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SOCIALISM will produce the next and great dominant party of the United States.

THE republican platform declares for protection in one paragraph and in the next for reciprocity—for tariff and free trade!

THE boys have spit on their hands and taken a new hold of the club business again. The lists are rolling in.

At the special election for congress in Utah to fill the place declared vacant by the refusal of that body to seat Roberts, the socialists cast 627 votes. In Salt Lake 323 of the votes were cast.

THE republican party declares for the admission of Oklahoma to statehood. This territory today has at least 30% socialist sentiment and if it is not controlled by socialists it will be the fault of the socialists of this nation, who can, if they will it, control the convention which makes its constitution. Oklahoma has the most energetic socialist workers in the nation, and with proper assistance can become a socialist state.

AN election was held in Cuba on the 16th. The dispatches said it would be a test as to whether she was fit for self government. If she voted the republican ticket and turned over all the franchises to the corporations it will evidence her fitness—if she does not it will be proof of her unfitness! As the administration, run by corporations, have all the counting machinery, it is likely that Cuba will be fit for self government.

SOCIALISTS should beware of nominating candidates in convention. They should adopt the system of preferential voting, and the membership should elect the men who are to bear aloft their principles. It is very easy to manipulate a convention. I have on my desk a letter from one of the great cities of the land. The writer says he was one of six men who met in a room ten feet square the night before an old party convention and named the ticket. Not a man named was lost. The convention was so handled that it only ratified the selection of these six men. Socialists should beware of such opportunities to control their organization.

In the item referring to butter in No. 237, the statement that butter could be made at 44c a pound and pay 20 cents a gallon for milk was an error, the percentage of butter in milk being less than 5%. I got mixed on the weight of milk. However, as it costs now only 3-5 of a cent a pound in that dairy to make butter, it can be safely estimated that 1 cent a pound would make and transport it, under public co-operation. The only other cost would be that of producing the milk, which, eliminating all the expenses of competition, would be very small compared with today. It is not likely that a pound of butter would cost more time to produce than it now takes a workingman to earn 5 cents.

You should distribute as many APPEALS every week as you can afford to buy. For the next six months at least you should have bundles of fifty come to you every week. That will cost you only 25 cents a week. Can you not afford the cost of five cigars a week to disseminate socialist thought among your neighbors? You can if you really have much of a desire in the matter. Follow up the paper with party organization and personal agitation. That is what the boys did to carry Haverhill and Brockton, Mass. Capitalism will furnish literature to keep the people mental slaves, and tax you on the things you eat, drink and wear to pay the bills. You will have to tax yourselves to furnish literature to free yourselves. It is pretty hard to pay both bills, but there is no help for it. Send in for your quota.

THE republican platform declares for the "construction, ownership, control and protection of an isthmian canal by the United States government." The word operation is conspicuously absent. That means that the people of this nation shall build, equip and protect the canal, and that corporations will be given the operation of it to make a few more multi-millionaires. But then the millionaires are opposed to a "paternal government!" To furnish the working people with capital to earn a living would be truly awful and sink them down into squalid conditions! But the capitalists are not afraid of becoming slothful. This plank in the platform will satisfy men who feel that their party can do no wrong and that the millionaires who controlled the convention are unselfish and work only to help uplift the working people and take the burden of capitalists off their backs.

HUNTINGTON, the man who bribed congress and got millions out of the public treasury to build railroads, has been interviewed by the San Francisco Examiner. He says he is in favor of one man power, cheap labor and McKinley. One-man power means a king, gentlemen, and that is what nine-tenths of the rich men of this country want. And that would not make things worse for the masses than they are now. He says he is in favor of Chinese labor. The working people of this country should support Mr Huntington and his candidate. They like to be controlled by one-man power, have voted for it all their lives, will vote for it again this fall and would howl down any man who wanted them to have any voice in the management of the industries they work in. The people are not fit for self-government, hence they support a system that permits a few men like Huntington to govern them. Both seem to be satisfied.

REWARD FOR SOLDIERS.

J. A. Reynolds, 203 west 89th st., N. Y., a soldier bearing scars of the Spanish war, offered to sell his blood to the Bellevue hospital for enough money to keep his family from starving. To fight for one's country is glorious—only one should be sure he has a country to fight for. That soldier has no country, for surely a man with a country would not be starving. This country belongs to the people who own it, and does not belong to the people who own none of it. That soldier has to slave and pay rent to live in this country. He could live just as well in Russia or Turkey on the same conditions—and could just as truthfully say that they were his countries. Kings, nobles, plutocrats and other masters have no further use for soldiers after they have used them. They can starve and their families may rot. They will be lauded to the skies and their bravery and patriotism extolled when they are solicited to enlist to fight to make a market for the products of the rich men's factories, and they may puff out like a turkey cock, but when they come back to private life they are not so much thought of by the men who have made millions out of the war as the poodle dogs which the dainty wives of the wealthy coddle and fawn over. When will the working masses (with the m left off) learn that they are fools to fight the battles of the rich and powerful? For centuries this same game has been played on them and yet they seem to be tickled by the same false blandishments. Let those who profit by wars do the fighting and wars will soon cease. The advancement of private interests is the base of all wars. The men who do the fighting have no private interests served. When socialism shall come to gladden the earth with its peace, plenty and pleasure, there will be no private gain by reason of war, but only loss. All men will own the nation and all that there is in it. Every hour of labor wasted on war material will be a direct loss to every citizen and will afford profit to not a soul in the nation. All loss and no gain will soon have the effect of stopping wars except of defending the country from invasion. Today thousands of men become rich by and through army, navy and wars, in the matter of furnishing material or forcing their wage-slave made products onto other markets, while their own wage-slaves are in need of the very goods that are marketed abroad. Working people, do a little thinking for yourselves and be not dumb, driven cattle.

MONEY AND SOCIALISM.

There are a great many people, in this town, interested in socialism but some of them don't seem to understand why there is no mention made of money in the platform of the S. D. P. Some one has told them that under socialism there would be no medium of exchange, and all argument seems useless with them. A plain statement in the APPEAL I think will help them out of their muddle.—J. Bremer, Lyon, Iowa.

Pending the transition from competition to co-operation money will be used. When socialism shall have been established there will be no need of money and hence it will disappear because not wanted. The average time consumed, directly and indirectly, in producing an article will be the price of it. To illustrate this, let me take an article. The U. S. government issues statistics (page 36, 13th annual report of Labor Commissioner) that "an elliptic spring, leather top buggy, piano box, dropped axles, banded hubs, cloth trimmings," by the use of machinery in use in 1895, required the time of 39 hours and 8 minutes to build. By that is meant the time of many people, but all put together was the same as that many hours of one person. If to this was added the time required to put the wood, leather, iron and cloth in the factory (let me assume 6 hours more) the price of the buggy would be 45 hours. If you had worked in some department of the public industries 45 hours you could have one of those buggies. And everything else in the same way. There would be no need of money. There would be but one place where wealth could be obtained and that would be of society organized on an industrial basis. Your public credit would buy you anything made or produced, from a pound of gold to a pin, and at the average time it cost to produce it. It is in this way that producers could receive more wealth for an 8-hour day than they can now buy for \$5,000 a year. And those who produced nothing, who had no credit in time for work done for society, could get nothing. Drones could not exist under socialism.

From a dispatch in the daily press it is announced that certain rich men propose to issue a paper and give it to the poor who are unable to pay for a paper. This is one of the side-lights of the republican campaign. In this paper they will tell the paupers who are too poor to pay a few cents a year for a paper that the country is prosperous and that Americans are the best paid people on earth. Just think of a prosperous country in which such action on the part of the rich is necessary! And thousands of papers believe will it.

SOME of the boys must have taken the hint. The orders from news companies for Wayland's Monthly have been coming in from various cities. You could force the news companies to sell socialist literature if you would only take a little trouble. Ask every week for Wayland's Monthly and your news dealer will demand of the news agencies that they supply it. Not the newsdealers but you are at fault if it is not on the stand where you buy your literature.

Socialism AND Farmers

By A. M. Simons.

The Agricultural Unrest

It is not many years since all that was asked by the farmer to make him "prosperous" was plenty of rain and sunshine and no storms or insect pests. To be sure he always declared that "times were better" when the particular party to which he belonged was in control, but still he never really thought that politics had very much to do with his success or failure as a farmer. If he was saving, industrious and fairly intelligent in farm management he could usually reckon on being able to stop work at fifty and enjoy a fairly comfortable, peaceful life on the income from the farm that he had paid for in his younger days. The farming class as a whole led a rather contented, if somewhat monotonous life, and found little fault or took little interest in social and labor problems.

Today, on the contrary, murmurs of unrest are heard in every agricultural community and at times these swell into a fierce outburst of despairing indignation as conditions seem to be almost unbearable. These complaints, unlike those of former days, seem to bear no perceptible relation to climate, storms, locality, insect pests, or indeed any of the natural calamities that were the scourge of our fathers. From the deserted farms of chilly New England to the vacant and overgrown plantations of the sunny South, and across the mortgage-cursed and rack-rented farms of the Mississippi valley and the Western plains to the overladen vineyards and orchards of California, with their luscious, life-giving fruit rotting for lack of a market, there comes a chorus of complaints of new burdens not traceable to defects of soil or climate or due to insect or animal scourges, yet which are plunging the farmers of America into greater misery and suffering than ever followed the wake of New England frost, southern drouth, Kansas cyclone or California earthquake.

There comes a year when crops are good, rains have been plenty and sunshine beneficent and the farmer looks forth upon granaries full of bursting, upon herds of cattle and droves of swine fat to the market, and he thinks of the long needed and planned addition he will build to the house, the new buggy he will buy, or of any of the hundred and one little things that are ever kept in prospect by those favored few who in this roaming, rambling age have remained in one place long enough to make that rarest, dearest thing in this day of flats, apartments and tenements—a home. But when he goes to sell his products and to change them into the desired pleasures and necessities he finds that he is the victim of a new calamity as merciless and unavoidable as the long feared terrors of flood or drouth. A financial panic has started in some distant city and in a single week he sees half his possessions swept away by falling prices.

His orchards bend to breaking, his fields are a yellow sea of richness, his vines a purple wall of luscious beauty, but when he would sell their fruitage to secure the things that he can use he is told that so much has been produced that his products cannot be sold, and hence they must rot where they lay. But the same paper that brings him the news of this "overproduction" tells him also of men, women and children suffering and dying by thousands in the slums of the great cities for lack of the very things that are rotting in his fields. Perhaps it finally begins to dawn upon him that today his greatest troubles are not NATURAL but SOCIAL.

Better-Day Gospel for the Farmer

Now this is the situation that confronted the factory worker many years ago, and those who have looked most carefully into his condition as seen in the lands where modern industry has entered are beginning to agree that the cause of his sufferings is to be found in the fact that while the tools with which he worked are capable of producing much more than those his father used, he is deprived of his increased product because he no longer owns these tools, and hence can produce nothing of his own accord, but must sell himself to those who do own the tools. It is pointed out that these "tools" having become great, complex machines requiring the co-operation of many workers to run them, they cannot be owned individually. Hence it is necessary that this ownership be in common, and this can best be secured through the union of the workers into a political party having this end in view. This is the position of the socialists, and has now been accepted by millions of workers scattered through every nation on the globe and forming today the largest political party the world has ever known and one that is marching on to certain victory.

But although socialism has thus come to be looked upon as the gospel of a better day to the wage laborer, few claimed that it carried any message to the farmer. Indeed its enemies always offered as their strongest argument against it the claim that it could not meet the problem of agriculture. It was argued that farming would never form a great concentrated industry, and hence that it must always be conducted by a multitude of small, individual farm owners. Many were the wordy battles indulged in over the question as to whether farms were increasing or decreasing in size and as to whether the large or the small farms were the best organized method of conducting agriculture. When the great "bonanza farms" of the West began to be broken up some of the socialists seemed to think that the battle was lost and that a special solution would have to be found for the troubles of the farmer.

Now it just begins to be seen that they were all looking in the wrong direction, and a closer examination shows that at the bottom the same laws prevail on the farm as in the factory, and that consequently the same problems are appearing and the same remedy must be applied. If this position is to be understood it will be necessary to recall briefly the main features of the great change that has taken place in industry during the last century. The first thing that strikes us is the fact that the tools of production have become very much larger and more complex, and that the resulting product has been immensely increased, while the share of the laborer has remained at about the same point. The size of the market reached by each factory has grown continually larger with the cheapening of production and improvement of communication. This has caused a concentration of ownership until today almost the entire productive power of the world has been concentrated in the

hands of a few for whose benefit the many must work.

Now the only question is, has a similar process taken place in agriculture? And at first appearance there is a tendency to answer no, and if this concentration is to be sought in land ownership it would be hard to deny this position. But let us for a moment consider farming as what it really is—simply a means of producing certain goods—grain, cattle, fruit, etc. Now, it has been pointed out that production of any commodity consists simply in taking some portion of the earth and changing it into a FORM desired by man, and then taking it to some PLACE where it can be used at a TIME when it is wanted. No matter how these different processes may be disguised or intermingled, they are all present and are all necessary in any form of production, and no article is produced until it has gone through all these processes and has the proper FORM at the proper TIME and in the proper PLACE to be used.

Wage-Laborer and Farmer Troubled Alike

Now we have seen that the trouble with the wage-laborer is that the instruments with which he makes these changes are not his property, but belong to another class, who through that ownership compel the laborers to sell themselves day by day for a bare existence. Note this one fact as a key to the whole situation. It is not necessary for the capitalist class to own ALL the instruments of production concerned in the making of any article in order to have possession of the product. It is only necessary to own the essentially dominant one. Because the machinist in a great shop happens to own the monkey wrench with which he works it does not mean that he is an independent workman who can live without his boss.

Just so with the farmer. He may own the land and grow his wheat and raise his stock, but while these are still on the farm they are not at any place or time where they can be used, and hence are not yet "produced." When he tries to finish his process of production and add these two essential qualities of place and time he finds that the instruments for this—the railroads, telegraphs, elevators, stockyards, etc., belong to some one else, who appropriates all that the farmer has produced, save the same share that the laborer has always received—a bare living. So well has this FACT become recognized that it is a common thing to say "that there is no money in farming" and that "all the farmer gets is wages."

It seems strange that this analysis of agricultural production should have ever been overlooked, for it is exactly the same process that has taken place in all lines of industry. Everywhere the land has been forced to a subordinate position in relation to the tools of production, and these have constantly grown more complex and been concentrated into fewer hands.

No farmer who has passed from his toil long enough to think at all can fail to have seen that a multitude of changes have taken place in his work in the last half century. The most noticeable of these is, of course, the change from the cheap and simple tool of earlier days to the expensive and intricate machinery of today. Almost every tool that our fathers used has had its work divided and specialized until today it requires a dozen complex machines to perform the same task.

The old "A" drag that in earlier days bounded from stump to stone, and occasionally made a short scratch in the ground, has given way to a whole list of "spring-tooths, disks, pulverizers, sod-cutters, steel-smoothing harrows," etc., each of which is adapted to some special work and all of which must be used by the farmer who would profitably produce crops at present prices. The scythe, pitchfork and hand rake that made up the outfit of the haymakers of but a few decades ago, have now given place to the six-foot cut mower, sulky tedder and hay-rake, with the mechanical loader and horse fork. The same change is seen everywhere. The wind-mill has replaced the "old-oaken bucket" and the great steam thrasher, with automatic feeder and "blow stacker," does in an hour the work that once kept the stall sounding upon the barn floor through almost the whole winter. Entirely new and expensive machinery appears, and the farmer who would feed his cornstalks and root crops or pumpkins with economy must own an ensilage cutter and steam cooker.

Farming and the Factory System

Still other changes bring the farm into closer connection with the factory system. Many things that were once a part of farming are now great capitalist industries. The creamery and the cheese factory are the first of these that occur to the mind, and beet sugar is an example of an almost new industry that has been grafted upon farming and that is but a portion of the great factory system. The farm products connected with these industries are absorbed by the owners of the plants, and the farmer who grows the beets or furnishes the milk and cream receives simply wages for his share of the labor performed upon the finished product, and not infrequently those are even lower than those paid the employes within the walls of the plant itself. Here at least there can be no doubt but that the interests of the wage-worker and the farmer are the same.

There is the same tendency toward specialization of industry upon the farm that in a more developed farm has worked such wonders in the factory. To be sure it is not yet possible to find examples of such wondrous division as that in the shoe trade, where each man makes but the hundredth part of a shoe. The process has taken a somewhat different turn upon the farm. It has shown itself a gradual transference of many industries from the farm to the factory. Fifty years ago nearly all the cloth used upon the farm was woven at home; stockings were always knitted there. Nearly every farmer was his own blacksmith, carpenter and butcher, and in fact was compelled to be a "jack of all trades." The change from this state of affairs to that of the present day is so evident that it needs only to be called to mind to be at once recognized.

The effect upon the farmer has been the same as that of the analogous development upon the laborer. It has increased the productive power of the individual, but has rendered him less independent of his fellow workers. It has been frequently pointed out that with every day that passes the factory worker is becoming more dependent upon the actions of his fellow workers. It made little difference to the old-fashioned cob-

PROPAGANDA COMES FIRST

The literature of socialism is the propaganda. It has changed the minds of millions of people in the last ten years. It will change the minds of the majority in the next five if pushed with determination. It every home in the land had a socialist paper, this government would respond to the new desires created. Socialists have the time and means to do this. Literature is cheap. We are in the midst of the struggle for a New Earth. Have you done all in your power? Do you keep on hand papers always handy to give to those whom you meet and talk with? Many localities have been turned to socialism by the persistent agitation of one man. Such people live to a purpose. You can do it. A socialist vote follows the circulation of the APPEAL. It has never failed. Two thousand workers have made the APPEAL what it is. It took work and sacrifice. Have you done your part? Have you a supply of postal subscription cards ready to mail instantly when you get a new subscriber? You furnish the capitalists their money to keep you under, you should do willing work to get them off your back. Keep this one thought—all socialists have been made by reading. There are a million people who would take the APPEAL if solicited. Give the work some of your time. Every subscriber counts. Don't neglect one. It may wake up a good worker.

MAKING HISTORY.

I receive a great many letters from people who want to get into the work of educating the people to a higher ideal of life. They ask for instruction. I can do nothing, it seems to me, that will point out the old maxim "that where there is a will there is a way," than to tell them what one out-of-work has done. About seven years ago, being out of work and unable to get any, L. Klamroth, living in California, began work of soliciting subscriptions for the Coming Nation which I was publishing then. He has kept up the work ever since. In the seven years he has sent in something over forty thousand subscriptions! For this he received the difference between the full rate and lowest clubbing rate. He has traveled from Oregon to Southern California year after year. It is from this one man's work more than any other one agency that socialism is stronger on the Pacific coast than any other place in the nation. The APPEAL has 20,000 subscribers on that coast. He has suffered from exposure, hunger, police, the mob and rabble, but he never lets up. He travels on foot, practically a tramp, and when he can not get them any other way, asks them to take it to help him keep his wife and family, which it does. In this way, he has gotten the paper into hundreds of hands that have become active propagandists. There is a man who is making history. You who want to do something—are you willing to accept the hardships? If you are, you can do great work. No sacrifice, no great results. Much the same was the method used by Bakounin, the Russian exile. Educated, refined, he was driven from one monarchy to another, and finally changed his name, went into the marble quarries, sulphur pits and other mines of Italy, Spain and Portugal and taught the workers he picked out how to read and then educated them in the theory of industrial democracy, leaving each place as soon as he had found and educated the men to carry out his teachings. It is from his work that all the opposition to royalty and capitalism of those countries is due. You want to help? Will you not do and dare as much as soldiers? They leave the comfort of life to carry out the wishes of their masters. You ought to be willing to do and suffer to carry out your wishes for a socialist nation. There is plenty of work everywhere. Opportunities are open. Why stand ye idle?

LOOK AT CANADA!

There was a provincial election in Vancouver, B. C., June 2. Will MacClain headed the ticket for the United Socialist Labor party and polled 684 votes! Considering that the late Financial Minister polled only 802 votes, the socialists up there feel pretty good. The socialists were organized only four weeks before the election. There were two independent labor candidates running on trades union tickets and this divided the votes. Boys, get together! Trades unions and socialists are working for the same end and should pull together. Don't let little differences hold you apart. Capture the polls and then do your quarrelling. This shows that Canada is coming right up in the socialist movement of the world. Comrade Boulton of Vancouver sends the above data.

THE FOURTH OF JULY.

Celebrate the Fourth by getting up a club of subscribers for the APPEAL. Put the day in to some purpose. Make an effort for industrial liberty. Attend some gathering and see how many 10 cent subscriptions you can gather. Many of them will bear fruit in the future and will add to the growing army of socialists.

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THE JOY OF LIFE.

BY EUGENE N. BOWN.

Does life bring joy to you? God intended it should; he made man with a capacity for joy exceeding that of the lower animals, yet man of all created life is the most unhappy. The animals have instincts strong enough to keep them true to nature, while man has reason stronger than instinct, and his reason has led him into selfishness with its many evils.

The fruits of selfishness are manifest in our wasteful and incompetent and competitive system.

We have to fight and worry much of the time looking out for number one in order to get what we need, and it takes so much of our physical and mental strength to supply our needs that WE LOSE OUR CAPACITY FOR JOY.

Can the present-day business man who is planning and working to get ahead of his neighbor, and who is constantly being pushed and tripped—can he come home and be as unselfish and as happy as though he worked in harmony with all other workers?

Just think of that grand husband and happy wife socialism would make! It would make loving husbands, and that brings us home to our subject, for joy is the fruit of love. Co-operation in industry will develop brotherly love and success, just as surely as competition develops strife and failure. Christ knew what would give us joy when he commanded us to love and do good to our neighbor.

I have been hinting at some reasons why joy has departed from us, and now, while writing for a changed social order, I desire to tell you how to attain joy. The child who has been taught by a tactful mother to assist in the home work, will love and enjoy that home more than the child who has everything done for it. The first child learns to love the object for which it works; the second child is having its selfish nature developed. The first child is learning to gather roses; the second finds thorns at every turn. And most of us are like the second child, under our perverted system: our selfish nature bids us look on, and criticize and whine, when there is social work that we ought to be doing.

An upward step is just before us, a great cause demands our enthusiasm. Then let us throw aside our coat of selfishness, our selfish pleasures, our selfish ambitions, and unite in earnest work for the cause of human justice and liberty. It will take valuable hours, it will take your best thought, it will take of your money. You will need the graces of PATIENCE, PERSEVERANCE, and LOVE.

But it will bring its own reward; the joy of enthusiastic service will enter your life, the victories of the cause will be yours, and new hope and joy will gladden the days and hours that now seem dull and hopeless. Battle Creek, Mich.

DON'T YOU SEE IT, MR. FARMER?

BY WORD H. MILLS.

Mr. Farmer, the great machine is invading your own field of labor. The combine is coming your way. With it comes the automobile plow, and the steam thrasher and harvester of the capitalist. With them are leagued the railroads and the mills. In two or three years more the capitalistic combine will have you hunting a job as a day laborer, because you can't produce farm products to compete with the giant machine that combines capital, railroads, mills, elevators and automobile plows that do the work of twenty and forty horses. When the machine produces wheat at 4 cents, and it costs you forty cents to produce it, how do you expect to survive? You simply cannot.

Twenty years ago or more most farmers owned their land without incumbrance. Do they now?

Fifty years ago, when the wealth of the United States was \$8,000,000,000, and when the tramp was unknown, the producers' share of this wealth was 62 1/2 per cent; the non-producers' share 37 1/2 per cent. The farmer and artisan are the producers; the capitalist is the non-producer. In 1890, ten years ago, mark the change, when the wealth had increased to \$61,000,000,000 and the army of the unemployed had come into existence, 4,000,000 of people elbowing for a job and not being able to find one, the producers' share of the wealth created by labor had FALLEN from 62 1/2 per cent to 17 per cent, while the idle non-producers' (capitalists') share had RISEN to 83 per cent!

This means that the worker who creates wealth works about three-quarters of a day for himself and turns over all the work of five and a quarter days to some other person who has not moved a finger toward producing wealth—the idler—who owns the capital, and owning the capital and the means of production and distribution, machinery and railways, owns the worker as a wage slave. Don't you see it?

The remedy? It must come through the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution. This movement is on. In every country it is organized, and more than 27,000,000 are organized in it. It is called Socialism. Dallas, Tex.

SOCIALISM IN AMERICAN COLLEGES

Louisville, Ky., Daily Dispatch.

Discussing the attitude of American colleges toward socialism, the Brooklyn Eagle thus describes a recent movement: "A meeting of college students was held in Boston on Wednesday, at which an Intercollegiate Socialist Union was formed. Seven colleges were represented: Harvard, Columbia, Boston Institute of Technology, the University of Chicago, Brown University, Boston College and Tufts. There is no mention in this list of a number of smaller colleges in Iowa, Kansas and other western states in which the socialistic feeling is supposed to be strong, but letters of encouragement were received from Princeton, Cornell, Minnesota, Wellesley and Amherst and there were notes from some college presidents whose socialistic sympathies are well known."

The Eagle heads its article, "A Socialist Infant Class," and is inclined to think that the organization is insignificant and will amount to nothing since it has decided to take no sides in the controversy between the political organizations of socialists.

There are more socialists in Germany than in any other country, and the German socialist movement is very largely the result of the work of German schools. The freedom of the teacher in Germany is regarded with something of the sacredness with which we maintain the freedom of the press.

While the German government has muzzled the press and established a censorship over all public meetings, it dare not lay its hands upon the sacred prerogatives of the university professor. One result of this is a

most radical political economy, and a strong socialist party made up very largely of educated and substantial men. It is useless to deny that socialistic theories are rapidly gaining ground in this country, not merely from the work of foreign agitators and labor organizations but as a result of the lectures and writings of the ablest of our educators. While American colleges do not approach the German institutions in this respect there has been a marked increase in this tendency during the last few years. The organization described by the Eagle will not, of course, be a factor in the approaching presidential election, but we are not so certain that it is to be dismissed as insignificant and unimportant. It shows an interest in the great economic questions of the day among the college students, who are to be the men and the power of the very near future. It shows too that there is an increasing number of those who no longer fear a world that is the victim of much prejudice and ignorance. The first step toward the solution of a great problem is investigation and consideration and it must be apparent even to casual observers of passing events that this step is being taken with reference to those great economic questions raised by the industrial transformation wrought by this age of discovery and invention. Men have frequently risen above personal interests, in matters of principle and public policy, but not without a profound conviction of the right. It is easier to convince a man that what is to his own interest is also right, but men often see the right and do it at a personal sacrifice.

FIT FOR BOER OR FILIPINO

From the Springfield, Mass., Republican.

"I am desirous of restoring to them the blessings of law, which they have fatally and desperately exchanged for the calamities of war and the arbitrary tyranny of their chiefs."

This passage is from the proclamation of a British monarch. It might easily be taken for an official statement of the present government's position toward the Boers and their tyrannical and corrupt leaders. As a matter of fact it is taken from a proclamation of George III in 1776 regarding his American subjects.

The self-interest of the capitalists in keeping business going on WAS THE ONLY GROUND OF ASSURANCE THE REST OF THE PEOPLE HAD FOR THEIR LIVELIHOOD FROM DAY TO DAY. Indeed when the capitalists desired to compel the people to vote as they wished, it was their regular custom to THREATEN TO STOP THE INDUSTRIES OF THE COUNTRY and produce a CRISIS, if the election did not go to suit them.—Bellamy's Equality, page 106.

SOCIALISM AND FARMERS.

Continued from page 1

bler whether any one else worked at the same time he did. His work was wholly independent of theirs. But the employe in a great shoe factory making but the hundredth part of a shoe is helpless without the other ninety-nine. Just so the farmer who a generation ago made everything he needed upon his own farm cared little or nothing for what the rest of the world might do. If he could not sell his products he could eat or wear them, and had little need for intercourse with the remainder of the world. Not so the farmer of today, whose butter is made at the creamery, and cheese at the factory, and who never saw a suit of home-made clothes. He sells his grain and fruit in the markets of the world, and the rains of India or the floods of Russia may prove as destructive or as helpful to him as similar occurrences in his own fields. In other words, he, like the wage-worker, has become a part, and only a part, of the world's great productive system, and is subject to all its vicissitudes, be they helpful or harmful.

A Lop-Sided Increase

Now note this one thing, that all of the steps noted have been of a nature to increase the productive power of the workers, be they farmers or wage-laborers. If they are examined carefully it will be seen that the productive power of society in regard to farming has been immensely increased. I think that any one who will compare the work of the sickle and the flail with that of the self-binder and steam thrasher, or the railroad and elevator with the ox-cart and scoop-shovel, will admit that the same amount of work in these departments will produce more than ten times as much as he could one hundred years ago. But will anyone dare to claim that the farmer of today lives ten times as well as did the New England or "York State" farmer of the beginning of this century? I "pause for a reply" from the deserted farms of Massachusetts which then supported happy homes. If Robinson Crusoe had invented a disk harrow and attached his goats to it he would certainly expect to have more things to eat and to wear with the same amount of labor than he had when he used a hoe. Now the reason why the farmer and the wage-worker do not receive this increased reward in our present society is not because of the greater number of people concerned. On the contrary, the work of the different members of our present society is so arranged that they co-operate in production and hence produce much more than they could with each one working independent of the others. Every farmer knows that two men with a cross-cut saw can cut more than twice as much wood as one man with an ax.

Where, then, does this increased product go? What is the "nigger in the wood-pile" that gets all these additional good things? Well, that is the whole question that we are trying to solve, but instead of trying to answer it at this time, when we do not yet have all the facts before us, we will just take a turn in another direction and perhaps we shall find the desired answer in quite an unexpected portion of the field.

Everyone remembers the rush that took place to the west a few years ago, which, as we all know, was but the last of a long series of similar westward waves that have been flowing across the country at fairly regular intervals for the last century. Wonderful stories were told of the rich black soil of the prairies, waiting only for the plow of the farmer to tickle it into a bounteous laugh of all the good things of the world. Hosts of farmers from the Middle and Western states who had just begun in a strange, undefined way to feel that their present surroundings were undesirable, were lured to Dakota, Kansas or Nebraska by the siren song that "Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm." They did not then see what many of them have since learned, that "Uncle Sam" is simply another name for the possessing classes, to which the farmers will some time discover that they no longer belong. Had they realized these facts they might have called to mind that old proverb to "Beware of the Greeks when they bear gifts," and would have looked with suspicion upon the wondrous generosity of the "Homestead law." But they can comfort themselves with the fact that they were not the only ones who were deceived by this apparent bounty. It was hailed by the great majority of the social students of the world, including, I am sorry to say, not a few socialists, as a restoration of the class of "independent farmers." But in little more than a decade the independent farmers, the recipients of so wonderful a gift, are in almost open revolt against the economic conditions in which they find themselves, and turning blindly toward free silver, popular banks, fiat money, and a hundred and one other economic vagaries in the hope of securing relief. What has happened?

What Has Happened?

Let us take a look at the territory referred to as it was at the beginning of the eighties. Thousands, yes, millions of acres of fertile land were as yet untouched by the plow. The country had just recovered from the commercial crisis of 1873 and was in a stage of great "prosperity." The capitalists of America had just discovered and begun to apply on an extensive scale a new method of organizing their business. This was called the corporation. Not that corporations had been previously unknown. On the contrary, they had been common enough in some lines of industry for more than a century. But they had been hitherto largely confined to certain peculiar lines of industry, such as railroad, telegraph, canal, steamship lines, etc. They had as yet not been largely introduced into ordinary business. But in the years from 1880 to '88 more charters were granted for corporations than in any equal number of years before or since. Thousands of industries that had been previously conducted as individual enterprises were now turned into corporations. This had exactly the same effect as the invention of a new labor-saving machine. It made it possible through a better organization of industry to produce more goods with less labor.

Now it is a peculiarity of the system under which we are at present living that since the laborers are only given a small portion of what they produce, they naturally cannot buy back the whole product, and so every once in a while we have periods of "overproduction," when the mills and factories shut down and great numbers of people go hungry and naked because there is too much food and clothing in the world. Now, of course it is to the interest of the capitalist class to postpone these crises as long as possible, because profits are much less at such times than when there is "prosperity." The only way in which such a crisis can be delayed is by finding new markets for the "surplus goods" that have been taken from the workers. At the time of which we speak this need for "new markets" was being felt most keenly by the capitalist class of America. They cast longing eyes to these great fertile tracts of land in the West. The problem before the American capitalist at this time was to settle this land in such a way as at the same time to secure the product created by the settlers and yet retain them as a market for the product taken from their toiling brothers "down East."

The Capitalist System of Profits

How this was accomplished is an interesting story. The capitalists had control of the machinery of government as indeed they have always had, and, had they so desired, could have divided the ownership of these lands among their own class under some form of sale, as they had ordinarily done in the years immediately following the Revolution. Indeed, the history of railroad land grants shows that a very large portion of the soil was so divided even at this time.

If the capitalists were as a whole to retain the

ownership in these great tracts of land and secure any profits from their possessions, they would have to buy labor with which to operate them. In most cases this would have to be adult male labor, which could ordinarily be forced to work only ten or twelve hours a day. The capitalist knew a game worth two of that. All he was after was the products of the farmers' labor, and he could get these much easier by leaving the farmer in full possession of his farm. So the latter received title to the land and then proceeded to raise crops which the capitalist stood ready to take away from him. We have some of the ways in which this was done in our examination of the process of agricultural production. The capitalist retained the ownership of the means of storage and transportation and was thus able to secure the lion's share of the product. Another slice was secured through the creamery, cheese and beet sugar factories, all of which represent improved methods of doing work and should make the farmer's task lighter and his income greater, were society properly organized.

With the development and improvement of farm machinery it too becomes a means to the farmer's enslavement. With the machinery as with the land, it was more profitable and involved less risk to allow the farmer to retain a nominal ownership and then under the disguise of credit pluck him to the last cent with exorbitant prices, usurious interest and excessive "repair bills." Many and many a farmer has thus become as completely enslaved to his self-binder or sulky plow as any city worker to the great factory in which he toils.

Under this system, while the farmer is given the form of ownership of his capital, he in reality only accumulates this capital for the use of the actual capitalist. What he really owns is a somewhat permanent "job" with exhausting toil and low wages. Even this permanency is largely a delusion, as the uncertainty of the wage-laborer finds its counterpart in the fluctuations of crops and prices that destroy the farmer's peace of mind.

Not only is it certain that the agriculture of today is a capitalized industry—it shows the very worst features of that system. Like the sweated trades of the city slums, it is home-work, unorganized and fiercely competitive. Hence we might expect to, and do find the labor of women and children exploited with almost the loneliest hours and lowest pay known to the world of toil. The farmer who would rise in rebellion if required to work more than ten hours a day as a "hired man" upon a "bonanza farm," and who reads with indignation the stories of the long hours and low pay received by the men, women and children in the factories and workshops of the great cities, will himself toil in the fields from sunrise to sundown of a long summer's day and then spend a couple of hours extra at night and morning "doing chores." Meanwhile his wife works nearly as many hours at the never-done work of a farmer's wife which yearly sends so many of her class to the insane asylums. His children are compelled to work from the time they are strong enough to walk, and are fortunate indeed if they do not have to skip school each year during planting, harvest and corn-husking or fruit-picking, with no factory laws to regulate their hours of work.

In the meantime he congratulates himself that he is not subject to discharge at the caprice of any employer or driven to work by any task-master, as is the factory worker. He has not yet learned to see that the sternest of all task masters, Hunger and Suffering, stand ever at his elbow, urging him on under penalty of their stinging lash, while all too often the owner of the mortgage discharges him from further toil and turns him out upon the street as helpless and homeless a tramp as ever went forth in desperate sorrow from a city workshop.

Exploitation of the Farmer

Every year that passes but serves to intensify the features to which we have been calling attention. Each year farm machinery grows more complex, more expensive and more necessary to the successful farmer. The railroad, the telegraph and the elevator play an ever more important part in the farm "production." New forms of exploitation are constantly appearing to secure any little remnant that may still remain to him above starvation wages. The substitution of the barbed wire for the "Virginia rail" fence means that the wire trust must have its share of the tribute, and here again the interests of wage-laborers in the factory and agriculturists upon the farm unite in demand for the common ownership of instruments of production. More and more with each returning year, in many sections of the country even the semblance of ownership is swallowed up in systems of rental, and the class of so-called "independent farmers" is becoming a race of "rack-rented" tenants to "absentee landlords." More and more the farmer is at the mercy of fluctuations and crises caused by the wrong adjustment of production and unjust distribution of goods. Most significant, perhaps of all, each recurring season sees the markets for his produce narrowed by the decreased share which the wage-earner is allowed to retain of his product.

To sum it all up, every year that passes makes the problem of the factory worker and the farmer more nearly the same. The "labor problem" and the "agrarian question" fade into the one great question of how to secure the product to the producer. The trouble in both cases is the same at bottom. The things which each must have in order to produce and to live are in the possession of another class, who are able through that ownership to deprive the producer of the fruits of his toil.

It makes no essential difference in the situation that in one case the exploitation is done through railway charges, elevator toils, farm and machine mortgages, manipulation of markets; or any other of the hundred and one ways in which the produce of the farm is filched away from the farmer, instead of, as in the case of the wage-worker, by the simple factory process of buying the labor power of a man forced by hunger to a desperate bargain with a small portion of what he actually produces.

In either case the exploitation is by means of the private ownership of the instruments of production and distribution maintained by laws enacted and enforced in the interest of the ruling, owning class.

There was a time when this ruling class was the feudal landlords. The farmers of that time did not pretend to be free, but were recognized as serfs, fastened to the soil. They worked a certain number of days each week for themselves and a certain number for the lord of the manor. Today they have the appearance of freedom, but the result is the same. The present farmer works so many days in the year for himself, so many for the mortgagee, so many for the farm machine manufacturer, so many for the wire and twine trust and soon there is the list of lords of capitalism upon the back of his neck, just about what the feudal lord's list of vassals was. However, the farmer of today is not himself the cold comforter of his own class, more productive than his, or more organized as the ruling class of the present. He is a wage-earner, an undreamed-of possibility of the future.

The possession of the instruments of production and distribution is the key to the door of the farmer's freedom. They are the tools with which he must work. They secure the production and distribution of his goods. They secure the means of his support. They secure the means of his communication with the rest of the world. They secure the means of his defense against the aggression of his neighbors. They secure the means of his escape from the clutches of the State.

But there is a difference, which has been in existence before the present ruling class, and which the present ruling class has not yet learned to disguise. The fact of slavery is not a matter of degree, but of kind. The wage-laborer is given no choice, and today the farmer is given no choice, and told that he is a free man and can have as much of government that he chooses. Strange

of all there is no doubt as to this fact and the only reason for the present slavery is that he has not yet known enough to choose to be anything else. They have allowed their rulers to do their thinking for them and have year after year voted themselves into renewed slavery.

The capitalist class, having under their control the press, and all other means of communicating ideas, have used these instruments to instill and maintain certain ideas in the heads of those who were being robbed. They taught and preached the unrestricted right and sacredness of the institution of private property, while at the same time establishing and maintaining laws and institutions confiscating all the private property of the great majority of the population. Most important of all they seek to keep the great body of workers divided and fighting each other. The producers allow themselves to be divided into two great political parties who make loud claims of antagonistic aims and mutual hostility, but who agree perfectly on the one point of interest to the worker, that the instruments of production and distribution shall remain the property of the present ruling class and be operated by the workers for the benefit of the possessors.

The Workers' Opportunity

One very old way in which this division of the producer is secured is by setting the farmer against the city worker. The farmer is made to believe that the laborer who is seeking to free himself from exploitation is trying to "confiscate the property" of the farmer, while the laborer is told that the farmer is in league with the capitalist to enslave labor.

Both are deceived, and while they are fighting the capitalist gleefully picks the pockets of both. At the bottom the trouble is the same for both and unless they fight together against the common enemy they must continue to suffer together in slavery under a common master.

Either division of the workers can today produce many fold more of the necessities of life than ever before since history began and could easily supply all the wants of their members with a trifling fraction of their present toil were they not prevented from producing because they cannot secure access to the tools with which to work or else deprived of the results of their toil by a parasitic ruling class. The remedy for this condition is obvious. It is for the workers of the farm and factory to unite at the polls and secure possession of the instruments of production and distribution, and then being both owners and producers they will retain the whole product and can produce until their wants are satisfied with no care for falling or rising prices, overproduction or crises.

But the railroad, telegraph and elevator, creamery, cheese factory and binder manufacturing, like the steel works, cotton mills, coal mines and shoe factories of today, are too expensive, complex and interdependent to be of any value to an individual unless he has the power to make others work in them for him. Hence the ownership must be in common. They must be the property of the whole body of producers organized for the purpose of controlling and operating them.

Wage laborers and farmers must first unite in a political party of the producing class to gain possession of the powers of government now controlled by the capitalist class. So long as the government remain in the control of the owning class "government ownership" of any kind would simply increase the powers of the rulers. Not until the producers, agricultural, commercial and manufacturing, are sufficiently intelligent and sufficiently conscious of their class interests to unite in a political party having for its first and fundamental principle the common ownership of all the instruments of production and distribution and to elect that party to power, is there any possibility of relieving the producing classes of the burdens under which they are suffering at present. When the toilers of field, workshop and office shall unite upon this platform and work together to this end it will be the beginning of the end of all economic oppression, exploitation and class tyranny.

The Program of the Socialist

This is the program of the socialist. This is what he means when he says "Laborers of the world unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains, you have the world to gain." Already in response to this cry and in obedience to the reasoning here set forth millions of workers in other lands have gathered in compact ranks beneath the flag of socialism for the final battle against the common enemy. At first the laborers of the factories and the mines stood alone. Their toiling brothers of the field refused to unite with them. The farmers listened to the stories told them by their masters and fought for the capitalist against the workers. But in the last few years the agricultural workers of Germany and Belgium have been rallying by the thousands to the socialist standard, and marching side by side with their fellow sufferers of the workshop and the mines in the struggle for a common freedom, and are striking terror to the hearts of the common masters who see at last their slaves refusing to quarrel among themselves that their slavery may be perpetuated.

What will the farmers and wage-workers in America do under these same circumstances? Will they show an equal wisdom? They must or remain in slavery. Neither class can possibly free itself unaided by the other. In a land where majorities must rule this fact must be beyond dispute. They are natural allies. This is more especially true of the farmers of the great West. His situation is more nearly like that of the wage-worker than of any other class in our present society.

They have been driven West by pressure of economic conditions arising from this same capitalistic system. They have been followed into their new homes by an aggravated form of this same oppression, and have finally at all essential points been reduced to the same economic class as the city wage-worker. They have attempted to free themselves through the independent political action of the farmer class alone and found themselves helpless. They have been forced to recognize that the problems they sought to solve and the evils they aimed to abolish had their roots in the economic conditions that go to make up the great world-wide industrial system of day.

They are beginning to see that problems so rooted cannot be solved by any action that may take place within the confines of a single state or even of a single nation. The solution, like the problem it attempts and the evils it seeks to abolish, must be international and world-wide in its ramifications. Most important of all, since it is a problem that affects all producers it is useless for any one division to attempt its solution unaided. The farmers cannot do it. The wage-workers are equally helpless. Neither have the requisite majority to abolish present conditions, and neither alone has within itself all the elements for the organization of the socialist party.

Now the only party and the only organization that embraces all the elements of the producing class, and that is organized for the purpose of securing the common ownership of the instruments of production and distribution is the socialist party. It is the only party that has within itself all the elements for the organization of the socialist party.

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HARK! THE NEW SONG!

BY EDWIN MARKHAM. I am the Winged Victory. My Star Burns on the Future with auroral beam: I tread upon the firmament afar— I am the Muse, the Mystery, the Dream.

THE POOR MAN'S SONG.

BY REV. H. B. WILLIAMS. There is plaudit enough for the ears Of the mighty 'mongst men. Everywhere Like the voice of the thunder, one hears Bravo leap to the palpitant air.

"Business" From a Socialist Standpoint. Business, according to the Socialist standard—which is the only sound ethical standard—is immoral and subversive of all the virtues that go to make up exalted character—generosity, sympathy, truthfulness, patriotism and courage.

The Social Democracy Red Book. A valuable reference book and interesting history of the progress of socialism in this country. With portraits and biographies of leading American Social Democrats, chronology, election statistics, directory, etc.

TEN Men of Money Island in Germany or Norwegian. Price 10 cents. Clever and convincing.

Co-Operative Notes.

Comrade A. A. Hibbard is organizing a co-operative store at Reno, Nev. Self-reliance Labor Exchange of Cincinnati was organized in June, 1897. Since then more than \$60,000 worth of business has been done through its checks and it has paid eight quarterly dividends of 10% each.

The co-operative movement has a high and hopeful future," says W. Maxwell, chairman of the Scottish Wholesale Society, "according to the zeal and high sense of duty that is brought to bear on the work. Awake, then, the enthusiasm of your members, let them feel that each has a part to play, and that each can yield a good service in our reforming effort."

TRUSTS. Of course the APPEAL can furnish you plenty of the right kind of reading about them. Try Wilshire's "The Problem of the Trusts."

"Socialists, Fight On!" Do you remember that stirring poem by Howard Carrington? You can get it in permanent form, together with others by socialist poets like Ella Wheeler Wilcox, W. D. Howells, J. G. Whittier, "Uncle Sam," Herbert N. Casson, Charles Mackay, in "Poems for the People," a collection of fifty-three socialist poems.

W. C. B. RANDOLPH. If you mail ten or more letters daily you can help to make the APPEAL ONE MILLION. If you will write quick Address Dept. A.

A Tribute to Mother Jones.

One of the most prominent and conspicuous persons in the coal miners' strike in Alleghany county is "Mother" Jones of Chicago, the woman organizer, who has been working among the miners during the past two weeks and has been successful in keeping the spirits of the strikers alive, although it had been predicted that the miners were going to give up the fight ten days ago.

She took part in the coal miners' strike of 1894, the American Railway Union strike, the Textile Workers' strike, and countless other smaller strikes. When the miners were practically beaten in Arnot last year she went in and organized the women and children. She told the mothers that "they should be ashamed to let their children grow up in slavery."

It's Your Own Fault, Neighbor. President Gates of the steel trust, after closing down twelve mills and stopping the pay of 5,000 workmen, says, "We can shut down our mills without giving an explanation."

Public-Which Incentive?—Private. PUBLIC—The price of a postage stamp is the same the country over; the same service is given everywhere.

W. C. B. RANDOLPH. If you mail ten or more letters daily you can help to make the APPEAL ONE MILLION. If you will write quick Address Dept. A.

SOCIALISM

Some people have queer ideas of what socialism means. They confound it with anarchy, disorder, dividing up property, and other absurd statements. The masses who oppose socialism have not looked up recognized authorities. For the benefit of such, the definition from dictionaries and world-famous men is here appended:

The ethics of socialism are identical with the ethics of Christianity. —Encyclopaedia Britannica. The abolition of that individual action on which modern societies depend, and the substitution of a regulated system of co-operative action. —Imperial Dictionary. A theory of society that advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed. —Webster.

Public-Which Incentive?—Private. PRIVATE—If it did not have the increased expense of private ownership oil would sell at less than 3 cents a gallon. The Standard Oil company sells it at from 6 to 15 cents at the same time in different parts of the country.

MORAL—Under public ownership you cooperate; under private ownership you pay tribute. The difference of incentives is that between the fellow-man and a slave. The choice is yours.

IF you mail ten or more letters daily you can help to make the APPEAL ONE MILLION. If you will write quick Address Dept. A.

Ideas, Lying Around Loose.

Loyalty to the present administration of government is treason to the people. In nineteen cases out of twenty it is the man who loafers who is forever complaining that those who work do not work hard enough.

Nothing so unmistakably reveals the character of the plutocrat daily press as its immediate, parrot-like use of the name "Orange River Colony" to designate the Orange River Free State. Its quick following of its British, plutocratic masters demonstrates to whom it is loyal and to whom disloyal.

Unbiased Testimony. Messrs. Ralph Hardy and George King, the eminent London consulting actuaries, said this of national life insurance in New Zealand:

SOCIALIST ORGANIZATIONS—For the purposes of aiding in organization, the Appeal will print notices of political meetings, conventions, etc., for 2 cents a line. Send money with notice. If you use the space paid for by all, you should be willing to help pay the expenses of the paper. J. A. Wayland.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, 64 pages \$1.00 a year, begins July 1. You need it. Thirteen two cent stamps sent will bring you the Review three months and a copy of "Socialism and Farmers," by A. M. Simons, and Address G. H. Kerr & Co., 56 Fifth Ave., Chicago, Ill. 360

A Parable Unto Sayers of the Word

There was in a certain country a common disease of long standing, of which the leading symptom was selfishness, and it had been the desire and aim of all good people since the earliest history, to find some way to rid the race of this pestilence.

And there were some who on account of their cares and duties and the pleasures of their riches, cared not for the disease that was growing upon them, and would eventually cause the death of their souls, and would not, therefore, take the treatment as the doctors would like to have given it, but would only take small doses; just enough to ease a troublesome symptom, called conscience.

And in the second place, this remedy was costly, and they could not afford it, notwithstanding the fact that it is always spoken of as being "free," "without money and without price."

ing been cured, he will be smitten unless he be a man of exceptionally strong will power? And is it not also true that not only the outside world is affected, but that the hospitals in which your remedy is administered, are also infected with this same disease, and it is as hard to root it out there as in any other place?

By Dr. A. J. Swing, Cincinnati, Ohio. set about to remedy these surroundings. We do believe and know and say that a great many more can be cured, and a great many more can stay cured and a great, yes a vast amount of suffering can be saved, than is possible under present conditions; and we therefore ask you in the name of your God and in the name of humanity, to assist us in this sterilizing and disinfecting process of our country, and to assist in making it possible for all to receive the same treatment.

FRED BELL was sentenced in a Mississippi court in 1876 for five years for some petty crime. He was kept in prison until 1897—over 13 years longer than his sentence. He applied to the United States supreme court for the right to sue the state for false imprisonment which motion was recently denied by that court. As a convict he was sold to contractors and being profitable to them he was kept and refused any opportunity by the officers (who were worse than he ever was) to make known his unfortunate condition. He was not released until he was worked old and blind and being no longer profitable to the men who traffic in human flesh and blood, he was discharged and cast on the world helpless. And the highest court of the land denied him recourse on the state whose agents had thus destroyed his life and robbed him of his toil for thirteen years! And that too when the constitution guarantees every citizen immunity from involuntary servitude except in expiation of crime according to judicial sentence. But then the constitution is only a parchment to hold the poor while they are skinned by the profit mongers. How many other cases like this are existing, no one knows. This happened to come to light. Now we see the effect—what is the cause? Private profit. If no contractors had been interested in keeping this man because they could make a profit off of him, he would not have been detained. And had not the profit existed no public official would have been bribed for a few dollars to violate his oath and sell the man helpless into slavery under the stars and stripes. Private profit—another name for human slavery—is at the bottom of every crime in the decalogue but one. It is the incentive to crime. There is no use trying to regenerate the world while private profit exists. The history of the people of the earth in all the thousands of the years back of us tells this story and tells no other. Why does a man want to be a king? To get the profit off the people and have them serve him while he serves them not. Why does one nation want to rule another? To enable the ruling classes of the conquering country to profit off the people of the conquered country. The desire that animates kings and tyrants is as fully developed in the contractors and corrupt officials of the Mississippi prison referred to as they are in their more powerful prototypes, and does not the same desire animate you for profit? Make goods for use and not for profit and there would have been no person profiting by the false imprisonment of the poor convict, and, further than that, he would have had a chance to develop himself as freely as any other man and would not have needed to commit any crime. You, fellow citizen, who uphold this system are a party to the crime. Your vote makes crime logical.

To the inquiry from a California Reader, "What is going to prevent a socialist if elected to office from accepting bribes and becoming corrupt?" your reply is inadequate. To insure honest and official administration something more is needed than convictions of the righteousness of a cause, for that is the result of a personal moral discipline rarely met. The absolutely safe guarantee of official honesty and competency—the latter is as much the prerequisite as the former—is direct legislation, for then the question will not be so much as to whether the official is a saint or a sinner, but whether he performs the duty which the people demand.—John A. Miller, M. D., San Francisco, Cal.

Well, that is the socialist program. How will you even get direct legislation if you do not elect men who are earnest about wanting it? If socialists, who want a thing, can not be trusted to refuse bribes and, to make needed changes, how can such changes be expected from people who do not want them and are also subject to corrupting influences? But I believe that socialists are, as a whole, from their convictions, proof against bribery. In the tens of thousands of places filled in Europe by them they have not proven recreant to their trusts except in two instances in France. None of the German members have been shaken by all the influences that nobility, capitalism and creed have been able to bring against them. And Americans are just as susceptible of deep conviction as are the nations from which we have sprung. The history of this country is nothing if it is not that men have had the courage and honesty of their convictions. There are tens of thousands of men as true to the socialist demands as were John Brown, Greeley, Phillips, Emerson, Garrison, Lovjoy and the others in their opposition to chattel slavery. The trouble ahead of us is not to find men who cannot be bribed, but to enlighten enough people on the subject to elect men to carry out their new desires. There will be no trouble about getting any change when the majority demand it and send men to carry out their wishes. Men in place today are only carrying out the wishes of those who really put them in office—and that is not the voters, but the people who manipulate the voters who have no defined, clear-cut ideas on any subject.

THE NEW SLAVE POWER.

N. F. Thompson, secretary of the Southern Industrial convention at Huntsville, Ala., before the congressional industrial commission, testified, according to the dispatches under date of June 13:

Labor organizations are today the greatest menace to this government that exists. Their influence for disruption and disorganization of society is far more dangerous to the perpetuation of our government in its purity and power than would be the hostile array of our borders of the armies of the entire world combined. On every hand and for the slightest provocation all classes of organized labor stand ready to inaugurate a strike with all its attendant evils, and in addition to this, stronger ties of connection are being urged all over the country among labor unions, with the view of being able to inaugurate a sympathetic strike that will embrace all classes of labor, simply to redress the grievances of right, the wrongs of one class, lowered, remotely located or however unjust may be the demands of that class. He claimed that organizations teaching such theories should be held as treasonable in their character and their leaders worse than traitors to their country. Mr. Thompson declares that many labor leaders are open avowed socialists, that their organizations are weak in that they have no other standard of community obligations than what these organizations inculcate; that they are creating widespread distrust for the rights of others; that they are decreasing respect for law and authority among the working classes; that they are creating antagonisms between employer and employe; that they are despoiling the right of individual contract between employers and employes and forcing upon employers men at arbitrary wages; and that they are bringing public reproach upon the judicial tribunals of our country by public abuse of these tribunals, and often defiance of the judgments

and decrees, thus seeking to break down the only safeguards of a free people. He also stated that the organization of employers in all lines of business as the first step to correct the evils in contracts forced upon individual employes by labor unions. He thought public sentiment in the south would justify the shooting of union men who interfered with non-union men at work, because it was held that a man had as much right to defend his occupation as he had to protect his life. He said also in reply to Mr. Kennedy, that the south was holding out as inducements to the manufacturers of textiles that if they came south, they would be free from labor strikes. There is, he said, a movement on foot to put it beyond the power of labor unions, by means of compulsory arbitration, to disturb industrial conditions. Mr. Thompson expressed the opinion that negro labor is essential to the prosperity of the South, and he also said that the South was very prosperous at the present time.

Such sentiments are doubtless honestly held by a great many people. At one time just such ideas held me. It never occurs to me that organizations of capital are the real menace to the majority, who are the laboring people. They uphold organizations of the strong and oppose the organization of the weak! It has been only a few generations since labor organizations in England were treasonable. Men who asked for increase of wages were sentenced to prison. Such fail to see that men organizing to secure more of the wealth they create and doing all they can to prevent people from getting labor cheaper, are working exactly on the lines of capitalists organizing to get more of the products of the labor of the people and doing all they can to prevent the people getting those products by combining to control the entire products and forcing the people to pay them more or do without. That is what labor does. But labor has this much more on its side: It wants only what it creates, while the capitalists create nothing and want what others create. It was this blind spirit of the capitalists that made the black people chattel slaves, made it a felony to teach them to read or to agitate for liberation. It is the capitalists who have no regard for the rights of others. They swindle and defraud each other just as readily as they do the working people. But they are united on this one point: That the public is a field for exploitation, and they are opposed to anything that would curtail their privileges of reaping it. It is as if mankind were a great herd of wild cattle and they were free to capture and use as many as they could kill or catch. What capitalists want is the cheapest labor, what labor wants is the highest wages. There is therefore a deadly conflict of interests that cannot be harmonized. Mr. Thompson thinks that union men who try to induce their fellows to quit work to get more wages should be shot, but he does not see as clearly that capitalists who induce each other to raise prices of what they control should also be shot. The capitalists are invited to go south because they are promised ignorant, cheap negro labor, that can be controlled and made to slave for the capitalists. Many have been moved south for this reason, and it is proposed to enact labor laws similar to those in force in Europe two hundred years ago to keep this labor cheap and docile. But the evolution of the race is not that way. Labor is fighting inch by inch for more rights, and is gradually gaining them. Labor in this country has votes and is in a majority, and will certainly use that legal force to compel its rights. If it does not, then it is fit only for the slavish condition which Mr. Thompson and his class would fasten on it. There can be no successful movement to put labor unions down except it has the consent of the majority and it labor, which is that majority, gives that consent. In this country, in the next five years labor will carry the elections and will put men in office and on the benches who will carry out its desires. The machinery of political government will be taken from the control of the capitalists and be used for the majority—who are laboring people. Such men and such speeches as I have quoted speed the day when labor shall come to its own, by making it plain to labor what it will have to do to have its desires gratified. Compelling labor to submit to the rule of the minority was not a difficult task when labor had no votes and could not read and write, which latter is the greatest factor in organization. This country is now, regarding the labor problem, where it was in 1856 respecting the chattel slave problem. With this great difference—slaves were unlettered, ignorant, disfranchised. Labor today is lettered, intelligent and voters. The blacks struck no blow for their own freedom—the whites are striking the blows in their own favor. The blacks were in a hopeless minority—labor today is in a great majority, and is just waking up, thanks to such utterances as that quoted. When the politicians see that labor is waking up, that it shows signs of doing something in its own interest, they will leave the hand of capitalists who could not elect a dog-pelter, and break their necks to serve laboring people. Labor is and by rights should be king in the United States. And by the eternal it will be, and shall sit under its own roof and factory and none shall molest and make it afraid. Bring on your laws to make organizations of laboring people treason and uphold organizations of capitalists. It will do much good—more than they know.

WAGES.

Next week's APPEAL will have a lot of good reading on the wage question. You are safe in ordering some copies in advance to give to wage-workers. "What are Wages?" by Gabriel Deville will be the leading article. It has been translated for the APPEAL by Robert Rives LaMonte, translator of Deville's "The People's Marx." This article is part of a lecture delivered in 1894, and is taken from a book which is the text book on the program of French socialism. It presents some vexed problems of the wages question very plainly and clearly. Deville is considered the leading French writer and lecturer on socialism, and "What are Wages?" is an excellent translation of some of his best thought.

"Socialism is Inevitable," by Lucien Saniel, some of Marx' best paragraphs on wage-labor, etc., will be in No. 240. Fifty cents a hundred; \$5 a thousand.

FOREIGN ITEMS

Socialists secured six out of 24 seats at Meiningen, Germany. Socialists have made a gain of several seats in the election at Milan, Italy. Trusts have a greater hold in Germany than any other country in the world. The fourth annual campaign of the London Clarion's van has begun by a tour of Scotland. Socialists won 11 seats in the municipal election at Locle, Switzerland, and 10 at Chaux-de-Fonds. The Tokio Labor World says that the factory system of Japan is "simply a slaughtering house of human beings."

All the capitalist parties combined against the socialist legislative candidate at Wasungen, Germany, but the socialist was elected. The New South Wales government program next session will include old age pensions and the legalizing of the eight hours system. The socialists made a net gain of five seats in the elections in Belgium, and cast 464,813 votes, an increase of nearly 150,000 since 1894.

On a recent Sunday, 709,600 socialist leaflets were scattered over Berlin and its suburbs. The work was done by several thousand voluntary distributors. Coifs, a workingman and the only Clerical in the Belgium Chamber of Deputies who protested against the atrocities of the Societe Commerciale Anversoise in the Congo, was returned at the recent elections.

Socialists at Baden, Germany, have given their delegates to the International Socialist Congress instructions to present the question of a uniform international language to be taught in all public schools. They recommend that it be the English language. "Not many years ago socialism was dreaded and spoken of with bated breath," says Rey Charles Strong, editor of the Australian Herald, in speaking of the progress of the movement there. "But things are slowly changing—Even in conservative Australia socialist legislation creeps in and what is best in socialism is slowly being assimilated. 'A dream! A dream!' This, of course is the cry of the man in the street. But thank God there are other forces at work than he stands for."

Reynolds's Newspaper, London, has celebrated its fiftieth year by a jubilee number. Since its inception Reynolds's has always stood for democracy. In its first number the founder, George W. M. Reynolds, began his first editorial in 1850: "It is high time that the working class in this country should understand their true position. Slaves they are—and serfs they will remain so long as they are unrepresented in parliament and are governed by an oligarchy." The present editor, W. M. Thompson, is fully as radical. The paper's motto is, "Government of the People, by the People, for the People."

All government contracts for bread in New South Wales have this clause: "No subletting will be allowed and all work must be carried out on the contractor's premises; the hours of employment of any person engaged in the manufacture, preparation, or delivery of the bread contracted to be supplied shall not exceed 48 hours per week, the lowest price or rate of payment for bread-making or baking in connection with this contract and during its continuance to be the union price or rate at the date of this contract." This would be very much unconstitutional in the United States, where bakers must work at least 108 hour a week and meditate the rest of the time on freedom of contract.

The Irish Republican (socialist) party issued a manifesto at the time of the queen's visit to Ireland, which said: "During the reign of this queen Ireland has seen 1,225,000 of her children die of famine—starved to death—while the produce of her soil and their labor was eaten by a vulture aristocracy; the eviction of 3,668,000 from the soil of their fathers—a multitude greater than the entire population of Switzerland—and the reluctant emigration of our kindred. At the present moment 78 per cent of our wage-earners receive less than £1 per week, our streets are thronged by starving crowds of the unemployed, cattle graze on our tenant-less farms and around the ruins of our battered homesteads, our ports are crowded with departing emigrants, and our poorhouses are full of paupers."

\$4,000 in Appeal Premiums

The APPEAL will give its workers \$4,000 cash in premiums just to make the work interesting. The labor union, party organization or syndicate sending in the most subscribers by the time the box number on the first page reaches 250,000 will be given \$500; the individual sending in the most subscribers will also receive \$500.

Each of five persons sending in the next highest lists will receive \$100; the next ten persons ranking according to size of lists will get \$50 each; the forty sending in the next highest, \$25 each, and to the 100 sending in the next highest numbers, \$10 each. All awards will be paid as soon as the number of subscribers reaches 250,000, which will not be long if the present increase keeps up. Awards will be based on yearly subscriptions, four three-months or two six-months counting as one subscription.

CANADA COMRADES

Will be supplied with the postal subscription cards printed on Canadian cards. Best and cheapest and most convenient method. No delay, no mistakes, no money orders to buy. Twenty cards, each good for a year's subscription for \$5.

Special election rate—subs, lots of 100 write today.

APPEAL ARMY HELPERS

Is there any other movement in the United States which can show a weekly growth that means what this does?

- F. J. Boltz, Prescott, Ariz. 20
- M. D. Wade, Winslow, Ark. 10
- W. J. Randall, San Francisco, Cal. 10
- J. D. Banes, Fresno, Cal. 10
- Allan A. Crockett, Alameda, Cal. 35
- L. Klamroth, travelling agent, Cal. 124
- C. Elster, San Francisco, Cal. 120
- August Storme, San Diego, Cal. 30
- John J. McLean, Independence, Cal. 30
- J. J. Padrick, San Diego, Cal. 10
- M. B. Curtis, Lordsburg, Cal. 11
- J. T. Van Rensselaer, Los Angeles, Cal. 1000
- W. H. Pitt, Lodi, Cal. 12
- Geo. B. Chadwick, Vallejo, Cal. 10
- F. Haight, Georgetown, Cal. 10
- A. Wharton, Oakland, Cal. 20

California may yet be a paradise in more senses than one. W. H. Fechyew, Goldfield, Colo. 20 C. F. Passover, Denver, Colo. 100 W. J. Angell, Grand Junction, Colo. 20 F. S. Clinton, Washington, D. C. 10 D. L. Dunham, St. Augustine, Fla. 13 W. P. Holmes, Barnesville, Ga. 10 Fred' G. Strickland, Chicago, Ill. 53 G. P. Johnson, Mt. Vernon, Ill. 10 Thos. A. Stevens, Elgin, Ill. 13 Wm. Woods, Brazil, Ind. 12 A. W. Ricker, Lone Tree, Iowa. 10 J. Bremser, Lyons, Iowa. 30 T. D. Walton, Edgerton, Kansas. 10 Geo. B. Harrison, Girard, Kansas. 29 Jno. I. Bell, Minneapolis, Kansas. 64 H. L. Dimmitt, Goodland, Kansas. 10

Wherever there are elections there is or soon will be anxiety about the socialist vote. T. D. Pace, Jackson, Miss. 20 Dr. L. West, Monett, Mo. 10 A. J. Curtis, Kansas City, Mo. 18 R. C. Campbell, Nevada, Mo. 20 P. S. Jamerson, Sotolia, Mo. 20 Hugh J. Raibe, Joplin, Mo. 10 Raymond Ristine, Joplin, Mo. 20 R. A. Emmons, Red Lodge, Mont. 50 Bernard Oates, Anaconda, Mont. 10 O. S. Anderson, Livingston, Mont. 10 J. R. Nickolson, Thornburg, Neb. 11 J. Tulliet, Wiley, Neb. 10 Wm. Stolley, Grand Island, Neb. 30 G. H. Strobel, Newark, N. J. 124 A. K. Maynard, Corfu, N. Y. 30 C. H. Caspar, Ft. Edward, N. Y. 10

Commercialism is greed; socialism is co-operation—does that give you a significant pointer as to which is the civilization for the twentieth century? Geo. L. Washburn, Ticonderoga, N. Y. 23 E. Kennedy, Buffalo, N. Y. 10 Geo. H. Maxwell, Frankfort, N. Y. 27 Geo. W. Farnsworth, Wadsworth, Ohio. 20 H. W. Baird, Cleveland, Ohio. 50 Edwin O. Koch, Columbiana, Ohio. 10 C. H. Bowers, Toledo, O. 12 C. H. Reed, Toledo, O. 20 A. L. Barow, Tiffin, O. 40 C. J. Caylor, Columbus, O. 10 W. H. Sullivan, Portland, Ore. 10 Chas. A. Bradley, Woodburn, Ore. 20 Henry Oliver, McMinnville, Ore. 20 Dan F. Romig, Williamsport, Pa. 20 Jno. D. Orthip, Pottstown, Pa. 10

The greatest precursor of a revolutionary change is the increasing attention paid to its literature. Samuel Poet, Red Lion, Pa. 10 W. J. White, New Castle, Pa. 12 R. Einstein, Blairsville, Pa. 40 W. W. Swan, Frankfort, S. D. 20 John H. Lintz, Keystone, S. D. 24 W. T. Aydelott, Memphis, Tenn. 26 B. H. Enloe, Nashville, Tenn. 20 A. S. Klasing, Knoxville, Tenn. 11 W. J. Haddon, Seguin, Tex. 10 T. J. Miller, Beaumont, Tex. 20 H. B. Cokeran, Powderly, Tex. 10 Martin Anderson, Price, Utah. 10 G. B. Hobbs, Nephi, Utah. 10 C. W. Snyder, Elisionre, Utah. 20

When men grow weary and sick of the struggle of classes against each other they will unite in a class struggle to establish socialism in the place of exploitation. G. G. Severance, Seattle, Wash. 10 L. R. Gage, Hoquiam, Wash. 20 John W. Black, Okesdale, Wash. 20 Wm. Blank, Pioneer, Wash. 10 John Van Wagenen, Eau Claire, Wis. 10 C. H. Butler, Payette, Wis. 10 John Dengel, Appleton, Wis. 40 Wm. C. Lang, Milwaukee, Wis. 10 R. Schoen, Sheboygan, Wis. 20 H. Hatch, Mount Forest, Ont. 10 J. R. S. Johnson, Vancouver, B. C. 20 W. J. Clokey, Toronto, Ont. 40

Christians

Wonder why their churches are "not attracting the masses." Socialists can tell them. A great many requests have come in for a number suitable for propaganda work among church members, and No. 244 will meet them. It will have some interesting matter for church people who do not know that socialism is what they need before they can accomplish the Christian aim. Watch for it.

Individualism's Advance Between 1235 and 1900

London Cablegram.—According to a story told by eleven anarchists, recently released from a Spanish prison, who arrived in London, Spain continues to use some of the tortures of the Inquisition. These men stated that while in prison at Barcelona, before being sent to Africa, they were tortured by having an iron helmet placed on their head, pressed by a screw upon the nape of the neck, causing bleedings from the lungs.

WHERE THE APPEAL CIRCULATES.

In the following 20 states and territories the APPEAL has less than 500 subscribers each: Nevada, Arizona, Wyoming, New Mexico, Indian Territory, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, District of Columbia, Rhode Island, Vermont and Maine. In the following ten it has over 500 and under 1,000: Idaho, Montana, Utah, North Dakota, South Dakota, Arkansas, Tennessee, New Jersey, Connecticut and New Hampshire. In the other states its circulation reaches from 1,000 to 10,000 each. These states where its circulation is so small should receive the attention of socialists. They should be brought up to the average and not left at the extreme rear of the procession. In all these states are many thousands of people who are exceedingly dissatisfied with the way things are going and who could be induced to sever their relation to the old parties if they would have socialist literature put into their hands. There are thousands of readers of the APPEAL who have friends in these states. They should send them a copy of the APPEAL and write them a letter asking them to subscribe. In the state of Delaware the APPEAL less than ten subscribers! And yet there must be several thousand voters who are favorable to socialism. Put on your thinking cap and see if you cannot assist in giving the APPEAL a start in these states.

every farmer

in the United States ought to digest this issue of the APPEAL. Get a few copies and hand or send to some you know. Tell them that a Harvard professor who has been looking the matter up has decided that the only future for the farmers of the Mississippi valley is to become tenant farmers in the grasp of great corporations. Show them that socialism offers a better future. You can spread this number to great advantage. It is the first of a number that will stir up the farmers. Half-a-cent a copy for as many APPEALS as you can use.

CONGRESS voted an extra month's pay to the Capitol employes. That makes 13 months pay, while the peons whose backs are bent to pay the tax do not get one-fourth the wages, half the work and seldom full pay for what they do work. But then Capitol employes are serving the masters. After the \$80,000 was voted the employes for work not done, a republican committeeman called them in and politely requested that half of the sum be given the party for campaign purposes! But what do you care? The foreigner pays the tax. You elect corrupt men and you are corrupt just like them. Like seeks like. Most of you would do the same thing if you had the opportunity. And that is the reason you have corrupt government.

The APPEAL workers' commissioner to New Zealand will go as soon as the list of subscribers reaches 150,000; the award of \$4,000 cash in premiums as soon as the number is 250,000. Watch the changes in the box at the left of first page heading.

Socialism and the Rent Farmer.

Charles Trench. A western farmer asked me, a few weeks ago, if Socialism would enable him to make improvements on his farm without the immediate liability of having his rent raised. He is, now, a tenant at will of an Irish landlord, who collects rack-rents over an area of seventy thousand acres. "Socialism," I answered, "is peculiarly adapted to the needs of all farmers, especially those who pay rent to absentee landlords. In the first place, your rent would amount to a mere fractional part of what you pay to the present owner. In the next place, all tariffs would be abolished, as well as all extortionate freight charges. You would, further, be rid of the horde of monopolists, robbers and deadbeats that are now riding upon the back of industry.

"Under the regime of Socialism your farming implements, clothing, and all other commodities would be purchasable at cost prices. Even the old feudal system is preferable to the modern one, in which you pay four enormous profits on every manufactured article you consume. Finally, you would have no taxes to pay; for the people, collectively owning every acre of land in the country, the rent therefrom would be amply sufficient to defray all the expenses of running the government."

Appeal Sub Stations.

- For the convenience of the Appeal army the following comrades will keep in stock "Postal Card Orders" for yearly half yearly and quarterly subscriptions. Any number can be bought and at the office rate, thus saving extra postage correspondence and long waits. If you have never used "Postal Card Orders" call and have them explained. Cut this list out and save for future reference. It will be added to as the sub stations increase:
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