

Statement of the Appeal Publishing Co.
The corrected statement will appear in next week's issue. See notice in right hand column this page.
All money above actual operating expenses of the plant will be turned into Socialist propaganda fund. No charge for use of capital employed.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY
FOR THE OWNERSHIP OF EARTH AND THE FULLNESS THEREOF BY ALL THE PEOPLE AND NOT BY PART OF THE PEOPLE.
The Appeal is never sent on credit. If you receive it, it is paid for. Nobody owes a cent on subscription. Entered at Girard, Kansas Postoffice as second-class mail matter.

The Story of The Appeal Strike and Its Settlement

One of the established practices of the Socialist party is to thrust out its difficulties in public. In this it is strikingly different from every other organization, political or governmental. The governing powers have always ignored the people. The King gave his subject no insight into his purposes or policies. This has gradually been changed, but every change has required a revolution to bring it, for despotism concedes only what the people have the intelligence and power to take. Our forefathers took from King George the right of representative government, by the force of armed revolution. Our Republic has had the finger of evil prophecy pointed at it from all directions, but it has demonstrated that every step nearer the people, is in the right direction. There is a universal revolution pending, and in actual progress in many parts of the globe. While the final objective of this revolution is the acquiring by the working class of the machinery of production, this is not by any means the first goal. The revolution is essentially political, and has for its immediate object the ACQUIRING BY THE WORKING CLASS OF THE POWERS OF GOVERNMENT. To secure the power of government, and to participate in its direction, will require that another step be taken toward the people and this will be the abolition of representative government and the establishing of democratic initiative and management. This will be accomplished by the system known as direct legislation, and operated through the initiative and referendum. The Socialist party is even now practicing in its government what will undoubtedly be established the moment a Socialist administration is clothed with political power. Every act of convention, meeting, of national, state or city committee, is subject to a referendum vote of all the members of the party. The question of eligibility to vote is determined by the payment of dues indicated on a membership card. All the work of the officials of the Socialist party is public property and must be submitted for their inspection and approval. All campaign funds for Socialist propaganda flow from the pockets of the working class or those in sympathy with its purposes, and they are justly entitled to know how their money is expended. Contrast this with the capitalistic parties, whose committees spend barrels of money, which is the price that the capitalist class pays for the honor of republican and democratic legislators. Since the membership must vote on all matters of importance, it follows that they must know all the facts in everything that relates to the movement. The party will not endure the least suspicion of cookedness or de-

ceit, and the membership is getting more critical every day that passes. They are looking closer into the motives of the men who are in the forefront of the movement. They have caused the retirement of McGrady from the lecture field because of the high prices for lectures he has been charging. They have landed on Walter Thos. Mills, for gross irregularities in campaign methods. They have hauled Comrade Critchlow of Ohio over the coals, until he has called enough, and now a certain quorum in the state of Nebraska, that has esteemed itself superior in its construction of Socialism to those who compose the vast majority of the international movement is verging on disciplining. We have to behave ourselves or be held up to the discussion and dissection of the entire party. And this is right. The Appeal to Reason is an immense part of the American Socialist movement. Its circulation is the greatest of any Socialist publication in the world. Its greatness is the product of many minds, and of much effort besides that of its founder, though the Appeal without Wayland, would be like the proverbial play of Hamlet with Hamlet omitted. We have had difficulty and a strike in the office, and it has been of such a character, and such magnitude, that we feel obliged to give the party, and the army who are a part of the creators of the paper, a special sketch of the matter to acquaint them with the essentials. The writer of this article came to the Appeal office with Comrade Untermann in December of last year. Comrade Untermann became associate editor, and scientific writer, and the writer associate editor and circulation manager. Up to that time as is well known the Appeal had been a propaganda paper exclusively. It had confined its field entirely to the skirmish line, and the unconverted. There is no writer on either side of the water who can measure pens with the founder of this paper in this peculiar field. It is not boasting to say that 90 per cent. of the created Socialist sentiment in the nation outside of New York can have its origin so far as a periodical is concerned, traced to the Appeal, and still further to the caustic paragraphs of Wayland. The entry of Comrades Untermann and the writer added new fields to the Appeal. Untermann is a scientific writer with a reputation on both sides of the water, and the writer's previous experience with party machinery and organization work irresistibly led him to take up the work of organizing the Appeal army into Socialist locals. The Appeal became both a propaganda and party paper. Its circulation began to mount. With \$4,000.00 in the treasury January 1st, we made arrangements to spend \$25,000.00 in 6 months in necessary improve-

ments to equip the paper for its coming greatness, and the office for its constantly growing work. Almost immediately after the writer joined the Appeal staff, Comrade Wayland announced his wish to leave the plant to the movement at his death, and to take no profits from it while living. In due time announcement was made in the paper to this effect. It was then that trouble began in the office. Nearly two years ago the Appeal plant was organized as a corporation, with five shareholders. Two of these stockholders had long been associated with Comrade Wayland. One was W. F. Phelps, business manager, the other C. D. Bevans, a relative. The plan to cut out dividends was objectionable to both of these individuals, and from that time on the inner workings of the office have been inharmonious. In due time there came to the office and identified with the editorial work, Miss Josephine Conger, W. P. Mason, Geo. D. Brewer, Chas. L. Breckon and G. H. Lockwood. All of these comrades are staunch Socialists. The office began to be filled with the Socialist spirit, but the lack of harmony, due to the incompatible elements grew. In the meantime we were getting ready to unionize the shop, and in time succeeded, a report of which appeared in No. 412. The report did not mention the fact, however, that the organization of the union was effected against the bitter opposition of Messrs. Phelps and Bevans, but such was the case, and matters soon climaxed. The editorial staff demanded the dismissal of the above parties, and they were so objectionable to the employees, in the office that by a unanimous vote they agreed to support our demand. On Friday we presented our demands to Comrade Wayland. In all matters pertaining to the organization of the office, scale of wages, etc., he cheerfully agreed, but declined to grant our demand for the discharge of the two members of the corporation. We immediately resigned, and in 20 minutes every employe of the office was paid off, had walked out of the office, and not a wheel was turning. We were on strike, and six members of the staff were out arrayed in opposition to the Comrade they all loved, and were supported by every member of the union. A battle short but intense began. It was waged on one side, by those who loved the man Wayland, but were ready to battle with him on a question of principle, and by the other, by one who was cut off from all those who were his constant associates in the office, and who had to match friendship and the good of the office, against family ties, and business agreements. Right and justice won the struggle, in 30 hours. On Sunday at noon Comrade Wayland met us at his home and an agreement was reached amidst an affecting scene

where there were not a few damp eye-lashes, and at 2:30 in the afternoon we marched to the office 51 strong, filed by our grizzled chief, shook his hand, and gave him three rousing cheers. No happier body of people ever went to work. The dramatic hours of the struggle had welded these 51 hearts together, and the affecting termination added another—the man against whom we had struck.

The following is the proposition submitted by J. A. Wayland at the public meeting held at the Court House. Its proposals were fully concurred in by the union at its meeting on Sunday:

Girard, Kansas, Oct. 24, 1903.

That the Appeal force return to their several places as they were when they went out, with the exception of Mr. Phelps, who has resigned the position he held.

That Jno. G. Wayland remain at cashier's desk until the secretary of the national committee of the Socialist party shall appoint another. That he shall keep all accounts and that all surplus over running expenses shall be turned over to the national committee of the Socialist party. That the accounts shall be kept in the name of the Appeal to Reason, and shall be subject to my check except where I shall give the said national committee power to check.

That I consent only for the right to appoint heads of the departments, which shall be left in arbitration to the national secretary.

That union rules shall govern the office.

That no employe shall be prejudiced for any action taken on either side of the disagreement.

J. A. WAYLAND.

There is peace and harmony in the office. We are a unit in purpose. We are going to make the old Appeal sizzle with fervor. We are in here this morning working with a faith and determination that can move mountains. There is such an omnipotence to thought, that we believe you have caught something of our feelings for the mail is pouring in, as it has not for months. The Appeal staff sends a hearty greeting to you. The old ship has been through a storm here during the past week, but not a mast has gone overboard, nor a sail been lost. The barnacles are all washed off her hull, and she rides three feet further out of the water. The old, battle-scarred captain is still on the deck surrounded by a crew that will "Never give up the ship."

A. W. RICKER.

to satisfy that. But being for the removal of three stockholders and officers in the Appeal Publishing Co., who had been with it from its first issue—two being relatives, and one my own blood, it was a difficult matter for me. I tried my very soul. I felt I could not grant such a demand. I tendered the Appeal plant to the National Committee of the Socialist party. It was the only thing I could think of. National Secretary Mally wired me that the constitution of the party prevented the committee from taking it. Had I considered the matter I knew that, but in my distracted condition I did not consider. I could not go on with the paper without the workers. I could not and would not employ non-union assistants, as capitalists do. I was unfortunate in not having any cool head to counsel with—one with no interest on either side of the controversy. All about me had become partisan. I felt like a mariner in a stout ship tossed at the mercy of a storm because there were none to handle the machinery that would prove efficient against the wind-tossed sea.

The secretary-treasurer resigned and yet there was no compromise. I decided to discontinue the paper and went home. I was sick. No physical pain equals mental pain. The work I had set myself to do, and had done for twelve years to the best of my ability, seemed to halt. I felt incompetent. I had passed through a number of trying times in these twelve years but had risen to the occasion. I felt that the strain and the added years had rendered me unfit.

There was a sense of relief when I felt it was all over. The long strain, the anxiety, the uncertainty, I still had a little means left. I could sell the office and live in comfort. The old hard life would pass from me. I sat down before the grate at the house with my wife and daughter. They were weeping. Perhaps I was too.

I reviewed the past years of struggle. The vision of the Appeal Army, with its thousands who had stood by me in every trial, passed before me. I saw poor men and poor women who had given up their life to help me to help the work for industrial deliverance. They confided in me. I never asked but they responded. What would they think? What would they feel? How many would sink discouraged, hopes blasted, confidence lost? Should a few be permitted to stand behind? Shall I sink self, even life if need be, for those who need it? Shall I take up the burden and go on? And the wife said, "The Army has been faithful to you." And I decided.

The Appeal force announced a public meeting at the Court House. I had just a few minutes to note down the proposition before the meeting. I asked them permission to present my

acquiescence. It brought joy to and will to the Army. In their encouragement will I get my happiness. And I take up the yoke with a cheer heart.

Pardon me for this personal. I do not like to burden you with my troubles, but you know a trouble shared is a trouble divided. I could not tell it without using the personal pronoun I often. But I have unbecomingly myself to you and I feel relieved. I will let the other workers on the paper tell the story for themselves. There is nothing to conceal. I do not question their integrity. They have the same interest in the paper and the cause that I have. I am only on a salary the same as they.

The Appeal has paid no dividends. It never will. I shall continue to guard its interests for the benefit of the Cause. It will be stronger than ever I hope. It ought to put many thousands at the disposal of the party this year. If you will still have the faith, I have tried to merit your confidence. If you have lost confidence, I can only go on until your action renders me unable to continue. The Appeal is in your hands. It has no money value to me. I am here to serve you if you want to retire and leave you the property if you wish.

I have not lost faith in you.

J. A. WAYLAND.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE APPEAL OFFICE.

Last week in the Appeal office was fought one of the most terrific battles ever recorded in the history of the great trades unions' struggle for better conditions. It lasted three days. Socialists are noted the world over for their radicalism and the bitter determination with which they wage every conflict. In this conflict there was a sharply drawn battle between Socialists—J. A. Wayland on the one side and the entire force of employes on the other. From the very beginning it was plain that it should be a battle to the death for one side or the other. If each of the army and the thousands of readers of the Appeal can but catch a glimpse of the employes as they now bend over their tasks, they would be supremely happy. The organization of the union and the many meetings held during the trying hours while the battle lasted taught us all that there was a solidarity of labor and that we were indeed brothers and sisters. As each looked into the faces of others and saw the possibility of an early separation and that fact of an empty larder, with a

Capitalist Admission of Coming Industrial Chaos

The following article was written by the famous newspaper writer, James Creelman, for the N. Y. World of October 4th. It might have passed for a mere sensation, but the views given here the endorsement of the financial world, as shown by its being reprinted in Price & Co.'s weekly trade circular, 21 Wall street, of October 5th.

Socialists understand why the condition here portrayed MUST necessarily occur, but the public has been lulled to sleep by the siren song of prosperity.

"Not a captain of speculation, but a great financier, one of the foremost men of the continent—a man whose name would be instantly recognized throughout the world for its commanding authority in the financial and commercial affairs of America—said to me yesterday:

"You ask me whether the worst stage in the present commercial depression has been reached. I can scarcely trust myself to answer, for, if I speak at all, I must speak the truth as I know it. The fact is that we are now at the very beginning of industrial hard times. This country will sweat blood before many months, and before the year is over it is likely that hundreds of thousands of men who are now employed will be idle. We are only catching glimpses of the steep part of the down grade. Before we get to the real bottom the country will know what industrial agony is."

"MAKING MORE THAN WE CAN SELL.

"People have been crowding more and more into our eastern cities. The industrial centers are overgrown. We are manufacturing more than we can sell. Giantie industrial corporations are beginning to realize that they cannot pay dividends on hundreds of millions of stocks that represent nothing but wind.

"Take the United States Steel Corporation. Even



that enterprise might be saved from ultimate disaster if its management were free from the influence and sentiment of stock speculation. Close down this furnace or that mill? How can they dare to do it? It may depress the price of their securities in Wall Street. The stock ticker is in every board of directors. The managers of organized industry are paying more attention to the speculative value of securities than to the sound, prudent and economical conduct of the business entrusted to their hands?

"THE TROUBLE HAS ONLY BEGUN.

"They have sold stocks to the public at prices based on prospects that no longer exist; sold, sold and boomed, boomed until the whole population of the Eastern States is involved. Prices have shrunk to the extent of billions of dollars. But the trouble has only begun. When the wheels stand still and the factory doors close and idle men swarm in the streets of our cities, the country may be aroused to a realization of what has been really going on during this period of hair-brained inflation."

"NO MORE BIG RAILROAD ORDERS.

"What are the facts? The great railways of the country have been the chief customers of the Eastern Industries. They have spent hundreds of millions of dollars in improvements in the past few years. The railroads are through ordering. Where are the new customers to come from?

"Last year the United States Steel Corporation contracted for transportation for business which it expected, but did not get. Pig iron was selling for \$17 last year. You can buy it for \$11 or less now.

"Wages must be lowered and mills must be shut down. It is only the fear of speculative consequences in Wall Street that prevents prompt action now."

MONEY IN CIRCULATION.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Oct. 25, had a page article by F. Zerber, showing that something like ONE BILLION DOLLARS in gold, silver, fractional paper currency, greenbacks, bank notes and other forms of money issued by the government had been lost or destroyed since they were issued. For instance, there were \$50,000,000 in fractional paper currency issued, of which over \$15,000,000 has never been presented for redemption. It is not in the banks and not in circulation. The same condition is true of the greenbacks, which are \$50,000,000 short, some of them in \$5,000 and \$10,000 bills. It was a very interesting article, but the important phase of it was not thought of by probably more than one in ten thousand readers. ALL THIS MONEY IS COUNTED IN CIRCULATION BY THE GOVERNMENT REPORTS! If represents nearly half of the money counted in circulation! In other words the treasury statements show that there is \$25 per capita circulation on Oct. 1, when in fact there could not have been more than \$19.75. But any old statement will do to fool the people on a subject that they do not study. And here we are, with a few larks having the power to withdraw nearly every dollar of circulation and then proceed to collect debts from those who are unable to get the money to pay, though they have any quantity of property. What a quiver of self-governing people!

SEND THE VOTE.

Just as soon as you know the vote in your precinct, get a postal card and send the figures to us. If you know the vote last year send it along for comparison. DON'T FAIL IN THIS MATTER. OR NEGLECT IT BECAUSE YOU THOUGHT SOMEONE ELSE WOULD ATTEND TO IT. We want the vote, whether small or great.

SMALL PAPER.

Owing to the non-arrival of a quantity of print suitable for the two page inserts, the Appeal appears this week with only four pages and may possibly have to appear next week in the same size. It is carrying a heavy load of advertising for the size, but it will help out the party in time in the fields of agitation. The office has about two thousand dollars more than its bills receivable to get ahead of debt, and I trust the Army will give a little extra exertion until the balance. In the absence of the keeper on account of sickness, the financial statement last week could not be given. But you shall have every detail of the Appeal in due season, that you may keep track of what year work is doing.

FIFTY CENTS A YEAR.

You will note that the subscription price of the Appeal has been changed to 50 cents per year. In clubs of five or over it will still be 25 cents a year. There will be no added charge to the workers for the paper. Many requests have been made to raise the price that a commission for work may be given. In deference to these requests the change is made. Postal subscription cards are still 25 cents, good for a year's subscription. Sell the cards at 50 cents and retain one-half of it.

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