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# Appeal to Reason.

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OWNERSHIP of the EARTH

By ALL the People, and Not by Part of the People.

Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., January 10, 1903.

2c Will pay for this paper 12 WEEKS. The postal decisions will permit the Appeal mailing 200,000 of these per week. Make use of it while you are permitted. Introduce socialism to every voter. Send in lists at once at 2c per name.

## Not the Watch But the Engraving on the Case.

Comrades, the watch which the Appeal will give as a souvenir to the Veterans of the army of a Million, is as good as workmanship can make it. At retail it would cost you at least \$25, which is nearly one-half the amount you will send us in the 52 weeks of service. But neither you nor I care for its commercial value. On the case will be stamped a design that will never be effaced, bearing the immortal words of Marx, "Workingmen of all countries, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain." This is the rallying cry of the Socialists over all the earth, and carries with its use a stronger guarantee of brotherhood and fellowship than all the Fraternal organizations ever established. In addition to this motto, your name will be engraved on the case, as follows: Presented by the Appeal to Reason to \_\_\_\_\_ for valiant service in the Army for a Million. These mottoes stamped on this watch, and the latter actually earned on the battle line, you will hold its possession as a treasure of priceless value. You cannot buy these watches for they will not be sold by anyone. When the volunteers are all enrolled and the work done we will order the watches to those who have been faithful to the end. The plate will then be destroyed and this page in Socialist history be closed forever. We want you to get this handsome souvenir. You will never part with it at any price and some day we will meet in grand reunion, and as veterans of the Appeal Army recount our struggles when the fight was young. Socialist women, take your places by our side in this struggle. You have more at stake than the men, for while your husband is the servant of the master class, you only too often are the servant of both. No other political party has ever been brave enough to boldly declare that you shall be man's equal both at the ballot box and on the field of labor. Help earn your long-delayed emancipation.

If you are a loafer I am not talking to you. If you work with hands and brain, do you have all good things of life that your labor in the social hive entitle you? That is the political question. It is a matter of politics, whether you know it or not. Politics control industry. By politics you can organize industry on a basis that will give each worker the full result of his or her labor. The capitalists control politics in order to prevent this being done. If those who are doing useful work received all the results of useful work their pay would be equal to more than \$2,500 a year in wealth. And why should they not have it if they produce it? Why should schemers get anything? Do you believe that workers are not entitled to the best houses, best food and best clothing? If not, why not?

If a man claims my house as his own, and when I deny the claim and repel him, he offers to arbitrate the question, I would be the wisest workman if I were to accept. W. A. Crofut, capitalist, in American Industries. If a robber steals a horse, and the owner of the horse demands its return, the robber would be lost if he did not deny the rightful ownership and refuse to arbitrate. To arbitrate would be to go to prison. That is just what the Crofut argument means. Labor has produced all wealth and is the rightful owner of all wealth. And labor is going to take possession of all wealth, too, at no distant date. The king refused to arbitrate, once upon a time, and the people deposed the king. But they would have deposed him if he had consented to arbitration.

In the olden days when tyranny reigned on the earth, when people were illiterate and ignorant, when the world was ruled by despots of whose crimes we shudder, it was a crime to speculate in the food of the people, and the penalty in some instances was death and the confiscation of the property of the criminal. Today the crimes of such speculation are paraded in the boldest type, and people are held up by the criminals and must starve or pay the price, and as many have not the price, the deaths by starvation and freezing are very numerous. The men who speculate in the food and fuel of the people are the worst criminals in the annals of crime. They ought to be hung—but as they are the rulers they hang the other people. Those horrible olden robber times!

"Laboring men can only have more wages by increasing the national product," is a statement of a capitalist writer. That would be true if labor got all it produced, for more than the production cannot be given labor. But labor has produced too much already for what it gets. If the laboring classes were to produce twice as much they would get no more wages. In fact if they produced twice as much about half of them would be discharged, as the half at work would produce all the capitalists could dispose of. The laboring classes can and must get more wages for what they now produce, by refusing to permit the capitalists to take the amount of profits that they now take. In fact they can have their wages increased ten times if they will do away with the capitalists entirely. They no more need capitalists than they need small pox.

Edward III. of England made a law that workmen who asked for increase of wages should be branded with a red hot iron. That did not prevent men striving for more of what they produced. That was tyranny. Today they are not branded with red hot irons—a more cruel and effective method is used—they are blacklisted and refused employment which means starvation if it can be carried out. Starvation for themselves and for their wives and children. Under Edward III. the king made the laws and the workmen had no voice. NOW THE WORKMEN HAVE VOTES AND CAN HAVE ANY LAW MADE FOR THEMSELVES THAT THEY DESIRE! Isn't it odd that they will vote to have the same parties make the law that have made laws for their masters? The capitalists could have no laws to favor them if the working people did not vote the democratic and republican tickets. The stupidity of the working class alone enables the capitalists to control and rob them.

What a difference it makes about the view point from which we see a thing. Twelve years ago I was speculating in real estate in Colorado. I was making (moral theft) hundreds of dollars a day. I contracted for the erection of a number of brick houses and employed a contractor who did not employ union labor, because it seemed to me that the Union men were trying to hold me up when they wanted \$4 a day for labor. It never occurred to me that I was holding them up when I was taking hundreds a day without actually doing any work! I realized the truth of the situation when I began to study economics. I believe that the capitalists of industry who are oppressing labor are very much like I was—ignorant of their real relation to labor. I don't think they are all bad men—in fact I believe they are as good as the rest of us—only they are ignorant of the rights of mankind, as I was. Get them to study Socialism and they will become friends of labor instead of feeling that labor is their enemy.

There was a time when men thought there would be no incentive to be anything if war was abolished—that was the only thing that would develop the greatness of mankind. Great wealth was not so much sought after then as now. Now people think but for the incentive of private wealth all progress would cease. PUBLIC WEALTH will be the incentive that will develop greater genius, greater ability, than has ever private wealth. Things can be done on such gigantic scale when public instead of private capital is used that the great works and great fortunes of today will be insignificant indeed to compare with them. Think what it will mean when three or four million workers are organized in the agricultural industry, employed in the best places with the best machines under the most able minds! Think of that and compare it and its results with the many individual efforts of the farming business today. And think what it will mean when the railroads and ocean liners are public property, organized with the system and order of the postal system, when goods will have to be handled but once, instead of many times as at present, when every lick of work will count for something in the national hive, when parallel roads, bad rolling stock, duplicated passenger and freight depots and workmen will be abolished and order brought out of the anarchy that prevails. Why, the world will be like another planet. That is what we are working for.

Men plow for idlers. Monkeys don't. Men run trains for idlers. Monkeys don't. Men run machines for idlers. Monkeys don't. Men build roads for idlers. Monkeys don't. Men produce food for idlers. Monkeys don't. Men produce shelter for idlers. Monkeys don't. Men produce clothing for idlers. Monkeys don't. Men serve idlers—feed, clothe, dress and shelter them—while they go hungry, ragged and freeze. Monkeys don't. If men were as wise as monkeys, what a happy world this would be.

When you hear of a new trust and feel the squeeze of the robbers, it kind of makes you mad. But you are "easy." You pay the extortion, say a few cuss words, and then go on and in time forget it. What a howl went up at the extortion of the school book trust some time ago, and the boodling of the school officers in various places which was exposed. But you don't hear any more about this trust now. There are others coming on the scene of action every day, and the older ones are forgotten. The trust builders know this. They don't care a rap for the few swear words of their victims—it don't hurt. They know the fools will soon forget it and look at other trusts as they march along in the procession in front of them. Yes, the people are "dead easy." No king ever had a more stupid set of subjects than the American trusts.

The consumption of tea in the colonies in 1776 was about 3,000,000 pounds a year. King George wanted to levy a tax of six cents a pound to help pay the expense of government. This would have produced about \$180,000 a year. The population of the colonies was about 3,000,000. Greater New York has a population about what the colonies had in 1776. The coal trust has levied a tax on them of \$40,000,000 a year profit on coal. That shows the difference between the spirit of freedom then and the slavish degeneration of the people today. If the people of New York, with their power, had the spirit of the Boston Tea Party, they would have several hundred of the rich robbers hanging from the telegraph poles, and the mines would be taken and used for the benefit of mankind instead of to oppress them for the luxury of the rich robbers.

The banks are howling for an "emergency currency." Why the banks? They have all the money of the people deposited with them without interest, and that looks like they ought to be satisfied. If they have loaned the money on watered stocks and bonds, and are in a hole, why let them crawl out. The common people are more in need of money than the bankers. They are well fixed. But an emergency currency for the common people! O, that would be rank anarchy. The common people have so little knowledge that they permit the banks to be furnished with money free while they have to go into the august presence of the banker with hat in hand and implore a loan! What chumps they are, to be sure. But the bankers will get the emergency currency if any considerable number want it. They will loan it to the chumps at a nice rate of interest.

In olden times the kings put up the privilege of taxing the people to the highest bidder. You think that horrible, don't you? But you are so blind that you do not see that it is practiced right here and now all the time. The difference is, that in the olden time the money paid went to the king while now it goes to private persons. How? Why, when a corporation pays millions to some other capitalists for the street car lines in Chicago, for instance, do they not pay it for the privilege the other fellows hold to tax the people? Do you think they would pay millions just for fun? When men sell land, sell factories, sell railroads, sell banks, or the stocks that represent these things, it is simply and purely a sum paid to the sellers for the privilege of taxing the people who must use these things, directly or indirectly. It is the same old game in a new dress. When the people discover a fraud, the capitalists change the dressing of it and fool them for another generation.

Chattel slavery was the buying of the right to hold the person of the slave and compel it to work for the pleasure or profit of the master. Wage slavery is the buying of the person for just such time as you may wish it, without paying down any capital, without taking any care of it, or taking any risks. No one would sell himself or herself into wage slavery if they were not compelled to do so by want, so the capitalists get control of all the necessities of the people and refuse to permit them to have unless they agree to serve them on such conditions as the master pleases. No master of wage slaves has the same interest, the same kindly feeling for them, that the chattel master had for his slaves. He became attached to them and was seldom harsh. There is no attachment of the master to the wage slave. They come and go all the time. Chattel slavery was not as profitable as wage slavery. There were no millionaires created by chattel slavery. There were no masters with tens of thousands of slaves as there are wage slave masters. Are you as stupid as the chattel, that you cannot see it?

What a great time we will have when we get Socialism established. There will be our work to do, to be sure, but there will need be but a few hours a day or but a few months in the year if we work eight hours. When that is done we will have pleasure and an abundance of things to entertain and instruct, so that life will be one great festival. The public will have theatres, lecturers, excursion trains, and boats and ships, world's fairs in continuous going, and every one will have the time and means to go and enjoy. Thus will life be one continual joy instead of one continual drudgery and worry and uncertainty. There will be no deception for it will profit no one to deceive. All property will belong to all the people. All business will be the business of all the people and not for private gain. The wages or pay for the hours put in will be the only thing in the way of wealth that any citizen will have or will want, for it will give them all they can make use of, and as their children will have the same advantages, there will be no need of any saving or skimping to provide for them. Say, isn't such a condition worth working for? Or is the present condition so full of joy to you that you can think of nothing higher? I don't like the present dog-eat-dog system. Do you?

### FUNDS FOR POPULIST EDITION.

Names are arriving for the Populist edition on every mail. These sent by private individuals are accompanied by funds, but those sent by populist editors and state committees are not. We cannot expect the populist editors and committees to pay for mailing the papers. We must do that ourselves. Comrades don't overlook the importance of this issue. Send in your contributions at once. Appeal to Reason..... \$100.00 Girard Comrade ..... 25.00 Texas Comrade ..... 2.00

### A PEOPLE'S CHURCH.

Ministers are urged to preach Socialism from their pulpits if they can; but in case they are not permitted to do so, write to Rev. Granville Lowther, Trenton, Mo., or to Rev. F. M. Cummings of Anthony, Kansas, and an effort will be made to find them employment. Their plan is, in such cases, to situate a man in a large town where he can preach on Sunday to such as desire to hear him, and to lecture and organize the work in the surrounding towns, distribute literature, etc., during the week. With such a movement we can capture this country for Socialism and the Christ spirit.

### THE REASON WHY.

Why don't you call the attention of your readers to the necessity of writing to their representatives in congress to have some kind of currency law passed that would furnish the people a convenient medium for enclosing in a letter, when they desire to remit, small sums by mail? Write, Wash. J. JOSEPH PACKARD. Because the people have no representatives in congress. Only the trusts have representatives. The bankers do not want such a law as it would interfere with their profits a little and furnish the people an object lesson, and the bankers have many representatives in congress and they have all the laws they want. They don't have to write letters asking laws to favor them. They have elected the members with the aid of the votes of the masses and are running things to suit them. The bankers will have the law enacted if they want it. See?

The Vanderbilt railroad lines draw nearly 21 million dollars a year from the government for pulling mail cars! This was \$235 per mile. This was 2% interest on the entire capital used in building the railroads! In other words the government could borrow the money, build the roads and have the use of them at cost of operation if it continued to pay the bills for hauling the mails. But that would be anarchy.

As far as the Appeal is able to stand it, the Populist edition will be sent out by the tens of thousands, whether you help defray the expenses or not. But it ought to go to half a million of the old line populists. It devolves upon you to send the names and addresses and as much as you can afford to help pay the expenses. There are a million populists that should come into our party, and they will if we can get their attention.

Washington City is full of Benedict Arnolds with their pockets full of money to "influence" laws in the interest of this or that trust. The trusts all stand together and the members of congress are bought like so many sheep—not always with money, but with some personal interest. It is notorious that the trusts employ the most beautiful courtesans, who with smiles and wine and promises make congressmen and senators forget the people whose interests they are there to represent. Of course this does not apply to all—for many like Depew, Platt, and such men are the trusts people and do not have to be bribed—they are against the people ever and always. At this season of the year Washington City is little else than a great sporting house where wine, women and bribery rule.

The robber barons we read about in history accumulated property by forcibly taking it away from the working people who produced it. Today they get possession of the transportation, coal and other products and compel the people to pay them a price that leaves the people only enough to live on. This is much more profitable and has less danger than the old methods. It is not nearly as moral as the old methods. It is cowardly and destroys all honor in the men who practice it. Many of the robber barons of old were men of the highest integrity, and their word was as good as truth itself. There is no honor among the robber barons of today. Any of them will start false reports to affect the market and rob his fellow robbers. No robber baron ever accumulated such fortunes as the modern highwaymen of transportation and coal. And these modern barons are church members!

The people are trained like so many animals by their masters to spurn the idea of "dividing up," while at the same time their masters are dividing up all the people make among themselves. Of the wealth produced by the people each year the masters divide it among themselves and leave the people only about enough to keep them in working condition. They are practicing the "dividing up" principle on the people all the time, and the people are so stupid that they don't see it. The Socialist proposes to abolish such dividing up, and making it impossible for the idlers to get any of the wealth the workers produce. It is amusing to hear a poor devil who has not a decent suit of clothes to his back, who has been dividing up with capitalists all his life, opposing Socialism because he don't want to "divide up" when he has nothing to divide up but his rags. But there are lots of them.

The president's salary is to be increased. At least I notice articles appearing in the daily press hinting that the president's salary is very small. Of course \$50,000 a year would be a small sum to pay for a president, if he really were a president for the people, but when the government is run for the trusts I don't see why the people should be taxed to pay any salary at all. Why not let the bankers and the railroads pay the president, cabinet and congress? The common people are never thought of and no legislation is ever hinted at for them. But the salary will likely be increased, and the people will be taxed on what they eat, drink and wear to furnish the funds. The great corporations never pay a cent of taxes to support the national government, as I have repeatedly shown. Property is not taxed for national revenue—men are taxed according to their eating and drinking. See? Increase the salary.

Volunteer No. \_\_\_\_\_ (Do not use above space.)  
J. A. WAYLAND, Editor Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas:  
Comrade:—You may enter my name on the roll of Five Thousand for the  
"TWELVE MONTHS' CAMPAIGN"  
FOR A MILLION CIRCULATION.  
Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Postoffice \_\_\_\_\_  
Street and No. \_\_\_\_\_  
State \_\_\_\_\_  
N. B.—Comrades in filling out this blank are requested to write name and address plainly as possible, to avoid mistakes.  
A full-jeweled watch, in 25-year gold case, appropriately engraved with name and the merit for which given, will be presented to each Comrade who shall prove faithful to the end.

No fool can be a Socialist. It takes some brains and a little study.

The coils of monopoly are tightening around the people, while the politicians are soothing them into the sleep of slavery.

Four hundred thousand voters have registered the effect of Socialist agitation. There are two millions almost converted who will be with us in the next election if we keep up the firing.

Did it never occur strange to you that no workmen are ever appointed to cabinet positions or elected to places in the senate or congress? Are all the laboring people fools that they are never considered for such places?

If King George had attempted to levy the same tax on the colonists that the trusts are levying on the people now, there would not have been one-tenth of the people supporting the king. As it was a large part of the colonists were Tories favoring the king. Why is robbery less odious now than then?

When capitalists can not do what they want because of some law, they do not get mad and defy the law—they just go and buy the law they want. When labor can't do what it wants to do, what it has a natural right to do, it should elect men to make such laws as it needs. It has the votes—capital has very few votes. If the many remain stupid they must remain slaves.

Note this: The Socialists are just as busy now propagating their beliefs as they were just before the election. They never let up. The believers in the old parties are not mentioning politics. They depend on exciting their dupes about a month before election and running them like cattle into the voting booths. We are gaining every minute on them.

The men who run for office do not want the place for the public good. They want office for what they can make out of it for them and friends. You know that. Men who want the public to do certain things for the public—something for the public good—well, you won't vote for such men. You prefer to listen to the fellows with an ax to grind—and you turn the grindstones for them.

I wonder how Rockefeller and Morgan will feel when they get to Heaven and meet some of the people they have robbed by extortion on oil, food, railroad manipulation and other "business" methods? It is not likely that

they believe there is any hereafter, but they make professions of great piety, like the Greek tyrants for the gods, because they know the common people have been trained in reverence for Deity, and they can best skin them by appealing to their prejudice and superstition.

When we get Socialism and the people find some new need, it will offer great honor and perhaps an annuity to the inventor who will provide that need. All the minds that have a turn for such work will at once set themselves to work in the great experimental shop of the nation, and some of them will get that thing in a short time. His name will be blazoned forth as a benefactor to the race. He will not have to live in poverty for most or all his life, only to receive honor years after he is dead, which is pretty much the case now. Which would be the best for the inventor and the public?

O! the horror of the slavery of the labor unions! That is what the capitalists tell us. When the workers make the regulations that control their labor they will be slaves! When the capitalists make the conditions it is freedom! Funny, isn't it? I noticed a hive of bees not long ago. They were working under their own rules and I suppose they must be slaves; if they were working under rules made by one or some of them, and had to starve when they had not gathered enough honey, I suppose they would be free! Every workman is a slave who labors under the direction of rules made by another, for the profit of that other. Freemen govern themselves and have no masters but themselves.

The rapid extension of the rural free delivery system shows what fools control at Washington. The results of the system were as well known to students years ago as today, but it took the fellows at Washington several years to experiment in the matter before they would undertake the improvement. They were afraid it would not work! Now the same is true of hundreds of other things. When the government establishes the parcel post it will work just like the rural delivery and then the department will take great credit to itself for permitting the people to use their own postal system like the people of Europe have been doing for many years. But what do people know about such things who have never made a study of them? And have the men elected to congress made such study? Not one in a hundred has ever given such subjects a moment's thought. And that is the reason the people get it in the neck.



# Present Political Situation and the Socialist Party.

All signs indicate that the capitalist parties will make the coming municipal, state and national elections the greatest labor vote-catching contest in the history of this country.

Of course, capitalist politics are always simply a hunt after labor votes in the interest of the capitalists.

But never before have the capitalist parties shown so plainly as now an eagerness to cater to the demands of labor.

**FORMERLY THEY MANUFACTURED THE ISSUES FOR LABOR. NOW, LABOR IS MAKING THE ISSUES FOR THEM.**

How do they meet these issues?

They play the state old Bismarckian game of stealing such planks out of the Socialist platform as do not endanger the capitalist system.

William R. Hearst is playing to secure the democratic nomination for President by the help of his three radical papers in San Francisco, Chicago and New York. His bait to the labor organizations is a national ownership platform. HE THEREBY HOPES TO CATCH ALL THOSE WHO BELIEVE IN SOCIALISM, BUT DO NOT KNOW ITS FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.

This platform fights the battle of the little capitalists against the trusts. Its realization would mean the transfer of private monopolies into the hands of democratic politicians, and the transformation of private capitalism into state capitalism. The state, under the control of democratic politicians, would then exploit the working class. Instead of receiving the full product of its toil, labor would then produce profits for the state. The surplus in the national treasury would then be used for the amelioration of the conditions of the middle class property owners, by the reduction of taxation, the lavish dispensation of patronage to political favorites, and the enrichment of the democratic heeblers.

William J. Bryan is sitting on the fence and watching the chances of the Hearst game. While Hearst is laboring on the sentiments of the city wage workers, Bryan is busy pulling the wires in the old People's party machinery. If Hearst should succeed in securing the democratic nomination for president, Bryan would endeavor to steer the populist machine into the democratic camp.

The republican party is trying to meet the Hearst danger by a sham fight on the trusts. Strenuous Roosevelt, in the role of the "People's champion," is pitting himself against the other alleged "People's champion," Hearst.

The issue between these two is trust legislation versus trust nationalization. Trust legislation is a delusion and a snare. Trust nationalization on a capitalist basis is a pad against Socialism.

**NEITHER WILL GIVE LABOR ITS DUE. ONLY SOCIALISM CAN DO THAT.**

In the municipal and state elections, public ownership of monopolies and direct legislation will be the rallying cry for independent voters' parties and "union labor parties." In San Francisco, the Schmitz party is luring the unwary into the Hearst trap. In Chicago, Clarence S. Darrow, is the decoy in the same game. In New York, Hearst's congressional district, the star actor in this variety show will hold the center of the stage himself.

Who are the people that would applaud this political performance?

Not the trade unions. For the American Labor Union has declared in favor of Socialism, and the American Federation of Labor will soon do the same. A few local "union labor parties" will not change the general attitude of organized labor in the national campaign.

Not the small farmers. For the populist leaders that know the sentiment of the rank and file, are joining the Socialist party.

Not the proletariat of the South. For they are dissatisfied with both old parties, and are only waiting for the Socialist party to assist them to organize the South for Socialism. Florida, Alabama and Texas already have Socialist state organizations. Local workers in Georgia, Mississippi, New Mexico and the Carolinas are clamoring for Socialist organizers, and the national secretary of the Socialist party is preparing to meet their demands.

**THE WHOLE COUNTRY IS RIPE FOR THE RISE OF A STRONG AND UNITED SOCIALIST PARTY. WITH TWO YEARS OF ACTIVE WORK BEFORE IT, SUCH A PARTY CAN PREVENT THE CONSUMMATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC SCHEME WHICH WOULD TRICK THE WHOLE AMERICAN WORKING PEOPLE, JUST AS THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY TRICKED THE POPULIST PARTY. THE SOCIALIST PARTY CAN TURN THE TABLES ON THE DEMOCRATIC SCHEMERS AND STEAL THEIR THUNDER, INSTEAD OF PERMITTING THEM TO STEAL THE SOCIALIST THUNDER. IT CAN TURN THE RADICAL SENTIMENT STIRRED UP BY THE HEARST PAPERS INTO CLEAR AND UNCOMPROMISING SOCIALISM.**

The success of a self-assertive Socialist party is assured. Wherever the Socialist party has risen to the requirements of the hour and relied on its powerful platform, it has been rewarded with a large and enthusiastic vote. Only where it has shown a lack of self-reliance and has yielded to the pressure of the Hearst element, has it suffered any set-back.

There is no doubt that an indorsement of any independent or local "union labor party" at this time is a tactical mistake. It is not alone a sign of weakness, but also a playing into the hands of the Hearst democracy. It permits Hearst to make the issues for the Socialists. BUT THE SOCIALIST PARTY CAN HAVE THE POWER TO MAKE AN ISSUE FOR HEARST, WHICH HE DARE NOT ACCEPT. THIS WILL BRING THE RADICAL ELEMENT INTO THE RANKS OF THE SOCIALISTS AND DEFEAT THE DEMOCRATIC SCHEME.

The conservative democrats would then gain control of the democratic convention, and both the democratic and republican parties would be forced to meet the issue of the Socialist party: **SOCIALISM vs. CAPITALISM.**

**THE APPEAL STANDS FOR A STRONG AND SELF-ASSERTIVE SOCIALIST PARTY.**

**COMRADES, CLOSE YOUR RANKS! WORKING PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, UNITE AGAINST CAPITALISM! YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS! YOU HAVE A WORLD TO GAIN!**

**How a Soldier Sees It.**  
Editor Appeal to Reason.  
Having been a soldier in the Philippine Islands for over two years, and also a policeman in Manila, I wish to say that the Philippine Islands are run in just such a corrupt way as the United States, or even worse. The army officers are the kings over there, and a civilian must knuckle down to them. If he does not, he is deported or locked up. They are making everything ready for the big

capitalist burg. The tax payers of the United States and of the Philippine are robbed of hundreds of thousands of dollars by army officers. Only a short time ago two of them were tried by court martial for robbing the government of \$25,000, and all they got was a year apiece. If a poor man were to rob the government of ten cents he would get ten years. Such robberies by army officers are a common occurrence over there.  
Chicago, Ill.  
**JOHN P. WALSH.**

# Direct Legislation In Illinois

By Ernest Untermann

The referendum league of Illinois filed a petition last winter with the election commissioners containing 109,413 signatures, and enabling the people to express their will at the ballot box on the questions of "municipal ownership," and "direct nomination of candidates." Last summer the same league circulated a petition for the "referendum" and "popular election of senators," which received 146,124 signatures.

The little ballot, directing the next legislature to enact laws enabling the people to control legislation and veto corrupt laws received 428,932 votes at the last November election. This is a majority of 341,227 votes.

Yet after such an enormous majority has thus clearly expressed their will at the ballot box, the Referendum League is still forced to appeal to the voters for funds to establish headquarters at the capital and watch the representatives, in order to see that they don't neglect their duty toward the people.

"The people's case must be properly presented to their representatives," says a recent circular of the League, "so that there will be no ignorance to excuse them for betraying or misrepresenting their people. Books, pamphlets, statistics, etc., must be provided. Railway fares and hotel bills must be paid. Your common sense tells you that this requires money and that we cannot get any from the enemies of the referendum. Unscrupulous financiers and their politicians are plotting and scheming to sidetrack the Referendum and pay vast sums to retain control of legislation, but the voters can have that power if each one will help a little."

Pause and consider the meaning of these words.

Here is a body of thoroughly honest and public-spirited citizens, desirous of abolishing corruption in politics by placing the control of the legislators into the hands of the people. No one who is not an accomplice of boodling party machines can fail to wish them success. And yet, pathetic as the appeal of the League is, is not there something ludicrous about the whole situation?

An enormous majority of the voters of Illinois have clearly and unmistakably expressed their wish for honest government, municipal ownership, and direct legislation at the polls. The League has spent time, energy, and money in obtaining this result. But now, after this public verdict has been rendered, the League is again forced to spend some more time, energy and money, to see that a small body of so-called public servants carries out the popular verdict. In spite of the overwhelming majority vote, a handful of hoodlums must still be watched and even "petitioned" to kindly comply with the will of the people.

How did these hoodlums get into office? By the votes of that same majority that voted for honest government and all the other popular demands.

And yet the League appeals to the common sense of these voters. Is it common sense to first elect boodling politicians on the republican, democratic, or independent capitalist ticket, and then spend money, time and energy, in books, pamphlets, statistics, lobbies, railway fares, and hotel bills to watch these same politicians?

Does not common sense demand to elect men that will carry out the will of the people without being watched?

Is it not more sensible, practical and economical to teach the people how to make the election of honest men possible?

The Referendum League regards it as its special mission to purify capitalist politics, and place the control of these politics into the hands of the people, regardless of class lines. The Socialists wish them all possible success in this undertaking. But they know from long experience that CAPITALIST LEGISLATION WILL NOT BE ANY MORE ADVANTAGEOUS FOR THE WORKING CLASS, EVEN UNDER THE INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM, AND IMPERATIVE MANDATE. For capitalist politicians are not the representatives of the people. They are simply the representatives of the capitalist class, and this fact would not be changed as long as the people are willing to vote for the perpetuation of the capitalist system. Just as they now elect boodling politicians and petition them for honest government, all in one breath, so would they continue to elect capitalist politicians, though perhaps honest ones, under direct legislation, simply because they are under the mistaken impression that capitalist politicians are the representatives of all the people.

What is needed above all, then, is not so much the direct participation of the working class in government, as an understanding how to use their power in the interest of their own class. This information the Referendum League is either unwilling or unable to supply. Direct legislation to them is only a means of ousting a corrupt capitalist government and installing in its place an honest capitalist government. But the most honest capitalist government is still a government in the interest of the capitalist class, and IN THE INSTITUTION OF SUCH A GOVERNMENT, THE SOCIALISTS ARE NOT INTERESTED.

In order to make direct legislation really effective, the working class must have Socialist minds. The Socialist Party and the Socialist press, therefore, make it their special mission in present society TO MAKE SOCIALIST MINDS.

Moreover, they have no need of any agitation for direct legislation. For they have made direct legislation a fact in their party affairs. Candidates of the Socialist Party are always in the hands of their constituents and subject to recall at any moment.

**WORKING MEN, YOU CANNOT EXPECT THUSTLES TO BEAR FIGS. YOU CANNOT EXPECT A CAPITALIST PARTY TO LEGISLATE IN THE INTEREST OF THE WORKING CLASS. DIRECT LEGISLATION IS OF VALUE TO YOU ONLY WHEN YOU ELECT CANDIDATES ON A SOCIALIST TICKET. BUT IN ELECTING SOCIALISTS YOU OBTAIN DIRECT LEGISLATION AND HONEST WORKING CLASS LEGISLATION AT THE SAME TIME.**

We must make Socialists first. If the League will help us to do that, it can accomplish more in one year than by working for direct legislation in ten years.

**THE MAKING OF SOCIALIST MINDS IS THE PRIME NECESSITY THAT OVERSHADOWS ALL OTHERS. THIS TASK WILL BE FULFILLED BY THE SOCIALIST PRESS AND PARTY, FIRST, LAST, AND ALL THE TIME.**

Suppose you own the land and I own the transportation facilities between you and those who must use your products? Can I not take as much of your crop as I like or prevent you from disposing of it? You see the means of transportation and exchange have as much to do with the robbery of the producers as if they were deprived of the land.

# Information For Eager Minds

Editor Appeal to Reason.

Are the platforms of the Socialist parties of the different countries essentially the same?—A Reader.

The platforms of the Socialist parties of all countries are more or less modeled after the platform of the German Social Democratic party. This is naturally so, because the national Socialist parties form simply subdivisions of the united International Socialist Party which has its headquarters in the International Socialist Bureau at Brussels, Belgium.

Editor Appeal to Reason.

In what country do you think the Socialist party will win first?—A Reader.

In order to make a reply to this question intelligible, it is necessary to keep in mind the economic development of the different countries, their political institutions, and the present strength of the Socialist Party of each country. The economic development is farthest advanced in the United States. In numerical strength, the Socialist Party of Germany marches at the head. But as the political institutions of the United States are more favorable to the growth of our party than those of Germany, the chances are that we shall outstrip the German comrades in a few years. The economic conditions are the most potent factor in the march toward Socialism, and with our political advantages we are, therefore, reasonably certain of being the first to carry our cause to victory, with either Belgium or Germany a close second.

Editor Appeal to Reason.

What do you think will happen in Germany if the Socialists carry the elections? Surely, the German emperor will not give up without a war.—A Reader.

The great standing army of Germany and the survival of a feudal nobility are today the greatest danger to a peaceful solution of the social problem in Germany. The feudal barons and the imperial figurehead will, of course, oppose the legal victory of the Socialists, as long as they can use the army to fight their battles. They have already proceeded to practically exclude the minority in the reichstag from active representation by a change in the order of business. The emperor, alarmed at the increase of the Socialist strength, is contemplating to disfranchise the majority of the working men. And the next reichstag's election in June 1903 will probably be the turning point in the history of the empire and of German Socialism.

But the case is by no means hopeless from the point of view of the Socialists. In the first place, there is no doubt that the army will not fire indiscriminately on the people. In the second place, the Socialists have been serving in the army themselves and are, therefore, as well drilled as the rest of them. There are about three million Socialists in the empire today, and they represent an organization of such discipline and organization as has never been known in the history of the world. The revolution of such an organization would be different from any revolution ever attempted.

There are about two and a half million men available for field service in Germany. But that includes at least one-half reserves and landwehr, and the majority of these are Socialists. If the emperor would arm these, he would arm the revolution which he is trying to stifle. If he does not arm them, he has not men enough to fight the organized Socialist Party.

Of course, the Socialists lack arms. But all revolutions have shown that it is always possible to secure arms. Where there is a will, there is a way. It would not be so very difficult for the Socialists, to overpower the smaller garrisons, and then concentrate their forces in the industrial centers, for the purpose of cutting the emperor's army off from all supplies.

The other countries would not be able to materially assist the German capitalists in this emergency, for there are strong Socialist parties in all of those countries, and the other capitalists would have their hands full. The Socialists can await the coming of these events with much more equanimity than the emperor.

Editor Appeal to Reason.

I wish to ask a few questions for the purpose of learning the position of the Socialists on the race question. I am of African descent and have been a reader of the Appeal for fifteen months. I think the principles it advocates are O. K. You are well aware of the adverse circumstances under which the negroes labor throughout the South. I wish to know what relation your party assumes toward them, first as laborers, in giving them an opportunity to work and live on a legal footing with others; second, in a social way; third, in a legal way?

I, like many others of my people, are married to what we think best for us in a political sense, but stand ready to accept any improvement that may come to us through education.  
Bristol, I. T. J. H. HAMILTON.

The relation of the Socialist Party to the colored race is clearly shown by the following resolution, adopted at the Indianapolis convention, July 29-31, 1900:

"Whereas, The negroes of the United States, because of their long training in slavery and but recent emancipation therefrom, occupy a peculiar position in the working class and in society at large;

"Whereas, The capitalist class seeks to pre-

# Say—"Send Help"

And I'll Send It.

No money is wanted—just a postal. Tell me the book you need.

I will mail you an order—good at any drug store—for six bottles Dr. Shoop's Restorative. You may take it a month on trial. If it succeeds, the cost is \$5.50. If it fails, I will pay the druggist myself—and your mere word shall decide it.

Don't think I can't cure because others have failed. I have a way that no other man knows. Let the remedy itself convince you.  
At least you know this:—If I failed, very often the offer would ruin me. No sick one need pay, if he cannot pay gladly; yet 39 out of 40 do pay.

If you need help, don't wrong yourself by waiting. My way is almost sure. It will certainly cure any case that is curable.

I have spent a lifetime in learning how to strengthen weak inside nerves. My Restorative-brings back that power which alone operates the vital organs. I treat a weak organ as I would a weak engine, by giving it the power to act. My way always succeeds, save when a cause like cancer makes a cure impossible. And most of these chronic diseases cannot be cured without it.

You'll know this when you read my book.

Simply state which book you want, and address Dr. Shoop, Box 62, The City, Wis.  
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Book No. 4, 1.00  
Book No. 5, 1.50  
Book No. 6, 2.00  
All druggists

# Life is Short

AT THE BEST

Then Why Not Make the Most of it by Banishing Pain and Disease?

And Enjoying to the Fullest Extent, that Greatest of Earthly Blessings—**PERFECT HEALTH.**

**A Message of Hope to Suffering Women.**

One year ago there came into our possession what we now know to be the most valuable formulas for the absolute cure of all the different forms of female weakness that has yet been discovered. These formulas were used for over 20 years, with unending success, in the private practice of a noted German physician, and were guarded by him with the utmost secrecy, so much so that over half the ingredients were imported from Germany direct and the medicine compounded in his own laboratory by himself personally. At his death these formulas were willd to his nearest friend, and now, through him, we are enabled to place this remedy within the easy reach of suffering womankind, with the positive assurance that, when used as directed, it will restore them to perfect health. We know this because we have used these formulas for over one year, and during that time have had the remedy tried in scores of cases of Leucorrhoea, Inflammation of Uterus, Chronic Inflammation and Erosion of the Ovaries, Prolapsus, Anterior, Retroversio, Inflammation of the Ovaries, Pruritus, Enlargement of the Uterus, etc. In order that we might know to a positive certainty that all these troubles within the easy reach of suffering womankind and take in these matters nowadays that we did not purpose having the name of our Institute connected with any such, but from more a treatment used as directed, will also have the only sure cure for all female troubles, and we put our reputation and standing back of it. **WE KNOW IT WILL DO ALL WE CLAIM FOR IT** and if one month's treatment does not prove it we are willing to stand the loss. All we ask is opportunity to demonstrate the truth of our assertions. **THIS DEPARTMENT IS IN CHARGE OF A LADY WHO HAS GIVEN YEARS OF HER OWN TIME AND EFFORT, AND ALL CORRESPONDENCE WILL BE STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL AND ANSWERED BY HER.**  
The different ingredients used in compounding these formulas is so expensive (being largely imported drugs), that the lowest price at which it can be sold is \$2.00 for a full month's treatment, which includes all medicines, appliances, medical advice, etc. We do not claim that one month's treatment will always cure, for obstinate cases may take several months to effect a complete recovery to health; but we do know that for more a treatment used as directed, will also such a marked improvement, and in many cases come so near to effecting a perfect cure, that the patient will be more than satisfied to continue the application and effort, is entirely different from anything heretofore used for female complaints, its direct application to the seat of the disease renders the cure speedy and certain.  
Owing to its cost, we cannot send free samples.  
If in need of these remedies, and you are not convinced of the honesty of our statements, in any way, and we will prove to you, without expense, that all of our claims are true. As to our standing and responsibility we refer to the Old National Bank, The State Bank of Michigan, Bradstreet's Commercial Agency, and all Express companies of this city.  
Write us today. Address

**Kent Medical Institute,**  
502 Housman Building, GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.

serve this peculiar condition, and to foster and increase color prejudice and race hatred between the white worker and the black, so as to make their social and economic interests to appear to be separate and antagonistic, in order that the workers of both races may thereby be more easily and completely exploited;

"Whereas, Both the old political parties and educational and religious institutions alike betray the negro in his present helpless struggle against disfranchisement and violence, in order to receive the economic favors of the capitalist class; be it therefore

"Resolved, That we, the Socialists of America, in national convention assembled, do hereby assure our negro fellow worker of our sympathy with him in his subjection to lawlessness and oppression, and also assure him of the fellowship of the workers who suffer from the lawlessness and exploitation of capital in every nation or tribe of the world. Be it further

"Resolved, That we declare to the negro worker the identity of his interests and struggles of the workers of all lands, without regard to the race or color or sectional lines; that the causes which have made him the victim of social and political inequality are the effects of the long exploitation of his labor power; that all social and race prejudices spring from the ancient economic causes which still endure, to the misery of the whole human family, that the only line of division which exists in fact is that between the producers and the owners of the world—between capitalism and labor. And be it further

"Resolved, That we, the American Socialist Party, invite the negro to membership and fellowship with us in the world movement for economic emancipation by which equal liberty and opportunity shall be secured to every man and fraternity become the order of the world."

# HENRY'S AWFUL CRIME.

Henry Otz is in trouble. He had been denied the right to work because he could find no capital to make a profit from his labor, or use it to this advantage.

Cold weather struck Henry who had absolutely not one cent. His wife saw how desperate he was getting. They saw their children in agony for want of food and fuel. One morning Henry left the house, but not before his faithful partner had drawn from him that he knew where he could earn enough in buy food and coal. He went to the Chicago & Northwestern tracks and filled a sack with coal and was arrested.

"I would be willing to go to the penitentiary if I knew my wife and family would be cared for," said Henry with tears in his eyes. Justice Hamburger took up a collection in the room in order to help him and his family along.

Say, wage slaves, it's not you today. You are away about Henry Otz. You have a job. So did he a little while ago. What is Henry's fate today may be yours or mine tomorrow. Let's do away with the condition which makes it possible. Let's have the right to work and the full value of our product.—Chicago Socialists.

# MUNICIPAL QUESTIONS.

The Appeal is receiving a great number of inquiries of the following character:

Does the Socialist Party favor the establishment of municipally owned street car systems, telephone systems, etc., while the present system lasts?

Should any part of our program be acceptable coming from either of the old parties? Or shall we wait until a majority has been secured before any changes shall be made?

Should Socialists be willing to accept Socialism if given them by either of the old parties?

A republican city administration is endeavoring to establish the thing nearest to public ownership possible. Shall the Socialist Party of such a city indorse the scheme?

To all these questions the Appeal will endeavor to give a satisfactory answer in a propaganda pamphlet, on which Comrade Ernest Untermann is now at work, and which will be ready for distribution about the middle of January. This will be a sixteen page pamphlet, and will cover the question of municipal ownership as fully as possible, giving due consideration to all phases in an impartial and objective manner. Five cents per copy, \$1.00 per 100.







APPEAL to ARMY.

The comrades of Arkansas are preparing to... THE WOMEN'S LEGION - Socialist women... Comrade Canfield of New York, sends \$5 for twenty subscription postal cards...

willing to correspond with each other on topics relating to Socialist discussion... THE WOMEN'S LEGION - Socialist women... Comrade Stevenson, East Hartford, Conn., orders fifty Appeals per week...

Current & Comment

The Pueblo Courier says: "It is no use kicking against Socialism, it is bound to come... San Francisco has had 140 suicides in six months... The Labor World of Duluth, Minn., has recently published some strong articles on Socialism...

der Socialism he marvels and is constrained to say with Puck: "What fools these mortals be." How doth ignorance punish her victims... What a farce is the claim that the country is prosperous... A St. Petersburg dispatch says of Russian conditions: Regular auction sales of women and children are held there...

more exercise, and failing to get their due recognition they become a source of positive torment... CURES ANY DISEASE... A New and Wonderfully Successful Method of Curing all Chronic and Lingering Afflictions... Gout, partial paralysis, dropsy, locomotor ataxia...



DR. U. G. LIPES. Gout, partial paralysis, dropsy, locomotor ataxia, rheumatism, neuralgia or any other disease resulting from high living, quickly and permanently removed by the new method...

California Excursions. In Pullman tourist sleepers daily on fast trains. Personally conducted three times a week. New cars, courteous employes, satisfying meals...