

Appeal to Reason.

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FOR THE OWNERSHIP OF THE EARTH

AND THE FULLNESS THEREOF

By ALL the People, and Not by Part of the People.

The Appeal is NEVER sent on credit; if you receive it it is paid for. Nobody owes a cent on subscription.

Entered at Girard, Kas., P. O. as second-class matter.

J. A. Wayland.

Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., August 2, 1902.

YOU should see to it that a copy of this issue is in the hands of every Union man in your city. That's your part of the work.

If No. 349 is on your label your subscription expires with the next number.

Socialism For Everybody.

YOU want Socialism; I want it, and everybody who knows what Socialism is. Let us tell everybody what Socialism is. That is the key to Socialist success. The Appeal has the message but it needs messengers. The Appeal tells the tale but it is a story the whole world should hear.

Will you take the message to the waiting people? Will you use a little of your surplus time in getting subscribers for the paper? If you will, we can accomplish wonders. The Appeal plant distributes an average of two hundred thousand papers per week; and the Appeal Army is the cause of it all.

The Appeal Army is composed of every man, woman and child that works for the Appeal and Socialism. No army like it has ever been. While other armies are destructive, this army is constructive; while other armies leave desolation in their rear, this army leaves hope and aspirations for better conditions; while other armies are composed of one General and many privates, this army is composed of many Generals and no privates, unless the Appeal Bull Dog deserves the title.

The Appeal Army needs you. It does not need your money, BUT IT DOES NEED YOUR WORK. No one can reach your neighbors as you can reach them. You understand them and they have confidence in you whether you think so or not. You can do no nobler work for humanity than consecrate a small portion of your time during the next year to the work of converting your neighbors.

Socialism is infinitely greater than any other movement of the present or past. To free the American colonies from tyranny men left their homes to be robbed and burned, their wives and families to be mistreated; and went forth to die on the battle-field. Socialism demands no such sacrifice, but its purpose is the emancipation of the whole race by the abolition of capitalistic tyranny. To free a few million chattel slaves men went again through the same ordeal. How insignificant compared with this are the demands of the Socialist movement! Only a few hours patient work for a short time and the battle is won, peace preserved and the blessings of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness secured to all.

Realizing these facts can you sit idly by and leave others to bear the burden? We are nearer the Co-operative Commonwealth today than the negro was to freedom in '55. Socialism will be established within ten years as sure as there will be any one here to see it. Do you want to be a laggard or a hero in the strife? Do you want to be a cipher or stand among the heroes at Valley Forge and Saratoga? Ten short years, and probably less are left for each to be great or be nothing. The call is not to chant the Marseillaise, to guard the river Rhine or dream of expansion; but to free yourselves, your children and your children's children from the bondage of wage slavery.

The day has come for every patriot to do his duty. Pick your flint and keep your eye on this column.

The Appeal is prepared to print by-laws and clear work for labor unions at the lowest prices, in the best typographic form and with union labor on an eight hour day. Write for estimates.

Eighty-two men and officers have committed suicide in the Philippines. Great is empire. Not so fine to fight for one's country, and be bossed by officers who have a soft snap, eh?

Los Angeles unions warn mechanics and laborers against advertisements sent out by employers to the effect that plenty of work at big wages await them. This is the method of the exploiters to win a strike against the workmen.

The miners of Pennsylvania have the votes to send two or three Socialists to congress and carry their fight into the national halls of lawmakers. They have tried the old parties for years and are still suffering even more than they ever did. Will they really make a change?

The Appeal is the greatest Socialist paper in the world. It has the largest circulation. It has never tried to float by pulling others down or build up on the reputation of others. Imitators, it has many, which is the sincerest flattery.

S. N. Jacks, a Ft. Worth merchant, returning from Mexico, says he saw thirty Yaquis Indians, some mere boys lined up and shot. The Mexican government desires their rich lands and wages a war of extermination. This is civilization as we have her.

In Europe the cost of alcohol is so low that it is used as fuel in many places where we have to use kerosene or benzene. Here, thanks to the revenue laws that make it a monopoly, we can use Standard Oil product with all its dangers and ill-smelling effects. We are a great and progressive people, we are.

The employers of Chicago have been compelled to recognize the unions in every contest in the last year. This has been done by the different unions going to each other's assistance. ONE union with ONE label would give labor the POWER to control every industry. That label will bear the one word that strikes terror to the hearts of the exploiters—SOCIALISM.

J. B. Strong, son of a rich family in New York, stole \$85,000 worth of jewels to squander on riotous life. His family paid and the criminal suit was withdrawn. That is the kind of justice we have—can be bought for the cash; it is the kind of boys that riches and idle lives produce. There is one law for the rich and another for the poor. How do you like it?

Count Matsukata, former minister of finance of Japan, who visited this country a few weeks ago, has been interviewed in Europe and says that America is on the verge of a tremendous panic, caused by over speculation. He says the financiers of this country apprehend it. Every one who knows anything about the history of the world knows that panics have never failed to follow an era of speculation. It does not take a prophet to forecast it.

A cable from Berlin dated July 21, says that the emperor has \$5,000,000 invested in American railways, and that his income is \$142,800 a year from these investments. But Americans would never, never, never support royalty! Not on your sweet life! They would die in the last ditch before they would pay tribute to an emperor! What suckers and dupes the American public is composed of. They are FORCED to pay \$142,800 annually in tribute to the emperor of Germany! Ye Gods!

FEATURES FOR NEXT WEEK.

The Revolutionary Phase of Socialism.
Issidor Ladoff will tell the readers of the Appeal of the Revolutionary phases of Socialism, quoting the great Liebknecht of Germany, whose grasp of the movement made him a greater power than the Kaiser.

Roman Grandeur and American Magnificence.
Next week's Appeal to Reason will give a half page comparison of Roman luxury and the America of today, as seen through the eyes of a Roman historian of two thousand years ago and the writer today, by Henry George, Jr. It is a picture that will startle your senses, and should be held before your neighbors until their half-sleeping eyes behold the picture. Extra copies, per 100, forty cents.

Some Scattering Hints.
A column from one of Chicago's brightest newspaper paragraphers, Duncan M. Smith.

The increase in the number and spirit of labor unions in the last year is one of the most remarkable social phenomena that the world has ever witnessed. The actors are as a rule unconscious of the vast and far-reaching results that are to be the result of this combination, but it is the motive power, that is going to change the entire social fabric and usher in entirely new social conditions. There is a new phenomenon connected with this uprising of labor that has never appeared in any other era. Heretofore the labor unions took little interest in the disputes between the men and the masters unless it was their particular craft that was attacked. In this contest we see unions not related to the dispute taking an active interest and supporting the workers in it with as much earnestness as if their own members were attacked. This is called the "sympathetic strike" and it evidences both the rising solidarity of labor and the recognition of the class struggle. It is more than passing strange that in the midst of strikes, boycotts and trouble that labor increases its membership. Usually unions fall away during such times. In another two years labor will be completely organized; it will reach to the remotest villages; it will include the common and farm laborer and tenant; it will go into politics and elect its advocates to the highest places of power and it will teach inert capital that it is a thorn for the public good and not for private exploitation. We live in the most remarkable age of the earth.

The sultan sent 1,000 troops to collect \$200,000 tribute from the Arabs. They paid, but waylaid the looters and killed and retook the booty. They then took a small Turkish town and massacred the whole population. The Turks in another effort to collect booty were defied by the Macedonians; the Turks put the wives and children in front of them in their attack on the rebels but the Macedonians, loving liberty more than family, shot down everything before their guns, but were overpowered and annihilated. Such is the result of tribute getting. Such is war, and war is only caused by reason of one set of men desiring to get the result of other people's labor without equivalent. In other words, all war is the result of PROFIT to some one. The sultan is a Rockefeller. He should send for a Morgan or a Rockefeller. They can show him how to gather in many times as much loot as he does and not have an army either. That is they do not have one and gather in more than the Sultan. But perhaps the Sultan's subjects have a higher estimate of liberty than the Americans. Americans pay and never protest.

The republicans are going to do great things with the trusts—after next election! Two years with president, house and senate is not time enough to make a commencement! It's easy to pull the wool over the eyes of party dupes.

What the Appeal to Reason is For.

Literature is LIGHT, and it has been sent in vast quantities to the miners by Comrade J. A. Wayland of Girard, Kansas, besides providing us, as selected, some of the best leaflets, pamphlets and books to the extent of \$165.

J. MAHLON BARNES,
State Secretary, Pennsylvania.

Mr. Charles M. Schwab, the great steel and iron magnate is said to have in contemplation a residence for himself and family that will cost \$2,500,000. That is no doubt an extravagant sum to pay for a house to live in, yet we must not forget that more than half the cost of it will be paid for labor, and all for the materials produced by labor. The money will again find its way into the hands of the people—Lancaster, Pa., New Era.

The same may be said of the taxes that the czar or sultan or emperor levies on his subjects for an army. The money is spent for soldiers and the powder they blow themselves to pieces with—but what good does it do them? On the theory that because Schwab pays the money to labor that it is all right, it would be all right if he took the entire wealth of the nation and put it into a house for his own benefit—because it would go back to the hands of the people. Which is absurd. Why should he take it from the people in the first place? Would it not be better that this money instead of being paid to Schwab should remain in the hands of the people who create its value? Is it better that one man should have a \$2,500,000 house than that 1,000 men should have \$2,500 houses who now have shanties that they pay some Schwab for the right to use? John Ruskin, whose intelligence and honesty no one will dispute, writing on the same point, says that the rich dresses of the rich is not so much paid to labor for the making BUT SO MUCH TAKEN FROM LABOR. This house of Schwab is just as much robbed from the producers as was the palace of any tyrant who ever levied tribute on his subjects. And that is true of every other palace, whether in this or any other country. The wages paid workers is taken away from them by extortion in the price of the very things their labor produces. There is no difference whether the capitalist give men five dollars a day and charge them five times the labor cost for goods or whether they give them one dollar a day and let them have goods at cost. And the only way they get millions is to pay wages averaging \$1.50 a day and getting the money back by arranging the price of goods so that the workers get only as much for their \$1.50 as twenty-five cents is paid for producing. That is how Schwab gets the money to build \$2,500,000 houses, which will require any the sons and daughters of the poor to keep in order and perform his "service." That is the way kings are kept up. The American people are simply chumps to uphold a social system that produces such results. The workers want better houses; they need better houses; they need their own children to help lighten their burdens. Why do they not vote to have all capital owned by the public and then they would have goods they produce for the equivalent of what they are paid for producing them. Then no one member of society could have million dollar houses while the many would create all the wealth live in hovels and dress in shoddy hand-me-downs—if they are lucky enough to get them.

YOUR MASTERS, SIR.

J. W. Gates, who claims he gave Morgan the thought and inspiration that created the steel and other trusts, has been expressing himself volubly about his low opinion of labor unions, labor delegates and such and gives it as his opinion that labor unions hurt labor. Aha! Perhaps that's what the matter with labor unions! They are not hurt by their masters but by their unions! Not low wages, not long hours, not pluck-me store, not unhealthy conditions, not miserable homes, not dependence on the whim of employers—none of these hurt labor! It is just the labor unions! The profits that are ground out of labor's hide and tallow by the hundreds of millions annually don't hurt labor. Just that infernal walking delegate! Say, boys, hadn't you better take Gates into your unions and have him instruct you? Wouldn't Gates and Morgan and Astor and Vanderbilt and Russell Sage and Gould be able to tell you just what's the matter with Hanna? Now get out and yell and vote for the men who bask in the smiles of the men who own the trusts, will you? Gates says that the labor leaders do not represent you. Perhaps the gentleman named would! They have been "going" you a long time, and your votes and party fealty have helped them up. By the way, Gates said he was in favor of the ship subsidy act—that is, that the working people should be taxed many millions a year and the millions given to poor Gates and his crowd who have monopolized all the ocean shipping just to add them in carrying on their business. And the ship subsidy will pass at the next congress as sure as a majority of the working people vote for the old parties. Working people, where are you at?

Mr. Gates has been telling how he became rich. He started in the barbed wire business and the company declared a dividend on the capital of 50% a week! This very reasonable profit enabled him to take \$150,000 a year out of the farmers. But that did not satisfy his greed and he enlarged and bought out rivals and monopolized patents and made millions out of the farmers who were working fifteen hours a day and taking chances on the seasons and crops to make a living. Then he found that was slow business—that the way to make good money was to get control of some railroads and that would give him a cinch on the crops of millions of farmers who would pay tribute to him whether they would use his wire or not. The railroads are the great cinch. His millions have been accumulated not by any labor, but by cunning, taking advantage of the ignorance of his fellows about the real worth of wire fencing, railroad transportation, and other things. I expect if Mr. Gates were interviewed concerning the farmers he would tell them that they should not go into politics, that they should keep away from granges and alliances. But as the farmers so far have not exhibited as much intelligence about employing "walking delegates" as the labor unions, he has not given them any advice. They are dead easy to skin. Notwithstanding that Gates made 50% a week profit out of the farmers on barbed wire not longer ago than ten years ago, the price of wire has been raised and the process of making it cheapened since then! In other words, the profit on wire must now be as much as 100% a week!

The farmers and laborers should ask Gates and his crowd how to vote!

What the Kaiser Thinks of Morgan.

The following cable to the N. Y. World, from Paris, July 19, will probably startle the average conservative reader. The Kaiser is in a position to know somewhat whereof he speaks. I am inclined to the view that he is correct in his estimate of Morgan, who knows little aside from his immediate surroundings, and that he is doing the things that are aiding no more than all other things in bringing about the socialization of the world, a thing he knows more about than the average school boy. The Kaiser having run up against the real thing has a better idea what Socialism is, on what it thrives, and is fearful of the results that the Morganization of the industries portends. In the next five years Socialism will, because of the economic conditions being made, be the foremost question in the United States, and it will sweep the country far more rapidly than it has in Germany. But read the cablegram and think it over. Then read it again and think some more.

Der Kaiser voiced his impressions of J. Pierpont Morgan with such frankness to M. Waldeck-Rousseau and the French ex-Premier's guests on the latter's yacht Ariadne when they dined aboard the Hohenzollern recently as to startle the French guests.

According to letters received here from members of the party, the Kaiser considers Mr. Morgan a man of few ideas but tremendous audacity, who has been wonderfully served by circumstances, which might just as well have gone against him.

Der Kaiser is quoted as having said: "Try as I could, his conversation failed to reveal to me that he had any clear comprehension of the vast harmonies and conflicts of the commercial universe. I was amazed to find him not well informed regarding historical and philosophical development of nations. His political economy leaves him unconcerned regarding Socialism, which undoubtedly will soon constitute the most stupendous question everywhere. Mr. Morgan confessed that he had never been sufficiently interested to study into what Socialism means exactly."

Mr. Morgan struck the Kaiser as being a man who is absorbed in immediate problems and incapable of seeing consequences far ahead.

ANOTHER DRED SCOTT DECISION

U. S. Judge Jackson at Parkersburg, in the state owned by Elkins, has recently outdone the infamous Dred Scott decision that helped to precipitate the civil war. He has jailed nine union men, including "Mother" Mary Jones, a gray-haired woman of nearly sixty, for holding meetings on the property owned by the miners, half a mile from the coal barons' mines. He has expressed himself judiciously, if the press dispatches are correct, that free speech should be suppressed, unless the freedom to speak shall please those in power to interpret whether it should be treason or not! The miners, their WIVES AND CHILDREN were enjoined from assembling in or near paths or roads or upon or near the company's property or assembling public or privately in camp or otherwise WITHIN SIGHT OF THE COMPANY'S PROPERTY!

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; OR ABRIDGING THE FREEDOM OF SPEECH OR OF THE PRESS; or the right of the people to peaceably assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."—U. S. Constitution.

But for exercise of these God-given and constitutional guaranteed rights American citizens, working people, have been fined and imprisoned, and warned that they must not do these things! They are arrested, fined and imprisoned without the right to have a jury of their countrymen to see whether they are guilty! They have been arrested for meeting and talking over their grievances on their own property. They have been threatened with imprisonment if they shall go within sight of the sacred property of the coal barons, those modern robbers who are skinning the American people out of hundreds of millions a year, who are reducing to the worst forms of human slavery American citizens and whose titles to lands have been secured in many instances by the most flagrant perjury and lawlessness. The mailed hand of King George never found more ardent supporters on the bench than do the trusts of today.

If the American working people continue to vote for the parties who appoint such men as Judge Jackson, then they are deserving the treatment which Judge Jackson metes out to them when they cry out for justice and are given fines and imprisonment.

If such decisions will not awaken the working people to the trend toward absolute monarchy, through the assistance of the courts, then have the American people sunk into the condition of the Chinese, who prefer to bend the neck to pomp and power rather than assert their manhood.

As the Dred Scott decision helped the cause of the abolitionists, so will the decision of Judge Jackson help the cause of union labor and Socialism.

A cable from Vienna, July 21, to Chicago News, says that Morgan has provided for a steamship line from Trieste and New York that will give the magnate complete control of a supply of cheap European labor that would be of great advantage in meeting the special needs of his railway, mining and manufacturing interests. "What think you Americans of that? Cheap labor and dear goods is a heaven for the rich, eh? Well, you believe in private ownership of the earth and the fullness thereof and you will get your stomach full of it before long. Better vote for Socialism so you will have an ownership and voice in the industries. A few years hence and with a great army and navy your vote might not be counted. The rich will hesitate at no crime to keep their control over you. Haven't you tied your kite long enough to the old party promises? How much longer do you want them to dupe you?"

If the workmen of Pennsylvania had elected Socialists to all the offices they would long ago have been back to work at increased wages. The Socialists would have used the powers of state against the coal trust instead of against the miners working for starvation wages. Every miner in the state should have been sworn in as a deputy sheriff to protect the property of the mine owners and should have been paid out of the public treasury until the corporations got tired of paying taxes to support them. After all it is force and it had better be used on the side of the miners than on the side of the trusts. That's what Socialists will do when they get into power, and don't you forget it.

The most intelligent workmen get the best pay; the best paid workmen are the ones that strike most. You never hear of the common day laborer, the chores men and women, the section men, striking, do you? They are kept too close to starvation to kick, and submit to indignities that would send any trades union members to a strike in a minute. The strike is the protest of intelligence against unjust conditions. It is the assertion of minds awakening to a comprehension of its place in nature. When they get more intelligence they will strike at the ballot box and will make the laws governing their occupations

Working people, you belong to a class—the working class. You are the lower strata of the human beings that inhabit the earth. You are lower in clothing, lower in food, lower in shelter, lower in enjoyment and in mind power. You are used by the upper class as so many animals for their pleasure and profit. You are to them as a herd of cattle—something to give them profit. You pay all the profits that are levied. You give the service that gives them all the pleasure they have. You not only do the work that feeds, clothes and shelters them, but you give your sons and daughters for their servants and worse. You are a thoughtless set of beings. You are trained to believe certain things that you may be controlled through your beliefs. In some countries it is one thing and in another a different thing, but your beliefs are errors and cause your undoing. You would doubtless think more of the writer if he flattered you, told you how great you are, how wise you are, how free you are, and such rot. That is what your masters tell you and one of the mental controls they have over you. You are not great, but you can become great; you are not wise but you can become wise; you are not free but can become free. There is no greatness in servitude; there is no wisdom in selling yourselves for profit; no freedom where others possess your necessities. Did you ever ask yourselves why there are classes? Did you ever try to think out why the workers of all nations are poor and the drones are rich? Did it never strike you as queer that the people who make all wealth are in want of wealth and those who make no wealth have all wealth? Are you one of those who are so stupid that you are satisfied with such a condition? Do you think that your children are not entitled to as good food, clothing, homes, education and entertainment as any other children on the earth? Why can't you give it to them? Is it because there are not workers enough to produce, make, build, teach and entertain? Has the earth not enough material to work with? Why are you willing to have your labor used to build a dozen palaces for one small family while living in a hovel—a rented hovel at that? Why do you permit your labor to build great palaces for your masters to sit in judgment (called courts)—while you exist in a mean shanty, lacking furniture? Why great churches raised in a community for two hours' use per week, while in their shadows human beings live in worse conditions than the horses of the masters? Is it because you do not want good homes? YOUR labor builds every palace, your labor creates every shred of fabric, your labor produces every mouthful of food. Why do you have the poverty of these and those who produce none has in superabundance? Have you not wit enough to direct your labor to the production of the things you want and then own them? If you work for capitalists, capitalists will own the things you produce. If you work for the public, YOU are just as much a part of the public as the rich and you will own and will have a legal right to control and use what you produce. Is this plain? Or do you prefer to be the political dupes of the cunning and retain their wages slaves in the future as in the past? No one will free you but yourselves. No one CAN free you but yourselves. LARRY the Truth—the Truth will make you free. The Truth is that you are simply slaves for the exploiters. They hire you, they make the laws, they sell you your labor for ten times what they pay you. Working people, abolish classes in the earth by making it so that all must become workers in the industries of society. Then each can have an abundance, each can develop its life to the highest, and you will become great and wise and free. You are not such today.

A Letter from Smith.

There is no compromise between right and wrong, between justice and tyranny. Follow Unionists, if the competitive system is right, is it right to organize labor Unions and strike against its effects. How can intelligent unionists fail to see that all their oppression comes from the private ownership of capital? If the working people collectively owned the capital (that is public ownership) would they have to strike against themselves? Would they not get all their labor produces? Could they ask more? The lack of knowledge is the undoing of the workers. "Know the Truth, the Truth will make you free," contains the seed of liberty. The wise are continually seeking wisdom while the foolish refuse to cultivate the mind—and cunning entraps them in its nets. We are forced often to strike against what we could and would remedy at the ballot box if we had the wisdom.—L. J. Smith, South Ottumwa, Ia.

Labor unions have formed the nucleus for every organized effort for more liberty. They have battered every throne and compelled it to concede the workers more rights. They will yet form the core of the movement to give the world industrial liberty.

Who Are the Union Wreckers?

For the Appeal by A. M. SIMONS, Editor International Socialist Review.

If you bring politics into the union you will wreck it. The old "pure and simple" trade-union and many union men who cling to their trade organization as their only hope of securing an existence are frightened and prevented from listening to the Socialist worker.

But the trade union is a structure whose building is not yet completed and before we decide who are the real builders and who are the wreckers it is worth while to spend a few moments studying the process of construction up to the present point.

The trade-union is practically a thing of the last hundred years, and indeed, so far as this country is concerned, almost wholly of the last fifty years, for contrary to the common opinion the trade-union has nothing in common with the ancient guild or other organizations of workers. The union as we know it today is born of a state of society where one class of men is forced to sell itself for wages to a ruling social class.

Under a system of chattel slavery there was no room for a trade-union. The bargain for the labor-power of the chattel slave was made once and for all and was not made with the slave himself but with his master. To the bargain is made with the slave himself, although he really has little more to say as to whether he shall be sold or not.

That we may better understand the two systems of slavery let me draw before your minds two pictures, the one of the old, the other of the new slave-market.

You all know the first. You have read of it an hundred times in books describing the negro slavery of the south before the civil war.

There is a long low shed with rough rude beams and overhanging eaves. In the center of the covered space rises a low platform. On this stands the auctioneer. Around him in little groups stand the planters who have come to bid on the human flesh he has for sale. Besides him, on the platform, stands a man with swarthy skin. The auctioneer begins:

"Here you are—a fine healthy negro—sound of limb and lung. Teeth, muscles, all are in good condition. He can pick many times the cotton you must sell in order to buy him food, clothing and shelter. What do I hear you bid?"

And up from the groups of prospective purchasers come competitive bids of the amounts they are willing to give for the chance to get what this negro will produce above what he must be given to keep him alive.

The voice of the auctioneer drones on: "One thousand dollars. Twelve hundred dollars—thirteen hundred—do I hear the fourteen? Fourteen—make it fifteen hundred. Fifteen hundred, once, twice, three times and—gone." The auctioneer's hammer falls. The sale is done and the negro has become the property of one of the surrounding planters. This owner must care for him in sickness and in old age. In prosperity or adversity, in times of drought or plenty, and in return for this he receives all the slave produces.

But such scenes are gone forever, you tell me. The blood of a million men was shed that this horrible picture might be forever blotted out the canvas whereon is painted the story of our national life.

Yes, the scene is gone, and for that no one is more grateful than I. But whenever I would lift my voice in rejoicing because slavery has been forever abolished from off this continent, another scene rises before my vision and chokes the cheer before it has yet found voice.

Come with me to the door of a great factory. A sign "Hands wanted" hangs above the door, for the modern slave buyer has no need of brains, or bodies or souls, but only of "hands." Before the door, and stretching far out the factory gate stands a gaunt and haggard mob, representing homes broken up, families torn apart and tenderest ties severed that material may be secured for this modern slave market.

Draw closer. Let us watch the process of sale. There is no auctioneer for no urging is needed where hunger plies the lash. A well-dressed man sits at a comfortable office desk. Before that desk a portion of the hungry mob is marshalled.

The first to speak is a strong, healthy, skilled trade-unionist.

"I have spent years in learning to produce wealth," he says. "I can produce many times the wealth you must pay me in wages. Take me at two dollars and a half a day and all the rest of the value I create is yours."

But the man at the desk scarcely notices him, for just behind the trade-unionist he sees a man with shabby thread-bare coat, whose haggard, worried face tells the story of days spent in that strange search pedlar capitalism, the search of the slave for a master.

It was the face of a man, who that morning heard his wife say to him, "John, the children had no lunch to take to school today. The landlord left a notice here yesterday and the store-keeper told me he could give us no more credit. Won't you try hard to get a job today?"

This man pushes eagerly to the front and we hear him saying, "Here, take me. I can do the work and will only ask one dollar and a half for what I can produce in a day."

But the man at the desk only smiles as he waits for other bids. And they come with ghastly swiftness.

A woman presses past the men and up to the desk. Her clothes are worn and ragged. She feels her children's fingers tugging at her heart strings and she hears their voices in imagination, as she heard them in reality ere she left her home that morning, begging for food to fill their fiercely gnawing stomachs and clothing to cover their shivering bodies.

"Take me," she begs. "My woman's skill used on by mother love, will find ways of living on a pittance too small to support life in a man, and I will work for three dollars a week."

But the man at the desk still waits, for pressing by the skirts of the woman and crowding by the knees of the men he sees a little girl approaching. She presses up close to the desk and cries out:

"Here, take me. My fathers and brothers with long generations of other workers have invented, improved and perfected your machines until my baby fingers can guide them in their work as well as the most skilled of strong men, and I can take hold of a road that leads down to hell, and sell my body and my soul into damnation besides which Dante's Inferno were but a glorified paradise, and all the product of my toil, save the barest pittance, that for forms sake we will call wages, shall be yours."

The auction is closed, and I say to you, men of America, you have no right to wipe this last and most horrible picture of the national canvases, even as you once erased the far less terrible one of former days.

And I say if you (trade-unionist) that unless

you can find some way to take away the hunger lash that drives this mob up to the factory gates and forces them to bid in a ghastly vendue of their own flesh and blood your union will be ever in danger of wrecking from those who can find no place in our productive system.

All that the "pure and simple" trade-unionist proposes is to band his fellows together so that when they sell themselves they shall fix their price by the united strength of all rather than by the weakness of the weakest member.

When first men were forced to sell themselves for wages all fought one another in the wage-market auction. But soon the men who worked at the same bench, who toiled beneath the same roof, who served a common master declared that as for them they would stand together as brothers instead of fighting each other like wolves.

So arose the first trade-union, out of the effort of slaves to raise their purchase price.

But machines wiped out numbers, growing concentration reduced the trades and increased the power of the masters, expanding markets wiped out race and national lines until it became evident that the whole great world of labor had need of some common mode of organization.

Then it was that men began to see that the greatest enemy of the union was the vast army that must ever be, not only outside the union ranks, but often outside the whole productive process. Union men have good reason to hate the militia and the organized armed troops of the world but the army that has broken more strikes than any other carries no muskets and needs no command of officers to call it into action. It is the ARMY OF THE UNEMPLOYED.

This army is the greatest defender of capitalism. I think that we seldom realize how completely our present social structure of misery and degradation rests upon what perhaps the most miserable degraded being in it—the poor hungry, outcast wretch who humbly begs for a meal on the street corners of our great cities.

But without him the whole rotten system would fall in ruins. If the man who is at work in the shop did not know that just outside the door there stood a man ready to pick up his tools the moment they were laid down he would say to his master, "I think I will take a little more of what I produce." The employer could do nothing but give him what he asked, for unless the laborer works there are no profits, and profits are the breath of life to the master.

But when the laborer saw how easily this additional gain was secured he would keep asking for more and more of his product, until the day would come when he would say to the capitalist, "I believe, I will take all I produce." But when that day came the capitalist would disappear and with him the whole system of greed, and misery, and slavery that we call capitalism.

Now this is exactly what the Socialist proposes to do.

He has seen the gradual yet rapid and constant extension of the circle of brotherhood from trade to industry and from national to international organization. But always there has been this body of unemployed workers outside the pale. But he who is not with us is against us," and in shutting these out of the trade-union brotherhood they have been driven into the camp of the enemy. This notwithstanding the fact that that enemy was ten-fold their own as well as the trade-unionist's.

The Socialist sees that the time is now here to enlarge that circle of brotherhood until it includes every worker, whether with hand or with brain, and every man or woman or child who has been shut out from the opportunity of creating and obtaining wealth by the private ownership of the means of creating that wealth.

The Socialist sees that the only reason that laborers are forced to sell themselves in such a horrible auction is because the man who buys their labor power, and lives upon the product of their toil, owns the things which the workers must have in order to live.

So it is that the Socialist declares that the time is now here to make a demand for the whole product for the producers. But we have just seen that the only reason why this can not be done at present by any laborer is because of the army of the unemployed. Hence the need of including the members of that miserable army.

But the only place where this union is possible and where this demand can be made with the certainty of success is at the ballot box.

Hence it is that Socialism is the logical conclusion of trade-unionism, and the Socialists, so far from being "union wreckers" are really but the final and most necessary workers on the structure, without whose efforts the whole building would fall into decay and ruin.

The old political parties are founded upon the preservation of profits, and their principle means to this end is the political division of the workers.

Under these conditions to look for help from them is criminally foolish. The trade-unionist who seeks to secure favors from the democratic or republican party is the real union wrecking for he is betraying his union into the hands of the enemy.

The man who calls upon the trade-unionists to carry their solidarity to the polls by uniting with the Socialist party in its demand for the entire product of labor for the laborers is the man who really is helping to strengthen and build up the union.

The success of the Socialist party at the polls will abolish the whole system of slavery, wage or chattel, will transform the army of the unemployed into the triumphant host of producers, and will wreck the trade-union only by accomplishing the result for which it was organized, the emancipation of labor, which will render all organizations of slaves unnecessary.

Logan, Utah, a city of 6,000, has just voted three to one to build its own electric plant and get out of the clutches of the private corporation owned plant.

Your paper and the trusts are waking the people up in this neck of the woods; locals are starting up on all hands.—Comrade Atkins, Falcon, Colo.

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50 Copies, Why Working-men should be Socialists.
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Good for men, and a bed for any.

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BRAIN vs. MUSCLE.

Two men began business, down on the levee;
One furnished the muscle, and one the money.
The one with muscle toiled outside with hook,
The one with the cash stayed in and kept books.
On Saturday night the muscular "Jay"
Came into the office and drew his week's pay.
The financial man his profits looked o'er,
And the next Monday morning he hired two more.
In a very short time he employed a score,
And soon was working a hundred or more.
His earnings increased with his number of men;
For each dollar paid them his profit was ten.
He soon had a ship of his own on the sea,
Built a house on the hill—they live near the levee.
He has warehouses and factories and money besides;
His employees are poor—of want some have died.
Now the question I ask, whence came all the profit?
Is it the product of labor, or the earning of brain?
If of labor, then why not give each man his share?
If of brain, then what use to have labor there?
If of both, then why there should difference
Between earnings of muscle and brain, I can't see.
—Canadian Socialist.

"WHO'S PAYIN' FOR IT ALL?"

Most every day we hear about some rich chap with a daughter or maybe an ambitious wife to take across the water. He buys a yacht that costs a lot and hires crews and cooks and loads his women folk with sums up to help their souls. And maybe he may think the price the spurge'll cost is small. But still I can't help wonderin' who's payin' for it all.
The man who heads the steamship trust or some big corporation has planned to blow a million in to see the coronation. He'll be away all summer long and travel like a king. While he'll be workin' on the crops I planted in the spring; He'll be in a castle from some lord that's crowded to the wall And I can't keep from wonderin' who's payin' for it all.
The man whose mines are closed to bring the miners to submission Will go on buyin' everything for which his heart keeps wishin'. He'll take his women folks to court, and Moses how they blaze With diamonds strung across their shapes in forty-seven ways. They're goin' in their costly yachts; they won't come back till fall. And I can't keep away the thought "Who's payin' for it all?" —E. Kiser, in Chicago Record-Herald.

RHYME AND REASON.

When great Galileo proclaimed that the world
In a regular orbit was ceaselessly whirled,
And got his name for ever linked with his fame,
But only derision and prison and chains,
"It moves, for all that!" was his answering tone
For he knew, like the Earth, he could "go it alone!"
When Kepler, with intellect piercing afar,
Discovered the laws of each planet and star,
And doctors, who ought to have lauded his name,
Derided his teaching and harassed his fame,
"I can wait," he replied, "till the truth you shall own!"
For he felt in his heart he could "go it alone!"

No Natural Right of Monopoly.

Editorial Philadelphia North American, Rep.
One of the railroad companies operating in the anthracite field announces that a coal mine which has been closed by the strike will be flooded deliberately and permanently abandoned because the union pumpmen and firemen, who remained at their posts through many weeks of the strike, have at last been persuaded to quit. The closing of the colliery will force 1,000 men and boys to seek employment elsewhere when the strike is settled.
The LEGAL right of the company to cease working the mine and prevent any one else from working it cannot be questioned. Probably the managers of the company have no doubt as to their MORAL right to do as they please with the property, but the existence of such a right is not admitted universally; the disposition to question its existence and examine its supposed basis is becoming more general.
Title to property of that character can be acquired and held only by consent of society; it is a special privilege, not a natural right. It has been thought convenient to permit individuals or associations to hold monopolistic possession of natural storerooms of wealth and exploit them for the benefit of all. In the confusion of trusteeship with private ownership the right of use and abuse has grown up and been recognized. Society is beginning to doubt the convenience of the arrangement, however, and to question the moral validity of the title which it has given to monopolizers of natural resources. Therefore it is not unlikely that the action of the corporation in closing a coal mine apparently to punish labor for demanding fair treatment may induce serious consideration of the proposition that the state exercise the right of eminent domain to take possession of coal lands and work them for the public benefit.
Only the most unreasoning reverence for the "sanctity" of private property can find any justification for the abuse of privilege which is shown in the dog-in-the-manger policy of abandoning mines and denying access to the coal to those who ask only the opportunity to earn a living by the labor of digging it out.
More than 140,000 laborers, all willing and eager to delve into the earth and bring to light and to use the vast wealth stored by nature in the hills of Pennsylvania, are idle because a few men are permitted to assert ownership of certain strata of the earth's crust and to dictate the terms on which the 140,000 shall work. These few say that no man shall mine coal unless he pays tribute to them; that no man shall have any part of the fuel stored by nature for the use of all until they grant permission to their fellow-men to earn a living by the sweat of their brows.
Clearly such a situation is unreasonable and not to be tolerated indefinitely by society. The business of all the people is disorganized and hampered by the perversity of a few corporation managers, who abuse privileges that exist only by permission of the people. The right and the power to abolish those privileges are retained by the body politic, and the power may be exercised for the public good in destroying monopoly of the coal deposits. The state can resume by purchase its control of the mines, and it may do so if the railroads persist in their present selfish course.

Bloody Work of a Trust.

Special Cable to Globe-Democrat, Rep.
Hamburg, July 12.—The Hamburg and Bremen commercial chambers decided to join the Liverpool chamber of commerce in demanding international interference in the affairs of the Congo state, as the Belgian trust which bought the state from King Leopold made trade in the Congo a gigantic monopoly, excluding all outside traders, particularly British, German and French subjects. The Belgian trust, at the same time forestalls all legitimate competition by its system of securing the natural resources of the country—almost cruelty and oppression. The natives of each district are forced to deliver up certain exorbitant quantities of ivory, gum, kopal, kamschuk, etc., every month, and if the required quantities are not furnished the village loses a certain number of women and children that are sold into slavery, while the left hand of the male natives are cut off, the fields devastated and the huts burned. This, according to the testimony of Bishop Shepherd and other missionaries, who witnessed the fact that the Belgian authorities demand a certain amount of human hands, smoked to keep them from putrefaction, for every shortage in national products. On account of the trust's cruelty and power traders can not compete with it, either in quantity or products or price, for the trust pays its enslaved laborers in powder and lead only.
Truth is mighty and will prevail. THE TRUTH ABOUT SOCIALISM is mighty and will be read. Price 25 cents, postpaid.

Trade Unionism: Its Struggle.

For the Appeal, by W. E. CLARKE.

TRADE unionism, as we know it today had its origin in the 15th century. Laborers organized then to protect themselves from employers, who wanted them to work for the smallest wage upon which it was possible to exist. The same thing is true today, and he speaks in defiance of history and truth who says that the interests of labor and capital are the same. The history of labor shows that men have become wealthy by taking from the laborer the wealth he had created. By the very nature of things no one can take the larger part of created wealth without leaving the smaller part for the rest. Let the financier get out his pencil and figure as he will: if ten boys gather ten apples, and one boy takes nine apples for himself there will be only one apple left for the remaining nine boys; and unless those boys are all idiots they will not agree with the doctrine that one worker should have in abundance while the others are in want.

The early leaders of Trade Unionism recognized this truth, and tried to formulate plans by which they could secure to the workers the benefit of their toil. In 1425 the English masons were holding annual parliaments for the purpose of bettering the condition of their employment. But the employers, knowing that their wealth was the accumulated unpaid salaries or wages of the workers, induced parliaments to order the masons not to hold yearly assemblies for the purpose of advocating better labor laws. And in 1467 the council of Worcester ordered the tilers to set no parliament among them; and from that time for practically two hundred years labor unions were forbidden by parliament.

Of course labor was organized; and early in the 18th century, employers began to see that their power would be gone if the rising power of labor was not checked; so it became common for employers to go to parliament about the mis-rule of their workers. And on February 4, 1718, the king issued a proclamation against trade unions. But the proclamation had little effect. The capitalists went to parliament with their troubles in 1776, saying that they could no longer make any profit because of competition, and begging for the repeal of the Woolen Cloth Weavers Act which gave certain rights to labor.

Before that the wool combers had an organization for the purpose of aiding the sick, and maintaining existing rates. They demanded better treatment, and of course their demand came to naught. All branches of labor were opposed by the government. In 1797, IT WAS SAID OF THE ABERDEEN TAILORS THAT THEY HAD ENTERED INTO AN ILLEGAL AGREEMENT FOR THE PURPOSE OF RAISING WAGES. These attacks were continued throughout the 18th century. Parliament was busy enacting statutes to prevent combinations of trade. In fact the government was a tremendous millstone about the neck of labor. Everything the laborer tried to do to better his condition was denounced as illegal. Laborers were depressed and debased to the earth; the whole force of civil power was exerted against them, whenever they tried to raise wages or reduce the number of hours of toil. Every committee or active man among the unions was regarded as dangerous, hounded like criminals, and if possible crushed.

As a consequence of such treatment the pioneer TRADE-UNIONISTS OF GREAT BRITAIN, WERE FORCED TO HOLD MID-NIGHT MEETINGS IN THE FIELDS BURY THEIR RECORDS, TAKE SECRET OATHS, AND SERVE LONG TERMS OF IMPRISONMENT. IMPRISONMENT FOR WHAT? FOR WANTING MORE OF THE WEALTH THAT THEY HAD CREATED. But they were glad to suffer for the cause of right; and we owe what little liberty we have today to those early labor agitators of Great Britain. They were not afraid to demand their rights. They were not too cowardly to defy the mandates of a capitalist king. They were as brave as any some of our labor leaders of the present time, who would rather go to jail than yield an inch from the path of right—than be a knave.

Early in the 19th century capitalism began to declare a new faith. Formerly the capitalists had gone to parliament to have laws passed against their workers; but they began to say in 1812 that they had nothing to arbitrate. For several years prior to that date, the cotton cloth weavers had been trying to have the magistrates fix the scale of piece work, which, according to the existing law, they had a right to do. But the capitalists appealed the case to the supreme court, (the court of Sessions at Edinburgh). And when this court remanded the case, and the magistrates fixed the rates, the capitalists ignored the order of the court. A strike ensued, involving about 30,000 workers. It lasted three weeks and would have succeeded, if the capitalists had not violated another law. While the laborers were trying to have the law enforced, the capitalists had them arrested for conspiracy to disrupt the government; when in fact that was the crime they themselves were committing. The leaders of the strike were thrown in jail, as were the leaders of other strikes in the next few years. And on New Year's day, 1819, ten calico printers were given three months in jail for simply meeting to discuss their work.

But as history proceeds the laborers were treated worse. In that same year, 1819, fifteen cotton spinners gathered in a hall in Manchester to receive funds for buying their dead. They were seized by the police refused bail and held on a charge of conspiracy. The whole local bar of seven attorneys were retained to prosecute these men, whose only crime was making arrangements for the proper burial of their dead co-laborers. Money was raised in London and elsewhere for their defense; but it was useless. Those sympathetic, big hearted laborers were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment; and if their comrades had made a demonstration against the outrage, they too would have been declared co-conspirators. The attorneys for the crown argued that laboring men had no right to meet for any purpose.

"Think of that! you, who are willing to let things go on as they are. It has always been so; those in authority have tried to perpetuate their reign by denying the same rights to others that they want for themselves.

New let us leave the devoted trade unionists of the other side, and take a glance at what has been the consequence here of the laborers' effort to make conditions better.

Employers of America have been following Henry Clay's advice, who said: "The true solution of the contest for all time between labor and capital is that capital should own the laborer whether white or black."

That has been the policy since 1803, when the first strike for better wages was declared on American soil. Some sailors struck for higher wages in New York harbor. It was a short strike; the leaders were thrown in jail. Notice the date; it was only twenty-seven years after signing the Declaration of Inde-

pendence; after declaring that all men are created equal, and endowed with certain unalienable rights; that among these rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND THREE IS KNOWN IN HISTORY AS THE DATE OF THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE. IT WAS A GREAT YEAR. IT WAS THE YEAR WHEN THE CAPITALISTS OF AMERICA BEGAN IMPRISONING LABORERS WHO DEMANDED BETTER WAGES, TO THEREBY GAIN MORE OF THE FREEDOM THAT WAS AIMED AT IN THE WAR AGAINST THE "ROYAL BRUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN."

According to Geo. E. McNeil, the first demands of the Trade Unions was for shorter hours. The Fall River textile workers began to organize if the question were submitted to a just tribunal, it would be decided that there WAS NOTHING TO ARBITRATE, THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO DIVISION OF PRODUCTS, THAT THE LABORER SHOULD HAVE ALL HE PRODUCED.

As early as 1848 the workmen of America began to see the remedy for their troubles; and in a resolution passed at Faneuil Hall, Boston, May 9th, a mass meeting of laborers resolved: "That if we would procure the passage of just and efficient laws to protect labor, and raise it from its present degrading dependence on wealth, we must purge the halls of legislation of the hirelings who basely pander to the interests of capital, and to accomplish this result we recommend for the laboring classes to try for once the experiment of trusting the management of their political affairs to men of their own class, who know their interests and have a fellow feeling in supporting them."

That is the remedy, and every unionist who knows anything about the cause of labor is acquainted with the fact; and every struggle of Trade Unionism from 1425 till the last attack on the liberty of the coal miners in the present year has emphasized that fact. The account given here in 1844. At that time the factories were opened at 5 p. m. and run till 7 p. m., with one-half hour for breakfast and the same time for dinner; their supper hour being after a day's work, lasting thirteen hours. As a matter of course the first demand was for shorter work days: In 1850 Colonel Borden, treasurer of the Metacomet mill at Fall River, was asked to make certain alterations in the wage scale. He pointed to the walls of his granite mill and said:

"I saw that mill built, stone by stone; I saw the pickers, the carding engines, the spinning mules and the looms put into it, one after the other, and I would see every machine and stone crumble and fall to the floor again before I would accede to your demands."

Mr. Borden was of the opinion that he had nothing to arbitrate; and he was right. There are, however, some questions that ought to be submitted to arbitration; but not the question of labor. To the laborer belongs by right the whole product of his toil; and no law on earth or in heaven is moral or just that compels the laborer to work for a mere portion of what his hands produce. The Fall River capitalist was wise; he knew that does not cover the entire history of labor. It would require a book of many pages to do that. But these items will point to the only possible solution of the labor problem. The laborers must control the machinery of producing the goods, and administering the affairs of state. If the laborers were in charge of the supreme court the capitalist coal mine owners could not have the coal miners enjoined from walking along the road. And the laborers have the power, given them by the constitution to elect their own men to office; and they have the power to compel those officers to make such laws as the workers want; and they have the power to amend the constitution that the supreme court will not be allowed to declare labor laws unconstitutional. LABOR HAS THE POWER TO RUN THE GOVERNMENT IN THE INTEREST OF THOSE WHO WORK; AND WHEN THE WORKERS WANT TO LIVE AND ENJOY LIFE THEY WILL EXERCISE THAT POWER BY STRIKING WITH BALLOTS, AND TAKING THEIR SEATS IN THE HALLS OF CONGRESS, WHERE THEY ONLY HAVE A RIGHT TO BE.

Laws Bought and Sold.

Ex-Supreme Judge Cahill, of Michigan, in a recent address says that an election has become useless expense and trouble and suggested that it is easier to award the office to the highest bidder—for that is what it practically amounts to. He went on to say: "What we have to fear is the destruction of the vital principles on which our government rests—the consent of the governed as expressed by the ballot freely, intelligently and conscientiously cast. The vast accumulation of wealth in the hands of individuals in this favored country is something before unknown in the history of the world. Wealthy men are few, as a rule, because of their industry, their economy of their superior business insight and judgment. They are often by their thrift and tact well fitted to be leaders in the world of trade and commerce. But politics does not belong to the domain of trade and commerce. Under our system of government every man should act and speak for himself. Instead of every man having and exercising an independent judgment in public affairs, politics is fast becoming a trade or occupation in which men hire themselves out, as Hessians or other mercenary soldiers were hired out in old times to the man or cause who would pay the highest price. These last pander to the ambition and flatter the vanity of the rich, and the rich man would embark in any other enterprise, the first question being how much capital is required to set up and work the machinery. One of these panderers in politics said to me not long ago, 'Give me \$50,000 and I will control the nominations of any state convention in Michigan in either party.' There are many men in Michigan who have annual incomes of twice \$50,000. Is it possible that any of these men who is ambitious enough and unscrupulous enough can buy the chief office of the state? If that be true, why go to all the trouble and expense of an election? Why not advertise for sealed proposals and award the office to the highest bidder?"

"It is said that the great body of our people of all parties are as yet uncorrupted, but how long will they continue so if the corrupting influences are allowed to go on no one can say. It is certain that too many of them are in that careless and indifferent frame of mind which is the next thing to personal corruption. It becomes a duty to educate public opinion out of its indifference and to a point where it will look upon corruption in politics as a serious crime, like robbery or theft. If the country ever falls into the hands of men through the designs of actively wicked men through the indifference of fairly good men who are criminal only through neglect of duty."

Why Union Laborers Should Be Socialists.

For the Appeal by MAX S. HAYES, Editor Cleveland Citizen.

HERE is no need to worry that the organized wage-workers of this country will not become converts to and champions of Socialism.

A very large percentage of the Socialist party membership is composed of trade-unionists—in fact, the active, intelligent and thoughtful union workers everywhere are either Socialists or are rapidly drifting into the political movement of the working class.

The reasons are plain: During the last dozen years labor-saving machinery has created such havoc in the skilled occupations that the mechanic is discovering that he is gradually losing his skill, and with that skill goes his independence to a large extent, for when the machine comes it is much more difficult to enforce higher wages, shorter hours and better conditions generally. The long apprenticeship that the mechanic was compelled to serve to become a proficient was time almost lost. And as the machine becomes more and more perfect, until it reaches the automatic stage, the so-called handy man enters the shop or factory and learns to operate the labor-saving device in a few days, thus intensifying competition for jobs and menial wage-scales unless the economic organization is strong enough to control the situation.

Worst of all, as the "iron scab," which needs neither food nor clothing, only a little oil, is perfected and the skilled man is displaced by the handy laborer, the latter is in turn supplanted by woman and child labor. The enormous increase of women and children in the shops and factories has become one of the great problems of the hour. The capitalists, on the alert for the cheapest labor procurable, are hypocritically singing the praises of the "new woman" and snatching the child almost from the cradle. The bureau of labor statistics in the various states annually come forth with their long increasing rows of monotonous figures showing how American womanhood and childhood is being sacrificed on the altar of Mammon. Of course, it requires no extraordinary amount of reasoning to prove that where women and children are employed, wages are bound to drop and the men are thrown into the ranks of the unemployed.

Again, during the last few years, keeping pace with the development of the machinery—the tools of production—capital has centralized and combined in leaps and bounds. Large and massed capital is required to operate large machinery. A dozen years ago there were but a few trusts in existence. Today there are fully four hundred, controlling upward of seven billions of capital—the active, live capital of the nation, that part which, by reason of its centralization and control of natural opportunities, the mines, railroads and great mills, factories, etc., is in turn able to control all the wealth of the country and force the people into a condition of absolute dependence. A few trust magnates in a given line of industry, through pools and agreements, are in a position to arbitrarily fix the price of most of the necessities of life and where not confronted and resisted by a powerful organization of labor likewise determine the rate of wages. Even where opposed successfully by union of wealth-producers, however, the captives of industry defeat the workers in the end by forcing prices upward. Witness the conspiracies of the coal barons, the beef combine, the iron and steel magnates and other united capitalists.

With the control of the modern and scientific machinery of production—the land and capital—immense political power has naturally been placed in the hands of the trust magnates. By playing upon the fears and prejudices of the workers through their subsidized press and their hordes of politicians, the great capitalists are enabled to control the machinery of government, so that in times of strikes they meet the demands of labor with injunctions and police and militia and all the other paraphernalia of oppression. If we, as unionists, petition the legislatures of the states or congress to enact palliative laws in our interests, our representatives are coldly received, the "labor bills" are pigeon-holed or defeated, and even when the bills of least importance are passed they become dead-letters on the statute books or are declared unconstitutional by the courts.

Summed up, the present situation is this: As workers we no longer own the tools of production; they are owned by King Capital and we are dependent on him, and thus our individuality has disappeared. We are forced to compete for jobs and the women and children are dragged into the savage struggle. We possess no political power because the workers have been betrayed at the ballot box by the subservient and cunning politicians of the republican and democratic parties. In a word, we have become the slaves of a cruel wage system, in which we pile up billions for the Morgans and Rockefellers and suffer and starve as a result.

THESE COLD, UNDISPUTABLE FACTS ARE STARING THE TRADE-UNIONISTS IN THE FACE CONSTANTLY. THEY WILL NOT DOWN—THEY CAN'T BE DODGED. THEY MUST BE MET, AND WILL BE.

Many of the strongest national, state and local organizations of labor have already declared in favor of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production, and the number will undoubtedly grow as the weeks and months roll around. The men of the labor army are discussing social questions in shop and factory, in their lodge rooms and among themselves wherever they chance to meet as they never did before.

The steady increase of the Socialist party vote in the last two years, the independent political action and "labor mayor" heard on every hand, the sudden and excited manner in which Senator Hanna and his cohorts are attacking Socialism, the good-tempered and unselfish manner in which Socialists are aiding in every struggle of the unionists, the progressive tone of the weekly and monthly labor papers, and a host of other signs point to a steady awakening on the part of the army of organized labor and its determination to right the wrongs that it has been compelled to endure.

As stated in the opening paragraph, there is no need to be impatient with the outlook. Progress is being made quite satisfactorily, and the comrades of the Socialist party can afford to be cheerful and enthusiastic, for their cause is marching on and surmounting all obstacles. There is a danger that it might go too fast and in the stampede swamp the movement. We should remember the fate of populism. Education and organization should be the watchword of the hour. Let us all use our best endeavors to not merely make sentimental Socialists, but to aid men to KNOW what Socialism is.

Progressive Trades-Unionism.

For the Appeal, by EUGENE V. DEBS.

THE action taken by the three national conventions of labor organizations recently held in Denver in adopting a working-class political program, has created widespread interest in every part of the country. The reactionary element fretted for the new policy speedy and complete failure. So certain are they of this that they do not hesitate to misrepresent the action of the conventions and bear false testimony against those who took part in them. A number of misleading statements have appeared in the papers, and others are quietly circulated to bring the personnel of the conventions into disrepute, and this is engaged in by those who lack the courage to openly charge and face the men who led the movement which culminated in a new departure which promises to speed the entire labor movement of the country, and to put it up to date with all its economic and political development.

The two men who led and inspired the conventions were Edward Boyce, president of the Western Federation of Miners, and Daniel McDonald, president of the Western, now the American Labor Union. McDonald was unanimously re-elected upon that issue and holds his position by practically the unanimous confidence of the members of his great and growing organization. Edward Boyce, retired from official life, honored by every true man and only hated by those who found him staunch and incorruptible, and utterly incapable of being swayed from his duty by his fellow-workers. The name of this man will be honorably written in the history of Trades-Unionism, as he has already written it in deeds of duty that live forever.

I need not, at this time, repeat the terms of the essential change which has taken place in the western labor movement. It is all summed up in this simple statement that it has adopted a working-class political platform, and is now equipped for united action on the political field in every contest until the victory is finally won.

It has been charged that the Trades-Union, under the new regime, has been converted into a political machine. This is not true. The essential economic features of the movement are as they were before. Indeed, if there is any change, these have been strengthened, and the national organization, and all local bodies will proceed with their grievances and matters relating to wages, conditions, etc., as before. But when it comes to

the use of the ballot, the organization is committed to the policy that it is the duty of union men to vote their class interests as well as to strike for them, and that the man who fails to do this is not in any true sense a union man, nor is he loyal to his fellow-workers.

Objections has been made that the organization now controls a member's politics, and that it has a good right to control his religion. This deduction will not hold good. A man's religion is his own individual affair, and does not concern his fellow-man. But this is not true of his politics for if he uses his vote to fasten a system of industrial slavery upon his fellows, they have a right to object and they are at least justified in interfering to the extent that his action affects their interests.

When a man joins one of the old Trades-Unions, he is expected to quit work when commanded to do so by the union. His employment may be entirely satisfactory to him, and he may be sorely in need of it to provide for wife and child. However, this may be, if he refuse to quit when ordered to do so, and perhaps take the chances of imposing starvation upon those he loves, he is kicked out without mercy and branded as a scab and pursued to the end of the earth. Perhaps this is not interfering with a man's "personal rights," as some of our critics would have us believe, as we are doing when we insist that a union man's best chance to show that he is such is by voting to emancipate his class instead of voting to perpetuate its slavery, and sink it to lower depths of degradation.

To have its true power, the labor movement must be class-conscious. Until it is so, the Trades-Unions will be among the bulwarks of capitalism and wage-slavery. While the members strike against the consequences of the system, they steadily vote to perpetuate the system, and their leaders encourage them to adhere to, and not depart from, the ancient methods which, applied to present conditions, are marked with increasing impotency and are necessarily resulting in disappointment and failure.

The time is near at hand when the member of a union will be expelled just as promptly for casting a scab ballot, that is to say for supporting the party of the enemy of labor, as if he took the place of a member while out on strike. Indeed, there may be some justification for the latter, but there can be none for the former act of treason, except alone that of ignorance, and this it is the duty of the true leader to use his best efforts to overcome, so that the workers on all occasions, economically, politically and otherwise, can use their entire organized class-power in resisting the capitalist system, and in charging it at every point until finally it is overthrown and the world's workers stand forth free men.

One of Many.

The comrades who have so generously contributed to the Appeal Anthracite Striker's Fund will be pleased to read in the following letter what is going on in Pennsylvania. This is a sample of many letters received from all over the district. Note the sacrifice the comrade is making to carry on the work:

"My! Oh! My! they are keeping us busy—these striking anthracite miners. I have been in the region every night last week and the same this week, getting home at the break of day on a freight train, then taking my "fall dinner" and striking out to earn the bread for my family. Do you think we are doing anything? Wait till I tell you a little! There are now organized in Carbon county, Locals of Lehigh, Mauch Chunk, Yorktown, Audenraid, Langsford and Nesquehoning. Besides these are a score or more outside Carbon county. The last four named were organized last week with fifty-one members; at this week's meeting over 150 more took the pledge, making over two hundred members in this local. And there are good prospects of three hundred more members at the next meeting. Nesquehoning was organized with thirty-two members on the night of the 15th. Next week's meeting will see over two hundred members in this local. Thursday evening Coaldale was organized; don't know how many members. Could not stay until all was over, but there will be several hundred soon. Friday night Summit Hill will be organized. Saturday night Hanto will fall in line, this is a small mining town between Nesquehoning and Langsford with a population of about 250, mostly Swedes, Poles and Italians—about fifty to fifty-five Americans. Monday, Tamaqua will have an opportunity to do likewise. I accompanied Wm. Malloy through to prepare the way for Comrade John Collins who is doing the organizing. We are having great receptions. You might hear something "fall at the fall elections. There are between seven and ten thousand miners in this valley. They all must be emancipated. Hoping to be able to swell the Appeal subscriptions several thousand when this struggle ends."

ELMER SMOYER.

THE STRIKE QUESTION.

From the New York Journal.

THERE are many men in America—perfectly honest and sincere—who believe that strikers are nearly always right, that failure of a strike is a calamity, and that the present coal strike, especially, should be won by the strikers.

Other men, less numerous, but also honest and sincere, consider strikes an evil. They believe that labor unionism threatens "capital," threatens national energy, and our national industrial supremacy. These men believe that the present coal strikers should be defeated.

Let us endeavor to take a clear view of the strike question, and to discuss—as free from bias as may be possible—some of the main view-points of those interested.

We may, at the start, accept two statements as sound:

First. The employer wants as much money as he can possibly get.

Second. The workman wants as much money as HE can possibly get.

It is impossible for both or for either to win absolutely. The success of one must leave the other penniless.

Let us look at the matter of a coal strike only, for simplicity's sake.

In a coal mine you have three factors:

First. THE COAL, given to men—presumably for the use of mankind in general—by Divine Providence.

Second. THE WORKMEN who dig the coal, haul it, screen it, etc.

Third. THE OWNER, who through money, or intelligence, or both, gets control of mines and works them for his profit.

The mine owner resents the idea that he and his men are partners.

Ought he to resent this suggestion? We think not.

Miners, without any capitalist, could certainly get the coal out of the ground.

The capitalist without miners could not possibly get coal out of the ground.

The labor is at least as important as the mine.

The capitalist who wishes to acquire a mine is willing to grant certain rights and conditions to him who has the MINE for sale.

He treats with that person as with an equal.

WHY WILL HE NOT GRANT RIGHTS AND EQUALITY TO THOSE WHO HAVE THE LABOR FOR SALE?

A hundred men own the mine, and elect a certain agent to represent them in the sale, the capitalist will willingly treat with that agent EVEN THOUGH HE BE NOT ONE OF THE ACTUAL MINE OWNERS. It becomes simply a question of the agents AUTHORITY.

Why does the capitalist haughtily refuse to treat with the accredited agent of the men who have the labor for sale?

Is it not because he resents the workman's attempt at emancipation and equality? Is it not because the capitalist in his heart demands SUBMISSION from the man who works for a daily wage?

Is it not because the powerful among us fail to admit the fact that workers—LEGALLY—at least—have passed from slavery to equality?

A man owns vast mining properties. He lives in New York and in Newport. Comfortably, and at a distance, he runs and rules his mines. He is good natured enough, kind hearted. He means well. He does not see the corpses brought up from the fire-damp. He does not notice the hollow chests of young children with the pores of their skin and the pores of their lungs full of coal dust.

This owner—who rules and draws his profits from Newport—has one bitter complaint against his striking men. He cannot forgive them BECAUSE THEY CALL IN A LABOR LEADER FROM CHICAGO TO SETTLE A LABOR DISPUTE IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Imagining himself not condoning, he expresses willingness to treat personally and individually with his men. But he will not tolerate interference "with my business" on the part of the workmen's agent, whom he calls an "agitator from Chicago."

WHY should he feel so badly about it?

If the Pennsylvania workman is willing to let a NEWPORT man manage the capital, why should not Newport man allow a CHICAGO labor leader to manage the labor end?

Is not one explanation the fact that the owner considers his workmen in every possible respect, financially, morally, legally, ethically and eternally his inferiors?

If one mine owner disagrees with another, each will treat with the other's chosen agent, whether he be Tom Head, corporation lawyer from Maine; Joe Chate, corporation lawyer from New York; or Levy Mayer, corporation lawyer from Chicago.

Why not accord to the workman the right to choose his accredited representative?

So much for the much-talked of "interference in MY business by labor agitators."

What about the interests of the country? There are in Pennsylvania, let us say, one

hundred square miles of coal land OWNED BY ONE MAN, and WORKED BY TEN THOUSAND MEN.

The working of this mining region develops a usual net profit of five million dollars. AFFEct the workmen have been paid as little as they will work for.

The owner lives in a house of a hundred rooms.

The miner's family lives in two rooms. The owner has a yacht, a private car, a fast automobile, fine carriages, many servants.

The miner WALKS. He has a wife who cooks, sews, scrubs, washes, mends, while he and his boys work in the mines.

Wish to arouse no "maudlin sympathy" for the miner, no "anarchist loathing" of the owner.

We ask an answer to this question: Which would be better for America: to let one man have five millions a year, and keep ten thousand men on the edge of want, or to let the one (and if you choose SUPERIOR man) have one million a year, and divide the four millions among ten thousand families, adding four hundred dollars to the income of each family? That is a plain, simple question.

Remember we advocate no COMPULSION. We state a situation. The STRIKER is trying to get a little more for himself and family. The OWNER is trying to keep the vast sum for himself and his family. Each is convinced of the righteousness of his cause. The striker does not try to TAKE AWAY money or property from the owner. He simply strikes, saying:

"I will not work for less than such a sum, unless you starve me into working."

He calls upon YOU, the public, to give him moral support. He entrusts other workmen not to take his place while he strikes.

It is for YOU, the public, and for YOU, the idle, hard-pressed workmen, to answer conscientiously the question:

Is it better for one man to have four extra MILLIONS a year or for each of ten thousand families to have four extra hundred a year, that they need sadly and sorely?

If this question were answered as Christ would answer it, there would be no more respectabilities scoffing at the striker. There would be no heartless scabs taking the places of men struggling to support wives and children.

Leave out sentimentality, if you will, and Christianity, and our hollow pretence of following Him who called every poor man "my brother."

What about the cold utility? Four millions more for an owner mean what?

Some bogus antiquities, and perhaps a bogus title brought to America.

Another palace, with a dissatisfied owner.

A dissipated son, money spent by this son to promote vice, and by the father to corrupt legislation. Four hundred dollars more for a workman's family mean wholesome food for children. And the children go to school and have a chance.

This sum means a self-respecting life for a father, and for the mother it means everything. She can hire some woman to help her when her babies come. She can give her husband and children good food, rejoice in their comfort, add good, healthy citizens to the nation, and believe, FOR REASONS, in the goodness of God.

The owner in his struggle makes various statements, of which only a few must be answered, and, for the sake of the impatient reader, very briefly.

"If capital goes on granting the demands of union labor there will be no more capital, no more big manufacturers, our prosperity will die as England's prosperity is dying—killed by union labor!"

Thus speaks the indignant, would-be patriotic and unselfish capitalist. Let us see:

What becomes of the established FACT that a nation is prosperous in proportion as the average individual members (NOT its few millionaires) are prosperous? There are no where on earth stronger labor unions than in the United States. There are no such unions in Mexico—none such in South America, none as powerful in Canada—why are we not eclipsed industrially by those countries?

You say that labor unions have killed English industry? No. They have kept England alive in the face of fierce competition. Millions upon millions of Englishmen live on a little, foggy northern island, incapable of supporting them. By their courage, their mental power, their genius, their UNION, they have kept the nation great. It is as though in one corner of New York state we had the greatest industrial power on earth. What the Gulf Stream has been to England's agriculture, labor unionism has been to England's industry.

It is not the English WORKINGMAN who has been beaten. The English workmen did not sell the English mercantile navy to J. P. Morgan. English capitalists did that.

Get this in your heads, you who talk against unions. Morgan and his fellow American capitalists have formed themselves into financial UNIONS, which we call trusts. And they have beaten the English capitalist, who did not know enough to take lessons from his workman and form unions of his own.

The American FINANCIAL union, not the English LABOR union, has beaten England in the race for industrial supremacy.

Union is strength, everywhere and forever. The remaining strength of England is in her labor unions, which give men time to think, food to grow on, and give real men to the nation. You say that powerful unions kill nations.

Why is not China a great industrial power? She has vast fortunes and no unions. Li Hung Chang was richer than Morgan, and could cut off the head of any striker. His coolies got five cents a day and worked fourteen hours—is that your ideal system?

Last of all (and we apologize for this unforgettably long editorial), let us discuss the question of foreign labor. The capitalist complains that the Hungarian, "the brutal, ignorant foreigner," makes much of the trouble, and "wants as much as an American."

Loud is his cry against the foreign laborer. And the ignorant, know-nothing American workman joins in the cry only too often and willingly.

Who brings in those foreign laborers by the shipload, Mr. Mine Owner?

Who rounds up caravans of Slavs on the other side and brings them here to cut the wages and living of the native born?

Who shrieks dolefully, Mr. Miner, when the Slav shows that he is a MAN made by God, "I've the rest of us, brave and willing to prove worthily of freedom by joining the army of liberty?"

The Slav and the Hungarian ARE HERE, and their children will be here when we are dead.

Which is better, to underpay them, treat them like cattle, fill them with just hatred of unjust discrimination, or give them a chance to be men?

Shall their children grow up ignorant mine slaves? Or shall they go to that factory of honest citizenship—the public school—to be improved as we have all been improved, whether we came originally from Hungary, Ireland, England, France, Russia, or elsewhere?

The struggle of the strikers, like all great struggles, is sometimes unjust. It has not always the wisest or the most unselfish leaders.

But it is an effort to improve the AVERAGE CONDITION OF HUMANITY. Help that effort.

Party Notes.

There are now sixty-five Socialist leagues in Canada.

The Socialists of Colorado are nominating their state ticket by party referendum vote.

The Socialists of the thirteenth Ohio district met in convention at Fostoria and nominated Comrade Chas. R. Martin of Tiffin for congress.

"Justice" of London says that fifty meetings per week are being held by the Socialists of that city and so many speakers are needed that a call is issued for volunteers.

Comrade E. B. Ford, editor of the Referendum at Fairbault, Minn., is still in jail because he is a Socialist. Send him a quarter for three months subscription and help a deserving comrade in trouble.

The Socialists of Minneapolis and St. Paul will give their fourth semi-annual steamboat excursion on August 3rd. A steamer and three barges will be used and the trip will be down the Mississippi and up the St. Croix.

Rochester local of Rochester, N. Y., adopted resolutions of regret at the departure of Comrade William Thurston Brown, late pastor of Plymouth church in that city, and commend in words of praise his work in the interest of humanity and for Socialist principles.

Karl von Bismark, a grand-nephew to the Iron Chancellor of Germany, was recently arrested for stealing tapestries from an architect in New York. He was found guilty but before he was sentenced to hard labor and imprisonment he disclosed his identity which in our democratic government exempted him from punishment. He was carefully bundled up and shipped back to Germany.

The Erie People calls them the "too" old parties.

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NOTICES

LABOR, CAPITAL AND UNION.

For the Appeal by ERNEST UNTERMAN, Associated Editor, International Socialist Review.

LABOR and Capital are of right one and inseparable. Capital is the creature of Labor, generated, nursed to maturity, and maintained by Labor alone. Capital cannot exist without Labor, has no creative energy of its own, and would die of inanition, if Labor were to cease adding new values to it. But Capital is today in the hands of the idle, and Labor is the only asset of the toilers. A yawning chasm separates Labor from Capital. The creature has enslaved the creator in the bonds of a life-long servitude and resists all his attempts at liberation with the brutality of a tyrant. And the palpable proof of the bitter antagonism between the two is the labor union.

No bitter mockery was ever invented than that cunning play of words: "The interests of Capital and Labor are identical." Well they are, if the capital is in the hands of the laborer. But a society in which capitalists are the masters and laborers the servants is under perpetual martial law, by force of which the spoils belong to the victors and the vanquished must bow down or get off the earth. No greater force was ever enacted than that of the National Civic Federation, in which a labor leader betrayed the confidence of his class and sold the birthright of his fellow-workers for the Judas reward of a political job. No more piteous spectacle was ever witnessed than that of a mighty organization of intelligent workmen, unconscious of its tremendous power, cowed and subdued by a handful of sly and oily-tongued captains of industry.

Why did workmen combine in unions? If there is no conflict between bosses and workers, then the sooner the boss is admitted into the union the better. Why incur the hardship and sacrifice of paying dues year after year, losing money, health and lives in strikes, if harmony is the basis of relations between exploited and exploiters? And why, then, do the bosses exert all their power to break up the unions? The developments during the great A. R. U. strike, the bloody scenes of Pima, Virden, Homestead, Coeur d'Alene and Hazelton, the crushing defeat of the Amalgamated Association in the steel strike, the recent events in the anthracite miners' strike—all these are incontrovertible monuments of the deadly feud between Labor and Capital. But where was the police ever used on the side of the unions? Where was an injunction ever hurled against the overbearing attacks of the trusts magnates on the workmen? When was the militia ever called out to enforce the demands of organized labor against the bosses? When was there a law passed and enforced in the interest of Labor?

You will search the pages of American history in vain for such a case. And yet, so-called labor leaders are still using their influence in the unions to perpetuate a system in which Labor is the anvil for the hammer of capitalist impudence, in which every right is denied to union men, and in which union organizers are jailed on the "glorious" Fourth for speaking in defense of their class. A subject for the most heartrending tragedy is this Hercules of organized American labor, bound by the fetters of his own superstition, prejudice and ignorance, and led by wily or incompetent guides to the capitalist slaughtering pen!

Union is the devise of organized labor, a noble and wise aim. But so far, it has been more of an ideal than a reality. Union has long been a stranger to most unions. The mouths of union leaders flow over with the highest sentiments, but their deeds speak louder than words and testify against them. So far from uniting the workers, the unions have done much to keep the working class divided and to render themselves and others helpless against the ruling class. And, therefore, the hearts of many workmen are bitter against the unions. Yet for weal or woe, the working-class and the unions must fight side by side for a common cause. Whether they know it or not, they stand and fall together. The unions are the logical product of capitalist evolution, and to antagonize or try to destroy them is as senseless as the attempt to destroy the trusts, their natural counterpart. Both are the highest forms of class organization, and the preparation for the final contest, in which Labor will overpower Capital and reduce it to its proper place as the servant of Labor.

What though the unions have not yet learned their lesson? It is hardly a generation since they were founded, the lesson is difficult, the teachers are few, and there is little leisure to think and learn. Considering all things we have every reason to be satisfied with the progress the unions have made and to extend them the hand of unswerving friendship and loyalty. True, their aims have been paltry and narrow, and before they can hope to elevate the working class they must first elevate themselves. But from day to day a greater number of their members awake to this fact. They are dropping the mad pride that drew the line of demarcation between the members of its own class. Their fancied superiority over their less fortunate fellow slaves is giving way to the feeling that the fellowship of toil is the true bond of union between all who work with hand and brain for a living. They see that scabs, like capitalists, are symptoms of a capitalist environment and cannot be suppressed, but must be cured by the abolition of the conditions that breed them.

"Servants obey your masters," that was for many years the principle rigidly followed by the labor unions. They were perfectly willing to serve a master, and all they were striving for was an improvement of the conditions of their servitude. By their whole attitude, they tacitly admitted that submission to a boss was perfectly natural, as long as it gave them enough to eat and to drink and a place to sleep. Their aims never went beyond a mere patching up of the existing order. So far as they knew, it was eternal, and servants and masters were in the world by the will of all-wise God. How could they hope to change that?

But an eternal law has decreed that nothing on earth shall be so constant as the change. Economic development created capitalist institutions, the trusts, which mock at the puny efforts of the trade unions to hurt them on the economic field. Gradually it begins to dawn on the unionists that a strike can never succeed against those giant combinations of capital. With a vast reserve army of unemployed ever crying for a chance to serve a master, and hunger threatening all who cannot find a slave's place, the trusts can patiently wait till the strongest and richest labor union is starved into submission. Unless all the labor unions in the land can act on a uniform plan, and agree on measures by which a general strike of all organized labor can be called and maintained indefinitely, there is no hope of a successful solution of the labor problem by such sporadic economic upheavals. Another course must be tried to carry the struggle to victory. A new conception of the social relations of unions to bosses must gain ground, and new leaders must take the place of those who are found incompetent to cope with the new conditions created by the march of economic evolution.

The time is past when the labor unions have implicit confidence in their old leaders. It has become too plain that there is a significant connection between the cry "No politics in the unions" and the use of the government power against them during strikes and in the legislatures. They are becoming aware of the mistake of fighting the bosses on the economic field and continuing to vote the political power into the hands that are lifted against them, whenever Labor presumes to demand its right to life, liberty and happiness. Too long and persistently have the masters ignored even the most modest demands of Labor and made it too plainly apparent that congress is a class parliament. They have demanded shipping subsidies, free land for railroad building, money to open banks, and obtained the fulfillment of every wish, while Labor must approach with bended knee, speak under its breath, and "request" in vain a mitigation of the conditions of its servitude. For years Labor has looked on in silence how the bosses which it elected to power played ping pong with labor legislation, while child labor grew apace, wages remained behind the general increase of productivity, and the percentage of accidents rose to an appalling height.

The bosses have rubbed it into the unions too hard. That is where they were making the mistake of their lives. A little sop here and there would have served to patch up the old order of things for quite a while yet. But they grew so confident of their power, and credited Labor with so little brains that they allowed themselves to become careless and play the game of the bully too openly. And now Labor is getting tired of going 'way back and sitting down hungry in the midst of plenty. The unions are beginning to comprehend that they must not look to a congress of bosses to improve the condition of the laborers. Therefore they are now becoming what they should have been from the outset—CLASS UNIONS.

The next inevitable step is political action. The superiority of a political strike over an economic strike now becomes plain to the most conservative. There is no question about the right of the workingman to vote against his boss. No judge dares to think of issuing an injunction preventing a worker from voting any way he wants to. No public official would venture to suppress a strike at the ballot box by force of arms. On the political field, the trust magnate has no more right than the laborer cares to allow him. No elaborate preparations, no long saving of funds is necessary, no lingering starvation threatens the man who strikes on elections. Two strokes of a pencil on a piece of paper is the only exertion required. A blow at the ballot box is a blow at the heart of capitalism. Let the union labor of the principal industries go on a political strike, and there will be howling and impotent gnashing of teeth in the camp of the bosses.

Once the advantage of political action is admitted, there is no doubt that it must be taken independent of the democratic and republican parties, both of which are controlled by bosses. In order to be effective, this departure must be radical and thorough. It is not enough to form an independent labor party and to content simply for a share in the making of the laws that bind man. It will not do to leave the bosses in possession of the economic power, and to carry the strike to the ballot box only for the purpose of demanding the same insignificant favors for which the economic strikes were called. The workers' government must take the place of the bosses' government, but not to give force to the old demands for the recognition of the unions, shorter hours, higher wages, and such trifling matters. This whole struggle for a slave's pittance must be changed into a struggle for human freedom. Not the amelioration of bondage to bosses, but the abolition of all bosses must be the rallying cry of the unions. The fight against individual capitalists must become a fight against the CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

The acceptance of this position brings the unions face to face with a new party. The conquest of the political powers by the working class and the abolition of the capitalist system is the program of the International Socialist Party. This party is the greatest labor union in the world. It embraces the workers of all countries in one common brotherhood, and seeks to establish the union between Labor and Capital by restoring the land and the machinery of production to the men who use them in the production of food, clothing and shelter. And its battle cry is: "Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to gain."

The final endorsement of this position by all labor unions who wish to preserve their constitutional rights is inevitable. The most independent of them have already joined the Socialist party. The action of the American Labor Union and the Western Federation of Miners is only the first indication of the tidal wave of Socialism, which will soon sweep oppression and tyranny out of this country. And the victory of the cause of Labor in the United States will be the signal for the end of capitalism in other countries. No capitalist country can hope to compete with the Co-operative Commonwealth of North America. The freedom of the toilers of this country will be the first step toward the freedom of the human race. The labor unions of America will play a prominent part in this evolution from capitalist civilization to the next higher stage of society, the stage of Liberty, Equality, and Universal Brotherhood.

Cutting the Deficiency.

Below are two very popular republican schemes for cutting down the United States postal deficiency:

C. F. W. Neely has been pardoned and is now enjoying a luxurious ease on the few thousands abstracted from the Cuban postal funds. And yet the fellows who haven't sufficient grasp for such large amounts are "doing time" at Sing Sing and other resorts.

A number of American firms have been sending circulars in bulk by freight to England to be sent by mail to this country in order to save postage. The rate in England is two ounces for a half-penny, or one cent, while our rate is one cent an ounce.

WANTED
15,000,000 VOTERS

TO READ
"The Truth About Socialism."
READ IT AND LEARN IT.
POSTPAID.....25 cents

Appeal Army

Comrade Jett of Salix, Ia., sends a club of five.

Comrade Kennedy of Elma, Wash., has earned a button.

Comrade Browning of Oil City, Pa., sends us half a dozen.

Comrade Cordary of Pittsburg, Kan., sends us a club of four.

Comrade Smith of New Castle, Pa., sends a club for the Monthly.

Comrade Kunz of Leavenworth, Kan., orders a bundle of 250.

Comrade Hassler of Caruthersville, Mo., orders ten Appeal sub. cards.

Comrade Wentz of Zanesville, Ohio, gives the infant Monthly a boost.

Comrade Ling of Marissa, Ill., sends a club of five and calls for his button.

Comrade Scott of Austin, Minn., sends a club for the Appeal and Monthly.

Comrade Shrum of Julian, Cal., starts eleven up the Appeal road to Socialism.

Comrade Mercer of Ava, Mo., is immersing his neighbors in Monthlies and Appeals.

Comrade Page of Napa, Cal., sends another splendid club for the Appeal and for the Monthly.

Comrade Casbolt of Harvel, Mo., bolts up a case of five that want to be shown and ships them in.

Comrade Burleson of Hornbrook, Cal., sends a club of seven and swears vigilance to the end of time.

Comrade Kelly of Spokane, Wash., orders the Monthly and says Socialism is growing rapidly there.

Comrade Valen of Grouse, Ore., sends a brace of Grouse and promises more game later in the season.

Comrade Boehm of Santa Cruz, Cal., starts the Appeal on a twelve months cruise to eight Santa Cruzers.

Comrade Hedden of Jackson, Mich., keeps headin' in the right direction and is bound to get there some day.

Comrade Miller of Huntington, Ark., sends us a Fourth of July subscriber and two others to keep him company.

Comrade Cowdrey of Burma, Ark., is the first to order the GREAT BIG combination. You should all have it.

Comrade Rives of Rochester, N. Y., sends a bundle of one hundred weekly to Comrade Withrow of Kansas City.

Comrade King of Pullman, Wash., knows how to pull the men of Pullman. He hauls ten of them aboard the Appeal.

Comrade Hange of Chicago sends a club for the Appeal and an order for the famous TWELVE HUNDRED combination.

Comrade Knapp of Milwaukee gets eleven more on board the steamer Appeal, all bound for the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Comrade Urquhart of Fraser, Ida., sends his Independence Day Club gathered on the 7th as the 4th was too rainy for firecrackers.

Comrade Campbell 'way 'cross the ocean at Millinet, South Australia, orders a bundle of Appeals and a supply of books and definition cards.

Comrade Price of Milford, S. D., writes that the populists in that locality are disgusted with fusion and are all working with the Socialists.

Comrade Potter of Sioux Falls, S. D., orders a bundle of 342 and says that South Dakota is waking up and will soon be ready for organization.

Comrade Thomson writes that a local has been organized at New London, Wis., and orders a hundred "Water Tanks" for purposes of irrigation.

Comrade Toors of Smuggler, Colo., orders a bundle to distribute at the union meetings and reports successful meetings with Father Hagerty as speaker.

Comrade Lunamond of Memphis, Tenn., wants to know if phonograph records containing Socialist speeches can be procured. Does any one know?

Comrade Aiden of Waterbury, Conn., sends a club for the Appeal and says: "The Appeal is doing a grand, good work. It fills a long felt want of working men."

Comrade Munson of Burlington, Vt., addressed a good audience at Graniteville, same state, a local was organized and numerous subscriptions taken for the Appeal.

"I enclose the names of four unterrified coal miners who are willing to subject themselves to the 'Appeal treatment' for one year."—Comrade Erickson, Des Moines, Ia.

Verily Socialism is becoming the thing. We have received an order from the New York public library for a copy of Comrade Collins' "THE TRUTH ABOUT SOCIALISM."

Comrade Berry of Madison, Me., sends two scalps for our taxidermist to operate upon and says "The Appeal to Reason appealed to me and showed me that I was a Socialist."

Comrade Jones of Fulton, O., is only seventy-five years old but he sends in a club of five and thinks he is old enough to wear an Appeal Army button and march with the boys.

Comrade Rorrer of Littleburg, W. Va., sends nineteen yearly subscriptions and says that he sent for fifty samples and that almost all who read the samples subscribed just for the asking.

Comrade Judd of Breeze, Mo., orders a supply of Socialist music and literature and says: "My wife is an Appeal subscriber and by that means I am truly converted to the principles it teaches."

Comrade Hudman of Mineral Wells, Tex., says: "I have been a reader of the Appeal but a short time but it converted me and you will find the fruits of my conversion in six names for the Appeal."

Comrade Kizer of Steffenville, Mo., sends a contribution to the Anthracite Fund and objects to having the office girl called red-headed. All right Comrade Kizer, she is henceforth and forever the Blonde Fairy.

Comrade Marek of Los Angeles, Cal., orders a supply of the Farmer's Edition. Every farmer in the land should read that number. Over four hundred thousand have been mailed and there are more for all who come.

Comrade Goodrich of Paonia, Colo., has the Colorado Complaint which is an uncompromising desire to work for Socialism. Since Comrade Goodrich's big club arrived the B. D. has been daring every canine that passes the shop.

The comrades of Minneapolis, Minn., have an effective scheme of advertising their meetings. They stamp notices of their meetings on the margin of the Appeal and circulate the paper thereby interesting people in the subject and their meeting at the same time.

Comrade Roecker of Chilton, Wis., who is a rustler and has just organized a local at School Hill, Wis., says in a recent letter: "I have the best men here interested in Socialism, all through the influence of the Appeal. I tell you literature is the greatest help for our cause."

"It is now nearly a year since I began to read the Appeal. At first I was prejudiced against its Socialistic ideas (being a strong republi-

can) but my views have changed and I believe in the doctrine it advocates. Socialism is the only remedy for the industrial confusion which now exists. May the Appeal have a long and useful existence."—Comrade Farrar, Lynn, Mass.

Comrade Barret of North Hudson, Wis., sends us a splendid club from that city.

Comrade Johnson of Pine Bluff, Ark., keeps hammering away and when he can't get a dozen sends in what is in sight if its only one.

Comrade Gendron of Sheldrake, Mich., started the out with about a fourth of an old Appeal that had been torn up and in half an hour captured a dozen subscribers.

Wayland's Monthly for July has an article on Direct Legislation by James C. Hogan that is worth a year's subscription. Per copy 5 cents. The issue has been delayed on account of moving the printing plant but hereafter will appear on the 10th of each month.

"I find some of the little country villages pretty good places to spend a half a day getting subs. The leaves is working. I sometimes find a fellow who thinks Socialism is anarchy and the hell in which he lives is heaven, but the people know better."—Comrade Fuller, Springfield, Mass.

"I am a member of the cigar-maker's union. I am aware that the motto of organized labor is 'United we stand, divided we fall,' and I realize the fact that we stand united in these organizations, but go to the polls and vote for a thousand and one different things contrary to what our organization stands for. Brothers, let us throughout the entire country be united at the polls; that is the place to get the desired results."—Comrade Krick, Ephrata, Pa.

Cheerful Columbia.

Fifteen hundred union furniture men locked out at Buffalo.

The commercial telegraphers of Milwaukee, Wis., have organized.

The striking bakers of Winnipeg, Man., have started a co-operative bakery.

Fifty union tinnners are out at Beaumont, Texas, fifty men being involved.

Fifty new labor unions have been formed in Chicago in the last three months.

The colored musicians of Chicago to the number of about fifty have organized.

The mitten workers of Kewanee, Ill., are on a strike and are preparing to start a co-operative factory.

In the tenement districts of New York City there is said to be one bath tub to each six thousand inhabitants.

Twenty thousand men employed along the lake front at Buffalo, N. Y., are organizing to abolish Sunday labor.

Five hundred employes of the McMahon Cracker and Biscuit Co., at Chicago struck July 14th for a nine hour day.

Two hundred and eighty-nine new members joined the Order of Railroad Telegraphers during the first five days in July.

Two hundred linemen employed by the Bell Telephone Co. in Wisconsin struck July 17th in sympathy with the striking linemen of Milwaukee.

All the gold-beaters in the United States struck July 21. They demand increase of wages, recognition of their union and abolition of female labor in the trade.

The National Bread Co. of New York are making preparations to furnish bread to hungry Chicago at three cents per loaf. Where, O where! will the little baker be?

Twenty-five thousand garment-workers in New York's East Side struck July 20th for higher wages and shorter hours. It is estimated that fifteen thousand more will soon be out.

The report comes from Germany that about three hundred Americans who made themselves ridiculous by their attentions to Henry, the brother of Emperor Bill, are to be "decorated" by the monarch.

Fifteen hundred flagmen who guard the safety of the public at railway crossings in Chicago have recently formed a union to secure living wages. At present they receive an average of eight cents per hour.

The baggage smashers of Chicago have organized and the next thing will be union labels on freight and baggage to insure safe transportation. The union has affiliated with the National Brotherhood of Railway Employees.

During the freight-handlers strike in Chicago, students from the state university of Wisconsin were found scabbing in an elevator. Are the educational centers of America going to line up against labor along with the pulpit and press?

If ALL the labor unions will contribute to aid the striking miners it will make a bond of sympathy—a solidarity—that will be far reaching in its results on the labor of the world. And when labor DOES unite the millionaires will not be in it.

The working people of Des Moines made no mistake when they placed the reins of the city government in the hands of a union teamster by electing him mayor. By his assistance the telephone girls won their strike and he has appointed a union man as chief of the city's detective force.

Eight times as many men and boys are killed and injured annually in the anthracite coal mines as were killed and wounded in the American army during the Spanish-American war. There are no coal barons killed in the mines. During times of danger their presence of mind causes them to be bodily absent.

Have, Mont., July 23.—A report has reached the railroad officials here that the Great Northern railway will replace its Japanese workmen with Italians. The Great Northern employs over 1,000 Japanese on its lines in Montana. An interpreter is now at Have making arrangements for the accommodation of a crew of about 100 Italians. The men will receive fifteen cents an hour.

A Four Weeks Trip.

Do not forget that the Appeal will be sent postage prepaid to separate addresses for four weeks at two cents per name. Those whom you cannot solicit in person can in this way be reached by the paper. A dollar by this method sends the paper into fifty families for a month. This plan has worked well for others and should do the same for you.

Paragraphic Pellets.

Some few are entertained by the strenuous life but the great majority obtain the necessities of life by it.

If common sense were more common there would not be so many working people apologizing for the capitalist.

The pursuit of happiness is a pleasing occupation but more people would enjoy it could they occasionally overtake the pursued.

Capitalism interprets "Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's" as follows: Render unto seizer every thing he seizes.

The union label is the flag under which united labor will march to victory and their ballot is the gun that will scatter the enemy.

The Chicago Tribune declares that Socialism is all that is alive in Spain. As a matter of fact it seems to possess considerable vitality all around the terrestrial ball.

A republican congressman says the republican party is strong because it does things. Doing people is the thing. Captain Kidd became strong by the same methods.

There is no objection to the caricature of hoboes and "Weary Willies" but when the folly and rascality of the wealthy are exposed a great cry goes up about creating class hatred.

The strongest chain is no stronger than its weakest link. A horse travels no faster than his weakest limb will carry him. The progress of the human race can be measured only by that of its lowest class.

The politician's wife was startled by a sound below stairs. "John," she cried, "there's a robber in the house!" "The house!" replied John; "what's the matter with the senate? That's worse."—Philadelphia Press.

It is remarkable that the Russian government which has called an anti-trust conference has as yet not asked the United States to participate. They apparently think it would be too much like inviting the trusts themselves.

The retail merchant who fights labor unions is the greatest ass on earth. The most ignorant grocer on God's footstool ought to know that the workman who draws decent wages can buy more of his goods than the man who is underpaid.

Under the spreading chestnut tree
The village blacksmith stands;
But he can find no work, you see,
It's all done by machinery,
And his are idle hands.
—The Wage Worker.

Says the Labor Journal of Zanesville: "Within a mile of the capitol building of South Carolina there are five cotton mills that employ one thousand children between the ages of six and fourteen years. We have been laboring under the delusion that slavery was abolished in the south a generation ago."

Church and state agree that the rich man is entitled to a so-called reasonable share of the poor man's products. Great statesmen once favored slavery and great churchmen once burned fellow beings at the stake—great men have made mistakes. Ask your politician and your spiritual adviser WHY any part of the wealth created by honest toil should go to another.

The so-called society of Newport, R. I., which has been amusing itself by banqueting Simian and human monkeys, now has a real sensation in the attempt of an angry husband to murder his wife whom he surprised in a compromising situation. The parties to the affair are so far up in the social scale that New York papers will not mention names but it is stated that the facts are common property among the idlers at the resort. Thus do the idle rich waste in riotous living the substance produced by labor.

Anthracite Fund.

The comrades in the district of the striking miners need more literature. The harvest is ripe, the laborers are ready but the friends of Socialism in that region have no funds wherewith to buy the literature necessary. A small contribution from each of the workers in other fields would at once put the Pennsylvania campaign on the high road to victory. Contributions of money or postal subscription cards will be received and receipted for by the Appeal and the literature forwarded to the comrades in the coal fields.

Previously acknowledged	\$189.67
Comrade Vis, LaCrescent, Minn.	.75
Comrade Herschede, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.25
Comrade Straub, Fruit Vale, Cal.	.50
Comrade McNutt, Ashtabula, O.	.25
Comrade Persons, Jackson, Miss.	1.00
Comrade Williams, Merwin, Mo.	1.50
Comrade Sallsbury, Horn, Okla.	1.25
Tenn. Contestant, Minocqua, Wash.	5.00
P. M., Seattle, Wash.	.10
Comrade St. Dennis, Hills, Mich.	.25
Comrade Becker, No. Hilsdale, N. Y.	2.00
Comrade Chadwick, Vallejo, Cal.	1.50
Comrade Shambaugh, Washington, D.C.	2.00
Comrade Todhunter, Salem, Ore.	1.50
Seattle, Wash.	.10
Total	\$208.37

Preachers and Editors.

People get their political ideas from the pulpit and the press. The man in the pulpit and the man behind the editorial pencil tell those who do things what to do. Preachers and editors are the popular educators of the people. For these and many other reasons of equal consequence it is desirable to impress the Socialist idea upon the minds of the clergy and especially of editors and news writers. See that your editors and preachers read the Appeal. It may be hard to do but when you capture one of these you may be getting a hundred more.

50 CENTS

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