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THIS ISSUE contains a complete record of the Socialist party of the world. Plates will be kept for future orders. See to it that all the voters in your vicinity get a copy. It will open their eyes.

MR. DETECTIVE BURNS, YOU ARE A LIAR

This is an ugly word, but there is no other in the English language that so fittingly takes your measure. When you made the statement to the New York World, printed October 22, that Eugene V. Debs had called for volunteers to assassinate you and announced that he had received in reply the names of two hundred who were willing to try, you knew you were lying--the paper that printed your statement knew you were lying--and every man who read it knew you were lying. Only a man who has been unmasked whines and resorts to the lie. Ten million American voters have heard Debs speak, and they know that dynamite and assassination were never even suggested by him and that they have no place in the Socialist propaganda. The capitalist class in America do not fear explosives in the hands of the workers, for such methods are only used by the hired spies of capitalism, who, posing as unionists, plant dynamite to throw suspicion on the working class. What the capitalists do fear is the sort of dynamite that the working people deposit in the ballot box. We suggest that you, as your masters have already done, familiarize yourself with the methods employed by the Socialists, and that you read carefully what appears on this page, which tells the story of Socialists at work.

Socialist Officials.—From a list of 271 Socialists holding office the following vocational analysis was made by Prof. Hoxie: 33 miners, 17 farmers and retired farmers, 45 factory workers and craftsmen, 14 transportation workers, 5 lawyers and 9 physicians.

The Socialist Coroner.—The job of coroner is generally given to some supernumerary person, as the office is not regarded as of much consequence. In the hands of a Socialist, however, it is a position of power. The Socialist coroner of Milwaukee soon demonstrated this. The first accidental death which he investigated was that of a man killed in the plant of the Milwaukee Gas and Coke company. He made a sweeping investigation and fixed the responsibility of the death on the company because of their neglect in safeguarding life. It was not long before the employing class was made to feel his power. As other cases came up in the investigation he called in the state labor commissioners and with them went through the local tan yard, switch yards and other manufacturing plants. These investigations brought about some sweeping changes in the matter of safeguarding the lives of employees.

Business men's administrations do not concern themselves with these things, since such administrations exist for the sole purpose of protecting the profit taker. The Socialist administration looks after the promotion of life and the comfort of the people. So it proceeds from an entirely different standpoint.

Tag the Houses.—When the Socialists went into power in Milwaukee they put up a sign on every house of prostitution, stating who owned the property. More than 60 per cent of the buildings belong to leading church members. You can imagine what a howl it raised, but the capitalist press was careful not to say anything about it. If those 60 per cent of property owners had been Socialists, the capitalist press would have played it up in big headlines from Maine to California with such phrases as "free love," "home wreckers," "atheists," "white slavers," etc., etc. It is said by experts in Chicago that if the houses of prostitution in that city were similarly tagged it would show about as high a percentage as in Milwaukee. We doubt not that the same condition exists in every city of the nation.

Mena, Ark.—The Socialists have but one town official in Arkansas, an alderman, by the way, at Mena. But near this town there is a school district controlled by the Socialists. These Socialists have put the principles of democracy into practice. The selection of a teacher is left to a vote of the patrons; also the length of school term and when said term shall commence. Recently it became necessary to buy some seats and other equipment. Instead of acting on their own initiative and using the power which the law gives them, the trustees called the patrons of the school together, made a report on the kinds of seats and equipment which could be bought, and then asked the people to decide what to do.

Guarding the Health.—When Socialist Health Commissioner Dr. Frederick Kraft took charge of the health department of Milwaukee he added new departments as follows: First, factory inspection. Five factory inspectors are now guarding the sanitary conditions of the working class in the factories and shops of the city. One of these is a woman, who is giving special attention to those places where women are employed. The manufacturers have been forced to obey the law. Second, the child welfare department has been added, mention of which is made elsewhere. Third, milk is now rigidly inspected. In one month alone 690 quarts of unclean milk was confiscated. This had a very wholesome effect, as in the following months less than a hundred quarts had to be condemned. Fourth, rigid inspection of meat is now made. During one month 118 carcasses of animals were condemned and confiscated. Fifth, the supply of fruit and vegetables is also closely watched. In one month 22,000 pounds of unwholesome and improper food of this kind was confiscated. Sixth, tuberculosis, the white plague, is being fought vigorously. A new hospital has been completed under the management of the city, which will give special attention to tubercular patients. Seventh, a crusade was made against the unsanitary candy factories. Several tons of candy were confiscated and fed to the municipal dogs. Most deplorable un-

cleanness in the factories was found and these conditions were exposed with a vigor that temporarily destroyed the candy appetite of Milwaukee people. Even the capitalist papers commended Dr. Kraft for this work. A revolution in the ice cream business was also brought about. You see, you can do things if you have someone in office who wants to do them.

Testing Weights and Measures.—There is a room in the city hall at Milwaukee, up near the roof, that contains several thousand weights, measures, scales, etc., confiscated by the city sealer who under the Socialist administration has been waging a vigorous campaign against the fraudulent use of weights, undersized milk cans, peck and half bushel measures with false bottoms, etc. Thousands of dollars have been grafted in this manner from the people of the city by the merchants, who have now been made to give honest weights and measures to their customers. You can readily see that these various crusades of the Socialists have not increased their standing with the business element, as a business man does not like to have his graft exposed or stopped. It remains to be seen whether the working class of Milwaukee have the intelligence to appreciate what has been done in their behalf.

Professor Brooks Praises the Socialists.—The Socialists of Milwaukee and Butte are giving those cities the best, the cleanest and the most satisfactory business administrations in their history and are repairing the damage done by years of the old graft regime." is the statement of John Graham Brooks, world famous sociologist, who has lately been appointed lecturer on economics at the university of California. "The Milwaukee Socialists came into office greatly handicapped," says Brooks. "Their city was heavily in debt. They are devoting their efforts wisely to the clearing off of this debt and to a general civic clean-up, doing what the governments before them did not do. The Butte, Mont., Socialists administration had a heritage of a million and a quarter of debt left them by the old grafters. The Socialists are making ordinances now for the separation of the brothels from the saloons for the exclusion of messenger boys from the brothels and for the abolition of tickers from the district. They are also devising a system of taxation to handle the debt. They have already restored the credit of their city."

Handling a Strike.—There has been one strike in Milwaukee since the Socialists were in control of the city. This was the garment workers' strike which occurred about the same time of the one in Chicago. It took months to get a settlement in Chicago. The strike in Milwaukee lasted only a couple of weeks. Mayor Seidel issued an order to the police forbidding them to molest the strikers so long as they did no violence to property. None was done and the manufacturers missing the support of the policemen's clubs soon settled with their employees. After the strike Abe Gordon national organizer of the garment workers, wrote Mayor Seidel a letter, from which we take the following: "In all my experience during organization work dealing with officials in cities and states I have found no one as sincere in the interest of the working class as Emil Seidel, mayor of Milwaukee. Mayor Seidel not only issued an order against police interference, but kept in touch with me from day to day. Inside of three days we forced the manufacturers to realize that the administration was with us, and they asked for a conference. I want to thank the mayor from the bottom of my heart in the name of the United Garment Workers and the strikers at large. I want to congratulate the citizens of Milwaukee on having so sincere a mayor, and only regret that we have not more such men."

Old Age Pensions.—Victor Berger in his speech supporting old age pensions said: "Everybody in America readily knows why soldiers are entitled to pensions. Soldiers render service on the field of battle, considered dangerous to life and limb. But very few people realize that the number of wage earners killed and injured on the railroads, mines and factories, and other industries in our country, is approximately equal to the number of soldiers killed and wounded in any one year of our great civil war, with all its terrible battles. The work of the soldiers of industry is infinitely more necessary than the bloody work of the soldiers on the

battle field. Most of the labor performed must be continued every day and every hour, or our civilization would stop. The aged working men and working women have, therefore, a claim on society that is even better than the claim of the soldier. The average earnings of the wage working class in this country is about \$400. It is absolutely impossible to save anything for old age on such a wage. Every toiler produced more than he is paid, otherwise he would not be employed. It is a condition of the capitalist order of society that the employer must get the lion's share of the product. The old age pension bill which I have introduced is, therefore, a measure of simple justice. Nearly every so-called civilized country on the globe has such a law, except the United States. Under the terms of my bill the cost of this measure would approximate \$347,000,000 yearly. This sum may be staggering to some good folk who believe in cheap government and in everybody taking care of himself, but if our nation can pay yearly \$121,000,000 for a navy, \$95,000,000 for an army, and \$153,000,000 for pensioning war veterans, a total of \$369,000,000, it should certainly be able to pay an equal sum to its veterans of industry. Remember that these destitute aged men and women have from their childhood aided in creating wealth which makes possible the payment of such large appropriations for the navy, the army and the war pensions. The old men and women are entitled to a living outside of the poor house and without the aid of private charity. If the old parties and the supreme court do not realize this fact they will be wiped out of existence, together with the old constitution. New times requires new laws."

Clean Ice Cream.—When ice cream sold in hundreds of small stores and restaurants in Milwaukee was found by examination and analysis to be made of unwholesome materials, Health Commissioner Kraft did not go after the little fellows, but the manufacturers, instead. One of these manufacturers recently went into bankruptcy, and he alleges as the reason for the same that his plant was interfered with by the health department. The facts in the case are that this factory was in such a filthy condition and the machinery through which the ice cream was run, in such dirty shape that the inspectors fastened and secured the machinery and ordered that no more ice cream be made there until some assurance was had that it would be clean. Bankruptcy is not a desirable thing, but if ice cream cannot be made without a risk to the health of the people then the manufacturers had better all be in bankruptcy. There are a lot of sore grafters in Milwaukee, but the people are coming nearer getting what they pay for in that city than anywhere else in the nation.

Research Bureau at Berkeley.—Socialist Mayor Wilson of Berkeley has induced the university of California to add a department on municipal research and instruction. Mayor Wilson said in a recent speech: "I think there should be a course of instruction in the university which would be a collegiate preparation for social and municipal administration. Men are training for the law, medicine and the ministry, but how few are training for the responsible duties of civic affairs. These duties are left to novices. We have come to the day in civic affairs when science of the passion for the welfare of humanity must determine the policy and programs of civic administrations." The president of the college and the corps of professors have signified their willingness to establish such a department. The university of Wisconsin set the pace for this kind of instruction some years ago. Recently the university of Kansas has sent a committee to Wisconsin to investigate methods.

Victor, Colo.—It may well be said that the capitalist mine owners of Colorado have been made to appreciate something of the irony of fate. Less than ten years ago the Western Federation of Miners and the Socialists were driven out of Victor at the point of the bayonet. Last spring when the election was over and the votes were counted it was found that the entire Socialist ticket had been elected.

Cour de Alene, Idaho.—What has been said of the irony of fate in Victor, Colo., might well be repeated at this point. Here eleven years ago the Western Federation of Miners were driven at the point of the bayonet into a stockade, afterward known as the bull pen. The union was broken and the agitators driven out. At this time Steunenberg was governor and it was because of the cruel and inhuman things he stood sponsor for that Orchard, in an insane moment,

Appeal Before Follock Again

Postoffice Inspector Chance called on the Appeal last Friday and informed us that the federal grand jury at Fort Scott which meets a week from next Monday, will be asked by District Attorney Harry Bone, to return an indictment against the Appeal, charging us with circulating obscene matter through the mails. The charge will be based on the publication of the facts in the Leavenworth exposure. Most of our readers are familiar by this time with the charges we made against the officials of that institution which were backed by evidence that was good enough and strong enough to cause the department of justice, when it investigated the situation, to ask for the resignation of Deputy Warden Lemmon. Should the grand jury return this indictment and the Appeal be prosecuted for the publication of these articles, the strange spectacle will be presented of the government prosecuting a paper for the publication of facts which the government took cognizance of in the investigation made by its representatives. This investigation was brought about, as a result of the wide publicity which the Appeal gave to the horrors existing at Leavenworth. This prosecution, we understand, is ordered from Washington.

It is claimed by the government that the matter we printed was obscene. We could not have told the truth about the conditions existing in Leavenworth except by speaking plainly.

The matter published by us was not obscene. It was the simple truth and published for the purpose of bringing about a change in the administration of the federal prison at Leavenworth.

That institution has been cleaned up, conditions improved and the helpless prisoners no longer subjected to the inhuman indignities heaped upon them by the deputy warden. If a plain recital of these horrors is unpalatable and offensive to the eyes of the reading public, what think you must be the situation with these poor devils who were the victims of these outrages? These Leavenworth articles were not printed because we had any desire to dig into the filth and slime we uncovered in that sink-hole of moral iniquity and colossal graft, but because we felt moved by a sense of justice to the unfortunate men imprisoned therein. We will have more to say about this matter next week.

murdered him, which murder led to the trial of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. The Socialists last spring elected the mayor, clerk, police judge, treasurer and four aldermen.

Berger in Congress.—Victor L. Berger, Socialist congressman from Wisconsin, took his seat April 4th. The next day he introduced a resolution calling on the president to recall the troops from the Mexican border. April 14th Berger voted for the direct elections of senators and on the 14th for an amendment to the campaign publicity bill extending publicity to primary elections. The democrats defeated the amendment. On April 19th Berger introduced a resolution providing for the calling of a national convention to draft a new constitution, and on April 21st he voted for the reciprocity agreement with Canada. April 25th Berger introduced a resolution calling for an investigation of the kidnaping of McNamara. Two meetings of the committee to which the matter was referred were held and committee stopped, stating that they had heard enough to prove that McNamara's extradition was illegal. On April 27th Berger introduced a resolution to abolish the United States senate, the president's veto, and the privilege of the supreme court to review legislation. On May 8th Berger voted for the farmers' free list. On May 27th he introduced a bill calling for an eight-hour day for women employed in Washington, D. C., prohibiting their employment after 10 p. m. and forbidding the employment of girls under eighteen years of age after 6 p. m.

May 22d he voted to admit Arizona and New Mexico to the union. On June 14th he made his first speech on the tariff. On July 21st Berger

took up the case of Engineer Lough, who had been working on the Panama canal and been sent to jail for an accident on his train. The president gave an executive order freeing Lough. On July 28th Berger called on the president and asked for an executive order permitting postmen to wear cooler clothing than the regulation uniform in the summer. This step was taken because the postmaster at Milwaukee was trying to force the postmen to wear their regulation heavy uniform. The president rescinded the order of the Milwaukee postoffice and thus Berger won a privilege for the postmen that they are remembering all over the country. On July 31st Berger introduced his old age pension bill, giving a pension of \$4 per week to every man and woman over sixty years of age.

Washington Township, Kansas.—This township contains a half dozen mining towns and a large population—almost as large as the average western city. Last fall the Socialists elected the entire township ticket, including the two justices of the peace by a vote greater than the combined old party vote. A test case of the Kansas poll tax law was brought before one of these judges, and on account of the unconstitutional manner in which it was passed and its manifest injustice he declared the law null and void. Of course, his decision did not reach beyond the township, but within that territory it is supreme. As a result the coal miners, some 3,000 in number, have paid no poll tax and have been saved thereby \$9,000. The Socialist trustees have been able to take care of all the road work from the property tax and they report that the roads will be in better condition than last year. The victory in this township is significant merely because it gave the working class the control of the local courts and through these courts they are able to make the mine owners repair the houses, pay the cost of supporting the schools and building the roads. There is no victory complete for the Socialists where the courts are not controlled by the working class. The value of working class action in this township has been such a lesson that it is predicted that the Socialists will carry this township next year almost unanimously.

Milwaukee Paving.—The Milwaukee Socialists, in compliance with the Socialist program, tried to do city paving under the direct management of the city engineer, but the law required a three-fourths vote of the council to effect this. This the Socialists did not have, so they were forced to go on with the contract system. The street department found that Milwaukee had been robbed by the contractors and the asphalt trust of thousands of dollars. The contract specifications were so drawn by the department that the asphalt trust was left out of the deal in the new paving, thus effecting a saving of \$1 per square yard, besides a lessening in the contractor's profits. This means that during the year 1911 the Socialists will have saved the city of Milwaukee on street paving alone the sum of \$400,000, which formerly went into the pockets of the contractors and the trusts of the asphalt trust. A great deal of the credit of this saving is due to Harry E. Briggs, commissioner of streets, and C. A. Mullin, city engineer. Business men's administrations of our cities proceed on the theory of wasting rather than saving people's money. They do this to promote business. They are constantly tearing up old streets and putting in new ones at an enormous cost. Milwaukee has miles of macadam paving that was being replaced by the old administrations with new and expensive asphalt for the benefit of the contractors and the asphalt trust. Commissioner Briggs and Superintendent Mullin have adopted a policy of putting a surface of asphalt on the old macadam. This is being done at a cost of forty cents per square yard. Many miles of streets have been re-surfaced this summer by this method at a great saving in cost.

Muscataine, Iowa.—At the spring election of 1911 the Socialists of Muscataine elected two members of the city council and two members of the school board. Our officials are in the minority on both boards and have not been able to do much except to put the old party officials on record in reference to matters affecting the working class. The aldermen were able to get through a measure providing for a nine hour work day at \$2 for all city employees. The Socialists introduced a measure providing for an eight-hour work day to be effective on all contract work. The council voted it down. Socialists will re-introduce it later on. Muscataine has been the scene of a great button workers' strike, during which time the mayor and city officials have done everything they could do to fa-

vor the manufacturers. The two members of the school board have also made a record. The board dismissed two principals and reduced the salaries of the teachers. A petition signed by 1,000 people protesting, was presented to the board, but the only members who voted to re-instate them were the Socialists. Some of the teachers asked for more pay and the Socialists were the only members of the board who voted to grant it. The sentiment of the workers of this city is with the Socialists and next spring will prove a clear victory for the party even though the old parties unite. A weekly paper is being planned for next year. The Socialist councilmen are O. C. Wilson and William Montgomery. The members of the school board are Lee W. Lang and Chas. W. Gray.

Thompson's Forecast.—As to the prospects of carrying the city of Milwaukee, will say they were never brighter for our movement than now. By the middle of December we shall have our daily paper launched. We are going to do some big things in the city this winter, among them a series of stereoptical lectures to be given in all the important halls in the city and before every possible labor union, civic federation, etc., presenting actual photographs depicting the work of the various departments, tables showing facts and figures that will be simply unanswerable. We shall also conduct sometime early in December a budget and municipal government exhibit at the auditorium where the work of each department of the city will be on exhibition and for ten days the people of the city will be invited to come and see for themselves. We have the goods and are not afraid to show them. I believe that we shall carry the city by a larger vote in 1912 than we did in 1910. If we do that we shall carry both congressional districts in the fall elections.

Berkeley, Calif.—Berkeley as a Socialist victory stands in a class all by itself. It is a university town and a fashionable residence suburb of San Francisco. The old party candidate for mayor was a clean man and no particular charge was made against his administration. The people elected J. Stitt Wilson and the other candidates because many people in addition to the working class believed that the city would be better governed and more progressive legislation be had under a Socialist administration than a progressive republican administration. This sounds strange but those who have investigated the situation say that it is true. Wilson and the council have started in on a program of making Berkeley a clean and beautiful city. The school houses have been turned into civic centers and the auditoriums opened to public meetings. The vacant lots have been cleaned and some of them will be used in production. A program of municipal ownership is contemplated which includes light, heat and water. There was a question whether an idealist and platform orator like Wilson would make an efficient executive. Looking after the details of a city, but Wilson has settled down to grapple with the work of his office and everyone who knows anything about the situation concedes that he is making good.

Socialist State Mine Inspector.—Under the laws of Kansas the state mine inspector is elected by the state association of miners. The present incumbent is Leon Besson, of Franklin, Crawford county. He was last year the Socialist candidate for representative and came within fifty votes of election. He reports to the Appeal that no one of the laws of Kansas are observed by the mine operators. Accidents in the mining district average from four to six a day. Since his incumbency in office in July he has closed twenty-one coal mines, some of which never done before in the history of the state. Recently he notified the mine boss at the No. five Sheridan mine, the same, by the way, where Frank Lane was injured, to remove some dangerous overhanging rock along the way where the miners had to pass to and from their work. The mine boss refused. Besson swore out a warrant for his arrest, and the case will be tried before Socialist Judge Phillips of Washington township, October 31st, too late to give a report in this issue.

Massachusetts Legislature.—The Socialists have one member of the legislature in this state, Charles H. Morrill, who was elected from Haverhill. He has served two terms. Through his efforts a strike advertising law has been enacted requiring

manufacturers who advertise for workmen in time of strike to specify that there is a strike at their mill or factory. He introduced a bill authorizing the governor and council to spend money for additional highway work during hard times, giving work to the unemployed. This bill failed of passage by only a few votes. He introduced a bill authorizing cities and towns to provide school children with meals free, or not exceeding cost. Through the efforts of Mayor Fitzgerald, of Boston, this bill was defeated on a close vote. Morrill introduced another bill authorizing cities to pension city laborers. This was defeated by a vote of thirty to fifty-seven. Another bill raising the age of employment to sixteen. This was defeated by the activity of the manufacturers, the vote in the house being 129 to 77. Morrill is a hard working, painstaking legislator, and is certain of reelection.

Berger's Testimony on Butte.—Congressman Berger filled a date in Butte, Mont., about the middle of October and in an editorial in the *Social Democratic Herald* he comments thus: "There is a situation in Butte unlike that in any other city in the United States. The city of Butte is practically a miners' camp which is under the control of the Western Federation of Miners. There are hardly a hundred men working for wages in Butte in any capacity who do not belong to a union. In Butte every clerk belongs to the clerks' union and every newspaper man to the Newspaper Writers' union. Every store in Butte closes at 6 o'clock every night with the exception of six nights before Christmas, and the minimum wages for a man clerk is \$21, for a woman \$12. And the cost of living is not perceptibly higher in Butte than it is in Milwaukee, and it is surely not as high as in Chicago. Many unions in Butte are 'hundred per cent unions'—that is, they contain every person working in that trade or craft in Butte. And the Central Labor Federation of Butte has just now refused to accept an invitation of the Chamber of Commerce to take breakfast with President Taft—because they saw in this invitation a subtle but common device to make votes for Taft. I have no doubt the same thing would happen in Milwaukee—but the Merchants' and Manufacturers' association of this city, of course, would not even dream of inviting the Federated Trades Council. However, while the class lines are not drawn quite so tightly there as they are in Milwaukee, in Butte also the troubles of the Socialist movement began shortly after taking office. His administration also met with undervalued opposition from the big capitalists and open resistance from the politicians of both parties in the town council. And the capitalist papers of Butte—while not quite as vicious as the Milwaukee press—would like to forget that there is a city administration in Butte, in spite of the fact that the newspaper boys are 'organized.' Of course, the Socialist administration in Butte can no more abolish capitalism and the results of capitalism in Butte than we can in Milwaukee. Our comrades have to be satisfied with even smaller things than we in Milwaukee—the city being much smaller—the issues and the sums involved are correspondingly smaller. However, the work the administration is doing is Socialist work. And Socialism can never come without that kind of work. The Socialist party, the world over is able all a city party. We shall continue to carry cities in elections, and we must make good in cities first. It is easy to learn a few so-called 'revolutionary' phrases and to repeat them on every occasion—the anarchists understand that easy art even better than our impossibilist friends. But human society is an organism and as a sapling grows from an acorn, so must Socialism grow continually until it becomes the great system of humanity. Our method means hard work and perseverance. Our method requires brains, knowledge and courage—but our method will win. And to return to Butte—what the comrades there can do, is to prove that in spite of all obstacles the working class is fully as capable of carrying on the business of a community as is the capitalist class—and that the working class is infinitely more honest. They are doing that. Under these circumstances I feel confident that the Socialists of Butte will not only hold their own at the next county election, but will also break the ice for the far west and elect representatives of the working class to the legislature. Moreover, I am also sure that the Socialists of Butte, like the Socialists of Milwaukee, will never for one moment lose sight of the fact that it is not the sole aim of the Socialist party just to give a clean and honest administration and good government to their respective cities. Our aim is to abolish the present system and to emancipate labor."

Socialists at Work in Wisconsin Legislature

BY MAX R. BISHOP, Social-Democratic member for 12th Milwaukee District.

The 1911 session of the Wisconsin legislature with its 14 Socialist members will go down in history as one of the most notable sessions in the history of this country.

The presence of these Socialists found expression in nearly 300 bills introduced, each one seeking to better the conditions of the working people. They entailed an immense amount of labor, but the pioneer work done by the Wisconsin Socialists in this direction will no doubt result in a valuable contribution to the Socialist movement of this country.

These measures were all constructive and every one aimed to carry out the Socialist program. In them were set forth the demands of the national Socialist platform as well as the demands of the state platform of Wisconsin.

While the Socialists elected representatives to the Wisconsin legislature since 1904 yet their influence was never so much felt as now. The efforts of the Socialists to bring to the foreground the measures of importance have been in vain. A bill introduced by the Socialists, two, four and six years ago and which were voted down then, are being taken up now by the old parties and enacted into law, but only through fear that they will soon be voted out by the people.

For instance, the initiative and referendum bills have been introduced by Socialists in the Wisconsin legislature two, four and six years ago, only to be voted down by the republicans and democrats. But in 1911 they fell all over themselves to pass the initiative and referendum which will now soon be an established fact in Wisconsin.

The same can be said of the recall, industrial compensation for workmen, insurance, state control of water powers, state aid to teachers, industrial education, limiting the hours of labor for women and children, better protection for workmen in factories and many more similar reforms all of which resulted from the activities of the Socialists.

During 1905 there was a special committee appointed to investigate the life insurance companies doing business in this state. On this committee there was appointed a Socialist senator. After the investigation the Socialist member of the committee presented a minority report in which the Socialist position was clearly set forth advocating that the state go into the insurance business and at the same time pointing out the futility of regulating private business.

The minority report was not adopted but was rather looked upon as being a dream. Six years later, however, we find that the Wisconsin legislature goes on record as favoring state insurance and adopting practically that which was contained in the Socialist minority report on the insurance question of six years before.

The nine hour law for women enacted during the session of 1911, was also due to the Socialists' repeated efforts along this line. Wisconsin is now well to the front in labor legislation when it is considered that this state is still a great agricultural community.

Seventy-five per cent of the representatives in the Wisconsin legislature still come from the rural districts. The Socialist influence was probably never so much felt as during the legislative session of 1911, due probably to the fact that ten per cent of its members were Socialists, and due to the tremendous agitation carried on by the Socialists in this state for many years.

Of the 655 laws enacted during the 1911 session, nearly fifteen per cent were of Socialist origin. As an under-recognized fact is also being recognized, which was probably never so marked as it was at this session of the legislature, and that is that the constitution of the state of Wisconsin as well as that of the United States needs some radical changes. Fifty-six joint resolutions seeking to amend the constitution were introduced, fifteen of which were adopted and about as many

defeated by only a small vote. This showing is significant, considering the fact that it is contemplated by these joint resolutions to change the fundamental law of the state.

It can now be only a matter of a few years when the constitution of our states and of the nation will undergo some great changes. It is fast being recognized that even reforms of any great importance are impossible under our present constitution. In this direction the Socialist propaganda has been a great eye opener not only for the people but for the politicians as well.

For years the Socialists have pointed out this need of a change and with good effect. Some of the important amendments introduced by the Socialists intending to authorize the state to acquire storage and ware-house grain elevators and creameries were defeated by only about 18 votes. These amendments were of great importance to the consumers of the cities as well as to the producers on the farms. They no doubt will be adopted in the very near future or rather just as soon as the people realize their interests in them. They mean an end for private profit seekers, who control the food supply.

A joint resolution introduced by the Socialists, for the calling of a national convention was passed and forwarded to the Wisconsin legislature for its consideration. Wisconsin is the first state to pass such a resolution. The Socialist memorials to congress, for the establishing of the parcels post, one relating to the Sherman anti-trust law and one relating to the issuing of passports by the United States government and one in regard to the use of poisonous substances in the manufacture of matches, were also passed.

Other memorials were introduced, among them a memorial urging congress to acquire the coal industry, railroads, mines, telegraphs, etc. A memorial urging congress to establish old age pensions and many more were introduced—a good many of which received the votes of republicans and democratic farmers.

While the Socialists were making every effort to have their measures become law, it was also important to watch legislation proposed by old party members and to prevent bad measures from passing, and to that extent the work has been very satisfactory. Milwaukee fares better for good legislation than ever before. A large number of bills were introduced seeking to give the city such powers as to enable it to embark in various municipal enterprises. The following were some of the important bills introduced along this line:

A bill authorizing the city to establish a municipal ice plant and to sell ice to its citizens at cost. This bill after a stormy career and passing in the assembly, was finally killed in the senate. The Milwaukee ice trust had a strong lobby at Madison opposing this bill whose pressure a good many of the senators could not resist. Hence its defeat.

A bill authorizing the city to distribute milk and cream to its citizens at cost. A few months before this bill was introduced the milk trust in Milwaukee had just raised the price of milk to 7 cents per quart. The trust realizing what might happen soon thereafter reduced its price again to 6 cents. It was shown by the Socialists' members in the legislature that by eliminating the cost of duplication and profits to the non-producers, milk could be bought cheaper by the consumer and at the same time the farmer would receive better prices. However the bill was defeated.

A bill authorizing the city to establish and operate slaughter houses was also defeated.

SOCIALISTS WILL CONQUER

By Avoiding the Mistake of the Past

DESPICABLE THE WAY. The failure of the Socialists to bring about a revolution in this country is due to the fact that they have not been able to avoid the mistake of the past.

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Political Program of Socialism

BY A. W. RICKER

The Socialist movement does not spell one thing in a given place or country and something else in another. All over the world, Socialism, applied politically or industrially, is the same.

Our aim is the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery and tenantry. Our slogan is, "To the worker the full social product of his toil."

Politically, our aim is to gain control by the working class of all the powers of government in the nation, the states, and their sub-divisions. We aim to accomplish this through the election to office of men and women who are committed by a solemn pledge of party membership to support our program.

A Socialist on being granted membership in the party signs the following pledge:

"I, the undersigned, recognizing the class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class and the necessity of the working class constituting itself into a political party distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the privileged class, and with all other parties that I find so the platform and constitution of the Socialist party, including the principles of political action, and hereby apply for admission to said party."

The constitution of the Socialist party provides that membership must have been had in the party from one to two years before a person is eligible to be nominated for a political office. The length of time varies in the different states. Where locals have not been in existence for such a length of time, exceptions to this rule are made. Candidates for office file their resignation papers in blank with the local so that in case they refuse or fail at any time to obey the commands of the party membership they may be forced to vacate their offices. We thus use every possible safeguard to prevent corruption or betrayal in office by our officials.

The Socialist program of action, when elected to office, is to bring about the change so far as possible of all property collectively used, from private to public ownership.

The Socialists aim also to promote the ownership of property privately used.

The Socialists distinguish between property collectively and privately used as follows:

The clothing that we wear, the personal conveniences that we use, the home that we live in, and the plot of ground that we individually use belong in the catalog of private property, and it is our aim to increase such ownership so that it may be possible for the worker to own his home, also all things that belong in that home or that may be used or need to be used by the family. A home in that sense may mean a farm used by the person or family residing thereon.

Property collectively used includes such things as the streets, the schools, the water, electric light, heating and ice plants, slaughter houses, garbage plants, railroads, mines, factories, and shops.

Any of these means of production and distribution privately owned are used by the capitalist class as a means of exploiting and robbing the people.

Wherever and whenever we gain control of the functions of government we will proceed to put so much of our program into action as the law and constitution will permit, and to take over such property into public or collective ownership as may be legally obtained.

Naturally and inevitably the Socialists will gain control of the smaller sub-divisions of government first.

School Districts. Let us begin with the school district. Control of the board of directors by the Socialists, gives power to call the people of that district together and let them decide what is to be done. For we believe in the democratic management of all things we do. Where the law permits, and in some places it does, we may establish the free text book system and we may even provide clothing and food for poor children.

We may establish night schools for those compelled to work. When advisable, we may add instruction in and white wings get the eight-hour day with no reduction of pay. A plumbing inspection law was passed. On September 1st we got our first electric inspector. There are a number of other measures now being framed. We have also had several sewerage jobs done by day labor instead of the contract system.

The Socialist assessor has compelled the rich capitalists of the town to pay their fair share of taxes. In this way the assessed valuation of property for taxation has been increased over \$3,500,000.

Wilson's Work in Ohio. Comrade Prevez, of Akron, Ohio, reports that Ben F. Wilson is talking to packed houses every night. In Springfield and Steubenville he was obliged to speak twice the same day in order to take care of the people who could not get in the halls at one meeting. At Shelby and Mansfield, Ohio, Cleveland and other points he has held such meetings that it is difficult to describe them. Wilson has been persuaded to remain in Ohio during the campaign.

trades so as to fit students for useful service.

Townships. Now let us take a township. Last year, the Socialists captured Washington township, Crawford county, Kansas, complete. This included the justices of the peace and constables, the township trustees, clerk, treasurer, and assessor. This is a mining township with a population of more than 15,000.

Justices of the peace in Kansas have constitutional powers, and when it became a question of collecting or not collecting the unjust cash poll tax levied by the last republican legislature of Kansas, with the aid of the democrats, one of the Socialist justices declared the law unconstitutional and saved the coal miners \$9,000.

Under the law of Kansas a case for \$20 may not be appealed from the justice court. Under this rule we have brought suit against the coal operators for non-compliance with the health and sanitation laws, which requires landlords to keep their houses up to a certain standard. Through suits brought for less than \$20 we will get action by our Socialist justices of the peace and compel the operators to fix the houses where the miners live. Thus you will see that the political control of a township by the Socialists is of some value to the working class.

Counties. Let us now take a county. In the county we have the judge, or judges, the various county officials, which include the sheriff, the coroner, and the board of supervisors. In Milwaukee county, Wisconsin, the Socialists elected last year all of these officials, except the judges. Through the coroner the Socialists are enabled to fix the same for accidental deaths and the coroner of Milwaukee county by acting strictly in the interest of the working class has compelled the manufacturers to use safety devices in their factories, not heretofore used. The board of supervisors has the care of the county bridges, charge of the poor fund, the hospital, or poor house, and the jail. Not only may we transact all business honestly and economically, but we have the power to afford relief to the poor, to furnish the aged, the sick, and the infirm, with good hospital care and treatment and to put the prisoners to good and profitable use on a prison farm. Such a farm has been established in Milwaukee county, and the crop raised this year by the prisoners will nearly pay for their keep, and next year it is expected that the prison farm will return a profit which will be used to improve their condition of life and to benefit their families. We will control the prosecuting attorney, who as a Socialist will transact the business of his office as the law contemplates; and instead of seeking to get convictions of persons charged with crime he will endeavor to see that justice, simply justice, is done every one. He will protect the innocent as well as prosecute the guilty. The sheriff will be useful in times of labor disputes, as he will not use his office as a strike breaking agency.

Cities. Now we come to cities. Cities operate under charters granted by the state legislatures. These charters are more or less liberal and endow the cities with powers and privileges according to the state of development of the mind of the legislators and their control by the corporations. Many of the cities in the older states are operating under charters granted years ago and which do not give them much power of self-government. Such is the case in Milwaukee.

In newer states, cities are endowed with larger powers. In the state of Oklahoma it is written in the state constitution, that all cities shall be permitted to conduct any business in which individuals or private corporations may engage. Oklahoma cities are also empowered to use the public credit without limit for this purpose. When the Socialists of Oklahoma carry the cities they may take possession of water plants, electric light, ice plants, slaugh-

ter houses, etc., using the public credit to purchase them. They may also engage in the manufacturing and general merchandising business. The city treasury may be converted into a municipal bank. We will be able to employ the idle and control the hours of labor. In other words, in Oklahoma we have the opportunity once we gain political control of putting our full municipal program into operation.

Of course, when we undertake to do this, the higher courts of the land will be invoked, and these may set the constitution aside in order to protect the capitalist class.

States. The control of states will give us yet larger powers and privileges. We may take over and into public ownership all telephone lines. We may build and equip electric railroads intersecting all sections of the state, thus carrying our produce over our own railroads to our city markets. It will be possible under the law for the people through their Socialist governments to erect and equip packing houses, canning plants, and industries of a various nature, using the public credit for this purpose.

We will make better school laws, provide insurance for both property and life, old age pensions, accident insurance, etc. We can enact eight hour laws, holiday laws, employers liability laws, in short put on the statute books the measures demanded for years by organized labor.

We will control the courts and the state militia, and prevent them from being used by the capitalists in labor strikes. We can levy taxes on land held by landlords, promote co-operation, etc., etc. In other words, we may under the law enter on a large degree of public ownership. Again the law may be invoked through the United States courts to prevent us from carrying out our program.

Every time we attempt to do anything to benefit the people and the capitalist class invokes the United States courts to stop us they will furnish an object lesson to the working class of the necessity of capturing and controlling the entire powers of government.

The National Government. The capture of the national government and the establishment of collective ownership of property used in production and distribution is the goal toward which we are working. No great and final relief will come to the working class from capitalist tyranny and exploitation until we can abolish the capitalist system with its three-fold means of exploitation, rent, interest, and profit, at once.

To reach that final goal toward which our eyes are ever cast we must be content to struggle in the smaller sub-divisions of the government for every particle of power that we can get.

There is nothing so small in the way of political power that the Socialist can afford to ignore. We must nominate our candidates in school districts, in townships, counties, cities, congressional districts, and states, and we must work with all our energy to elect them in every case.

When so elected these officials need to understand the law that they may take advantage of every privilege that permits them to protect and promote the interest of the working class.

Socialism is a call to the worker to mentally equip himself in order that he may defend by his vote and his public service, not only himself, but his class.

A host of those in private life today may be in the public service at no distant date.

Like all others, we must learn by experience, but Socialists in office should remember that all eyes are on them and mistakes are eagerly seized upon by an unfriendly press and grossly distorted. Loyalty to the working class, high ideals, wisdom and honesty must guide our every act on.

Ours is the greatest movement of the world it has ever known.

In it are the possibilities of the age-old hope of liberty, fraternity and equality for all.

the twelve months previous to the filing of his application, has averaged six dollars a week—

Shall be placed upon the pension roll of the United States and be entitled to receive until death a pension from the United States government provided by an annual appropriation by the congress. Such pensions shall be graded according to the following schedule:

(a) Has reached the age of sixty years;

(b) Has been a citizen of the United States for sixteen consecutive years;

(c) Has not been convicted of a felony;

(d) If a husband, has not without just cause failed to provide with adequate maintenance his wife and such of his children as are under sixteen years of age; or if a wife, has not deserted any of her children under sixteen years of age; and

(e) Is not in receipt of an income from any source, exclusive of the pension herein provided for, which, for

the department of the interior an affidavit containing such statements as may be prescribed by the secretary of the interior, who shall also make such rules and regulations as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this act.

Sec. 3. That in computing the term of residence above required, such periods of absence from the boundaries of the United States as have been undergone by the claimant while in the service abroad, either civil or military, of the United States, or of any state or territory thereof, shall be counted as though the claimant had then lived within the United States.

Sec. 4. That in ascertaining the income above mentioned account shall be taken—

(a) Of any pension which claimant is already receiving from this or any other government.

(b) Of the yearly income which might be expected to be derived from any property belonging to that person, which, though capable of investment or profitable use, is not so invested or profitably used by him.

(c) Of the yearly value of any advantage accruing to that person from the ownership or use of any property which is personally used or enjoyed by him.

(d) Of the yearly value of any benefit or privilege enjoyed by such person.

Sec. 5. That in calculating the means of a person being one of a married couple living together the means shall not in any case be taken to be less than one-half the total means of the couple; provided, That when both husband and wife are pensioners, except where they are living apart pursuant to any decree, judgment, order, or deed of separation, the rate of pension for each shall be three-fourths of the rate given in the above schedule.

Sec. 6. That the pension hereunder may be increased or decreased every twelve months, whenever the pensioner's income decreases or increases according to the terms of the schedule; and the secretary of the interior shall make all needful regulations for providing for this change of rating.

Sec. 7. That this act is amendatory of, and supplemental to, all existing statutes touching pensions, and all such statutes in all respects are hereby declared to apply to and to protect claimant under this act, precisely as though they had been in form incorporated herein.

Sec. 8. That the said pension shall be paid in thirteen installments in each year in advance. It shall begin on the date when the claim is filed, and the arrears from that time to the time of allowance shall, if the claimant be then living, but not otherwise, be paid in a lump sum.

Sec. 9. That in case any person entitled hereunder is an incompetent or is incapable under the law where such person resides, the claim for the pension of such person may be made and the pension may be collected for such person by any person or persons appointed under the local law as guardian, conservator, tutor, or the like, of such claimant.

Sec. 10. That this act shall be liberally administered to effect its purpose, which is to provide, out of the public purse, sufficient income for the old to enable them to enjoy the last remaining years of their lives in such freedom from the fear of want as they have earned by a long service for society as citizens of the republic.

Sec. 11. That in accord with paragraph two, section two, Article III of the constitution, and of the precedent established by the act passed over the president's veto March twenty-seventh, eighteen hundred and sixty-eight, the exercise of jurisdiction by any of the federal courts upon the validity of this act is hereby expressly forbidden.

Capitalists at Work. A branch ward of this city held a banner raising about a week ago. Some cranks make their brag that it would not stay up. This morning our banner was cut down and cut to pieces. The politicians are desperate. The banker was the first in the city, it being an openwork banner with pictures of our candidates for mayor and councilmen. A man whom James Maurer defeated for legislature remarked a few nights ago that if the republican candidate was elected he would have had to combine on one candidate for mayor—the republican candidate. This evoked a storm of indignation from the democrats. But the republicans dare not combine on the demo candidate as it would probably not control this city with a demo mayor. The democrats have no chance. About 500 people stood in the rain last night to listen to our candidate for mayor and Jim Maurer. The old party press is slinging mud with one hand and with other denying it. But we have them. Maurer said if a Socialist mayor is elected we would send some thieves to jail. WALTER W. WINTER, Reading, Pa.

Coming Nation Farm Number. This week the Coming Nation issues a special edition for farmers.

Odon Por describes how the Italian farmers have co-operated.

Eugene Wood discusses dairy farming. Clyde J. Wright describes how the sugar factories exploit the farmers.

A. M. Simons analyzes the general trend of agriculture.

There are a mass of pictures and much other interesting matter. It is the very best thing to arouse farmers and show them the way out.

In bundles of ten or more, two and a half cents each. Ask for number 60. Address: Coming Nation, Girard, Kansas.

Milwaukee's Bureau of Economy and Efficiency.—LaFollette's Weekly in its issue of September 30 published a lengthy article on the Milwaukee administration. Commenting editorially on the same, Senator LaFollette says: "Getting public money at the wrong time and in the wrong way is the curse of our cities. Let those who will not rest content until they know that every dollar of public money is being spent by their city officials wisely and efficiently turn to Milwaukee for information."

Kopelin's Postoffice Articles. On account of the special edition this week, the installment of Kopelin's splendid work on the U. S. postoffice is continued till next week. The current article is on the P. O. employes and is a good one. Watch for it next week.

Repairing Watches. WE WILL HELP YOU START IN BUSINESS. This is not a correspondence school. It is a big watch repairing and jewelry course. We give you actual practical instruction. You make money while you learn. WE GIVE INSTRUCTIONS FREE. WE WANT YOU TO REPAIR US. We want just what we say. We will furnish you with the best of the most complete illustrated lessons and photo prints showing exactly how to do each job. You will be equipped to do any watch repairing simple it is. Our repair department will do the difficult jobs for you until you learn how to do them.

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