

NUMBER OF SUBSCRIBERS 66,255

THIS IS NO. 215 50 CENTS A YEAR Appeal to Reason. GIRARD, KANS., U.S.A., JANUARY 13, 1900

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY FOR PUBLIC OWNERS SHIP OF MONOPOLIES SINGLE COPY, ONE YEAR... 50c IN CLUBS OF 5... 25c Entered at Girard, Kan., P. O. as second-class matter

...ORGANIZE BRANCHES OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN YOUR CITY NOW...

ON THE QUIET

ONE of the most convincing things about the socialist movement is the rapidly increasing circulation of the APPEAL. Nearly every mention of the paper or the movement in the exchanges refers to this fact.

In the last report of the United States Labor Commissioner, page 423, the cost of carrying a passenger on the railroad is given at 2-5 of a cent a mile in one instance and 1-5 in another instance.

THE DECEMBER FARM

The ten acre fruit farm in the great fruit-raising belt of Arkansas, which was offered for the largest number of yearly subscribers sent in by any one person during the month of December, was won by W. S. Patterson, of Coudersport, Penn., by the following score:

- W. S. Patterson, Coudersport, Pa. 178 Albert Ficks, Cincinnati, Ohio. 140 J. A. Mountain, Detroit, Mich. 130 D. A. Thayer, Mankato, Minn. 100

Brother Patterson got the farm at a fraction of its worth if he had paid the full amount out of his own pocket.

The ten acre farm that will be given in January is adjoining those already given away. These are prizes that are worth working for.

THE Iron Moulders' Journal, of Cincinnati, says that socialism is incompatible with human nature. A mere statement that could be applied with equal truthfulness to trades unionism—but it would not be true.

Under the present system the vast majority lose their identity. What identity have the men who are known only by the number that they go by? What independence? They are dependent and sink everything to the man who will permit them to work.

Regarding selfishness being a bar to socialism, it will, in fact, be the very thing that will bring it. Men, for the preservation of self, selfishness, will not permit the present condition that denies them the good things their labor and genius creates.

If the ideas of socialists were put into practice the man without "influence" would be in a worse condition than were the black slaves of the South. Those with influence would no doubt, have a good time.

You bet. For the workers to get more than \$5,000 a year would be the most horrible of slavery! For them to vote for the foremen and superintendents directing the industries would reduce them to a system of peonage that would soon turn them back to monkeys!

It is funny how the old thing works. Here I find in the N. Y. World of November 27, that a move has been put on foot in New York by the wealthy folk to teach the farmers how to make more money, and propose opening a school for that purpose!

Advertisement for Union Label featuring a logo and text: 'This Paper is Produced by Union Labor on a Fifty-three Hour Week; Under Socialism the Workers Would Receive About Five Times as Much Pay for a Twenty-four Hour Week.'

A CRITIC wants to know why the publishers do not combine and build their own paper mill instead of my asking that the government do it for them.

TO A CRITIC: 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.

SUPERVISOR Chamberlin says that Mrs. Louisa Johnson's furniture was set in the street, Tuesday, while she was away from home, having gone out to wash, and that four of her children were obliged to seek shelter at the home of a neighbor.

POOR WOMAN EVICTED Her Furniture and Children Turned into the Street During Her Absence. He says the woman is particularly unfortunate. Four of her eight children are in the Lincoln home for the feeble-minded, her husband has abandoned her, and she is not in the best of health.

WHAT idiocy there is in many of our customs and ideas. Take that elegantly attired man over there, a useless ornament of society. He would not touch the hand of the cook or waiter, but he will eat that which their hands have been manipulating!

I AM pleased to note that W. F. Phelps will issue the first number of a monthly magazine of political economy and sociology on the 10th of this month. Mr. Phelps was for three years the business manager of the APPEAL, grew up with it, and his experience is of more worth than large capital.

It is pleasing to note that the stage of questioning and inquiry has arrived in the matter of socialism.

HERE is a man who thinks there would be no ambition when every one is sure of a living, and none would work. In the first place, no one would be sure of a living unless he did work. How many get a living without working and others today necessarily get less than they have produced.

IN THE midst of the excitement of the blowing up of the Maine, Sergeant Wm Anthony showed great coolness and discipline when he reported to Sigbee: "Excuse me, sir; I have to report that the ship has been blown up and is sinking."

THE secretary of the state board of health of Minnesota says that the state should appoint the inspector of cattle that are to be slaughtered. That will not do any good. The inspector will be under temptation to bribery from the packers and many of them will fall.

A COMMON interest produces common, brotherly efforts; a divided interest produces division, unbrotherly strife. Commonwealth would make all men brothers, individualized wealth makes them competitors.

SOME of the jurors in the celebrated Moux murder case in New York that is costing hundreds of thousands of dollars to the people, complain that they are shadowed by detectives every step they take.

THE PRESENT INSANITY Some of the beauties of the private property system—men are hired to hear a case at a fat salary; fearing they will be biased, shrewd lawyers are hired on each side to instruct his judgment; not yet being willing to trust him wholly, twelve men ignorant of the case are hired to decide the matter; not willing to trust these, fifteen detectives are hired to watch these jurors to see that they are not given an opportunity to sell out to the highest bidder.

A. M. DEWEY, special Labor Commissioner of the United States, made a talk for socialism before the Social Democratic party in San Francisco the other day. He has reasons for the faith that is in him. One thing he said that strikes me as so plain that I wonder there is a fool who cannot see it: He said "the city that establishes a free street car system is the city that will grow."

THE supreme court of Ohio has dismissed the case of bribery against the Standard Oil Company. The republican Attorney General, Monette, testified that he was offered \$400,000 by Charles Squire, who represented F. B. Squire, secretary of the Standard Oil Company, to dismiss the suits, but the court held that the information did not connect the Oil Co. with the bribery!

Promotional text for the next issue: 'NEXT WEEK The Common People of the United States vs. John Doe Profits Richard Roe Interest; and Peter Metallic Money. By Eugene V. Brewster. The Social Democratic Party of Germany. Why the Postoffice Don't Pay. The Brockton Social Democracy. Why Artists Are Socialists. EXTRA COPIES, 10c A HUNDRED'

SOCIALISM AND DRINK

Prohibition is a failure. It has been proved a miserable failure a thousand times. It will continue to be a failure just as long as drink is manufactured and sold for a profit.

Men go into the drink business because it offers large profits. Once destroy the profit system and the saloonkeeper will disappear forever. The license system simply places the traffic in the hands of a favored few, to monopolize the business for their personal gain. Did you ever ask yourself why the saloonkeeper fits up attractive saloons; why he opens great music halls with good musicians? He does it for profit. The saloonkeeper pays \$2 for a gallon of whisky and retails it for \$8. He pays \$8 for a barrel of beer and retails it for \$24. Do you see what he is in business for? Why don't men open stores for the sale of postage stamps? Simply because they can't compete with Uncle Sam. Prohibitionists assert that intemperance is the cause of poverty. That's where they have the cart before the horse. Intemperance is caused by just two things: Poverty and the treating habit.

Miss Frances Willard, who spent fifty years of her life in the cause of temperance, said, in a speech two years before she died: "I have said over and over again that intemperance made poverty. I now say that poverty makes intemperance."

As Robert Blatchford has well said: "So long as we make drudges of people, people will drink. Give the people healthy homes, human lives, due leisure and amusement, and pure food and drink, and drunkenness will soon disappear. While there are slums;

while men have no pure pleasure; while they are overworked and untaught; and while the wealthy brewer can open his poison dens at every street corner, it will be useless to preach temperance."

Overwork or underfeed a man and his system craves for some stimulant and nearly always it is liquor. So long as we maintain the present criminal system we must expect to have intemperance. People who have visited the slum districts of our great cities, the coal mines, the great logging camps, the sweating dens, and the great textile factories do not wonder at the growth of intemperance. When the parents are forced into the factories and shops for long hours the children have no care. Millions of them live in the slum quarters because rent is cheap. The children are surrounded by evil environments. Is it any wonder they acquire the drink habit? The treating habit leads thousands to become excessive drinkers.

The evils of the present liquor traffic are: (1) Drunkenness; (2) political corruption; (3) the enormous cost; (4) absence of control; (5) monopoly for private gain; (6) the self-interest of the dealer in increasing the sale. Our nation spends from \$1,200,000,000 to \$1,500,000,000 per year for intoxicating beverages. Out of this Uncle Sam receives \$115,000,000 in taxes.

Our prohibition friends assume that if the nation would adopt prohibition we would save this enormous waste. While it is true that the individual workers to the number of five per cent. might and do save their drink bill, and also have the advantage of securing more remunerative employment because

they are abstainers, it does not follow that the nation would save this if all were to become abstainers. If all were to cease drinking there would be no individual advantage for more steady employment, for all would be equal competitors for the best jobs. As long as the competitive system is in existence there will be a tendency to pay just a bare subsistence wage. It follows that if the vast majority of the workers were to become total abstainers, then the competition of the unemployed would tend to reduce wages by the amount saved. The better economic condition of the temperance worker is enjoyed only by reason of the degradation of his brother worker. Either by rent, interest, or profit, capitalism would take what the worker saved by becoming abstainers. Take, for instance, a street in which every other door is a saloon. It is not a desirable place for a residence. Abolish the saloon in that street and up go the rents.

Henry George said: "Industry, frugality and intelligence avail the individual, in so far as they are superior to the general level. If one man worked harder or with superior skill or intelligence than ordinary he will get ahead, but if the average of industry, skill, or intelligence is brought up to the higher point, the increased intensity of application will secure but the old rate of wages. If, under existing conditions, American mechanics would come down to the Chinese standard of living, they would ultimately have to come down to the Chinese standard of wages."

Prof. R. T. Ely says: "A few escape

from the ranks . . . but they are the exceptions. So long as our present industrial movements continue thrift, frugality and temperance of the masses cannot alter this in the slightest degree. One who excels may rise, but his superiority would cease should others emulate his qualities.

The only way to improve their conditions is to elevate their entire class."

Prohibitionists are in error when they suppose that the \$1,200,000,000 directly expended for drink would, under prohibition, be expended for better food, clothing, shelter, etc. If the workers were to abstain from drink they would become much more efficient workers. It is estimated that, with prohibition, the productivity of the workers would increase 20 per cent. In other words 100 men would do the work that it now requires 120, and, as a result, the ranks of the unemployed would be greatly increased. Not only that but the 216,000 men who are now engaged in the retail drink traffic, together with their 56,000 bartenders, the 20,000 brewery workers, the 20,000 cooperers, the 4,648 wholesale liquor dealers, and the 1,866 brewers—a total of 318,514—and an army besides who are indirectly given labor, would all be thrown out of employment, thus intensifying the competition among the workers. You say this great army would find work because of the increased sale of food, clothing and shelter. We already have so many workers and such perfected machinery that we can, in six or seven months, manufacture all the goods the nation can consume. Socialism would destroy competition, but until we have social-

ism the only remedy for the abuse of the drink habit is nationalization.

The nationalization of the liquor traffic would abolish the treating habit at once. In the government saloon there would be no attractions such as card playing, pool and billiard tables, games of chance for the drinks, and all that. There would be no incentive to increase the sale. On the contrary, there would be a healthy influence to decrease the sale. There would be no loafing, no fighting, no drunkards, no political corruption, no treating, and no adulteration. The nationalized saloon would be as clean and respectable as the nationalized post office. Government liquor or beer would be absolutely pure. No stranger or drunkard could buy enough to get intoxicated. Being made and sold at cost, no individual could compete, and 99 out of every 100 saloonkeepers would voluntarily go out of business. The strong arm of Uncle Sam, together with public sentiment, would enforce the law. Public sentiment is not on the side of prohibition; neither is it on the side of intoxication. It would be almost unanimously on the side of the nationalization of the traffic, and this is of far-reaching importance. The root of the evil is simply the profit system. To remove the national crime of drunkenness we must nationalize the traffic. There is no other remedy. Nationalization is the first step, and a long one, in the direction of prohibition. If the prohibition party wants to abolish the national crime of drunkenness in our time they should join, work and vote with the Social Democratic party.

GOVERNMENT BY MINORITY

This is said to be a government of the people for the people and by the people; but this is not so. It is a government of the minority, for the minority, by the minority. It was organized to secure minority rule. Its practical working proves this beyond a doubt. The men who organized this government did not believe that the people were capable of self-government, and they organized it to defeat the will of the people, and it has never failed to do this when the occasion required.

It was organized in three departments, the executive, the legislative and the judicial. It is supposed that the majority rules in the election of these different officials; but this is not the case. The minority elects all of these officials, except the House of Representatives. The people are not allowed to vote direct for any of these officials except members of Congress. The reason for this was that the people were not thought capable of self-government. The men who framed this government had no faith in the people. They distrusted them, and hence they organized the government to defeat the popular will. They were allowed to vote direct for members of congress and members of congress were supposed to reflect the will of the people, but the Senate was organized as a check on the House of Representatives to curb the spirit of democracy; and United States senators are elected by the state legislatures, which constitutes a very small minority of the people. The people are not allowed to vote directly for president and vice-president, but the people of each state are allowed to elect a number of electors equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state is entitled, and they elect the president and vice-president. These electors constitute but a very small fraction of the people of the United States; while the president appoints and the senate confirms the members of the supreme court. One man with the consent of the senate elects the most august tribunal on the face of the earth. The Areopagus of ancient Greece, the splendid judicial forums of Rome in the zenith of her glory are not to be compared to it in power and importance. This august tribunal can divest us of our lives and property and strike from our

statute books with impunity the most sacred laws that were ever enacted for our protection and our prosperity, and yet officials of this, the most important department of our government, are virtually elected by one man to defeat the will of the people. This does not look very democratic when one man can elect the most important branch of our government, a branch that can nullify and veto the acts of both the legislative and executive departments. This looks very autocratic to me. But we have said that this government was organized to defeat the will of the people. Now for the proof of this assertion let us examine its practical workings.

When the house of representatives enacts a law that reflects the will of the people, there stands the Senate clothed with power to defeat that will by non-concurrence in its measures and if the Senate should concur, there stands the president clothed with the veto power to defeat the popular will as expressed by the legislative department and if the president should concur, there stands the supreme court clothed with power under our constitution to wipe from our statute books the acts of both the legislative and the executive departments of our government. Under this autocratic principal that was imbedded in our constitution by the defenders of monarchy there is little chance of enacting the popular will into law. There are three chances against it after the popular will has been expressed at the ballot box. There was a strong monarchial party in the convention that framed our constitution, headed by Alexander Hamilton, who introduced into that body a draft of a constitution for a strong government with the president and Senate elective for life and in its defense he made a speech in which he said that the British government was the best the world had ever produced; and it was his influence with a strong monarchial party at his back, that injected into our constitution all of its autocratic features by granting to the Senate, the president and the supreme court veto powers, to defeat the will of the people. In fact our form of government is nothing but a compromise between monarchy and democracy, in which democracy got the worst of the bargain. Some of the worst

features of monarchy were injected into it with full control. Hamilton secured all the strong points of his draft by abandoning the life tenure for the president and members of the senate by taking the election of those officers out of the hands of the people and making the office of president and vice-president elective every four years by electors, and by making members of the Senate elective every six years by members of the different state legislatures and by investing the president, the Senate, and the supreme court, with veto power by which all the laws enacted by the popular branch of our government could be nullified and wiped off our statute books, thus enabling the minority to defeat popular will of the majority and secure to themselves minority rule. When this was done Hamilton became one of the ablest advocates of the constitution on the floor of the convention, and in connection with Madison and Jay published the *Federalist* in its defense. The monarchial features of our constitution has given to us minority presidents and minority officials for all departments of our government except members of congress, that have defied the will of the people and given to us a government by injunction and built up corporations, trusts and monopolies that have absorbed the wealth of the country into their own coffers and as a result some of our money kings have recently formed a money trust that has recently taken possession of the United States treasury to the extent of some 30 or 40 millions of dollars with the full consent of Secretary Gage, and are now using its funds with which to carry out its hellish schemes of robbery and anarchy. Now let us discard those features of our constitution that has given us minority rule and so alter and amend it as to give us majority rule by the Initiative and the Referendum and take from the president, the senate, and the supreme court, the right to veto laws passed by the people and place the veto power in the hands of the people where it belongs. This will give to them the right to approve or disapprove of the laws that govern them. We will then have a government in which the people may make laws of, for and by the people!

ISAAC MODE.

interference a natural evolution whenever the consolidation of capital reaches the monopoly stage. The whole situation may be stated in a few words. Competition, consolidation and monopoly are all closely related. Competition must result in consolidation; consolidation must result in monopoly; monopoly must fix unreasonable rates and charges, against which the people must protect themselves by governmental interference. Also, the people will never allow themselves to be permanently deprived of the benefits to be derived from the consolidation of capital. Governmental interference must ultimately take the form of state ownership, or regulation, which is ownership in a modified form, rather than prohibition of consolidation. To this condition it must come at last. A thread of necessity extends through all the links. This end was inevitable from the beginning. As the acorn holds the wide branching oak so the first partnership that ever was formed was the seed of which municipal and state ownership are the finished growth. But in any event the power of the people is commensurate with whatever evil may result from the consolidation of capital, and that power will be exercised.—*The Occasional*.

War!

He who loves the bristle of bayonets only sees in their glitter what beforehand he feels in his heart. It is avarice and hatred, it is that quivering lip, that cold, hating eye which built magazines and powder-houses.—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

"Boys," said General Sherman, in his famous address to the cadets—"boys, they tell you that war is all glory, but let me tell you it is all hell."

There are plenty of enemies to conquer without turning our hand against each other in cold blood, and sticking each other like pigs. And we don't fight our battle by sitting comfortably at home and "soothing" on young fellows to go and leave their bones in Africa, in a struggle which ought never to have taken place, and as regards the merits of which few feel able absolutely to decide.—From Dr. Strong's *Australian Herald*.

Think only of the common hackneyed expressions which pass so lightly between the lips when speaking of a great battle. We talk exultingly, and with a certain fire, of "a magnificent charge" of "a splendid charge!" yet very few will think of the hideous particulars these two airy words stand for. The "splendid charge" is a headlong rush of men on strong horses urged to their fullest speed, riding down and overwhelming an opposing mass of men on foot. The reader's mind goes no further, being content with the information that the enemy's line was "broken" and "give way." It does not fill in the picture. To do so effectively we must think first of an ordinary individual run down in the public street by a horseman moving at an easy pace. The result is, usually, fracture and violent contusion. We may strengthen the tones of the picture by setting this horseman at full gallop and joining to him a company of other flying horsemen. How will it then be with the unhappy pedestrian? So when the "splendid charge" has done its work and passed by there will be found a sight very much like the scene of a frightful railway accident. There will be the full complement of backs broken in two; of arms twisted wholly off; of men impaled upon their own bayonets; of legs smashed up like bits of firewood; of heads sliced open like apples; of other heads crunched into soft jelly by iron hoofs of horses; of faces trampled out of all likeness to anything human. This is what sulks behind "a splendid charge!" This is what follows, as a matter of course, when "our fellows rode at them in style" and "cut them up famously."—Charles Dickens.

HOW IS THIS?

For the remainder of January I will send one of the strongest reform books of over 300 pages—price 50c—to every subscriber who requests 50c for a year's subscription, AND REQUESTS THE BOOK. I desire to test the effects of this little notice.

Republican Pharisee Prayer.

Our Father in Washington, D. C., in American history be thy name, greatest of all men. Whose habitation consists of the finest mansion in the land, builded by the sweat and toil of unpaid labor, who live in huts and hovels, that by so doing they may be more able to contribute the necessary amount to keep thee and thy consorts in luxury, pomp and power. We are ever mindful, Father Mack, for the many blessings thou art ever bestowing upon us, one of the greatest being the war tax; through thy goodness and mercies we are prevented from growing rich, proud, or haughty; it is through this tax system that we are relieved daily of our surplus change that our morals may be pure. Holy and most righteous Mack; thou art hot stuff. And now, Father Mack, while we pay thee thy salary of fifty thousand dollars per year, besides all that can *scrape*, we humbly beg of thee to *scrape* enough that thee and thy household may be amply provided for in the future, and in this we have great faith. And in thy stealings we ask it, as a special favor, that thou remember thy creator, Mark Hanna. Let not thy heart become hardened against any but socialists; if it is thy will just knock the everlasting stuffin' out of them, or all those who oppose thee and thy creator. The world was made for thee and thy people—no others have a right to live only by thy permission, not even the Philippine Islanders. Father, we implore thee to throw thy protecting arm around the Filipinos, and if they still persist in opposing thee, unjoin his neck or any old thing thou thinkest best for you and your chosen. Fill his heart with good things as thou did the Sultan of Sulu; give him a salary out of the people's treasury to enable him to maintain his many wives, and please, dear Father Mack, do not interfere with any institutions of slavery that exist, but may they be acceptable to thee. Provide ways and means by which he may have all the beer and whiskey he wants. Those things, in connection with your rapid fire guns, I hope will "benevolently assimilate" the wayward prodigal that he may return to his all powerful father's house and feast with the rest of us on gold standard soup.

And now, dearly beloved Mack, permit us to express our gratitude for the currency bill that has just been given us. In ninety-six thou didst tell us that thee and thy party could solve the mystery of our hard times. The edict has gone forth, so we learn, "to much money" great and mighty is thy wisdom. But, Father Mack, we would call thy attention to the oppressed and much abused trusts. Be merciful unto them, Oh! Mack! we pray. May their lives be lengthened and their power increased, so that all men may see the wealth of the world controlled by thy party pets. And now, Oh! Father Mack, we place ourselves in thy care and keeping. We thank thee for the many blessings thou hast bestowed upon the rich—"we poor devils don't need any." Give us our daily bread, corn-dogger or flap-jacks—biscuits are too expensive; forgive us our trespasses toward good Republicans—"the Democrats are not in it," lead us not out of the straight and narrow Republican path, but march us to the polls each election and see that we deliver our ballots straight and thy power shall be strengthened tenfold. Republican party without end, amen.

N. H. G.

Postal Rates.

In the fight over the postal rates, why don't you call attention to the fact that Wright says (page 423, Vol. 1) that it only costs \$5.70 to carry 251 pouches of mail matter 91 miles, or two and one half cents a pouch for 100 miles. The railroads are reported as getting \$40 per ton for 100 miles, or two cents a pound. In other words they get as much for carrying a pound as it costs to carry the pouch and its entire contents. If the pouch contains 25 pounds of mail, which will probably be a fair average, the railroads get as much for carrying one pound as it costs to carry ten.

Yours,
W. S. BORD.

CITY OWNERSHIP

Glenville, Ohio, is advocating municipal electric lights.

Wellington, Kans., has voted \$50,000 five per cent. bonds for the purchase of a water works system.

The municipal water works at Alliance, Neb., paid \$13,000 last year and rates were lower than private companies give under same conditions.

The city of Tallahassee, Fla., recently voted by a large majority for municipal electric lighting. The electric company is fighting the city.

Muskegon, Mich., city government has taken steps to get rid of the "utterly insufficient and unsatisfactory" private electric lighting and establish a municipal plant.

Cedar Rapids, Ia., has just had a most exciting election over a proposition for municipal water works. City ownership won by the majority of 1906. The women voted as well as the men, casting 753 for and 472 against. Great credit should be given the Gazette. It has conducted a magnificent fight for city ownership.

The strongest argument against the infamous Ramapo Company of New York city, was made by Dr. Biggs. He showed the absolute need of city ownership in order to secure pure water; that a private company will concern itself only with its profits; and to turn the function of supplying water over to a private company intent only on dollars and cents would be akin to selling

THE CONDUIT CASE.

About a year ago the air was blue with lamentations over the great blunder the city of Erie had made in laying the conduit as a municipal enterprise. It is true, a great public-spirited corporation offered to build it, and even went so far as to go into court and try to prevent the city's making the mistake of doing it itself, but an honest and upright judge said: "No, if the city wants to be a fool, we can't stop it by law," and so the city built the conduit. Recently the question of its value was again opened and a certain philanthropist offered to take the elephant off the city's hands and pay \$15,000 for what had cost but \$10,000; then another even larger-hearted individual offered \$20,000, and an enterprising gentleman proposed to form a corporation, the beneficence of whose kind is so well known, and pay \$25,000 for the worthless \$10,000 job. Now, inasmuch as the conduit was so loudly proclaimed a dead horse, it seems only meet and proper that an effort be made to perpetuate the memory of the should be distinguished gentlemen, the superabundance of whose public-spiritedness prompts them to relieve the city of this burden, and we propose that a suitable monument be erected to commemorate them—when they are dead.—Public Ownership.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP

is the answer which municipal government makes to the question: "How shall the people protect themselves against the monopoly which arises by reason of the consolidation of capital?" That policy has already been adopted in many cities and the question is being increasingly advocated in

every city in the land. There may be grave objections to municipal ownership, but those who oppose it must point out in what other way the people are to protect themselves against inadequate service and unreasonable charges, when, as has already happened in most of our larger cities, consolidation of the street railway, water, light and telephone service reaches the monopoly stage. The question of municipal ownership may therefore be assigned a place on the program of to-day. But inasmuch, as this question is necessarily involved in the broader question: How shall organized society protect itself against consolidated capital? any separate treatment of this topic may be omitted. This much however may be said: The success which has attended experiments in municipal ownership assures us that other cities will adopt the same policy. The success of the experiment in cities assures us that the Federal and State governments will follow their example. Necessity will compel the railroads to combine, and the same necessity which compels them to combine, will compel the government to take charge of them, after they have combined. Grave as the objections to governmental ownership may be, and there certainly are grave objections, we may be driven to its adoption. Speaking for myself I doubt if state ownership can ever exist until all governmental functions which are of a business rather than a governmental character are divorced from politics. There are those opposed to state intervention who assume to settle the whole matter by taking on a wise look and telling us that the trusts are a natural evolution. Very true, but what of it? So too is state

THE PASSING MOMENT

This is an age of actors and action—a practical age wherein theory rests not long as such but rushes forth into the world as accomplished fact. Two great forces are aligning themselves for an approaching struggle, aggregated wealth and aggregated humanity. One foresees itself master of the world, the other foretells the installation of divine order in the regimen of life.

We have entered on a period of great wars. The forces of commercial power seek in foreign climes an extension of their authority. Home environment has been despoiled to the uttermost; its limitations have been defined. So foreign marts commerce therefore turns an eager eye, seeking for the expansion which alone can raise it from stultification. On the other hand we find a new public sentiment springing up. From a long period of theoretical deduction it at last comes forward with tangible plans for the future. It preaches a new doctrine—the hope of a new order of life in which the lesser problems of physical sustenance and well-being are to be relegated to a proper position of inferiority in the scale of social importance. The simple expedient of order, the abolition of right to despoil, and the absolute control of human production by an administration in which all shall have an equal interest,—the carrying out of these great principles is to unfetter the individual from chains which for centuries have restrained him from the expression of the nobler attributes—love, mutual confidence, ambition to be a factor in the common advancement.

This is a profound policy—more so in its

inevitable triumph at no distant day. The circumstances of surrounding conditions render success sure, and the opponents who stand against it appear paltry with their brazen hopes. Each, however, represents great forces. One is the past, strengthened by the past, but hoping for a past made eternal. The other is the past as experience and suffering aiming to rise from error into a new condition involving all of good that has been with all of good that must be. It is past becoming future. It is night dissipating before sunlight; darkness becoming day. This is a marvelous time. The powers of evil which we—all of us—have helped uphold, move up and down the earth potent with the agencies of destruction we have given them so generously. Their ambition is power. Men, to them, represent consuming capacity. States are markets. Liberty a re-action. The Transvaal contending for control of the land it paid for in its blood is, to these, an impediment to civilization. Sentiment is an unknown quantity. Wealth, for love of wealth, is sole ideal.

Is it likely that all the ages that have gone before are to ultimate in this sorry spectacle? There is, to-day, as there has always been, a sovereign purpose in life and he reads history to poor purpose who does not see there the story of a constant, resistless progress. From the simple nomadic tribes of Asia to the complicated social structures of Europe and America is an interlude of inspiring history in which is recited the constant contention against improvement and a no less constant triumph

of the best. True, it is full of apparent contradictions, heartburnings and suffering, but ever, through it all, appears man rising to higher and higher states. Strange is it too, that those forms which have been overthrown were always greatest at the time of their fall. Rome passed away when it had conquered the world, not while a struggling republic. Spain lost pre-eminence while it ruled the mightiest empire ever known. England to-day is face to face with ruin, having entered, unwittingly, on a war which has revealed her essential weakness to all nations. Commercial empire, no less than these, will not fall before it rises master of all and wantonly parades its power before the world. This truth, reiterated so often in the past, is oftentimes hard to apply to present conditions where evil appears in the places of honor and demands surfeit of its unflagging appetite. Nevertheless what has been its precursor of what is to be. Those great institutions of collective ownership which to-day are known as trusts will, despite their strength, be finally conserved to the general good. Indeed it is not unlikely that some men, now held in popular execration, may be given place in history as important elements in the reconstruction of society. Great changes can only come through pain. These men, disregarding the welfare of individuals, have destroyed the fabric of individual production and replaced it by vast systems of orderly, cooperative industry. Their work is not yet done. The general idea has been carried out but many branches still remain to be attended to and much of what has been

done must be yet further improved. But all this will be accomplished, no matter how many are crushed, and in final competition in industry will have become a development of monopoly; a few great ones must suffer, likewise, when the change from Individualism to Collectivism is made. It is folly to maintain that they can be compensated in full for what they control. To do so would be to establish a favored class for an indefinite period.

Such problems will be best faced as they arise, however. The broad principle that the good of all is more important than the good of any smaller number will be the guiding consideration. As the social revolution gains headway the alleged rights of refractory individuals will be less and less considered.

Entering in the last year of a great century it is impossible to resist the temptation to view, however casually, some of its leading facts. To us Americans it is an epoch of wonderful action. The little group of states that bordered the Atlantic have absorbed a continent and attained the dimensions of a magnificent empire. In the short space of one hundred years the wilderness has been conquered, industries of incalculable extent created, and now, as the end approaches, those industries are to be recast on lines which, in the new century, will mean a nobler race, a time in which our children and our children's children, may show to the world works befitting the sufferings of the fathers. America, in this passing century, has been the variable work-absurdity,—as it is already to those who

care to look beyond the passing moment.

Vast numbers have been injured in the shop of the world. To-morrow—with order established out of chaos, her sons shall move the world in a triumphant mental uprising. Art, literature and song shall usher in an age more glorious than that of Greece when her people basked in the light of an unparalleled intellectual brilliance. To hope, to work for, and to believe in such an ultimate, constitutes the loftiest patriotism. Commerce will seek and obtain its foreign markets. Nations will war for world supremacy and one after another attain and lose it, but humanity itself, that ever silent force, will constantly, resistlessly advance toward achievement of its own ideals. Out of the wrecks which greed shall make that which is useful shall be conserved. Selfishness will contend in vain against this mighty force. Blind in the egotism of irresponsible power it will rush to its own downfall surest of undoing when it shall boast most loudly of its strength.

What puerile hopes are these held forth as fruits of wars of conquest! At best we must come to levels of Asiatic poverty. Only by underselling can those markets be controlled, and finally the Asiatic himself will reproduce our industries and thus prove a Nemesis to those who look to him as a consumer for their commercial salvation. Better far for them—the commerce-mongers—did they but remember the last injunction of Jules Simon, the great French statesman, "Beware of the East!" But wisdom is still esteemed the "least of all her children." **LEO NELSON.**

DAWN OF THE NEW CENTURY

'Twas the dawn of the twentieth century. Two thousand years of Christian civilization, ten thousand years of thralldom of persecution and misery. I sat in my cheerless attic in the heart of a great city, the fierce wintry blasts were howling without as if endeavoring to conquer the deafening noises created by the city's teeming, restless throng. My mental vision tried to pierce the gloom; it peered back through the vistas of the centuries; all was confusion, all was strife. There was starvation misery and death in the land. The trees were laden with rich fruits, the ground was teeming with golden corn and vegetables. Of meat and bread there was an abundance. A million granaries were full to overflowing. There were four billion dollars called money in circulation. It was called by the wise and learned men a medium of exchange, the possession of which enabled a human creature to purchase the necessities of life. Nations engaged in mortal combat for its possession, that was called progress. Governments were set up by the people and maintained at an enormous cost. Men were elected by the people to run the government who immediately raised immense armies to howl at and rob those who elected them. By degrees the money (which was the purchasing power) was grabbed up by a few men who lived in luxury, sensuality and crime. In order that he be enabled to live the horny handed sons of toil who produced all the wealth gave it away to some one who permitted him to work.

It never entered into his thinking apparatus to keep it himself, or, if he did think of it occasionally he said to his comrades in chains that the thing was impossible. The very thought was repugnant to his generous religious nature, he was in bondage, he in-

dured his misery like a stoic. Patiently he awaited the end of his tether in the consoling and comforting thought that he would be amply rewarded in the hereafter. In his youth he was taught that way and when he grew to manhood he was frightened at his shadow. Even in his giant strength he never thought he could burst his chains, he became a prey to superstition and fear, his taskmaster profited by his ignorance and even encouraged it. He bribed legislatures for that purpose. The system became universal, it was considered a beautiful one and was called civilization. The capital, the instrument of production was in the hands of a few men. On one side I heard the gay and merry laughter of pampered autocrats revelling in luxury and pleasure rushing madly onward and downward to a doom of insanity. The cries and groans of a wretched rabble attracted my attention. They swarmed through the streets of the great city. They were haggard in appearance, their scanty apparel could not protect their shivering forms from the bitter wintry blast. They asserted that they were hungry. Some prayed aloud and some silently to heaven for assistance. Others cursed and swore at their dilemma. While still others heaped maledictions and vituperative wrath on the authorities whom they elected to office. They cried "give us work, give us bread." The pampered authorities winked at each other and laughed at the rabble.

A hundred thousand stores were filled with groceries bread and meat while half that number were overflowing with intoxicating beverages. Five hundred million dollars were lying idle in the vaults of the great city. The noise and tumult became deafening. Some of the now thoughtful said that something was wrong with the

machinery of government. To a few it began to dawn that socialism was the remedy but their generous and religious natures forbade them to touch a loaf of bread.

In the height of the tumult and confusion a regiment of soldiers recruited from the ranks of the starving populace and armed with death-dealing weapons appeared on the scene. Some of the unfortunate attributed their wretched condition to the great standing armies of the land and proposed to annihilate them. Others with gaunt and shrunken frames raised themselves up and declared they would endure some more misery rather than face a shower of bullets. Others advised the people to vote for socialism; they were called fools and should not be tolerated. A few stones and brick were thrown at the soldiers who charged on the crowd and in the scramble which followed some were trampled upon and crushed to death while others committed suicide by jumping into the river which was close by. They were merry times (?) The people indeed were truly generous, they could not be persuaded to own a dollar. They were very law-abiding simple folk. The educated gentry were in the minority but they held the reins of government. Their golden and silver tongued liars and political writers flooded the land with trashy literature. They charmed the gullible and easily led with flowery but meaningless language. The working classes found themselves in the same condition that they were three thousand years ago. They are rushing madly to and fro not knowing where. They are in a state of stupor. They are ignorant, superstitious and in chains. The twentieth century is dawning on the horizon. Are we at the zenith of our civilization?

The next census will show about 15,000,000 actual wealth producers averaging to work 10 hours per day for 200 days in a year, or 10,000,000 producers working 300 days of 10 hours. And a wealth production as per the above analysis of \$30,000,000,000. A few facts from the 1890 census reports will prove that this is not an over estimate. We have in detail a report of manufacturing in all cities of 20,000 population and over.

The city of Manchester, N. H., with a population of 44,000, produced goods to the value of over \$20,000,000 (factory price) or an average of \$459 per inhabitant. If the nation at large produced equally as much per inhabitant our annual wealth production would be over 36 billions of dollars. By the same census it is shown that in Haverhill, Mass., the wealth produced in 1890 reached the astonishing sum of \$740 per inhabitant and Chicago's average was \$604. New Orleans, which is a commercial, rather than a manufacturing city, shows \$220 per inhabitant, Philadelphia, \$550 and San Francisco \$459. In Brockton, Mass., the average is \$1002 or \$5,761 for every family. The average is over \$400 per inhabitant. This, of course, is the factory price. When we take into consideration the fact that much less than half the workers in our cities are engaged in producing manufactured wealth, (Chicago with a population of 1,099,850, had only 210,366 people engaged in the manufacturing industry,) we shall begin to understand our tremendous capacity to produce wealth. Note this fact also: The vast majority of the parasites live in the cities—the lawyers, real estate men, insurance agents, servants, etc., etc. It follows that a much larger percentage of real wealth producers live in the country. From these facts, then, it is clearly proved that our present wealth production will average \$3,000 per worker.

Students of sociology like Bellamy, Prof. Parson, Prof. Heitka, Bebel, Liebknecht, Blatchford and others estimate the increase of wealth under Socialism at from ten to twenty fold. If we estimate the increase at ten fold or 300 billions, and reckon four hours for a work day, we have an average income of \$12,000 per year per worker. You see then, if the wealth production was only one-half the above our income would be \$6,000 a year for a four hours work day. By the elimination of all profit and waste, and misdirected effort; giving full play to the wonderful strides we are now making in invention, concentrating industry by cooperative effort, the facts show that the average man and woman will produce and have for their own, wealth equivalent, measured by present standards, to from \$10,000 to \$15,000 a year. What does it cost to get this? Give the "Appeal" a circulation of a million copies, and let 50,000 men and women join the Social Democratic Party and ten years from today we will have Socialism.

The Trust.

Charles R. Flint, a multi-millionaire, and the head of the great rubber trust, has this to say of the practical economy of trusts:

"Consolidated management means economy in buying raw material, the specialization of manufacture on a large scale in separate plants, thus using to the fullest special machinery, the consequent decrease in cost, the raising and fixing the standard of quality, the lessening the number of styles, the continuance of the work elsewhere in case of local strikes or fires, the simplification of the means of distribution, reduction in number of salesmen, the safer guarantee of credits, the saving of interest, insurance, and shop-wear in the lower aggregate of stock carried, and the advantages of comparative accounting."

There would be a still greater economy when the people owned and operated the trust. The \$50,000 salary, which Mr. Flint receives as president of the rubber trust, would be one of the items of economy. All the economy and advantage of consolidated management now goes to the trust owners. Under socialism it would belong to all the people.

members of the International union to vote and support such political parties as advocate socialism. It's coming.

A new ore unloading machine just put to use in the handling of iron displaces 200 men, and it is stated that these machines will displace 50,000 men. Here is a coming prosperity!

The match trust is able to sell \$5,000,000 worth more matches by the simple process of using cross-grained timber which breaks when an attempt is made to scratch the match. See what a waste private ownership is!

Wealth Production.

BY ENGLER JOHN.

The census reports for 1890 give the wealth production at a total of \$12,910,087,670. This, mark you, was the wholesale price. The Census Report adds this: "The above figures do not include the value created by unorganized industries, such as building operations in the smaller places nor in manufactures that produce less than \$500 per year."

Mr. Edward Atkinson, of Boston, author of "Distribution of Products," states that the value of farm products is understated in the census reports by one billion dollars. A close study of the census reports and of such works as Mr. Atkinson's, Joseph Nimmo, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics for 1880, and other reports, show that the total wealth production for 1890 wholesale price was \$16,000,000,000. If we add the cost of selling the goods, such as rents, advertising, commercial travelers, etc., and the profits we shall find the retail price of the wealth production for the United States for the year 1890 to be \$24,000,000,000.

The tremendous improvements in machinery during the past 10 years, and the concentration of production—the trusts—have enormously increased production, and careful statisticians and students of sociology, do not hesitate to place the increase during the decade at 30 per cent.

Prof. Frank Parsons has estimated over and over a gain wealth production equal to \$4,000 per year for each actual wealth producer.

AMERICAN NOTES

Insurance companies are now combining. Chicago telephone companies are organizing a trust.

And now they are organizing a Bible trust. Ye Gods and little fishes!

Social democrats have organized a branch at Patahogue, Long Island, N. Y.

There are now 1,320 trade unions in New York state with 209,120 members.

The net earnings of the 2047 railroads in this nation last year was \$429,352,345.

When you buy shoes, cigars, hats, clothing, etc., etc., demand the union label.

"Trade unionism and socialism are the chief emancipating factors." Stand by both.

Two thousand cigar factories have gone into the trust. Think, cigar maker, think.

The Boot and Shoe Workers Union will shortly publish an official organ. It will be socialistic.

Join the union of your trade, join the political party of your class, the Social Democratic Party.

The sympathy of all socialists will go out to Comrade Simons and wife, of Chicago, in their sad affliction.

The baker's unions, formerly affiliated with the S. T. & L. A., have returned to the regular baker's union.

Social democrats report great activity in Boston. They have just organized a new branch at Roslindale, a suburb.

Tom Johnson, the famous single taxer, has obtained a monopoly franchise for the operation of trolley lines in Honolulu.

The trust gang have even followed us into the bath room. A bath tub trust has just been organized with \$5,000,000 capital.

All socialists in Oklahoma should write at once to Comrade H. E. Farnsworth, Newkirk, Okla., for instructions how to organize.

The Rowing Workers Union, in most

progressive in the nation, is rapidly growing. Its national organ is solid for socialism.

A real money trust is being rapidly perfected by the Standard Oil magnates. Nearly every day sees one more bank added to the combine.

Social democrats have organized new branches at Portsmouth, Ohio, and Chicago. Organize, organize, organize—that is the real thing.

President Hadley, of Yale, stated in a recent speech that many monopolies will probably be taken over by the government in the near future.

Missouri socialists should write at once to E. Val. Putnam 24 No. Fourth St., Room 7, St. Louis, for organization blanks. Organize now for 1900.

Comrade Leonard D. Abbott, 336 West 71st street, New York city, is state organizer for the S. D. P. Write him for information about organization, etc.

The two sons of Geo. M. Pulman, of Pulmantown fame, are said to be insane from debauchery. Our present system debauches society both "high and low."

Brockton, Mass., will have a social democratic city marshal in the person of Carlton S. Beals. Comrade Beals is one of the best workers for the cause in the nation.

The Social Democratic party of Germany polled 2,200,000 at the last election. Next week's APPEAL will have a special article on the S. D. P. of Germany; 100 copies, 40 cents.

All kinds of freak laws are being proposed in congress "agin the trusts." It never occurs to the wise (?) statesmen that public ownership of the trusts is the only remedy.

Dean Stubbs, of Ely, England, one of the leading christian socialists, is now in this country, and will give several lectures. It is reported that he is very radical and believes in a real democracy.

The Woodworkers Union No. 15, of San Francisco, has passed resolutions urging the

FOREIGN ITEMS

Boots are now being made in England without leather.

Melbourne carpenters are now demanding 9 s. per day of eight hours.

The marine engineers of London have secured the eight hour work day.

Nearly 60 per cent of the population of Russia are unable to read or write.

The social democrats polled 8,000 votes in the city of Madrid at the last election.

John Hancock, one of the best and hardest workers for socialism in Australia, is dead.

A Social Democrat has been elected to the municipal council at Westeras, Sweden.

Glasgow is now talking of municipal bakeries and the municipalization of the milk supply.

The trade unions unanimously support the S. D. P. and their papers all advocate socialism.

The Daily Chronicle of London says the trust movement is going forward with great rapidity in England.

The striking lace workers and iron miners of France have agreed to arbitration. Comrade M. Juras will be the arbitrator for the strikers.

All the labor of getting out the Workers' Republic of Doblin is done voluntarily, without compensation, by members of the Irish socialist party.

Socialists report a big victory at Milan, Italy, where they obtained 18,000 votes, while the combined vote of all the other parties was 14,000.

Switzerland makes a monopoly of the whiskey business and up to date she has \$11,000,000 on the right side of the ledger, with very little drunkenness.

The Social Democratic party of Germany, the greatest political organization in the German Empire. All about it in next week's APPEAL; 40 cents per 100 copies.

In the election of 1898, the Social Democratic party of Belgium, polled 534,324 votes out of a total of 1,892,662, or nearly 30 per cent. The Christian Socialists also polled 53,984 vote. The S. D. P. elected 28 deputies. The party is growing rapidly and many students of socialism believe Belgium will be the first of the European nations to adopt socialism.

Sweden owns and operates 2,284 miles of railroad and made a net profit in 1898 of \$3,838,129, or over \$1746 per mile. Such a profit on our 180,000 miles of railway would amount to \$414,230,000 per year, or enough to pay for the roads in less than 10 years. Sweden gives a pension to the railway workers for injury and old age, and also has a fund for widows and children of deceased employees.

FRENCH SOCIALISTS UNITE.

At the recent great conference of our comrades in France, attended by 800 delegates, the differences that had heretofore divided the socialists into five parties were gotten rid of. A constitution for the united party was agreed to amid the greatest enthusiasm, and our French comrades will now march forward to victory.

A Champion of Capitalism.

Another champion of capitalism has had his tire punctured. Erastus Wiman is now a bankrupt and will pay his creditors about half a cent on the dollar. Not long ago he wrote a book on "How to Succeed in Business." He advised young men to cultivate thrift and sobriety. He posed before Y. M. C. A.'s as a model of commercial virtue and success. He explained the advantages of a competitive system of business; and now he offers his creditors \$3,300 to satisfy claims of \$212,000.

APPEAL ARMY

In requesting changes of postoffice or street address give expiration number or send in the label on your paper. Comrade Raible, of Joplin, Mo., came to time with 25. Dr. J. W. Hudson, of Neosho, Mo., helps the list with 25 more. Comrade S. K. Caldwell, Washington, Mo., increases the list by 26. The Buckley, Wash., comrades made a grand rush for the goal and landed with 28. We started the week with an even 600 subscribers which landed in our shanty Sunday. Comrade Johnston, of The Dalles Ore., caught 26 annuals and landed them in this office. Comrade Frick, of Cincinnati, captured just 60 Filipinos. We won't do a thing to them. J. W. Sawyer, the big four man of Louisville, Ky., got to the bat with a 27 base hit. Rev. G. H. Kinsley, of Talesville, Pa., believes in making more heaven on earth; result in 25 subs. Comrade Wade seems to be wading toward the co-operative commonwealth. He only sent 30 this time. Judson Chamberlin, of Springfield, Mo., kicked a foot ball containing 25 yearlies at us. We caught it O. K. R. D. Cate, Aquilla, Mo., came down with 25. Géwhilkins! how those Missouri comrades do increase our list! One dollar will send the APPEAL to five of your friends for one year. Good way to convert three of them to socialism. Comrade Rice, of Brockton, Mass., is one of the hustling comrades. He put in two hours work and captured 29 annual subs. Vandveer, Laflen and "the other fellow" got there just the same with 25. Everybody knows that they live in Bayard, Kans. Comrade W. T. Aydelott, of Gadsden, Tenn., is a school teacher we are proud of. He sends in a club pretty often; 21 this week. Comrade Joe A. Kitts, of Nevada City, Cal., is doing his part to kill the two old parties. His mail arrived on time with 56 annuals. Comrade H. Carlton, of Springfield, Mo., sent us a big cucumber containing 25 annuals. Send us a big pumpkin next time, comrade. Comrades Anderson and Graham are a couple of pards who have contracted with us to convert 25 people in Livingston, Mont., to socialism. H. E. Reichel is another Kansas City, Mo., comrade who is doing his part to give us 5,000 readers in K. C. He came again with a club of 25. Comrade Fitzgerald, La Grande, Ore., took 32 scalps the other day. He placed them in care of Uncle Sam and they landed here in good condition. Comrade Lawrence Questad, of La Moure, N. D., made a two base hit, knocking 38 annuals right through the big glass door, and the weather down to zero. Comrades Rooney and Flamm had a race to see who could send in the most subs in 29 minutes. The record was: Rooney 26, Flamm 25! They live in Milwaukee. Comrade Thos. Thatches, of Altoona, Pa., trapped 27 full grown Filipinos and sent them to the APPEAL office as prisoners for one year. He used a grizzly bear trap. Comrade John Doerfler, of Milwaukee, came by the next day after Rooney and Flamm had their race with 25. We get about four clubs a week from Milwaukee. Comrade Wm Lee, of Terra Haute, Ind., sent us 38 real live working men—no dead beats or parasites. The Lee's have always been fighters and they will continue at it. Comrade Mountain, of Detroit, Mich., kermodeled us with a fine string of 40 yearlies, and on top of that gave us the pleasing news that they are about to organize a branch of the S. D. P. Those Missouri boys mean business. Dr. A. H. Hull, of Carthage, sent us 53 patients for treatment. As soon as we cure them of gold and silver-bugism, we'll turn 'em loose on the plutes. Comrade Frank Holcombe, of San Antonio, Texas, fired a small sized Smith and Wesson gun at us this trip. We were hit with 25 yearlies. Load up a Krupp cannon, Frank, and see how that will effect us. Comrade Murphy, Amesbury, Mass., got to the bat for a three bagger. When the ball hit it had 25 subs. for a year. Wait until Groves, Greene and the rest of the boys get at the bat for a home run. The world looks on with wonder at the magnificent and rapidly growing Social Democratic party of Germany. Order 100 copies of next week's APPEAL, and show your friends what the socialists of Germany, are doing. Forty cents a 100. Comrade Helpingstine, manager of one of the best socialist papers, the Chieftain, of San Diego, Cal., not only takes subs. for his paper, but sends in 25 to the APPEAL. His state is going to elect the first socialist governor and don't you forget it. We take back everything we ever said agin old Mississippi. About the time we had that list of 400 in cold type in came another club of 115 from Meridan. Comrade H. Gurley is largely responsible for this last

club. The mail from Mississippi will soon come by freight.

Comraee J. J. Schuster, of Trenton, Ill., landed a big baloon in the APPEAL office Thursday, a. m. When it struck we thought it was a Kansas cyclone. The one boss put on his boxing gloves and opened the thing; it contained just 77 yearlies. Comrade Schuster is fighting the "Ignorance Trust."

Comrades Fox and Smith, of Springville, New York, are using a repeating gun on the Filipinos. They brought down 32. We advise the comrades to use smokeless powder. New York state is rolling up a big list. The social democrats there are preparing to take the state out of the pockets of Messers. Platt and Croker.

"The Brockton Social Democracy"; "The Social Democratic Party of Germany"; "The Common people of the United States, vs. John Doe Profit; Richard Roe Interest; and "Peter Metallic Money"; "Why the Postoffice Doesn't Pay"; "Why Artists are Socialists," all in next weeks issue. Order 100 copies—40 cents.

The consensus of opinion from the boys is decidedly against the opening of even one column of the APPEAL to commercial advertising, and what the workers, who are making the APPEAL, want they shall have and no advertising, except such as relates directly to the movement, goes. I have had one offer of \$8,000 for the column one year, but that is no more an inducement than \$8 would be if it be against the wishes of the workers.

- The following are some of the clubs: H. A. Scott, Cunningham, Kans., 23; Frank S. Vacha, Cleveland, Ohio, 18; John A. Becher, North Hillsdale, Ill., 21; C. M. Harcourt, Belvidere, Ill., 21; Rev. Wm. T. Brown, Minneapolis, Minn., 25; O. H. Jacobs, Durand, Ill., 25; W. H. M. Stewart, Coming, N. Y., 25; L. M. Gerbard, Mansfield, S. D., 25; Wm. Abele, Paterson, N. Y., 25; U. S. G. Allman, Apollo, Pa., 25; W. S. U. Ten, Oregon City, Ore., 25; J. M. Itten, Salina, Kans., 25; D. M. Simpson, Safford, Ariz., 25; Wm. H. Brown, Minneapolis, Minn., 25; W. R. Grant, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 25; One club, no name, 101; Lawrence Dobbear, Ft Lee, N. S., 25; A. C. Paggett, Reloit, Kans., 26; Thos. Vogel, Pekin, Ill., 26; F. A. Raymond, New Haven, Conn., 25; F. W. Watkins, San Bernardino, Cal., 25; C. W. Crouch, Chattanooga, Tenn., 31; True Delp, Leechburg, Pa., 30; G. M. Johnson, Pine Bluff, Ark., 25; R. Fontross, Marion, Ind., 27; A. M. Porter, Filson, O. T., 29; J. W. Forest, Thayer, Kans., 25; T. D. Williams, Lexington, O. T., 25; Club from Alliance, Feb., 33; J. P. McCoolgan, Arcot, Tenn., 20; C. W. Bartlett, Rauch, Texas, 25; Wm. Harlan, Winchester, Cal., 25; Lew R. Traylor, Coffeen, Ill., 25; H. Johnson, Wichita, Kans., 22; R. F. Bond, Smithton, W. Va., 26; Club from Nashville, Ill., 20; S. D. Banes, Fresno, Cal., 34; W. C. Miller, Centerville, Iowa, 28; Rev. J. H. Bartlett, Bedford, N. H., 18; John Oswald, St John, Wash., 23; O. C. Sheldon, Denver, Ida., 25; J. H. Hill, Leavenworth, Kans., 25; Moser Skien Lamasco, Tex., 25.

To All Every socialist who is a trades unionist should in 1900 distribute the APPEAL as many as possible take up collection for them among your friends, etc., if necessary) at their meetings, and get up and talk or have some unionist socialist present to do the talking, and this under the head of order of business, when you get to good and welfare of the organization.

You can under that head bring socialism and unionism before your membership, and knock out all arguments which are put forth by the conservative and both old political party members, who mostly hold their pull by keeping the working class divided.

Make it your business to attend the union meetings—have a voice in its business—insist upon your fellow workman next to you to be present at them. Keep on hustling on these lines—agitate and see that you can have the public school hall for meetings for public discussions instead of continually paying these big hall rents.

Let us have 1900 for a big long and hard push for socialism and trades unionism (when I say unionism I mean that so much talked of brotherhood of man)—level all up and not down.

GEORGE KOOP, 510 Claremont Ave. Member of Chicago Typographical Union No. 16.

McKinley and Bryan, or Socialism. The man who votes for McKinley or Bryan votes for capitalism. Why? Simply because both McKinley and Bryan are opposed to socialism. BOTH OF THEM FAVOR THE ROBBER WAGE SYSTEM. Neither of them even believe in the government ownership of monopolies. McKinley is the defender of gold bug capitalism. Bryan is the defender of silver bug capitalism. The gold bugs and silver bugs are just like the bed bugs—they are on our back.

We have had both gold bug and silver bug legislation, and both gave us hard times; both gave us injustice, and both were and are the defenders of industrial slavery.

It can make no difference to the working class whether they be crucified on a cross of gold or a cross of silver. You may as well suffer with the yellow fever gold standard or with the small pox free silver. McKinley and the Republican party are opposed to socialism. Bryan and the Democratic party are opposed to socialism. The Social Democratic Party advocates pure and unadulterated socialism. It stands clear cut and uncompromising for just what we want.

Will you help it. Organize now and prepare to do your part in the gigantic struggle for emancipation.

For \$1.00 and this notice we will send you the Social Democratic Herald a year and \$1.00 one dollar's worth of books, our selection. Address this office.

BRASS BAND. consisting of 17 pieces (and two drums), finely nickel plated, superior in every way to an ordinary band, will be given to the social democrats having the LARGEST NUMBER OF SUBSCRIBERS... to the APPEAL when circulation reaches 75,000. This band is composed as follows: Three Maracas, E-bb Cornets, Four " " E-bb Altoes, Two " " E-bb Tenors, One " " E-bb Baritone, One " " E-bb Bass, Two " " E-bb " " Every subscriber, no matter where from, helps it along.

Advantage of Public Ownership. The question of public ownership of public utilities is fast absorbing attention, and when untrammelled by partisanship or self-interest the people are rapidly reaching the conclusion that it affords a solution to many problems. In the first instance, it would be one of the most effective means that could be adopted for doing away with much of the prevalent political corruption, by removing the most prolific source of temptation.

As long as legislatures have power to grant special privileges in the way of valuable public franchises, or have control over corporations holding such franchises with power to extend or curtail their powers the temptation on the part of corporations seeking such franchises to buy them or extend privileges by bribing legislators, or the temptation on part of the irresponsible legislators to sandbag corporations, will exist. Also the temptation on the part of such franchise corporations to control elections in their own interests will be prevalent. The temptation also to corrupt juries and judges, to avoid paying damages in damage suits, such as now exists, would be destroyed.

Every thinking person will recognize that these are the most fruitful sources of corruption in our political system, affecting all legislative bodies, from the insignificant town boards to congress itself.

Secondly, the principal basis underlying the success of monopoly—namely railway rebates and discriminations, without which but very few monopolies could exist—would be destroyed. Standard Oil and the coal combines undoubtedly owe their existence to discrimination in their favor by the railroads and other transportation lines. The same is true of others.

The arguments advanced by Mr. Paul Morton, in his testimony before the industrial commission in favor of pools, is really an argument for public ownership. He said "that a legalized system of pooling contracts put a premium on honesty and makes it expensive for railroads to make any of the discriminations or rebates which are now the cause of so much complaint before the commission." He stated also that it would protect small shippers and small towns to an extent which is not possible under the present methods. Undoubtedly this is true. The weakness however, lies in the fact that the public dare not trust such a formidable power in the hands of a few men who, experience teaches, would use such a power to benefit the few as against the many. The public is perfectly willing to trust itself, and it is safe only to trust such a formidable power to a people's government responsible directly to the people.

Under public ownership it would be impossible for a few big firms in Chicago to get together every night as testimony before the industrial commission shows they now do, and fix the price of grain for the next day, which can only be done through co-operation of the railroads. It is true the interstate commerce commission and the laws are very pronounced against giving rebates, but the railroads secretly violate these laws.

It also stands to reason that public ownership would greatly reduce the cost of service. The vast sums which every railway and other public corporations now provide for the purpose of influencing elections, maintaining lobbies and bribing legislators, also the salaries of the many high-priced lawyers, many of whom draw salaries equal to that of the president of the United States, the waste of competition, and especially the money which the roads must now of necessity earn to pay dividends on enormous issues of watered stock, would be saved to the public.—Western Rural.

The Passing Mechanic. From The Union, Indianapolis. The revolution in industry is doing its work so quietly and so quickly that most people fail to note the great changes that are taking place. Machinery is not only displacing human labor, and re-arranging it under a new relationship, but it is rapidly destroying the skilled trades. The tendency is towards a common level in labor, and that level what has hitherto been known as unskilled labor. This revolution is not simply destroying the skilled crafts by diminishing the per cent. of skilled mechanics as compared to the unskilled, but it is lowering the grade of skill of those who remain.

In Studebaker's wagon works at South Bend the largest works of the kind in the world, where 70,000 vehicles are turned out in a year, there need not be a single wagon maker, and it is exactly true that in all that mammoth factory there need not be a man that can make any single part of a wagon. The man simply pulls a lever, turns a crank, or feeds a machine, and a more perfect wagon is turned out than could be made by wagonmakers. In the iron and steel mills much of the work formerly done by the best skill is now

done with improved machinery. Machinery is fast relegating the highly skilled glass blower to the lower level. Lamp chimneys and fruit jars are now made perfectly by a machine. In the stone cutting industry, one of the highest skilled trades, over half the work, and the finest part, is now done by the machine. In cabinet and carpentry the same is true—all the fine mouldings and carving which was formerly the pride of the craft, is now made by machinery, the workman simply plays second fiddle in putting it together. The same is more or less true of most of the handicrafts. Who can tell where this will end? Who can compute the loss to skilled labor in dignity, respect and commercial value? Through all the centuries of the past the skilled workman has dignified labor in the eyes of the world, even kings respected the craftsman.

The deft touch of skilled fingers, the unerring precision of trained eyes, the rhythmic motion of disciplined bodies, the executive ability of a specialized brain force are all unmerged into the machine. As the world passes through the great workshops it takes off its hat to the machine and gives no more thought or respect to the man who manipulates it than it bestows upon the janitor who stands in the shadow of a mighty structure. In heathen lands men create a god with their hands and then bow down and worship it. In civilized lands men create machinery and wealth and then bow before them in adoration. The dollar and the machine grows ever larger in dignity and prestige while the man, the creator, grows ever less in value and respect.

What will labor be when it reaches this dead level at the base of this mighty structure?

"Is this the thing the Lord God made and gave to have dominion over sea and land; To trace the stars and search the heavens for power— To feel the passion of eternity? Is this the dream he dreamed who shaped the suns And pillared the blue firmament with light?"

Will these, like blind Sampson, pull down this mighty temple and perish amid its ruins, or will they rise up in the dignity of their might and assert their right to rule in the realm they have made?

The Last Resort.

Philadelphia Times. "Helen!" called a man in a muffled face as he pushed open the door to the squalid apartment at the top of the tenement.

"What? You, George?"

"Yes, dear. Get up; rub your eyes! Look what I have brought!"

The man lit a candle and pushed a small table to the side of a bed. Then, upon it, he threw one roll of bills after another and handfuls of gold until the top was literally covered. "Look, my poor girl! It's money—real money! Touch it! Take some of it in your hands! Rub your eyes and count it! Ten thousand dollars! Think! All ours! What happiness! Starvation, ruin, the street, the morgue, were before us this morning. Now we're saved; we shall—"

The woman stared at the money, and then into her husband's face.

"Where did you get it?"

"Oh! that's all right. I got it easily enough—I mean, I won it. Yes, dear won it. Of course, you don't understand. At play, my little girl. At the gaming table. Last chance. Just like a novel, my pet. I risked everything on the turn of a card; no, I mean, the cast of a die. No hell; I mean on the fall of a ball. And there's the money. It will buy food and fire. Take it—listen! Somebody's on the stairs! Hide the money! Put out the light! Good by, Helen. I'll never be taken alive!"

When the police burst open the door, a moment later, to arrest the murderer they found much money on the table and a pale-faced girlish woman dead upon the pillow.

In the yard back of the tenement, five stories below, they found the body of a man.

The governments, and the leading classes, realizing in the very depth of their souls that the solving of the land question means the solving of all social questions, which would deprive them at once of all their special privileges, and that this question is the question of the day, make it appear as if they were greatly disturbed over the welfare of the people, and while they introduce savings banks, inspection of factories, income tax, and even the eight hour working day, they ignore very carefully the land question; and with the aid of a politico-economic science which is devoted to their interest, and will prove anything they want proven, they insist that the expropriation of land would be useless, hurtful, nay, even impossible.—Leo Tolstoi.

50,000 CIRCULATION IN MASSACHUSETTS

An effort is being started to put fifty thousand subscriptions in the state of Massachusetts. The boys there know what the influence has been where the APPEAL has been circulated. They want more of it. Every comrade in the state should at once put his shoulder to the wheel. The workers there may send in any number at the lowest club rate. Don't wait to get big lists. Let's have the paper at work on the minds of that commonwealth. The socialists there have the start, have the workers, have the enthusiasm, and by and by they will have the majority. You can do it if you will concentrate your efforts. Put your eye on the goal and never take it off. Persistent application to one thing does wonders. It must be done in six months. If it is to be done, why let it drag for a year? Put intensified energy into it, and do in a short time what it would take years to do in the other way. Such a state circulation will create a mental atmosphere that will make the movement easy to succeed. Boys, you have the state to gain and nothing to lose. Make your lives worth something while you live—you will be a long time dead, as the Dutchman said. Set up every reformer in the state by letters. Push them on. The APPEAL will do its part in the fray, never fear. Start the movement with a rush.

A DIVIDED HOUSE

The President and His Attorney-General on Trusts, Printed in the Same Mergal.

MCKINLEY. ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Combinations of capital, organized into trusts to control the conditions of trade among our citizens, should early claim the attention of Congress. There MUST be a remedy for the evils involved in such organizations. If the present law can be EXTENDED more certainly to control or check these monopolies or trusts it SHOULD be done without delay.

The state legislation to which President Cleveland looked for relief from the evils of trusts has FAILED to accomplish fully that object.

It is to be HOPED means will be found for Congress within the limits of its constitutional power so to supplement an effective code of state legislation as to make a complete system of laws throughout the United States to COMPEL a general observance of the salutary rule to which I have referred.

Comment: In no place in the message does he refer to any salutary rules. That is a phrase for the thoughtless to gulp down. McKinley says Congress should do something; McKenna says Congress has no right to do anything. The first law passed Congress was in aid of the banking trust, bad for the people, and gave it hundreds of millions of dollars. to get no relief!

Comment: McKinley says a thing must be done; his attorney-general says it must not be done! How great men will differ! Both by admission or inference say that restraint of trade is of the banking trust, bad for the people. Yet the people are of millions of dollars. to get no relief!

Information Wanted.

John Bryan, 103 Fulton street, Evansville, Ind., desires data for a work on the Credit Mobbler steals, Star Route robberies, Pacific railroad robberies. Will you please drop him a card telling him where any books or other sources of information may be had. There is need of this work at this time. It can be better written now than it could have been before.

What Do You Think of This.

- Caesar's Column; 368 pages.....20c
A Tramp in Society; 244 pages.....25c
Public Ownership of Railroads; 96 pages...10c
President John Smith; 290 pages.....25c
The Co-politian; 208 pages.....25c
Evolutionary Politics; 256 pages.....25c
Merrie England; 160 pages.....10c
All for one dollar. Mention Combination No. 3.

BOOKS. KEEN-EDGED WITH WISDOM

- "Empty thy purse into thy head."—Shakespeare.
Waiting For the Signal, cloth; H. O. Morris \$1 00
Wealth Against Commonweal; cloth; \$50 pp., Lloyd 1 00
Capital..... Karl Marx; paper, 120; cloth 1 75
The New Economy; cloth..... L. Gronlund 1 50
A Co-Operative Commonwealth; 304 pp., L. Gronlund 1 50
Socialism from Gen. to Rev.; cloth..... Rev. F. M. Soragus 1 00
Looking Backward; paper..... Edw. Bellamy 1 50
Equality; 400 pp..... Edw. Bellamy; paper, 50c; cloth 1 50
Life of Christ..... Canon Farrar 1 00
Socialism from Gen. to Rev.; cloth..... Rev. F. M. Soragus 1 00
Social Reform and the Church..... Henry 1 75
Taxation in American States and Cities. Prof R T Ely 1 75
Problems of Today..... Prof R T Ely 1 50
Socialism from Gen. to Rev.; cloth..... Rev. F. M. Soragus 1 00
Labor Movement in America..... Prof R T Ely 1 00
Social Aspects of Christianity..... Prof R T Ely 1 00
Socialism of John Stuart Mills..... Bliss 25
Communism of John Ruskin..... Bliss 25
If Christ Came to Congress..... Howard 25
Open Letter to the Rich; 50 pp..... Sam Flint 25
Political Platforms of All Parties..... Frederick 25
Socialism from Gen. to Rev.; cloth..... Rev. F. M. Soragus 1 00
Seven Financial Crises..... Henry 25
Ten Men of Money Island; eight for 25c..... Norton 25
Cold Feet; six for 25c..... C St John Cole 25
Socialism from Gen. to Rev.; cloth..... Rev. F. M. Soragus 1 00
Public Ownership of Railroads..... Larrabee 25
Government Ownership of Railroads..... Gordon 25
Government Ownership of Railroads and Telegraphs 25
Doas and the Fiscal Question..... Vall 25
Science of Political Economy..... George 2 50
Progress and Poverty..... George 2 50
Social Problems..... George 2 50
The Condition of Labor..... Henry 25
The Land Question..... George 2 50
Protection or Free Trade..... George 2 50
Secret of the Rothschilds..... Hobart 10
The Populist Movement..... Henry 25
Evolutionary Politics..... Mills 25
Man or Mollus—Which..... Thornton 25
Story from Polity..... Henry 25
President John Smith..... Adams 25
Society of the Future..... L D Abbott 25
Modern Socialism..... Blatchford 15
Heterodox Economics and Orthodox Profits. Ashplant 15
Elementary Principles of Economics; 400 pp.; Chase 1 25
Principles of Scientific Socialism..... Vall 1 25
Caesar's Column..... Henry 25
Even As You and I..... Bolton Hall 25
Science of the Millennium..... Maybell 25
The Future—Cause and Cure; 32 pp..... Gordon 25
Philosophy of Happiness; 80 pp..... Vall 25
Utopia A D 1815..... Sir Thomas More 25
Property; 15 pp..... Pyburn; 5c 3 for 10
Land—The Social Problem..... Pyburn; 5c 3 for 10
Human Nature Under Socialism..... Pyburn; 5c 3 for 10
Concentration of Wealth..... Charvans 25
The Future Commonwealth..... Charvans 25
Writings of the Social Problem..... James O Clark 25
Tramp in Society..... Cowdrey; 15c 2 for 25
Woman—Past, Present and Future..... Rebel 25
Ruins of Empires (A D 1785)..... Volney 25
History of Paris Commune..... James O Clark 25
Direct Legislation..... W Sullivan 10
In Hell and the Way Out..... Allen 10
Legal Revolution of 1912..... 40
The Millennial Kingdom..... Vall 1 50
A Traveller from Aitrus..... W D Howard 1 50
Christ the Socialist..... paper, 50c; cloth 1 00
King Mammon..... paper, 50c; cloth 1 00
Writings of the Social Problem..... Symons 25
Evolution of the Class Struggle..... Blatchford 25
Impudent Marriages..... Blatchford 25
Packington's Walk..... Symons 25
The Literature of Socialism..... Blatchford 25
Single Tax vs Socialism..... Blatchford 25
Wage, Labor and Capital..... Marx 25
Voices of the Morning (poems)..... Edgerton 25
Poems and Songs; cloth..... James O Clark 1 25
Poems for the People; 64 pp..... Vincent 25
A Financial Catechism..... Vincent 25
The American Plutocracy..... Howard 25
Drives from Sea to Sea..... Reiding 25
The Banker's Dream..... Post 25
Between Jews and Caesar; cloth..... Horron 25
The Labor Question..... Kuenemann 25
Writings of the Social Problem..... James O Clark 25
Socialism..... Blatchford 25
Object of Labor Movement; 85 pp..... Johann Jacoby 25
Scientific Socialism..... Blatchford 25
History of the State..... Blatchford 25
Pardonless Poems..... Blatchford 25
Mystery of Civilization..... Maybell 15
Socialism: Reply to Pope's Encyclical..... Blatchford 15
Writings of the Social Problem..... James O Clark 25
Any three for one dollar for twenty-five cents; six for one dollar; ten for one dollar and fifty cents; postage stamps taken.

APPEAL TO REASON, GIRARD, KAN.

YOU may advertise radical literature in this column for 25 cents a line each insertion. If you have something to say about the boys, you can reach 75,000 readers interested in such subjects.