

WHAT ARE WAGES?

BY GABRIEL DEVILLE
TRANSLATED BY ROBERT RIVES LAMONTE

Wages appear to be the price of the labor performed, but this is merely an appearance, as can easily be seen. Wages can in fact only be less than or equal to this price. If the labor performed was worth, let us say, 2 dollars, and if the workman received less than 2 dollars, we would reach the absurd conclusion that labor worth 2 dollars is worth less than 2 dollars. If, the labor being worth 2 dollars, the laborer gets 2 dollars, what interest would the capitalist have in carrying on such operations? You see, that in any event wages can not be the price of the labor performed. What are they, then?

You ask yourselves how it can be that money, functioning as capital, breeds more money and yields to its proprietor a greater sum than that which he had advanced. Here we have the essential point, and therefore it is this which I am going to explain to you first of all.

The movement of capital in the process of bringing forth surplus value, that is to say, a value over and above its own value, is divided into three periods.

In the first period the capitalist appears as a purchaser on the commodity (or goods) market and on the labor market. His money is converted into goods, workshops, raw material and machinery, in a word, into means of production, and into labor-power; that is to say, he buys the things and the people which are the elements of production.

In the second period, the capitalist functions as a producer of commodities, and this production produces objects intended for sale.

In the third period, the capitalist becomes a seller of the commodities produced. The purpose that the capitalist keeps ever in view is that his capital, leaving his hands as a sum of money of a given magnitude, shall return to him as a sum of money greater in magnitude. The money is not in his mind expended, but advanced in order that it may grow larger.

When, in the first period, the capitalist buys the means of production and the labor-power, there is an exchange. Can the exchange be the source of surplus-value? Let us look into this.

If a man who has plenty of wheat, but who needs money and has it not, trades with another who has plenty of money, but is in want of wheat, a value of 100 dollars in wheat for 100 dollars in money, from the point of view of utility there is in this transaction an advantage for both of them. The exchange in this respect, is a transaction by which each party gains. But, from the point of view of wealth, the exchange of 100 dollars in wheat for 100 dollars in money is an increase of value for neither of the parties, since each of them was in possession, before the exchange, of a value equal to that which he had afterward. The same amount of value remains constantly in the hands of the same party; only he holds it successively under different forms. In the same way, when we exchange a twenty-dollar bank note for four five-dollar gold pieces, it may serve our convenience better, but there is no change in the quantity of value.

Of course certain capitalists may cheat those who trade with them; they may, in the first period buy for less than they are worth the things and the persons they require in order to produce, and they may, in the third, sell their products at a price above their value. Yet, if there is there, as you will shortly see, a displacement of values to the profit of individuals, there is no creation of value; there is no surplus-value.

Suppose that Peter is very shrewd and has few scruples, and that he succeeds in cheating Paul and James. Peter buys from Paul coloring material which he needs for his dye-house, and he pays 80 dollars for materials which are worth 100: there is a profit of 20 dollars for the first period. In the third, which is the period of the sale of the products, he sells to James for 120 dollars dyed fabrics which are worth 100: here is a second profit of 20 dollars. That in this way Peter makes a profit of 40 dollars, there can be no doubt; but let us not look at the thing solely from the point of view of Peter, let us also look at it from a general point of view.

Before these transactions we had 80 dollars in money in the hands of Peter, 100 dollars in coloring materials in the hands of Paul and 120 dollars in money in the hands of James, making a total of 300 dollars. After the operations of Peter, we have 120 dollars in money in the hands of Peter, 100 dollars in dyed fabrics in the hands of James and 80 dollars in money in the hands of Paul, making a total of 300 dollars. The value in circulation has not grown a single penny; there is simply a change in its distribution among Peter, Paul and James; it is just as if Peter had stolen 10 dollars. A change in the distribution of the values in circulation, does not increase their quantity.

No matter what point of view one takes, by the process of exchange the articles exchanged, viewed as a whole, are not altered. There is no formation of surplus-value if equivalent values are exchanged, and, if unequal values are exchanged, as in the former case, there is no surplus-value formed. As the quantity of values thrown into circulation can not increase there (the fashion in which they are distributed alone being capable of alteration) we must seek outside the realm of circulation or of the exchange of commodities, for the cause of the appearance of surplus-value of a new value.

Hence we reach this conclusion: All those trickeries must be disregarded which result merely in transferring wealth from pocket to pocket without increasing the sum total of the value in circulation. Yet, the owner of the money, who begins by buying certain commodities for exactly what they are worth, and afterwards sells them again at their exact value, is able to realize more money for them than he risked in their purchase. As this increase can not take place—as we have just seen—either in the first period, when the capitalist buys the elements of production, or in the third, when he sells the products, it is necessarily effected in the second period, the period of production.

In this period, the capitalist makes use of the things and the persons he has bought in order to produce. When he has made these purchases, he has in his possession the commodity which has the peculiar property of creating value, i. e. labor-power, or in other words, the aggregate of the muscular and intellectual powers with which man is endowed and which he brings into action when he wishes to produce useful things. As labor-power is a faculty of the living individual, the essential condition of its continuance is that the individual maintain and reproduce himself. The latter, for his support and reproduction, requires a certain quantity of the means of subsistence, and it is the quantity of the means of subsistence required, in a given country and period, to enable the laborer to permanently maintain a power equipped with the necessary technical skill and knowledge which determines the value of that power.

Suppose that the daily value of labor-power is 80 cents and that, at the end of 5 hours' work, the laborer has added to the value representing the material worked up and the wear and tear of the implements employed, a new value of 90 cents. If the laborer stopped there, the capitalist would have a value equal to that which he had disbursed; he would in truth pay the value of the labor performed; he would lose nothing, but he would gain nothing; now gain is the goal at which he aims; he wishes his money to increase, to bring forth more money.

The capitalist has, for the 80 cents which represent, in our hypothesis, the daily value of labor-power, bought the use of that power during one day. Therefore, the use of that power belongs to him during one day, and so he continues to keep it at work after it has, at the end of five hours as we have assumed, reproduced a value equivalent to its own. Labor-power can then in a day produce more than it costs, and it is the prolongation of the labor beyond the fraction of the day that suffices to produce the equivalent of the wages, the equivalent of the price of the articles of consumption necessary for the maintenance of labor-power, which alone can be the cause and source of surplus value. Labor continued after the equivalent of the purchase-price of the labor-power, after the equivalent of the wages is produced and added to the preserved and transferred value of the means of production—that is what begets the excess of the value of the object produced over and above that of its constituent elements, means of production and labor-power.

The production of surplus value is, consequently, nothing more than the production of value, is, in other words, only the action of labor, prolonged beyond the point where the wages, the price of the labor-power, paid by capital, are replaced by an equivalent value. The quantity of labor which the worker furnishes after having already produced a value equal to his wages, constitutes what MARX has called, what the socialists following his example call, *surplus-labor*.

The worker is compelled to sell his labor-power because the conditions requisite to enable him to utilize it in production himself—the means of production and the means of subsistence which are the means of producing the power itself—are divorced from him and are the property of others. The material elements of labor are on one side; labor-power is on the other. And this class is bridged only through the fact that the possessor of labor power sells his power to the possessor of the means of production.

Finally, what does the possessor of labor-power sell? He sells simply labor in the potential state, the power capable of wielding the means of labor, which do not belong to him, and of thus performing the labor proposed. What does the possessor of the means of labor pay? He pays, not the price of the labor performed (we have seen that that would be impossible), but the price of the power employed.

Such is the real relation between working-man and capitalist, while in appearance wages manifest themselves as the price paid for the labor itself; while the laborer seems to get all the value due him for his labor. The consequence of all this is fortunate for the capitalist. His capital is deemed to fructify through its inherent virtue, by spontaneous generation; or, what comes to the same thing, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, and labor appears to receive its full remuneration. Under the system of the *corvee*, it was easy to perceive the time given

to the master or lord and the time devoted to the workers' own interests. With the wages system there is also, as with the *corvee*, a certain amount of gratuitous labor for the master, but it is not so strikingly obvious.

The pretended association of capital and labor in which each is alleged to get his share, is an association in which the first of the associates gets more than he gives and in which the second gives more than he gets. And even though the worker should get a value equal to the value of his labor-power, that is to say a wage making possible the complete satisfaction of his wants, he would have to furnish a value greater than that which he would receive. The duration of the labor required for a given wage necessarily exceeds, under our economic conditions, however good the intentions of individuals may be, the time required by the laborer to add to the value of the means of production consumed a value equal to that wage. And it is this labor in excess, it is, in a word, the surplus-labor, which forms the surplus-value of the capitalist. Wages always imply surplus-labor, and, no matter what people may wish, surplus-labor, the creator of surplus-value, is always *unpaid labor*.

Whatever may be the form of the payment of wages, the variation in the form in no way changes their nature which necessarily involves a certain quantity of unpaid labor. What is sold by the laborer, under it matters not what form, is his labor-power; what is paid is the price of that power, a price which diverges, as in the case of all other commodities, more or less widely from its value, and he gets this price, he gets his wages, only upon condition that he furnishes more than he receives. I hope that you now have no doubts on this subject so far as regards wages by the day, time-wages. Whether we regard the hour, the day, the week or the month, the laborer paid according to his labor-time, furnishes in an hour, a day, a week or a month, a value greater than that which is equivalent to his wages.

With piece-wages it seems that the laborer is paid the value of the labor contained in the product; here again we have a false appearance, and we are going to see that piece-wages are, in reality, only another form of time-wages.

Suppose that the ordinary working day lasts 12 hours; that, out of these 12 hours, there are 6 of surplus-labor, and that during the 12 hours there is produced a value of \$1.20. This is equivalent to saying that 6 hours are paid and 6 unpaid, and that 10 cents are the product of one hour of labor. Now experience has, let us assume, shown that by working with the average degree of intensity and skill, by employing, therefore, the labor-time ordinarily necessary for the production of a certain article, a laborer can make in 12 hours 12 of these articles. As these 12 articles are worth, as we have assumed, \$1.20 in addition to the value of the means of production consumed in order to produce them, each one of them is worth 10 cents. It will be agreed upon, for instance, that the laborer shall receive 5 cents per article; he will in this way earn in 12 hours 60 cents, while the commodities, the products of 12 hours' work, are worth \$1.20 over and above the value of the means of production consumed. While, in the case of wages by the day, the laborer works 6 hours for himself in order to replace the wages which he gets, and 6 hours gratuitously for the employer, or the half of each hour for himself and half for the capitalist, here (i. e.

with piece-wages) each article made is half paid for and half not paid for, or rather the new value of 6 articles is the equivalent of the price of the labor-power, and the new value of the 6 others, furnished gratuitously by the laborer, constitutes the surplus-value, but, in fact, all this comes to the same thing. If the measure of time-wages is the duration of labor, that of piece-wages is the quantity produced in a given time. Piece-wages are then are only a modified form of time-wages.

Far from being favorable to the workman, piece-wages facilitate capitalist exploitation.

With this form of wages, the work is required to be of an average quality judged arbitrarily by the employer or his representative; if it does not come up to this arbitrary standard, the price agreed upon is not paid. From this point of view piece-wages involve, to the injury of the workers, a multitude of abuses and become as Marx wrote "the inexhaustible source of pretexts for docking the wages of the laborer and robbing him of his due."

As the capitalist pays under this form of wages, not for the time employed, but for the quantity made and made of a standard quality fixed by himself, he is thus assured of both the quality and quantity, and can therefore save a large portion of the labor of superintendence, and thus increase his gains.

Besides this, piece-wages make possible the intervention of the sweeter between the capitalist and the toiler, and thus facilitate the most frightful horrors of modern industrialism.

To sum up, it results from what I have just explained that the necessary means to make money breed money is the movement of production. The enlargement of value is due exclusively to the act of production. All the other forms under which money appears to bring forth more money are subordinate to this.

In order to accomplish the act of production, the capitalist buys the labor-power of those who have nothing else to sell and who are obliged to sell this power in order to live; and, having bought this power, the capitalist exploits it during the time for the duration of which he has bought it. The time of exploitation is divided into two periods: during one the functioning of the labor-power produces only an equivalent of its price, only a value equal to the wages of the laborer; during the other period, the labor is gratuitous and yields, therefore, to the capitalist a value which costs him nothing, a value over and above that which he has advanced, in a word, a *surplus-value*. ALL SURPLUS-VALUE, whatever may be its particular form—profit, rent, interest, etc.—is, in substance, THE RESULT OF UNPAID LABOR.

The whole secret of the power of bringing forth what capital appears to possess is in this simple fact, that capital disposes of a certain quantity of the labor of others for which it does not pay. The laborers create the profits of the capitalists by giving to them more than they receive from them. There you have the truth which defies all contradiction. [It behooves every reader of the APPEAL and every American trades-unionist and socialist to thoroughly grasp and never forget this most essential of essential points.—Tr.]

For every failure ascribed to socialism a thousand failures may be found for competition.

SOCIALISM INEVITABLE

BY LUCIEN SANIAL
FROM THE NEW YORK JOURNAL



SOCIALISM is not a theory. It is a living force, evolved by the class struggle from the development of economic conditions and irresistibly increasing with that development.

Philosophers may philosophize, poets may poetize, theologians may anathematize, but

for the very reason that capitalists capitalize, socialism will socialize. Nor are the philosophers, the poets and other "intellectuals," seriously threatened by socialism with the loss of their "individuality," if they have any. True, the thing thus named may then be so defined and understood that it will no longer be possible for logo-machinists to connect it genetically with "individualism." The standard of it in an educated community may even be raised so high that not a few of those who today shine as stars in the intellectual firmament will have to do a little more thinking of the right kind or a little less talking of the foolish sort.

Of course socialism will put an end to that kind of individuality which consists in monopolizing the means of production. By this very act, purely economic in its character, but pregnant with such ethical consequences of the highest import, it will immensely broaden the field of all true kinds of individuality. Such ethical results are already flowing from the mere progress of socialist sentiment, and this phenomenon of powerful individualities brought forth and strengthened by modern socialism may be observed all over Europe.

To refuse to see the inevitable or to fight it away when it is seen coming is not the act of sensible men. Socialism, I say, is inevitable and it is coming.

Every step that the capitalists are of necessity driven to take is of necessity also hastening its events.

The law of capitalistic development is today as well known as the law of gravitation. Step by step competition leads to concentration. With the progress of invention, with the gradual transformation of the simple tool into machines more and more powerful and costly, the independent artisan is first supplanted by the small firm; the small firm is then superseded by the corporation, and the corporation by the trust. Evidence is not wanting that by the same law the trusts of each industry must some day be absorbed by a trust of trusts, or king trust. And as government, at any given time and in any given country, is a mere agency for the forcible maintenance and full development of the economic system prevailing at that time and

in that country. King Trust will say, like the Grand Monarch: "L'etat, c'est moi." (I am the State.)

Let us suppose—as we may safely do—that this last stage is reached. A condition of affairs is established that might be termed "capitalistic socialism" (productive of the highest possible despotism), in opposition to genuine socialism (productive of the highest possible freedom). The whole engine of production and distribution is jointly owned by capitalists in proportion to the amount of unpaid labor crystallized into wealth which they have respectively been able to appropriate during the previous period of "capitalistic anarchy."

All conflict between them is at an end. The middle class, from which the plutocracy emerged, has been annihilated by its own offspring. On one side stands the capitalist class, mighty in wealth, small in numbers; on the other side the great wage-earning class, mighty in number, economically impotent.

Not the manual of worker alone, but the "man of brain"—from the technical director to the inventor—is a stipendiary, whose value as a value-producing labor power is arbitrarily determined by King Trust, and whose only stimulus to activity is the whip of want.

But long before this stage is reached capitalism appears in its true light, with all its baleful tendencies and inherent contradictions.

The function of the capitalist in society,

formerly implying in the public mind a work of direction and certain qualities of thrift and foresight socially beneficial, is now seen to be the clipping of coupons, the waste of wealth and the corruption of government. His "saving," his "industry," his "wages of superintendence," when they are still trotted out by his Manchesterian mouthpieces, are looked upon by sensible persons as metaphorical travesties, all the superintendence, all the exertion and all the saving being done by other men. And while it remains true, or becomes every day truer, that under our present economic arrangements no one can work and save for a capitalist without his permission, it becomes also every day plainer that the capitalist has no more part in the creation of capital than the potato bug in the raising of a crop of potatoes.

In a word, some of the people have ceased standing on their heads and seeing things inverted. And from that moment the class struggle gradually takes another course. The demand of the laboring class is less and less for an increase of wages, which it cannot get, or against a reduction which it cannot prevent, but more and more for all its rights as wealth producer. The ground of battle is shifted from the economic field, where that class is impotent, to the political field, where it can be sovereign. The issue, there, is direct between capitalism and socialism:— "Shall the trusts own the people, or shall the

people, in their corporate capacity, own the means of production?"

And upon this single plain issue, identical throughout the civilized world, socialism is marching with giant's strides to the conquest of the public powers. Who can stop it? In Germany it ran over Bismarck, whose iron hand for twelve years tried to choke it. In France, since 1893, it broke down a president and three cabinets. In Belgium it is already backed by a majority of the voters, and will soon have a majority of the votes, notwithstanding the "plural suffrage" feature of the constitution, which gives two, three and even four votes to men of property. In Austria, as in Belgium, it gained the franchise for the workingmen. In America, where its activity is of most recent date, the rate of its progress is even more rapid than in any other country. Since 1892, when it first entered the national field, its vote has more than quadrupled.

Viewed as an international factor socialism is the only force today that preserves the peace of Europe, and it may soon be the only force capable of preventing a stupendous war between the British and American "empires" for absolute control of the markets of the world.

Aye, socialism is coming, and to one needs to fear it who, understanding it, truly longs for peace and freedom.

He who denies self-evident truths cannot be reasoned with.—Epictetus.

Proof at Your Very Door.

Competition glutts our markets, enables the rich to take advantage of the necessities of the poor, makes each man snatch the bread out of his neighbor's mouth, converts a nation of brethren into a mass of hostile, isolated units, and finally involves capitalists and laborers in one common ruin.—William Greg.

They are neither relatives, nor friends, nor citizens, nor Christians, nor men perhaps: they have money.—LaBruyere.

How great is the number of persons who have existed without having lived!

—Gounod.

Competitive Existence. Mankind, without any common bond, any unity of aim, bent upon happiness, has sought each and all to tread their own paths, little heeding if they trampled upon the bodies of their "brothers" in name, enemies in fact. This is the state of things we have reached today.—Mazzini.

"Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump?"

If you will not hear Reason, she will surely rap your knuckles.—Poor Richard.

—Sully.

Inevitable Under Competition. "The most imminent danger in modern politics," said President Schurman of Cornell university in his address to this year's graduating class, "is the exploitation of the weaker races by the stronger races into whose power they have fallen. However done, it is certain to prove a curse to both." Some years ago, Karl Marx said: "The history of all society thus far is the history of class strife."

The world is possessed by money, but it is led by imagination and by the heart.—de Vogue.

Danger of Slavish Precedent. "The wife of Lot turned back and she was changed into a pillar of salt for having turned back," said d'Aureville. "Beautiful symbol! When one turns back in life and looks into his past, one becomes a statue also. One is no longer capable of anything."

Business is—the money of others.—Dumas.

Which is Socialism.

The best state of human nature is that in which, while no one is poor, no one desires to be richer nor has any reason to fear being thrust back by the efforts of others to push themselves forward.—John Stuart Mill.

The citizens of a large nation, industrially organized, have reached their possible ideal of happiness when the producing, distributing and other activities are such that each citizen finds in them a place for all his energies and appetites, while he obtains the means of satisfying all his desires.—Herbert Spencer.

Will California Be the Banner State?

After an experience of twelve months in helping to secure 2,000 subscribers I can say that whenever the workers work the circulation of the APPEAL increases with amazing rapidity...

After enthusiasm the next thing wanted is concentrated, well-directed effort. A year ago in Los Angeles a dozen comrades were making a desultory effort to spread the APPEAL...

It might be well to again remind Californians that the average number of subscriptions sent in from this state weekly during the past six or eight weeks has been over 500...

Am I wrong in this? Let us look at it in detail. Los Angeles county, which already has 2,000 subscribers, is always good for 6,000...

Now I would suggest that two general workers be selected, one in San Francisco, the other in Los Angeles. Here J. B. Campbell, 542 Byrne Building, will act in that capacity...

Many reasons point to the fact that California will be the banner state for socialism. Our people are singularly intelligent. Then the Southern Pacific railway has taught us to expect no mercy from a soulless corporation...

JAMES T. VANRENSELAER, Los Angeles, Cal.

Henry George

Was one of the great men of the century. His works are exercising a tremendous influence on society. Will send them to you for \$1.

No laws, no customs, no rights of property are so sacred that they may not be made away with if it can be clearly shown that they stand in the way of the greatest happiness.

VOX POPULI

In a side street, about twenty yards off the main thoroughfare of the rising town of Coalburn, on a Sunday night in summer, a large crowd had gathered. The attraction was a young man, elevated upon a chair, from which point of vantage he was attempting to address the crowd...

"PROSPERITY."

The following item appeared in the Chicago Tribune, republicans, of June 22:

Starving Mother Sells Her Baby for \$200. The life of a baby boy was put up for barter in New York city today. It was not an auction sale, but the starving mother gave to the public a chance to bid for the life of her child...

No more horrible or monstrous tale could be told that would disclose the heartlessness and vileliness of the present system under which we are living than the above article. Even the barbaric systems under which savages live never lead to such horrible outcomes...

Can it be believed that democracy, which has overthrown the feudal system and vanquished kings, will retreat before tradesmen and capitalists? Will it stop now that it has grown so strong and its adversaries so weak?

Why, Man, He Has a Vote!

Republicans are always preaching tariff and protection to me. Now, failing to see where an American farmer is profited by it, I should like to have you explain that.

This is a wheat country where I live. I have to take the world's market price for wheat and the buyers deduct freight and hauling price, and I get what is left, be what it may...

It seems to me that I am not protected very much, and do not have very much to say what I ought to have for my wheat, or what I ought to pay for the necessities of life...

Association of labor and the division of the fruits of labor—or rather of the profits of its productions between the producer, in proportion to the amount and value of the work done by each—this is the social future.

Mismanagement.

With ample power to supply to the fullest extent necessities, comforts, and even luxuries for all, we have so mismanaged our social economy as to give injurious luxury to the few, while millions are compelled to suffer a lifelong deficiency of the barest necessities.

They who are ever thirsting after more, and of whom there was never a man satisfied with what he had—they are so far from being wealthy and rich that they are regarded as necessitous and beggared.

The Coming Co-Operative Commonwealth

This is no mere dream of the humanitarian, no unrealizable Utopia of the philanthropist. The material conditions of our period necessitate the new development and classes disappear as the causes of their existence are swept away...

one of the first

books that appeared in response to the quickening American conscience against social injustice was "Whither are we Drifting?" by Wylie. It is 700 pages and tersely written. It takes up some of the matters forgotten to this generation...

New York World on Socialism.

A reader of the New York World asks that paper what socialism means and what it wants. In its issue of June 17 the World replies in this way:

There is quite a library of socialist literature, beginning with Rousseau's "Social Contract," and with Karl Marx's "Capital" as the leading authority on more recent socialism. The socialists' definition of socialism is that anything which aims at the social improvement of mankind is socialism...

The poor have a claim founded in the law of nature which may be thus explained: All things were originally common. No one being able to produce a charter from Heaven had any better title to a particular possession than his next neighbor.

"Caesar's Column"

Created a sensation when it first appeared without the author's name. Though written ten years ago, it accurately describes things occurring today as though it were written but yesterday.

Provided society may know the amount of your fortune nobody shall ask for your papers.—de Balzac.

As Stated by Karl Marx.

What is it that takes place in the exchange between capital and wage-work? The laborer receives in exchange for his labor the means of subsistence; but the capitalist receives in exchange for the means of subsistence—labor, the productive energy of the laborer...

Awake, thou that sleepest. Cast off all which presses down. Watch; labor; strive to go forward and to grow in knowledge.—Ephesians v. 17.

"Individualism is Progress and Life."

Chicago Correspondent St. Paul Pioneer Press.

It gives the man of sentiment a pang of sorrow to walk down Fifth avenue any afternoon and realize what a frightful struggle for mere existence this life is. There hundreds of people gather to get the first editions of the afternoon papers, not for news of the war in Luzon or Natal...

There is in human affairs one order which is the best. The order is not always the one which exists, but it is the order which should exist for the greatest good of humanity. God knows it and wills it; man's duty is to discover and establish it.

Freedom (?) of Contract.

From Laurence Gronlund's "The Co-operative Commonwealth."

It is a paltry evasion to say that the workers are free to consent or to refuse the terms of the employers. It is, as Dickens says in "Hard Times," "an evasion worthy of the man who asked permission of the Virgin to rob her of her necklace—and then did it, taking silence for consent."

Whenever an enterprise is too big for competition it is turned over to co-operation.

Worth Meditation.

"The thinkers of Israel," said Ernest Renan, "were the first who revolted against the injustice of the world, who refused to submit to the inequalities, the abuses, the privileges without which there is neither army nor strong society..."

In taking up any public matter, I have never made it a consideration, and never will, whether it be popular or unpopular; but whether it be right or wrong.—Thomas Paine.

"Dividing Up."

"Socialism will not divide up the country's wealth nor distribute it in shares," said Francis D. Tuttle at a recent meeting in Fitchburg, Mass. "The whole people will own jointly the public wealth, increased a thousand fold to include estates and enterprises now in private hands..."

The Lot for a Dollar.

Caesar's Column; 363 pages. 25c. A Tramp in Society; 244 pages. 25c. Public Ownership of Railroads; 90 pages. 10c. President John Smith; 290 pages. 25c. The Co-opolitan; 208 pages. 25c. Evolutionary Politics; 256 pages. 25c. Merrie England; 160 pages. 10c. All for one dollar. Mention Combination 3.

The Century's Reality.

The one reality of the nineteenth century is the scramble for wealth. Politics, literature, science, religion, art, are, apart from money-getting, mere lifeless wraiths. The mere economic machinery enslaves us today in a manner in which has never before done throughout history...

It is better to listen to those who shout at us from afar, "Relieve our misery," than to those who whisper in our ears, "Augment your fortune."—Marie Lezinska.

Invention Under Socialism.

Invention would follow far more quickly from systematic research carried on from generation to generation than it does from private persons, and invention would then belong to municipal instead of to private capital.—G. L. Gomme.

Production is communal already. Men do already work together co-operatively; their grievance is that they do not obtain their product—that distribution is not communal.—Noyes.

Social Democratic National Ticket for 1900.

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

SOCIALIST ORGANIZATIONS.—For the purposes of aiding in organization, the Appeal will print notices of political meetings, conventions, etc., for 25 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.

Subscriptions from large cities should specify sub station, insures prompt delivery of paper. THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, 64 pages \$1.00 a year, begins July 1. You need it. This new two cent stamp sent now will bring you the Review three months and a copy of "Socialism and Farmers," by A. M. Simons. Address C. H. Kerr & Co., 55 Fifth Ave., Chicago, Ill. 240

BY JOHN BLAIR IN REYNOLDS'S NEWSPAPER, LONDON

of my world of dreams, at last. The people! If they will wallow in their own filth—well, let them. Now I shall work for myself and myself alone. The people! What a concentration of ignorance and superstition that word conveys. The people! To hell with them!

he rapidly amassed a fortune. Now he moves in what is called the best society and newspapers point to him as a paragon of all the virtues. His lines have fallen in pleasant places—but—but—he sometimes thinks of the past. The short history I have given you is the story of my own life. The man who was willing to give the strength of his youth and early manhood on behalf of you, the workers, flouted and scorned, persecuted and ill-treated. Today the man who has won his wealth by your sweat and tears, by your degradation and misery, is received with rapturous applause. Both these individuals are the same and I am the man. And now before I finish—I know your grovelling worship of wealth; you will let me speak; although you throw bricks at the poor socialist—I merely wish to express my contempt for you. I might desire to represent a constituency of men; but of course—never.

WISE WORKING PEOPLE.

In the May number of the New Zealand Labor Journal (official) is given the decision of the government regarding the dispute between the printers and the employers in the matter of operating the type-setting machines. The decision, when rendered, became the law and is in force. It provides that a man must set 3,000 ems an hour to be called efficient; that he shall not agree to work for bonuses; that only one apprentice for each four efficient workmen shall be allowed; that only printers shall be employed as apprentices; that efficient workmen shall be given at least four hours work a day and seven shall constitute a day's work; that efficient men shall receive 44 cents an hour for day and 48 cents for night work, or 15 cents per 1,000 ems (they measure by ems), etc. Here in the great United States the workmen are at the mercy of the employers and have no protection except such as necessity can force from employers, but in New Zealand they have labor unions that know the value of the ballot and they have the law on their side. It is really better for the employers because when the rate is established no one anywhere can employ workmen on better terms and the employers are therefore on an equal footing. There are 41 paragraphs which take up and settle the points liable to cause friction. This prevented strikes and lockouts and derangement of the social factors. Note the difference between that and the strikes that occur in this country. Working people, go into politics, elect men who are loyal to you, and have the law protect you as it now protects your masters. You will have a chance this fall. If you fail to take advantage of it, you have yourself to blame when you meet the police, sheriff, injunctions and militia on the side of the bosses.

One problem for socialists is: How in the world would we ever get along under socialism without the regular weekly reports of Dun and Bradstreet on the increase of business failures over the same week last year?

Labor's Sale of Itself.

"Ah!" said the doctor, "it was indeed the last refinement of indignity put upon human nature by your economic system, that it compelled men to seek the sale of themselves. Of course the sale was not in a real sense voluntary; for want, or the fear of it, left no choice as to the necessity of selling themselves to somebody, but as to the particular transaction there was choice enough to make it shameful. They had to seek those to whom they offered themselves, and to actively procure their own purchase. In this respect the submission of men to other men, through the relation of hire, was more abject than under a slavery resting directly on force. In the latter case the slave might be compelled to yield to physical duress, but he could still keep a mind free and resentful toward his master; but in the relation of hire, men sought for their masters and begged as a favor that they would use them, body and mind, for their profit or pleasure. To the view of us moderns, the chattel slave was a more dignified and heroic figure than the hiring of your day who called himself a free worker. It was possible for the slave to rise in soul above his circumstances, and to be a philosopher, like Epicurus; but the hiring could not scorn the bonds he sought. The abjectness of his position was not merely physical, but mental also. In selling himself he had necessarily sold his independence of mind."

Every socialist should have a bundle of 25 to 100 Appeals coming to him every week during the campaign. All of you can afford that much for pushing the campaign. You ought to have more zeal than those who work for the interest of industrial monarchy.

What the Private Gets.

The fund for the widow of Gen. Lawton amounted to about \$100,000. In addition congress granted her a liberal pension. The pay of a major general in time of war is \$9,575 per year, while the private gets the princely stipend of \$186. Therefore Gen. Lawton's salary for one week was as much as the private's for an entire year! Hardly a fair divide in this game of patriotism, where both side to uphold the flag and extend our trade!

This item from the Chicago Record of June 23, shows what the family of the private gets:

Evicted a Centenarian.—Mrs. Sarah Elliott, 101 years old, was taken to Dunning poor house yesterday after having been evicted from a small room she occupied at Princeton avenue and 33rd street. Her daughter, Mrs. Humphrey, is in a hospital and her grandsons are soldiers in the Philippines. Policemen found Mrs. Elliott huddled in an alley. They believe she had been without food and shelter for twenty-four hours. She refused to accept the help of neighbors. In spite of her age, Mrs. Elliott is active. She would not give the name of her landlord, but said that if he had been patient money for the rent would have been sent from the Philippines. She would answer few questions put to her by the matron at the 35th street police station. She said she was born in Ireland, Feb. 22, 1799, and had been in Chicago nearly forty years.

MATTHEW DIX.

Chicago.

"Am I My Brother's Keeper?" Individualism says "No." "At this time of the year the cotton workers suffer a great deal, said Mr. Henry Wreford of New Bedford, Mass., to a Washington Post reporter. "Some of our mills employ as many as 25,000 persons. There are hundreds and hundreds of persons working in the same room. You can imagine the state of that room when you know that not a window dare be raised. The air would damage the work. Think of these thousands of persons working in one building, and then think of the suffering which must be endured for the want of a little air. The life of a cotton worker is not to be envied."

All Socialists of Cuthbert county, Michigan, should attend the mass convention at Battle Creek, Michigan, July 9, 1900, and help organize the county and elect a county committee of the Social Democratic Party, Committee.

NEWS OF THE SOCIALIST WORLD.

AT HOME

Two new S. D. P. branches are at Chicago. Connecticut socialists held a convention July 4. California had a socialist state convention July 4. Texas socialists held a conference on the Fourth. Job Harriman is campaigning in New England. Kansas City, Mo., has added another S. D. P. branch. New York socialists have nominated a strong state ticket. Indiana socialists held their state convention at Indianapolis July 4. The labor exchange Freedom Industrial colony at Fulton, Kans., is growing rapidly. Charlotte Perkins Stetson and George H. Gilman were married in New York June 11. Job Harriman recently debated with George Gunton on "Trusts" before the Social Reform Club of New York. The Social Democratic string band of the Cedar Junction, Kans., branch has arranged a regular series of concerts. An enthusiastic branch of the S. D. P. has been organized by veterans at the national military home in California. A women's socialist club will be organized in Chicago. Rockford, Conn., already has a Ladies' Social Democratic club.

It is stated that the democratic legislatures of Texas have given land enough to railroads and corporations to make twelve states as large as Connecticut. The Government Control league of Chicago will endeavor to get every candidate in the county on record regarding direct legislation before election day.

"Resolved by the State Committee of the S. D. P. of New Hampshire that we endorse the APPEAL TO REASON and urge socialists everywhere to increase its circulation."

Comrade Dan Daugherty drops the APPEAL a line from Ryak Bay, Alaska, which he says is a country where everybody works and nobody loaf and nobody pays taxes.

S. D. P. branches recently organized are at Fisher, Minn., Natick, Mass., Fort Morris, N. J., Avery, Iowa, Cokeville, Pa., Rockford, Ill., Sawtelle, Cal., North Woods, Wash.

H. G. Wilshire has been taking an active part in the discussion over a city charter for Los Angeles, and has published a pamphlet on "A Business-like City Charter" showing the necessity of direct legislation.

Secretary of the Treasury Gage has overruled the protest of the immigration commissioner and allowed the admission of 50,000 foreign laborers on contract for railroad work. They will help make socialists.

M. V. Rork, formerly a prominent people's party educator, is now organizing for the S. D. P. in California. J. T. Van Reusslaer has also been appointed organizer, and the two will devote their time to regenerating the golden state.

Kansas socialists are organizing to put county and congressional tickets in the field. The district in which the APPEAL is published now has the only socialist in Congress, but he will not be a candidate for reelection. Socialists of the district will be asked to organize to keep the record up.

Editor APPEAL.—We organized a branch of the Social Democracy at Cokeville, a suburb, the other evening, and started with 51 members. Most of our success is due to the sledge-hammer strokes of the APPEAL. Make Blairsville an APPEAL substation and we will keep a supply of postal cards on hand.

R. EINSTEIN, Blairsville, Pa.

The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor declared for the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution. By this is meant that when an industry becomes so centralized as to assume the form of a trust or monopoly, and hence a menace to the best interests of the people, such industry should be assumed by the government."

THE APPEAL OBSERVATORY

The man in the tower often sees in advance where socialism will take a step forward. The circulation of the APPEAL is about as safe a sign post to follow as can be found. Interesting "observations" will be given each week.

New Jersey has increased 50 per cent since June 1. The workers are active.

Gibbonsville, Idaho, Miners' Union takes 10 copies a week for the lodge room. Next!

Portland, Me., is on the jump. Every barber-shop in the city covered. Doubled Portland list, increased state 33 per cent.

Detroit comrades drop their papers in fire engine houses after reading them. Firemen always eager to get them. Converts? Several of them.

Illinois close to 5,000 mark. Only a few more clubs to pass the post.

California increased 10 per cent, since June 10 and returns not all in.

Chicago carries the banner. The only "white city." White on the APPEAL map means over 2,000—Chicago has almost 3,000.

Dayton, O., has almost doubled since May. The firing line is steady.

Comrade Greenbaum writes from St. Louis: "During the trouble some of our comrades have circulated the APPEAL with effective results. It is the best article for propaganda we have used here, and when the strike is ended we shall concentrate in a great united effort to get 10,000 new subs to the APPEAL. The outlook for a big showing by the S. D. P. at the polls in November was never so bright."

The first number of the International Socialist Review in July will have an article by Rev. W. T. Brown on "Plutocracy or Democracy," a review of "Socialism in England," by H. M. Hyndman, an account of "French Political Parties and the Recent Election," by M. Jean Longuet, a grandson of Karl Marx, and "The Legislative Elections in Belgium," by Prof. Emile Vinck, secretary of the Belgian League of Municipal Councilors. The advance subscriptions have been large.

ELSEWHERE

The Norwegian Socialist party has 114 groups and 11,000 members.

The Standard Oil company has taken first steps toward capturing Japan.

Italian socialists cast 170,000 votes at the recent elections, an increase of 100%.

The current number of the Cosmopolitan (New York) has an article on the large socialist stores in Belgium.

The municipal council of Zurich will institute municipal insurance against accident, sickness and old age for all employes.

Socialists in Vienna polled 56,306 votes and the anti-Semites 77,698, yet the anti-Semites have 131 seats in the Municipal Council and the socialists but two, which shows artistic gerrymandering.

"The Social Democratic party," says H. M. Hyndman, "though, owing to many causes, still numerically weak in this island [England] is the strongest single party on the continent of Europe. What is occurring in Belgium, Germany, Austria, Italy, Denmark, as well as in France, shows clearly that the liberals are being crushed out between the Conservatives on one side and the Socialists on the other."

The Central Socialist Association of Belgium has begun a new campaign for universal suffrage. "The thirty-three socialist deputies, backed by others of the opposition, will obstruct discussion of the budget as long as the plural vote is maintained. In Belgium the franchise is given every qualified citizen over 25, an additional vote to every married citizen over 35 and to every bachelor worth a certain amount, and three votes to possessors of certain professional educational qualifications."

"Within the last ten years the growth of socialism in England has taken on a new aspect," says Prince Kropotkin. "It is not so much by the number of meetings or of socialist votes that the intensity of the movement must be judged, but by the infiltration of the socialist point of view into the trade-unionist, the co-operative and the so-called municipal socialist movements, as well as the general infiltration of socialist ideas all over the country. Under this aspect the extent to which the socialist views have penetrated is immense in comparison with what it was in 1886; and I do not hesitate to say that it is simply colossal in comparison with what it was in the years 1876-82."

When Comrade Millerand took a position in the Waldeck-Rousseau cabinet many socialists, outside of France strongly disapproved of his action as compromising the cause of socialism. Most of them have modified their views through the progress of events. In reviewing the situation one of them, H. M. Hyndman, says in a late issue of Justice: "Millerand has done good work. He has helped forward the cause of socialism both directly and indirectly, giving the cause a status without outsiders which it has never held before, and proving that a thorough-going socialist can also be an excellent man of business. His measures and his speeches, his appointments—notably of Jaures and others on the great industrial council—and his reforms have been of great value, and they cannot be swept away by his successors."

Have you a friend in Nevada, New Mexico, Arizona, Wyoming, Indian Territory, or Louisiana? Send the APPEAL to him! All these states are west of the Mississippi and each under 500 on the APPEAL list.

California, Oregon and Washington combined on June 1, showed 14,758. In another ten weeks they will have passed the 20,000 post. The army boys are on the march.

San Francisco, Oakland and Alameda are a group calling for 1,725 APPEALS every week. Increasing rapidly.

Salt Lake City has almost 500, but Omaha is just below 900. Seattle, Wash., Springfield, Mo., Louisville, Ky., Philadelphia and St. Louis are neck and neck.

Kansas City, Mo., and Cincinnati, O., are over 700 and running even. Kansas City, Mo., and Kansas City, Kans., were 999 at last count.

Cleveland, Toledo, Milwaukee, Omaha, New York city are in the same class. Odds are on Cleveland leading.

Houston, Texas holds the banner for a southern city with 265 and new names coming.

Alaska may be unpleasant in winter, but has 275 APPEAL readers.

Nevada has 186 postoffices. APPEAL goes to a half dozen points with a total of 25.

Indian Territory carries 325 total to 40 post-offices. It would take 489 more to cover post-offices.

South Carolina can stand a few. Less than 50 up-to-date enrolled. Remember your South Carolina friend!

We are about to establish a co-operative colony in a fertile valley in Arizona. The membership fee will be \$200. All co-operators are invited to write and get particulars. J. P. Hyne, Acting Secretary.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

Muscataine, Ia., will take a referendum on city ownership of the waterworks.

"Municipal ownership," says the Boston Globe, "long ago passed out of the stage of theory and experiment, if, in fact, it ever belonged there."

Elyria, O., furnished free water from the city plant to all public enterprises and made an additional net saving to the city of over \$10,000 in eighteen months.

Goodland, Ind., is a small town which has a municipal light plant where the operation of a private plant would be impossible. Incandescent lights are furnished at 25 cents in dwellings and 35 cents in stores.

Hamilton, O., cleared above expenses and interest for the last fiscal year \$6,975.99 from its gas works, \$3,219.14 from the electric light plant and as much more from the water works. The utilities it owns are valued at \$600,000. Population, 17,565.

Carey, O., built its waterworks system in 1895, and its electric light plant in 1897. During the past year 45 hydrants cost the city \$2 each and 36 arc lights cost the same amount. Before the construction of the plants the lighting service cost \$1,000 a year and water service \$4,000.

Advocates of municipal ownership are congratulating themselves upon the success of the tramways at Hull. Under the ownership of a private company the tramways never paid and five or six years ago they were bought by the corporation. Since then the corporation has spent \$1,500,000 on the reconstruction of the lines for electric traction, and now there is good service all over the town. The new tramways have only been in working order for about ten months and the net profits in that period are estimated at \$50,000. The fares have been reduced and the employes have higher wages and shorter hours.—Western Electrician.

Berlin owns 25,000 acres of land outside the city boundary. Twenty German cities of over 50,000 own large tracts of land from which they derive substantial returns. Nearly every city in Austria owns agricultural land. Vienna receives an annual income of more than \$1,000,000 in this way. Prague has an income of \$500,000 from the same source. London and Liverpool have incomes of over \$800,000 a year each from municipal lands. Private speculators have stolen most of the municipal lands in this country. Chicago furnishes one example. A tract now in the center of the city was sold in 1834 for \$38,000. If the city had retained it the present income would be more than the entire cost of running the city.

In a recent issue of a New York publication, Mr. H. H. Vreeland, president of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company, expresses his views on the result of municipal ownership in Glasgow. As is perhaps natural from his point of view, he regards the Glasgow system as a failure, and seeks to prove his case by comparing street railway development in Glasgow with the development in New York city under private ownership. The comparison is not convincing, to say the least. The comparison should be with the conditions that existed in Glasgow before the city took the street car system, and this comparison is wholly in favor of municipal ownership. The condition of the employes, the character of the service, the number of the passengers, the fare charged, the improvements made, and the profits to the city all speak strongly in favor of the new regime.—Argonaut, San Francisco, Cal.

For a list of books relating to socialism in all its phases send a 1c stamp for Appeal No. 235.

Good Books on the Wage Question.

The People's Marx. By Gabriel Deville; English translation by Robert Rives La Monte. Many persons will not read Karl Marx's "Capital" because it seems too heavy, yet they would like to know his doctrine. For them this popular epitome of Marx's great work is the thing needed. Not a substitute for "Capital," but a very clear exposition of the principles it sets forth. 295 pp. Cloth, \$1.50, paper, 75 cents.

Wage-Labor and Capital. By Karl Marx. 5 cents.

Prison Labor. By Eugene W. Debs. 5 cents.

The Co-operative Commonwealth. By Laurence Gronlund. Cloth, \$1, paper, 30 cents. A fountain-head of socialism—started Bellamy and numerous others. Very clear and thorough.

All the above books (paper), postpaid for \$1.

HOW AND WHEN SOCIALISM WILL PREVAIL

A Prophecy by Francis D. Tuttle of Pittsburgh, Pa.

Watch for it in next week's APPEAL. Hand it to your friends who say that socialism is simply dividing up.

Church People

Will find something to help them to a higher civilization by reading APPEAL No. 244; it will be devoted to phases of socialism of interest to them. You know of some church members in your neighborhood who will need it—order a bundle to distribute. Fifty cents for 100; \$5 for 1,000.

wait a little--

About the 20th of July I will receive 250 copies of the official Journal of New Zealand. Am holding up about 100 orders for them. Order early if you want one; 15 cents. Have a few copies of the Hand-book of Labor Laws, 50 cents. If you are a member of a labor union you should exhibit these books at the meetings and read some things to the members. It will turn their minds in favor of the ballot.

The Appeal Will Give to Club Workers \$4000.00 CASH IN PREMIUMS

When the number in box at left of heading reaches 250,000.

In Georgia.

We have here a strike of the carpenters. About 1,500 carpenters and woodworkers have found that the McKinley boom, having raised the prices of everything except labor, has created a condition under which they must live like Chinamen or tramps. Organization in the south is a comparatively new thing, and has before it the usual difficulties and blind and furious effects common to such conditions. Already the leaders have sold out, and I am sorry to say will be able to deliver the majority of the vote. They have already elected, by primary election, one representative, and he stands pledged to favor a law against "child factory labor."

There are 1,500 workers in line, and at least 90% of the Atlanta people are fully in sympathy with them, and are hoping they will win their demand for \$2 for eight hours. But it so happens that the other 10% of the people are the very ones that want to employ carpenters! Some of us fool socialists have suggested that they organize a "builders union" in the name of organized labor and go before the county, city and the people as contractors for buildings, but alas! how our tails will follow us dogs, for if a man had discovered a means of eternally perpetuating youth and health and he had the appendage—socialist—stuck to him, people would prefer death, disease and hell to being led by a socialist.

But the strike will do good. It will prove that the strikers' path does not lead out of the woods, and that some other must be sought out. It will set a few more to thinking. It will lead to a few more reading something else to keep working people out of politics.

Oh, the voting king of the south! If you get him to thinking—get a whole community to thinking, when election day comes the politician gets up and makes an irresistible speech; he says "Nigger, nigger," and said kings grabs up a democratic ticket, looks once to see that it has no scratches, and in it goes, and said king immediately finds none so menial as to do him service," and "sinks to rise no more" (till next election day).

But we socialists are sure gaining ground. Now let us make a grand effort and send the APPEAL list "out of sight." Let's run her up to a million. F. M. B. Atlanta, Ga.

PENNSYLVANIA S. D. P. STATE CONVENTION—For the purpose of nominating state officers and electors will be held in Philadelphia July 29. Each branch entitled to a number of representatives as there are members in good standing; any representative if elected entitled to one vote for each member's name on his credential (no member to sign more than one credential); all signatures to be certified by branch secretary. Branch officers requested to call special convention. Credentials called from each county in the district. Jos. Taylor, Sec.

CALL FOR CONGRESSIONAL CONVENTION—A convention of Social Democrats for the Third Congressional District of Kansas is hereby called to meet at Pittsburg, on July 19, 1900, at 10 o'clock p. m., to nominate a candidate for congress and to appoint a congressional committee. Representation will be ten delegates from each county in the district. Jos. Taylor, Sec.

I will give one year's subscription to the APPEAL TO REASON to any person sending me the address of G. W. Grammer, a native teacher. Was in Texas five years ago. Or G. W. Kyle, a stone mason, was at Hico, Texas in 1886. E. H. HANNETT, Box 75, Globe, Arizona.

Appeal Sub Stations.

For the convenience of the Appeal army the following committees 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 from each county in the district. This list out and save for future reference. It will be added to as the sub stations increase: Salt Lake City—J. A. Mahan, 67 W 1st South St. Kansas City, Mo.—J. E. Smith. Alameda, Cal.—H. Hauch, 1411 Park St.; A. A. Crockett, 1610 Walnut St. San Francisco—John C. Wesley, 117 Turk St. Los Angeles—J. C. Johnson, 152 Broadway Bldg. Frankfort, N. Y.—Williamson's Drug Store. St. Joseph, Mich.—E. M. Plumb, 719 Broad St. Kansas City, Mo.—Bunt's Laundry, 812 Brooklyn ave. Evansville, Ind.—Henry J. Hartwig, 925 W. Franklin. Cincinnati—A. L. Sauer, 328 E. Pearl. Dallas, Tex.—M. T. Bruce, 405 Elm St. Portland, Me.—W. S. McGough, 340 St. John St. Chicago—Frederick G. Strickland, 344 Unity Bldg; R. Ducas, 369 N. Clark St.; Krog, 1418 N. Sawyer; M. Jacker Jr., 2247 N. Leavitt. Toledo—M. B. Calhoun, 42 Bond St.; C. H. Reed, 324 Lorain St. Nashville, Pa.—R. Einstein. Nashville, Tenn.—Dr. B. H. Enloe, Cumberland Presbyterian Bldg. Petaluma, Cal.—W. B. Lloyd. Vancouver, B. C.—John Peters, 20 Cordova St. Fargo, N. D.—Dr. J. C. R. Charest, 10 Broadway. Fresno, Cal.—J. D. Hanes. Reading, Pa.—Geo. Hornmieser. Snowmass, Colo.—L. E. Sahlbott. Davenport, Ia.—R. Seun. Columbus, O.—A. W. Frankenberg, 198 S. 2d St. Cleveland, O.—H. W. Baird, 803 N. E. 11th. Omaha, Neb.—E. A. Anderson, 1617 Jackson St. Galesburg, Ill.—J. B. Flier. Topeka, Kan.—F. E. Miller, State Socialist Headquarters, 611 Kansas Ave. Middletown, Mass.—D. H. Bennett. Roxbury, Mass.—S. H. Merrifield. Tacoma, Wash.—John Taylor. Grass Valley, Cal.—W. E. Parsons. Baltimore, Md.—E. Sareck, 1408 N. Gay. Green City, Ore.—W. S. U'Ren. St. Louis, Mo.—H. J. Steigerwald, 1112 Chambers St. Benton Harbor, Mich.—O. M. Southworth. Denver, Colo.—P. W. Boyle, 1824 Champa St. Shelbygan, Wis.—K. Schoen.

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To the labor union, party organization or syndicate sending most subscribers \$500 00 To the individual sending in the most subscribers - - - - - 500 00 To each of five persons sending next highest number of subscribers, \$100 500 00 To each of ten persons sending in next highest number of subscribers, \$50 500 00 To each of forty persons sending in next highest numbers, \$25 - - - - - 1000 00 To each of one hundred persons sending in next highest numbers, \$10 1000 00 157 premiums - - - - - \$4,000 00 Awards will be based on yearly subs, 4 three months or 2 six month sub meaning one annual. Send in names at any time. Postal subscription cards count. The APPEAL will keep track of each worker. The APPEAL never does things half way. It will make these awards "just to make it interesting to you." All goes in the propaganda anyhow. In 30 days, if you will stop bickering and go to work, you will have a special commissioner on the way to New Zealand to tell you, as only a socialist can, just what they are doing, how they are doing it and how it started. That will be the greatest thing ever done to electrify the nation on a civil problem.