

A GREAT vote for the socialist candidates this fall depends on agitation—on the number of readers that can be secured for socialist books and papers. And nothing can advertise socialism and direct the mind of the millions to it so surely as a big vote. Then it follows that the way to get a big vote is to get readers, and the way to get readers is to either get them to subscribe or pay for the literature and send it to such as will read.

No court in New Zealand can set aside a law that the people's representatives have decided they want; nor has ever an act of parliament in England been turned down by a court. The legislative is higher than the judicial, except in this country. Here the courts can turn down any law, as the income tax for instance.

THE Socialist Review, Kearney, Neb., is a new monthly evidence of the social unrest that is shaking the world. And you think this system is not tottering to its fall when from a thousand printing presses pour the gospel of a new earth? If the people were not ripe for it these effects would not be seen.

THIS is a good year for Labor Unions to get an increase in wages. Where any considerable number are involved, the republican political managers will force the employers to accede to the demands for fear of the political influence next November. After the election the employers will have their inning cutting the wages, knowing that before four years the workers will have forgotten before-election hurrahs.

THE Louisville Times is a defender of the fast disappearing middle class, who are fading before the sun of trusts and combines as the dew before the sun of day. In a recent editorial it said that the property of the Standard Oil Co. should be confiscated. And that is what you will see—that the defenders of this system will be the ones to advocate confiscation. And these very fellows have been denouncing the socialists for years because they alleged that socialists wanted to confiscate the property of the industrious!

AN incident worthy your consideration came to my desk the other day and has a significant bearing on the movement. A friend who had been circulating a little literature now and then had become busy in the world of business and had done nothing for a long time. At the last election he was surprised to find 13 votes for a socialist ticket in his place where he himself did not know there was any organized movement. This so fastened his attention on the movement that he has again put on the harness and is doing work. You see if all the votes had been for the old parties the movement would have lost all his influence, as his work would have been apparently wasted. This will show you the great help that voting for socialism is as important as being a socialist.

MR. DENNISON, clerk of the Maine state prison, congratulates the people of his state that the harness and broom department of the prison are "sure dividend producers." It seems to me that humanity has become wickedly brutalized when it will rejoice over the fact that it makes a profit of criminals. Why would it not be better to have the state provide the means of production and distribution for broom and harness-makers who are NOT criminals? By what process of reasoning can men arrive at a conclusion that it is all right to furnish capital for criminals, furnish guards and superintendents and yet wrong to do these things to men who have not fallen, yet who from poverty are often forced into criminals? How little brains that rule the world!

THE U. S. Labor Report, page 31, shows that 100 feet of "9-inch sand and cement sewer pipe" cost 39 cents. Now you will not claim that the material in that cost anything, will you? That sum covers all there is in it. Now this is not done everywhere and under all conditions, but it is done somewhere under the best conditions. Now why is society so organized that it must have pipe made under such crude conditions that two feet often costs you as much as 100 feet should? Why not have some system about the making of it and all "other things" so that it could be had by the consumers at such prices without lowering the wages of any necessary person connected with it? Does it help you to pay fifty prices for sewer pipe? Does it help the workmen who get only a measly wage? Why produce things under the worst conditions and then have it so high you can't afford to use it? If society, that uses all things, permits such conditions, it is on a par with an individual who would use the most expensive and wasteful methods of supplying his wants. And what would you call him?

LABOR COMMISSIONER JOHNSON of Kansas, has uncovered facts establishing proof that money loaners of the state are charging from 200% to 500% interest on chattel mortgages to the poor and needy. That this is done in every state in violation of law is well known. Poor men cannot violate law without punishment, but the men of wealth can and do. But the remedy? Punish the money loaners? What good will that do? Others will continue the game. You can't catch them all. The poor cannot be protected by that process. Now there is one method that will protect the poor—and only one. That is for the state to establish loan agencies, as is done in Paris and other cities and loan to the needy at a rate of 2% or 3%. Then the poor would be under no necessity of going to the usurers. They could do so if they wanted to but would they want to? Then the courts would not be piling up expenses for looking after such violators of the law—the law would not be violated; there would be no need of usury laws. But if you prefer to have the poor fleeced by the rich, just keep on voting as you have and the game will continue.

Lyman Abbott's Position.

Dr. Lyman Abbott, the celebrated Brooklyn preacher, was reported several days ago to have declared for socialism. The following is from his address, as reported in the New York papers.

"I assume that the common people ought to control in industry as in politics. That we don't do that now is apparent. We elect governors, but not railroad kings; we elect municipal assemblies, but not those who control factories and mines. I have nothing to say against those who do control, but I am merely pointing out the fact that we can turn out presidents and governors, but if we think a railroad owner is not working for the public good we can't turn him out peaceably. Our political system is a democracy, but our industrial system is an oligarchy. We ought to carry the same principles into industry as into politics.

"This, then, is the radical object which we reformers ought to keep in mind—Social Democracy. That means that the railroads should be controlled and owned by the common people, that the factories and mines should be theirs, that they should own the tools with which they work. It means the diffusion of wealth. It means the employment of capital by labor, instead of labor by capital. It is a radical idea, but we need radical ideas. It is not a hopeless idea, either."

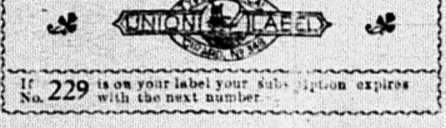
LET me have that ear of yours for a moment. In the Brockton, Mass., Daily Enterprise of March 23, I find an experiment recorded of how long it takes to make a pair of men's fine shoes, that retail at \$3.50. From the time that the leather was laid down on the cutting table until the shoes, perfectly finished, were put into their box ready for shipment, was 29 minutes and 30 seconds! That is to say, that for every half hour of time employed in a shoe factory, men and children considered, produces a pair of shoes. I desire to call the attention of the Hon. Carroll D. Wright, U. S. Labor Commissioner, to this demonstration in contrast to his official statement that it takes 2 hours and 54 minutes. Now let us go into a little comparison: By the old hand process it took two days of 12 hours each to make such a pair of shoes. Such hand workers made a living for themselves and their families, were counted respectable and were the social equals of the community. If a pair of shoes can be made now in half an hour that formerly took 24, then as certainly as mathematics the worker today produces 48 times as much wealth in the same time. If he makes 48 times the wealth he ought then to make as good a living as the old time shoemaker for 48 families. Can he do it? If not why not? Who gets the results that should flow to him? If three pairs of shoes per week represented a living in 1865, then 120 pairs that are the result of a week's labor today should give the worker 40 such livings for a ten-hour day. Do employes of shoe factories get it?

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THE donkey who edits the Astoria, Ore., Herald, seems to be able to write only on subjects of which he knows nothing. Speaking of Debs he says he caused the Pullman strike, when the truth is he opposed it with all his power and was overrudden by the committee. Let me tell the editor that anarchists believe in private property, while socialists do not and Debs is an apostle of public property. Every man who believes in private property is an anarchist whether he knows it or not. That is the tenet of anarchy. The editor of the Herald is an anarchist without having sense enough to know it, yet denounces Debs as an anarchist. "What fools these mortals be."

FRANCE has already taken steps looking to taking over the railroads after the exposition. But then France is not a civilized country!

This Paper is Produced by Union Labor on a Forty-seven Hour Week; Under Socialism the Workers Would Receive About Five Times as Much Pay for a Twenty-four Hour Week



OFFICE OF ACQUIFFER EVANS, Attorneys-at-Law, MAYNARDVILLE, TENN., March 30, 1900. ED. APPEAL TO REASON—You are a socialist. Can you tell me why? Is it not because you aim to make a fortune out of your paper and then retire with your thumbs sticking in your suspenders? If this is not the case you won't please let Girard, the town your paper is edited in, own your paper and you hire to the town to run it? He'll let the town as well own your paper as the water works and the street railways. You know a paper is so much benefit to the education of the masses. Since you are arranging the page as the rich, as I believe wrongfully, how long do you suppose it will be till you wring from the pockets of the poor, for they mostly take your paper, enough money to make you a large capitalist? And once you have become a large capitalist, will you ever feel like dividing it among the poor and unfortunate? You advise machinists to strike, but you rather have war than peace? When your paper has exhausted on you thousands, as it will soon, will you then advise your printers and workers to strike? If I should take a horse to come to Girard (the very place to start out in John G. Whittier's high and unpopular cause) to set up for myself a socialist paper, would you not just your liver out or smash me to the wall? Ain't you not more like William J. Bryan than any man you ever saw? He goes over the country preaching to the poor people that they are crushed by the capitalists, but he must exact a dollar per capita to hear him preach. Now brother, I take your paper and I thought I would just write this letter to you. If you want to publish this letter and answer the questions don't, if you don't, just let it go to the waste basket. A. L. EVANS.

Now the above seems to be fair, and deserving of an answer. I am a socialist because I understand what it means and the conditions that it would produce would be better for me and every other person, black or white. To assume that I am a socialist for revenue is to assume that every republican, democrat, catholic, protestant or agnostic are such for revenue—that there is no other motive in life but dollars and cents. This may be true of some people but not all people. I would like to ask my inquisitor if he is a lawyer solely for the money there is in it, or has he some sense of equities? Lawyers fatten off the quarrels or disputes of their neighbors—social vultures, as it were, yet they are a necessity under this system. An evil system uses evil agencies.

Papers, like schools, should be public property. I am anxious for the time to come when the government will furnish the facilities for producing papers and everything else. If my giving the APPEAL to the government, not Girard, it would guarantee to print it so long as enough people paid for it to pay expenses, that the government would lose nothing, permitting the subscribers to elect its editor, I would turn it over with pleasure.

You very seriously err when you think the APPEAL is mostly kept up by the poor. Its greater revenue comes from well-to-do people who pay for it to go to the poor who cannot pay for it. In a way I am a capitalist. I gathered some wealth gambling in men's necessities, by courtesy called speculating in land, many years ago, and am competent to do it again. It has never been difficult for me to make money legally, but all I have I got morally wrong. I produced no equivalent. Again, you do not understand when you talk of dividing up being socialism—just the reverse is the tenet of socialism. The title to all property should be concentrated into the hands of all the people just as the postoffice is, inalienable.

As I said, I do not believe in strikes, but if the oppression becomes unbearable and strikes must come, then go in to win, just as our forefathers did against King George. War is better than slavery. Even death is better than slavery. Yes, when I am a fortune out of the APPEAL and refuse to give my helpers some benefits of it, they should stop work. But working people will do better by having the public furnish them the means of production and distribution, for then they would not have to depend on me or any other person for employment.

No, you are welcome to come to Girard and start a paper if you desire and I shall throw no straw in your path. I have never refused to extend a helping hand even to the republican and democratic papers here in times of distress, and I would treat you in the same way. But that has nothing to do with the right or wrong of socialism, even if I wouldn't. Socialism would benefit you, friend, even if you think differently. Many times opposed Washington, Paine and Franklin, but do you believe that the program of the latter was not better for the torics?

I do not agree with Mr. Bryan, but if you condemn him for taking money from such as desire to hear him, are you not condemning yourself for taking a fee from some fellow for advice? Where is the line of demarcation?

Some persons considered very intelligent and very honest, men who have studied it, believe in socialism. Have you made a study of it, or are you not condemning something about which your ideas are very vague? In thirty years socialism has won millions and millions of supporters among the intelligent men of the world. If it had no element of truth or reason could it have done this?

Even men with a great deal more money and social position than you and I are devoted and earnest workers trying to bring in the social order known as socialism. It might pay you to read up on it, brother.

PROF. SHELDON of Boston University in an address before the Methodist Conference at Patterson, N. J., the other day said that nine-tenths of the ministers are heretic. The college professors are becoming belligerent. Where is Rockefeller that such men are permitted in the colleges? Cog must have slipped somewhere.

If Standish could read the criticisms about his views on the saloon question, he would find that socialists do not agree with him a little bit. They are indignant that such views are entertained for a moment by a person who professes any understanding of the social problems. The solution of the liquor problem, like all other problems, will be solved by the abolition of private ownership of the means of production and distribution, doing away with wage-slavery and profit off one's fellows. No one would engage in the saloon business if there was no profit in it, nor would there be any incentive to induce any one to drink.

THE CRITICS.

OWING to a blunder of mine in omitting to state that it was SENATE bill No. 1770 and document 53, that A CORRECTION. gave some valuable statistics on the public ownership of railroads, many of those who wrote their members of congress for these documents got the House bill and document of those numbers, which in no way referred to the subject. Sorry, but errors will occur in some of the best intentioned people now and then. Write for Senate bill and document.

THE average reader of the daily press had a mental rule of thought by which they could weigh what is put before them, they would see nothing but inconsistencies in the matter for their education. The Topeka Capital, for instance, commends the action of the state in saving the farmers one third on the cost of binding twine by having the state manufacture it in the penitentiary. The stress, mind you, is the saving. It would oppose, and does oppose the theory, of the state saving the people from trust extortion by opening factories for the making of shoes or other necessities and employing men who are not criminals. The state could save the people millions on insurance, but because it cannot be done with convict labor it ridicules the idea when it mentions it at all. Then it believes in the tariff and yet it wants the tariff removed from trust articles! If the removal of the tariff will lessen the wages of the laborers, which is one of its old claims, and most of the workers are today working on trust articles, this demand for free trade by this republican organ would greatly injure the workers who have been electing it to office. If the taking off of the tariff will not lessen the wages but will help the people as it says, then what becomes of the claims of that party for years that the tariff was put on to benefit the workers? If, as it says, "The protection of the people lies in the ownership of the waterworks of the city," why does not the same protection apply as well to electric lights, telephones, street cars, telegraph, railroads and all other necessities? The principle is right or it is not right. If it is right, it applies to everything; if it is wrong, it applies with good to nothing. But then the Capital is a great paper!

THE Cleveland, O. Leader, March 29, a rank republican paper, says: "The present general assembly is controlled by lobbyists, and no legislation in the interest of the people can be looked for." That is what a republican paper thinks of a republican legislature. It might be out of place for a socialist paper to say the same thing, but when its friends say that of it, then what? Another thought: Who can afford to pay lobbyists? Poor men? Hardly. Who then? Why the rich, respectable class, the class that bribe for laws that will enable them to legally confiscate the property of the people. These eminently respectable people are very loud against confiscation and the tyranny of labor! But what they do, and go unwhipped of justice, would send any laboring man to prison for life. Now if the laws that are to govern the people were to be first submitted to them before they became a law, how many lobbyists do you think corporations would pay to bribe the legislators? Not any. Not one had law out of a hundred would ever have been passed in Ohio had the people been permitted to vote on it, without having to vote against their political friends, even if Ohio has been republican. The masses of republicans and democrats are honest, but the few men they elect can be put under so much temptation that they will fall victims. It would be impossible to bribe a majority of the voters, but it is possible to bribe a majority of the hundred men who make the laws under this system.

THE Sedalia, Mo., Capital, don't like the Social Democratic party a little bit. Speaking of the socialist demands for equality of sex it says: "It would reverse the order of evolution and restore the aboriginal condition in which women were but hewers of wood and drawers of water." Now isn't that a great argument? Are the women of Colorado and Wyoming treated as beasts because they have the same rights as men? Great brains that writer has! All its other drivel is of the same order of childish twaddle. But then it does some good—it calls attention to socialism and that will cause some to read up and they will be convinced—both that the editor is foolish and that socialism is desirable.

CHAMP CLARK, one of the high-muck-a-muck democrats of Missouri, says some one should shoot Hanna. Why has not Clark the courage of his convictions? There is an old saying that when certain people fall out just men get their dues. The boiling pot is becoming interesting.

THE Bulletin, Solomonville, Ariz., refers to the APPEAL as "That newspaper skunk," and says "Poor old Kansas. It has many freaks to contend with." But not so many as Butler county, Mo., where a man was convicted of forgery and sent to prison for twelve years and served four of it and then went into the newspaper business at Solomonville. But such men are not expected to have any decency. Penitentiary convicts are good defenders of the present system. The people out there ought to draw great inspiration from such papers.

SOME very foolish democrats and republicans in Indiana have been engaged in the very unlawful acts of destroying toll gates where their beloved system has placed them in the hands of private capitalism. These foolish people do not know that they vote for the toll gates, not only on the stone roads but on the iron highways as well, and what they are fleeced out of by the common road toll gates is not one thousandth part of what they are fleeced by the railroads. Same old game of gugging at a gnat and swallowing a camel. But that is what the democrats and republicans have been trained to do.

THE working people of Muncie, Ind., called a convention, nominated a ticket and made a platform demanding municipal ownership and other needed reforms. That is the way to be felt. That is the way the great changes came to New Zealand. The boys there can have no idea how far-reaching their action will be on the nation, for such things are very catching, and will spread to other cities. This is the first action of the kind I have noticed, and the result will be watched with interest. That is the way to get ahead of the capitalists. You are powerful at the ballot box if you will use it for your interest, but you are weak against the capitalists when they own the officers and courts.

THE political part of the social fabric is socialistic—it is the property of all the people and each man has the same voice in it. But we do not live by politics but by industry and if men voted every day they would not be better nor worse off. There is nothing in politics except as it relates to industry by which men live. What men should do, and what they will do in the near future, is to use the political power to own and control the industries, by which they do live, and then the political power will no longer be necessary. In time it will fall into obsolescence. Men will govern the industries, make and unmake the foremen, superintendents and directors, regulate their part of the industrial products, and have an industrial democracy. What men now do to politics they should do to industry. They should have the same power to say who will direct the industries of the nation that they now have to say who will direct the political machine. It would make more difference to men on the railroads if they could elect the officers than it does to elect the president of the United States. Their votes would then protect them against oppression—now their votes do nothing of the kind for them. It is sheer idiocy to assume that the great industries can be controlled by the public unless the industries are owned by the public.

NATHAN STRAUSS is a philanthropist of New York who got permission to furnish pure sterilized milk to the poor at cost or less than cost. The mayor of New York, one of your great democrats, has announced his intention of stopping this pure milk business that has decreased the death rate among the babies of the poor from '99 down to 65 deaths per thousand, because the regular dealers complain that the Strauss milk at less than cost interferes with their profits. What does the saving of the lives of several thousand babies from being poisoned by impure milk amount to in comparison with the loss of profit for vile milk! And here you have the effects of your business for profit brought home to you in a nut shell. Dumb indeed are you if you cannot see that trade has made profit more sacred than human life. Murder of babies and poisoning of millions must not be molested lest it interferes with business! But you don't care. That is a way down in heathen New York, and is no concern of yours. That is what most of you think. But it is concern of yours, and much concern, too. Because you care nothing for that incident, you are being poisoned by almost every mouthful of food you buy. There is scarcely an article of food or anything else on the market today that is not adulterated, much of it by poisonous stuff. You have permitted the national sense of profit to beastialize you. Even your clothing is colored by poisons that help to destroy health and beauty, but because it is not done suddenly and bloodily, you take no care for it. You are to blame, and you in your turn will suffer. Ye gods, what brutes profit has made of the human family!

"TARIFF protection" is popular with the republican editors until the trust increased the price of paper way out of sight, and now they want the tariff removed to reduce the price of paper or else give them the privilege of buying "pauper made paper" from the rags of Europe. If I were a republican editor I would not do it. I would grin and bear the tribute my policy had brought on me, or would throw up the whole theory of tariff.

I HAVE hundreds of letters inquiring about the cost of getting to New Zealand, about the immigration laws, etc. I have no knowledge of these matters but will find out as soon as I can and will print it as soon as received.

Socialism, Its Strength and Its Weakness.

By Eugene V. Brewster.

Part of an address delivered by Eugene V. Brewster before the Franklin Literary Society Brooklyn, on March 12th, 1900.

Whether for weal or for woe the fact is indisputable that the world is slowly but surely drifting toward socialism. The fact that the word "socialism" is looked upon by many as synonymous with lawlessness, the fact that for the purposes of expediency or through ignorance it is so often clothed with such tame expressions as "municipal ownership, public ownership, government control," etc., will not retard the progress of the movement to any appreciable extent.

Socialism might be briefly defined as government ownership of all the means of production and distribution. As examples of socialism we may cite the postoffice department, our public school system, the former Brooklyn bridge, our fire department etc. While there are a dozen different schools or theories of socialism, they all aim in the same general direction and all seek practically the same ends, so I shall not attempt to define and distinguish.

Let us first glance at the conditions as the socialist sees them, so that we may the better judge of the adequacy of his remedy.

First—We have the concentration of wealth by the few.

Second—Admitting that labor creates everything,—even capital itself, we find that the creator of wealth gets a very small portion of his product.

Third—We see the enormous waste in our present system, the waste in advertising, in innumerable and unnecessary plants, waste in parallel railroads, in useless traveling salesmen, in fact waste in everything except the large trusts, etc.

Fourth—We see the world filled with plenty,—plenty of food, clothes and shelter, and we see the great majority suffering for want of common necessities.

Fifth—We see the class of idle rich enjoying every possible luxury without doing a stroke of work,—consuming without producing.

Sixth—We see the inevitable trust gradually monopolizing every branch of trade so that the masses are made dependent upon them for existence.

Seventh—We see great labor-saving devices put in operation everywhere, knowing that every one makes so much less employment for labor.

Eighth—We see the great industries economizing by private co-operation, and thus again making employment scarcer.

Ninth—We see the toiler being gradually pauperized and therefore, in the end, brutalized, and we see him consequently losing all moral and intellectual attributes, a veritable Man with the Hoe.

Tenth—We find the deadly competitive strife for individual gain, breeding dishonesty, immorality, vice and degradation.

These are the conditions as seen through the glasses of the socialist, and as a panacea for these and a thousand other ills too numerous to mention, he asks the government to assume the responsibility of providing employment for all and of supplying the great human family with food, clothes, and shelter. He contends that if every man was willing to do his share of useful work, that every man would have to work only about three hours a day in order to furnish the world with everything it now has, and that no man could want for more than his own labor would yield. I believe Benjamin Franklin and a thousand other reliable authorities bear him out in this.

Of course this system would eventually destroy interest and profit, and thus no man could amass a fortune and live in luxury while others were furnishing him with the means.

When one begins to compute the enormous amount of interest paid every day and when one begins to realize that every cent of interest falls eventually upon the shoulders of labor, it is not strange that labor would destroy the usurer, for all interest is usury.

If Jesus had left one cent and his heirs had put it out at interest, and compound interest, in the year 1827 they would have \$172,616,474,947,552,529,479,760,914,874,711,959,976,620,354,56, enough to buy six million globes the size of this earth of solid gold.

The socialist believes in the doctrine of brotherly love,—in the golden rule, and net in the present rule of, "do others or they will do you."

The socialist applauds the trusts and claims that they are paving the way for socialism. The trust is founded on specialistic principles, and when their immense benefits are applied to all the people instead of to the few as at present, when every industry is a public trust, then the public, that is, the government, will give every man an opportunity to earn a living.

I called at a farm once and there I saw many industrious men poorly clad, poorly fed, poorly educated working fourteen hours a day, sending great carloads of farm products to the city. At the end of the year I found them no better off than at the beginning. I called on some carpenters once and saw them building many great buildings. At the end of the year I found that they had no buildings of their own, and scarcely enough money to pay the doctors. I called upon some mechanics once and saw them making many great machines. At the end of the year I found that they had scarcely saved enough to support them through a month's idle season. I saw some laborers once building a great railroad. At the end of the year I found them penniless. I saw some skilled

workmen once, manufacturing vast quantities of useful articles. At the end of the year I found them out of a job, using up the few hundred dollars they had saved, in interest and rent. I saw all kinds of workers all working like slaves for existence, all making the world richer, and then I wondered through what magic process an idle class had obtained control of all their products. Was it scanty wages? No, for the market rate was paid, and we were in the heights of marvelous prosperity so I am told. Besides this the men were all paid in good sound money!

When the socialist is asked if his system would not destroy all ambition, all incentive to improvement, by crushing out individual enterprises, he will reply by saying that if ambition consists in getting rich at the expense of a brother, if there is no other worthy incentive than to get gold, if there is no other reward for individual enterprise than gold,—yes.

When you tell the socialist that his system would cause great and perpetual corruption by the party in power, he will answer you by saying that socialism would destroy the corrupting powers. He will say that there would soon be no motive for corruption. He would show that corruption and dishonesty would disappear, and that there could be no millionaires, and no incentive to acquire riches, even were it possible. He would point to the fact that the present socialistic postoffice department, school system, fire department, etc., are even now practically free from corruption, and so much more so would they be under complete socialism.

Selfishness now rules the world, and prompts our every act, says the individualist, but that is no reason for helplessly submitting to human weakness, any more than we should submit to the natural tendency of Survival of the Fittest. Let us not drift helplessly on the sea of natural imperfection, but rather let us try to rise above it, and in doing so let us lend a hand to our brothers.

While I am to some extent an individualist as well as a collectivist, I do not believe in a system which makes a lot of isolated units all struggling away in different directions after the almighty dollar. I believe in co-operation to get the greatest possible good from mother earth for the great human family, with the least possible effort. I believe in union for in union there is strength.

Economic philosophy may be traced perhaps to two sources,—Proudhon and Karl Marx, the one the greatest father of radical individualism, the other the father of collectivism. But it is not necessary to choose between the two, and they are two extremes, for there is a happy middle-ground,—a middle-ground that would yield all the benefits of socialism and yet save the identity and rights of the individual.

It perhaps does not occur to many that what is one man's gain must be somebody's else loss. There can be no profit without somebody's losing just so much, and inasmuch as labor creates all wealth labor pays all

profit and all profit is labor's loss. Yet the majority of men think the workingman gets his just desert. They point to the saloon—to equal opportunity for all to acquire riches, to the reasonable reward of brains, and to the fact that somebody must do the world's dirty work. This is silly, superficial, ignorant nonsense. The socialist promises to do away with intemperance, to equitable reward brains and muscle, and to give to all equal opportunity.

What Labor Votes to Support.

The millionaire manufacturer wants to raise the price of his product. For a trust, sends lobby to congress. The government raises the tariff, thereby compels the people to buy of him—to pay him his price or pay a fine (custom duty) if you buy of others.

The entire machinery of the government, its courts, marshals, and army prevents the laborer from using force or persuasion even to keep the manufacturer from obtaining cheaper labor.

In other words the government uses force to prevent the poor man from raising his wages—uses force to obtain cheaper labor for the millionaire manufacturer. The government lowers the price of what the laborer sells and raises the price of what he buys (labor).

The laborer becomes a pauper.

Is this government for the people or for the rich?

The suit of Frick vs. Carnegie has been stopped. This was done by political influences. Although developed however to show the whyness of the whyness. The suit would have exposed the tremendous profits of the iron monopoly and incidentally how the government is robbed in the armor plate contracts by these patriots. It developed that Carnegie's profits are over \$23,000,000 a year. It is said that Frick put up less than a hundred dollars, but he got Carnegie in the trap and made him cough up \$15,000,000 on the compromise. It was paid to prevent exposures of the trust to the public.

Capitalist Virtues.

By Rev. Charles E. Vail.

The ruling class have always considered patience and contentment as cardinal virtues to be cultivated and practiced by those subject to its rule. These qualities have been serviceable in enabling the ruling class to exercise control over its slaves. As religion has usually emphasized these qualities, assuring the oppressed that their enjoyment hereafter would be enhanced by their patience and contentment here—the glory of the crown being in proportion to the burden of the cross—we find the master class in all ages zealously upholding religion, which, until recently, has rendered value received by keeping the minds of the working class fixed on some other world. Just so long as the laborers were borne up by this faith they did not entertain ideas of revolt, but applied themselves diligently to the service of their masters. The ruling class recognizing this fact, have utilized this pernicious doctrine as a means of keeping its workers in subjection. So long as they could make those dependent upon them believe that it was God's will that some should be masters and some slaves, there was no fear of rebellion. Is it any wonder, then, that they preached to the workers the gospel of contentment? Well might they say, "Why repine, 'tis but for a season God has placed us in different stations; in the next world all will be well." By this means they hoped to make their subjects content with their lot.

The ruling class thus made of religion an ally in perpetuating social injustice, they contributed liberally to the church, which reciprocated by teaching that "servants should obey their masters." The clergy, to further show their appreciation for liberal donations, inserted in the catechism the capitalist injunction, "Be content in whatever position God has placed you." Thus the clergy voiced the blasphemous doctrine of the ruling class that God had made some to be masters and some slaves, and yet we are told that God is no respecter of persons! Surely both of these doctrines cannot be true; they are incongruous. Is it possible that a God who is said to be impartial and just is responsible for the misery and degradation of millions of human beings? Has he placed men, women and children in vile slums, and is it a virtue for them to remain there and be content with their wretched conditions? No, a thousand times no. The socialist has no need to postulate a supernatural power to account for this deplorable condition; it is due directly to the economic system under which we live, a system which breeds poverty, squalor and want.

But the time was sure to come when, as the result of modern knowledge and the growth of critical spirit, the working class would see through the deception and demand deliverance from a real hell in this world rather than from an imaginary one in the future. The laborers have become dissatisfied with the promise of heavenly bliss as a reward for patient suffering here. They have found that the suffering is unnecessary and propose to have some of the "bliss" as they go along. We rejoice that this old support of social injustice has become invalid. It has been used to a good advantage, but now the laboring class have become alienated from the church and it has lost its power. Is it any wonder, in view of the attitude of the church toward labor and its interests, that the working class have deserted the church? "Two thirds of modern Christianity," says Bax, "is simply capitalism masquerading in a religious guise. Even when this is not the case, Christianity is none the less an integral part of the status quo." The church has lost its hold over the working class by its subservience to wealth.

The working class rightly demands some of the blessings of life here. So long as men's gaze was directed heavenward they did not perceive the need of social revolution. But today they are ceasing to strain their eyes to catch a glimpse of the heavenly New Jerusalem, they are rather endeavoring to ascertain how an earthly New Jerusalem, to use a figure, may be established here—a society wherein the good things of this world will accrue to those who produce them.

The working class having realized that their oppression and suppression is not due to a decree of heaven, but to their own stupidity in submitting to conditions imposed upon them by the ruling class, are beginning to organize for the purpose of united political action to the end that they may master the public powers. They have awakened to the fact that the existence of modern masters and slaves is not due to the will of any God, but to the possession of certain economic advantages—the private ownership of the means of production and distribution. This private ownership of the means of livelihood forms the basis of every kind of servitude. Economic emancipation can only be achieved by socializing the means of production and distribution. Realizing this fact we shall be content with nothing less than the establishment of the socialist commonwealth. No palliative will be tolerated, nothing less than the abolition of wage slavery will suffice. Socialism is the goal—we shall not be patient and content until we abide in the co-operative commonwealth.

I HAVE notice that on account of the increased cost of labor and metals the price of type has again been advanced. Suppose the type foundry and mine owners have increased wages some more! If they do not stop such things the workers will all become rich! Of course it costs more with later machinery to mine lead! And more with later machinery to mould type! But there are those who may believe it, but they are veridant. And the song of trusts whirs merrily on.

General Merriam, You're a Dangerous Lunatic and Should Have Your Comb Cut.--

New York Journal, March 24, 1900.

There is a long and interesting story in the Cour d'Alene mining troubles.

The strikers began by acting very badly—no doubt whatever of that. They or their friends unquestionably made mistakes, blowing up a mill with dynamite, etc.

Of course it is probable that the mine owners in their own way abused their power as wickedly. But a mine owner can always hire lawyers, or, if need be, government officials and the army—the strikers cannot. Therefore, the striker should be careful.

You know that in that mining region men were arrested without warrant. United States troops, sent to obey mine owners' orders, shut the men up in a "bull pen." The district attorney was the legal adviser of the Standard Oil corporation. He suspended the habeas corpus idea entirely—said that if the courts had issued habeas corpus papers he would have ignored them.

Here's one little picture. It is taken from the official evidence:

An old man was slow in keeping up with the procession of union men looked in the bull pen. He was a white man, as it happened, and feeble. A young negro soldier (black troops were sent) hurried the old man along, prodding him with the point of a bayonet. Said the old man:

"Don't crowd an old man so hard. I fought four years for your liberty."

This was preposterous, because the young negro soldier with the bayonet was not born when the rebellion was fought out.

There is no intention here to make overmuch of that bull pen matter out west. Every man who wanted to go to work had to say under oath that he disapproved of unions, that he was sorry he ever joined one, and that he would never join another. General Merriam, representing McKinley, sent there by McKinley, forbade the mine owners hiring any man who had not signed such an oath.

But please don't think that any of this is intended to make you vote against McKinley. It would not change your vote anyhow, dear union man. You know that: You are full of wrath now. But when election time comes there is just one thing you do NOT do, and that is THINK. You never thought on election day in your life, and you know it. We are not undertaking any such task as that of changing a life-long habit in a non-thinking individual.

If you think it means a little more money to you, you will vote for McKinley. If you are a republican, you will vote for McKinley, and not know or care why.

Should you vote for a democrat, you might

get another idiot like Cleveland sending federal troops to Chicago against the governor's protest, so really, you see, it would be rather presumptuous for us to advise you.

The choice of men to vote for in this country is not much of a choice as yet. Later on, when things get warmer, there will be a real division—the producers against the consumers. Then your votes will count, although you may have to stand being called socialists, which is a terrible name.

We began this merely to indulge a personal desire to tell General Merriam that he is a lunatic. You know how often you feel like calling some one a lunatic. We can do that whenever we like. Usually we refrain, but not this time. Study the provocation. General Merriam, delegated by McKinley, sends this dispatch to Washington—the dispatch is now part of the official evidence.

It was sent on June 1. Just read it:

Since the trouble in Idaho originated in hostile organizations known as labor unions, I would suggest a law to be enacted by congress making such unions or kindred societies a crime. Surely history furnishes an argument sufficiently in favor of such a course.

Indeed, General Merriam. Do you know that fifty thousand better men than you lost their lives in the work of establishing the right of workingmen to form unions? Don't you know that such uniformed monkeys as you are often get their governments into serious trouble? Don't you know that under just conditions you would spend at least ten years in jail for such an outrageous misuse of your official position?

History furnishes a sufficient argument for putting such a dangerous lunatic as you in the insane asylum.

History will record the fact that your course will do no harm to McKinley, that it will not make one single labor-union republican vote against him. And that will be just one of two hundred thousand good annual jokes on union labor. Do you wonder why it is safe to lock union men in bull pens and send negro soldiers to prod them?

Ask the political leaders, who laugh at an editor when he talks of the labor vote.

"Why," says the political leader, "that's all fired in advance with the labor leaders. It's the socialist vote that puzzles you—you can never count on them fellows."

Get to be a little more like the despised socialist vote. Don't be delivered. THINK, if you know how. KICK any-

Private Monopoly or Public Monopoly. Which?

I once sent a telegram from Los Angeles, California, to La Junta, Colorado. It consisted of two words. Charges, \$1.40.

Of this amount 75 cents was for the message proper; 40 cents for "repeating" or sending it back to the transmitting office for verification and 25 cents was for delivering it in La Junta.

I was told that, unless the message was repeated, the company would not be liable in case of mistakes or non-delivery, for more than the amount paid for transmitting it; that in case of non-delivery of a repeated message I could not collect more than fifty times this amount; but that I could have it insured on payment of one per cent. premium on agreed risk for distances under 1000 miles, or two per cent for all greater distances; but, further, that in no case could the company be held for errors "arising from unavoidable interruptions in the workings of its lines."

I thus could pay for sending the message, pay for finding out whether it had been sent, pay for delivering it, pay for ensuring it and then practically waive all rights in the premises.

A letter, directed to this writer at a certain street number in Salt Lake city, was once mailed in Boston. Arriving at its destination the letter found that I had "moved" to another street. It went there at once, found that I had moved again. It tried the new number. Not there. I had gone to Ogden. It proceeded to Ogden in search of me. I had left two weeks before for California. The letter took up my trail and started for Los Angeles. It was told in Los Angeles that I had gone to San Gabriel. It tarried not but went to San Gabriel. I had just gone to San Fernando. It took the next train for that town. Still unsuccessful. I was then on my way to San Diego. To San Diego it went but I had returned to Los Angeles. Upon inquiry in Los Angeles it learned that I had gone east. Still undismayed it "lit out" for the east and caught up with me at Springfield, Ill., and then came to my hand without a reproach or complaint and pleasantly inquired concerning my health.

Now let us put these stories opposite each other like this and examine them:

Table comparing Private Monopoly and Public Monopoly. Private Monopoly: Two words, Distance 1,500 miles, Poor service, Charges \$1.40. Public Monopoly: Unlimited number of words, Distance practically unlimited, Good service, Charges 2 cents.

The postal system is not socialism; it is only socialistic—an approach to socialism. Under complete socialism the postal rates would at least be cut in two and probably still further divided, while the service would be vastly improved. For the government still employs private companies as carriers, thus allowing itself to be cheated annually out of immense sums.

Now, gentle reader, which do you prefer, the private or the public monopoly? You know as well as I that private monopoly controls the production of practically all the common necessities of life today. What are some of the results of this? Prices far beyond the cost of production, poor service and low grade or adulterated goods. These results are seen on every hand. They are known and read of all men. Under private monopoly you are being constantly fleeced to fill somebody's pockets.

Under public monopoly or socialism, you would get goods at very near the cost of production, (with just margin enough above cost to preserve the social working capital or machinery of production); you would get prompt and efficient service and you would get absolutely reliable goods.

And just here let me assure you that you must choose between these two kinds of monopoly. These people who talk about "regulating" private monopolies and somehow working ourselves back to a competitive basis, are either woefully ignorant of economics or they have a private axe to grind and they want your help. No, it is a matter of monopoly from now, henceforth and forever, and it is for us to choose which kind we will have.

Under public monopoly many things which you have always classed as luxuries and therefore unattainable would be transferred to the necessities and be within easy reach. From your standpoint as a worker two changes would take place: First, the hours of labor would be shortened, while the remuneration would be increased, the conditions of labor, as to physical comfort, safety, etc., being vastly improved; second, all worry as to permanence of employment would be removed for society at large would be your employer.

Then you could begin to live; now you are only existing and having a hard struggle to do that. W. A. COREY.

Los Angeles, Cal.

You Will Want It. It is the latest pamphlet on the trust problem and has won highest opinions from able critics. Thousands of men will have their eyes opened. Choice language, clear expression, logical reasoning. Its name is "To What are Trusts Leading." Sent post-paid for 10c. Order today while our supply lasts.

The Union Label. On everything you buy is a guarantee that the producer thereof receives a fair rate of wages for its production. INSIST ON HAVING THE LABEL.

TWO EXTREMES

Of the Present Social System.

The living tide, the tramp swept by, The Levite passing caught his eye. In rusty rags the tramp crept on, Bleared and bruised, unkempt and wan, Halting and sore, with downcast head, Homeless and hopeless—his honor dead.

L' ENVOI. The tramp and the Levite together—well! Both shoveling coal for the fires of Hell! Chicago, Ill. —MATTHEW DIX.

WHY NOT?

I am tired out, tonight, Weary with the world's mad strife. Tired of longing for the right, Tired of hoping, tired of life;

What a lot of joy we miss, What a world of happy bliss; While a sea of sorrow's tears Overwhelms the passing years.

Why can't men, to men be true? And to one another do, That which each would gladly say Was the golden rule today.

IMPERIALIST HYMN.

Lord, from far-western lands we come To save these heathen for Thine own. We bring them bayonets and rum, We bring them death and woe and moan

Thou who hast been our guide and guard Half round the globe, be still our ark; Bless Thou our guns, our faith reward, Speed every bullet to its mark.

Thou who art Peace's smile on our war, As erst Thou did on son of Nun; The heathen break, their courage mar, Hold up our hands till set of sun,

Thou knowest Lord how deep our zeal For heathen vile in darkness drear, Who fight with bows, who will not kneel! Help us O Lord, to make them fear, And teach them how to drink our beer! Chicago, Ill. —MATTHEW DIX.

Lermont Replies to Casson.

EDITOR APPEAL.—Will you allow me a little of your valuable space to correct a most misleading and erroneous statement made by Herbert N. Casson in the March 10th APPEAL under the caption, "The Truth About Colonies."

He says that "N. W. Lermont deserted Equality colony in a most inexcusable manner." Now the facts are that I was never a member of Equality colony, but was national secretary of the B. C. C., with headquarters at Edison, a small town six miles from the colony.

Mr. Casson further says: "Lermont is daring to advertise once more for victims to pledge a million dollars for a colony." Now everybody who has read the new plan prospectus of the I. B. knows that the above statement, to say the least, is very misleading.

We are not asking for a dollar to start a colony. We are, however, appealing to every socialist in the world to show faith in their brotherhood, for the purpose of building, here and now, a co-operative commonwealth.

I am happy to say that this movement has already won an over to its support "victims" (?) that stand high in the business and industrial world. To those who wish to learn the true status of this I. B. move, on receipt of such a request, accompanied with return postage, I shall be pleased to furnish full information.

N. W. LERMONT. Nat'l Soc'y/Trans. I. B. Thomaston, Mo., March 10.

Go Ye, and Do Likewise.

New Zealand has become famous during the past six years because of her radical labor legislation. She has been cursed with landlordism, trampism, militarism, and drunkardism; but she has been wise enough in the past seven or eight years to legislate them out of existence.

New Zealand builds her own railroads. The number of miles now in operation is about 2,200. The pay on the railroads averages about 30 per cent. higher than the wages on our American roads. The railway hands have an eight-hour work day.

The government also conducts the express business for the benefit of all the people, as well as the postal savings bank.

Since the enactment of the Labor law known as the "Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act," with its amendments, there has not been a strike in New Zealand.

Postal savings banks are a feature in New Zealand, and are immensely popular. Any one may deposit sums up to \$2,500. At present there is on deposit in these banks a sum equal to \$45 for every man, woman and child in the country.

The free school system of New Zealand ranks high. The law compels all children over seven and under fourteen to attend school. There are free high schools and universities.

Woman suffrage is enjoyed and it is the universal testimony that the women are equally interested with the men in all public affairs.

The sale of malt and spirituous liquors is a matter of local option. The law, however, permits no saloon, but innkeepers may sell under license. If a man is once seen coming from one of these inns in a state of intoxication the proprietor is arrested and fined; and for a second offense he forfeits his license forever.

Sweating dens have here become impossible. The jails and poor houses are nearly emptied, and today there is less crime, less intemperance, less poverty, less misery, fewer tramps and paupers, and more prosperity per capita in New Zealand than in any other country in the world.

Woman suffrage is enjoyed and it is the universal testimony that the women are equally interested with the men in all public affairs.

The Slaughter of the Innocent.

The following is a local news item copied from the Feb. 28th, 1900, issue of one of the great New York dailies:

"Thirty-eight dead babies in the morgue were mute evidences that yesterday was the coldest day of the winter. One of them, two days old, found in front of No. 217 West Forty-sixth street, had been actually frozen to death. It was wrapped only in a thin piece of muslin. The other bodies were 'unclaimed'—dead, their parents being too poor to bury them."

What an awful significance when we stop to consider that this is the record of but one day, and one city of many! Thirty-eight innocent babes, starved, frozen, or perished from lack of medical attention; consigned to unnam'd and unknown graves, in a city which boasts of scores of millionaires!

We read with feelings of horror of the ancient custom of the mother standing on the banks of the river Ganges, and impelled by religious superstition, casting her babe into the dark water, where ferocious crocodiles waited to crush out the young life into which was concentrated that sacred maternal love of offspring; that instinctive, burning passion so intense, both in mankind and the lower animals, that no physical or material sacrifice is great enough to prevent its gratification.

But what difference whether the babe be torn from its mother's loving heart to satisfy the wrath or caprice of a heathen god or in obedience to the equally cruel demands of economic necessity—the god of commerce? Just this, and only this: The former was the ignorant act of a fanatical, barbaric social order; the latter is the conscious neglect of a more barbaric—because conscious—social order, which its chattering sponsors call "Christian civilization."

Merciful God, what a hideous caricature of christianity! What a burlesque upon civilization! Suppose the parents of these babes were dissipated and improvident, or even worse. Has organized society no concern that the penalty falls upon their helpless offspring? Has the cancer of commercialism so eaten out the soul of our people that they have no pity, no sentiment, no strong arm of justice, and no courage to stretch it forth in protection of these innocent babes and defiantly tax down to the last sou, if necessary, the surplus of those who spend fifty dollars

each for caskets in which to bury their pet dogs?

If the injunction, "Go sell what thou hast and give to the poor" does not mean at least that so long as anybody has a surplus none should suffer from lack of the necessities of life, then the incident recorded in the scriptures has no meaning at all, and better be omitted from the religious ceremonies of those who, blinded by party idolatry or personal gain, are ever conspiring to prevent the economic emancipation of mankind.

Brooklyn, N. Y. W. W. PASSAGE.

All Classes are Affected and Infected.

Rev. Dr. John Gray, rector of St. Mark's Episcopal church, delivered his last sermon at the Academy of Music yesterday afternoon in the series on "The Church and the Labor Question." The specific subject was "Christian Socialism." Dr. Gray said in part:

Socialism in practice is governmental monopoly, a national trust conducted for the benefit of the people of the state. Socialism does not aim at the elimination of the individual, but to his natural limitation. It does not aim to arrest the development of the individual, nor propose the absurdity of classing the foolish with the wise, the ignorant with the learned, or the slothful with the diligent. It would regulate the accumulations of learning, wealth and skill, so that the greater should minister to the lesser and distribute of its abundance to those who have not.

The process of distribution and the valuation of industrial qualities would involve supreme difficulties which are yet to be solved. The common school system in our country are essentially socialistic. The great underlying conviction that the state is more secure and the interests of the community better subserved, when the great majority of its children are instructed, furnishes the tremendous wave of popular sentiment in favor of public schools.

That Christian men and women have failed to appreciate the socialist character of much of the teachings of Christ and the practice of his apostles may go without saying. It is our solemn duty to now enter into an appreciation of that teaching and into the practice of it. Let us appeal to the mighty latent force of organized Christianity until with the strength Divine united with the awakened conscience of the followers of Christ, we go forth to subdue the monster Self, break down the brazen gates which have barred the people from the land of opportunity, rescue the souls of men, rich and poor, who are the victims of a system of unnatural and unmerciful competition, and set up God's kingdom on earth.—From Kansas City Journal, Monday, March 19.

It is significant that the Episcopal church in England is also becoming permeated with socialism.

True Words From John Swinton.

Labor can not compete with capital in the legislature of New York state.

Nearly every member of the legislature is an agent of capitalism, elected by votes of labor.

Capital marches through the front door of the legislature, while labor can't rap at the back door.

This is because labor doesn't know itself. Capital has its lobbyists, agents, engineers and "Black Horse Cavalry" to watch the legislature. Labor hasn't.

Within sight of the legislature, capital keeps what it calls the "stuff." Labor has none to spare.

Capital brings "pressure" to bear upon members whom it suspects. There would be fun if labor tried "pressure."

Capital hires the sharpest lawyers to defend it in the legislature. If labor wanted to hire them, it couldn't.

Capital sees to it that the Satanic papers are kept on its side. Labor has few friends in the press.

Capital rewards and honors its champions, and punishes any one who dares to interfere with its schemes. If hundreds of men who are now dead were alive, they could tell how labor has rewarded its defunct friends.

Capital talks as loud as thunder. Labor's voice is low and timid.

Capital isn't a bit afraid of labor, while labor often seems to shrink from the frowns of capital. Yet labor is bigger in the bones than capital.

If labor had half as much pluck as capital you would soon see the legislature topsy-turvy.

It is a queer thing all around.

How foolish it is for labor to blow off its own head with a blunderbuss, when it could speak the word that would make life worth living.

It can vote its rights into sober realities. It can vote so it shall have more pay, larger liberty, a better house, fewer hardships, fewer wrinkles on its face, a more generous diet, a more manly spirit and not so many snubs from capital.

Labor must bear a large share of the responsibility for the ascendancy of that which is bad and the failure of the right. Labor is largely responsible for its own wounds and for its scars.—John Swinton in New York World.

A RAILROAD employee at Mauch Chunk, Pa., refused to accept a paper of tobacco made by the American Tobacco Trust because it was non-union, and was discharged according to the New York World, March 15. And the American eagle screams over free-men!

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

Appleton, Wis., has a committee to arrange for to own its own water works.

Silverton, Colo., council has passed an ordinance that will provide city ownership of the water supply. Tired of the extortion of private enterprise.

The city of Fulton, N. Y., has just taken the water works in out of the wet, as it were, by paying the local monopoly \$190,000 for what their own patronage had made valuable. But they got tired of being skinned for profit and boodle.

The republican city convention of Wichita, Kansas, declared for public ownership of the water and electric light plants, and declare that such a course is good republicanism! Lots of republicans write me that they will get socialism through the republican party.

The city council of Columbus, Ohio, has taken action looking to the erection of an electric light plant. The city voted four years ago to issue \$300,000 of bonds for this purpose, but as the citizens had been sold for ten years to a corporation, the courts would not let them free. Great country this when a majority can not govern themselves!

The St. Louis Star, reviewing the field of municipal corruption and extortion, says that the only remedy is for the people to own and operate all franchises for the good of the public weal. But just why extortion and corruption that flows from franchises are worse than those that flow from patents and other monopolies, is not clear to my cloudy mind. Is it clear to you?

Pierrer, S. D., March 10.—The report of the city auditor for February, shows a total income to the city from water and gas of \$520. This, with the saving to the city on coal bills at the pumping station, gives over \$500 for municipal ownership of water and power for the month, with the electric lights as a gift.

Marshalltown, Iowa, has a per capita debt of \$6.42; it owns its water and electric plants that represent a per capita wealth of \$27.14. Muscatine has a debt of \$21.73 per capita and not a dollar of assets. The tax rate of Muscatine is 125% higher than Marshalltown. But public ownership don't pay! But then it really don't pay the thieves who usually run cities in the interest of corporations.

While the loss by fires in Malden, Mass., during the past ten years, have been only \$2,000, the amount paid for insurance has been over \$12,000. Chairman Winslow, of the board of aldermen is moving for the city to insure its own people and thus save them this drain. But such action would probably destroy all the incentive the people have to rise above the common level of the brute!

Edinburg, Ind., owns its own electric and water plants. Incandescent lights are 15 cents a month; water \$1 per year; phones 50 cents a month. But it does not pay the public to own anything! It would be so much better for the heathens of Edinburg to pay five and ten times these rates to some corporation. No civilized community would own and operate any industry.

Detroit paid \$100 a year for street lights and the owners swore there was nothing in it at that. The city put its own plant in and it cost \$64.19 the first year; \$51.85 the second year and \$46.46 last year. It would never have decreased under private ownership and the lights have been better. But the funniest thing about the whole business is that none of the aldermen have been bribed or bribed-offered to pay for poor lights at a good light rate, not for lights that were not burning. Isn't it queer?

The allied printing trades of Boston have had a big meeting, demanding a state printing office for all printing used by the state. The owners of big printing plants were on hand urging the defeat of the measure. They want to make the profit of the printers instead of having it go in higher wages and shorter hours. The printers wouldn't see it that way. It's workin'!

Atlantic Highlands, N. J., advertised for bids to furnish arc lights for the town. The lowest bid was \$40 a year. The town bonded itself for \$15,000, built its own plant, and does its own street lighting for \$26.50 per light, including interest on the bonds, and furnishes light to its citizens at a big reduction. But public ownership is always more expensive!

The electric light bandits who held the citizens of Peru, Ind., in their clutches, have appealed to the courts to prevent the people from granting a franchise to another company that agrees to turn a plant, valued at \$60,000, over to the city at the end of ten years. These profit enemies of the public claim that when the city would own its own plant it would be the same as confiscating their plant! The people should be held in a vise while these vultures rob them. It would not object to the franchise so much if the franchise did not carry with it the ultimate city ownership. These corporations believe in competition—for the other fellows.

JUDGE WHITE of Pittsburg, Pa., has just refused to permit the incorporation of the borough (town) of Wail, because he says it would increase the tax of the Pennsylvania railroad without doing that company any good. If that were a good excuse, then all tax levied to pay public officials, Judge White included, should be done away with because they do not benefit the people who pay them. But then the working people elect such men as White to rule over them and White is a holder of railroad passes. And there you are. With public ownership of railroads White would have no pass, the roads would not stand in the way of the people governing themselves, and the conditions would be better for the people, even if some millionaires might not get so much richer.

Compare with warfare of this character, the conditions of the economic struggle for existence. That was a war in which not merely small selected bodies or combatants took part, but one in which THE ENTIRE POPULATION OF EVERY COUNTRY, excepting the inconsiderable groups of the rich, were forcibly enlisted and compelled to serve. Not only did women, children, aged and crippled have to participate in it; but the weaker the combatants, the harder the conditions under which they must contend. It was a war in which there was no help for the wounded, no quarter for the vanquished. It was a war not on the far frontiers, but in every city, every street and every house; and its wounded, broken and dying victims lay underfoot everywhere, and shocked the eye in every direction that it might glance, with some new form of misery. The ear could not escape the lamentations of the stricken and their vain cries for pity. And this war came not once or twice in a century, lasting for a few weeks or months or years and giving way again to peace, as did the battles of the soldiers; but was perennial and perpetual, truceless, lifelong. Finally, it was a war which neither appealed to nor developed any noble, any generous, any honorable sentiment; but on the contrary it set a constant premium on the meanest, falsest and most cruel propensities of human nature.—Equality, Page 277.

A Few Things She Did.

Strikes are avoided by government board of arbitration in New Zealand.

All stores are closed by law at a certain hour. The merchants say they do not lose by it. A weekly half holiday for employees is compulsory.

The factory laws to do away with the system of sweating.

Every man or woman over the age of 65 without means of support draws a pension, the maximum being \$90 a year. It is expected that better provisions will be made for the helpless aged in the near future.

A government life insurance bureau is in operation.

The government acts as a trustee for estates, capital, etc., and guarantees the honesty of its agents.

The government runs an employment bureau. In December it placed 40 people with private employers and 66 on government work.

Plutoerats do not constitute the supreme political power of New Zealand. Land monopoly, railroad monopoly and money monopoly are effectually prevented there, and as a result the country is free from tramps and unemployed men and women.

"The extension of the commercial spirit has placed the main power in the hands, not of the pioneers, the fighters, the inventors, the able men, but of the money-gatherers and middlemen."—Allan Laidlaw.

"All reformers are regarded as upstarts, as rebels against the powers that be, until they succeed, and then their reforms are part of the natural evolution of society, and they become saints in the eyes of posterity. If on the other hand, they fail, the charity of the world heaps ignominy on their name."—C. W. Hart.

"In this topsy-turvy world the underfed are the poor working men, and the overfed are the well-to-do middle aged."—Mrs. E. Hart.

"Of such political danger as exists the main part comes from plutocracy, which is even now doing us much mischief."—W. E. Gladstone.

"Thou hast made of thy neighbor a thing, no self at all. Have done with this illusion, and simply try to learn the truth. Pain is pain, joy is joy, everywhere, even as in thee."—J. Royce.

Birmingham Soldiers, writing home to their friends, complain of verminous quarters and unclean food. "We are as thin as skeletons, and as weak as kittens." Contractors are no doubt making fortunes, as they did in the Crimean war, or in the Philippines. They are so patriotic, these shippers and dealers!—Prof. J. A. Fallows, London.

Social Democratic National Ticket for 1900.

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

Attention Texas Socialists.—Bonham Branch R. D. P. requests every Texas socialist to send name and address at once to W. K. Farmer, Bonham, Texas. All socialist papers please copy.

Chicago readers are requested to call on Ernest Dugas, No. 209 N. Clark, for information regarding Appeal Club, 229

Subscriptions from large cities should specify sub station. Issues prompt delivery of paper.

Attention Southern California Workers.—Having raised a fund to increase the circulation of the Appeal during the next six months, the undersigned offers a special rate for all lists sent in from Southern California. An effort is being made to secure 5000 new subs before June 1. Forward in your letter and a self addressed postal and the "special" six months rate will be made to you. J. B. Campbell, 512 Hyatt Bldg., Los Angeles, Cal.

Send \$1 for 50 Hari Times and 50 Tracts. Closing out press eat editions; best come, first served.

Bonanza Combination.—To close out present edition, will send during April all of these for \$1.00: 26 Tracts, 23 Wanted a New Science, 23 Why Railroad Men Should Be Socialists, 23 The Road to Land, 23 Mining Camp, 23 Social Conscience. This makes a package of 150 first-class books and pamphlets. About 10 orders will wipe out the supply. Order quick if you want them.

One order for 100¢ gives the union or combination of unions. Order one column blank write-up in No. 236. It is THE chance, boys, to boom the "Union Label" in your city. Order in advance else suffer delay. Price, 50¢ per 100; \$1.00 per 1000.

You may advertise radical literature in this column for one dollar a line each insertion. If you have something good and know how to tell it you can reach 100,000 readers interested in such subjects.

Every copy of the APPEAL left in a barbershop will be read by ten to twenty people. That makes one subscription do the work of ten each week. So to it that every barber shop in your place has one of more copies of the APPEAL. It will be well placed.



Thomasville, Colorado.

Editor APPEAL TO REASON: Dear Sir:—To enlighten some of us out here please answer the following questions through your paper.

First—What is the actual valuation of the end property in the United States? What is the average cost of transportation in the United States per mile? Socialism advocate confiscation of...

is the difference between con- income tax as advocated by Mr. Bryan?

10th—If the government should buy the railroads and then tax the incomes of their former owners like they are doing in Switzerland, would that not be indirect confiscation?

Sixth—Does an income tax which only applies to rich people come under the head of class legislation?

Seventh—What book gives good information about railroads and public ownership? A. S. 1st.—The owners of the railroads claim that they have twelve thousand millions invested—except at tax time. This would average \$50,000 a mile for main and side tracks. It could be deducted for less than \$10,000 a mile if the government mined and everything without contracts. em, reaching more people, with much less mileage, and no parallel lines where one could do the work.

2nd.—The amount of money received for carrying passengers divided by the number of passengers carried, shows that the average fare paid was 41 cents. That is to say, if the railroads had charged 41 cents for a ticket good any distance, they would have received the same sum of money they did. This includes of course the passengers carried on passes.

3rd.—Socialists differ as to the best methods. Some point out that the republicans confiscated the slaves as a precedent, most believe that the government should construct a complete system of roads and leave the present one in the hands of the corporations, just as the railroads left the main lines and stage coaches in the hands of the old time transporters.

4th.—All tax is confiscation, unless it is used to give the people a benefit greater than they could themselves receive from using the money in their individual capacity. In the sense you have it now, there would be no tax under socialism.

5th.—Answered under 4.

6th.—Yes, an income tax is class legislation.

7th.—The Railroad Question, by Gov. Larrabee, \$1; Public Ownership of Railroads, Davis, 10 cents; Same by Gordon, 5 cents; National Ownership of R. R. by Vail, 15 cents, and scores of others.

In 1865, a shoemaker, by the processes then in use, made three pairs of shoes in a week, for which he received a very good living for himself and family. In 1900 the workers in a shoe factory make 96 pairs of shoes to each employee, for which they do not get as good a living or have the social standing of the old-time shoemaker. In other words, the shoemaker today makes 32 times the wealth he did 35 years ago and receives less for it. What becomes of the difference? Is it any wonder the workers become comparatively poorer and more menial? Is it any wonder that some families who produce nothing are amassing untold millions? Under socialism the shoemaker today would receive 32 times as much wealth for his labor as he did in 1865. Is it to his interest to receive it or not? And all other workers would get a like benefit.

A DISPATCH from Mississippi says that a negro has been held in bondage for 35 years, was whipped, and had never heard of emancipation. He escaped and says many more negroes there are in like condition. But then this is a free country and anybody who disputes it is fit for treason, stratagems and spoils! The employers are not for spoils! And men do these things to get the results of the labor of their fellow men. But these are crude and ignorant methods. The civilized way is to get control of some of the necessities of life and levy a few cents tribute on each of the millions of families and thus acquire millions and have no care of the slaves. The chattel slave method is only desired by the stupid. Get a monopoly and live off the fools.

THE Citizen, Eugene, Ore., is very much afraid the APPEAL will injure true socialism by not supporting Bryan! That is the argument of the Bismarck papers in Germany. They pointed to the proposed legislation of the Iron Chancellor to prove that he was a better socialist than Liebnicht, Bebel, Singer, et al. Men who are afraid to own the name of socialism will never do anything for it. The Social Democratic party will march to the front in this country. It will turn neither to the right or left, it will grow under abuse or praise. The fellows who smell post offices under McFannas or Bryan may gnash their teeth, but it will avail naught.

If a majority of people of a town or city desire to operate a water, light or other industry, why should they have to ask the privilege of a court, legislature or anybody else? Are the majority not fit to govern things that pertain to their town? Or is a minority only fit to govern? Are the few bribers who get elected to the legislature better qualified to pass on what the people of some town should do, some town in which not a member has ever been? Why are citizens considered as so many babies, to be guarded lest they do something to injure themselves? Talk about paternalism—that is the quintessence of it.

I HAVE received from Bro. Clemonson, Warrenton, Mo., a large photograph of "one of the gang" pitted against a plutocrat. One of them holds a copy of the APPEAL in his hand. I am afraid C. has been playing it on the photo man, and that both of them are of the gang.

THE announcement of Dewey that he will take the democratic nomination for president is the act of a child in politics.

Socialists at the Polls

Frank Newman, socialist, was elected alderman in the fourth ward of Plattsmouth, Neb., by 269 plurality. What's the matter with Nebraska?

The social democrats cast 130 votes at Exeter, N. H., out of a total of 465. The two old parties combined as usual, which is another evidence that a half loaf can be expected from the democrats.

The laboring men of Burlington, Kansas, put up a ticket against the republicans, and elected one man. What the issues were is not stated in the dispatches, but it is a sign of the future that laboring men refuse to be the tail of the old machine any longer.

The social democrats with their first ticket in Cincinnati polled 1075 votes for mayor. This is a gain of 99% over the vote of the old tactic socialists of a year ago. The vote on the whole ticket was almost the same, showing the solidity of the party.

The labor or socialist ticket in South Omaha, gave the capitalists a surprise. John Ballard for mayor, 945 votes; W. S. Babcock, treasurer, 833; A. N. Davis, clerk 1125; Davis, Lutes, Hatcher and Murphy for aldermen an average of 880 votes. This was nearly one fourth of the total vote.

Milwaukee Social Democratic party has cast its maiden vote. It polled 2690 votes the first day out of the box. This party is the party of the near future. It has the right principles, the right spirit and the right tactics, and will carry the banner of socialism to the control of this government, as surely as the same party is marching to conquest in Germany, France and all enlightened nations. Every day adds thousands of new recruits to its principles.

Last year at Battle Creek, Mich., the socialists cast 9 votes. This spring they polled the following: For mayor, Eugene Higgins, 598; for recorder, F. S. Rogers, 583; for treasurer, H. L. Crook, 524; for justice, J. S. Krebs, 554. You will note how solidly the vote is. It shows that those who vote the ticket did it from principle and not from personal likes or dislikes. In the second ward a colored man running on the socialist ticket was defeated only 60 votes out of 612. Every fifth elector voted the socialist ticket. Next year the socialists will carry the city and hold it forever. The socialist ticket beat the democratic ticket, thus giving it second place on the ballot at the next election.

The U. S. Government.

THIS government in principle is a socialistic one, in that it undertakes to protect the humblest as well as the strongest alike. All the people employed by it are working under certain socialistic principles whether they recognize them or not, and as each receives, according to agreement, all such have success.

Anarchy is self, where no laws are recognized. People, when in business for themselves, are acting the principles of anarchy whether they realize it or not.

In business there are 97 merchants fail in every 100 who attempt it.

When one business anarchist oversteps another business anarchist, both resort to the social laws for protection. If they fail to obey them, society lays hold of them as unfit to be at large and taxes itself to keep such in durance vile. Business anarchists stay at it as long as they can, then they come to the social government for a position as casual, office holder or mail carrier. When they fail as anarchists they want to be socialists.

Society has stored up knowledge and protects it and taxes itself in order to give every youth in the land this knowledge through the public school system. Society also takes care of the criminals and weak-minded. It has laws to protect the physically weak from the physically strong. It should go a little further and prohibit some of the strong-minded from preying on the unselfish and meek-minded.

No man is an inhabitant of this globe of his own will. Society at large is responsible for him. It should then be responsible to him as well as he to it, and guarantee him work at all times, pay him when he is sick and grant him annuity when he gets beyond the years of productiveness, while compelling him when he is able to give of his strength and knowledge.

The idea that society should bring into existence and nourish a weakling into a giant and then not be able to protect itself against him is the height of folly. What should be thought of a person should he be nurtured by an individual when unable to take care of himself only to rob his benefactor? This is what society has done for itself today—nurtured corporations until they are robbing their creators.

A vote for socialism is the only vote that is a stab at the vitals of these vaupires. Sligo, Pa. Geo. B. KLINE, M. D.

New branches of the Social Democratic party have been organized at Kansas City, Mo.; Milan, Mo.; Burns, Ore.; Bay View, Wash. and Milwaukee, Wis. Boys, put them in everywhere. They are the center around the world's great industrial changes are to occur.

HAGERSTOWN, MD., carried the proposition to own its own electric light plant three votes to one. The private monopoly put up a stiff fight, but was not in it with the voters. It is always so when the people are consulted. Disfranchise them.

What the Boys Are Doing

The following list of clubs gathered up on the highways and byways of the social hades shows how the agitation is working. Nothing like it has ever occurred before in the history of the movement, and every worker should feel encouraged to renewed effort to reach the intelligence of the people. The ballot intelligently aimed is the only bullet that will reach the heart of capitalism and emancipate man from industrial bondage. The people are more willing to read than ever before but you will have to put the right reading before them.

- Mat Whalen, Chicago, Ill. 6
H. Bowers, Toledo, Ohio. 12
Eben Holbrook, Brockton, Mass. 10
G. H. Dathie, Harriman, Tenn. 12
Krautwurst & Draper, Rochester, N. Y. 19
E. M. Plumb, St. Joseph, Mich. 8
J. K. Chandler, Campbell, Cal. 10
Carl Hoffman, Roseburg, Ore. 20
C. Kuecht, Poplar Bluff, Mo. 8
Alfred W. Smith, Alpena, Mich. 10
C. J. Weaver, Granite Falls, Minn. 10
Katharine V. King, Inkster, N. D. 20
A. H. Rowley, Columbus, Ind. 7
F. C. Varner, Neskeville, Ore. 25
J. J. Benesch, Cleveland, Ohio. 14
A. H. Bennett, Middleboro, Mass. 8
John Peters, Vancouver, B. C. 17
Fred Gerdies, La Porte, Ind. 11
R. Semaster, Gray Creek, Colo. 10
J. W. Dunklin, White Church, Mo. 14
Julius G. Friton, St. Louis, Mo. 14
Henry Bausch, O'Neill, Neb. 10
W. S. Varnum, Phoenix, Ariz. 20
J. E. Nash, Minneapolis, Minn. 20
Geo. Hermansader, Reading, Pa. 23
Stephen Kinney, Alpena, Mich. 11
John Slavens, Kansas City, Mo. 18
Jas. M. Johnson, Washington, Ind. 25
Fred Stahlmann, San Francisco, Cal. 10
Dan Hohman, Elkhart, Ind. 17
Henry Montandon, Philadelphia, Pa. 10
M. Bisbing, Lehighton, Pa. 10
B. F. Williams, Dossedonia, Tex. 10
A. L. Flint, East Weymouth, Mass. 19
E. F. Rotshack, Tacoma, Wash. 10
Chas. M. Davis, Denver, Colo. 33
W. S. McGeech, Portland, Maine. 20
B. McLain, Des Moines, Ia. 20
J. L. Montague, Grand Junction, Colo. 10
R. N. Price, St. Thomas, Gut. 10
Mrs. A. Kean, New York, N. Y. 10
M. H. Spangler, Cambria, Wyo. 10
A. E. Reilly, Akron, Ohio. 12
C. D. Harcourt, Ill. 20
C. D. Michener, Denver, Colo. 8
Frank J. Drew, Farmington, N. H. 22
A. F. Forman, Milwaukee, Wis. 19
Edward W. Gilbert, Philadelphia, Pa. 20
L. Klamroth, Famosa, Cal. 118
J. J. Kent, Mildred, Tex. 10
Alph Haogen, Santa Barbara, Cal. 20
Thos. F. Kennedy, Allegheny, Pa. 13
John Meyer, Belvidere, Ill. 20
L. M. Caravallian, Edmond, Pa. 20
Chas. Bigel, Chicago, Ill. 10
Ashland, Ore. 10
E. P. Hassinger, Brothead, Wis. 21
M. J. Eibert, Lake City, Colo. 27
J. C. Thomson, Blossom, Tex. 10
R. C. McCarthy, Battle Creek, Mich. 10
L. W. Dexter, San Jose, Cal. 31
C. H. Reed, Toledo, Ohio. 20
Chas. Belstein, Lawnsburg, Ind. 20
W. H. Hyde, New York, N. Y. 20
U. S. Alderman, Shapsville, Pa. 30
J. W. Crouch, Chattanooga, Tenn. 16
Jas. A. Vaisian, Perdue, Ore. 7
E. C. Crumbaker, Zanesville, Ohio. 8
Frank Massie, St. Petersburg, Fla. 14
D. T. Keyer, Guthrie, Okla. 10
R. D. James, Russel, Idaho. 10

A B C of SOCIALISM.

M. V. Bonk, Fresno, Calif., in Class Struggle.

EVERY man has a right to work to keep himself alive without let or hindrance from any other man.

Every worker has a right to all he has produced.

Every man has a right to work under such conditions as will give him the most for the least.

The trusts have demonstrated that co-operation produces most for the least outlay. Society creates all values, therefore all values belong to society for the good of all.

Society gives all value to all inventions. If there were no society, a corner lot in San Francisco would have no value.

If there were but one man, his million acre farm, with its millions of cattle, would be worthless as pebbles. Nay more, his own life would have no value, it would not be worth the living.

If there were no boarders, the landlord would buy no butter and the dairy would have no value.

Socialism holds that these truths are self-evident and it therefore boldly proclaims that all franchises, all laws that give individuals the control of values are legalized robbery—the cause of all trusts, all wars, all poverty, and most of the crimes that have buried so many, so-called civilizations—they are the source of the danger now threatening human liberty.

Socialism, however, does not propose to meddle with the dead past. It wishes to think no more of those old wars and horrid tales. Its ways are peace and good will.

It will address itself to the present—it will construct and operate railroads at cost, and let Huntington charge \$5.00 or \$5.90 to San Francisco.

It will use checks as a universal clearing house, and let banks loan money at 186% if they can.

Labor will farm its own lands and let Lux and Miller farm their millions alone, if they can.

Ten days of this will teach the haughty millionaire, that his riches are nothing but a cunning legal contrivance borrowed from bloody Rome, which enables him to lawfully seize and hold the products of other men's toil.

In Brockton, Mass., 21,000 people produced over \$21,000,000 of shoes, at factory price. This is over \$5,000 for every shoemaker, who took \$600 of his own product for his pay and turned over \$4,400 to his master for the privilege of working. Brockton is now socialist and the arrogant master

will be poor as soon as the workmen leave his mill to co-operate in one of their own. His mill will be as worthless as Huntington's railroad, but as the boss goes down, the people will rise; they will keep that \$4,400.

This is socialism, or universal co-operation. To say it will do away with all incentive to labor, is simply to say, John Jones cares more for his family alone than he does for the whole world, his own family included.

Depend upon it, men are too selfish too let this good thing go by. It will enable every man to produce the most for the least, and to keep his own product.

Then the great instinct to which Christ appealed, "Do as you would be done by" will be supreme—nay, it is supreme even now, for in spite of all the evil and anguish engendered by class legislation, for every bad deed men do, there are ten good ones; otherwise the race would perish.

When all products can be had at cost, the saloon will cease to be, for it is run only for profit.

The movement is International and we are coming a hundred million strong.

Real Causes of all Wars

By Count Leo Tolstoy.

IF two men, after having drunk to excess, quarrel over a game of cards, I cannot, under any circumstances, condemn either of them, however convincing may be the argument of the other. The cause of their disgraceful behavior does not reside in the just right of one or the other, but in the fact that they judged it useful to get drunk and play cards, instead of working quietly and then resting themselves.

Thus, in a war, I could never agree to find one party, no matter which, exclusively guilty. We may find that one of the parties is acting worse than the other, but the examination of the degree of culpability of the parties cannot explain absolutely the true causes for the appearance of so terrible, so hard, so inhuman, a phenomenon as war is. To every man who does not willingly shut his eyes these causes are perfectly evident; and as they are clearly discernable in the Transvaal war, so they are in all wars of recent times.

The causes are three: First, the unequal distribution of wealth—that is, the plundering of one by another; secondly, the existence of a military class or party—that is, of people predestined to the commission of murder and specially educated to that end; thirdly, the false and scientifically deceiving religious doctrines by which the young generations are forcibly educated.

It is for these reasons that I believe it not only useless, but also bad, to consider the Chamberlains and Emperor Williams as the causes of war, because by so doing we hide the real causes, which are more proximate ones and in which we are participants.

We may get angry at Chamberlain or Emperor William, and we may throw insults at them; but our anger and our invectives, while polluting our blood; will not change the course of human events, because the Chamberlains and Emperor Williams are but the blind instruments of the forces which are behind them; they act as they do because they cannot do otherwise.

All history is but, the continuation of the conduct of politicians exactly similar to those who have caused the Transvaal war; it is therefore, absolutely useless, and even impossible, to get angered with them and condemn them, when we can perceive the real causes of their actions, and when we also feel ourselves guilty of one or the other of these actions, according as we act relatively to the three principle causes above referred to.

Until we shall cease to enjoy wealth exclusively while the multitude of toilers are crushed by labor there will always exist war for the appropriation of commercial outlets, of gold mines, etc., as a necessity to systematize our exclusive wealth.

War will inevitably exist so long as we shall belong to the military classes, so long as we shall permit their existence, so long as we shall not fight them with all our might. If we do not virtually belong to the military classes, we consider them not only as indispensable, but as worthy of praise, and we are doing more than that when in time of war we blame a Chamberlain instead of blaming them!

Above all, war will be inevitable as long as we not only confess but admit without indignation or revolt the deformation of Christianity called church Christianity, and which admits the existence of Christian armies, the blessing of cannons, and which recognizes war as just and holy and as Christian work.

We are teaching such religions to our children, we proclaim it ourselves, and then we declare Chamberlain or Krueger guilty because men are killing each other.

This is the reason why I cannot blame the instruments of ignorance and evil, and I can see the causes in the phenomena in whose increase or decrease I can myself co-operate.

To strive for the brotherly equalization of wealth; to enjoy in the smallest possible degree one's privileges; the refusal of participation in all military venture, destroying at the same time the hypnotism through which a person is transformed into a mercenary murderer, who believes he is doing a good deed in becoming a soldier, and above all, the profession of a rational Christian religion, endeavoring to destroy as much as possible the imposture of false Christianity, to which the young generation is being educated, constitute the duty of every man who eagerly and honestly desires to do good, and who is justly shocked by the horrors of war.

There is no socialist party in this country aside from the Social Democratic party. Any other claim is that in the interest of the capitalists, to divide the workers.

THE APPEAL is pleased to note that the machinists in Chicago have had their demands recognized by the bosses and have gone back to their old places. They will have to keep on the lookout all the time however for the beaten party will ever be on the alert to conquer them. That is the trouble with this system. It is one continual warfare. A thing is never settled. When the letter carriers demand and get concessions, the moment the law is passed the difficulty is overcome, and no adverse interests is continually working to undo it. When the machinists work for society direct, instead of working for society through capitalist employers, they will get five times their present remuneration, and there will be no conflict about it. But if it were not for the labor organizations of this and other lands the pay of labor would not be half what it is, either skilled or unskilled.

...NOTHING LIKE IT...

No paper in America has ever attempted a special edition covering all the organized trades. No other paper can so truly be called the representative of the "plundered class." No other paper is so close to the hearts of the thoughtful observer.

In brief, "the little paper out in Kansas" is known far and wide as the exponent of a new civilization—a new order of society wherein labor will get its just rewards.

NO. 238 TRADES-UNION ISSUE

will contain articles of untold value to every workman, every unionist, every organization of industry and every socialist. It will be quoted by scores of editors now in the pay of capitalism who will use this opportunity to promote a knowledge of socialism. It will win to labor unions scores of workers not now enrolled and "boom" the "union label" stronger than it has ever been boomed before.

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Appeal to Reason

GIRARD, KANSAS, U.S.A.

Wayland's Monthly.

The first issue will be devoted to New Zealand and will be one of the greatest propaganda publications ever issued. It will contain all the New Zealand matter printed in the APPEAL and much that is new. Remember that the first 500 subscriptions sent in will get this 32-page monthly for 25 cents a year. You will get twice your money's worth, as it will be 50 cents a year and worth it. Send in the quarters. Will be out in a few days.

The City for the People.

In "The City for the People," the benefits of public ownership, home-rule for cities, direct legislation, the merit system of civil service, proportional representation, the automatic ballot, preferential voting, effective corrupt practices acts and other means of overcoming political corruption are treated with the clearness, force and analytical power that characterizes Prof. Parsons' writings. We heartily commend the book to all who are interested in the best progressive thought. 600 pages. Price, paper, 50 cents; cloth, \$1.

Respectfully dedicated to the commercial travelers out of a job, by Dr. Carlos Wright, Joseph, Ore.

My country 'tis of thee, Sweet Land of Liberty! Of thee I sing. And where our jobs all died, End of the Gold Bug's pride, What we doth US betide For trusts are King.

MASSACHUSETTS has just spent nearly half a million to erect the finest pier in the world to aid in shipping. Would it not have been better to have turned over this property to the corporations and permitted them to own and control it? They would have gladly taken the burden off the state!

SEEING the wonderful success of the municipal water and light plants at Jacksonville, Fla., Tallahassee has just awarded a contract for an electric plant of its own, and Tampa has just served notice on its local water company that it will take its plant according to the terms of its charter. Little straws of intelligence.

FIFTEEN years ago there were not five hundred men in the nation who knew the meaning of Direct Legislation. Today there are millions and the movement has the support of hundreds of the leading educators, writers, and prominent men. It will not take fifteen more years to see it in operation.

SOCIALISTS should send the APPEAL the vote at their city elections where socialists had a ticket up. Remember that the socialist vote is not reported in the capitalist press, and the only way I can get it is from letters from the workers.

THE Social Democrats of Neosho county, Kans., already have a full county ticket in the field. Candidates are pledged not to pay any assessment or use money except for traveling expenses.

AN attempt was made to assassinate Frank Elliott of the Troy, Kansas, Times, because it could not be muzzled to corporations. Thus we see the unity of purpose of the republican policy in Kentucky and Kansas.