Things As I See Them

BY FRED D. WARREN

NO, this is not an extract from one of Warren's editorials in the APPEAL TO REASON. It is the words of a man who possesses millions of dollars and who by reason of this wealth controls many millions of dollars of other people's property and the labor of thousands of men and women. Rudolph Spreckles is the man who spoke these warning words. Seated in his sumptuous office in the heart of San Francisco's financial district, surrounded by all the evidences of affluence and ease, he calmly dictated the words I have just quoted above to a reporter for the Portland News, Jack Jungmeyer. Spreckles looks at the world meyer. Spreckles looks at the world from the top. I have been looking at it from the bottom. He reaches the same conclusion that I reached some years ago. I have been talking confiscation through these columns and in my speeches from that day to this.

It is by no means a new discovery. has been practiced and preached for many centuries. Practiced by the rulers of the world; it is now being preached by the agitators!

After pointing out the now self-evident fact that the wealth of this nation is in the hands of a few billionaires, and this concentration will be further augmented by the new currency law, he says: "Consider the control now exercised over our industrial and financial undertakings. Two hundred big corporations now have assets of over twenty-two billion dollars, with a gross income three times greater than that of the national government. A group of five Wall street banking houses are directly affiliated with and hold dictatorships in corporations having assets of about \$17,000,000,000." And then he uses the words I have quoted at the top of this column, which is my text for

Why does Mr. Spreckies take this pessimistic view of the situation? Here it is: "This (power in the hands of a few) is a real menace to independent capital and the peace of the nation.'

menace to independent capital!" That is why Mr. Spreckles, multi-million-aire, is talking confiscation by the out-raged people! The big capitalists have raged people! The big capitalists have confiscated, with the help of independent capital, all of the wealth of the working class, and now independent capital is feeling the gaff! The independent capitalists, if there are such, are now threatened with the necessity of going to work. And that surely would be a calamity for the fellows who have tasted of the joys that come from living on the sweat of other men's faces.

There is just one thing that can happen that will prevent the working class from confiscating the wealth producing property of this country. That thing is in process of happening: Government

The politicians, alarmed at the strength of this movement of the working class to possess themselves of the good things which their labor creates, will go to the Wall street gang of pirates and tell them that unless they sell their properties to the government, the people will confiscate them. And they will quote Spreckles: "The pendulum will shortly swing to the other extreme and all prop-erty will be confiscated by an outraged

people," to clinch this argument.

I have been watching the political and industrial horizon pretty closely for a good many years, but I must confess that I am surprised at the signs which are now visible of the approaching change. During the past four weeks, no less than five prominent railroad men, presidents and ex-presidents, have pointed out the inevitable end of private capitalism—namely, ownership by the government. This, then, being inevitable, they are preparing, with zealousness worthy of a better cause, to retain control of that government that will own and operate the industries!

Here is what the Santa Fe Magazine, edited and published by the Santa Fe railroad corporation, says in its Novem-

ber, 1913, issue:

Never before in the history of the United States has the question of government ownership of railroads been given the serious thought that it is now receiving—and, curiounly enough, it is not so much the general public that is revolving this question in its mind, it is the railroad fraternity that is discussing the possibility of government ownership. Railroad officials are considering it as a means of relief from the handicap they now work under—that of being made to assume all the risks of investment and operation, while allowed to make only the same profit as, or less than, that made in gilt edged investments. Government ownership is not the remote possibility that it was a decade upo. Government ownership is not the remote possibility that it was a decade upo. Government ownership of railroads is not so improbable as some people think; and those most active in securing it will be railroad directors having at heart the proper interests of the stockholders they represent.

Ex-President Mellen of the New York, New Haven and Hartford railroad says the same thing and some half dozen other important railroad men have publicly expressed their willingness to accept the inevitable. Politicians of all shades of belief are scrambling for position under the awning of the big tent.

The brutal facts are these: The railroad directors have soaked their roads with water and then sold the stock and bonds to the little capitalists. The railroads are now unable to meet the interest charges on the bonds will be road. roads are now unable to meet the interest charges on the bonds, while many railroads have long since failed to pay any dividends on their common stock. The New York, New Haven and Hartford road, which has for forty years paid dividends on its common stock, passed its regular dividend the other day and threw investors into a panie of four

bonds! And this of course will be done solely in the interest of the investors— the little stockholders. If they really want to help the little investors why don't they disgorge some of their legally gotten loot? Take the recent deal pulled off by Yoakum and his gang of buccan-eers in looting the Frisco railroad! But don't hop onto Yoakum—he merely played the game as it has been played from the time the first rail was spiked down to the present, and if Yoakum hadn't gotten the mazuma then some other shark would.

From all of which, I deduce the fol-lowing facts: The railroad promoters are now tired of the game; they have enough personal wealth to enable them to live like princes the balance of their lives and leave their heirs fixed for a century or more; the little stockholders are clamoring for dividends which are not in the treasury box of the corpore. not in the treasury box of the corpora-tions, but which have been transferred to the private coffers of the big fellows; the people demand a change; the poli-ticians want a new issue—and something must be done! And that something is government ownership!

.I can't stop it, nor can the Socialists. Nor would we if we could. Government ownerhip is state capitalism, and it is the next necessary step in the march of the common folk to the Co-operative Commonwealth. What I hope to do is to let the common folks know that government ownership is not the goal—not even a stopping place—merely a necessary step, as the trust was a step in our progress to better things. Looked at from this angle, there is nothing to fear from state capitalism. But we will waste no time trying to bring it about. Our business, as Socialists, is merely to interpret these movements so that the working class understand them and not be fooled as they have been in the past.

Our big job, as I view it, is to capture the government that will, in a very short time, own and operate the industries of the nation. Once controlled by the working class, rules and laws will be made solely in the interest of the men and women who do the work. Children will not work—they will play and study! The glories and benefits of that time to that part of the population which bears the burdens of society are beyond the power of words to describe!

We can't stop progress-but we can

The Unemployed Problem.

Dear Warren.—I have been requested by local comrades to write you personally, asking your advice and information towards organizing for direct action. The people are entering this winter aimest destitute of anything to live on. Lots of men that have been strong Socialists are afraid to speak or make the least move. Everything at a standstill. The banks and little gamblers are standing together. I believe I know the sentiment of the people. They have reached the last ditch and about all they can stand. Please let me have your views on this matter.

This letter comes from a small town in Texas, in a country district where folks are supposed to have enough to eat and to wear, no matter how hard times are. This same question is com-ing from the cities where the condiion of unemployment is causing great concern to the rich, because they know that when men are hungry, and with their ears filled with the cries of their children they are no respecters of laws and custom. In the letter above I am asked what these hungry men who have no jobs are to do. They can organize themselves into a body of peaceful marchers and go to the city hall and demand work. There is no place else to the control of o. Instinctively people turn to the lected officials of a community for the relief which the capitalist is unwilling to If the city will not or cannot provide the funds with which to give employment to those out of work, then there is but one thing left for the hungry to do: Take whatever you need of food and clothes to supply your wants, but no more. I do not advise you to do this. But I tell you this is what I would do if I were in such a position. Un-lawful? Yes, perhaps, but which is the greater crime, to prevent hungry men from obtaining food, or for hungry men to take it? I do not believe there is any higher law than life, and without food there can be no life. This problem of unemployment is knocking at our door for a solution and if democrats and republicans cannot solve it, then the So cialists will. The following letter, written by the mayor of a small town in Kansas, outlines one way that will be followed by the Socialists to provide work for the workless:

Work for the workless:

Dear Comrade Warren —I am writing to you for your opinion on the subject of providing work for the unemployed. I am the mayor of this town. The entire Socialist ticket was elected by a vote of 60 against 55 of the combined opposition. There are 125 families in our village. Fifteen of these families will have to have aid this winter. Will the against the principles of Socialism for us of the against the principles of Socialism for us of cialists to petition and vote bonds for public improvements so that it will give work to the unemployed?—J. S. Hobbs, mayor, New Albany, Kan.

It will most confainly be just for your

It will most certainly be just for you to impose taxes on the property of the well-to-do and use such taxes to provide work for the unemployed. This will pre-vent suffering and crime. There is nothvent suffering and crime. There is nothing else you can do under capitalism, and the end justifies the means. I know that a lot of well-fed folks and some not so well fed, will object to this plan of taxing property to give work to the hungry. Some people will call it confiscation. But this should not deter a Socialist administration from doing its duty to the working class. The capital. duty to the working class. The capitalists have failed. It is now up to the Socialists to prove that they are equal to the situation. Life comes first and we will recognize no rights of property that will interfere with life!

It is observed that those people who prate the loudest about the dignity of labor are most strenuous in their efforts to avoid it. If they work at all it is in paid dividends on its common stock, passed its regular dividend the other day and threw investors into a panic of fear. The looters of the roads, the Yoakums, the Harrimans, the Morgans, et al., with the swag in their safe-deposit vaults, are now quite willing to turn over their property (which they do not own) to the government, and exchange their uncertain securities for good government. The securities for good government are now quite willing to turn over their property (which they do not own) to the government, and exchange their uncertain securities for good government.

friends by impressing them with the importance of the task and the difficulties of its accomplishment. Tom's little trick worked and the boys eagerly fell to until the job was finished. It is the same trick that has been worked for a good many years on the workers. I wonder when they will tumble to the cheat?

Sheriff Turkington of Girard was asked by the general superintendent of the Frisco railroad to recommend reliable men to be sworn in as deputy United States marshals to protect railroad property from the telegraph operators employed by that system in the event of a strike. Said Sheriff Turkington to the railroad superintendent: "All right. I will recommend for appointment as deputy United States marshals every striking telegraph operator on the Frisco system in Crawford county." The strike was settled before the telegraphers walked out, but it is a safe bet that the railroad superintendent would not have called upon Sheriff Turkington for the names of men to be appointed as deputy marshals! Turkington reasoned that if these telegraph operators had brains enough to look after the lives of the thousands of passengers who travel the Frisco, then they had brains enough to protect Frisco property. It is unnecessary to add that Turkington was elected sheriff on the Socialist ticket.

Socialism has but one country-the

If your head were fuller your stomach might be fuller.

MEN are fools because they are poor,

and then are poor because they are fools. SOCIALISM should get the worker's

vote because it gets the employer's goat. A BURNT child dreads the fire, but the stung voter always comes back for more

WHAT you earn is the capitalist's. It's only what you get that's yours—and not all of that.

"ENGINEER blamed for fatal wreck." -News Item. Sure. What are engineers for, anyhow?

will now follow republican Lawrence strike prosperity. THE idea of the currency bill is to give the bankers the currency while the

DEMOCRATIC soup house prosperity

people pay the bill. THE high cost of living would come

down with a rush if it were not supported by old party votes.

CAPITALISM thinks it is better that one rich man should have too much than that ninety-nine workers should have

STREET cars are instituted among men for the purpose of enabling their stockholders to avoid the inconvenience of riding on them.

WHEN the plute quits financing the old parties it will be time for the workers to vote for them—because then there won't be any old parties.

THERE is no sex, age, race, color or religion in hunger. Hunger speaks but one language and listens to but one word. That word is, Food.

PRESIDENT WILSON and his cabinet are all "het up" over who is to sit down first at official banquets. The democratic voters in the breadline are not so fussy.

"THERE is no use in replying when the democratic party is criticized as not knowing how to serve the business interests of the country."—President Wilson.

CONSIDER the workers of the field, how they toil. They cease not, neither do they rest. Yet Harry Thaw, in all his idleness, was never starved as one of

A SCIENTIST says gold can be made artificially out of other substances. The good old fashioned way of laking it out of the workers' hide has suffered no loss of popularity with the employers, how-

"FATHER out of a job; mother drinks acid; children in sorrow." Just a newspaper headline of one case in St. Louis. There are thousands like it. Did I hear you say that Socialism would break up the home?

THE man who can explain why a 12-hour-a-day laborer is entitled to only \$1.50 per day, while a pink tea fan who never did a tap of work in his life can have everything he wants, should be in better business.

DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, national suffrage leader, is surprised to find "robbery a function of the United States government." Wonder what the good doctor thought capitalist government was organized for.

JOHN SCHMIDT, aged 48, a working man, committed suicide in Milwaukee the other day. Schmidt had no job and could find none. They found four cents in his pocket. What was that I heard you say about Socialism breaking up

Domneric economy cannot be very conomical where a thousand cock-stoves and a thousand washing machines and a thousand processes of cooking are employed when a score would do the work quicker, easier and cheaper, without in the least interfering with the privacy of the home.

This paper is paid for, if not by you by Population one who wants you to read it of Reason This is Number 925 one who wants you to read it of Reason

BUSINESS AND THEFT

The editor of the Democrat, Lyons, Kan., says there is no moral difference between the man who accepts money won in a gambling game and a horse thief. When one of his readers took him to task, he replied: "When you get money you in no wise earned it is either as a gift or as a theft. Money gotten in a game or in a bet is neither earned nor given as a present. The answer is easy." But where does that lead the editor of the Lyons Democrat? I'll bet a year's subscription against a plugged penny that he is afraid to follow his reasoning to its logical conclusion.

For instance: Yoakum, the Frisco railroad man, played a game. He did not use a roulette wheel or cards. He used printed slips of paper called bonds. He sold the bonds to the public for a million dollars, ostensibly to raise money to improve the Frisco railroad. He pocketed \$200,000 and turned the balance over to the railroad. The investors paid for a million dollars' worth of improve-ments and got \$800,000. Did Yoakum earn the \$200,000 he raked off in the deal or did some one give it to him, or did he steal it? Business? So is dealing in stocks on the stock exchange business, but some folks call it gambling.

And in the name of business the small merchant does exactly what Yoakum did when he buys a suit of clothes for \$12 and sells it for \$16. You say he is en-titled to this profit for his management of the store and that it costs him this much to distribute it. If it costs him that much to distribute it, he makes no profit and quickly goes out of business. The successful man in business, like the successful gambler and horse thief, must get something for nothing!

The fact that a good many who play the game get no profit doesn't change the principle one little bit. If the fellow who steals a horse gets caught and loses his loot, he suffers for the crime. There is no moral difference between the man who steals a hose or runs a gambling joint and the man who buys a paper of pins for a penny and sells it for two

The preachment of my friend of the Lyons Democrat will be not accepted by the gambler, nor will my conclusions be agreed with by men in business, but the world is fast coming to the conclusion that the man who takes money in the form of profit, accepts money for which he returns no service, is a thief, and should be treated as such.

THE POWER BEHIND THE APPEAL.

To make anything go, there must be power. To find out what the thing that goes really is, look for the power that makes it go and then you will know what it is. This is particularly true of what it is. the APPEAL-more true of the APPEAL than any paper in existence. The power that makes the APPEAL go is not in Girard. The editor of the APPEAL is, and always has been, a very small factor in making the APPEAL what it is. The real power back of the APPEAL is the APPEAL Army! To kill the APPEAL it would be necessary to kill every member of the APPEAL Army. And yet that wouldn't kill the APPEAL! Because the same forces that made the present AP-PEAL Army would still be in operation and a new Army would come on the field to take the place of the Army that had been wiped out of existence.

Let me present you with the work of two members of the APPEAL Army so that you will understand the secret of

this paper's great success:
Out in Ashland, Ore., lives M. Jacker. This comrade has developed his own peculiar way of getting subscribers. In the local paper he carries an advertisement which he changes from time to time. Here is his latest:

Jack London has Joined the Appeal Army. All readers of the Appeal to Reason acceptable. Copy mailed free, or 25 cents for 40 weeks. — M. Jacker, 375 Otis street.

He pays good money for the ad., but it puts him in touch with some new people whom he could not reach personally. He takes their subscriptions. The

APPEAL does the rest.

The editor of the Plain Speaker,
Frackville, Pa., is another good friend of this paper who puts the APPEAL in touch with the reading public. Here is

what he said in his last issue: The editor is getting up a club of twelve subscribers to the Appeal to Reason at 25 cents for forty weeks. The Appeal is chucked tuli of facts and truth every issue, and is the best brain disturber that exists. If you want to go along hand us your name and 25 cents.

This is volunteer work. You can't all pay for advertisements in the capitalist publications nor can you all print papers friendly to labor, but each in his own way and with the materials at hand, can do his part. And many are doing it. That is why the APPEAL continues to grow stronger and more influential every day. No friend of the APPEAL should be satisfied that his day's work is completed until he has sent the APPEAL one subscriber or talked to someone about subscribing. The seed will yield a harvest in quite an unexpected way, never fear.

JUDGE SULLIVAN of the San Francisco police court recently imposed the shortest jail sentence on record. The eight men receiving this sentence—one hour in jail—were firemen on an English tramp steamer. They went on strike and were put off at San Francisco. They were British subjects and wanted to return home. They could not be deported unless convicted of some offense, so they agreed to plead guilty of vagrancy. After serving their one hour in jail they were taken in charge by the U. S. deputy immigration commissioner and will be returned to their home in Wales. Great system, isn't it? We are such a practical people! IF you know what you want, vote for

Он, Henry, Henry, ye asked the dem-ocrats for prosperity an' they ha' gi'en ye a panic.

THE man who prays for righteousness and votes for the old parties must be fond of strange mixtures.

HEALTH and wealth is something everybody wants. Socialism will give you both. Are you "agin it"? THE working people are not so much

in need of government ownership as they are of ownership of government. It costs the working class a good many millions to maintain congress to see that

they don't get what they want. CAPITALIST law and order can be en forced by machine guns and clubs. But only Socialism can establish justice.

You may have to "pray for them that despitefully use you." But thank the Lord you don't have to vote for them.

Oh, waits on my stomach, embezzle my pay, And batter my head with a club. And I'll put you in office election day, Bocause I'm a Henry Dubb.

PATRIOTISM: Shooting penny pistols on the 4th of July and spreading corruption through the land the rest of the

Every move that congress makes proves the Socialists' claim that "capitalism will do anything but get off your backs.

A word to the wise is sufficient, but nothing short of a solar plexus punch with a Socialist ballot will convince the plutes.

CHRISTMAS in Chicago. An unidenti-fied woman was found in an alley half frozen. So says a news dispatch. This is capitalism.

"Doc" Wilson's congress is giving good imitation of a dog chasing his tail. The only difference is that a dog is usually in earnest about it. ONLY the employer's political power

enables him to continue robbing the workers, and only the workers political power can compel him to quit. Who says the working people never have any leisure? There are two or

three million of them right now who are getting more leisure than they want. The whole world is now engaged in its last great war—a war against poverty. When this war ends never again will poverty find a place on this old earth.

"Poverty has its advantages," says an exchange. Perhaps so, but those who live in poverty never get any of them. It is the beneficiaries of the system that causes all poverty who get all the ad-

THE biological survey is to exclude indesirable animals from the United States. The donkey, elephant and bull-moose, however, will remain with us until 1916, when the working class will take care of 'em.

A CORRESPONDENT wants to know how much a United State senator earns. Up the present time there is no record of a United States senator earning any-thing—he gets, however, \$7,500 a year and a few perquisites.

In the old days cunning white men traded glass beads to the Indians for land and valuable furs. The Indians are about gone, civilized out of existence, but the cunning white men are still doing business in the same old way. But they are trading glass beads with the workers now, glass beads in the form of old party promises and fake legislation.

CAPITALISM is the same the world over. It's product in Japan is the same as it is in the United States. A cablegram from Tokio states that a famine prevails in several provinces that is the worst since 1869. Parents are selling daughters to keepers of evil resorts and to foreign white slave dealers. In some cases girls belonging to starving families are selling themselves.

AT an examination held by the civil service commissioners of California the other day, there were 375 applications for the one lone job of wharfinger. Only one person will be appointed while 374 will be disappointed. This is how it works under the system you vote for. Under Socialism there would be a job for everyone. But of course that would for everyone. But of course that would never do, it would abolish poverty and make people contented, and everything would go to the dogs.

THE information bureau of the U. S. department of agriculture states that 2,000 cases of assorted canned vegethat 2,000 cases of assorted canned vege-tables were recently attached by the U. S. marshal at Chicago. It is reported that most of these packages were in a state of decomposition known to the trade as "swells." It seems these goods had been under water in the Ohio flood. The local authorities at Hamilton, Ohio, condemned the goods for local food purposes and the owner shipped to Chicago to be sold for fer flizer. Spurred on by to be sold for fer ilizer. Spurred on by the ever present desire under capitalism to make more profit, it is reported the consignee was about to sort out the most presentable of the packages and offer them for sale for food purposes when the U. S. marshal stepped in and nipped his little scheme. This is that "incentive" that the old party orators are always telling you that Socialism will kill. And it will.

Mother Jones Deported

Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., January 10, 1914

Not to be outdone by the brutal hirelings of the Michigan copper barons, the military henchmen of the Colorado coal magnates have deported gray-haired Mother Jones from Trinidad. An entire squad of soldiers was detailed by the cowardly Adjutant General John Chase to see that the "Angel of the Miners" did not visit and comfort the workingmen who are striking bravely for more bread for their families. After seeing that Mother Jones had bought a ticket to Denver and bearded a train, General Chase declared: "The presence of Mother Jones at this time cannot be tolerated. If she returns she will be placed in jail and held incommunicado." That last word is something new in free America. "Incommunicado" means a prisoner cannot see any one-not even a lawyer, the United States constitution to the contrary notwithstanding.

Another Colorado outrage that is nearly similar to the action of the Calumet hooligans in deporting Moyer is the recent storming of a court room in Steamboat Springs by a mob where strikers were on trial and the forcible deportation of 25 union men from the town. This meb was led by Harry Ratliff, superintendent of the federal forest reserve—an office holder under the Wilson administration. Placards which read, "Within a reasonable short time all ablebodied men in Oak Creek coal camp must go to work or leave," have been posted at Steamboat Springs by these lawless lickspittles of the Colorado coal barons.

In Colorado as well as in Michigan the enforcement of law and order by the elected officials is a farce. In each case the "public servants," elected by the votes of the workers, but on capitalist party tickets, are openly serving the master class and brutally oppressing the working class.

A SIGN OF POWER

A SIGN OF POWER.

The most striking feature of the Calumet copper strike is the way it is reported by the Associated Press and the capitalist newspapers. In the main the accounts are fair to the strikers. Your capitalist daily, if you noticed it, gave full publicity to the deportation of Moyer and printed the affidavit of the doctor who treated Moyer's wound as well as devoting space to the demands of the strikers. Why this change? Why was it that the Moyer-Haywood outrage of several years ago was practically unof several years ago was practically unnoticed in the capitalist press of that day? The answer is clear. The Socialist press is camping on the trail of the plute press. These several press is camping to the trail of the press. plute press. These newspapers well know that their conspiracy of silence and later their campaign of distortion in the Moyer-Haywood case were thwarted by the APPEAL and the other Socialist newspapers. They well know that we will print the truth if they will not. And they further know that the workingmen of today have learned a few things about the subsidizing of the capitalist press by the powers that be and they are beginning to learn the lesson.

ginning to learn the lesson.

The capitalist papers will for some time try to use all their wonderful resources, mechanical and financial, to get the news that the people want. Let them do it. The APPEAL wants the truth known, but it will reserve the right to give the people the proper intermediagive the people the proper interpret tion of what is happening. In oth words, we will henceforth devote me of our energies and space to give t American working class the Socialist understanding of the news of the day.

Of course, the plute press may betray the workers at any time, but while they are publishing the actual facts let us rejoice at the power that we have at last reached—and remember that we must always be prepared and armed to meet any emergency.

A LEADER of the Calumet citizens' al-liance says: "It is preposterous to sup-pose that any member of the citizens' alliance would attempt to disturb the Christmas celebration of the strikers' children." Also it is preposterous to suppose that their conferees would club women and children in Lawrence, Mass., shoot them at Holly Grove, W. Va., or bullpen Mother Jones—but that's what they did

Working to make a living for your family is not irksome, but having to work to make a living for the exploiter's family does rub a little hard

******************** Four Years, \$1.00

We send the Appeal four years for one dollar and we shall never he satisfied until the name of every Appeal worker is on this four-year list.

Get your name on the four-year list and then you won't be missing two or three issues every forty weeks by forgetting to send in your renewal in time. This list is growing. We want it to grow faster. We want it to grow until it includes the name of avery comrade who reads the Appeal. Here are just a few remarks culled from the letters of four-year subscribers:

"I could not keep pusted on the system without the Appeal."

"Couldn't get along without the Appeal."

"I could not afford to do without the Appeal."

peal."

"I would not miss a copy for a good deal more than a dollar.

"I missed two copies by failing to renew in time. Never again. I've enlisted for four years.

"Every good Socialist abould subscribe for four years at the first opertunity."

An Open Letter to Vincent Astor by Upton Sinclair

My Dear Sir—In the New York Times for Sunday, December 14th, there were two articles which espe-cially held my attention. One of them dealt with yourself, and is

y reason for addressing this com-unication to you.

We live under a social system hich has received the condemnan of most of the leading spirits of our time; I mean our poets, moralists and philosophers. But we get used to it, and we do not realize the full horror of it except now and then, when something especially brings the truth of it ome to us. Such an occasion was the reading of those two articles in the *Times*, which put me in a state of mind which John Ruskin somewhere describes: "I can er write, nor paint, nor enjoy the beauty of nature—the very light of the morning sun has be ome hateful to me—because of the uffering which I know is in the because of the and has no need to

The first of the two articles is a scription of your country home, rith a full page of photographs; and the second is a Christmas apal from three charity organiza cieties. I am going to quote the headlines of the two rticles, sufficiently indicative of heir contents. The first:

There is Neuring Showy About the
Esterics or the Grounds. Everywhere
sulling Nete is One of Solid Comfort
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SETTATE. ENGLOSED TENNIS
WITH GLASS ROOF, Where Mr.
Ashor Can Play Their Favorite
Winter or on Rainy Days in Warm
ENTRANCE. TO AMUSEMENT
ENTRANCE TO AMUSEMENT

full page article, with these head-New York Times by the

SAVES CLOTHES-LIGHTENS LABOR



T YOU and

Such is the list. It makes monotnous reading, and yet every one of these cases represents the suffering and degradation of several human beings, men, women and children; and the cases are merely typical of a condition which we know exists among vast numbers of people in our other great cities. A student of social conditions who is gener-ally recognized as an authority, Mr. Robert Hunter, declares that there are ten million people in our country living in poverty, which he defines to mean the inability to obtain the absolute necessities of life.

These conditions cannot be wholly unknown to you. It may even be that you saw the two arti-cles in the New York Times, and realizing something of the terrible contrast they make. Judging from the part you took in the recent reform campaign in New York City, ou are interested in social welfare. On this account I venture to adbe able to speak; not merely to you, but to tens of thousands of others who happen to be in possession of rreat estates, and who may never families whose terrible stories are

one or two simple economic facts. alize that it is out of the rents The Socialist movement is syste-There h. ve been times in the history of the human race when pov- or another that all this luxury erty was a necessary evil. Men comes. Can you not realize how did not know how to produce more than the bare necessities of life, find and if there was to be any leisure that anyone can be happy in such or culture at all, it had to be at the luxury and magnificence, while he in the so-called free United States expense of the laboring class. But knows that his fellow-beings, men, that time is now past. We can women and children, are suffering produce many times as much of these horrors of starvation? Can tain all the members of the com-munity in comfort. If you will con-out any real care about your fel-sult Kropotkin's "Fields, Factories lows? Some of them, of course, There lies my reason munity in comfort. If you will con-sult Kropotkin's "Fields, Factories and Workshops," you will see an may be under the sway of churches, overwhelming demonstration of

in a country of such natural re- of man which is responsible for the sources as our own, ten million peo-ple should have to suffer the hor-been imposed and are daily mainrors of destitution. You cannot but tained by a small group of men, grant it is your duty to do your who rule the country by means of part, as a citizen, in putting an end the privileges which they have into such evils; and still less can you herited or gained by cunning. be unconcerned if there is reason Crisis is Coming.
to think that you yourself, the priv- This is a terrible frame of mind ileges which society has granted to go the people to be in, in a terri-you, may have comething to do with the existence of this enormous and it cannot be a matter of indiffer-

some fundamental wrong in our the intelligence to recognize the yourself-becomes a thing of little

We live under certain laws and social conventions, which we have inherited from our ancestors; and it is very easy for us to accept these. It is the way of happiness it is indispensable to other people. great-grandfather, and has laws which it may seem to you absurd to question. But if it could be shown to you that your owner- of the coming storm. ship of this land is directly respon-sible for the conditions which the charity organization society re-ports, then you could hardly be surprised that some would claim that the law of inheritance of land is not in accordance with the law of elemental justice; and you could not blame them for seeking to bring the laws of man into greater har-mony with the laws of God.

People Depend on Land.

I do not know if you have ever considered this question, or how the proposition may strike you; but it is an elemental fact that the land necessary to the life of every everything we use comes the forests and the water power) if any private individual is allowed to say, "These things belong to me, big with the potentialities of the and you can only have access to future. them by paying to me a certain part of what you produce from them"
—then it is obvious that such a person controls the destinies of others, and to some extent makes does not follow from this that you

the bitter class hatreds which mani- changing now in that respect. minded among us. Try, for a mo-ment, to put yourself in the posipictures of your magnificent In the first place, let me set forth and luxurious home, and they rethis embitters them? it impossible to understand which teach them that this condition was established by God; but Assuming that you admit the every year great numbers of them

social system, some great economic justice of the demands of a sub-importance. force which is causing human missery more rapidly than we are able to remedy it, with all our improved ity lies in the possibility that we leaflets, all for

machinery of investigation and re-lief? I, for one, have become con-vinced that this v. so, and I am devoting my life in trying to bring others to realize it. in public life.

So I write to you-the age-long appeal, which has never yet been heard, the cry of the dispossessed and the disinherited of the earth. and peace to take it for granted I tell you that this country is mov-that things are as they ought to be ing today with the speed of an and that they must continue to be avalanche into one of the most teras they are. You, for instance, rific cataclysms in the history of are in possession of a great deal mankind. I have seen our society, of land; perhaps not much in actual in the depths and at the heights; I acreage, but located at points where have lived in both, and understand both, and I know why they do no This land was purchased by your understand each other. At the risk come of being called impertinent and a down to you in accordance with the meddler, I implore our leisured of upper Michigan are standing laws which it may seem to you abtheir ears and listen to the rumble

Lesson in French Revolution. Your friends and advisers will have their answer ready. They will tell you that I am an agitator, that I myself am making the storm which I invite you to hear. That has always been the answer—it was given before the French revolution, precisely as it is given today. But I tell you it is a false view of life which teaches that millions and tens of millions of human beings, in every part of the civilized world, should begin to behave in a precisely similar way, unless there exists some fundamental and comis necessary to the life of every pelling reason for their conduct. human being. Fundamentally, al- And if that way is one involving sacrifice and suffering to them, refrom the land. And the land was not created by any individual—it heroism, and if you see that heroexisted before the human race came ism continually displayed, by wider into being. And now, if any private individual is allowed to lay women, over a period of forty or claim to this land (and by land I mean not merely the surface of the mean to the surface of the land women, over a period of forty or infity years, then you may be sure that what you are witnessing is ground, but the mines, the oil wells, no artificial product of a few evil-

I am referring to the Socialist know anything about the Socialist This condition, continued through movement. I myself spent nine many generations and developed years in colleges and universities, under the sanction of the law, is and came away hardly knowing that responsible for the existence of such a thing as the Socialist move-classes in our community; also for ment existed. But things are his account I venture to adjust themselves in so many ways have founded an Intercollegiate So-you, and I wish that I might that are painful to the sensitive-cialist society, whose fifth annual convention meets in New York this We have now over sixty tion of any member of the hundred study chapters in Amreican colfamilies whose terrible stories are leges, and we do a little to make up have had pointed out to them the summed up in those brief phrases for the intentional deficiency in injustice of our social system.

I quoted. They see in the papers the education of the young men and women of our leisure classes.

intentional deficiency. about in every nation of the world. Its adherents are made the victims of blacklist and intimidation, or -just as true as it is in Russia or Germany or Japan; it is going everything as is necessary to main- you blame them for thinking that tainly prove to you if you care to

There lies my reason for appeal ing to you, and to others of your privileged class. I do not ask you to give up your wealth for the sake contention, you cannot but grant are coming to realize that it is not of Socialism; I remember the exthat it is a monstrous thing that the laws of God, but solely the law perience of Jesus when he made that request of the rich young man. But I do ask you to enlighten your portion of your vast income to enlighten the minds of others. You have that enormous power; you could, if you possessed the vision and the courage, almost singlehanded, dispel the mists of falsehood and slander which the capitalist system of greed and knavery the existence of this enormous and terrifying mass of human misery. It is of this that I write you; I cannot believe that a man who is young, and has his life before him, can be wholly indifferent to the considerations which I mean to urge.

I assume that you give gener-term and the conflict; they may content themselves with the philosohas conjured up about its future destroyer, the International Social-I assume that you give generously to charity, and that you may even have sent a special check when take the hindmost." But your generously to charity, and that you may be down to posterity as one who had even have sent a special check when take the hindmost." But your generously that the crucial hour perceived the proof and met it; one who, when he the need and met it; one who, when he even have sent a special check when you read that special appeal. But your genyou read that special appeal. But eration, which stands upon the
I wish to point out to you that shoulders of the past, which has been tried for a long time, and that the evils of which—surely it cannot fail to be alize pleasure, preferred to labor for the pleasure, preferred to labor for the that a crisis is coming in this countries of it. They are increasing to

I speak have gone on increasing in spite of it. They are increasing to-day with terrific rapidity. Wages are lower, in relation to the actual cost of living, than they were last year; they are twenty or thirty percent lower than they were ten years ago. Industrial accidents are increasing in number; suicide and insanity are increasing; women and children are being driven to work in constantly greater throngs.

There is Something Wrong.

If these things are true—and a study of the question must prove to you that they are true—is it not obviously a waste of time to endeavor to remedy them by charity—that is, by giving to the poor after they have been beaten down and broken in body and mind? Is this not saving at the spigot and wasting at the bung hole? Is it in social avstem, some great economic file to calize that a crisis is coming in this couning in this coming must be done dath something must be done fail to calize that a crisis is coming in this coming in the constantly widentry, and that something must be done flit something must be done flit is coming in this coming in the constantly widentry. It is for this reason that I, shed done about the constantly widentry. It is for this reason that I, shed done about the constantly widentry. It is for this reason that I, shed done about the constantly was accomplished without blood-cannot demonstrate that you cannot do anything about it alone. You might they are increasing women and they require social change of all history was accomplished without blood-cannot in the fact hat the fact hat the fact hat the fact hat the flow in the flever.

I am aware that you cannot do the state, this is now certa With all sincerity,

UPTON SINCLAIR.

shall in the end outgrow the failures and follies of the past, and be able to substitute reason for Here are some of the late developments in price list of the most necessary

Hancock, Mich. - Facing the

igors of a Great Lakes winter the strikers of the copper region Seldom in the history of strikes has such a determination pervaded the ranks of the workers to seek the fullness of their demands as have the copper miners of Michigan. Regardless of coaxing, promises of shorter hours of toil, intimidation and threats, the miners have stood for the full demands as set forth by the offi-cers of the Western Federation of Miners. All proposals of settlement by arbitration or otherwise offered by the strikers have been ignored by the arrogant mine op-erators. On Tuesday, Dec. 16th, President Moyer of the Federa-tion presented the following "Terms of Arbitration" before the mining companies of this district, and which were flatly refused: and which were flatly refused:

The men on strike agree to submit all matters in dispute to a board of arbitration, created as follows: The mine operators shall select two, the men on strike shall select two, who are not members of their local unions, no members of the Western Federation of Miners. And either the president of the United States, or the governor of Michigan shall select one. Upon accepting this agreement by the mine operators the men on strike will immediately return to work, and both the operators and the men shall be bound by the findings of the board.—Charles H. Moyer, in behalf of the striking miners.

"Nothing to Arbitratiz"

"Nothing to Arbitrate!"

This proposition which any fair minded man must admit, gives the mine operators a decided advantage in having practically three men on the board of arbitration , was turned down by the strikers as a refusal of the mine eration. operators to consider any form of arbitration of the present labor difficulties. Therefore the fight must proceed along other lines. The past week has experienced but the district has been the scene of the district has been th very little activity among the vi- atrocious murders, attempted decious element of the district, viz.: struction of property, assaults, the "Citizens' Alliance" and imported gunmen. This fact is evidently due to the threatened fed-"Citizens' Alliance" mining offieral investigation, also that the cials and corporation tools. first grand jury in the history of these crimes have always the county is now in session in-vestigating crimes incident to the by the company gunmen, and no strike. This grand jury was called one has ever been caught, it was into service by Judge Patrick H. generally believed by citizens of O'Brien of the Twelfth Judicial the district that these crimes were District in an effort to secure if all committed by the gunmen, and possible, information devoid of which fact has practically been prejudice and acridness which substantiated by a number of af-seemed almost impossible through fidavits furnished by Ashcher justice courts of this district. The gunmen who have been discharged grand jury has been busy the past and sent back to their homes in week taking testimony principally New York.
of members of the Western Federation of Miners. At this writing no indictments have yet been re-

Conditions Abominable.

The mine work conditions the copper mining district of Michigan probably has no equal bor papers, the mine owners have, in the United States as abomina-through their henchmen, the offible. During the winter months cials, turned Germer loose. He workers leave a temperaworkers leave a temperaof some twenty to forty dedropped into the earth from 3,000 to 6,000 feet where the temperature rises from 80 to 110 de- talk with him. grees above zero where they are forced them to release him. compelled to work in devitalized foul air for ten long dreary bidding the importation of strike-hours. These workers are 10rced breakers, the mine owners of Colto discard their clothing except orado are pretending to sell land overalls, shoes and cap, in which their lamp is carried. Garbed in this attire the men work their shifts, perspiring at every pore, and in a weakened and debilitated and it is a weakened and debilitated or the strikers. It is believed the governor of Colorado is aware of the fact, yet he does not prevent the perpetration of condition are brought to the sur- not prevent the perpetration of face after their work, to again the fraud. borious work of ten hour shifts the men receive wages which average about as follows for the entire district:

Nearly all the company employes live in company houses which are located near the works, and which are invariably on a high prominence of ground; thereby unprotected from the icy winds that blow incessantly from the cold bosom of Lake Superior. These houses are nearly all of the light frame variety, a few being built of logs. They are not fitted with any of the modern improvements, such as water, lights, bath, toilet or sewerage, nor are they furnished with double windows, something almost absolutely necessary in this severe climate, although they are plas-tered and have fairly good floors. Nearly every miner has a small garden patch where he raises practically all his vegetables. He is forced to this on account of the small wage received. Here is a

IF following your name on the 947 yellow address label is NO. 947 your subscription expires in two weeks. Better renew at once so that you will

price list of the most necessary articles of consumption required by the miner:

..\$3.25 cwt.

Charged Per Room.

It is not a difficult matter for one to see where a monthly wage of not to exceed \$65, can be pended by the miner in providing for his family. The rental of the company houses is based on the number of rooms the house con-

The Quincy, one of the largest mines of the district, has instituted ejectment proceedings against all strikers who occupy company houses with the result that a large number of their tenants have number of their tenants have vacated the company houses which remain vacant with the windows boarded up, the houses not being needed by the company at the present time.

The imported scab who has been misled into coming to this district to work is not permitted to leave the immediate works, a boarding house having been provided near the mouth of shaft where he is housed and fed. This house is constantly under guard and if a strikebreaker wishes to leave it he must first secure a pass from the office of the company. In fact the system now in vogue by the mining companies is nothing short of the worst kind of peonage. The only way a strikebreaker can make a get-a way is to absolutely refuse to work and this may cost him a severe beating by the hired assassins of the mining corporations. Out of 15,000 men employed in about the mines of this district before the strike, it is believed that not over 1,200 are now em ployed, and the most of these were imported and are not practical men and as a result are a little less than worthless to the mining companies. However these men mine managers of this district, other purpose than to make a and must be considered by the showing that the mine is in op-

Germer Is Released

Alarmed by the publicity given the arrest of Adolph Germer, Socialist and a leader of the Colo rado coal miners' strike, in the APPEAL and other Socialist and lagrees below zero on top and are against him, while all sorts of lies dropped into the earth from were given the press as to his guilt, and no one was permitted to But publicity

In order to evade the laws for-

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Things As They Are Not

The Bankers Rebellion The new currency bill had passed. Before it was adopted the bankers had declared they could not accept it, but no one believed a banker when he talked on money matters. Now, however, the bank-ers came together in a great convention to register their protest. One of the money kings of Wall street addressed the meeting, say-

We cannot accept the bill. places too much power with the banks. While we no longer issue bank notes 'secured by govern-ment bonds or other securities, the government accepts our worthless paper and issues gov-ernment notes against them. It worthless paper and the control credits and in the control of currency makes us practical owners of America. I know not how others may feel, but as for me I cannot in honor accept the bill. I realize that my refusal to accept a law that my refusal to acc that my refusal to accept a law duly passed by congress places me in the light of a traitor. But I cannot help it. I shall stand against the infamy though it cost me my life."

The appliance was green. The appliance was a roar of artillery. The banker from Wall Street appeared at the opening, with hands folded across his breast and eyes limbered up. A moment later

The applause was general. Re-alizing that the time was short, the convention immediately be-gan arming and fortifying the hail, in anticipation of trouble from their refusal to accept the measure. But the report of their action traveled fast, and they had scarcely locked the doors ere scarcely locked the doors ere troops were drawn up in the street before. Machine guns and cannon were planted; then the Country Store last Saturday the cannon were planted; the colonel called for a parley.

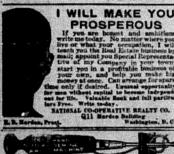
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INFORMATION



By Ryan Walker

At the Country Store

farmers were excited over the re-"Will you accept the terms of the bill?" he shouted to the Wall street banker, who thrust his face excursions.

from the window in response to the demand.

"God help us, we cannot," was the reply. "It is not fair to the farmer and the worker, and we value their welfare above our own lives. We stand here for principle, and if we fall we fall."

The window came down with a prescher added "that this admin."

excursions.

"It shows that there is an abourd a street car. He was taken to the hospital and died in a short time.

Chelsea, Mass.—Having no means of support, Mrs. F. M. Johnson killed her two small children and herself by gas, taking the poison."

"It shows that there is an abourd a street car. He was abourd a street car. He was taken to the hospital and died in a short time.

Chelsea, Mass.—Having no means of support, Mrs. F. M. Johnson killed her two small children and herself by gas, taking the poison."

"It shows that there is an abourd a street car. He was abourd the poison."

window came down with a Preacher added, "that this admin- meter. bang. The colonel raised his istration would put an end to the selling of undrainable overflowed land as fruit farms. Now we have the railroads themselves, who were parties in the great conspiracy ready to abandon their methods. That is genuine repentance. It augurs the beginning of a new era of good feeling, when the differences between labor and

capital will be adjusted on the basis of the golden rule.",
"On the basis of the rule of gold," Brother Ben suggested. He pulled a paper from his pocket. "This is the latest," he said. Then he read the headlines. "Home Seekers Excursions to Be Restored The Threat to Discontinue Them was Made by the Railroads Only to Force the Real Estate Men to Agitate for Higher Railroad Rates."

They all turned away from Brother Ben. They seemed to be mad about something.

A Note from a Rebel.

Comrades—Here is our last bunch before departing for Mexico.

but it has moved onward.-Victor Hugo:

PEARSON'S MAGAZINE for February will have another cracker-inck article by Alian L. Benson, entrited "What the Rothschilds Mean to You." The Rothschilds started the idea of a national debt. Benson explains how before you were born, a certain part of the money you would make was already mortanged. It's a wonderful story of the man who formed the idea and a simple explanation of how it still fits 50 cents a day out of the pockets of every American family. Get your subscription in now and get the February number. Pearson; at \$1.50 a pear, but we offer you the magazine one year, the Appeal and National Socialist two years cach, all for \$1.50, or we will send you the magazine one year and all of car five-cent panyhiles all fur \$1.50. Take your closes.

The capitalist papers at present are faturing news stories reporting unemployme and misery all over the land. There sees to be an underhanded effort to show the panic is impending because there is a decretic administration at Washington. Where we don't intend to hold any brief for the democratic common honesty demands that point out the fact that the same anemyline and the same anemyline and the same anemyline and the same anemyline the decade—only the capitalist papers in last decade—only the capitalist papers in sever said anything about these conditional lately. Unexployment is chronic we capitalism and both republicans and deriver.

SanFrancisco, Calif .-- More than 20,000 who are out of work and facing starvation, are in such desperate straits that the property owners fear looting. New York City.-Out of work

and despondent, Max Cohen, 20

Pittsburg, Pa.-4,500 men have been laid off by the Westinghouse factories and 1,500 by the Jones and Laughlin steel mills.

press of the city for an opportu-nity to work for his bed and today. One of these judges, Alex-board or offered to sell himself to some one for five months. ome one for five months.

Port Huron, Mich. — "It will break my heart and kill his mother to give him up," wrote Wm. Shubi, in a letter to the *Tribune*, asking some one to take his baby and give him a home. The father and mother are both sick and unable to longer keep the family together.

Springfield, Mo. - Lloyd Tat- jurisdiction. low was sentenced to thirty days in jail for stealing a five cent bar crackerjack, two days after

This is not a threat. It is a statement or fact.

These men must eat. You yourself would steal before you would starve. What will you do with the hungry men? Pass them along to the pext town? That is no solution. Shoot then? That would scarcely be allowed. Feed them? Somebody must feed them, but remember that they themselves are not asking if for charify. They want work? They ose or steal a living now, but they would rather a work and maintain their own self-respect. The only possible solution is an immediate to pening of work by the state of Oregon. The state can provide work for these men in building roads, reclaiming land, etc., and ment to force to do so, and the forced to do so,

Get in your order now for a 1914 "Arsenal of Facts." good, but the 1914 issue has Laidler is organizing secretary. got it skinned a mile. Lots of new matter and the old mat-

wrinkle in the way of in- \$1,000. dexing the contents that

years of age, swallowed poison with money; it's not for sale. unemployed men of California, aboard a street car. He was We give a free convet constant. Statisticians of the war depart 12 subscription cards.

Beginnings of Things.

Humphrieses of Yesterday.

In the early part of the nine-teenth century, when the federal-ists held all the public offices, many Grand Rapids, Mich.—Charles of the circuit judges in Pennsylva-riums for public meetings. on a law it had not the ability to ures. do so wisely, and accordingly re- and i fused to countenance its verdict.

The democrats, tiring of his lecgovernment, circulated a petition and Gunn Powder, both of Pitts-asking the legislature to impeach burg, Kan. Christmas.

Los Angeles, Calif.—After having a pamphlet, in which he reierging spent \$15,000 in charity to feed the unemployed the city is nearly the unemployed the city is nearly where as the anti-monarchial company the attacks on abuses of the attacks on abuses of the miners during the calculation of the city is nearly where as the anti-monarchial company the attacks on abuses of the city is nearly where as the attacks on abuses of the city is nearly to feed to the agitation for popular senator in West Virginia has found that five state legislators were bribed, and recommends their disconnections. swamped with the problem and is considering a loan of half a milspiracy, the attacks on abuses of lion dollars in order to tide over the church that were being circulated in pamphlet form as constituted in pamphlet form as

Considering a loan of nall a mile bunch before departing for Mexico. We have had a hurry-up call from the boy, they wait us to said the hory, they wait us to said the hard in the spring, then we will try to deliver the goods so wormore the said they wait the hory, they wait us to said the hory was in the carried the hory was in the carried the hory was in the carried the purple all the success of the parcel of sub order the hory, the wait of the hory was the

ton.

Keep in mind the fact that the Appeal law class when its permanent organization is effected will help do many of the big things which the working class are demanding.

If you are a Socialist or a Socialist sympathier and want to study law and public speaking, without losing time from your employment, you should be a member of the Appeal law class. The class will soon be filled so write us now for descriptive literature before it is too late.

'ddress all ecompanies ions to

LEGAL DEPT. APPEAL TO REASON, Fort Scott, Kan.

Significant News.

The Intercollegiate Socialist so It will be ready to send out ciety opened their three days' sesthe first week in February. J. G. Phelps Stokes is the president The. 1913. "Arsenal". was of this organization and Harry W

Desiring to secure a home for himself, and being unable to pro-vide for his two children Stephen ter has been revised and re- Godo of St. Louis, Mo., offered to arranged. Introducing a new sell his eight-year-old daughter for wrinkle in the way of in \$2,000 and his six-year-old son for

T. W. Williams, state secretary you'll like. Of course you all understand that the 1914 "Arsenal," like previous sion of the legislature be called issues, cannot be bought to provide work for the 100,000

Statisticians of the war depart-We give a free copy to every- ment claim that 2,006 men a month one who sends \$3 to pay for a must enlist in the army to keep it club of 12 subscribers or for up to its full quota, and it is said that at present they are not getting one-third that number. So say the the chain. The dispatches from Washington. Eh? Rocksort, Wash.

The state board of education of New Jersey has decided that the public has the right to use the auditoriums of school buildings for lectures. This was brought to an issue by the agitation of Socialists who desired to use school auditoriums for public meetings.

Reckport, Wash.

Find 32 enclosed for sub cards. These the task of the task of the task of the task. Other tests. Part of 125 sub cards. Every dearts. Every dearts. Every dearts. Every dearts who desired to use school auditoriums for public meetings.

who desired to use school auditoriums for public meetings.

John G. Scott, the aggressive editor of Justice of Kennett, Mo., has been arrested for criminal libel. The scott is the second of the scott in the scott at the behest of the old partyites whose lives he has been making that though it had the right to pass on a law it had not the ability to ures. Scott refuses to give bail

He took occasion also to review the lately arrived at our exchange table, alien act and the sedition act, which Every one is militant for Social-were federal laws and beyond his ism from the word, "Go." They are The Globe Trotter of St. Louis, Mich. The democrats, tiring of his lec- Mo., The Age of Reason of Dallas, tures on the power of the federal Texas, and The Workers' Chronicle

The legislative committee investigating the election of United States senator in West Virginia has found that five state legislators were

We are trying our level best to close up a "Two Thomsand" law class. The holiday are now have retarded the enrollment or we asson have retarded the enrollment or we man. What little property the number of the state of the stat ists—democrats and republicans.

No working men sat in the judgment seat. Otherwise the award
would have been against the emlocates. The moral is ployers. The moral is plain: Workingmen should put their own judges on the bench before the

Four years of Appeal, \$1.

The Appeal Army

THE "BIG TEN." McCarthy, Fort Wayne, Ind., Gering, East Orange, N. J., Heald, Jeptin, Ma.

THE "BIG FOUR."

The furturate ones whose names appear lists each week receive a

here is returns for the first link ir n. The cub cards sold like hot cakes, se send four more.—Ira A. Bays.

y to ures. Scott refuses to give ball and is editing his paper from jail, of Red Card Division. I want to see the Angle card the million mark and watch the lately arrived at our exchange table.

Yellow the part of Red Card Division. I want to see the Angle card reach the million mark and watch the lately arrived at our exchange table. The crumbling of the capital

Find \$4 for which send me sub card assures my claim to a copy of "Who's I'll try and dispose of the cards as que possible and order more.—Stephen witch, New York, N. Y.

print. Freds Gamel, Ardmore, Okia.

Enclosed find \$5 to apply on the Red Card Division account. It is easy to get suite and I am sure that I will have more than the required amount culted for in the Red Card idea in the end of the fifty weeks. Incidentally wish to advise that I made application for



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We've got to start commonere. Why not start with West Virginia? A Socialist governor and a Socialist state legislature won't establish the Coverative Commonwealth, but it will help a lot. The West Virginia coal larons have mode up a lacknot of a million dollars to fight Socialism. Let every red-blooded Socialist get on the job and we every red-blooded Socialist get on the job and we exam make their million look like 30 cents. A Socialist victory in West Vigginia will mean much to the workers of this country; it will be a demonstration of our growing power that will do more than anything else to curb the rapacity of the copper langs of Michigan and the coal barons of Colorado.

Celorado.

For every dollar you send in on this campaign, the manes of four West Virginia voters will be placed on the list. These names are not picked up at random, but are selected with care and furnished us by West Virginia comrades. Socialism is labor's only weapon of which capitalism is really afraid. Use it in the most effective way by putting West Virginia on the Socialist may.

WHO BUILT THE RAILROADS?

A few years ago such statements would have gone unchallenged. They can do so no more. As a matter of fact, the workers are beginning to understand that the capitalists did not build the factory and railroad. They did not do a lick of the work, and mere money can do nothing. The workers built both railroad and factory, and no one else had anything to do with the actual construction. Besides, they who are informed know that the capitalist did not even furnish the money to pay the workers a small fraction of their de-The people serts for doing the work. did that, through grants, gifts and spe-cial privileges. To the people belong the railroads and factories, now, on three grounds:

The workers built them. -

The people paid for them.

They are made valuable solely be cause of the people who use the product

The people have a right to demand that those who sold these things shall give them up as being unjustly acquired.

IS IN DEEP WATER

In his debate with Hillquit it Everybody's Magazine, John A. Ryan, championing capitalism, makes this acknowl-

Between one-half and two-thirds of the wage earn ers of the United States, both male and female, are today compelled to accept less than living wages.

That is as strong an arraignment of the system as Socialists could ask. It is strong from two angles. That such a nderance of the workers under this system should be unable to earn enough to permit them to live, condemns the system as being inadequate, as contributing to immorality, and as forbidding pport of religion. But that this should be done under compulsion argues slavery.

The question remains, Why should Mr. Ryan stand for a system that can compel such conditions? And though he should be able to arouse the people to the point where they would wrest part of the power of exploitation from capi-talism, why should he stand for a system that will permit a worker to be robbed of even one per cent of what he produces and that must make him dependent on others for a chance to work?

Socialists would free all workers from every vestige of slavery. Why should not Mr. Ryan do as much?

STRIKES AND PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

A strike is on among the workers on municipal undertakings at Leeds, England. Doctors, lawyers, clergymen and merchants have come in as strike breakers in order, as they probably honestly believe, to serve the city. This brings into relief the fact that

municipal or public ownership is not Socialism. Rather it is state capitalism. Its purpose, if not to make profits and so reduce taxes for the propertied, to reduce rates for those able to use the utilities. It therefore is a middle class proposition, a new form of special privilege. The worker may be exploited under public ownership as effectively as under private capitalism. In fact, the exploitation is in some respect surer. As in Leeds, people who might not under private ownership do anything of the kind will turn out to defeat his demands, under the belief that they are so serving the city of the whole people. If it be a state or federal proposition, a strike becomes rebellion, and may be ruthlessly put down, with seeming show of justice. Mere public ownership is really only a device for perpetuating the badly discredited profit system.

Socialism proposes collective owner-ship, but it will be accompanied with democratic control of all industry and of the government as well, hence will make impossible the exploitation of the toiler for the benefit of a privileged class of any kind. Socialists are inter-ested in what is known as public ownership only in that they recognize it as the next step in evolution, and neces-sary to be taken. After that comes real Socialism—controlled by all the workers.

NOT AGAINST RELIGION.

Tell me if Socialism is against religion, and tell us what makes people believe as,

Socialism is not against religion. It is an economic movement, working for its ends along political lines. It has nothing to do with religion, one way or Some Socialists are religionists and some are atheistic, just as peo-ple who are not Socialists are. It will be the same when Socialism is fully established. The essence of Socialism is tol-erance toward personal beliefs, so that it is certain that when Socialism comes everyone will have as full freedom to believe what he may wish on religious matters as he can do now.

They who are saying that Socialism is opposed to religion are making that campaign with full knowledge that they are lying, in order to maintain the graft of the master class over the workers. When they quote individual Socialists in an effort to commit a great social move-ment to the views of individuals (which of course is impossible), they are careful to quote only a few words, and not the entire argument, so, in most cases and thus do n storage, which there they quote, and they do it delibers they quote and they do it delibers they quote they are the properties of the prope

erately to deceive and doing that to aid the robbers in the name of religion, yet against religion. It is an old cry. Every advance has been made through the charge that they who sought the people's good were fighting religion. They declared the abolitionists of old They declared the abolitionists of old were opposed to religion and wished whites and blacks to marry. They said Paul was destroying religion and at Ephesis howled him down in a three hours' demonstration. They even said that Jesus was perverting the people in matters of religion, and convicted him

on that charge. There is no greater enemy of religion than he who fights advancement on the ground that it is opposed to religion, and the more he pretends the more blamable his conduct is. But never in history have they won in the end, and within a half a century the children of those same "stoners of the prophets" will de-clare that they always were Socialists.

SOCIALISM is the science of getting what you earn.

THE farmer has often been touched but never reached.

You rent a shack from the master by the month, and he rents your body by the day.

Socialism means enough of every-

thing and not too much of anythingincluding work. You can't get ahead under capitalism.

More than that, you can't even get even in the race for gold. THE worker is a hired man. He makes himself a tool for producing

things that the master owns. THE capitalist's idea of dividing up is for the poor to do all the work and for the rich to get all the product.

ARCHEOLOGISTS have found a prehistoric village of Indians. That'll swell the old party vote next election.

Oh, skin me slive, and work me to death; Shut off my allowunce of grub. And I'll vote for you, beat, till my very last breath— Because I'm a Henry Dubb.

THE mortgaged farmer pays interest the tenant farmer rent, and the "inde-pendent" farmer profit. And there you

THE democrat votes for low wages and the republican votes for high prices, and the kind-hearted capitalist sees that we get both.

CAPITALISM provides the incentive to war, and then "sics" the workers on each other that the masters may profit by slaughter.

DEPOSITORS in postal savings banks may hereafter deposit sums in excess of \$500. This great administration triumph will tickle the \$1.50 a day wage slave 'most to death.

THE postoffice department wants congress to take over the means of commu-nicating intelligence. What use can congress have for the means of communicat-

AN opponent of Socialism says the earning capacity of the capitalist is greater than that of the average worker. Suppose the matter be tested. Let the capitalist go to work and really earn something, instead of taking part of what the worker earns, and let's see.

HERE is a great remedy of the mushy minded: "Evaporate the watered stocks."
Another puts it: "Let the government cancel the watered stocks." The watered stocks have practically all been sold to poor people who imagined they were gaining an interest in the industries and thus diffusing ownership. The above de-mands mean that they should be frozen out so the plutes could own everything.

THE American farmer is able to pro duce enough to feed the world, but he is given so little for it that he often has to sell below cost of production and sometimes cannot sell at all. The remedy is not to set more to producing more is now produced than will sell, but to control distribution, and make it so they wish and what the farmer can

A BULLETIN on the cotton industry just issued by the census bureau brings out some interesting facts. For example, it is reported that 84 per cent of the cotton mills are under corporate control now as compared with 79 per cent in 1904. The average hours worked are 60 a weekten hours a day—and most of these are women and children. There has been a large decrease in the number of weavers employed, due to the installation of a tomatic looms.

WHAT a thing is political economy! It permits the trusts to tax the people a billion dollars in order that the government may get a million. It spends more for war in times of peace than it does for education. It permits irresponsible individuals to waste the people's heritage when it might be conserved for all time to come. It pretends that the people rule, yet will not give them voice on laws and makes them petition their own servants. Economy? Rot.

THE government has just issued a bul-letin on the artificial ice industry that is pregnant with suggestion. It appears that that there are only 2,004 establishments in America making artificial ice and most of these are corporately con-trolled. The capital invested is only \$118,000,000 while the annual product is valued at \$42,000,000, or more than a third of the total valuation. The significant thing is, that this is a growing in-dustry, yet in its infancy, destined to control packing and shipping and many other lines. It is yet possible for municipalities to almost capture the business and thus do much to lower the cost of storage, which greatly affects the high

Appeal's Answers to Questions

Insurance and Losses Suppose a man is insured for \$1,000 types and has three years to go when S insugurated, will be lose that money?

If the insurance company fulfills its contract he will not. That will rest with the company and not with Socialism. If he does not get what the company promised him (the fault lying with the company), still under Socialism he will have an assurance of protection for himself and family that many times the thousand dollars could not give.

Banking Under Socialism

people have money in hanks will they leave under Socialism; or will there be banks ther Banking will be a monopoly of the government of the whole people when Socialism comes. Most of the saving will be in the commonwealth, the necessary saving. However, for those who wish to save, the banks will be available, and will without doubt be used as the safest depository that time ever

Gambling Under Socialism will they still have race-track

We will have under Socialism what-ever the people want. When, however, the uncertainties of making a living are ended in Socialism, we think there will be less disposition to take risks on unnecessary uncertainties. Even now is a strong movement against gambling. We believe this movement will be intensified when Socialism comes. Mere racing without gambling is not objectionable to liberal-minded people.

"Drawing Money."

Can any individual under Socialism draw money from the government without security? If so, how would be stand?

Populism advocates "loaning money to individuals. It is but another form of special privilege. When Socialism comes into power, however, no man can secure a loan from the government, no difference what his security might be. The only way he can get anything will be by rendering service for it. Of course, in case of disability the man or woman who had been a worker would be able to get support. But this would not be in the form of a loan. It would scarcely be even as a pension, as we un-derstand pensions today, but would be apportioned to him as his right because of service he had rendered or that othwere willing to render to banish poverty and distress from the earth.

The Henry Dubb Combination:
A few doses of the following, scientifically administered, is guaranteed to cure the most chronic case of Dubbitis:
5 The Thieves' Book. \$25
5 The Road to Socialism 25
5 Appeal's Answers to Questions 25
10 The Ginger Jar Opposes Socialism 26
5 Why The Church Opposes Socialism 25
5 Wayland's Undelivered Address 25
200 Appeal leaflets, assorted 25
Total \$22
0 One dellar takes the bunch and we pay the postage.

MUST BE PRACTICAL A New York friend writes that he has just seen the light of Socialism and proposes to sell his valuable farm and

go out to do things." Nonsense! A man with such an idea is utterly incompetent to do anything for Socialism. In fact in so playing the fool he is more likely to do Socialism damage than good. Socialism is not an impractical, visionary nothingness, but is, rather, the most hard-headed business proposition for the good of all that has ever been devised. He who understands Socialism and himself will not go wild on a moonshiny proposition. If he has property, though he were to give it away it would neither bring Socialism nor end capitalism. If he neglects the work he did before he is preparing the way for his own downfall. He might indeed, if he thor-oughly understood the Socialist viewpoint, which includes a full understanding of the capitalist game, make more money than he did before, prove that he was "efficient," and at the same time use his means to educate the workers, which is the most practical method of hastening Socialism. This

is real help.
It must be understood that the Socialist vision is not Socialism. It is an abstraction, good only as an incentive, which must be wrought into concrete form. Sometimes the vision so impresses the new convert that he becomes for a time incoherent. It will be remembered in the story of Jesus' healing, the man restored to sight saw at first "men as trees walking." It re-quires application to get the clear sight, after the vision comes. Every Socialist owes it to himself and to the cause to get things clear in his mind, and not to do foolish things on the impulse of an enthusiastic moment. The movement requires clear thinking ceaseless activity from each Socialist.

PLOT of land in New York City was sold the other day for \$307 per square foot. Figured at this rate the total value the 21.9 square miles upon which of the 21.9 square miles upon which Manhattan stands is worth \$187,534,-846,720. This exceeds the total wealth of the United States by some eighty millions. Yet in the midst of this great wealth can probably be found more poverty and suffering than in any other part of the country. It would be interesting to know what future generations will think of their forefathers struggling for think of their forefathers struggling for a mere existence in the midst of plenty? history of this day and age written fifty years hence is going to make mighty interesting reading for the man who lives

BETTER economic conditions produce better men and women and better men and women make a better world to live in. Socialists are working for better economic conditions. Won't you help?

Teacher-Willie, what is a political platform? Willie-Please, mum, Pa says it is what the old parties use to fool the peoTo a Critic.

J. A. Wayland, Appe A critic wants to know why the pub lishers do not combine and build their own paper mill instead of my asking that the government do it for them. In the first place these publishers have conflicting interests and could not combine; secondly, men are going in and out of the business all the time and could not afford to study the matter to see how it would help them; third, it would be private property subject under the laws to stock manipulation just as are the stocks in the paper trust; fourth, that these or some other reasons prevent them from doing it, for we see they are not doing it.

Profit enters into every person's life and is therefore a matter in which all persons are interested. You might ask why do not the publishers create their own postal system or make their own mail sacks. It can be done by all the people for all the people better and cheaper. So can paper, and having no title that can be gampled with it altitle that can be gambled with it al-ways remains the property of all the people for use. It is conflicting interests that prevent individuals from com-bining. Even the promoters of trusts have had difficult work to combine factories after the good of the plan has been made apparent in other industries, and where there were only a few hundred people to see and explain the plan to.

Besides, if the newspaper men were to build mills, those on the inside would have the advantage of those who would later engage in the business and you would have private monopoly as oppressive as any other trust. The history of industry has proven that it is impracticable to combine many thousands of conflicting interests. Industries were not combined until skill and machinery had driven the many out of the field. Do you not see how foolish it would be to tell the people to combine, such as desired, and create a postal system and not ask the government to do what they could do them-selves? Well, the same principle holds good in the paper or in any other line of production. We are in the clutches of private trusts because we have been going on that way.

I am not afraid of the governmentonly anarchists are. You must be an anarchist to fear your government—yourself really—with the operation of

ECONOMIC DETERMINISM.

Please explain in simple language what you mean y economic determinism. Don't use long, unpro-ouncable words which so many of us workers can of understand.

Perhaps the best possible definition of economic determinism is by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto. It is so simple anyone with a little thought can understand it, and as the idea was first put into words by these men it bears something like an authoritative character. That definition is as follows: In every historical epoch the prevailing mode of conomic production and exchange and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up and from which alone can be explained the political and intellectual history of that epoch.

This becomes simpler when you begin to apply its statements. It means, for example, that when slavery prevailed the law and the church and the thinkers defended slavery. It means that when the wages system is in force the law, the church and scholars will defend wages system. If you carry the idea into the future, it will mean, when the wages system is abolished and Socialism takes its place, that the law, the schools and the church will just as strenuously defend the new method of mak-ing a living. It means that if you wish to understand why people taught and believed certain things at any period in the past, you can grasp it all if you learn the way in which a majority of them made their living. It means that the every day life is the real life—that what people think about six days in the week

What is known as economic determinism is also known as the materialistic conception of history. As such, though it is now generally accepted by students all over the world, it is bitterly denounced by some on the ground of being materialistic." It is not materialistic in the sense the word is generally used. It does not suggest that there is no God. It does not say that people ought to think only of material things. It merely says that, when there is a bitter fight to make a living most people will do and think most about making a living. The logic of the philosophy is that if the time should come when the making of a living would be so easy as to banish worry about how it might be done, materialism would cease, and then people could think of higher attainments.

regulates what they think all the rest

LIMITING LAND OWNERSHIP. People here talk of petitioning congress to pass law limiting land ownership to 160 acres. What s you think of the proposal? Should Socialists sign and work for such a petition?

Limitation of land ownership is neither logical nor a remedy for the evils of landlordism and dispossession. If a man may absolutely own an acre, he may logically own as many acres as he can get. If you should limit ownership to 160 acres, you still have land monopoly without an increase of land, and it is

Twenty-five Books Free.

Twenty-five Books Free.

Below is a list of cloth-bound books that sell for \$1 each. You know what these books are because we have told you about them many times in these calumns. For one dellar we will send you any one of these books and include 25 copies of any of our fivenent propagands pamphlets at no extra cost to you. And besides, we'll pay the postage. The Truth About Socialism, Benson. War-What For? Kirkpatrick.

Debs. His Writings and Speeches," Reynolds.

"The Chasm. Socialist novel, Cook. Select the 25 pumphlets you want from the following list:

"\$2,000 Fer Year and a Six-Hour Day," The Road to Socialism. The Road to Socialism. The Ginger Jar. Wayland's Undelivered Address. Why the Church Opposes Socialism.

only a question of time until there will be dispossession and landlordism, and when a new "divide up" system will have to be devised. and l

As Socialists have a logical and practical remedy for the evils that are recognized, they should press them forward, and not be taken in by half-baked reform measures. A good large farm in owned by the public every community, owned by the public and operated with the best of machinery on which the unemployed can find work at good pay, the community reimburs-ing itself from the sale of products, will do more to solve the problem of dispos-session, landlordism and unemployment than all limitation of ownership or any other reform measure could possibly do. Of course, such municipal or township farms (for heaven's sake don't call them poor farms) is only a beginning. But it is a beginning that will force further action until the entire evil shall be cor-

rected. Away with exploded reform proposi Let us have something that will really do things. Let us have Socialism.

THE cost of living will fall when the

THE best place to cast an old party ballot is on the dump heap.

"JOHN D. Takes Part," reads a head-The pious old gentleman is getting modest.

A tale of woe perchance may 'rouse The interest of some. Talk not of grief 'til thou'st engulfed A plate of army slum.

ALL the thieves in all the penitentiaries have not stolen as much as one multimillionaire has done.

THE only co-operation that appeals to some men is that which begins and ends with their own pocket-book.

ALL the murderers who ever expiated their crimes in death have not caused so many deaths as has one armor trust.

Success from a capitalist viewpoint is attaining a position where one may live from the sweat of other men's brows. CAPITALISM is against individuality.

The capitalist is made to sink his individuality in a corporation, and the worker to lose his name in a number. "JIM" McNaughton, president and general manager of the Calumet and Hecla Copper company, doesn't carry a

ber of Socialists these days. WHEN the democrats get in power they give the republicans a shaking up. and when the republicans get in power they give the democrats a shaking up. And they both give the people a shaking

down all the time. THE New York Call shows that many of the child slaves of the south are lineal descendants of the men who fought for freedom during the revolutionary war. It proves that capitalism makes the freedom won by war impossible to keep.

THE women who are urging men to oppose woman suffrage on the ground it tends toward Socialism argue that the people should not rule, but that a few masters should. Nothing could condemn capitalism or commend Socialism more.

THE Chicago Tribune says: "Men are almost dying of starvation in a city (Chicago) where there is abundance."
It is the class of men who created the abundance who are starving, and the Tribune stands for capitalism-the cause

A SOUTHERN paper thinks Socialism is weak on the ground that aggregation of wealth, as found with great capitalists, can accomplish things small hoardings cannot. Good. The greater aggregation of wealth that will come with a commonwealth, will, according to the same logic. be able to accomplish a great many things that mere millionaires cannot do.

Some of the social workers from the upper classes say that the temptation of the rich girl is greater than that of the poor girl and that more of them "fall" offer something "just as them "fal in proportion to their numbers. That may be! But the rich girl who falls is either protected or written up as a hero-ine of a "romance" in the papers, while the poor girl who goes the same road is forced into prostitution and despair.

THERE is something wrong with a system under which the average working man has to die in order to hand his family a few thousand dollars life insurance. Socialists want to establish a system under which a man may live and enjoy the few thousand with his family It should not be necessary for any man to live in poverty all his life in order to provide for his family after he is dead.

SAYS a news dispatch: "Several railroads stated that while many men had been laid off the causes were natural." Yes, natural to capitalism, but unnatural from the standpoint of human justice. There is plenty of work to do in this old world, work in producing things that old world, work in producing things that millions want and need, and there are plenty of tools to do this work. But these tools are private property. That's the rub. When Socialism prevails it will no longer be "natural" for men to beg for jobs and go hungry because they can't get them.

THE U. S. department of agriculture in a recent bulletin says: "There is not a single important step in the entire cotton handling and marketing scheme which owes its origin to special consideration of the producer's interest." While it is something to hear this declaration from so high an authority, Socia!ists have known a long time that there ists have known a long time that there is not a feature in all the capitalist scheme that is based on the welfare of the producer. Why not end the scheme of tribute and do something for the worker on the farm and in the city?

The new year promises to be the most successful in the entire history of the American Socialist movement. Reports come to the Appeal that the comrades have adopted the literature method to swing the country to Socialism next fall. Undoubtedly we shall elect a number of Socialist con gressmen next November in addition to rolling up the largest Socialist vote ever. The literature method consists of getting friends and neighbors to read Socialist papers, pamphlets and books. The first is most important and also the easiest. If you will read the Army column on page 3 you will note that the people are eager to get the truth; that there was never a time when it was so easy to get non-Socialists to subscribe for the Appeal. They only wait to be asked. If you don't believe this, suppose you try and find out_TODAY.

As soon as all the returns on the Comrade X proposition are in, a final statement will appear in the Appeal.

"KEEP HANDS OFF!

Harvey E. Jester, Washington press representative of the Cold Storage Warehousemen and Affiliated Industries, gives out the following for public consumption:

No legislation is necessary to regulate the torage business. No defense is intended to be and no defense is necessary of cold storage susiness or as a factor in the food market.

Mr. Jester, although his name might imply otherwise, is a very serious sor individual and has no intention of being humorous when he parrot-like repeats the cry of every other capitalistic parasite-"no legislation is The food trust fills its wareessary. houses with food products and hold to create high prices and then gravely informs us that "no legislation is nec-essary." It's the old cry of the Masters of the Bread-"Keep Hands Off."

THE POSTAL SURPLUS PROBLEM A dispatch from Washington an-

nounces that the postoffice department is ahead of the game ten million dollars on last year's business. What to do with this gain is bothering democratic statesmen. It is likely that it will be used as an argument to reduce first-cla postage from two to one cent. It will save the business men of the country millions of dollars. It will save the AP-PEAL more than \$5,000 in a year. But one-cent postage will not help the mail clerks. A Socialist administration would increase the wages of the postal enployes to a point where it would absorb the profits of the department. Two cents is cheap enough for sending a letter across the continent. It's worth that. If there is to be a surplus let it go in increasing wages and shortening hours increasing wages and shortening hours of employment of postal workers.

"JUST AS GOOD."

Here are some figures which show that the so-called progressive party, which fooled many who were hoping for relief through a reform party, is on the decline. The figures show the vote for two years in the five state of New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Michigan and Maryland:

In five state. 1912 1913997.411 1,106,007950,032 463,121,270,597 1,182,656 Progressive Democrat Having succeeded in partially routing

a few who hoped for reform rather than a complete overthrow of the capitalist system, the so-called progressive party may now go out of existence. Bryan was used to defeat populism in 1896, and now the money bill he endorsed is as far from his demands of those clays as it would be possible to imagine. It is always well to beware of politicians who

PHENOMENA OF THE DANCE

Not since the fourteenth century has there been such a remarkable revival of dancing all over the world as there is today. In some respects it amounts to a fever. Sometimes it is, without doubt, carried to excess, and, amid all the dancing there is, it is inevitable that there should be insane steps and immoral tendencies in certain lines. But the objectionable features appear chiefly in high society and in the slum, both of which are abnormal. both of which are abnormal.
We are not at the point where we can

explain the phenomenal revival of dancing with absolute certainty. There are indications, however, that it is closely related to the world-awakening. and the vision of better things. The fact that there was a similar manifestation in the fifteenth century, the pe riod of the renaissance, would bear out the idea. It would seem that the worldhope is getting into the feet. It must have physical as well as mental expression. It has not fully learned the step in the march of the ages. It is moving to syncopated or rag time; that is to say, it fumbles and stumbles. But it is moving. After awhile it will catch a surer and more beautiful step, and then it will move forward with greater regularity and knowledge of what it means into the joy of social life on a higher plane.

There is a cheerfulness in this view. It is not out of place for the Socialists to see in every advanced thought and every tendency of social consciousness an evidence of the awakening of which Socialism is the crown and finality. The awakening is not confined to So-cialism and Socialists alone; but So-cialists alone understand what it means and are competent to direct it all to