

MONOPOLIES AND TRUSTS

BY REV. E. M. WHELOCK, AUSTIN, TEXAS.

You can discern the face of the sky, can ye discern the signs of the times?—Mat., xvi., 1-3.

THE worst, most obvious, most hopeless characteristic of the closing days of our cycle is the stupendous accumulation of private fortunes in the hands of a few, and the corresponding growth of pauperism, misery, political and industrial slavery on the part of the many. Chicago holds more noxious and greedy millionaires than the whole country contained forty years ago, and the like is true of every one of our chief cities and congested centers. Seeley banquets, Bradley-Martin balls, suicides, infanticides, divorces, murders and despair increase step by step with the widening of the chasm between the rich and the poor. These great modern fortunes are made—not by useful production, but by bribery, class legislation and special privilege. They are born of monopoly and the iniquitous robbery of labor. Millions of toiling workers go every winter with scanty food, clothing and fire, that the proceeds of their ill-paid labor may heap the coffers of the wealthy, speculating idler.

These are grim, heartbreaking facts, but there is also a mighty undercurrent—growing stronger every day—that is pulling the nation as with the silent force of gravitation, the other way. The power so fiercely at work to subjugate and crush, can all be transformed and made to redeem the evil time. The economic conditions which are now the menace of our civilization can become the hope of that civilization, and the forces that are wrecking us can be made to wait the ship of state safely into port. The day is at hand when a pauper will be as impossible as a millionaire. The very spirit of greed is teaching us the wastefulness of blind competition. The lesson of our present national misery is being taught so well that it will never be forgotten or need a repetition. The very selfishness in human nature is teaching us the splendid economy of combination, the wise thrift of co-operation and the financial soundness of the principles which underlie the monopolies and trusts. This lesson is being learned so well that all men will receive it—even the wayfaring man, though a fool.

The Trusts Have Come to Stay

The trusts are the sure pathway by which the nation is to go safely through the Red Sea of an outworn and ruinous social system. The trusts have come to stay. Be sure of that; they have come to stay. The gigantic combinations of the present and future require them, and the enormous waste of competition is saved, for they mean combination and the union of interests. The movement is the outgrowth of natural conditions and is sure to continue until all industrial activities are brought into a system of co-operation by the whole people, for the benefit of the whole. A trust is an unmixing good—only the whole people must own and operate it.

Any attempt to crush out, control or legislate against this movement by the politicians is hopelessly absurd. If you tax the trusts, they will increase the price of their products and make you pay the tax. If you put in force the Texas law that refuses them the courts to collect their bills, it will not affect them, for they will only sell for cash in advance, and will use this law as their excuse. They will thus get along without the law for the collection of debts, and they will be found doing business as usual at the old stand. Why are we afraid to trust ourselves? The only thing we should fear is not the monopolies, but the fool killer. The answer to the question, "What is to be done with the trusts?" is "Run them." When the millions of workmen get their brains out of their stomachs and think, the question will soon be acted upon. True, the producer is now the industrial slave of the capitalist, but he has worked patiently and long to place himself there. He is a self-chosen and willing serf, for he who wears a fetter needs it, and he who bears a blow or a kick deserves it.

Put not your confidence in pretended opposition to the trusts by politicians—most of whom hold stocks and bonds in them. The monopolies and trusts are here to stay. The day of small business has passed. There is no indication that it is ever going to be otherwise. Society is not going back to its primitive state. More and more perfect machinery is being developed, requiring capital in greater amounts to operate affairs, and the greater the capital the fewer the people who will control it. Competition is dying and monopoly is birthed; as to that you have no choice. You have only the choice whether it shall be public or private monopoly. The vocation of the politician is to deceive and betray the people. The Reformer is canonized while living and canonized after death, but the American politician should be canonized all the time, dead or alive.

The Whole People Should be on the Inside

He who would destroy the trusts by legislation must first do away with all the great machinery of civilization, and push human society back into the days of the pack mule, and the forked stick for a plow. Trusts are not bad in themselves. They are the natural outgrowth of the industrial system that has been controlling the world since competitive greed became the motive of business life. Trusts help those who are on the inside. When the whole people stand on the inside, the whole people will receive benefit. Machinery has brought misery and starvation to the many because it is owned by the few, but machinery itself is not a curse; the curse is in private property in machinery. The world trembles, said Emerson, when a thinker is

let loose. But fifteen millions of voting mules are beginning to think at last, and the politicians are greatly troubled. They know, but dare not say, that a delegated government is a failure, so the time has come for an epidemic of common sense.

No man should be permitted to own two houses, while another is without one, and labor should own every dollar that it earns. Criminals are here to prevent us from forgetting that all property should be held in common. Each person born into this life is more than a "hand"—he is the son of God. Our government is the simplest on earth—the courts run the whole machine, and the corporations run the courts, but when the people wake there will be a new world, if there is to be any world at all. Small is the difference between political copperheads, silver heads and goldheads; the motto of them all is, "The early bird catches the worm." We are all human, only some are more human than others, and the remedy for the evils of democracy is more democracy.

The Trusts save the waste of competition by destroying competition. They mean maximum production at minimum cost. The fight against them is as foolish as was the battle against labor-saving machinery. Against them the law is helpless, for they own the judges, appoint the courts and construe the statutes. They will not be dissolved, nor will industry go back to its primitive competitive condition, but these giant forces will soon be nationalized, their profits will go into the treasury of the people, and the savings thus made will bring, for the first time in human history, leisure for the producer to rest, think, and become a man. The co-operation of all for the good of all will awaken the love of all, and for the first time since this planet rolled in space the human race will be civilized. Wealth-creation and health-creation will go hand in hand when the soul is liberated from the damnation of the stomach. The present conditions are not alarming solely because they evidence the birth of new social forces which are as logical to the present situation as the abolition of chattel servitude was to the situation in 1860. The earth which was once the Lord's has now become the landlord's.

The March Toward Industrial Peace

Trusts are needed for arranging the industries of the world on a democratic basis. They do a work that in no other way could be done. The isolated shop with its owner making and selling his product, is no longer able to exist against the better economies of the factory with machinery and power. The Trust is, therefore, the natural growth of industry; it is here to stay and ought to stay, for surely none of the unwise would advocate the going back to the days of the stage and the freight teams. The affairs of the earth are not traveling that way just at present. Free the industries, make them equally the property of all; then all the people will have the benefit of the Trusts. This is where they will culminate. They are unconsciously doing the work that must be done before industrial liberty and equality can come to bless mankind. We have achieved political liberty, through the Trusts the people will gain industrial liberty, and then will man be truly free. Tomorrow the sweat-shop will be as the old toll gate is now. We stand at the near end of commercial warfare and the beginning of economic peace. The Trusts will continue to grow in number and power until the middle class is practically extinguished. In the very nature of things these forces must then unite in one harmonious whole and pass into collective ownership and control. No power on earth can arrest this process of economic transformation. Industrial despotism, with its master and its slaves; its pomp; pride and poverty; its thefts, murders and suicides; its brutal wars and sham patriotism; its militarism and its mammon-worship; will end forever; and wage-slavery, with its daily and nightly horrors, will take its place in history with the countless crimes of the past centuries. The period of transition through which we are passing is painful, the transformation now in progress may be slow; but God's delays are not God's denials, and at last humanity will emerge from the ordeal redeemed and glorified. The world is deserting the church, but it is discovering God.

There is already in this country one complete absolute trust or monopoly; it is the creature of law, and we have yet to find the first man, woman or child that has ever raised voice against it. It is the postoffice. Now make the other trusts public, governmental, impartial and universal, and they, too, will prove beneficial to the whole people, and that is the only way to kill their evil effects. But who are so blind as those who will not see? Industry is in fact being largely socialized. It requires a hundred men to make a shoe, and a thousand men to make a watch. The lonely worker has been displaced by co-operative methods. The machine has taken the place of hand production, but the worst and wickedest feature is that the profits all go into the hands of the few who own the machine. When the devil sees that those who produce the world's wealth constitute the whole poverty, and describes that result to his wife, he says: "The system is perfection, you cannot improve on that." In this contemplating our civilization, the devil is liable, at any moment, to laugh himself to death—then, perhaps, we shall improve.

With trusts, department stores, pools, syndicates, combines, monopolies springing up in every branch of trade, with the small dealer pushed to the wall, with the poor getting poorer, the rich richer with every passing

day, what are we to do? Economic slavery is a greater evil than chattel slavery, but shall we destroy the trust and take a long step backward in civilization? Shall we destroy the telegraph and have the work done by messengers? Shall we destroy the railroads and have the work done by teamsters? Shall we destroy our manifold machinery and have the work of the world done by hand? No. Let us retain the trust, the telegraph, the machinery, the railroads, the department store, but let the whole people own, operate and control them. Let us not destroy but utilize the trusts; let the government, representing the people, own the trusts and the land. Then there would be no paupers and no millionaires; and all would have opportunity to earn a living. It is coming and those who are wise would have it come through evolution rather than through revolution; thus the utopias of today are the accepted utilities of tomorrow. Open your eyes and your nightmares will vanish.

The Rotting Beneath the Surface

The great inventions now used to enslave the masses bespeak the opening of a new and grand era of progress. Motors of every desirable form, for every conceivable use, will soon be at the command of man, and human drudgery will pass away. The social chaos of today is the unrest before birth, and when the whole people see the advantage of universal co-operation the hell of misery which comprises existence now will be wiped out. Men are haunted by two ghosts—poverty in this world and hell in the next. Justice in industry and truth in religion would send both ghosts back to their graves. Robbery, by class legislation and the cunning brain of the money gamblers, has been established so long and completely that many have come to regard it as the natural and inevitable condition of man, and they despair of ever seeing it ended. It seems to them that the triumph of the money power was never so absolute and immovable as it is today, and that the enslavement of the toiler was never so complete. And so it appears on the surface, but seen beneath the surface, in the great undercurrent of human destiny, it looks wholly different. There the foundations of the competitive system are seen to be rotting and crumbling away and its keystone dislodged.

The beginning of the end of competition appeared with the formation of the first trust—which is capital combining to save itself from competition. This means the competitive system is over with and ended. It means that in order to live, universal co-operation must be established. It means that whether we will or no, the old business selfishness will no longer serve the purpose of mankind and will no longer pay. The coming results have been planned by none; have not been sought or desired by many; but, just the same, they break every link in the chain of the old political economy that was forever to bind labor in servitude to money. The present short-sighted futile war against the trusts is merely an effort to perpetuate the crumbling system of competition, and will only intensify the poverty and degradation of the people.

While we idly talk about "killing the trusts," why not begin with the Legislative Trust—for all the others stand on this one. Kill the legislative trust by giving the people the power to make their own laws by voting upon each through the initiative and referendum.

There is no substitute for justice. Justice is the first condition of social well-being. When the people want to be prosperous and happy—want it hard enough to work for it and think for it, they can have it, and not before. They will take in the situation when they have been ground up long enough and hard enough in the mill of poverty and suffering. In the meantime—well, the Lord help us!

Socialism in the Wake of the Trusts

I raise no voice against the trusts, but would encourage them to the utmost, until the nation, schooled by experience, forms a trust of the whole people, by the people and for the people, which, once in operation, will endure to the end of time. The worst trust is the best, because in the interest of the common welfare it is guiding the millions to see that if combination can make a few thousand brutal Mark Hannas, it can easily make seventy millions of producers satisfied, thrifty and comfortable. The prophet of our age reads in the clear, unquestioned characters the writing of the economic law on the wall. He reads the decree that by a combination and co-operation which includes all the race in its sheltering arms, is the commonwealth of the world to be formed and realized.

These strange forces are fast making impossible the life of competition. They will do, within the next three years, what reform alone could not accomplish in a century. They stand for the next grand fact in the evolution of society—universal co-operation. Municipal ownership, profit-sharing industries, the government ownership of railroads, banks, mines and all public utilities are parts of a grand whole which will soon find realization in the co-operative commonwealth, which shall include the whole people, with all their conditions, and whose benefits shall be shared by all.

Socialism is treading in the wake of the trusts. Politics, with the moral law squeezed out, is what the government is doing in the world. The world owes every man a living—if he can get it. It depends largely on the man. If he is an ordinary voting mule he may

find suicide easier than competition, and he will be much happier over there on the ever-green shore, unless he bumps up against a trust in harps and haloes! But if he has financial sharpness, gushing Rockefeller-piety, and a callous heart, he can keep himself very much alive on this side, driving other men to suicide; and his picture will hang in the chapel of some great university inspiring the youthful students to emulate his shining example! It is the rich who make the poor poorer, and it is the poor who make the rich richer. The millions who have nothing make the money for the millionaires. The benevolent rich will do anything for the working class, except to get off their backs. How can men think highly, nobly, clearly, when the chief object in life is to acquire the wealth which others have produced? While the socialists are demanding public ownership, the millionaires have already put it in practice—they own the public! The men who have created the trusts are swiftly bringing in socialism, for they are making conditions which will force the people into this new phase of life as the only escape from slavery to the restless financial banditti.

Monopolies are the result of our economic laws and of the development of the age. They cannot be remedied by outlawing them in the courts, or by any penal anti-trust legislation. They can only be controlled by the ownership of all public resources by the whole people, that there may be equality of all men in the gifts of God to the common life of the race. In the popular evolution now going forward, the two great parties, while recognizing the disease, have utterly failed to announce the remedy, nor do they see that economic slavery is a greater evil than the old chattel bondage. "Liberty before property, the man before the dollar," is an old maxim grown obsolete. Mammon, the God of our civilization, compels the many to die undeveloped that the few may live misdeveloped. The worst criminals on our seacoasts were sprouting angels when six months old; our evil social conditions poisoned them. No world in the universe has so much hell in it as this one, where Christians talk about serving God, while doing their best to swindle the Almighty into serving them. The popular religion aims at nothing, and it hits what it aims at—it has not yet learned that Standard Oil does not mix with the water of Life!

Paternalism Better Than Infernalism

To protect American labor against the cruelty of combined capitalistic greed would never do. It would be paternalism; so infernalism is what we are seeking—and getting. Legislation is powerless when met by concentrated billions. The only cure for private monopoly is public monopoly. Under competition the dollar is always king; the laws will be made and the courts will construe as the dollar dictates. We can remember the battle in the U. S. Senate over the sugar differential; and all men know that the government has been "held up" for years, to the tune of ten million annually, by the railroad combine in the transportation of mail matter, and that every effort to stop it has been futile. Laws in the past have not stood against the pressure of even a few millions; from now on they will lie prostrate before the billions.

When the trusts get perfected, and they are rapidly being perfected, they will not notice what laws are passed in our legislative halls, or feel any anxiety about them. The earth will be theirs and the fullness thereof. Indeed, these giant aggregations care as little now for our laws and ordinances as Gulliver for the thread and twine of Lilliput. The law-tinkers may patch and piece, but these combinations will rule as by divine right, the right of superior organic life—the right that makes the plant world tributary to the animal, and the animal to the human. It is the law of nature. These mighty combines succeed by their inherent principle of association which is elemental; and in accordance with which they have grouped themselves. This regnant force in industry and commerce cannot be legislated away. It is as inevitable in its workings as the movement of the stars. Anti-trust penal laws are simply quackery.

It is by the people to use this force for the common good and happiness, abolishing private ownership and operating all public utilities for the people and for the people. Private possession of natural resources is elementally destructive and immoral. No man or class has any greater right to the earth's resources than another. The earth is given by God to all men in common, and should only be owned and administered for the common good, with all the people as trustees, and with the principles of just and true democracy applied to the industrial harvest. Then wage-slavery and the servitude of the toiler will vanish with witchcraft, gill-netting, hangmen, priests, politicians, paupers, bayonets and other monsters of the night. For then it will be the morning of man, and the freedom of God will be here.

Nothing Can Stop the Forward March

We are told by the leaders—who never lead—that we must make a few more laws against monopolies. But the people are aware that the laws already made are not enforced and that it is as useless to legislate against these forces as to legislate against the birth of children! The trusts are an economic necessity, and they will grow and enlarge until they are owned by the whole people and operated for the public benefit. Growth is the law of life. Our ancestors once housed in caves and lived by cannibalism. We have left them behind, but no further than those who follow us shall mount beyond us. Human nature can no more stand still now than it could stand still when it was sharpening flints for arrowheads. When God breathed into man the breath of life and he became a living soul, he made it impossible that man should ever rest until the spiritual triumphs over the material, and the divine will is done on earth as in heaven. Divine blessings sometimes taste like medicine. So far from passing laws against the trusts for the Federal courts to annul, it would be well if a trust could be hatched up big enough to take in the whole earth; with all its land, water and air—along with the sun, planets and stars and every constellation and galaxy in the sky—for the deepest way in is now the quickest way out.

The foundations of the unbounded wealth deposited in nature belong to human nature. God never has given, nor will human law much longer dare to give, private title to this common property of mankind. The trees on the mountain side, the coal in its depths, the gold in its veins, the fertile crust at its feet are not there by creation of man, nor can they be rightfully held for the selfish use of a handful. So with the wealth already accumulated by the toil of ages, and by the inventive faculty in the brain of man. Through the harsh tuition and discipline of the present time, we are to learn to utilize these forces for the benefit of all. The trust is the schoolmaster, by whose lessons we come into the sublime perception of the unity—the oneness of human life. This inspiration lifts us out of the narrow stream of self, into the bosom of that broader fortune, which leaves no human atom unprotected and unblest.

Here are the deep undercurrents of life that move steadily and quietly toward divine results. They move out of social selfishness and greed into equity and justice, out of the unjust and partial into the beneficent and universal. The surface currents may seem to be setting the other way, but those who think and feel are sure that the deep and silent drift of the century is toward spirit, toward justice, toward love.

"God made us all from common clay.
The earth to all he gave;
To one, 'Be lord!' He did not say;
To another, 'Be a Slave!'"

I believe John Ruskin, William Morris, Henry Thoreau, Walt Whitman and Leo Tolstoy to be prophets of God, and they should rank in mental reach and spiritual insight with Elijah, Hosea, Ezekiel and Isaiah.—Elbert Hubbard.

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Uncle Sam and the Trust.

A MODERN FABLE, BY MADISON WARDER, OTTUMWA, IA.

A certain farmer had a horse, which was very unruly. The name of the horse was Trust. It was all the time breaking into the farmer's corn field, eating all it could, and destroying much. The farmer was sore perplexed, and could not think of a plan to stop the ravages of the horse—he let the animal run free.

At last he took counsel with the wise men of the land, to determine what should be done. These had many and varied suggestions to offer, and each thought his plan could control the beast.

Said a Governor: "The remedy lies in Publicity. The horse should be required to make regular statements of his capitalization—that is, of the capacity of his stomach; and of his profits—that is, of the corn he eats. Then if his capacity is overestimated, and he eats too much, other horses will come and compete with him. He therefore cannot monopolize the field."

But the farmer was slow to believe. Said a Presidential Candidate: "I have here a little bell, called License, which I will hang around his neck; and we will require him to promise before he goes into the field that he will not eat too much corn. If he breaks his promise, we will take off the bell, and encourage other horses to compete with him."

But the farmer had his doubts. Said the President of a College: "What he needs is Social Ostracism. Drop his acquaintance. Give him the cold shoulder when you meet him. Don't invite him to your barn to partake of your hospitality. That will in time cure him of his greedy propensities."

The farmer was incredulous. Said a Supreme Judge: "You cannot molest him. He is exercising his constitutional prerogatives. You cannot infringe upon his vested rights."

The farmer despaired. Said a Fool Socialist: "Let us catch him and put upon his back the harness of Public Ownership. Then we will set him to raising more corn." But the others cried: "Visionary! Crank! Anarchist! You are crazy! You would overthrow society!" And they heaped much ridicule upon him. Yet the farmer began to think.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

Ogden, Utah, is taking steps toward a city waterworks plant. Waterville, Me., is fighting its way through the courts to municipal water control. Denver, Colo., has made the first step toward a city-owned street lighting plant. Houston, Texas, has accepted a contractor's bid to build a \$100,000 city electric light plant.

D. L. Peeples, mayor of Navasota, Texas, has started a movement to organize a state municipal league in Texas to study municipal problems.

Akron, O., voted ten to one for city ownership of the waterworks, but the water company found enough red tape to make another election necessary.

The efforts of Mayor Johnson of Jamestown, N. Y., to secure municipal ownership of the local water plant have been endorsed by the Municipal Ownership and Economic League of that town.

The issue at the recent city election at Phoenix, Ariz., was public ownership of waterworks, and the candidates of the municipal ownership party were elected in spite of the utmost efforts of the water company.

The Glens Falls, N. Y., Star says: "An excellent illustration of the effect of municipal ownership is found right here in Glens Falls. While the rates are lower than in most places, the water system is an excellent investment for the village."

Rev. C. M. Sheldon has given part of the proceeds of the Christian edition of the Topeka Capital to the city authorities for the erection of a municipal hospital and another fund to encourage the erection of free drinking fountains in Topeka. He is regarded as a municipal ownership crank by many Topeka-Kans.—and he is.

A pamphlet has been written by a young San Francisco lawyer purporting to show that municipal ownership in Santa Rosa, Cal., the pioneer Pacific coast city in this movement, has proved an absolute failure. It is being freely distributed in all the Pacific coast cities by persons who want to head off further municipal reform. The Santa Rosa Democrat shows that the pamphlet was gotten up for this very purpose and that, on the contrary, municipal ownership of the Santa Rosa waterworks has proved to be a great success from the beginning. But that is the only way in which the opponents of municipal ownership can hope to retard the movement.

Four years ago the town of Atlantic Highlands, N. J., advertised for bids for electric street lighting. The lowest bid asked \$80 a year for each 2,000-candle-power lamp furnished and demanded a five-year contract. The town rejected all bids and put up its own plant. It was able to have just as good, if not better lighting for \$26.50 a year per lamp instead of \$80, taking account of interest on bonds and every other expense. Light is supplied to private consumers at a low cost, and the revenue from this source alone will be sufficient to pay the entire cost of the plant by the time the bonds expire, thus giving street-lighting absolutely free.

When some one advocates municipal ownership, the agent and attorneys for the corporations begin to weep at the great debt that it will create on the dear people—just as though the corporations were letting the people use their capital without any interest! All capital invested in plants is a debt on the people, whether the capital is real investment or water. It is a debt on which the people pay any interest the capitalists can squeeze the people out of, and is paid in the shape of increased cost. If public property there is no water in it, and, when once paid for, the interest ceases forever; but if owned by a corporation the debt is never paid and the interest is for all time. The public can get money at a lower rate than any other corporation.—Leavenworth, Kans., Standard.

This very unwilling admission is from the Chicago Evening Post: "When we find Governor Roosevelt and the New York Rapid Transit Commission, a body of able and distinguished business men, declaring that 'of course' and 'unquestionably' municipal construction, ownership and operation of the underground railways should be preferred to private control and management under proper safeguards, the conclusion is unavoidable that municipal socialism has made considerable headway in the United States. When we reflect that in the late Chicago Mayoral campaign the republican candidate, the spokesman of the most solid and conservative element, actually hoped to gain votes by out-Heroding Herod and assuming a more extreme position in favor of 'municipalization' than that of the avowed candidate of the discontented and revolutionary classes, we cannot gainsay the assertions of those who expect to see municipal socialism the fixed policy in a short time."

"It always arouses the curiosity of an editor to receive carefully printed circulars ready to be sent at once to the composing room and lacking altogether in evidences of where they come from," says the Syracuse, N. Y., Post-Standard. "Such a circular came to this office yesterday, in a plain white envelope, with no business card, no organization name, and no signature. Beyond the fact that the circular was sent from New York city there is no clue whatever to its identity. This particular circular treats of the fallacy of the municipal ownership idea. The circular also includes a paragraph from the fifteenth annual report of the Connecticut Bureau of Labor Statistics, which remarks that American cities, have all they can do to govern themselves properly without reaching out and that there is no more call for public control of light, water, power and transportation than there is for the furnishing of fuel,

food, wearing apparel and all the necessities and, indeed, comforts of life.' There is said to be a particularly well organized association of water supply corporations in the United States, chiefly for the purpose of prevailing upon cities and villages not to own their own water supplies. If the circular which The Post-Standard has just received was properly labeled, would it have the card of this association of corporations in the left hand upper corner?" The Charleston, S. C., News of the same date as the Post-Standard from which the above was clipped contains the article, heading and all. The Charleston editor bit, but the Syracuse man was too smart to be made a tool of.

The mayor and council of Mexico, Mo., are considering the establishment of a city electric light plant. Here is one argument used by the Mexico Intelligencer: "The complete cost of the Augusta, Ga., waterworks plant was \$750,000. They have a canal which cost one million dollars. The gross income from the waterworks plant in 1898 was \$49,705, and the gross income from the canal was \$52,232.67. The cost of operating both was \$12,670.14. Deducting the operating expenses of the waterworks and the canal from the total receipts from both we find that Augusta realized a net profit of \$89,267.53, or about 5 1-10 per cent. of the total investment. The per cent. of net profit would have been quite a good deal larger had it not been for the fact that Augusta built a new waterworks system in addition to what she already had, at a cost of \$450,000. She did this, too, with money saved from the income of the past years from her municipal waterworks plant, without any further debt."

American Notes.

Wisconsin S. D. P. workers will probably send a van over the state.

Social Democrats of Butler county, Mo., have nominated a full county ticket.

Henry D. Lloyd's new book on New Zealand is entitled "A Country Without Strikes."

Social Democrats of Jacksonville, Ill., elected two members of the board of education.

In Toledo, Ohio, the policemen are not allowed or obliged to carry clubs. Socialist mayor.

G. C. Clemens, 1241-Clay street, Topeka, requests that Kansas socialists write him regarding organization.

New S. D. P. branches have been organized at Independence, Mo., Madison, Me., Somersville, Conn., and Legan, Utah.

Tennessee socialists are requested to write to William L. Hamilton, 323 Russell street, Nashville, and to put a ticket in the field.

The S. D. P. vote at Pasadena, Cal., was for the first socialist ticket ever in the field there, and was sufficient to give the party an official place on the next ballot.

Socialists in the seven southern counties of California are requested to correspond with James T. Van Rensselaer, 1618 Toberman street, Los Angeles, for the purpose of organizing the work.

The editor of the Wellington, Kans., Voice (fusion populist) insinuated that the Social Democratic party in Kansas was being conducted with money furnished by one Marcus Hanna. He has been given the alternative by the S. D. P. candidate for governor of retracting or suffering the consequences of a libel suit.

Somebody asked the editor of the New York Journal "what are the greatest movements in the world at present?" He named four and then designated the fifth, "more important than any of them, more important than all of them combined, perhaps, the present movement toward industrial combination, which he declared would result in the inauguration of national and ultimately of international socialism. This is to say, of a system of society in which all the affairs of men will be managed by the social organization for the benefit of the social organism."

"I infer from the many letters sent here by anti-unionists or men outside the unions," says John Swinton in the New York World's labor department, "that the brains of some of them have begun to thrill of late. That's good. If the multitude of outsiders are open to reason, there is hope for them. If they can be made to see how things are going nowadays, they must have eyesight. If they can be convinced that progressive social democratic unionism is the only defence for labor in this age of rampant capitalism they may quickly get into line. Already, within a year, a good many of them have got there, as I learn from men who keep the figures."

Emil Henrich, son of rich parents and graduate of an eastern university, rose above his environment and became, in his own language a "regenerate." He worked his way through the west as a part of his education and "box-carred" and "hoboed" his way from New Orleans to San Francisco. He had enough experience to make him a socialist. Henrich says: "In these degenerate days when we are forced to live and work under a system which requires to overwork in order to hold our places, and with a school system which from primary department to university is degenerating, we are doomed eventually to become a race of invalids unless a change in the system is made." "On part of the trip that I hoboed," he says, "I was brought face to face with the pitiful side of poverty as well as the viciousness of the so-called higher classes in the treatment of the unfortunate poor. To see the liberality which the poor show each other, and to come into actual contact with poverty will do more to instill charity and obliterate the lines of class or caste than a lifetime of religious devotion."

Ideal Municipal Socialism in Practice

GEORGE CARY EGGLESTON IN NEW YORK JOURNAL.

I HAVE made a discovery. I have found and studied the very prettiest, happiest, and in its unambitious way, the most prosperous small town I ever saw. I have seen there an almost ideal object lesson in the municipal ownership of public utilities.

The town is Vevay, Ind. It lies on the Ohio river, about midway between Cincinnati and Louisville. Their main thoroughfare, leading down to the river, and the broad wharf or levee, at its foot, are well paved with stone. All their other streets are macadamized after the best modern methods, and are kept in perfect order. So are all the main country roads that lead out from the town into the rich and highly cultivated farming regions round about. In all the residence streets there are perfectly laid and perfectly kept sidewalks of artificial stone. They are bordered on either side with stately sycamores, tall elms and broadly spreading maples—all jealously cared for by the municipal authorities.

In addition there is an adequate water system supplying water in lavish abundance for all uses. There is a telephone system with astonishingly cheap rentals—so cheap that almost every house of every consequence has an instrument in it—and with long distance connections to Cincinnati, Louisville, Indianapolis and all towns between, at rates of charges that would seem impossible to New York victims of the telephone monopoly's extortion. Still further, there is an electric light plant which furnished light so cheaply that no gas company can exist in the town. The municipal tax rate of a people who enjoy all these benefits—the well-made and well-kept streets, the smooth, artificial stone sidewalks, the abundant water supply, the trees which make the whole town a park, the telephone and electric light conveniences, and all the rest of it—is only one per cent. and the growing profits of the municipality from the telephone and electric light plant promise, within a year or two, to reduce even that tax by one-half.

All this is the result of the municipal ownership of public utilities, under the vigilant scrutiny of an alert public opinion, acting in perfect harmony for the public good. The town's ownership of the profitable utilities has enabled it to provide the comforts and to create the beauty, from which there is no direct profit, without imposing more than a very lightest tax burden upon the people. The total municipal debt is only \$70,000, at an interest charge of less than \$3,500, and both are diminishing at a rate which will extinguish them within a brief period.

"But what about politics?" I asked. "Suppose a gang of rascals should get control of your city government?"

"They never can," was the answer. "Every man of us makes it a part of his personal business to prevent that. We have party nominations for municipal offices, of course, but everybody in both parties feels that no man should be nominated for local office in whose hands we cannot confidently trust the control of these vital interests of the community. No such man ever is nominated in fact; and if by chance any such should be, his own party would leave him without any votes to count when the polls close. We cannot afford any such mistake as that, and we all know it."

There is no such thing as pauperism in this well ordered community—no trace of the "poverty that suffers." The town is very slightly more populous now than it was when I knew it, half a century ago. But there was little of beauty in Vevay then, little of comfort, some rather squalid poverty, and practically nothing of that enlightened public spirit which has wrought almost a miracle since the people learned what the real purposes and functions of municipal government are, and without theorizing about it, put into practice the best teachings of state socialism.

Trades Unionism and Socialism.

William Joyce of the Toronto Trades and Labor Council recently read an essay before the Canadian Socialist League on "The Ideal Labor Unionist," urging the necessity of recognizing the intimate relation between unionism and socialism. He said:

"A labor unionist—what is he? He is a paradox, an anomaly, in that while his aim, his objective, is decidedly socialistic, yet to gain that object he submits to and imposes on others a government that is an absolutism."

"We get our word socialist from the Latin socius, a companion. So that Socialism, or that school of philosophy (and here we have a Greek word philos, a friend, almost identical with the Latin word socius) which would make all men companions, has the whole world for its field of activity."

"The sphere of the labor unionist is, however, much more circumscribed—being confined to or among those who by force of circumstance or accident of birth are compelled to labor in order that they may live. Within this scope labor unionism is socialistic. It seeks the welfare of all its members by securing for them better wages than they could obtain through individual effort, better conditions under which their labor is exercised, better sanitation and better protection from dangerous machinery. Labor unions everywhere have recognized the value of and necessity for a shorter workday. Indeed, this latter may be said to be the goal of labor reform, for when the point is reached when every one shall render his quota of labor necessary for the maintenance of the whole, the world will not be far from the triumph of applied Socialism."

"The trend of thought and action among the workers, readers and thinkers of the masses of the year 1900 is toward the coalition, the co-operation, the active alliance of Socialism and Labor Unionism."

What Socialism Promises.

Socialism is a step upward in the evolution of mankind that logically grows out of and hence must follow and succeed the existing system known as the competitive.

For the unfair, partial and unjust conditions of the competitive system socialism provides "a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations" (see Webster's dictionary). Thus, in the provinces of production and distribution instead, as now, of dividing the products of labor so as to give the lion's share to the non-producing or capitalistic class, and to the producing or laboring class such minor part called "wages" as will barely suffice for immediate animal needs, making no provision for future want and none for the cravings of man's higher nature. Socialism will substitute the granting to the producer of the full product of his or her labor.

To this end in place of the private or corporate ownership of the means and sources of production and distribution socialism will substitute social ownership, that is, ownership by the whole people, and hence will guarantee to all the opportunity for actual economic equality in every stage of life between the cradle and the grave. Too, it guarantees immunity from that soul-and-body destroying care inseparable from the present necessity of making the first and greatest object in life, "what shall we eat and drink, and wherewithal shall we be clothed?" In a word, socialism means the brotherhood of mankind in its fullest sense and concerns itself with whatever tends to the practical development of that idea.

Hence the basic method of socialism is co-operation; and its ideal the co-operative commonwealth. As a resultant of co-operation not only will all the physical wants, such as food, clothing, shelter, education and recreation be assured to everyone who will participate, but, as well, leisure and opportunity and incentive for the development of the best and highest elements in humanity.

Finally, socialism will substitute production and distribution for use in place of production and distribution for profit, and thus abolish and remove the one great incentive to wrong doing and wrong living, viz: the hope and lure of profit. This done, mankind will enter upon an era of ethical development that will literally usher in that new heaven and new earth sung by poet and foretold by sage and prophet. Socialism is veritably that "kingdom come in earth as it is in heaven" that millions have so earnestly but so blindly and ignorantly prayed for these many centuries. F. E. MILLER.

De Soto, Kans.

What Socialism Will Do.

Socialism is an emancipation proclamation which will free toiling millions from the misery of abject poverty.

It will free the people from the grasp of shysters; pay every man the full value of his labor; place each man on an equality with his fellowmen; put the ownership of all public utilities in the hands of the people, thus insuring adequate transportation facilities in large cities and avoid herding in filthy street cars; remove our legislative bodies from the influence of bribery and corruption; clear our streets of the hundreds of thousands of women who for a miserable existence are obliged to peddle their virtue; provide us with time and opportunity to educate ourselves and children; remove the necessity for child labor; cure the sweat shop evil; compel the proper expenditure of public money, thus insuring clean streets and honestly built public buildings; settle the money question; insure honest elections; provide the people with an opportunity to travel and reap the educational benefits therefrom; through the initiative and referendum it will enact laws that must be enforced and thus avoid such farces as the interstate commerce law and the ill-fated income tax; being international it will avert war thus finally bringing about "Peace on earth and good will to men."

Socialism will benefit all classes of people, but it will most benefit the lower classes, those whose abject poverty has made their education impossible. Capital has sealed their wages down to a point which affords a bare existence so that every mouth must be self-supporting. A. F. SHERWOOD.

The Wily Savage.

Somebody once told me an instructive tale of a Wily Savage. It seems this clever creature lived some time before the dawn of commerce, in the Palaeolithic age—or maybe in the Miocene. One summer's day, as he lay on his back in the sun, replete with cave-bear or the marrow of reindeer, a happy thought occurred to him. The clumps of bramble around were heavy with blackberries. He called his native tribesmen about him with a whoop, and began to harangue them. Said he: "My friends, I will tell you a great scheme of mine." (In this, you will see at once the first note of the Promoter.) "I will give you each a burdock leaf into which to pick blackberries. You shall bring all the blackberries you pick to me; and if you give me one leaf full, I will let you have the next leaf full you pick for yourselves; and so on, alternately. At the end, you can each of you eat your own private heap, or exchange them with the men who live along the sea shore for fish, or flint knives, or amber necklets!"

Then all the savages were much struck with his wisdom, and did as he told them, giving him every second leaf full of blackberries they picked, and keeping only half for themselves who picked them.

But the person who told me the tale omitted to observe that that Wily Savage was the First Capitalist, and the father of all capitalists. And capitalism ever since has done the self same thing—calling its lion's share by fine names, such as the Wages of Organization. GRANT ALLEN.

A labor hall will be built at Madrid by trades unionists and socialists.

FOREIGN ITEMS

There are 30 strikes on in Spain.

A strike of 8,000 miners is on near Santander, Spain.

Paul Goehre, formerly a leader of the German Nationalist party has joined the Socialist party.

A socialist editor at Magdeburg has been given a month's imprisonment for making unkind remarks about the king.

The Socialist party of Spain now has representation in the municipal councils of Manresa, Cordoba, Burgos, Baracaldo, Gallarta and Bilbao.

The joint circulation of the seven weeklies representing the socialist political movement in Spain is more than 20,000. A daily paper will be started in the near future.

The elections for the municipal councils take place in France next month, and the Socialist party will make strong efforts to capture as many seats as possible.

At the May Day celebration at the Crystal Palace M. Quelch said that patriotism in England seemed to have become the love of someone else's country and the determination to grab it.

The First National Congress of Danish trades unions, which met at Copenhagen with representatives of 73,110 unionists present, decided to found a workingmen's bank and to open co-operative stores.

The Jewish bakers of the East-end of London have been working from 18 to 20 hours a day and 30 hours at a stretch part of the week, all for about \$3.50 a week. They have struck for better conditions.

Pablo Iglesias, writing on the progress of the movement in Spain, says that "it is probable that the trade union movement will consolidate itself into one great party, so as to be able to formulate its demands with greater force."

The Czar of Russia will abolish exile to Siberia. This step is necessary in order to settle the region traversed by the trans-Siberian railway with a desirable class of farmers. This means that arbitrary exile to Siberia without judicial inquiry will be abolished altogether.

The electors of Berlin are divided into three classes according to the amount of taxes paid, so that 308,517 electors select 48 delegates to elect members of the Municipal Council, and 8,433 elect 96. In spite of this there are 22 socialists in the council out of a total of 144.

The following subjects will be discussed at the International Socialist Congress at Paris in September: (1) International legislation to limit the hours of labor, with discussion as to the possibility of securing a minimum wage; (2) discussion as to advisability of formation of a labor party of the bourgeoisie, and socialization of the means of production; (3) international peace, militarism, suppression of standing armies; (4) colonial policy; (5) organization of seamen, fishermen, etc.; (6) universal suffrage and direct government by the people; (7) communal socialism; (8) conquest of political power and alliance with existing parties; (9) May Day; (10) trusts.

Justice reports that the resolutions at the May Day observance of the S. D. E. in London "expressed fraternal greetings to workers in other lands assembled on that day, asserted with them the determination to overthrow wagedom and capitalism, and establish that International Co-operative Commonwealth in which all the instruments of industry would be owned and controlled by the organized communities, and equal opportunity be given to all to lead healthy, happy, human lives. They called for the enactment of measures providing for the free maintenance all children in our schools and the abolition of child labor; also for the passing of bills to provide for: A legal eight hour day, decent housing accommodation for the workers, to be provided by the municipalities, and let at rents sufficient to cover cost of construction and maintenance, old age pensions, universal adult suffrage, second ballot, payment of members of Parliament and election expenses."

In a communication for the special May Day number of Justice Herr Liebknecht says: "While I am writing this the Easter bells are tingling in my ears the nineteenth-century-old lie: The Savior has arisen nineteen centuries ago, the Savior whose gospel was to bring peace on earth and good will to mankind—nineteen centuries ago. I think of the ten millions of armed men in Europe who have been taught scientific and lawful murdering, and who are ready at the command of any idiot in power to murder scientifically and lawfully one another and to change into a red sea of blood the wheat-grown plains of Europe. And not scientifically and lawfully to murder, but Christianly too. The same bells that are now tingling in my ears will, when the opportunity offers itself, solemnly ring to honor and to strengthen the scientific and lawful murderers, and the mouth of the priest will tell them all—friend and foe—that Christ, the Savior, is with them, that peace on earth and good will to mankind means dum dum bullets, lyddite bombs and bayonets, and that the god of Christianity and Christian charity imposes murder as a Christian duty."

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THE LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEER

THE B. of L. E. have been holding a convention in Milwaukee the past week and have received unlimited boom space in the capitalist daily papers.

This is about the only labor organization in the world that is well thought of by the bosses. And no wonder. It is the one organization that keeps the organized workers from a solid union.

But the time is coming when a change will be demanded. The rank and file of the engineers are all right.

Already signs point to a conflict inside the organization. Hundreds of these delegates already are beginning to think for themselves.

Chief Arthur pointed to Vanderbilt, Astor, and others as examples. In the large fortunes they created as to what well-directed energy, etc., can accomplish. Ye gods, ain't that rich!

No wonder Arthur is worth \$200,000, and no wonder he can travel on a free pass.

The correct form of a railway organization is along the lines of the American Railway Union organized by Eugene V. Debs, and the sooner the railway workers recognize this the better.

Such an organization could accomplish something.

Just One Example.

An Oregon subscriber of the APPEAL writes:

A friend sent us the APPEAL nearly a year ago. We had heard of the socialists before, but knew little about them. To tell the truth, the parties who tried in California to convert my husband to socialistic principles were of such an impatient, overbearing spirit that he concluded the principles advocated by the society must be something akin to anarchy.

Plutocracy's Estimate of Its Own Rule.

Democracy is as dead in the United States as the worship of the Olympian gods is in Greece. The people have simply allowed themselves to be deprived of all their rights by a small minority of swindling politicians.

Lloyd's Opinion.

Henry D. Lloyd is writing a second book about New Zealand which is to treat of the entire subject of the advanced legislation in that country. In a personal letter, he says: "I regard the work done by New Zealand as a far more instructive episode than the French Revolution."

Want a Ride?

A careful statistician has compiled a table of figures showing the enormous waste of the competitive system. The amount annually wasted through avenues which yield no returns to the people of this country reaches into the billions.

The amount would provide an automobile for every family in the United States, and in five years would cover the country with a network of good roads that would be delightful and useful.

Railway Nationalization. Notice to Railway Employees.

IN senate document No. 53 accompanying senate bill No. 1770 presented January 3, 1900, by Senator Pettigrew providing for the purchase, ownership and operating of all the railways of the United States by the government, we find it provides for the reduction of a day's work of all railway employees from ten to eight hours a day with no reduction in wages.

This one item alone is worth more to the nation than any law passed during the last quarter of a century.

The bill also provides for the increase of all trackmen from \$1.16 a day, the average now, to \$1.30 a day of eight hours each.

It provides for the reduction of all passenger fares to the uniform rate of one cent a mile.

It provides for the expenditure of \$50,000,000 annually, to build new roads, which will build twice the average built during the past ten years.

It provides for the gradual paying off of the entire debt as well as paying an interest in the mean-time equal to the average for the past five years on the total as now capitalized or 5% on about \$7,000,000,000 and yet competent engineers have estimated that the railways of the United States could be duplicated at a cost not to exceed \$1,000,000,000.

Should the nation buy, own and operate the railways, postage on letters could be reduced, at once, to one cent.

With all these, the saving in use of shortest routes, freight discrimination, etc., etc., would equal about \$199,000,000 as a yearly profit to the Nation.

Railroaders should especially pass this information along. They, as well as everybody who rides on a train or wishes to, as well as all who use goods which have been carried on a railroad should, at once, write to their congressman and U. S. senators urging the passage of this bill, or forever hold their peace and stop railing at railroad extortion and discrimination.

THE STONY ROAD OF PROGRESS

IT IS a true saying, that history repeats itself. The various stages of evolution in the history of the human race produce the same effects on the minds and actions of people.

First there is opposition to new developments, distrust because of a lack of understanding and finally submission to the inevitable. Columbus' idea of a new continent, Newton's discovery of the analytical spectrum, Watt's invention of utilizing steam power are here in line with the history of the philosophy of Plato and the ethics of Christ's early teaching.

Hundred years hence people will wonder how stupid our generation must have been in opposing the formation of trusts and how still more stupid they must have been in not understanding the great advantages socialism offered.

Of course they will, as students of history, consider the intellectual and economic standard of the masses of our days and will find the general disinclination in abandoning the ruts of every day life quite in accord with the general history of human progress.

Regarded from this point of view it is quite interesting to study the earlier stages of our modern system of production and the attitude the first efforts met in the people it affected, proving the stony roads that have to be encountered in the march to progress.

Poor John Kay of Louisa, who devoted a lifetime to the invention of his rapid shuttle, which he accomplished in 1733, came near being stoned to death by mobs of weavers who were afraid that his new device would throw them out of work.

Kay had to flee for his life and leave England. A few years later Kay's shuttle was in general use and everybody blessed Kay's name, for his invention enabled them to turn out more cloth by reduced exertions.

In 1764 Hargreaves invented his spinning jenny which enabled the spinner to use a number of spindles simultaneously. His shop in Blackburne was demolished by a mob of spinners, who destroyed several machines and his house besides.

Hargreaves went thereupon to Nottingham and started a mill of his own, and all those who had to compete with him were compelled to introduce his jenny or stay behind in the market.

Encouraged by Hargreaves' pluck, Arkwright, the inventor of loom that bears his name, also started a mill near Chorley. The wonderful results of his loom aroused the ire of the weavers to so great an extent, that his new mill was destroyed by the enraged population, notwithstanding that the military was called out to protect his property.

This loom of Arkwrights and other inventions and improvements were, however, of such revolutionary nature that the enmity of the population toward Arkwright became so general that when he finally succeeded in establishing another mill, his product was boycotted and in 1779 a general uprising occurred against those newfangled things, and all the machines and mills containing them were demolished.

Peel, the father of Sir Robert, who had in the meantime invented a new process of printing calicoes was among the victims in Oldham. His works were also destroyed and the old man was thrown into the river.

Peel was, however, saved and undaunted in spirit, went to Burton-on-Trent where he built a new factory. Crompton, the inventor of the "mule" worked secretly, only in night time, on his invention for fear his neighbors might find him "inventing one of these dastardly things that deprive men of their daily bread."

His "dastardly" occupation was, however, discovered and a subscription of £100 was raised and the money given to Crompton to induce him to discontinue his invention.

These struggles between the originators of the new era in economics and the workers who feared to loose their occupation, lasted over twenty years. It is a history of violence, arson and murder, a history of the stony road to progress.

The new spirit, however, prevailed, not only in the textile industry, but in almost every other. New inventions, new methods, and new machines were then introduced. To give an idea of the opposition modern industry encountered at its very cradle it is worthy of note that during the great Luddite riots which lasted until 1813 of the new hose

loom alone 624 machines were destroyed, so that finally parliament had to interfere and declare the willful destruction of machinery a capital offense, and one day alone, in the town of York, seventeen convicted destroyers of machinery were executed on the gallows in public.

Of course this is but a short, and very incomplete chapter of the economical events of those days, but sufficient to illustrate the ominous remark of Karl Marx in his Capital that violence is the accoucheuse of every new social phase.

The road of progress is still strewn with boulders of prejudice and crisscrossed with ruts of ignorance. A new idea of true humanity and of a new social order is advancing, promising happiness to the whole of the human race.

Will history again repeat itself or will advanced intelligence of the masses prevent the realization of those ominous words of Marx, only too well verified in history?

G. G. B.

Troublesome Thoughts.

Private property and private poverty are inseparably connected.

If a man could obtain the full result of his own individual effort, and no more, there would be neither rich nor poor, for in that case men would work to live, and not live to work.

There are two ways of looking at life: one contemplates the requisites for physical existence as a basis on which may be built a lofty edifice of intellectual and spiritual enlargement; the other sees in such necessities only a means of extortion from men who lack them.

It is the lack of physical necessities of the many which constitutes the "private property" of the few. How would houses bring rent, if all men had opportunity to acquire them?—how could there be any form of "private profit" if there were no private disadvantage of some sort to be taken advantage of by the thrifty?

The payment of rent, interest, and profit, and all other "earnings of capital," paid by those who work to those who work the workers—the sum of all such amounts represents exactly the sum of the equality of men before "the law," the economic and statute law of the land.

Competition presents two kinds of work, the compulsory work of the proletarian and compulsory work of the man who buys his labor at the lowest amount and sells its product at the highest possible price. The one works that he may not perish; the other that he may not be reduced to the same level as his victim.

He who works, because he has to is a slave, no matter what his occupation nor the nature of his compulsion. He who works, because he likes to is free, however hard his toil, and meager his reward.

The man who is compulsorily reduced to idleness, has no greater liberty than the man who is compulsorily at work. Both are slaves; and as the idleness of one is not a mark of laziness, so the activity of the other is not industry; neither is voluntary; yet this is competitive "industry," a blessing that might be lost under the socialistic regime.

A man may gain knowledge by remembering, but wisdom comes only with reflection and experience.

Knowledge and folly may get on quite comfortably together, but meditation is fatal to their intimacy.

The slave who begins to think is at the gate of the road to freedom.

The wise man uses knowledge as a means to arrive at correct conclusions; the fool uses it as a satisfaction of idle curiosity, the fleeting sensation of a wasted moment.

Every victory freedom has won has been a victory of truth over falsehood and thought is the power that has accomplished it.

F. R. Hays.

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The only reason I do not give the firm's name is, that firm's traveling man is authority for the facts. He said it was not nice treatment to give employes, but added that "it has to be done these days."
This is a splendid illustration of the working of the "commercial instinct" of our times, without which mankind would have no "incentive" to do anything. F. S. G. Chicago.

NEXT WEEK'S APPEAL
will contain a compilation of "the literature of discontent," a significant indication of the growth of unrest and the increasing desire for better conditions. It will be valuable for reference and to give to beginners in socialism who want to post up. No. 235 will also have some other special features that will please you and bring light to the uncivilized.

A Correction.
The trades union edition of the APPEAL made a statement that in New Zealand rates on government owned telegraph and telephone lines are about 500 per cent less than they were under private operation. As there can be but 100 per cent of anything, even in New Zealand, this is hardly so, although it might seem 500 per cent better to the users. The proofreader was too generous with his ciphers, and the APPEAL readers are asked to chop off that 500 when using it in arguments—make it 50.

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