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Appeal to Reason.

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FOR PUBLIC OWNER—SHIP OF MONOPOLIES

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Now the Hour For Action Strikes!

The APPEAL calls upon the socialists of this country to show the world the strength and aggressiveness of the cause on this soil. I ask you to thunder forth the edict from the ballot box this fall that the traffic in human sweat and blood must cease.

The socialists have an ideal candidate—the only candidate in the field who rose from the ranks of labor and whose devotion to labor interests has been a life work. He is known to every man in the nation—his honesty, integrity and ability is admitted by the very capitalist class which fears him so much.

The old party politicians are taking good care that no mention of Debs' candidacy is made in their columns. They know that every workingman knows Debs and that every worker favors him.

The bankers deposit their bonds with their servants at Washington and receive the full amount back in bank notes and still draw the interest on the bonds.

THE raise in the price of sugar by the trust this year netted the masters \$30,000,000. This is nearly \$2 a family! If the law had laid a tax of two dollars a family on sugar it would have hurled from power any party that did it and would have caused tax riots all over the country.

CORPORATION MASTERS.

The St. Louis Car Building Co. notified its 1,000 employees that unless they ride in the boycotted street cars that they will be discharged. I have heard objections to socialism on the ground that the people would be compelled to dress and conduct themselves as the officials dictated, but I never heard that they would be compelled to ride in street cars whether they wanted to or not.

Let every socialist take off his coat and go into this campaign with a determination to win the admiration of the world by an exhibition of the strength of American socialistic movement. The human race respects strength and if we cast one million votes this fall we will command that respect which will enable us to present our theories of a social system that an entire national administration can be overwhelmingly elected in 1904 BY CONSCIOUS SOCIALISTS.

THE APPEAL army is at the ring side ready for the fray. We will show the plutocrats a trick with a hole in it—this summer.

THE socialists of Vancouver, B. C., encouraged by their recent great vote four weeks after organization, have commenced to erect a large hall for their own use.

THE wide circulation of the APPEAL has forced socialism into the arena of active discussion. Widen its circulation and you will make it proportionately more influential.

ORDER extra bundles from now on and place them in the hands of the public. Let every one know that the socialists are in it this year. The results will surprise you. Bundles one-half a cent per copy.

EVERYONE should have a bundle or two of APPEALS coming to them weekly through the campaign, so they will have some ammunition for the old party howlers. One dollar gets a bundle of ten copies each week for 6 months.

THERE is an old adage that says "Lawyers' houses are builded over fools' heads." Congress has been composed of lawyers for years and labor has got it in the neck by every law. If the working people have not among their men fit to hold office they are more ignorant than I think.

THE recognition by the law of labor unions and compulsory arbitration have abolished strikes in New Zealand and is satisfactory to the majority. It will bring peace in this country—if the laboring people will vote only for their friends to office.

THE Boxers of China, who are receiving so much attention, is an organization of Chinese who are opposed to foreign domination of their country. Their title is interpreted as meaning "Patriots' League."

THE postmaster at Independence, Kansas, has been suspended because his accounts are cloudy. This will furnish an argument for the republicans against government ownership of the postoffice as such cases have in Boston. The postoffice should be turned over to a syndicate.

THE bankers deposit their bonds with their servants at Washington and receive the full amount back in bank notes and still draw the interest on the bonds. Whatever the government pays in interest on bonds is so much money PAID FOR NOTHING.

THE machinists employed by Lawley & Sons, Brooklyn, on government contract work struck for a nine-hour day. All machinists in that vicinity have an eight-hour day.

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If one man owned all the land of a country, you can see that others would have to live there by his sufferance and pleasure. Well, if others own it and you don't, are you not in the same relation to the many that you would be to the one? The exactions might not be so bad with many as with one landowner, yet the one might give you better conditions.

THE itinerancy of Roosevelt's "Rough Riders" as an electioneering scheme, is appealing directly to the basest elements of human nature. It is the same methods adopted by the Roman military despots to enthrone the people and keep their minds on conquest and military "glory" while they stole their votes.

IN ESSENTIALS, UNITY.

I entirely agree with you that by the operation of rent, interest and profit that the masses are skinned of the greater part of their labor products; consequently preach the absolute necessity of organizing our industries in a manner as to destroy many of our forms. As all money is made by laws that give special privileges to a few, thus preventing free and fair competition in the production and exchange of these products, my reason insists that it will be far better to first establish an open market, and to put everything into the hands of the government, as you, State Socialists propose to do.

I do not believe in competition in the matter of wealth accumulation. It seems to me that your "free and fair competition" infers profit. Why would one want to own the means of production and exchange but for the added financial benefit it would be to him over some of his less cunning-minded fellows?

I shall not quarrel with you if you can wake up the intelligence of any person, if you can create a higher desire in any mind, I have only to say good speed to you. Time and conditions will make use of what you and I are doing.

A VICTIM OF IDOLATRY. Mrs. Augusta Jessel, aged 44, in the prime of life, committed suicide in a Kansas City hotel the other day, and left this note in testimony of our high state of civilization and national prosperity: "I am tired of living. I can get no work, and my money is gone. People are very kind and friendly when you have money, but nobody gives you a hand when you are in need."

AND in that city were meeting the wise men of the nation to devise a platform to fool the people and continue the same theory of society and divide the spoils. That a few can and do own the wealth produced by the workers and control the places of employment is the cause of this suicide and direct or indirectly the cause of every crime committed.

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We will keep the flies off the old parties this campaign—in the next one we will knock them down and drag them out.

THE wealth per capita of New Zealand is more than twice as great as in the United States. Some people think we are relatively the richest people on earth.

THE railroads of the country have spent millions in bribing public officials. The post-office has not spent a cent. Which influence is the better? Private interests corrupt the public service—public interests never corrupt either public or private service.

WHEN your horse is stolen and you can prove it, you get the horse back: when you are swindled out of your property by false means you can recover your property. But when your officials are bribed and pass a law that robs you and by which the bribers make millions out of you, that law stands, even if the bribery is proven. Funny, isn't it?

HAD the Boers been far-sighted enough and but one-tenth of what they lost by the war into socialist propaganda in England, they would not have had war forced on them. All socialists are against war, except in the matter of self-defense. You should take this thought home with you and think how it will apply to you and your country.

THE workers on a beet sugar slave plantation near Fox Ridge, New York, struck for shorter hours recently. The president of the company gathered up some thugs and pounded the stuffing out of the leaders of the strike, handcuffed and hauled them to jail, told the balance if they did not return to work they would be sent to prison also! And that is the way capitalism settles labor disputes.

YEs, the U. S. will spend a few millions in killing Chinese for wanting to run their own country. It will proceed to do the empire act. The war will begin and be prosecuted without act of congress. Kings and emperors need no congress to instruct. Who picks up the sword shall perish by the sword. This country is going the way of all its kind. We have an empire today, controlled not by the people but by the wealthy. You will pay for it. It will cost millions of treasure and tens of thousands of lives to carry the American brands of creeds into China.

OWING to the fact that it is necessary for the APPEAL to devote its whole energies to the campaign from now until after election, I have decided it best to cancel the offer of \$4,000 premiums to workers when the list shall reach 250,000. The APPEAL will be compelled to use all its funds in this campaign and is required to call for more in order to properly cover the field.

Under these circumstances I feel that the interests of the movement necessitate this action. Although the payment of the premiums was conditioned upon the attainment of 250,000 circulation I will pay the winners at a pro-rata rate, i. e. the amount due of the actual increase from the time the call was issued to the present time.

I know that this will be satisfactory to all concerned.

OVER two hundred work-slaves were lost in the burning of the Brooklyn docks last week. The masters will not have to buy new ones to fill their places, a new supply is always waiting for positions of that kind. But the money loss of the masters was terrible. People are so anxious to serve the master class that they do not ask for safe or congenial conditions of labor. They will take any risk for a dollar a day. That saves the master class money, don't you see? And the employers should have consideration for fear they will not let the people work and they would starve! The public would not put men to work in such dangerous places, but the working people are afraid to trust the public with their employment. They are willing to trust the capitalists because they are treated so well!

A DISPATCH from Pittsburg, Pa., says that the policy of the coal and coke masters in laying off the single men in times when they need fewer slaves, has had the effect of causing an immense increase in marriages. The operators prefer married men because they buy more goods at the pluck-me-stores and men with families have to rent their shanties at 50% profit and in times of labor trouble married men have a family on their hands and cannot hold out like the single men. Besides, and beyond all this, is the necessity for a new generation of slaves being produced so that the coming generation of masters may have service. Workers are more profitable and cheaper now than when they were bought and sold on the auction block. And most workers think they are free! All of which is very interesting to the social philosopher who watches the developments premonitory to a social upheaval.

A MILLION circulation for the APPEAL will make a peaceful revolution possible—almost certain.

NO FAMINE IN INDIA.

We are told that there is a famine in India and that millions of people are starving. It is too true that they are starving, but it is not true that it is because of a shortage of crops. I have before me the official statistics of the wheat crop of India ever since British rule commenced. Last year the crop was the largest but one for many years. Last year over 35 million bushels were exported and this year so far over 16 million bushels have been sent out of the country! And the people are starving! What wonder if the owners of the crops (not the men who produce it) send out the products and leave the people without anything to eat? And then appeal to the world to send in food to keep the wage-slaves that have produced an abundance! That is what private ownership is doing to the people of India. That is what it will do to the people of this country some time. That is what it did to the people of Ireland during the so-called famine years. They raised enough to keep all the people in comfort, but the landlords took it for rent and left the people to die of starvation, just as they are doing in India. But landlords are necessary! Rent is proper! Profit sacred! Of what avail would it be if the people of India raised ten times as much? Could not the master class export it and squander the money in ostentation? And is landlordism worse in India than in this country? Are we not now exporting bread and other wealth that is possible to ship out all the wheat and leave the masses without bread. If the wages of the people are not enough they can not pay the prices demanded. That is all the matter with India. If the people had the money they could buy bread. What have the people of India to show for all the billions of wealth their labor has produced and which has been exported? Nothing but their aches, pains and starvation. A writer has stated that famines are profitable to the British capitalists who rule the country. When food is plentiful the English have to pay nine cents a day for laborers to build railroads and when it is scarce they pay only two cents! And they want to "make money" just as much as you do, readers, and likely you would take the same advantage of your fellows. If the land and machinery in India were in public hands, were controlled by the people, they would be living in luxury, but whenever man gains dominion over man and can keep him in ignorance you will always find conditions appearing as you see it in India today. India has produced enough food to keep all her people in plenty. The private ownership of property gives it into the possession of a few and that is all the trouble. It will do no good to feed such ignorant slaves who prefer to starve to death rather than strike a blow for their rights.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

The democratic platform has been hatched. It is great only in denouncing what the other rulers have done. It declares against private monopolies, but proposes no remedy; it declares for the election of United States senators by direct vote, but the states it controls have done nothing toward such a consummation; it declares for the public ownership and control of the Nicaragua canal but not the operation of it; it "favors direct legislation wherever practicable," but it will never be practicable with its officers, as they control many states and could adopt it now if they favored it. It is silent on the government ownership of railroads, telegraph, press monopolies, a minimum wage, a short day to make places for all labor and child labor. It is the same old democratic party. It is unwilling to trust the people. Socialists who can vote that ticket must have green goggles. It is phrased to fool the voters and get control of the offices. It is just like the republican party in that

This immense establishment is a municipality in itself and the expression of the modern drift of socialism in the sense of benefiting all alike, and giving rich and poor the same consideration.

The foregoing is an extract from an advertisement of Sears, Roebuck & Co. of Chicago, the greatest mail order house in the world. The advertisement is running in papers of very large circulations and is reaching millions of readers. A few months ago the most enthusiastic socialist hardly dreamed that such a monarch house of modern merchandising as Sears, Roebuck & Co. would spend thousands of dollars to tell the people that they "were an expression of modern socialism." A few years ago—and only a very few—the appearance of the mere word in a merchant's advertisement would have caused him an immense loss of business. Today the greatest dealers of the world bid for patronage on the grounds that they more nearly approach the ideal of socialism than the small dealers still struggling along in the old ruts. This advertisement is big with meaning. It means that the CO-OPERATIVE COMMON-WEALTH IS CLOSE AT HAND!

The wheat crop of the United States this year is estimated to be less than was consumed in the country last year. The crop is being harvested and will be exported as fast as speculators can do it. This will leave this nation that has raised the wheat with no bread for it. Under socialism not a bushel would be exported until it was known that there was more raised than would be needed to give the nation bread. But people prefer to have their bread sold to feed rich foreigners and do without themselves, rather than have a socialist system.

COURAGE.

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.
We will speak out, we will be heard,
Though all earth's systems crack;
We will not bate a single word,
Nor take a letter back.

THE COMING NATION.

BY HARRY CLINTON GOODRICH.
Down in the fast on-coming years
We see a gleaming light;
At last it comes, dispelling fears,
And blinded mental sight.

Come up! come up! all nations come!
A feast for earth is spread;
Thy cup of joy o'erflows the new
Because the old is dead.

THE TRIUMPH OF JUSTICE

BY J. A. HART.
Come tune my soul to higher notes
And strike a sweeter chord;
The music that from heaven floats
Upon the earth is heard.

The sorrow and the bitter pain,
The grief, and groan, and sighing,
The tears that fall like summer rain
The agony of dying.

In land that flows with milk and wine
Strong men for food are crying,
Mid ripning grain, and fatted kine
Children are starved and dying.

I see a ray of wondrous light
Shoot from the eastern heaven,
And competition's dreary night
Before its power is driven.

Men shall be brothers, ev'ry one,
And man to man united,
From torrid land to frigid zone
All wrong things shall be righted.

A Magazine Editor's Opinion.

John Brisben Walker, editor and proprietor of the Cosmopolitan Magazine, has an article on "The Trusts and the End" in its July number. After reviewing the dangers of the trusts and the curious remedies offered, he says, "And is there any remedy today? One only—governmental ownership. Buy out these great interests; pay them a fair price—an extravagant price if need be, but buy them and turn them into the hands of the people to manage for the benefit of all."

Four Great Socialist Books.

If you will get Blatchford's Merrie England, Gronlund's Co-operative Commonwealth and Bellamy's Looking Backward and Equality you will have an inexhaustible fund of socialist information.

OWNERSHIP

Public or Private. Ingram vs. Yerkes

Charles T. Yerkes, the street-car magnate, wrote an article for the metropolitan papers to show that the rising tide of public ownership, especially municipal, is unnatural and disastrous.

Mr. Yerkes' paper may be divided into four sections:

1-THE INTEREST THAT CONTROLS

He shows that the interest that owns and controls the public utilities (railroads, street railways, electric lights, gas and other public service) is and must be all powerful, dominating, supreme.

2-THE DESPOTISM WE ALLOW

He maintains it is for the best interests of the people that this power and sovereignty should be permanently bestowed upon private corporations and should not be restored to the people.

Our recent street railway commission, headed by Gov. Pingree, after much deliberation and consultation with experts, offered the street railway people \$17,500,000 for their property and rights in the streets.

It represents an annual tax of about \$10 on every family in the city. It is not expended for public purposes, but is submitted to by the poor for the benefit of the rich New Yorkers.

Including in our estimate the other public utilities owned by corporations as Mr. Darrow has and the annual tax paid by the business men and toilers of Detroit, not for public purposes but to enrich the privileged few, would probably equal the sum named by Mr. Darrow—\$25 or \$30 for every family in Detroit.

3-"HONESTY" OF PRIVATE OWNERSHIP

Mr. Yerkes asserts that honest government and honest elections are best attained under private rather than under public ownership of public utilities.

The moral sense of the people is being undermined, their manhood and righteousness destroyed by political demoralization and corruption that is wrought by wealth derived from bribe-purchased privilege in the ownership of public utilities.

tributed for purposes of political control by corporations enjoying public-utility privileges have given us the boss system in its present form, and the boss system, which in fact knows no distinctions of political party, is fast destroying state and municipal governments.

There is a man who has an office in Lansing. It is not a public office. He is not sent there by the people. He belongs to the corporations. It is said he receives \$6,000 per year from each of four railroad corporations.

The late grand jury at Lansing returned indictments against certain appointees of the governor who, it is charged, were lining their pockets at the expense of the state, but some of the senators who were sent there pledged to vote for the governor's anti-corporation measures.

The worst enemy of honest government is not the ignorant foreign voter, as some would have us believe. You will find him amongst the educated and well bred.

Much of this corruption would disappear if a constitutional amendment was adopted giving the people the right, when they choose to exercise it, to act as sovereigns, not through representatives, but by direct vote.

4-PRIVATE OR PUBLIC PROFIT

Mr. Yerkes invites a comparison of the cost of service between private and public ownership of public utilities.

It is possible, as Mr. Yerkes says, for a private corporation to manage a public service more cheaply than it is done by a city or state, but Mr. Yerkes knows, though he is careful not to mention it, that the savings from this economy would go to the corporation, not to the people.

The state of Colorado, about a year ago, sent a member of its upper house, James W. Bucklin, to New Zealand, to investigate government ownership there.

But we have right here in our own city conclusive proof that the owners, not the patrons, profit by any saving or economy in the cost of public service.

Evolution Past the Trust Stage.

Every industry that has reached its trust stage of development is eminently ripe for appropriation by the community. It is useless to say that an enterprise cannot be managed by society when it is being managed by a group of capitalists.

Individualism should have at least one success to point to before it falls at socialism.

The New Pilgrim's Progress.

By Bolton Hall.

When Christian saw the Celestial Hill he began to run, and on the way he overtook a young man who was called "Professor."

"That's the way I am going," said Christian. "It is a good way and we may go to the Hill together."

"Why," answered Christian, stoutly. "there was one, whose name is Love, that was sent from there by the King to direct poor pilgrims how they could get to it, and he set me in this broad way that is called Liberty, saying that we have but to follow it to mount the Hill before us."

"I perceive that you are an unlearned man and are bent on your own destruction," said the other, "for just above you will see that the fences of this road end and the side of it slopes down to the plain of License, where you and all with you will be lost."

"Then said Christian, 'I do not fear to walk in Liberty; for I perceive that its path goes straight up the Hill!'"

"Aye, up the hill of anarchy!" answered Professor, hotly. "I have just come from the Ecclesiastical College, where we have analyzed economic specimens and political conceptions taken from that Hill, and we find that it is no Celestial Hill, but a mass of demand and supply and competition and self-interest. Come back, I say!"

By this time Christian was near the top and he cried down to the other, "I cannot go back; for I see a beautiful prospect before me—green pastures of affection and fountains of nobility; and sounds of harmony and joy come out of them."

"Man," called the other, "stop prating of your Ideals and Utopias. If you have any prospect, bring it down here to the level of common sense that we may see if it will pay. As for your sounds of harmony, I do not believe in them, for in struggling up the Hill none can survive but selfishness and cunning and ferocity."

But Christian went singing up the Hill.

The Real Trust Remedy.

Prof. Frank Parsons in Chicago Tribune.

Whatever power of law may be used to persuade the makers of trusts to adopt the co-operative plan will be true kindness to them and to their children if it prevents them from debasing our civilization with new and dangerous forms of aggression, and from being the recipients of unjust profits.

One remedy, public ownership, remains, and in the end co-operative organization with ever widening federation merges into public ownership. Incurable monopolies should be made public by government action.

We can make the disadvantages of aggregating capital on the aristocratic, anti-public, ring-for-private-profit plan so emphatic, and the advantages of aggregating capital for co-operative industries so pronounced, that capital will crystallize along co-operative lines, and offer employees and consumers a reasonable share in the benefits of the combine.

If Christ Came to Congress.

Is the title of a book written by a congressman, and tells what is daily happening in the national capital because your public servants there have not the slightest idea that Christ will clean up congress: Has been called "the boldest exposure of vice and corruption in high places ever written." 364 pages; 50 cents postpaid.

More on Public-owned Railroads.

It may be of interest to APPEAL readers to know what government ownership of railroads means in Denmark. Last summer I traveled in Denmark fifteen days for \$5.30, and you can buy a three-months, six-months or one-year ticket at an extremely low price.

A SOCIALIST DEBATING CLUB.

The socialist debating club of San Francisco is having a success that might be imitated in other parts of the country. The club holds meetings every Sunday from 1:30 to 5 p. m. The meetings are conducted on a system that makes them very successful, and because of this, as Comrade Apfel, who sends in their program remarks, the socialists "have undoubtedly the most successful debating club that ever has been in this city."

The program is printed on one side of a card and the other gives the time and place of meetings and these announcements: "All subjects discussed; vocal and instrumental music, recitations, debates, etc.; questions answered; free platform; the public invited; admission free; speeches limited to ten minutes, giving twenty-one debaters an opportunity to participate in the discussion."

Following is the program for the present quarter:

- July 1—Resolved, that socialism, the public or social ownership and control of the industries, is superior to capitalism, the private, or capitalist ownership and control of the industries.
July 8—Resolved, that environment has a greater influence in the formation of character than heredity.
July 15—Is diplomacy, scientific lying or deceitful policy justifiable when used for the public good?
July 22—Is all religion identical with superstition?
July 29—Has an attorney the moral right to defend a criminal for a crime of which he knows him to be guilty?
Aug. 5—Resolved, that capitalists and landlords are social parasites, and should be abolished.
Aug. 12—Resolved, that poverty produces more drunkenness, than drunkenness produces poverty.
Aug. 19—Is the assumption of a continuity of human life, spirit, soul, mind, or consciousness, after dissolution of its organism in accord with or contrary to known facts, and demonstrative evidence.
Aug. 26—Resolved, that all legislators, and judicial and executive heads of departments should be elected by a direct vote of the people.
Sept. 2—Resolved, that the socialist or government ownership system of eliminating profit is the best solution of the liquor question.
Sept. 9—Resolved, that the moral, religious, industrial and political opinions of a people are determined by their economic conditions.
Sept. 16—Would the partition of China by the powers hasten civilization and tend to the general good of mankind?
Sept. 23—Resolved, that free discussion of religious beliefs and disbeliefs, on the Socialist Party Platform, tends to injure and retard the progress of the class conscious labor movement.
Sept. 30—Resolved, that the economic and moral advantages of production on a public or socialist scale outweigh its disadvantages.
Oct. 7—Would the remedies offered by the plutocratic or any capitalist reform parties, abolish profit, robbery and wageslavery of labor, or improve the conditions of the wage working class?
Oct. 14—Does the material universe present evidences of having been planned or made by a designer?

John Morley in a Bad Way.

John Morley the famous English writer and statesman has just made an extremely interesting admission. In an address at Oxford he made this confession:

"The day when the Liberal party forsakes its old principles—I don't call them catchwords or shibboleths—of peace, economy, and reform, the Liberal party will have to disband and to disappear. And who will take its place? The Socialists will take its place. My friend here on the left, Dr. Spence Watson, knows that I stood year after year with my back to the wall against the Socialists, not because I did not respect the fervour of the men, not because I did not sympathize to my very heart's core with their 'right to the toiler's lot, or with their resolution to make the toiler more intelligent and his home more secure, but because I thought, and think, their means were ill chosen, would do mischief to the character of the individual, and would handicap us in the struggle, the vital struggle, for an industrial position, upon which the lot of the toiler depended as much as the lot of the capitalist."

Morley never says—or writes anything that he has not most carefully weighed and considered, and that he has seen the alternatives and acknowledges the higher one is a very significant phase of the situation in England.

Democratid Government is ruled by Equality, Liberty, and Fraternity. It recognizes no titles of nobility, no privilege of birth or caste.—Constitution of the Roman Republic.

farmers & socialism:

Use APPEAL No. 239 for the farmers—half-a-cent a copy for as many as you need.

Social Democratic National Ticket for 1900.

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

SOCIALIST ORGANIZATIONS—For the purpose of aiding in organization, the Appeal will print notices of political meetings, conventions, etc., for 2 cents a line. Send money with notice. If you use the space paid for by all, you should be willing to help pay the expenses of the paper. J. A. Wayland.

WE are about to establish a co-operative colony in a fertile valley in Arizona. The membership fee will be \$500. All co-operators are invited to write and get parties lists. J. P. Hyams, Acting Secretary.

The Union Label

on everything you buy is a guarantee that the producers thereof receive a fair rate of wages for its production. INSIST ON HAVING THE LABEL.

