime all the way from petit larceny to homicide, their last despairing sigh is wrung from them by the hangman's halberd. From first to last these unfortunates, the victims of social malformation, are made the subject of speculation and traffic. The barbed iron of the prison contractor is plunged into their quivering hearts that their tortures may be coined into private profit for exploiters.

In the investigation in South Carolina, where the convicts had been leased to railroad companies, the most shocking disclosures were made. Out of 285 prisoners employed by one company, 128, or more than 40 per cent, died as the result, largely, of brutal treatment.

It is popular to say society must be protected against its criminals. I prefer to believe that criminals should be protected against society, at least while we live under a system that makes the commission of crime necessary to secure employment.

The Tennessee tragedy is still fresh in the public memory. Here, as elsewhere, the convicts, themselves brutally treated, were used as a means of dragging the whole mining class down to their crime-cursed condition. The Tennessee Coal and Iron Co. leased the convicts for the express purpose

of forcing the wages of miners down to the point of subsistence. Says the official report: "The miners were compelled to work in competition with the low-priced convict labor, the presence of which was used by the company as a scourge to force free laborers to its terms." Then the miners locked out, their families suffering, driven to desperation, appealed to force and in a twinkling the laws of the state were trampled down, the authorities overpowered and defied, and almost five hundred convicts set at liberty.

Fortunately the system of leasing and contracting prison labor for private exploitation is being exposed and its monster iniquities laid bare. Thanks to organized labor and to the spirit of prison reform, this horrifying phase of the evil is doomed to disappear before an enlightened public sentiment.

The public account system, though subject to serious criticism, is far less objectionable than either the lease, the contract or the piece-price system. At least the prisoners, in firmities cease to be the prey of speculative greed and conscienceless rapacity.

The system of manufacturing for the use of state, county and municipal institutions, adopted by the state of New York is an improvement upon those hitherto in effect, but it is certain to develop serious objections in course time. With the use of modern machinery the limited demand will soon be supplied and then what? It may be in order to suggest that the prisoners could be employed in making shoes and clothes for the destitute poor and school books for their children and many other articles which the poor sorely need but are unable to buy.

Developing along this line it would be only a question of time until the state would be manufacturing all things for the use of the people, and then perhaps the inquiry would be pertinent: If the state can give men steady employment after they commit crime, and manufacturing can be carried forward successfully by their labor, why can it not give them employment before they are driven to that extremity, thereby preventing them from becoming criminals?

"All useful labor is honest labor, even if performed in a prison. Only the labor of exploiters, such as speculators, stock gamblers, beef embalmers, and their mercenary politicians, lawyers and other parasites—only such is dishonest labor. A thief making shoes in a penitentiary is engaged in more useful and therefore more honest labor than a 'free' stonemason at work on a palace whose foundations are laid in the skulls and bones and cemented in the sweat and blood of ten thousand victims of capitalistic exploitation. In both cases the labor is compulsory. The stonemason would not work for the trust-magnate were he not compelled to."

In ancient times only slaves labored. And as a matter of fact only slaves labor now. The millions are made by the magic of manipulation. The coal miners of West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois receive an average wage of less than seventy-five cents a day. They perform the most useful and necessary labor, without which your homes, if possible at all, would be cheerless as caves and the great heart of industry would cease to throb. Are they free men, or are they slaves? And what is the effect of their labor on trade and industry? and upon themselves and their families? Dante search the realms of inferno in vain for such pictures of horror and despair as are to be found in the mining regions of free America.

To the students of social science the haggard facts stand forth that under the competitive system of production and distribution the problem will never be solved—and its effect upon trade and industry will never be greatly modified. The fact will remain that whatever labor is performed by prison labor could and should be performed by free labor, and when in the march of economic progress the capitalist system of industry for private profit succumbs to the socialist system of industry for human happiness, when the factory, which is now a penitentiary crowded with life convicts, among whom children often constitute the majority—when this factory is transformed into a temple of science, and the machine, myriad-armed and tireless, is the only slave, there will be no prison labor and the problem will cease to vex the world, and to this it is coming in obedience to the economic law, as ushering in its operation as the law of gravitation.

That prison labor is demoralizing in its effect on trade and industry whenever and wherever brought into competition with it, especially under the various forms of the contract system, is of course conceded, but that it has been, or is at present, a great factor in such demoralization is not admitted. There is a tendency to exaggerate the blighting effects of prison labor for the purpose of obscuring the one over-shadowing cause of demoralized trade and impoverished industry.

Prison labor did not reduce the miner to a walking hunger pang, his wife to a tear-stained rag, and his home to a lair. Prison labor is not responsible for the squares of squalor and miles of misery in New York, Chicago and all other centers of population. Prison labor is not chargeable with the sweating dens in which the victims of capitalistic competition crouch in dread and fear until death comes to their rescue. Prison labor had no hand in Coeur d'Alene, Tennessee, Homestead, Hazelton, Viridin, Papa, that suburb of hell called Pullman and other ensanguined industrial battle-fields where thousands of workmen after being oppressed and robbed were imprisoned like felons, and shot down like vagabond dogs; where venal judges issued infamous injunctions and despotic orders at the behest of their masters, enforcing them with deputy marshals armed with pistols and clubs and supported by troops with gleaming bayonets and shotted guns to drain the veins of workmen of blood, but for whose labor this continent would be a wilderness. Only the tortures of hunger and nakedness provoked pro-

test, and this was silenced by bayonet and bullet, by the club and the blood that followed the blow.

Prison labor is not accountable for the appalling increase in insanity, in suicide, in murder, in prostitution and a thousand other forms of vice and crime which pollute every fountain and contaminate every stream designed to bless the world.

Prison labor did not create our army of unemployed; but it has been recruiting from its ranks, and both owe their existence to the same social and economic system. Nor are the evil effects confined exclusive to the poor working class. There is an aspect of the case in which the rich are as unfortunate as the poor. The destiny of the capitalist class is irrevocably linked with the working class. Fichte, the great German philosopher said: "Wickedness increases in proportion to the elevation of rank."

Prison labor is but one of the manifestations of our economic development and indicates its trend. The same cause that demoralized industry has crowded our prisons. Industry has not been impoverished by prison labor, but prison labor is the result of impoverished industry. The limited time at my command will not permit an analysis of the process.

The real question which confronts us is our industrial system and its effects upon labor. One of these effects is, as I have intimated, prison labor. What is the cause? What makes it necessary? The answer is, the competitive system, which creates wage-slavery, throws thousands out of employment and reduces the wages of thousands more to the point of bare subsistence.

Why is prison labor preferred to "free labor?" Simply because it is cheaper; it yields more profit to the man who buys, exploits and sells it. But this has its limitations. Capitalist competition that throngs the streets with idle workers, capitalist production that reduces human labor to a commodity and ultimately to crime—this system produces another kind of prison labor in the form of child labor which is being utilized more and more to complete the subjugation of the working class. There is the difference. The prison laborers are clothed and housed and fed. The child laborers, whose wage is a dollar a week, or even less, must take care of themselves.

Prison labor is preferred because it is cheap. So with child labor. It is not a question of prison labor, or of child labor, but of cheap labor.

Tenement-house labor is another form of prison labor.

The effects of cheap labor on trade and industry must be the same, whether such labor is done by prisoners, tenement-house slaves, children or starving "hoboes."

The prison laborer produces by machinery in abundance but does not consume. The child likewise produces, but owing to its small wages, does not consume. So with the vast army of workers whose wage grows smaller as the productive capacity of labor increases, and then we are afflicted with over-production, the result of under-consumption. What follows? The panic. Factories close down, wage-workers are idle and suffer, middle class business men are forced into bankruptcy, the army of tramps is increased, vice and crime are rampant and prisons and workhouses are filled to overflowing as are sewers when the streets of cities are deluged with floods.

Prison labor, like all cheap labor, is at first a source of profit to the capitalist, but finally it turns into a two-edged sword that cuts into and destroys the system that produced it.

First, the capitalist pocket is filled by the employment of cheap labor—and then the bottom drops out of it.

In the cheapening process, the pauperized mass have lost their consuming power.

The case may now be summed up as follows:

First. Prison labor is bad; it has a demoralizing effect on capitalist trade and industry.

Second. Child labor, tenement-house and every other form of cheap labor is bad; it is destructive to trade and industry.

Third. Capitalist competition is bad, it creates a demand for cheap labor.

Fourth. Capitalist production is bad; it creates millionaires and mendicants, economic masters and slaves, thus intensifying the class struggle.

This indicates that the present capitalist system has outlived its usefulness, and that it is in the throes of dissolution. Capitalism is but a link in the chain of economic development. Just as feudalism developed capitalism and then disappeared, so capitalism is now developing socialism, and when the new social system has been completely evolved the last vestige of capitalism will fade into history.

The gigantic trusts marks the change in production. It is no longer competitive but co-operative. The same mode of distribution, which must inevitably follow, will complete the process. Co-operative labor will be the basis of the new social system and this will be done for use and not for profit.

Labor will no longer be bought and sold. Industrial slavery will cease. For every man there will be the equal right to work with every other man and each will receive the fruit of his labor. Then we shall have economic equality. Involuntary idleness will be a horror of the past. Poverty will relax its grasp. The army of tramps will be disbanded because the prolific womb which now warms these unfortunates into life will become barren. Prisons will be depopulated and the prison labor problem will be solved. Each labor-saving machine will lighten the burden and decrease the hours of toil. The soul will no longer be subordinated to the stomach. Man will live a complete life, and the march will then begin to an ideal civilization.

There is a proverb which the Latin race sent ringing down the centuries which reads,

"Omanla vincit amor," or "Love conquers all things." Love and labor in alliance, working together, have transforming, redeeming and emancipating power. Under this benign sway the world can be made better or brighter.

Isaiah saw in prophetic vision a time when the nations should war no more—when swords should be transformed into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks. The fulfillment of the prophecy only awaits an era when Love and Labor, in holy alliance, shall solve the economic problem.

Here, on this occasion, in this great metropolis with its thousand spires pointing heavenward, where opulence riots in luxury which challenges hyperbole, and poverty rots in sweat shops which only a Shakespeare or a Victor Hugo could describe, and the transfer to canvas would palsify the hand of Michael Angelo—here, where wealth and want and woe bear irrefutable testimony of deplorable conditions, I stand as a socialist, protesting against the wrongs perpetrated upon the Les Miserables, and pleading as best I can for a higher civilization.

The army of begging Lazaruses, with the dogs licking their sores at the gates of palaces, where the rich are clothed in purple and fine linen with their tables groaning beneath the luxuries of all climes, make the palaces on the highland, where fashion holds sway and music lends its charms, a picture in the landscape which, in illustrating disparity, brings into bolder relief the hut and the hovel in the hollow where want, gaunt and haggard, sits at the door, and where light and plenty, cheerfulness and hope are forever exiled by the despotic decree of conditions as cruel as when the Czar of Russia orders to his penal mines in Siberia the hapless subject who dares whisper the sacred word liberty; as cruel as when this boasted land of freedom commands that a far-away innocent people shall be shot down in jungle and lagoon, in their bamboo huts, because they dream of freedom and independence.

These conditions are as fruitful of danger to the opulent as they are of degradation to the poor. It is neither folly nor fanaticism to assert that the country cannot exist under such conditions. The higher law of righteousness, of love and labor, will prevail. It is a law which commends itself to reasoning men, a primal law enacted long before Jehovah wrote the decalogue among the thunders and lightnings of Sinai. It is a law written upon the tablets of every man's heart and conscience. It is a law infinitely above the creeds and dogmas and tangled disquisitions of the churches—the one law which in its operations will level humanity upward until men, redeemed from greed and every debasing ambition, shall obey its mandates and glory in its triumphs.

Love and labor will give us the Economic Republic—Industrial Democracy—the equal rights of all men and women, and the emancipation of all from the vicious thraldoms of the centuries.

Smash the Money Idol.

One thing is sure. The lean years will follow the fat ones. Amid all the flaunting banners of modern civilization, it knows that the red flag lurks just around the corner. Crop failures or industrial disturbances may at any moment launch upon us an army of the unemployed and unfed. And be sure that they will practice in those pinching times the gospel our lives have been preaching to them in these prosperous times. Can we then turn about and bid them be patient and moderate, when we have been setting them the example of headlong and unwinning greed? Can we ask them to consider the public good, when we have been neglecting it for the sake of private gain? Can we appeal against their passions to courts and legislatures and army, all which we have utilized or allowed to be debased to gratify our own passions? These are questions which, to the attentive ear, make the prosperous earth sound hollow under our tread. Of the complete absorption or our best men in money-getting, with their impatient dismissal of all questions of public purity, justice and honor, we can only say, as Wordsworth said of the similar insensate and swinish rush of Englishmen to get rich early in this century, "This is idolatry." England had a fearful bill to pay for her idolatrous worship of war—bought prosperity, and so shall we have a sorrowful reckoning unless we smash our idols betimes.—New York Evening Post.

Kansas Socialist Colony.

A socialist or labor exchange colony recently established twelve miles northwest of Fort Scott will be augmented in a short time by a number of families from different parts of the state, including Frank Cotton, editor of the Progressive Age, a labor exchange paper at Olathe, Kan. Mr. Cotton will move his paper to Fort Scott and several new industries will be added to the number now in operation by the colony. A townsite has been laid out and a sufficient number of lots have been sold to pay for an eighty acre tract upon which the colony is located. The colony has its own scrip and everything in the commercial or labor lines is done on the exchange plan, each man getting credit for just what he produces.

When a member wants to build a house, as a number are now preparing to do, he simply calls upon the accountant of the exchange for the material from the colonial saw mill or stores and for as many workmen as he wants. He works with them and draws the same pay in scrip as they. This scrip buys provisions and is backed by some product of labor or earth before it is issued. When the house is completed the builder moves into it, and the accountant requires him to pay so much scrip per month into the treasury until all the scrip issued for wages and material has been refunded by him.—Ex.

Go after the people who read 220 and fill up that subscription blank.

Social Democrats in Convention

Large, Enthusiastic and Intelligent Gathering

Eugene Victor Debs of Indiana Nominated for President and Job Harriman of California for Vice President--Important Union of Socialist Forces--Party Out of Debt and Growing Rapidly--Mid-Road Populists Drifting Toward the S. D. P. Camp.

The Social Democratic party held its first national convention in Reichwein's hall, Indianapolis, Ind., March 6, 7, 8 and 9. William Mailly of Haverhill, Mass., was elected temporary chairman by acclamation. Sixty-seven delegates were present, representing 17 states and covering every section of the country. Reports of officers showed a rapid and gratifying growth, the party out of debt and having a membership of nearly 5000. The national organ, the Social Democratic Herald, has a circulation of 8000. The daily press of Indianapolis described the delegates as an earnest and intelligent body of men. This was the most important socialist convention yet held in America. Among its chief accomplishments was the union effected with the anti-DeLeonites which adds to the membership and working force of the Social Democratic party about 4,000 thoroughly grounded socialists. Since Jan. 1, 40 new branches and 987 members were added to the S. D. P.

The nomination of Eugene V. Debs of Indiana of the S. D. P. for president and Job Harriman of California for vice-president, was very satisfactory to all and bespeaks a tremendous vote for the party.

The utmost good feeling prevailed throughout. The Texas delegates boasted that their state would be first to be won for socialism. California, Wisconsin, Washington and Massachusetts reported a tremendous boom in the movement, and other sections showed a very encouraging state of things. Visiting mid-road populists said that their national convention might nominate Debs and Harriman. All present were hopeful and full of courage.

The following platform was adopted on motion of Eugene Debs on Wednesday:

1. Revision of our antiquated federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.
2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.
3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, waterworks, gas and electric plants and other public utilities.
4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and all other mines; also, all oil and gas wells.
5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.
6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.
7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.
8. Labor legislation to be made national instead of local, and international where possible.
9. National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.
10. Equal civil and political rights for men and women and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.
11. The adoption of the initiative and referendum and the right to recall representatives by the voters.
12. Abolition of war, as far as the United States are concerned, and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

Messrs. Berger of Wisconsin and Gordon of New Hampshire made speeches showing that the small farmers numbered nearly 6,000,000 votes.

The adoption of a plank covering the interests of farmers was left to the state conventions.

The convention held a stormy session Thursday afternoon and evening, March 8, and did not adjourn until nearly 8 o'clock at night.

At the morning session the committee from the Rochester convention and the S. D. P. subcommittee reported in favor of amalgamation of the two parties. The two committees looked horns on a name for the united party, the former demanding the appointment of a committee of nine to draw up a treaty; that the treaty be submitted to a referendum vote of both parties for ratification, including the name proposed for the united party. A joint ticket, composed of Debs for president and Harriman of California for vice-president, was asked for. The convention's committee reported in favor of the referendum clause, but split on the advisability of making any concession as to the name of the united party. Over this question the convention hotly debated all the afternoon. The majority report instructed the committee to stand firmly for the name Social Democratic party, while the minority report merely told the committee to "urge the selection of the name Social Democratic party." The minority report was adopted tonight after a prolonged discussion.

Then came the question of a ticket. Eugene V. Debs was placed in nomination by

Frederick O. MacCartney of Massachusetts. Mr. Debs at once arose and said that under no circumstances would he be a candidate for president. He said he had private reasons for taking this stand and he sincerely hoped the convention would accept his refusal.

Mr. Stedman of Illinois nominated Fred O. MacCartney of Massachusetts for president, and Representative Carey of Massachusetts nominated Job Harriman of California for vice-president and Max Hayes of Cleveland for president. Mr. Harriman declined, and in the confusion that followed the convention was adjourned.

A meeting was held in the Criminal Court room Thursday night to discuss socialism with people of the city interested in the movement but not members of the party. There was a good number present. The only party leaders to put in an appearance were Max Hayes of Cleveland, O., and John C. Chase, mayor of Haverhill, Mass., as all of the others were in informal session at the Occidental Hotel endeavoring to persuade Mr. Debs to accept the nomination tendered him and thus avoid the disruption of the party, which had almost been brought about by the unlooked-for occurrences of the afternoon. Messrs. Hayes and Chase spoke at length on socialism.

At a late hour Mr. Debs yielded to the importunities of his fellow delegates and reluctantly accepted the nomination.

Mayor Chase of Haverhill, Mass., who presided at Friday morning's session, announced the acceptance by Mr. Debs of the nomination of president and the convention proceeded to make the nomination unanimous by a rising vote. Job Harriman of California was named for vice-president in the same manner.

In the afternoon the question of what name should be adopted for the newly united party was hotly discussed. It was finally decided to leave the name to a referendum vote of the members at large.

The Social Democratic Convention Have Emphasized Startling Truths.

The Social Democratic party is not a reform party, but a revolutionary party. It does not propose to modify the competitive system, but abolish it. An examination of its platform shows that it stands unequivocally for the collective ownership and control of all the means of wealth production and distribution—in a word, socialism.

The modern tendency is toward centralization and co-operation. This has given us the trust, and there has been a great hue and cry about the latest phase of the economic development. The Republican and Democratic parties, yielding to the popular outcry, will declare in favor of destroying or restraining the trusts, but just how puerile and dishonest such declarations are every member of the Social Democratic party knows too well to be deceived into voting for either of said parties.

As a matter of fact, trust is the inevitable outgrowth of the competitive system, and to declare against the private ownership of the trust is to declare against the system itself. That neither the large capitalists, who own the trusts, nor the small capitalists, who are opposed to them because they do not own them, favor the overthrow of the capitalist system of production and distribution is a foregone conclusion. The Republican party represents the former class and the Democratic party the latter class. Both stand for essentially the same system of exploitation, and the socialist wage worker realizes that it makes precious little difference to him and his class whether they are exploited by a few great capitalists or an innumerable brood of small ones. They propose to put an end to exploitation entirely by abolishing the system and transferring the means of production from private hands to the collectivity and having them operated in the interest of all alike.

To carry out this program the first step necessary is political organization, and this step has been taken by the Social Democratic party. It is now organized in twenty-five different states and is spreading rapidly over the entire country. Its progress has been the greatest in the states of Massachusetts, Wisconsin and Washington. These three states are marked for early conquest. California has also proved hospitable soil, and it is confidently expected that the Golden Gate state will develop a phenomenal increase of strength in the near future.

The Social Democratic party is necessarily an international party. It is as wide as the domain of capitalism. It is everywhere and always the same. It takes no backward step. The reins of government is its goal. It refuses to be flattered, bribed, stampeded or otherwise deflected from the straight course mapped out for it by Marx and Engels, its founders, and pursued with unflinching fidelity by their millions of followers. Before its conquering march every throne in Europe is beginning to tremble. The last one of them will fall to the earth while the century is still in its swaddling clothes. The socialist hosts of Germany give confident assurance

that the day of deliverance for the people will soon dawn. In France, Belgium, England, Austria, Italy, Russia and other countries the same principles animating the proletarian class are finding expression in great parties, all linked together in the indissoluble bonds of international socialism. The battle cry of Marx is heard around the world: "Workmen of all countries, unite; you have a world to gain! You have nothing to lose but your chains!"

Among the last countries to organize, for reasons so generally understood that they need not be discussed here, is the United States, but the conditions which develop socialism have come upon us so rapidly during the past few years that it now seems certain that the American movement will soon become the most formidable of them all, and that here, where political democracy was first achieved, industrial democracy will gain its first triumph.

The Social Democratic party has no interest in any of the so-called issues over which capitalist politicians fight sham battles. They care nothing about the currency question, the tariff or imperialism. They stand first, last and always for the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution, and they will press forward unceasingly until they secure them, thereby liberating the race and solving the problem of the centuries.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

Old-Age and Invalidity Insurance Law.

A new law, repealing the previous law of 1889 on the subject of workmen's insurance against old age and invalidity, has been passed by the German legislature, and received the assent of the emperor on the 13th of July. One of the principal objects of this measure is to effect a more even distribution over the various parts of the empire of the burdens entailed by the pensions prescribed by the law. It had been found that, owing primarily to the fact that persons of advanced age form a larger proportion of the insurable population in agricultural than in industrial or commercial districts, the financial position of the insurance institutions was much less satisfactory in rural districts than in the industrial and commercial centers. To meet this situation the new law provides that from the 1st January, 1900, two-fifths of the revenue accruing to each insurance institution from the contributions of employers and employed shall be credited in the books of the institution to the account of a general fund common to the whole empire. Out of this general fund will be defrayed three-fourths of the cost of old-age pensions and the fixed portion of all invalidity pensions.

Under the previous law, the fixed portion of every invalidity pension (exclusive of the imperial subsidy of £2 10s.) was £3, irrespective of the wage-class to which the pensioner belonged, increased for each week of contribution by sums of 2, 6, 9, or 13 pfennigs (one pfennig being equivalent to 0.12d) for the four wage-classes which then existed. In future, the fixed portion of the invalidity pension will be a different amount for each wage-class. It will be £3 for the first, £3 10s for the second, £4 for the third, £4 10s for fourth, and £5 for the fifth (a new wage-class consisting of those whose earnings exceed £57 10s a year). These several fixed amounts are to be increased for each weekly contribution by 3, 6, 8, 10, or 12 pfennigs according to the wage class of the insured. The state contribution to each pension will remain as before (£2 10s).

Up to now the old-age pension has consisted of an amount equivalent to 4, 6, 8, or 10 pfennigs (according to the wage-class) multiplied by 1, 410, that being (as explained below) the minimum number of weeks of contribution (exclusive of the addition from the state of £2 10s to each pension). In future the old-age pension is to amount to £3 for the first, £4 10s for the second, £6 for the third, £7 10s for the fourth, and £9 for the fifth class, supplemented in each case by the state contribution of £2 10s, the amount which remains unchanged.

The amount of the weekly contribution is, for the first four classes, the same under the new as under the old law (14, 20, 24, and 30 pfennigs), and will be 36 pfennigs for the new fifth class.

Pensions under the law can be claimed only after the expiration of a certain period of contribution. Under the old law this period was, for invalidity pensions, five years; for old-age pensions, thirty years; the years being reckoned for this purpose at forty-seven weeks, leaving a margin of five weeks as a sufficient average of time lost through want of work, or from other causes, without the means of paying the contributions. Under certain circumstances (e.g., a period of illness not brought upon the workman by his wilful act, or of service under arms) a person prevented from keeping up his insurance was, nevertheless, allowed to reckon such period as a period of contribution. By the law just passed, invalidity pensions may be claimed after the expiration of 200 (instead of 235) "contributory weeks" (unless fewer than 100 actual weekly payments have been made, in which case 500 such weeks must have expired), and old-age pensions will be paid after a minimum period of 1,200 "contributory weeks" (instead of 1,410).

While under the former law persons who, though not incapacitated for life, were so situated for an entire year were recorded invalid benefit during the remaining duration of their incapacity, the law now gives this privilege to a man who has been in this position for twenty-six weeks. —London Labor Gazette.

The American Plate Glass Company, the trust, is defying the Superior Court of this country in the case of De Pauw University against the trust for an accounting. The Superior Court issued an order requiring the trust to permit an expert examination of its books. This the trust refused to comply with. The court has made the order more specific and set March 15 as the date for final hearing of the case.

AMERICAN NOTES

The socialists of Springfield, Mo., have nominated a city ticket.

The socialist organization at Albany, Ore., took in 18 members at a recent meeting.

The cost of the necessities of life are today, on an average, 15 per cent higher than they were a year ago.

The fish trust has cut prices for the purpose of killing competition. After that is accomplished they will go up again.

Kansas is fighting the binder-twine trust in a sensible manner. It has started a state twine factory and will sell direct to the farmers.

Uncle Sam's bluebook, now in press, will be of 2,700 pages, and will show that there are now 200,000 persons in the service of the government.

Exeter, N. H., is moving. Social Democrats there have made nominations for the coming election and are waking up the town. Exeter will soon get there.

Frederick Scrimshaw, the talented author of "The Dogs and the Fleas," and a widely known socialist, died at his home in Arlington, N. J., on the 6th inst.

Correspondents should kindly bear in mind that but a small percentage of the excellent matter sent in to this office for publication can be used, for want of space. Therefore, comrades, let "Boil it down" be your motto.

The forthcoming report of the Ohio mine inspector will show that the average monthly wages of pick miners in 1898 was \$20.20; machine loaders, \$19.80, and machine runners, \$34.98. Yet some of these people talk glibly about "the pauper labor of Europe."

Senator Donnelly of New York has made several earnest attempts to get the senate of his state to consider a bill for a municipal gas plant for New York city, but members of the committee look at it as a joke and refuse to give it serious attention. Voting kings, what are you going to do about it?

The Republican and Democratic members of the Haverhill city council have formed a coalition to block any reforms that the Social Democrats may attempt to inaugurate. The council has taken the appointment of committees out of the hands of Mayor Chase, which was heretofore part of his official duties.

The Blackwell-Durham Tobacco Co. issued a circular against the tobacco trust, on which it represented itself as a bird with a snake in its mouth labelled "anti-trust." The Durham Co. is now in the hands of a receiver and the trust is smiling blandly. Moral: Don't monkey with a trust or the goblin will get you.

A most extraordinary and astonishing development in respect to woman's work was found in the fact that 500 girls and women are employed in the foundries of Pittsburgh doing work for \$4 and \$5 a week, for which men were formerly paid from \$14 to \$16 a week. This is in Pennsylvania, the stronghold of labor.

The New York unionists and socialists have taken up the cause of the oppressed wage workers of Porto Rico. The latter are being voted financial aid, and an agitation has been started to make a concerted demand that they be allowed to organize and be given the ballot and allowed to vote as they please.

The Southwest Missouri Light Co. has brought suit in equity in the federal court against the city Joplin to prevent the city from selling electric light and power to the people of the city. An injunction is asked to stop the city from carrying out its intention. It is an old fight. The plaintiff has a franchise running yet for a term of years granted by the city, and it claims the city cannot in justice now come in and become its competitor. The city can furnish its own light, and no effort is made to stop it, but the city wants to go into business generally. Must private interest stand in the way of public interest? Joplin can't afford to be unfair, but a compromise should be made and the city furnish the light.

In Kansas City and St. Louis the single line merchants are appealing to organized labor in their fight against the department stores.—Ex. The department store is bound to grow larger and stronger until the whole business of distribution ends in public ownership. The small dealers never had any use for the trade unions until now. They see themselves sinking and call out to the unions to come and save them. The unions cannot do it, nor can they save themselves, by opposing the revolutionary forces of society! Revolutions never go backward. Nothing can save the small dealers but public ownership. Let them unite for keeps with the unions for—socialism.

JOURNAL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR.

Issued Under the Direction of The Hon. the Minister of Labour.

Wellington, New Zealand. By Authority: John Mackey, Government Printer. 1900.

The APPEAL has just received 150 copies of the January number. Owing to the heavy postage from that country, these will have to be sold at 15 cents each. Those who require 10 cents under former notice will receive them, but it will hereafter require 15 cents. This book of 90 pages official, and its statements will astonish you and will do more to get Union Labor here to realize its power and use the ballot than a ton of literature printed in this country. The quantity is limited. First come first served.

THE INKSTAND BATTLE

We are making smokeless powder And big bombs to throw a mile, That will blow the foe to chowder In the true dynamic style.

Talk not of the bloody red man, And the foe his arrow drops— Every ball, it means a dead man, Every bullet means a corpse!

We've a whirling gun; you spit it, And the myriad bullets fly, And a hundred men a minute Roll their stony eyes and die.

Let us stop this wild death's revel; Martin Luther, so 'tis said, Threw his inkstand at the devil, And the black fiend turned and fled.

Smite your world-wrongs; don't combat it With a fusillade of lead; Simply throw your inkstand at it; Come tomorrow, it is dead.

Pour your ink-pots in a torrent Till the stragling demon sink, Till the struggling fiend abhorrent Drawn in oceans of black ink.

For the man who's born a fighter, For the brain that's learned to think, There is dynamite and nitro In a bottle of black ink.

Though it makes no weeping nations, And it leaves no gaping scars, Placed "neath error's strong foundations 'Twill explode them to the stars.

—SAM WALTER FOSS, in Commonwealth.

A PROTEST.

Away with the hate of the idle rich And the fear of the ruling few! The world is ours to make or mar— The work is ours to do.

Shall we who are a million men, Cry out against a score? Shall we, who take all we can gain, Blame him who takes the more?

Let us remember in our scorn, Of this sad truth be sure: That the selfish heart of the rich man trades On the selfish heart of the poor!

No blame to us; no blame to him; No time to waste on scorn; But need to work for the blessed day That sees the new world born?

—Charlotte Perkins Stetson.

Among Our Bright Exchanges.

Is there freedom in any land where trickster politicians can be appointed for life to determine the destinies of a people?—Mine Workers Journal.

Look out for an advance in coal oil. John D. Rockefeller's son has dropped \$17,000,000 in stock speculation in Wall Street.—St. Joseph Union.

A little boy who, in the course of some conversation of his elders, heard a good deal of talk about the progress of civilization, approached his grandfather, who was taking no part in the talk. "Grandfather," said the child, "what is the difference between civilization and barbarism?" "Barbarism, my boy," answered the old man, "is killing your enemy with a hatchet at a distance of a step, and civilization is killing him with a bomb-shell twelve miles away."—The Tocsin.

There is no more affinity between a political democracy and a commercial aristocracy than between sunlight and darkness, or water and fire. He who controls my bread controls my head. Freedom cannot live; liberty cannot survive where men are dependent upon a master for the right to live. The owners of the private trusts and monopolies are masters of the people. If you would be your own master you must own the trusts and monopolies.—Troy (Kan.) Times.

Corporate Corruption.

The law which Mr. Bryan urged upon the Kentucky legislature, and which is already in effect in Nebraska, prohibiting corporations from making contributions to campaign funds, is admirable in purpose, but probably impossible of enforcement.

So long as legislatures have something to give corporations so long corporations will buy lawmakers, and the easiest way to buy them is to make the deal with the party boss at once.

Nine-tenths of the debauchery of the suffrage in the United States springs from enormous campaign funds collected from corporations, but the way to cure this evil is not by impotent prohibitions of campaign contributions, but by removing the incentive to making them.

Every step toward a general public ownership of public utilities means that a few more corporations have been taken out of the bribery business.—Chicago Journal.

A Genesis of the Trust.

First came the man with his hands to do the work of the world. Next came the man with his brains and a machine to do the work that the man with his hands had formerly done. Then two men formed a partnership, pooled their interests and quit competing. Then a corporation was formed combining two or more partnerships, then the corporations got together and formed a trust of all the corporations engaged in any particular line of business and that is the genesis of the modern trust and private monopoly. It is the history of chaos in the commercial world. It is the history of transformation of every man against his brother to the brotherhood of man. It is the history of production of the necessities and luxuries of material existence under the lash of compulsion and as the chief end of life to the production of life's necessities for pleasure and simply as a means to an end. You can no more turn back the tide of combination in the commercial world than you can turn back the mighty Mississippi to its hundred thousand tributaries. The end is forward, not backward. The situation of the trust question is more trusts, not less. The end of private monopoly is public monopoly. The rule of the whole people, not the rule of a few. Public monopoly will give the benefits of combination to all the people, not to a few.—Troy (Kansas) Times.

Go after the people who read 220 and fill up that subscription blank.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

The city council of Tallahassee, Fla., has awarded contracts for erecting an electric lighting plant to be run on the municipal ownership plan.

The city of Tampa, Fla., has served notice on the company now furnishing it water that it will buy the plant according to the terms of its contract.

Public sentiment in favor of any new thing, no matter how beneficial, comes slowly. Everything that gives such ideas publicity gives me pleasure, without losing sight of the object for which such expressions are framed.

Meadville, Pa., has owned its water works just one year. It bought out a private company for \$200,000. The receipts for water the first year were \$28,053.58, which gave a net profit of \$10,666.06, besides saving the city \$6000 that it formerly paid the company for hydrant service.

The city of Dubuque, after having heard the cause ably argued, has given judgment, by a vote of 7 to 1, in favor of municipal ownership of water works.

The most complete telephone in the world has just been inaugurated in this city. This system is not in the hands of a trust, but under the immediate control of the government.

Municipal ownership long ago passed out of the stage of theory and experiment, if in fact it ever belonged there. Centuries before America was discovered public ownership of public utilities was highly developed.

In Germany today the railroads are owned by the government, and all over Germany the municipalities own and operate street railways, lighting plants, water supplies, etc.

He is either an ignoramus or a mouth-piece of private monopoly who can assert in this age that municipal ownership is the fad of a few theorists.

In the municipal ownership of electric lighting plants the plant and management are simple enough, especially when there is water power to be utilized.

Newark is not a stranger to municipal ownership. The city has for many years owned and operated its water plant, and it made a splendid bargain in the purchase of the Pequannock plant.

Centre market is another case of municipal ownership. Some years a syndicate was privately formed with the object of getting possession of the market property and the editorial columns of the News were used to advocate the sale of the property to this syndicate.

The value to the people of Newark of this piece of municipal ownership is chiefly in the regulation of prices throughout the city. A private corporation, by its control of Centre market, could make food dear for the people, and we have too many examples of corporate greed in the form of trusts just now to doubt that private ownership would charge all the traffic could bear.

It is better to be caught out in going wrong, when you have had a definite purpose, than to shuffle and slur, so that people can't blame you because they don't know what you are.

An Unconscious Teacher.

Andrew Carnegie has posed for a good many years as an adviser or teacher of the laboring class. With the greatest of self-complacency, relying upon his own recollection of early poverty, he has told the masses that their condition was good for them.

The world needs mechanics, artisans, laborers. The goal of ambition should be in the perfection of one's ability in the calling for which nature has fitted him.

But Andrew Carnegie is and has been all along a teacher. Unconsciously and unwittingly he has taught the hollowness of charity, the immorality of the profit system; the stupidity in matters of moral concern possible in a brain eminently adapted to money-making.

The Milwaukee Journal seems disturbed over the matter, and well it may be. Here is an extract:

Mr. Carnegie will rank high as a business man. He may well achieve notice as a literary man. He may be a public benefactor, but as a philanthropist he is an abject failure.

Socialism. PRIZE ESSAY.

Socialism is the ripe fruit of pure democracy, made imperative and inevitable by the conditions arising out of the socialization of industry and intercourse, and is the only condition possible finally to a free, enlightened and moral people.

Philosophically, it is based upon the highest conception of justice, and recognizes for the first time in history in connection with human polity the mutuality of all true human interests; and that equality which nature so indelibly and persistently stamps upon mankind.

The threshing machine men of Iowa have organized and will proceed to pluck the festive farmers who believe they would have no incentive to sow wheat if the government operated the agricultural industry.

AMONG THE WORKERS

COMRADES—Regarding notices of meeting, etc. If some are admitted, then all have that right. If all are admitted, there will be nothing else in the paper and it would be worth nothing.

We found that the carriage builder who edited this department last week had a bad case of "wheels," and was no improvement on the wood-butcher of the previous week.

Those 18 weeping tiles forwarded by Comrade Geo. Koop of Chicago are O. K.

Comrade A. J. Stoppel of Goliad, Tex., brought in 11 barrels of sand this week.

That will be a dandy monument that Comrade Emil Otto of Chicago is building. Added 20 feet to it this week.

Comrade T. E. Taber of Thayer, Mo., sent us 20 samples of faced brick. Come again, comrade, with more of the same kind.

We're too clumsy to dodge quick. Comrade A. J. Battorf of New Castle, Colo., hit us square in the head with a handful of plaster 10 times.

Comrade R. M. Stanton of Chadron, Neb., threw a brick in at our window and it broke into 20 pieces. We'll save the pieces if he'll swear to keep the peace.

Geese Whittaker! what a noise, Klamroth. Give a fellow warning before you dump another load of brick on the floor. What! 121 of 'em! Well, that's the way with those California boys.

Now here comes Comrade L. Klamroth again. Says he can lay as many bricks as any red-hot socialist this side of Manila. Reckon he can. Laid 123 on our chimney in two minutes.

Steady there, Comrade Lawson, Anaconda, Mont., you'll fall off the ladder one of these days and break your bl—blessed neck carrying such a load. Fifty bricks are too many for a man of your size.

Comrade J. O. Malcor of Spring Valley, Ill., sent in some lumber for staging. He's now ready to start on the foundation of the wall of subs. he intends to erect. Laid 10 feet and went to dinner.

Some people think there's no such thing as a glass brick. There is, though, and Comrade W. T. McGeoch, Portland, Me., sent us 10 samples. If they're all as handsome as these, comrade, what must a whole wall look like.

Comrade Geo. L. Washburn of Ticonderoga, N. Y., must have been working overtime, judging from the height of his chimney this week. Put 50 feet onto it. Something more than smoke and gas is likely to go through that chimney, comrade.

Comrade U. L. Sierist of Blue Ridge, Ga., tried to climb to the top of our new building and spilled a hod of brick down by the window—32, full-size. You can't sometimes always tell when something's going to drop when these Georgia boys are 'round.

Comrades have been piling us up with brick till we've got enough to put a goodly extension onto the APPEAL building. Come in handy, too, if she keeps on growing.

The following comrades brought 10 hods of mortar each: Jos. C. Guide, West Superior, Wis.; J. H. Jones, Grand Rapids, Mich.; S. A. Hauge, Cokeville, Pa.; Jas. H. Davis, Birmingham, Ala.; Chas. M. Ringier, Elkhart, Ind.; B. W. Kerfoot, Dayton, O.; Robert Y. Spring, Newport, Ky.

Samples, 11 each, of tiles, pressed brick, ashlar, brick noggin were offered by these comrades: Fred Hurst, Providence, R. I.; J. C. Saltzman, Mount Ayr, Ia.; Wm. Truman, Hightman, Ia.; D. Ashkins, New Brunswick, Geo. Condie, Ceres, Ok.; John J. Betzold, Fresno, Cal.; Thos. Chisholm, Saginaw, Mich.; N. C. Dahl, Chicago, Ill.; H. Kelchner, Williamsport, Pa.; C. E. Ramage, Helena, Mont.; E. B. Judson, Salt Lake City, Utah; Willis Milliken, Seattle, Wash.; E. O. Sjaarstad, Minot, N. D.; Wm. McNamary, Wash. Ok.; L. King, Bryant, Ind.; A. H. Rowley, Columbia, Ind.; Chas. Thoma, Calumet, Mich.

The circulation editor broke into an arch smile—well, I should say so—from footing to keystone, when he saw the following collection of

- Loose Stone, Plaster, Gold Bricks, Brick-Bats. Peter J. Weber, Cando, N. D. 35 G. F. Walker, Oakes, S. D. 10 D. J. McHenry, Sharon, Pa. 28 B. R. Davis, Dubuque, Mo. 14 Thaddeus Hill, Tacoma, Wash. 10 H. M. Lortsen, Astoria, Ore. 10 A. C. Kuehl, Thornton, Wash. 10 P. T. Brannagan, Albany, Pa. 10 L. L. Lawrence, New Burnside, Ill. 13 R. H. Bland, Ventura, Cal. 13 Ed. Bernaux, Midway, Kan. 10 A. E. Bell, Akron, O. 10 J. Rufus Williams, Denver, Colo. 26 B. F. Gayman, Revelstoke Station, B. C. 30 A. M. Kent, Seattle, Wash. 10 J. H. Page, Lynn, Mass. 10 Peter Kennedy, Elgin, Ill. 20 F. Hackett, Ft. Scott, Kan. 20 Willard Barringer, Dayton, O. 14 Thos. Lamay, Oskoshia, Kan. 10 W. B. Boggs, Salem, Kan. 12 R. B. Vance, Carl Junction, Mo. 12 J. A. Mahan, Salt Lake City, Utah 19 Killian, Tex. 10 C. D. Pickett, Madison, Wis. 20 F. A. Sweetman, Indianapolis, Ind. 9 John Sadler, Cabery, Ill. 25 Geo. Hansen, Altoona, Pa. 25 Mark Bismarck, Boone, Ia. 63 Chas. F. Sutkamp, Cincinnati, O. 10

- Wm. H. Bates, Bowling Green, O. 10 W. J. Olds, Guthrie, Ok. 10 D. L. Lyon, Oakland, Cal. 10 Mr. Fredrick, Ponca, Neb. 12 P. Donohue, New York, N. Y. 10 I. A. Grise, Canton, O. 10 Dr. C. H. Barbour, Burlington, Vt. 10 Prof. C. R. Fillmore, Ada, I. T. 10 Jno. Conway Oglesby, Ill. 14 J. P. Sipe, Abingdon, Ill. 10 Wm. Wilson, Cardonia, Ind. 10 Geo. Barr, Forestville, Minn. 20 V. T. Grabs, King, N. C. 20 Oliver F. Darr, Puyallup, Wash. 14 Albert F. Way, Unionville, Conn. 10 W. H. Cassidy, Chloride, Ariz. 10 M. D. Wade, Naples, Tex. 30 A. A. Hibbard, Susanville, Cal. 20 Homer Metzger, Van Buren, Ark. 20 J. R. McDonald, Flint, Mich. 17 John Thedley, Modoc, Ill. 12 Albert F. Forman, Milwaukee, Wis. 19 John T. Holmes, Brocton, Mass. 10 E. R. Barton, Butler, Ky. 10 Samuel Jarvis, Cleveland, O. 10 W. G. Stewart, Washington, D. C. 10 J. B. Allen, East Las Vegas, N. M. 25 J. J. Patton, Pasadena, Cal. 24 W. W. Harvey, Fargo, N. D. 14 W. T. Hedrick, Ottumwa, Ia. 10 O. Gudenrath, Paintrock, Ala. 10 A. A. Ford, Buffalo, N. Y. 12 T. L. Maguire, N. H. 10 Robt. Clausen, Kalispell, Mont. 20 E. L. Osgood, Los Angeles, Cal. 15 W. H. Leonard, Cripple Creek, Colo. 25 Geo. F. Warrack, Kansas City, Mo. 25 David P. Block, Geary, Ok. 25 T. T. Braaten, Ada, Minn. 32 Alex. Thompson, Pictou, Colo. 26 F. Smith, Portland, Ore. 15 W. Lacy, Chicago, Ill. 10 J. B. Despain, Ukiah, Ore. 10 Ed. M. Peabody, St. Louis, Mo. 20 Mrs. Sarah Stone, Ringwood, Ok. 13 J. F. King, Salt Lake City, Utah 10 Wm. Johnson, Pullman, Ill. 20 J. B. Smiley, Chicago, Ill. 10 J. Callahan, Akron, O. 10 August Gilbert, Cedar Rapids, Ia. 20 C. Kornmayer, Houston, Tex. 24 U. S. Alderman, Sharpville, Pa. 28 E. F. Botschek, Tacoma, Wash. 10 Geo. W. Weeks, Ore. 10 Thos. E. White, Chicago, Ill. 10 H. Herold, Switz City, Ind. 10 J. S. Seoven, Kokomo, Ind. 17 M. Eddy, College City, Cal. 10 Hazel Sharp, Carroll, Mont. 10 H. Ott, Wilbur, Wash. 10 G. H. Robbins, Montrose, Ore. 10 E. F. Young, San Diego, Cal. 10 W. A. Travis, San Jose, Cal. 22 E. L. Lelman, Missouri Valley, Ia. 12 E. L. Heilant, Lyle, Wash. 10 L. M. Heilant, Crisp, Tex. 10 W. E. Post, Yoe, Pa. 10 Mrs. M. J. Carter, Orofino, Cal. 14 Dr. J. H. Morrow, Denver, Colo. 33 W. S. McGee, Portland, Maine 29 J. H. Lewis, Centralia, Wash. 10 J. H. Berry, Humboldt, Neb. 10 W. E. Boynton, Ohio 10 W. L. Ridsout, Cal. 10 Jas. P. O'Brien, Cincinnati, O. 10 C. E. Moore, Haverhill, Mass. 10 E. M. Flowers, New Castle, Pa. 10 F. M. Pratt, So. Braintree, Mass. 20 G. T. Burrows, Grand Island, Neb. 10 Chas. H. Price, Jagan, Kan. 10 A. Anderson, Palouse, Wash. 10 E. J. Held, Detroit City, Mich. 10 W. T. Aydelott, Gadsden, Tenn. 20 F. Burley and Geo. Wardell, Marion, Wash. 12 A. D. Hale, Albany, Ore. 10 D. A. Smith, Gales, Ore. 12 D. McPherson, Colby, Wash. 10 N. Fitzgerald and J. L. Kerr, Alturas, Cal. 20 J. F. Dimond, East Boston, Mass. 10 Geo. H. Webster, Nashua, N. H. 10 Cleveland Smith, Alki, Wash. 10 M. B. Calhoun, Toledo, O. 20 J. J. Kent, Corsicana, Tex. 10 O. W. Brooks, Alton, Mo. 10 W. J. Harris, Fresno, N. M. 10 A. Drascher and J. W. King, Pullman, Wash. 10 Geo. McKinley, Flint, Mich. 10 M. Dammrose, Beeman, Idaho. 9 W. H. Brooks, Woonsocket, R. I. 17 John A. Rice, Brighton, Mass. 25

Keep on, boys, and by and by, through your labor and ours we shall build the APPEAL into a triumphal arch through which all-conquering Socialism shall enter into the Eternal City of Brotherly Love.

EUGENE V. DEBS speaks at Centerville, Mo., March 24, and Pittsburg, Kansas, March 26. He is one of the great men of the times. You should hear him.

The locked-out mattress makers of Chicago have started a factory on their own hook. If they and their brother workers of other trades will unite upon socialism they can have the public furnish the factory and all the material, and if they will work, will get five times as much pay for each hour as they ever received.

If you wish to get some valuable data regarding the public ownership of railroads, write your senator or congressman for a copy of bill No. 1770 and document No. 53 of the present congress.

The American Publishers' Association has just held an indignation meeting in New York about the wonderful increase in the price of paper, and demanded that congress do something about the matter.

Ten Acre Farm Free!

Our Sixth "Farm Contest" closes April 30, and will include ALL lists sent between March 1 and April 30.

This is a "free-for-all" contest, open to any individual, syndicate, union, branch, etc. To facilitate keeping the record we require that each list shall be sent in under the same name or title each time.

Many of you want a small circulating library. We shall present those coming second, third, fourth, fifth, and down to the tenth place with a selection of books, suitable to start just such a library.

HERE IS YOUR CHANCE, BOYS! Many of you want a small circulating library. We shall present those coming second, third, fourth, fifth, and down to the tenth place with a selection of books, suitable to start just such a library.

FIVE FARM WINNERS.

Here is a list of those who led the list in the first five contests.

- Oct. 31.—A. L. Nagel, Cincinnati, O. 211 Nov. 30.—W. A. Ross, Louisville, Ky. 215 Dec. 31.—W. A. Patterson, Buffalo, N. Y. 174 Jan. 30.—G. C. Ford, Los Angeles, Cal. 254 Feb. 28.—Hubbard Ellison, St. Thomas, Ont. 28 The last one was an individual contest.

Now fire them in, and remember everything counts and that all lists must be in before April 30! Organize clubs, unions and syndicates and put every friend to work!

SOCIALIST SONGS; sixteen good ones; 5 cents, post-paid. C. H. Kerr & Co., 50 Fifth-ave., Chicago.

Artisans Socialists In every community should correspond with M. J. Conroy, Box 178, Globe. We have plans for keeping a monthly list of the sold to organize branches in every town in Arizona before November. Five hundred socialists pledging \$25 per month each. Don't miss it. Write at once.

COMRADES, would you have millions of votes this fall? Do you expect people to vote the socialist ticket who do not know what it means? Hardly. The APPEAL has the facilities, and all its power, financial and otherwise, goes to the movement. You can put it in a million homes if you will concentrate your efforts.

We call ourselves a democracy. It is a cheap delusion. We are really a plutocracy. —Dr. Clifford.

In the clash of contending rogues the weaker and more scrupulous go to the wall, while fraud and deceit are accounted the acme of cleverness.—Punch.

It is sad to think that honest labor often brings with it nowadays illness and misery. —Dr. J. Cantlie.

Has there ever been before such disgusting adulation of unscrupulous, low bred, illiterate, but successful gamblers?—Jan Maclaren.

The Result of Monopoly.

The following percentages show the actual increase in cost of raw materials which enter largely into the manufacture of many lines over prices current in the spring of 1899: Pig iron 125, steel 100, copper 81, tin plate 76, wire 132, nails 170, lumber 67, bolts 111, asbestos 31, pipe 184, pipe fittings 111, rivets 110, oils 100.

This is what the private trusts are doing. Now there is all the difference in the world between a private trust and a public one. In a private trust goods go up in price and down in quality as monopoly becomes more complete, because the stockholders are in it for profit. In a public trust, i. e., one in which all the people are concerned (public ownership), goods go down in price and up in quality as the business expands and is carried on a more systematic plan and consequently at a more economical rate.