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"Just to interest the boys," the APPEAL's \$4,000 cash in premiums comes into the fracas. All of the subs count in this side offer. The first jump is to get that commissioner packing his grips and started. Scalp everything in sight and

Keep on Pounding.

H. S. BLISS, secretary of the national building trades council of St. Louis was arrested because he scratched his arm, indicating that a non-union fellow was a scab, thus violating the injunction of a federal judge!

If there is any article you can buy not controlled by a trust trot it out. Now I like trusts, but want to be on the inside of them. Competition is bad, makes men hate each other, but private monopoly is just as bad. Public monopoly, in which all the people get the benefit, is good. Before private monopoly you are helpless; public monopoly you have a voice in and can control.

"NEW ZEALAND in a Nutshell" is the most effective pamphlet ever printed. A stray copy some one mailed to England brought an order for 50 copies. It hits every class. The answers are astonished, the farmers are delighted and the laboring men have a new hope born to them in the reading of it. It is a revelation. A million copies should be circulated. Have you ordered your 100 copies yet? 5 cents per copy; \$4 per 100.

The councilmen of Scranton, Pa., are under arrest for taking bribes from the street railway company for votes favorable to the corporation. Now if the street cars had been owned and operated by the city, as they should, there would have been no bribe offered and the public interests would not have been sold out. Corruption comes from corporations doing business that the public should do. These democrats and republicans who are bribed are opposed to the public owning and operating the street cars, for they would then have no opportunity to be bribed. And that is what republican and democratic politicians want office for. All the bribes that have ever been paid have been paid to them. They want a system that furnishes opportunities to get bribe money, hence oppose public ownership.

The lower house of congress has passed a bill that only eight hours shall be worked on any government work. It has gone to the senate and will pass. Now if the labor unions will take up the matter in each congressional district, and insist that congress pass a law compelling the employers and employes to submit to arbitration, similar to that in New Zealand, they will get it THIS congress. This is campaign year and no member of congress, when pressed by a number of men from his district will vote against the law. Get that law once and you will have a good start to control the bosses. Let every labor union write his congressman and senator to press a bill for compulsory arbitration. It works satisfactorily to the men in New Zealand and it will be just as good here. New Zealand labor is better paid and more powerful in every circle than in the United States.

One of the idiotic American nobilities of wealth, whom another set of American idiots support by a profit on the necessities of life, gave a little party in Paris to a set of French alleged nobility, that cost \$8,000. The people whose labor here supports and furnished the wealth for this ostentation, are three-fifths tenants and one-fourth of these are really beggars. But we are so wise and so rich and so free and so independent! This fellow's name is Thaw. Did you ever hear of him whom you are furnishing with such fabulous wealth? Not one in a thousand of you. But you do the furnishing and self-denying just the same. He paid \$320 a plate for guests to eat with him and you fools furnished the money! For from whom else could he get it? Who but fools would support a system that kept the majority in poverty and furnished men who never did a thing useful with millions of wealth made by useful exertion? But it is exciting sedition to speak of it! It is dangerous to tell the people these things!

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Appeal to Reason.

J. A. WAYLAND

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SOME years ago the pops carried Kansas and the republican boodlers refused to give up the offices. The pops were denounced as anarchists for demanding their rights. They were awful fellows. Down in Kentucky the republicans, by murder and open fraud, held the state offices until they had to flee before exposures. That is not denounced by the press. Only an incident of politics, you know. The murderers of Kentucky's governor will not be punished. But republicanism in Kentucky is like republicanism everywhere—a lot of rascals deceiving the republican voters and climbing into the public treasury and filling their pockets. Back of the crimes in Kentucky is the railroads' corruption money. It was railroad interests that murdered Goebel, because he had always opposed their extortion, and the republican party officials were put in office by railroad corruption money and when in office murdered the legally elected governor. How quiet the republican papers are about it! Hush! Public ownership of railroads, where the profit, if any, would go into the public treasury instead of corporation pockets, would have prevented the crimes in Kentucky, because there would have been no corporation interest served by Goebel's death—but the people prefer murder and corruption, to owning anything themselves—they prefer to be paupers.

EVERY daily paper in Kansas City is against the workingmen and in favor of the capitalists. And yet the workingmen support these papers! I think the best boycott that labor could put out would be to shun the capitalist papers that misrepresent them, prejudicing the public against them. This shunning should include the men who advertise in and up the sheets. Do this a little and you will see the papers are the easiest things to hit and they will respond to your demands quickly. Just as soon as you show your intelligence in this matter you will have one paper champion your cause, and that paper, receiving all your patronage, will become the greatest in your city. You can kill a newspaper quicker by a boycott than any other kind of a property; newspaper men are quick to conform to demands when it hits their purse. They do not deal in necessities, like other monopolies, and you can destroy a paper worth hundreds of thousands by a boycott. It has been done. Workingmen who patronize, directly or indirectly, the daily press that sides against them in every conflict with capitalism, are worse than scabs.

SOME one defined "patriotism" as the last resort of a scoundrel. That applies pretty well to the patriotism that comes to the surface in the management of the Cuban postal affairs. Large sums have been robbed from the people by the very loyal supporters of King McKinley. It was to release the poor Cubans from the robbery and extortion of the cruel Spanish yoke, you know, that the good McHanna rule was spread over them! And to think that these patriots, these chips off the old block, should take advantage of the ignorance of the Cubans and sell them bad stamps! But what else could be expected from the rule of thieves that have infested Washington for the past thirty years? It will be so as long as the people elect men who believe that profit is right, who believe that "make money" is the one and only use of life. You do not hear these crimes charged against socialists. Criminals are made by the old parties. Their methods educate men into crime. But how loyal they are! And how wicked are socialists, who do not believe in robbery!!

St. Louis has been in the throes of riots and civil war for some weeks, all on account of the private ownership of the street car system. It is to the interest of the street car owners to make all the profits possible and to the interest of the men to get all the pay possible. Hence all this harmony, this beautiful effect of this eminently practical system!! If the city owned and operated the system, the matter would have been settled in a council meeting, just as the wages of other public employes are. But some people would rather have the streets slippery with human gore than to have the ownership of the street cars and other natural monopolies lodged with themselves. They prefer the capitalists to own and operate them. Well, there is no accounting for tastes, as the old woman said when she kissed the cow. Riots in cities will increase in number and intensity until the people will finally take over the franchises. So let the good work of trouble proceed. Fools learn at no other school.

THE master plumbers of Kansas City have locked out their men and will try to break up the union so that they may hire the helpless units at their own terms. If that were done in New Zealand, where union labor has made use of its vote for its own interest, these employers would be in prison, not bailable, inside one hour. That is what has occurred several times. Here union men are democrats and republicans and the courts are on the side of the bosses. And no one is to blame but the laborites for being blind to their own interests. The protection of all law should be withdrawn from any person who would refuse to arbitrate differences. Workingmen, go into politics, elect the most radical men, and run the government for the benefit of the majority. Majorities should rule. Don't be hoodwinked into letting the minority rule you by your own votes. Are you not tired of it? Read "New Zealand in a Nutshell," 5 cents, and see how they do it down there.

FOREIGN RAILROADS

"One of my socialist friends claims that where a government owns the railroads transportation and freight rates are cheaper than where they are owned by individuals or corporations. How is this?"—A. H. O. Ric-bill, Mo.
Ask your socialist friend to give you proof of his assertion. That will settle him, for he can not do it. The railroad service of the United States is the best and most prompt in the world. Passenger rates here are much cheaper than in Europe and freight rates average lower. We have not at hand the statistics of government-owned roads in Europe, but will endeavor to obtain them.—Toledo Blade.

The Blade, being owned and published by the whose interest is to deceive the masses so they will continue to vote the same old tickets and perpetuate the same old conditions that have enabled the few to amass the millions produced by the many, nothing but misrepresentation concerning this and other subjects is to be expected from it. The Blade knows that government ownership, even in monarchies, is better than private ownership. It knows that rates are higher here than where governments own railroads, but as it gets passes and favors on the side, it can afford to lie, for no other word fits the condition.

In the same mail that brings the above clippings from a reader in Salem, Ore., I received from Miss Adelaide Smith, whose home is in Boone, Iowa, but who is traveling in Europe, a letter, dated May 5, from which I take this bearing on the question in point:

"I have been spending several weeks in Switzerland. Though the most expensive railroads in the world to build, the rates are very low, the roads being owned and operated by the government. A ticket that entitles me to ride on almost any railroad and steamer lines in Switzerland, limited to fifteen days, costs six dollars. The only roads not included in this ticket were over certain mountain passes and up certain high mountains. I traveled back and forth, often going many times over the same road, and in fact went all over Switzerland, the only limit being time, for I had full liberty to travel twenty-four hours every one of the fifteen days if I had so wished." That same condition can be had in the United States, and would be attained in a few months after public ownership was established, for Switzerland only recently bought her roads and paid a higher price than any roads in this country are capitalized at. In other European countries the rates are lower than here; both passenger and freight, and the profit goes into the public treasury, and that in effect is the same as if they were lower still. Switzerland is the size of Ohio. What would you think if you could ride over all the roads in Ohio for fifteen days for \$6? The facts are, that it pays to own the railroads—pays the people just as well as it does the plutocrats. Public ownership is the remedy for the corrupt influence of the roads in politics. The postoffice lobby never bribes for bad laws. The railroad lobby does.

This nation has a republican president, a republican senate and a republican house. What a farce it will be for that party to put an anti-trust plank in their platform. If it is favorable to anti-trust legislation, why don't it pass such laws now? Why let the people suffer another year? Only fools will be deceived by any assertion that the republican politicians are opposed to trusts. The republican voters are opposed to trusts, but the leaders, from the president down, are in the pay and interest of the trust—have their pockets full of trust stocks and bonds.

THE "liberty-loving" government at Washington has refused to recognize the representatives of the Boer republic. But it has a place of honor for the representatives of the queen. Whew! how we do love liberty and hate kings and queens! And how the people believe this lie! Nowhere on earth is liberty hated as in this country. Even in England there is more outspoken denunciation of the murderous campaign against the Boers than in this country. Liberty is a stinking smell in the nose of Americans. Hurrah for King McHanna and down with the Boer republic.

A PARIS dispatch says that Bellamy's great work "Looking Backward" has just been translated into French, and it has created the greatest stir in literary circles of any work ever given the French people. The work, just at this time, will have great political influence, and the vote is so nearly balanced that it will be the deciding factor in putting France under socialist rule. It means the downfall of the plutocracy of France, and with it will go the adjoining monarchies. The new century promises to start out well.

THE black death or bubonic plague, that visited Europe in 1346 and killed 24,000,000 people has always been in the orient. We want it here. We send soldiers to the Philippines to bring it and leprosy home. Reports from San Francisco show that they have succeeded and a number of cases of both diseases have developed. Imperialism comes high, but is a glorious thing. How much has the conquest of the empire benefitted you, reader?

THE edition of "Poems for the People" is about exhausted, and it is the last edition that will be printed. These books are printed on fine book paper and have a good paper cover. Rhyme reaches some people better than prose.—Socialism is told in every gem. 5 cents, \$4.00 per 100.

EVERY one of the fellows who have been defrauding the Cuban postal system are democrats and republicans. In fact, ninety-nine of every hundred criminals are. Do you deny it?

RICH men combine and raise the prices of goods they control and refuse to permit the people to use them unless they pay the extortion. They are upheld in this by the courts and the police force; though their action is against the public interest, though they are public enemies, the public protects them and their property. When laboring men combine and demand their product, labor, shall not be used except on payment of certain condition, the courts and police force are called on to suppress them and imprison them. The working people are made outlaws for demanding what they must have or die, while the rich are upheld by law for demanding what they do not need. But laboring men are the majority, they have ten votes to capital's one, they fill the police force and army, they elect the judges and law makers. They have so little political sense that they continue to vote the same tickets and for a continuance of the same policies that have outlawed them. The capitalists' strength is in the courts, they never hesitate to use it; the laboring people refuse to use their political strength and hence are little above the cattle of the field.

WHAT fun! See the republican and democratic papers squirming under the pressure of the trusts and monopolies that are combining all the necessities of life and commerce, rendering advertising superfluous! Caught in their own trap. They smiled at the feast they were enjoying by patronage from the trusts and combines some time ago, little dreaming that the game would go on until they would be in the squeeze. They are plundered by a combine on type, on paper, on presses and machines, and how the greatest advertisers have so monopolized the field that the people have to buy of them anyhow and they no longer need to advertise. They are howling for free trade on things they do not use to any considerable extent. There will be a failure of many papers, the increased cost of material and decreased advertising rendering their further publication unprofitable. Isn't it lots of fun!

LOOKING over the country at the hundreds of thousands of men out on strikes and lock-outs, the country does look really flourishing! If these men out were socialists you would hear a great howl go up about them being revolutionists, but as the election returns from all these centers show these men have been voting the republican ticket, it does look queer. What is the matter with the republican workmen that they are not satisfied with their big wages and prosperity? Have they all turned anarchist on the treatment they have been getting from their political masters? Whoop 'em up for McHanna, boys. You elected him last time and can do it again, and get four years more of this prosperity. Don't be foolish like the workers of New Zealand and elect your own class to office. That would be anarchy.

TWO BANKERS at Rutland, Vt., were sentenced the other day to six years for robbing their respective banks. They robbed in this way hundreds of poor families who had aided and trusted them. If they had robbed one of these families in the brave way of entering their homes and taking chances on a fight they would have been sent up for twenty years. It makes a difference how you rob and the more you get, the less the penalty. The majority of the law makers are lawyers. But it is justice to send a needy man to prison for a long term for stealing in order to live, and to be very lenient with the well-fed, well-groomed, well-served class that never do any useful work and steal from unadulterated greed. Yet we are civilized!

THE assets of the Cross bank of Emporia that failed some time ago were sold the other day for \$645. They included \$30,000 in notes and bills. That shows how wonderfully wise and safe are the bankers. These are the men who know so much about the banking business. The banker lost nothing: the money lost was depositors'—the dupes who believe bankers care for their money for nothing! Somebody pays the bankers well—and every dupe believes it is the other fellow who does the paying. Funny, isn't it?

THE APPEAL SUSTAINED

YOU will remember, if you keep track of the APPEAL, that it exposed the tactics of a firm that was using the government to sell books. The matter was brought up in congress the other day. The publishers of these "Messages and Documents" copyrighted them in violation of the law, and the authorities misused their power in permitting the plates to be used by private parties for private profit. But then these are nothing but words and nobody will be punished. Crime is not crime unless committed by a workingman in his efforts to keep his family from starving. That alone is crime. A rich rascal, whose family has plenty and to spare, can commit any act against the law with impunity. The king can do no wrong. Only the debased people who work for a living can do wrong.

I HAVE a large number of applications for commissioner to New Zealand. None of these will have consideration at this time. These applicants should first aid in increasing the circulation of the APPEAL to the 150,000 mark. The commissioner will be selected from the best material among the APPEAL workers. The people who make the commissioner possible are the ones who will be considered.

REPUBLICAN TESTIMONY

IN the matter of the case brought by Attorney General Monnett, of Ohio, to compel the Standard Oil Co. to obey the law, the present attorney general in his argument the other day said:

"All over this country there is unrest, and the money grabbers are responsible for it. It is such defiance as is exhibited by Rockefeller that is prompting the mutterings of thousands that this is a government of the rich and these people have reached a point where they are ready for riot if only a leader will call upon them."

This is republican testimony of conditions produced by republican laws on the republican voters, who are in the majority. The "leader" will be on hand one of these fine days, and the dupes who have been kept voting the republican and democratic tickets will be a howling desperate mob, with torch and gun, and will make the streets of the cities slippery with the gore of the despots who have taught them to defy the laws and rob the people by extortion on the necessities of life. That time is not far in the future, and can only be avoided by the change in system that socialists desire to establish, which would make it impossible for one part of the people to prey on the majority, by monopolizing the necessities of life. No such condition ever appeared in any country that it did not bring its retribution. Injustice always come back on the nation that permits injustice. Such words of warning as these from a republican attorney general will go unheeded, and will receive the condemnation of all the papers and people who are controlled by the blood money of the Standard Oil Co. But it hastens the day when the rich will be paying for the mountains to fall on them to hide them from the wrath that is now brewing.

UNION Labor in the St. Louis strike has actually asked their members of congress to withhold the national appropriation from the St. Louis fair until the street car monopolists settle with the men. Well, that is a relief. The men are actually beginning to feel that they can use their political influence for their own benefit! Been a hundred years finding it out. This will not do them any good in this contest, for the other members of congress will vote against the request, even if the St. Louis members should vote as they demand. When labor organizations all over the land, of every trade, shall recognize the solidarity or oneness of all labor, and shall make this demand in every congressional district and shall give determined warning that the man and the party that refuses to concede the demands of labor shall have no more votes of labor—then will labor begin to get the upper hand. Then will courts do the bidding of labor as it now does the bidding of capitalists. Then will laboring people be respected by the masters. Then will labor in this country get some of the benefits of that labor in New Zealand has gotten. And this phase of the labor question will be in active operation in this country in the next three years. Vote for no man or party that serves capitalism. Capitalism is solid against labor. It demands service from the courts and officers. Let laborers do the same.

A SMELTER combine embracing all the great lead and silver smelters of the nation has been perfected, and now the miners will pay just what these philanthropists are pleased to charge them or leave their ore on the dumps. The combine will have the power to make or unmake the value of any mine or group of them. If the government owned and operated the smelters the charges would have to be fair, else the congressmen would get a hump reception on their return to their dear constituents. But as it now is, the congressmen or legislators can say to complaints that they have nothing to do with the charges, which they would be responsible for under government ownership. Still the miners believe in private ownership of the smelters, so let them sweat. The more blood they have to sweat the sooner will they become disgusted with the beauties of private ownership.

THE Swiss people have just voted down a proposed law for compulsory insurance. When the people get a whack at a proposition they decide it in one day by a vote, and the politicians do not deceive them for years by working the changes on the matter. Direct Legislation is the people ruling; laws made by legislatures and congress is the representatives ruling. If the people could have a vote on whether they desired the public ownership of the railroads, or gold standard, or free silver or paper money or any other matter of national importance, it would be decided in a day, and no question about it. But that would cut the politician out and that is what he does not want.

THE Rockefeller interests are gradually drawing their nets about the lead and zinc interests of Joplin, Mo., and it is only a matter of time when it will have all that wonderful property. The little owners are doing lots of squirming, but it will not save them.

EDITORIAL SOUVENIR

THERE are no extra numbers of the editorial souvenir. If you contributed to the fund and have not received your copy, write for it and state from what town and state your contribution came.

If men ought to arbitrate instead of fighting, then by the eternal or some other power labor should use its ballot to force the arbitration.

1891 JOHN J. INGALLS 1900

TRYING TO COZEN THE PEOPLE OUT OF A SEAT IN THE SENATE, TO SERVE CORPORATIONS

TRYING TO COZEN THE PEOPLE INTO SUPPORTING CORPORATION AND TRUST RULE

WHAT SILLY THINGS, SAID BRILLIANTLY, PASS AS WISDOM WITH THE FOOLISH.

What Ingalls Said Before He Went Insane:

(Extract from speech of John J. Ingalls in Senate, Jan. 14, 1891.)

The evil, Mr. President, the second to which I adverted as threatening the safety if it does not endanger the existence of the republic, is the tyranny of combined, concentrated, centralized and incorporated capital. And the people are considering this great problem now. The conscience of the nation is shocked at the injustice of modern society. The moral sentiment of mankind has been aroused at the unequal distribution of wealth, at the unequal diffusion of burdens, the benefits and the privileges of society.

I believe myself that upon a fair cash market valuation the aggregate wealth of this country today is not less than one hundred thousand millions of dollars. This is enough, Mr. President, to make every man and every woman and every child beneath the flag comfortable, to keep the wolf away from the door; it is enough to give to every family a competence. And yet we are told that there are thousands of people who never have enough to eat in any one day in the year. We are told by the statisticians of the department of labor of the United States that, notwithstanding all this stupendous aggregation, there are a million American citizens, able-bodied and willing to work, who tramp the streets of our cities and the country highways and byways in search of labor with which to buy their daily bread, in vain.

I cannot forbear to affirm that a political system which under such despotic power can be wrested from the people and vested in the few is a democracy only in name. A financial system under which more than one-half of the enormous wealth of the country, derived from the bounty of nature and the labor of all, is owned by a little more than 30,000 people, while 1,000,000 American citizens, able and willing to toil, are homeless tramps, starving for bread, requires adjustment. A social system which offers to tender, virtuous and independent women the alternative between prostitution and suicide as an escape from beggary is organized crime, for which some day unrelenting justice will demand atonement and explanation.

The great body of the American people are engaged today in studying these problems that I have suggested in this morning hour. They are disheartened with misfortune. They are tired of the exactions of the speculators. They desire peace and rest. They are turning their attention to the great industrial questions which underlie their material prosperity. They are indifferent to party. They care nothing for Republicanism nor for Democracy as such. They are ready to say, "A plague on both your houses," and they are ready, also, Mr. President, to hail and to welcome any organization, any measure, any leader that promises them relief from the profitless strife of politicians and this turbulent and distracting agitation which has already culminated in violence and may end in blood.

Nor is this all, Mr. President; the hostility between the employer and the employed in this country is becoming vindictive and permanently malevolent. Labor and capital are in two hostile camps today. Lockouts and strikes and labor difficulties have become practically the normal condition of our system.

It is many years, Mr. President, since I predicted this inevitable result. In a speech delivered in this chamber on the 15th of February, 1878, I said:

"We cannot disguise the truth that we are on the verge of an impending revolution. The old issues are dead. The people are arraying themselves upon one side or the other of a portentous contest. On one side is capital, formidably entrenched in privilege, arrogant from continued triumph, conservative, tenacious of old theories, demanding new concessions, enriched by domestic levy and foreign commerce, and struggling to adjust all values to its own standard. On the other is labor, asking for employment, striving to develop domestic industries, battling with the forces of nature, and subduing the wilderness; labor, starving and sullen, resolutely determined to overthrow a system under which the rich are growing richer and the poor are growing poorer; a system which gives to a Vanderbilt possession of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice, and condemns the poor to a poverty which has no refuge from starvation but the prison or the grave. Our demands for relief, for justice, have been met with indifference or disdain. The laborers of this country asking for employment are treated like impudent mendicants begging for bread."

Suppose that all the money in this country were to be put in possession of a single man—gold and silver and paper—and he were to be moored in mid-Atlantic upon a raft with his great hoard, or be stationed in the middle of the Sahara desert without food to nourish or shelter to cover or the means of transportation to get away. Who would be the richest man, the possessor of that gigantic treasure, or the humblest settler upon the plains of the West with a dug-out to shelter him and with corn meal and water enough for his daily bread?

At the beginning of our second century we have entered upon a new social and political movement whose results cannot be predicted, but which are certainly to be infinitely momentous. That the progress will be upward I have no doubt. Through the long, desolate track of history, through the seemingly aimless struggles, the random gropings of humanity, the turbulent chaos of wrong, injustice, crime, doubt, want and wretchedness, the dungeon and the block, thequisition and the stake, the trepidations of the oppressed, the bloody exultations and triumphs of tyrants,

The uplifted ax, the agonizing wheel,
Luke's from crown and Damien's bed of steel,

the tendency has been toward the light. Out of every conflict some man or sect or nation has emerged with more privileges, greater opportunities, purer religion, broader liberty and greater capacity for happiness; and out of this conflict in which we are now engaged, I am confident finally will come liberty, justice, equality, the confidential control of the American republic, the social fraternity and the industrial independence of the American people.

(The following extracts are from an article, "Socialism is Impossible," written by John J. Ingalls for the New York Journal.)

The radical error of socialism is the assumption that there is some power in society above and beyond that of individuals of which society is composed.

Government and the state are described as independent political beings, entirely apart from the people.

Socialism makes no such claim; socialism demands that the people have the same voice in the management of industries that they have in managing politics. That it is more important to have control of the means by which they produce a living than to control politics, by which they do not live. It wants government brought closer to the people. It assumes that all the people are wiser and juster than any part—that all the people can be safer trusted than any class. The error of Ingalls in this is that he assumes that a few are greater than the whole and can shelter conduct the industries.

Government ownership of railroads, nationalization of the means of production and distribution, are phases at once shallow, dishonest and misleading. A nation is a voluntary association of individuals, and government is the agency by which its affairs are conducted.

He does not state wherein they are shallow, dishonest or misleading. They are plain put phrases, with no intention of deceiving, and Ingalls simply writes himself as though a god whose mere assertion is to be accepted as a finality. He has read history to no purpose if he does not remember that nations are not voluntary associations, as the rebellion in this country, the protests of Russian, British and other victims evidenced.

The United States is a nation, and its government consists of a President and the congress chosen by a majority of the voters, and the judiciary, nominated by the executive and confirmed by the senate.

The United States is a nation whose people do not elect its chief ruler, nor its lordly senate nor its judiciary and only are permitted to vote on one measly little house of representatives.

Even the wayfarer man, though a fool, must know that he is responsible for the government of the United States to own railroads, or the means of production, or to carry on the industries of the country. It has no power except that which is conferred by the people. For money in the treasury is contributed by the people. For its acts it is responsible to the people as a servant to his master. The power of a state is the aggregate strength of its inhabitants; its wealth is the sum total of their possessions.

The fool spoken of also knows that it is impossible for the government of the United States to own postoffices, public buildings, the army and all its machinery, the great ships called a navy that plow the oceans, the agricultural department, the military training schools, the life-saving service. "Because it has no power except that which is conferred by the people." Great argument of a great mind! And then to discover the wonderful information that the money in the public treasury is contributed by the people! What an argument against socialism! Nor is it true that the strength of a nation is the aggregate strength of its inhabitants, for some of that strength in every contest is always used against the state, as well as the wealth of these, just as we see today the strength and wealth of the corporations are used against the state and in favor of the members of the corporations, who hire glib writers to argue against socialism.

All the work of the human race since creation has been done by individuals, and progress has been greatest where man has been most free. The inventions and improvements which have dignified humanity; the intellectual triumphs which have elevated and enabled in-

the heroism, virtue and self-sacrifice which have consecrated it, are all the result of individual effort.

All the work of the race has been the work of the race, and all the race therefore have the same equity in it. Nothing has been accomplished except by collective or co-operative effort. Individuals singly have done nothing. Edison could have made no progress except that he used the knowledge of generations that preceded him.

Destiny condemns the vast majority of men in every community to mediocrity. The few succeed; the many fail. The glittering rewards, emoluments and prizes of life do not appear to be equitably distributed.

Destiny does nothing of the kind, any more than destiny condemned the black man to chattel slavery. It was the ignorance and brutality of men that condemned the black man, and it is the same ignorance and brutality that condemns the vast majority to mediocrity, by depriving them of access to the vocation that they are best fitted for. Many a poor farmer would make an excellent machinist, but never gets his hands untied from the plow handle. There should be no prizes which infer a plan of piracy, but effort should always bring its certain return, and it can and will under socialism.

The race is to the swift; the battle to the strong. Fame, wealth, power, luxury, ease and happiness are to the multitude a mocking dream. Ninety-seven out of every hundred American citizens die penniless.

Which is proof that socialism is bad and cannot be thought of seriously! But that a system based on private property in which 97 out of each 100 die penniless is the best system and its devotees are wise in maintaining it! Mocking dreams of wealth are so much better than having real wealth which can be produced in such profusion that three hours a day will give to each worker all the wealth that he can consume!

These are the advocates and propagandists of socialism. Their program is the forcible redistribution of the goods of society. It proposes to substitute the tyranny of the mob for the tyranny of the monarch, and to take by force from those who have and give to those who have none; to obliterate all organic distinctions among men, and to subvert the moral and intellectual limitations of the race. It is an attempt by human enactment to abrogate and repeal the laws of God.

If it be true that "these are the advocates of socialism"—if 97 out of 100 are advocates of socialism, it will certainly not take long to convert that other three! Even if that three were necessary! Such is the logic of the iridescent statesman; who, by the way, is a bankrupt—one of the 97 whom he says is advocating socialism. How odd! Socialists oppose monarchy in any form—recognize it as clearly in industry as in politics; they oppose the forcible taking by the rich mobs of the results of the toil of the workers; they recognize the organic differences between men and would not permit the strong in mind to rob his fellow any more than we would permit the strong in muscle to rob his weaker brother; they would repeal the laws of the devil and his agents and substitute the laws of God.

The public ownership of railroads merely means that the majority of the people, who do not own them, shall take them from the possession of the minority, who do, by purchase, or theft, or collaboration, and have them operated by the "government" for the benefit of the "state." The railroads of the United States have cost, perhaps \$10,000,000,000 an immense sum. That five times greater than the entire money circulation of the country. How the "government," being a pauper, is to pay this sum, except by compelling the citizens to surrender their accumulations also, or how the "government" is to maintain and operate them, except by precisely the same agencies through which they are now carried on, does not appear. Government is worse served than any other employer of labor on earth. It pays higher wages for less service, and the waste and idleness are incredible.

The sense of personal responsibility in the employe is entirely lost, and although the majority receive more money than ever in their lives before, they continually complain of the stinginess of Congress, and intrude for higher compensation, longer vacations and unearned promotion.

In the first sentence you have the kind of people who oppose socialism—those who oppose a majority rule. They would have a rule of the minority, and this sentence says so plainly. The men who possess the railroads are criminals, have extorted from the people, have furnished Ingalls passes and charged the poor workers three cents a mile, and Ingalls is returning the favor. The railroads have not cost one-fifth of what Ingalls says, the oaths of the railroad managers relative to taxes in testimony. Again, if as Ingalls says, the wealth of a nation is equal to the aggregate of all wealth of its citizens, why is not the government rich enough to own part of its own wealth? The government does pay more wages for less work than any other employer and that is just why the majority, who are laborers, should favor it as an employer. Ingalls would have the profits in transportation go to make more millionaires, while socialists would have it all go to the workers and none to idlers or uselessly employed. In no department of life is the public so well served by the useful workers as in the postoffice department, and that is the only PRODUCTIVE industry operated by the government. Every postal employe will give the lie to the statement that the workers are lost to the sense of personal responsibility. Railroads intrigue for hundreds of millions a year by bribing congress, while the poorest paid public employes have to beg for justice and decent pay from the corrupt and degraded things who draw \$5,000 a year for serving the people as senators and congressmen and get many times that much, if they have any influence, for serving the railroads. Nice men for labor to ask for justice from. It is these \$5,000 a year people who are intriguing for higher compensation, longer vacations and unearned promotional! Whew!

It is not exaggeration to say that any one of half a dozen great railroad managers in the country, were he allowed to carry on the government as a private business, could pay the pensions, the interest on the public debt, support the army and navy, construct the public buildings, pay all salaries, maintain the diplomatic service and carry the mails for 75 per cent of what it now costs the taxpayers, and make a great fortune for himself besides a every year. If government can hardly conduct the limited functions it now performs what would be the result of an attempt to control the complete interests of all social life under the management of those who have failed in the successful administration of their personal affairs?

Good idea! By all means let the government out to some of the corporations to run and see how much they can squeeze the workers down to accepting and see how much they can make in dividends! Great thought from Ingalls! Why not allow them to do it? They will agree to pay the pension, interest, army and navy and be the whole push for the government revenue. So will any monarch. And that is what monarchy is. Ingalls in this says in effect that he favors a monarchy, a one-man absolute power, because he can force people to work more and take less pay for it. The last sentence shows that Ingalls considers government a failure since he resigned(?) from the senate in disgust.

The advocates of socialism are in the habit of pointing to the postoffice department as an illustration of their

theories, and of the tendency of states toward centralization.

On the contrary, the mail service of the United States is a typical burdensome and irresponsible monopoly of the most offensive description. Beyond appointing a host of officials to collect, pouch, dispatch and deliver, to distribute the letters, papers and parcels, the government has nothing whatever to do with their transmission. They are conveyed by railroads, steamboats, stage coaches and express companies at extortionate rates. Some trains getting the entire cost of maintenance and operation from their receipts from the postoffice. The government pays an average of eight cents the pound for an average of 100 pounds, and one half mile, while the express companies carry merchandise from New York to Chicago, 1,000 miles, for \$3 per 100 pounds, and some transcontinental lines will take goods from New Orleans to San Francisco, 4,000 miles, at the same rate, while the government, by law, compels the citizens to pay for carrying their letters at the rate of \$10 per ton. As a matter of fact, it is much nearer \$1,000 per ton, for very few letters weigh the ounce which may be taken for two cents postage.

And not only so, but the government renounces all liability for safe delivery of the property which it compels the citizens to intrust to its charge, except to the extent of \$10, when it is registered. And this is the basis upon which socialism would have all the business of the country conducted.

The postoffice therefore ought to be abolished. It is such a burden to the people. It is a monopoly that smells to the skies—because the people control part if not all of it. Like the public school system, it pays not its expenses and should therefore not longer burden the executive and the courts that do not produce enough revenue to pay their way and should be abolished. Any corporation could hire men to fill the places for from one to three dollars a day where now the public has to pay from \$5 to \$50 a day. Ingalls knows, for he helped to commit the rape that the railroads charge the government fifty times as much for the same service as they do the express companies. And Ingalls voted for it. And that is why the postoffice does not pay. The government assumes no liability only because the railroad thieves who compose congress do not want it to, so the people will patronize the express companies.

Any merchant who treated his customers as the United States citizen treats his postal service would be promptly adjudged a bankrupt and sent to the penitentiary. It cannot be denied that some aspects of individualism are not altogether lovely. Unrestrained competition leads to a herd of moral monsters, with the rapacity of the shark, the greed of the wolf, the cunning of the fox, the ferocity of the tiger and the ingenuity of the devil.

Any merchant who would receive such treatment from his servant as the public does from Uncle Sam would send that corrupt servant to prison. And that is because the fool public have employed such adventures as Ingalls to serve them. All the evils that Ingalls decries are the products of the men and the system that oppose socialism. They would be in the penitentiary if they had their just dues, but as they have been slick enough to keep their paws on the bench and in the executive, they are safe—until socialism shall win the day.

But what public officials have robbed the people in the way of waste is nothing like the untold hundreds of millions annually taken from the public by reason of profit on goods. The making of mankind by competition into a herd of moral monsters, like sharks, wolves, foxes and devils, is a splendid and irrefutable reason why socialism won't work! Now really, isn't it? But it is just like all the other reasons that are urged against socialism. Just like the reasons of the king that a rule of the people will not work but that his rule is all right.

But these socialism could neither banish nor destroy. No change in the social order can extirpate selfishness or eliminate the evil propensities of man. These are the result of his nature, and he can be reached only by conscience, and the reformation of the individual must come from within.

If the evil propensities of man cannot be eradicated or changed by environment, what is the use of schools, churches, or even law? Why not let the boys grow up amid any vile surroundings, and the girls might as well be raised in brothels. Either this is so, or Ingalls asserts as truth what is known of all intelligent men as false. Socialism will make conditions in which there will be no incentive to crime. Man is naturally good. He is made a beast, just as Ingalls says, by competition. In one paragraph you will note that he says unrestrained competition makes moral monsters of men, and in the next one says that no change will make any difference in man. In one or the other of these statements he will fully competes with Ananias. And that is the reason why socialism is an error!

America has been the paradise and the nineteenth century the golden age of individualism. As no other place has the world offered richer prizes or a freer field to capacity, courage and intelligence. There have been errors and evils, perfection is still remote, but there has been greater progress in science, in popular education, in the means of livelihood, in sanitation, in the means of communication, in the conquest over the mysteries of the universe, than in all the centuries that preceded. We have become the richest and most powerful nation because every man has been left free to master himself, to improve his condition, to obtain reward for superior merit.

True enough. In no other place have greed and crime been so robustly developed. It has become a nation of money idolaters, where people are taught from the cradle to worship the golden calf. The prizes are richer than ever won by the pirates of old, from whence comes the word "prize." No other word is so fitting. Prizes and piracy are corollaries. Progress has come in spite of individualism, not because of it. Individualism has always ruled the nations of the earth, and if it brings progress then the world should have been progressed centuries ago. It did not progress because it was bound down by the rems of individualism. It was when the people undertook to do the governing business collectively that progress started. When they began to do the industries collectively there will be as great progress in that department as in others. Present methods are crude. Some people in this nation are rich, but the nation is poor—a pauper, in fact. Even Ingalls tells us that 97 in every 100 people die penniless. Can a nation be held up as a success in which all are paupers at death except three in a hundred?

And this vast material development has been accompanied by unparelleled activity of the moral and artistic energies of the race. Never have religion, charity and self-sacrifice done so much to alleviate human suffering, or realize better concerted and nobler uses of colleges, universities, technical schools, offer free instruction to the humblest. Parks, galleries and museums afford the means of recreation to the poorest. Hospitals for the sick, asylums for the insane, asylums for the unfortunate, excepting the golden rule. As just the faith that the brotherhood of man is not an empty formula or a delusive fiction. Society is a foretaste and a promise of the life to come. The bodies have done nothing in this world, nor ever will. The mental fact of Christian civilization is the immeasurable value of the individual soul.

Is it not queer that this great development, the result, according to Ingalls, of individualism, should develop the opposite of indi-

vidualism, or morals and altruism? Go to the dictionary and look up the meaning of these words and compare them with individualism. Never have men devised more cunningly to steal from their fellows, to rob millions of a few cents a month or year, than they might amass millions and give a few pennies of it to alleged charities or schools organized to teach lies, as the German emperor is compelling the universities to teach the lies of his liking. The endowments of schools, art galleries, hospitals and museums are with stolen pence from the necessities of the poor—the meanest theft possible for man to commit. There is no sense in the fourteen words of the last sentence. They sound well but have no meaning whatever. And all this is an argument that socialism is an error!

Socialism is the final refuge of those who have failed in the struggle for life. It is the prescription of those who are born tired. It means the survival of the unfit, and the inevitable result would be degeneration. It would deprive ambition of its incentive, industry of its stimulus, excellence of its supremacy, and character of its reward.

Socialism is the refuge of those who have examined the thesis. They are not the failures. Ninety-seven out of 100 are failures and they are democrats and republicans. The election returns prove it and prove that Ingalls is a wind-jammer, pure and simple, and talks for money to the highest bidder, or else is a fool. The present system means the survival of the unfit—the cunning, the unscrupulous, the deceiver, the skin-flint. The present system deprives ambition of incentive and drives 97 out of 100 to a pauper's grave, even according to Ingalls, with the result that the remainder are "wolves, sharks, tigers and devils." What more scathing thing could socialists say of the present individualistic system, to which such—peans of praise are poured out by Ingalls and other cast-aside members of the social dung-pile?

Individualism would lift all to the level of the highest. Socialism would drag all down to the level of the lowest. Individualism is progress and life. Socialism is stagnation and death.

If individualism will do this, why doesn't it do it? We have individualism. Why are all not lifted to the level of the highest? Or is the making of men into "sharks, tigers and devils" the high level that Ingalls considers the highest? If it is, please let us have the highest. It means the recognition of the brotherhood of man. If the present insane, dog-eat-dog system is progress and life, let us try stagnation and death of socialism. Anything but the present condition will do. Nothing could be worse than a condition that is making devils of men. And Ingalls admits the present system is doing that.

And there you have one of the advocates of mammon. He is one of the men who could be hired to say things in defense of any brutal monarch that ever sat on a throne. He is the kind that has been used by all despots to deceive the masses and keep them worshipping the devil under the impression that they were worshipping God. Ingalls is one of the men who has aided in perpetuating the present infamous system, was one of its law-makers, one of its devotees, one who sang the song of mammon, and when he discovered some awakening intelligence in the people of Kansas sang the song given at the head of this sketch, hoping to deceive the people and steal their franchises for another term in the senate where he might serve for six more years the thieves who run the government and industries. But it did not work, and Ingalls was laid on the shelf from which he will never be taken off. And there are others to follow. There is not a logical statement in his whole article. It is like all pleas for plutocracy—a tissue of pretty-sounding phrases that will deceive the foolish. But there are too many thousands of people who have studied the subject and who see through the glitter of high-sounding words.

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CAPITAL, paper, \$1.20 (the four parts separately 30 cents each), cloth, \$1.75, half morocco \$2.

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SOCIALISM FROM GENESIS TO REVELATION, cloth, \$1.25.

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A comprehensive view of the movement in America, containing a brief history of socialism in this country, the life of the first American agitator, Karl Marx's opinion of the single tax, machine vs. hand labor, biographical sketches of leading American socialists, etc. A valuable book.

THE LABOR ANNUAL REFORMERS' YEAR BOOK FOR 1900, cloth, 60 cents; paper, 35 cents.
Joseph Edwards, an English reformer, has for six years published at a loss the labor annual as a guide to the progress of the movement in Great Britain and America. It gives a valuable survey, especially of the English movement. Back numbers can be supplied.

THE PEOPLE'S MARX, by Gabriel Deville; translated by Robert R. La Monte; cloth, \$1.50; paper, 50 cents.
This represents in popular form an epitome of the 'Capital' of Karl Marx, and is a valuable textbook for students of socialist economics who do not care to read 'Capital.'

WHAT MEANS THIS STRIKE? Daniel DeLeon, 5 cents.
DRIFT OF OUR TIME, by Prof. Frank Parsons, 10 cents.

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SOCIALISM AND THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT, Sombart, cloth, \$1.25.

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THE NEW RIGHT, by S. M. Jones, mayor of Toledo, cloth, \$1.

HOW IT CAN BE DONE, Richardson, cloth, \$1.
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OPEN LETTER TO THE RICH, Flint, 5 cents.
NEW ZEALAND IN A NUTSHELL, Howard, (Wayland's Monthly for May) 5 cents.

UTOPIA, More, 5 cents.
This was written in 1515.
REALISM IN LITERATURE AND ART, Darrow, 5 cents.

COLD FACTS, Cole, 10 cents.
THE BIRTH OF FREEDOM, Salisbury, 10 cents.

COMMUNISM OF JOHN RUSKIN, selections from his writings; cloth, 75 cents; paper, 25 cents.

THE WORKERS: THE WEST, by Walter A. Wyckoff; cloth, \$1.25.
How a young college graduate went out to make his living with his hands, and nearly starved to death in Chicago.

CULTIVATION OF ART; Religious Puritanism, Money-getting; Cooper; cloth, 35 cents; paper, 20 cents.

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GOVERNMENT ANALYZED: What It Should Be, Kelso; cloth, \$1.00.

HENRY CADAVERRE, Bellamy; cloth, 75 cents.
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KING MAMMON AND THE HEIR APPARENT, Richardson; cloth, \$1.00; paper, 50 cents.

MAN IN THE PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE, Buchner; \$1.00.

MAN AND MACHINE, Ingersoll (including also Church and Labor, by Rogers, and Private Business a Public Trust, by Prof. Small) 5 cents; 40 cents per dozen.

WILLIAM MORRIS, selections from his writings; 25 cents.

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GUERNSEY MARKET HOUSE PLAN, Owen, 15 cents.

WHITHER ARE WE DRIFTING AS A NATION? Willey, 50 cents.

THE CO-OPOLITAN, Clarke; 35 cents.
EVOLUTIONARY POLITICS, by Walter T. Mills; cloth, \$1.00; paper, 25 cents.

MAN OR DOLLAR, WHICH? 25 cents.
THE RIGHTS AND WRONGS OF IRELAND, Darrow, 20 cents.

SILAS HOOD, Thornton, 25 cents.
CAST THOU THE FIRST STONE, Norton, 50 cents.

STORY FROM PULLMANTOWN, Beech Meyer; 25 cents.

CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH, Chavannes; 25 cents.
IN BRIGHTER CLIMES, Chavannes; 25 cents.
A TRAMP IN SOCIETY, Cowdry; 15 cents.
WISDOM OF LIFE, Schopenhauer; 50 cents.
THE BANKER'S DREAM, 25 cents.
HOW I ACQUIRED MY MILLIONS, Corey; 10 cents.



These are the labels of the Coopers' International Union. Look for them on barrels and all goods made by coopers.

The Feasibility of Socialism.

The Philistines of today—the Grad-grinds of our commercial life, whose sole aim in life seems to be the accumulation of private property—are never tired of telling us socialists that our ideal is utterly "impractical" and "visionary." Some of them hate our ideal, others declare it to be "an iridescent dream," but all are united in declaring that it will never be realized.

The dividing line between the "practicability" of the present system and the "impracticability" of socialism I have never been able to ascertain. The fundamental principles of socialism are (1) public ownership, instead of private ownership, (2) co-operation, instead of competition.

Now, we have existing around us countless illustrations of the successful working of both these principles. The streets we walk on, our public buildings and schools, our municipal gas and water plants, etc., are essentially socialistic in their nature, for they are public property.

We socialists are logical; our opponents are not. We know a good thing—public ownership—when we see it, and we want to extend it to every department of our lives. If municipal gas is good, and municipal water, why, then, is not municipal milk and bread good? If government ownership of the post-office in this country, and of the telegraph and express office in England, and of the railroads in Germany, is good, why is not government ownership of the clothing industry or the building industry a good thing?

The fundamental principles of socialism are as old as the hills, and as impregnable. If socialism was merely a Utopian scheme, evolved out of a few men's heads, then truly it could never carry much weight. But the socialism of today is a science; the co-operative commonwealth is the flower of democracy, and the inevitable outcome of existing economic conditions.

A New Zealand of Our Own. Comrade Yates of Kansas City suggests that we establish in this country a New Zealand of our own by getting a large number of socialists to concentrate in one county in some state, there to build up a socialist community and make laws locally along the same lines that have been attempted in New Zealand.

This is not exactly the way in which the people of New Zealand made their changes. They made the state do the work, they seized on the government generally. They did not attempt to build up a state within a state, but utilized the machinery at hand.

Now, in a way, this idea is susceptible of application in the United States. There is Oklahoma. The socialist propaganda there is active and thorough. Suppose the comrades there were reinforced by others who can just as well make a change of location, and reinforced so greatly that by the time Oklahoma is allowed statehood the socialists will have gained political control.

Isn't there meat in this? Oklahoma is as good a place as any to try it on. It is as productive a piece of Uncle Sam's land as there is anywhere. Situated between the north and the south it raises the crops of both regions and has advantages coming from both climates. Its admission as a state cannot be long delayed. It is new country so far as politics is concerned; there is no rough growth of ancient prejudice to peel off. It is already a good place to live in and a good place to make better. The territories have nearly all become states, so there is not much choice, but Oklahoma offers most excellent opportunities, and it is probable that the Indian Territory will be united with Oklahoma in forming a single state.

Bellamy's books, Looking Backward and Equality, are having a revival in France. The French socialists are delighted with their fitness for propaganda work, and will circulate translations in large editions. M. Jaures is reported to have said that Bellamy's work is worth that of a hundred Dewey's.

FOREIGN ITEMS

Cuban women are making duck trousers for American soldiers at 7 cents a pair.

Sergius Tolstoy, son of Count Leo, is about to start a radical daily in Moscow.

A Japanese member of parliament recently resigned his seat in order to study socialism. In Switzerland the socialists have gained two seats in the local assembly for the canton of St. Gall.

The Czar of Russia has ratified all the articles agreed on at The Hague peace conference. Must be getting ready for war.

The profits from the government monopoly of the liquor business in Russia, which now covers 35 districts, were 321,000,000 roubles last year.

The street car strike at Berlin has been settled by the mediation of the burgomaster. Two workmen have died from sabre wounds, 50 were injured and there were 103 arrests.

Nearly every town in Europe with an industrial population had a special demonstration on May Day. Most of the socialist papers on the continent issued special May Day numbers.

The war question in England has made the socialist agitation doubly difficult and discouraging, but the workers there have increased their courage and their efforts so that they are more than meeting the emergency.

Regarding the union of British socialist forces Brotherhood says: "In this country, as in America, the forces of socialism are beginning to unite—a sure presage of nearing victory. The United Labor Party, whose name is still prophetic rather than accurately expressive of the situation, has won the adhesion of the Independent Labor Party. At Glasgow, the other day, acting on the sound advice of J. Keir Hardie, who for the eighth time presided over the annual conference of the I. L. P., the delegates resolved to affiliate with the United Labor party. The U. L. P. is not composed merely of working-men in the narrow sense of the term. It is composed of those who desire to promote the reorganizing of society on the basis of labor instead of the present basis of privilege. It will probably be ready for the field before the next general election, and ought to secure the return of at least a little group of earnest socialistic reformers, who will make the socialist ideal better understood by the nation."

Young Oxford, the organ of the Ruskin Hall labor college, keeps standing this "extract from the chronicle of an ancient monastery," which might well be digested by American anti-socialists: "In the year of our Lord 1432 there arose a grievous quarrel among the brethren over the number of teeth in the mouth of a horse. For thirteen days the disputation raged without ceasing. All the ancient books and chronicles were fetched out, and wonderful and ponderous erudition, such as was never before heard of in this region, was made manifest. At the beginning of the fourteenth day a youthful friar of goodly bearing asked his learned superior for permission to add a word, and straightway, to the wonderment of the disputants whose deep wisdom he sore vexed, he beseeched them to unbend in a manner coarse and unheard of, and to look into the open mouth of a horse to find answer to their questionings. At this, their dignity being grievously hurt, they waxed exceedingly wroth, and, joining in a mighty uproar, they flew upon him and smote him hip and thigh, and cast him out forthwith. For, said they, surely Satan has tempted this bold neophyte to declare unholy and unheard-of ways of finding truth contrary to all the teachings of the fathers. After many days more of grievous strife the dove of peace sat on the assembly, and they spake as one man, declaring the problem to be an everlasting mystery because of a grievous dearth of historical and theological evidence thereof, and so ordered the same writ down."

Socialism and Individualism. From the Chautauqua Journal. The word socialism is of French origin and has various meanings. Its more general significance is: A theory of society which advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than have hitherto prevailed.

Socialism in this general sense has reference to the view of those who hold that the individual should be subordinate to the welfare of society. It implies the putting away of all selfishness, that society is not simply an aggregate of individuals but a living, growing organism.

It means the doing away of that individualism which our present commercial system fosters and setting up the doctrine of altruism or devotion to others.

In this sense of the word Plato, Aristotle and Sir Thomas Moore were socialists, while many of the greatest thinkers and writers on political economy from Plato to the present time have been socialists.

Opposed to these are a few who reject the idea of the state as an organism and believe that the standpoint of the individual is sufficient both in sense and practice. Individualism regards humanity as made up of warring elements. Socialism regards it as an organic whole. The aim of socialism is the fulfillment of service, the aim of individualism is the attainment of personal advantage—riches, place or fame. Socialism seeks such an organization of society as shall secure to everyone the most complete development of his powers. Individualism seeks primarily the satisfaction of the particular wants of each one in the hope that the pursuit of private gain will in the end secure public welfare.

The vote of Richmond, Ind., was 2,472 in favor of municipal street-lighting plant to 492 against. The mayor recommends the building of a new plant in place of buying the old one.

The Literature of Discontent.

(Continued from Second Page.)

DISNEY'S ALMANAC, 25 cents. PLAIN TALK IN PSALM AND PARABLE; Ernest H. Crosby; cloth, \$1.50.

WANTED—A NEW CONSCIENCE, McCallum; 5 cents. THE LARGER FAITH, Coulter; cloth, \$1.00.

Poetry. POEMS FOR THE PEOPLE, 5 cents. VOICES OF THE MORNING, Edgerton. cloth, 75 cents.

UNCLE IKE'S IDEAS, Miller; 25 cents. POEMS AND SONGS, Clark; cloth, \$1.25.

WAR ECHOES, Crosby, 10 cents.

Appeal to Reason Special Numbers.

163. Public ownership data. 230. Municipal ownership. 222. Farmers and Socialism. 225. Address of Eugene V. Debs at New York City.

227. New Zealand Labor Laws. 229. Bellamy's Parable of the Water Tank. 230. Trades Union Edition.

231. Militarism and Imperialism. 232. The Society of the Future, by Leonard D. Abbott.

233. Humanity vs. Patriotism, by Eugene V. Brewster.

234. Monopolies and Trusts, by Rev. E. L. Wheelock.

Price half-a-cent a copy for 1 or 1,000.

Wayland's Monthly.

No 1, May, 1900—New Zealand in a Nut Shell, by Harvey Howard.

No. 2, June, 1900—Direct Legislation, by J. W. Sullivan, with addendum to 1900.

No. 3, July, 1900—Trusts, by J. A. Wayland; Hard Times, the Cause and Cure, by F. G. R. Gordon, and a number of other timely pamphlets combined.

Issued monthly; 50 cents a year; 5 cents a number; 100 copies, \$4.00.

Words From New Zealanders.

A good many New Zealanders have been visiting this country lately on their way to the Paris exposition. Without exception all are astonished at the evils we put up with in this country under a system of private ownership. They have been shocked at the vice and wickedness seen on landing at San Francisco and it is incomprehensible to them why we permit such wrongs to exist when we might so easily get rid of them.

N. Meuli of Wanganui and John Score of Gisborne are two citizens of New Zealand now in this country, and they lately gave a Kansas City reporter an interesting interview that furnished the natives of that town something to ponder over. "One of the first things we found to criticize here is your railway system of private ownership," said the latter. "Now we feel in our country that the railroads should belong to the whole people, just exactly as do the ordinary highways. We feel toward your private railroads just as I would judge your people would feel if some corporation were allowed to put in pike roads and charge tolls for profit."

"How does government ownership work? Magnificently. We have a minister of railroads in our cabinet. He directs them. The employees are appointed for competency and are kept employed during good behavior. Changes in party do not disturb them. We have elections every three years, but no spoils system, as you know it in America, extends to the railroad service. The result of government ownership is a fair and equitable system of rates, as low as is compatible with efficient service—and special favors for nobody, in fact that is the main point."

"You see we don't believe in special privileges, or in very rich men," said Mr. Meuli. "That's what we meant in the out-set by saying that our is a workingman's country. We have no millionaires. They are practically impossibilities by reason of our graduated income tax. Incomes of £300 and under are exempt. On incomes between £300 and £1,000 the tax is 2½%—that is, sixpence on the pound. An income that reaches £1,000 is taxed double, that is 5%, a shilling on the pound, and so on up, constantly getting heavier, but I can't recall the exact figures."

"And another thing, any man or woman who has lived in the islands twenty-five years, has never been convicted of a crime, and who reaches the age of 65 years, gets a pension of £1 a week, if penniless. If such person has an income of £25 a year, say, then the pension is £27 a year. The government makes the income up to £52 a year—\$5 a week. A man and his wife both reaching 65 years, and qualifying as I have stated, would, therefore, be sure of \$10 a week to end of their days. We feel that this is only just, for even the poorest people pay the taxes to the government, whether directly or indirectly, so long as they are able to work. They support the government while they can, why shouldn't the government in turn support them when they can not?"

Why Is It, Trades Unionists?

Why is it that you persist in doing something every fall that you do not believe in and is against your principles? For instance, you have a meeting of the labor organization of which you are a member to nominate and elect a delegate to your national convention—what would you say if some fellow member got up in your meeting and would nominate your employer? Your first objection would be that he was no member of your union and second would be that he being a boss would legislate in favor of the bosses. You would send one of your own class, a fellow workman who could go to the convention and legislate so that you would receive the benefit of it as you belong to the same class that he does.

Now do you not see that it is the same thing when you cast your ballot in such a way that you send your boss to congress to make laws for you and at the same time you know that his interests are not the same as yours? Then how can you expect him to make any laws that will benefit you?

If you want to send one to a legislative body to represent you you must send one of your own class so that your interests are common. Think over this matter. Philadelphia, Pa. CHAS. GREENAN.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

The war on the ice trust in New York has pushed the question of a city ice plant to the front.

Fort Scott, Kans., is considering public ownership of street railway, lighting and waterworks plants.

San Francisco is thinking about a municipal telephone system with underground conduits and for 50,000 subscribers.

Greater New York has been asked by Richmond borough to build and operate a free ferry between that borough and Manhattan.

Honolulu has no municipal governments whatever, offering an excellent opportunity to start in the right way with municipal ownership.

A feature of the city park at Denver is a ladies' department in charge of a matron and fitted with a great many conveniences, including all the medical and surgical supplies needed for any emergency.

Omaha voted for purchase of waterworks at the spring election, but the mayor and council have seen a technicality which enables them to dodge the will of the voters. Yet they oppose direct legislation in Omaha.

London, England, will install a municipal telephone system at a cost of \$10,000,000. It will thus defeat a telephone trust and revolutionize telephone charges. The charge of the private company is \$75 for installation; this will be reduced to \$15, with other charges proportionate.

San Francisco is working toward city ownership of waterworks under the article in the new city charter which declares it "to be the purpose and intention of the people of the city and county that its public utilities shall be gradually acquired, and ultimately owned by the city and county."

The editor of the Baptist Journal and Messenger is a religious man who has been studying civic problems. He has found this truth: "It is coming to be accepted as a general principle that all these public matters in which every person is interested must be controlled by the city if the work is to be well done."

In Salem, Va., the municipal electric light plant charges from 20 to 35 cents a month per incandescent lamp, according to the number. In Roanoke, Va., a private corporation charges \$1 a month per incandescent lamp. This is only one comparison out of many.

The mayor of Philadelphia recently signed a blanket ordinance giving a telephone franchise involving millions of dollars to a private company without consideration. John Wanamaker is busy stirring up the Philadelphia city officials in a way that may stop their career.

During the first year's operation of the waterworks under city ownership at Bozeman, Mont., the tax levy was reduced from 2½ mills to 1 mill. An extension of the mains was made as well for one-fifth of what it would have otherwise cost the taxpayer alone for one year's rental on street hydrants of the extension alone.

The light committee of Portland, Ind., city council lately reported that sixty-five arc lights used on Portland's streets cost \$62.72 altogether for the past eleven months under municipal ownership. Under private ownership the same service cost Portland \$89 a light a year, so that the service by the town is done for less than that charged for one light by the private company. How does that strike you, heathen?

The municipality of London, England, acquired one of the street railway systems about a year ago. At that time the service was wretched, and the employees were compelled to work seven days in a week and furnish their own uniforms. In a year of public ownership the service has been reorganized, the employees are furnished uniforms and given one day's holiday a week, the fare has been reduced from one penny to a half-penny, and the highways committee reports to the city council a surplus of \$170,000.

Mayor Jordan of Westport, Miss., says: "Before our city installed a plant we paid \$75 per year for each light, with 1,200 incandescent power capacity. Our street lights now cost us virtually nothing, as both water and lights are more than paying expenses, and we consider that we are getting our fire hydrants and street lights without cost. Every city ought to own its own plant by all means. We have been running about two years, and are now saving some money, and our business is increasing every day. We have about 5,000 population."

A Washington paper gives an incident which will awaken memories with any person who has patronized a private gas company. It says that the press club of Washington received a gas bill one month that was \$75 higher than usual. A roar about it brought out an explanation that the club had given a beef-steak dinner cooked upon gas stoves and that the bill must be paid or the company would cut off the supply. It turned out that an entirely different club had given the dinner in question at the hotel, and that the gas company had raised the amount of the bill on the strength of a newspaper report of the dinner. The company reduced the bill, but did not reform.

The report of the superintendent of the Boston city printing plant just out, shows that the profits for the past three years, over the prices paid under the old contract, have been over \$30,000. This is the plant that the daily papers in the pay of franchise-holders have been telling the public has been a failure! Not only this has been done, but the sum paid in wages has been largely in excess of what private employers have paid for the same service. And that is what labor should have. Why should labor support a system of private employment that pays others to boss and own them? Let labor produce all wealth and if it were intelligent would have nothing less than all wealth. It will get all wealth as soon as it ceases to vote the republican and democratic tickets!

KEEP THEM ON HAND.

Comrades, we are in this battle with. Every worker counts, so you cannot afford to lose the services of a single one. A few of the boys in the larger cities can combine and keep a stock of 100 or more yearly subscription cards on hand at some central point so that when a new convert announces himself ready to sell in, he can get a few and pitch in selling them in his town. As it is now, he must wait until a letter is forwarded to Girard and cards returned and by the time he cleans out one lot and is ready for another, the same delay again faces him. Hundreds and hundreds of scalps are lost every week because delays discourage new workers. Now what you will be the FIRST to keep a stock ready at hand and what comrade will lead the list for his city? Remember, they can always be cashed in on a day's notice—simply a more convenient, rapid transit method of handling subs. THE APPEAL will print address of the comrades who will keep them on hand thus showing workers where they can supply themselves without delay. Let's make the list a good long one!

SOCIETY OF THE FUTURE by Leonard D. Abbott in No. 232. Other valuable matter. Bundle of 100 for 50 cents.

EMILE ZOLA on War; Liebknecht on "What Militarism on the Fields of Competition;" "Fifty Million Dollars a Day" by F. G. R. Gordon; Tolstoy on the Boer War—all are in No. 231. Fifty cents for 100 copies.

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YES YOU DID IT!

If you keep a file of the APPEAL, turn back with me just a few issues ago.

Flushed with success in adding 20,000 editors to the APPEAL list, you fellows actually had the audacity to boast the flag on No. 206 to 22,126.

Now see what you have done? No. 182, 29,000. No. 202, 34,000. No. 208, 58,126. No. 209, 53,224. No. 210, 55,088. No. 211, 57,000. No. 212, 59,231. No. 213, 61,150. No. 214, 64,978. No. 215, 68,806. No. 216, 68,522. No. 217, 70,150. No. 218, 71,982. No. 219, 73,814. No. 220, 76,758. No. 221, 81,208. No. 222, 83,240. No. 223, 85,272. No. 224, 88,216. No. 225, 91,160. No. 226, 94,104. No. 227, 96,048. No. 228, 91,170. No. 229, 93,720. No. 230, 94,900. No. 231, 96,132. No. 232, 97,067. No. 233, 97,923. No. 234, 98,312. No. 235

See what jumps you made "when the spirit moved you!" The first 13 weeks after 205 saw an increase of 29,400. One week alone saw them pile in almost 5,000 strong. A glance at the office record shows that you sent No. 108 to 124,000; No. 107 to 106,000 and on No. 230—well, you just broke the press down. We crawled out with 302,000 and special editions and extra hundreds being called for right along. No. 230 rolled up to 153,000 and they are still going.

Now watch this! Start, November 25, 1900. At end of 50 days, 66,265; at end of 100 days, 83,240; at end of 150 days, 93,700; at end of 180 days, 97,912.

Just 30 days left now to make the 100 day record. Double it and leave some to spare! These big jumps were aided and abetted greatly by the California Socialists. It was a neck-and-neck race between Los Angeles and Chicago but Los Angeles captured that brass band of 20 pieces. They are tooting away now in great shape. Chicago fired in 1900 at the last moment and almost broke even.

If just 100 comrades will enlist in the New Zealand army see how quick the list will dance up to the 150,000 mark. Don't let a single day pass but you average at least one new scalp. Throw in an extra ten every now and then to tide you over a couple of days.

The names of the "New Zealand army" will be published in the book which will be written by the APPEAL commissioner.

Will yours be there? Write at once and start off a list.

American Notes.

Three firms took four tons of cereal coffee from Ruskin Commonwealth in two months.

A referendum on a state ticket headed by G. C. Clemens for governor is being taken by the S. D. P. branches in Kansas.

The street car company at Kansas City has about \$45,000 as deposits from employes, the interest on which is sufficient to pay nearly the entire running expenses for one day.

Sixteen men at the Burlington shops at Hannibal, Mo., quit because they were getting 92 cents a day and 3 cents of that was taken for relief insurance. Some men cannot stand prosperity.

The Brooklyn Co-operation Club holds open and section meetings for the spread of socialism. Addresses, papers and debates by leading socialists make the weekly open meetings valuable.

M. Murai of Tokyo, president of the National Socialist Association of Japan, is in this country on his way to the Paris Exposition. Socialism is growing as fast in Japan as in any other part of the world.

A. W. Ricker, formerly secretary of the Populist state central committee of Iowa and member of the Populist national committee, has resigned in order to put in his political time for the S. D. P.

A Detroit man has perfected an invention by which two men can do the work of 27 with a cash saving of 75 per cent in the manufacture of brass castings. It is so much in advance of the old method that it promises to displace men all over the world.

Note this admission from the Fort Wayne Journal-Cazette: "The unexpected growth of the Social Democracy in Indiana is giving the leaders of the two old parties considerable worry." It is typical of what a good many other Indiana papers are saying.

Charles H. Kerr & Co., will issue the first number of the International Socialist Review in July. It will be edited by Comrade A. M. Simons and will represent the views of socialist writers of all schools. A feature will be monthly letters from foreign correspondents.

Graduates of Yale have always prided themselves on the democracy of their university, but the New York papers say that the growing respect paid to money in this country has changed things so that the sons of rich men have gained their upper hand in Yale undergraduate affairs, and unless a student's father is rich he is not in it.

Oil went down to six cents a gallon in New Vienna, O., because the Standard Oil Co. wanted to freeze out an independent dealer. The anti-trust man is frozen and oil is back to 12 cents. If the public had not failed to support the independent, oil would have declined to two cents—or lower. They have anti-trust laws in Ohio, too.

Direct Legislation.

The municipal ownership agitation is teaching the people more about direct legislation than anything else at the present time.

A referendum vote has just been taken in Switzerland, which resulted in the rejection of the proposed law for compulsory insurance for workmen.

Carl Vrooman, one of the famous Vrooman brothers, has gone abroad to make a special study of improvements made in direct legislation in Switzerland. This will be his second visit to the Swiss republic, and before sailing he completed a book treating of the application of the initiative and referendum in this country. While abroad he will study the socialist movement generally, especially in Japan and New Zealand.

John T. DuBois, consul general of the United States at St. Gall, Switzerland, says: "I doubt, owing to the careful enforcement of the anti-adulteration law of Switzerland and the prompt and vigorous protest of the people themselves when an infraction of it is discovered, whether there is any country in Europe that has, as a rule, purer more wholesome bread than this republic." In Switzerland the people have the power to protest and can see to the enforcement of the laws through direct legislation. In this country we have to grin and bear it.

The municipal program adopted at the Columbus conference of the National Municipal League provides that "to perfect the organization of democracy in the cities, thus enabling the will of the people to become directly effective, it is proposed to make possible certain radical changes of political methods." One of these is to leave each city free "to establish a system of direct legislation, so that qualified voters of the city may submit and a majority thereof voting on may decide by direct vote upon propositions relative to city matters."

Figures vs. Marcus. Mark Hanna said to the Ohio republican convention:

"The balance of net trade in favor of the United States during the last century preceding this administration amounted to \$211,000,000. In one hundred years that was the net balance to the credit of the United States in our trade with the world. In three years of the administration of President William McKinley the net balance as shown by the books of the United States treasury is \$1,450,000,000. It is \$1,239,000,000 more accomplished in those three years than had been accomplished in 100 years preceding."

Hanna tried to leave the inference that we are paid in gold for that balance of trade. Well, our excess of exports during 1897, 1898 and 1899, in McKinley's administration amounted to \$1,464,413,299. The net gold received in those years was \$74,430,876. There was a balance of \$1,380,000,000 of interest and dividends for Europe. Yes, we accomplished a billion or so more, but it has been for turriners. Maybe some day we will waks up and go to doing things for ourselves.