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J. A. Wayland.

Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., May 25, 1901.

THE GUESSING CONTEST.

The next state election to be held in Massachusetts will occur November 5, 1901. On its results the Appeal will distribute among its army of workers the following presents: To the one guessing the exact or nearest exact number of votes polled for the Socialist candidate or candidates for governor, a warranty deed to a 160-acre farm in Northern Arkansas. To the second nearest guess, a four year scholarship, which includes board, room, tuition and books in Ruskin College at Trenton, Mo. To the third nearest guess, a two year scholarship, as above. To the fourth nearest guess, a \$100 library of Socialist books. To the fifth nearest guess, a \$50 library. To each of the next ten nearest guesses, \$10 libraries. The contest closes on November 1, at 6 p. m. Rules: Each guess must be accompanied by five yearly subscriptions to the Appeal. Any number can be sent in at one time. A guess goes with each five names. In case of a tie the guess that reaches this office on the earlier date and hour will be awarded the premium. Cut out the little blank which will be printed in each issue and write your guess thereon. A supply of these guessing blanks will be sent you on application. The vote for any candidate or candidates for governor running on a platform demanding "Public ownership of the means of production and distribution," will be counted. The fact that you are contesting for some other premium does not bar you from this one. A pamphlet, descriptive of Ruskin College and also of the 160-acre farm and the far-famed fruit belt of Northern Arkansas where it is located, is being prepared. Send for a copy.

THE LAND OF THE BIG RED APPLE.

The 160-acre farm, which goes to the one out of the Appeal's great army of workers who proves himself or herself the best guesser, lies in the far-famed fruit belt of Northern Arkansas, commonly known as the Ozark region. To reach this land one travels via the Kansas City, Fort Scott & Memphis railroad, known as the "Memphis Route," to Ravenden, the nearest railroad point. From Ravenden, after a most delightful drive of five miles over a road lined with a profusion of wild flowers of every shade and hue, you reach the stirring little village of Ravenden Springs. Ravenden Springs lies in the midst of one of the most picturesque spots ever devised by the hand of nature—surrounded as it is by a thick growth of magnificent oak trees and many springs and little creeks of living water, with the air laden with the perfume of wild flowers and the music of hundreds of beautiful forest birds, this garden spot is an ideal resting place for the tired traveler fresh from the scenes and strife of the never-ending battle for bread of the outside competitive world. 'Tis said that one of the hardest tasks set for the art student is to paint a scene from nature; far more difficult is the same task to the most gifted word painter. In this instance, so lavish has been Nature with her favors, that it is almost futile to attempt to portray them with any hope of achieving the task with any degree of success. Ravenden Springs is a lively little place of some 200 persons. There are five general stores, a strictly first-class hotel, which is filled most of the time with guests from all parts of the country, attracted here by the famous mineral springs. The water of these springs is especially noted for the never-failing relief it brings to the sufferer from kidney or liver diseases. There is a daily mail service and telephone connection with the telegraph office at the railroad station. The farm lies a mile and a half from Ravenden Springs. The present occupant holds a lease running until Jan. 1, 1902. There are fifty acres under cultivation, which will produce a good crop of wheat this season. Fine, healthy, peach, pear, apple, and plum trees cover ten acres of this land, and there are several large patches of blackberries and other small fruits. There are 100 acres of timber, mostly oak, and a well equipped saw mill is located within a short distance. This farm as it now stands is easily worth \$1,000, and in the hands of a good wide-awake farmer can be made worth twice that in two years. The timber alone, properly handled, should produce revenue sufficient to keep any ordinary family. The soil is especially adapted to wheat raising and fruit culture of all kinds. A creek that never runs dry, formed from the overflow of numerous never-failing springs of the purest water, runs through the land. The surrounding forest which extends for miles in both directions, is a veritable hunter's paradise. Nature has indeed dealt out her treasures with a lavish hand for the benefit of those who may enjoy life in this favorite spot. "The land of the big red apples." It's worth a good guess, anyway.

THE PROFESSOR'S REMEDY. Prof. Callender, of Bowdoin College, recently lectured at Banger, Me., on the decadence of democracy, portraying the evils that exist and lamenting the conditions. When asked if he had a remedy for this deplorable state of affairs, the professor replied that he was much afraid that he had not. He said the only remedy lay in the teaching of the ignorant by the wise and the development of a willingness to vote for the learned and allow them to be the government. Now will the professor tell us who is to decide who is wise and fit to govern? We are not going on the theory that we vote for those with more ability than the masses to govern—and look at the result. And after we get the wise selected, can we be sure that

they will not teach the ignorant into beliefs that will make them more easily skinned? The facts of history prove that it is not the "learned" who have aided in the development of the ideas of democracy. The so-called "learned" support the throne in every country, and have always done so, and have spent all their ingenuity in robbing the people they were "teaching and governing." In this country today are not the men holding high positions of power what you call "learned?" I should be one who would differ from the professor in what constitutes wisdom. He is not one I would credit with a very great amount of real wisdom. Any man who has read philosophy would not speak hesitatingly of the remedy. The remedy is as knowable as the multiplication table, with no more doubt about it. It does not consist in making the masses little children to be dominated over by a set of self-constituted "rulers and teachers," either. The remedy is all about us, and being developed today against all the power of the "learned" men of the Callender political faith. The world has been governed since history began by the "leading men," no matter whether theocracies, oligarchies or monarchies—and the history of the world is one long line of injustice and bloodshed. Every improvement in government has come from pressure from below, and never from above. Give the people a voice in the making of the laws, as they have in Switzerland, and there will be as great an improvement here in affairs as there has been there. The people cannot trust their liberties with any section or class, for it has ever been true that men have always abused power. And there is no need of delegating power to a few.

Albany, N. Y., is enjoying riots and bloodshed in connection with the corporate ownership of the street car lines of the city. Private ownership comes high, but fools will have it at any cost. The people of Albany, as elsewhere have been electing people to look after the city business who do not believe in the city having any business except the bribing of councilmen to give away franchises, and they have been doing that to the queen's taste. The troops are there to shoot down the strikers, and the working people voted to elect men who believed in shooting down the majority by the minority to support the corruptionists who have gotten the right (?) to use the public streets exclusively for their private benefit. Down in New Zealand the troops are never used against the working people. The working people have elected their friends to office, and there are no such scenes as are now being enacted at Albany, because no employer would dare take the consequences. But in New Zealand there are no franchises given to any one to run street cars, water, gas, electric light, telephone, telegraph, railroads, ferries, or of the other things that owe their existence to the use of public property. When will laborites in America learn how to rule their employment?

Look at the daily papers. Strikes, riots and labor troubles everywhere. The capitalists are kicking and cuffing and spitting on the laboring people, and rubbing it in. If the laboring element will continue to vote the same old way, they really deserve just the treatment they are getting. If they are too stupid to see that the men they elect serve their masters, make laws only in the interest of the masters, the men are fit only for slaves. In New Zealand the laborers have taken charge of government, elected union labor to nearly every office, and they have no such troubles as are occurring in this country. The action of the capitalists ought to drive every man who works for a living over to the Socialists, for it is hard to conceive of a stupidity so deep that it will always vote the militia and regular army into the control of the capitalists, to be used against labor in every contest. See how foolish the men are to make their fight against other workmen or against the men who put the other workmen against each other. Strike at the cause, and not the effect.

Every paper I pick up of late has something in it about Socialism. Its claims are fairly presented today by thousands of papers that formerly had only ridicule. The newspapers have discovered that the people have been doing a great deal of reading on the subject, and that misrepresentation is at once taken advantage of by Socialists in their interest. The more the subject is talked of, the better for Socialism, whether it is discussed or cursed, it arouses curiosity that leads to investigation. It would be well for every member of the Appeal Army to write the editors of the old party papers they take, and ask them what Socialism is. It will cause much to be written, and open the columns necessarily to replies. Act on this suggestion, all of you, for the more of such letters received in the offices of the nation, the greater the apparent growth and interest in the subject will appear and the more attention will be paid to it.

The steel trust is dismantling all the small plants in the country and concentrating all work in a few places. Many hundreds of towns will be ruined, but what's the difference? Don't the people like the system? Survival of the fittest, you know. The people in the small manufacturing towns are not fit to survive, hence all their anguish. See it?

EFFECT OF PRIVATE MONOPOLY.

An Associated Press dispatch from Albany, N. Y., says: Citizens sabre slashed, and union men with broken limbs and bloody noses, women and children trampled under soldiers' maimed with flying missiles, and leaders in the crowd beaten with muskets were some of the results of the day. This is the price the people pay for the private ownership of public franchises. Before it is ended it will cost the people of the state of New York as much as it would have cost to build the lines—and they will have nothing but broken heads and bad tempers to show for their assnity. How long will it take people to learn that it is cheaper in all ways to own and operate all franchises, than to farm them out to capitalists to skin them with? Had the city owned the car system, there would have been no strike, for the men would have been accorded decent time and pay, instead of having what they should have had going into the coffers of the millionaires. Will these strikers now see the foolishness of voting for democrats and republicans? Vote for Socialists, and no such condition will happen, for the capitalists will not be permitted to run things.

Strikes of the wage slaves all over the country for shorter hours and more food are reported daily in the papers. The masters want long hours and the smallest pay, because it is to their business interest to have it that way. If the public owned and operated the industries, it would not be to the interest of any one to have long hours and little pay. The work day could easily be reduced to five or six hours and the pay be equal to the entire selling price of all goods produced. But then such a state would make slaves of the workers! And that is what they are taught by the master class who do nothing useful and draw millions out of what the workers produce. Socialism would give the workers the full retail price of the goods produced for the time used in producing, and that would mean more than \$2,500 a year—a great deal more. The class of skinners oppose Socialism because they would have to work.

The war budget of France costs \$14.30 per person, or about \$70 per family. This represents but a small part of the cost. She loses the labor of 600,000 men and 125,000 horses, besides the immense capital in military equipments. Supplied with the same capital and direction in the paths of peace, these 600,000 men could produce each year \$1,800,000,000 of wealth, which is not now produced, and France is that much poorer each year by that sum. In other words, the French people pay men and furnish the capital to make that much wealth, but instead of having the men directed to do it, the men are put to destroying property and killing men. What fools the French people are! And there are others. Socialism will put these men to doing useful things. The rulers of today have proven their unfitness to direct the people of nations.

A state of civil war exists in Albany and Troy, N. Y., caused by the private ownership of the street car lines. Prominent citizens have been killed in their doorways by troops, working people shot down like dogs, cavalry riding over women and children, bayonets jabbed through defenceless men, the daily cost of martial exceeding \$10,000. Private monopoly is cheap and dead easy! And the people do not realize the fact that they have voted for just such treatment by voting for men opposed to the public owning and operating the franchises.

The good Christian (?) powers have held up China like a highwayman with a pistol at the head of his victim, and told her to fork over some \$300,000,000 for the pirates to squander in riotous living. This will be laid in taxes on the workers of China, millions of whom had nothing to do with the matters in dispute. If this sum was laid on the property of the rich who have been for centuries skinning the workers under the plea of governing them, it would have some virtue in it, but as it is, it will be laid on the poor. They bear everything in every land. Poor, dumb animals.

Amid all this array of wreck and ruin on Wall street in stocks and bonds and margins, is it not a little queer that none of its debasing, soul-racking effects are chargeable to the manipulation of stocks or bonds of the United States postal system? Can you not see that if the properties in which all this disturbance was created had been owned and operated as is the postal system, that no such conditions could have existed? And that none would have made fortunes out of the misery of others, and none would have lost fortunes? But then perhaps I am crazy to want to have things different.

Mother Jones is organizing the servant girls in New York. The dainty wives and daughters who do nothing but look pretty, should pay the female slaves well who spend their lives waiting on them. The girls can easily get \$20 a week if they will combine, for the women mentioned would not do so vulgar a thing as to work, no matter the cost.

The Pennsylvania railroad has absorbed the B. & O. with its 2,000 miles of trackage. Thus do the great railroads kill all the small ones.

Is Socialism a principle that has an opposite in social law, like restraint and freedom, or is it a political program working in harmony with evolutionary law? FRANK WILSON. Columbus, Ga.

Neither. It is not a principle opposed to social law, nor yet a political program. But it must necessarily use the political program to attain its aim. Socialism is an INDUSTRIAL program in perfect harmony with evolutionary law and social development. It is opposed to a political order, and would substitute human association based on INDUSTRIAL harmony. With perfect industrial harmony there would be no use for the political state or organization, and it would disappear for want of conditions to live on. For instance, if a system prevailed that would give to every person the FULL results of their labor, (and by this, I mean the full measure of wealth resulting from their exertion, whether according to the time employed or results averaged) I would not care whether we had one king or a dozen, one emperor or a million. For if such kings or emperors could not draw any part of the labor of another without giving AN EQUIVALENT, how could they injure any person? To take from the people anything for interest, rent or profit would be denying the law of giving to each the FULL results of their labor, and the kings would have to work and produce something, (if they consumed anything) just the same as other people. Who would want to be a king under such conditions?

Kingship would be dropped if the king were not supplied with his needs out of the labor of others without an equivalent in exertion by himself. So would political government be dropped as soon as industrial harmony and justice prevailed. There would be law under Socialism—lots of it—but it would be of a different KIND. The people in each vocation or department would make the laws regulating the conduct of that department. This being carried to every department of human INDUSTRY, what need would there be for the useless, non-productive political positions of today, that cost so much and retard the energy of the nation? Each shop, factory and department would enforce its own rules and regulations. What, then, would be the need of any of the state, national or county officers that are supported today? True, many of them might remain in name, but the duties would be changed. Each officer would have to produce an equivalent of wealth for his salary just as does a superintendent or foreman of a shop today. If you once get the picture of the Socialist industrial commonwealth clearly in your mind, you will see there will be produced perfect social harmony, and with harmony how can there be conflict?

St. Petersburg, May 10.—Viedmosti, a newspaper, this morning publishes a story of a bloody fight between the guards and convicts in the prison at Saghalien.

The governor of the place, according to the paper, recently doubled the tasks of the convicts. When the prisoners demurred, he had them flogged, irrespective of age or sex, till the blood steamed down their backs. A political exile named Sokolenki appealed to the governor, who was watching the flogging, to desist. The latter for answer, shot Sokolenki down. A tumult followed, and in the melee the guards fired on the convicts, killing forty-five and wounding fifty-nine of them.

The above dispatch shows you how the world is governed today. These rulers tell us that the people are not fit for self-government, but what worse could they make of it? These things make your blood boil, but your blood did not simmer when similar things were committed at Hazleton and Homestead. If it did not profit any one, if no one got wealth without giving an equivalent by reason of these prisoners' confinement, they would not be there to be shot down like hogs because they protested against brutality too awful to be painted in words. Talk about a bloody fight between unarmed, defenceless prisoners pleading for mercy, and armed brutes! And because they held to political opinions that would make the earth better. And this government makes treaties with such a monarch!

This country is chuck full of boys who want a practical education, but lack the where-with necessary to get it.

Some of you have laid out in the old orchard under the cherry tree and dreamed about it; some of you have lain awake at night thinking about it, and some of you have even made an effort to get it.

Such an education can be procured at Ruskin College, but you can't get it playing marbles in the alley. Sitting on a barrel in front of the corner grocery, having fun with a "bean shooter," won't help you a bit. You've got to do a little hustling. Then do a little good guessing. Go and ask your political friend for a "tip" before you make out your guess; if he is a democrat, better add a few to his figures; if he is a republican, add a whole lot.

John W. Gates, the millionaire, has gone to London to attend a meeting of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Co., says a dispatch. Only a plain little dispatch, but it shows that this great company is owned in England, and that it levies its profits off Americans for the use of coal on American soil, for the benefit of Englishmen! And the miners are Americans and are dictated to and directed by Englishmen! Which shows that we are a great and a rich nation, we are.

THE BEST SYSTEM ON EARTH.

The cashier of the Hibernia Bank, New Orleans, speculated on Wall street with \$36,000 of the depositors' money, and lost. The cashier of the First National Bank, Niles, Mich., did the same with \$100,000, and the bank "busted." The vice president of the Lemars National Bank, Lemars, Iowa, did likewise with all the bank's money. Cashier Lewis, of the Farmers' National Bank, Vergennes, Vt., lost \$150,000 in the same way, and the depositors will get nothing. Cashier Canby, of the First National Bank, Vancouver, took \$81,000 and left the bank wrecked. The teller of Brown & Co., bankers of New York, got away with \$20,000 in the same way. A number of lesser evidences of the safety and conveniences of the national bank system are reported, but not so as to wreck the banks.

I have not heard of a postoffice suspending on account of Wall street speculation. Can you see the difference? If these men had stolen horses and sold or gambled them away on Wall street, the horses could be recovered, but why cannot money be so recovered, when the proof is explicit and the whereabouts of the stuff exactly located? Do you not think it is because the men who profit by such gambling have something to do with the making and the INTERPRETING of the law? But then the silly depositors only lose, so no matter.

Dispatches state that the extension of the rural mail routes must wait because there is no money! There is a million lacking to provide for the extension, according to the rules of the postal department. Thus the farmers will not have rural delivery, but they can have hundreds of millions in war ships and army supplies. The latter are so much better for the farmers, don't you know! And the hay-seeds will continue to vote for democrats and republicans who "do" them so nicely, while the aforesaid congressmen revel in the profits of the army and navy contracts and steals. We are a great nation, we are! We before postal facilities, every time with us! The farmers, being the majority, pay the bulk of the tax to pay war expenses, but they are not in it when it comes to having a few pennies spent on them for rural delivery. And thus it is that the needs are too expensive, but the luxuries must be provided. Wake up, farmers, and think, and you will learn how to act.

The big-headed chief of police of Detroit, Mich., "puffed up by a little brief authority," undertook to suppress the street speaking of the single taxers, and precipitated a riot that came near resulting in fatalities. Why will the people submit to a system that admits of such tyrannies? What autocrats some people would make if they had the power. The only way is to give nobody such power, for the people to retain all the power themselves, and if such a condition came up, better that the people vote to see how a majority stand rather than upset the peace of a city, and often entailing great losses of life and property. Under direct legislation, such a condition could not obtain. But people are dumb, to what direct legislation means, and are trained by such things as this chief of police not to find out. But the incident helped the single taxers.

The Ohio supreme court has decided that a judge can prevent a paper from printing the evidence in any case. The constitution of the United States says: "Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press," but what is a little thing like the constitution when it comes to the supreme power of a judge? A petty judge is greater than the constitution. If such an order is possible, a judge can also say that a paper may not report a public speech nor print any article not in harmony with some judge's prejudice. But only the foolish think we longer have the essence of free speech, free press or free religious expression.

WEEKLY PREMIUM AWARD.

The weekly premiums for the first week in May, ending May 11, have been awarded as follows: Ten-acre farm to W. H. Jewell, Bird Island, Minn.; 461 subscribers. Ten dollars in cash to Thos. C. Lake, Butte, Mont.; 404 subscribers. Five dollars in cash to C. Potee, Salem, Ore.; 230 subscribers.

The Appeal's Once-a-Week Distribution of Presents.

Commencing May 26, the Appeal will distribute a few presents each week among its club workers, as follows: To the one sending the largest number of yearly subscriptions, a \$25 library. To the one sending the second largest number, \$10 in cash. To the one sending the third largest number, a \$10 library. Week ends on Saturday at 6 p. m. Those who secure libraries may make their own selection from our book list at prices shown therein per copy. This weekly distribution will continue as long as this announcement appears in the paper each week.

THE FALLACIES OF THE CRITICS OF SOCIALISM

By J. A. Wayland.



I AM somewhat astonished that a man credited with the intelligence of Mr. James Creelman should write on a subject of which he is so utterly ignorant as he exhibits himself in a recent issue of the New York Journal. Mr. Creelman, writing on the "Fallacies of Socialism," assumes that the state is something separate and apart from the people. POLITICAL government is, and there may remain for a short time some of this feature in the adoption of Socialism, as the political state must disappear before the industrial democracy to which Socialism aims can be fully realized. But Socialism (Industrial democracy) is wholly of the people, and by its very nature can not be by a part. As our government is better adapted to the development of the citizens in every way than an absolutism like Russia, Turkey or China, so will Socialism be, still better by giving more voice and power to the people. Socialism will do away with monarchy in industry—the people will have more voice in the industries than they now have in politics, for they will not only elect their public servants, but will vote directly on what their servants shall do. Mr. Creelman does not comprehend this, for he says:

The war of the trusts upon the competitive system in the United States has at last directed the attention of the country to state Socialism as a refuge from the straggling effects of private monopoly.

There is not an observant political leader in America today who does not see the Socialistic idea spreading among persons who, five years ago, were staunch advocates of the competitive system under which the American people have grown and prospered. The American people have grown and prospered in spite of the competitive system, just as have European nations advanced in spite of it, plus the burden of royalty. That this is true we have evidence in the wonderful growth and development of wealth and individuality under the leadership of Brigham Young, handicapped as it was with the monstrosity of polygamy. There competition was replaced with so-operation, the lowest strata of society furnished the material and the creation of wealth was ten times as rapid as it was with the same people further east who were struggling under the bonds of competition. Take any agricultural state and compare the results and see if this is not true. They failed only of growth along philosophic lines because they were handicapped by a self-appointed priestly monopoly.

By state Socialism I do not mean the movement for the public ownership of street railways, water systems and lighting plants in cities and towns. These forms of local monopoly may be justified by certain conditions, but do not apply to the nationalization of the steel, sugar, oil, tobacco, leather and other similar industries. Not even the monstrous power of the billion-dollar steel trust should frighten American citizens from continuing the struggle in defiance of the competitive system, the only system under which individual liberty and progress is possible. It is the only path to individual and national safety.

The public ownership of street railways, water, light, etc., is state Socialism, because the workers in such industries do not control and operate them, but are governed by a set of officers (city) who know little or nothing about the plants, and use them for political advantage. He thus upholds the very things he pretends to denounce. There is no justification of a monopoly in light, gas and street cars that does not apply equally to food, which is more essential than either of them. What is the difference whether one is robbed on one thing or another? Is robbery less robbery? People cannot protect themselves against extortion on sugar or oil or steel, unless they own the plants, and individuals cannot own each a plant for himself any more than he can own an electric light, water or street car system for his personal use only. The position is absurd.

Why do people want to continue a "struggle"? Is a struggle such a desirable thing, or is it not every effort of the people to get away from the struggle? Is liberty and struggle synonymous? Is progress more rapid where the struggle and burden is the heaviest? Is safety to the individual and the nation only with a struggle with monsters or when they are safe from the monsters, by having them completely subjected? As a reasoner, Mr. Creelman is a peach.

State Socialism is as unsound as the trust system. They are both hatched out of the same fallacy philosophy. They are both enemies of freedom and progressive civilization. They are the most damnable heresies of the time, pregnant with endless misery for the human race. They are steps backward, not steps forward.

The trust system is better than competition, hence it's overcoming the latter. Private trusts are enemies only of the people, not in them, hence all the people should be in them. The doing away with a thousand little competing fellows, and re-

placing them with one great and economical plant, is progress, not retrogression. Otherwise, we should go back to the days of the stage coach and freighters' teams instead of the better methods of the railroads. The great packing houses are better than the smaller, wasteful methods of the isolated butcher, but they would be still better for all if the public owned them and operated them for the whole people instead of for a few of the people.

First—One great fallacy of state Socialism is the idea that competition is wasteful. That is also the defense of the trust system. Nothing is wasteful, nothing is extravagant, which develops individual ambition, individual capacity, individual courage or individual character. Human nature is so constituted that the average man will not exert his full powers of mind and body, will not bring to his work the passionate energy of which he may be capable, unless he sees before him some great individual prize.

On this theory the great powers of mind and body of kings are not developed in this country because the customs and laws will not permit men to compete for the honors and powers such as attain to the czar or sultan. Why not throw down the bars to royalty and "may the best man win"? Is there any difference in doing that and permitting conditions which allow a Rockefeller or Morgan or Gould to trample on all those less cunning? If competition is not wasteful, then there is nothing to fear from the trusts, and they need no restraint, and why should Mr. Creelman damn them? And thus unconsciously damn (condemn) the development of the "full powers of mind and body," at whose shrine he worships? Is there no good or had in development? Is a political king bad and an industrial king good? Do not both use the people to rob the people? Mr. Creelman takes the position that the waste of a million lives and the destruction of whole peoples is not wasteful if it tends to develop the "individual ambition, capacity, courage and character" of some man called Napoleon! What horrible conceptions!

It is not necessary to look at your neighbor to understand this. Look at yourself. Is it not true that your greatest efforts have been inspired by the hope of wealth or power greater than that of your fellow man? Be honest with yourself. Is it not a fact that the development you have made in your abilities has been the direct result of your struggle for personal wealth or personal influence?

The same thing can be said of every expert in crime as well as in acts not counted crime. The assumption is taken that there would be no incentive to do anything without a money consideration as the base. Was money or personal influence the motive behind Shakespeare, Milton, Dante, Michael Angelo, Raphael, Washington, Franklin, Henry, Adams, Lincoln or John Brown? Money may have come to them as an incident of their actions, but neither assumed their attitude for money or personal influence. I do not believe that Mr. Tesla or Mr. Edison, two of the world's greatest geniuses, are spurred on by either the love of money or personal influence, but for the love of the work they are following, and would follow it if they became poorer, if permitted to do so. Mr. Creelman might ask them and learn something about man he does not know. Bad work needs an incentive of money or power, but good work needs neither of these incentives.

The genius of Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Morgan was awakened by the competitive system, which gave to them the opportunities which they now deny to others on the ground that competition is wasteful.

Nothing is wasteful which preserves individual liberty. All the wars that have been waged for human freedom since the world began are justified because they have secured for man that which his purpose is the enlargement of human rights. Money and material count for nothing against the development of the race.

How strange that Mr. Creelman should praise competition for developing the genius of Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Morgan to an extent that he in the fifth paragraph condemns their development as hellish!

The Socialist assumes that nothing is too costly to pay for liberty, hence he is willing to destroy the competitive system in order that each may have an equal opportunity to enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, without the dictation of any one or set of industrial kings, such as the Morgans and Carnegies. It would even sacrifice such great genius on the altar of human liberty, by denying them the opportunity to lord it over a whole nation. Socialists demand the enlarging of human rights, even to having a voice in the operation of every industry used in the life of modern man.

Second—Another fallacy of state Socialism is the theory that men collectively are superior to men individually. The Socialist in the United States today tells you that if all the great industries in the country were owned and operated by the government, the workers would be protected from injustice.

But if there is not enough virtue, intelligence and courage in the masses to induce them to prevent the evils of the trust system now by voting out of office men or parties controlled by the trusts, where will the masses get virtue, intelligence and courage sufficient to prevent the Rockefellers and Morgans from dominating a Socialist

Commonwealth? If the great leaders of the republican party will induce and organize a majority of the party to support the trust system at the polls, what miracle will avert similar combinations under any form of popular government that can be devised?

The people of the United States are free now and have always been free to control their own affairs. Why don't they do it? Will they be any wiser under a system of common ownership?

In this second indictment I expect the Socialist will have to plead guilty, for Socialists believe that the whole is greater than a part, even in peoples, while Mr. Creelman assumes that a part is greater than the whole. Socialism is an agitation to educate the workers to vote against men for office who are supported by Mr. Creelman and those like him, who support the trusts by supporting a social system under which trusts are logical and inevitable. As for the second paragraph, how could Mr. Rockefeller control the oil of the nation when the people owned and operated the oil business? Do you think the people would permit him to take millions out of a business every year in which he had no more interest than the humblest citizen? Under private ownership he has this right, but it would not be recognized under public ownership—p any more than it would be today in the postal system. No individual combination could exist under Socialism, and to hint at such an absurdity shows the mental poverty on the subject, of Mr. Creelman. The people are free at any time to make this great change, and that is just what the Socialist is here for, and why Mr. Creelman finds it is increasing at such an unprecedented rate. I infer from my work in the movement that there are at least three millions of Socialists in the United States, though few as yet vote the political program, but that they are turning that way is shown by the wonderful increase in the vote at the spring elections. If Mr. Creelman will look to the vote in Germany, France and other dying monarchies of Europe, he will realize something about the vitality behind the movement. As it grows, monarchies sink. It will come first in this country, though as yet there is hardly a ripple on the waters compared to what is disturbing the social seas of Europe.

Third—Still another fallacy of the state Socialists is the theory that the trust system has demonstrated a right to live by its superior facilities for producing wealth.

I absolutely deny this. The individual and small incorporated industries of the United States produce, relatively in the same number of working hours, as much wealth when they existed separately as they do when combined under trusts. This is a statement which no well informed man will dispute.

The real difference between the wealth producing power of the individual industries and the trust industries is to be found in the profits of the proprietors or stockholders. Under the competitive system a large part of wealth produced went to managers, clerks, agents and other employees who are eliminated by the trust system. But the wealth was produced. It was simply distributed more among the workers. The trust system dazzles the public by total figures.

The only material advantage which the trust system has brought to the United States is to be found in the growth of our export trade, and that is an advantage which must disappear with the hostile tariffs which all the great commercial nations are getting ready to levy on our foreign trade.

That the trusts live and flourish and that the smaller concerns wither and perish, is ample proof that trusts produce wealth under better conditions than small concerns, no matter how much Mr. Creelman may deny it. As well might he deny the law of gravitation. The well informed men who put millions into combines assert this, and common reasoning is sufficient to prove it. That 1,000 men working separately can make as many shoes as 1,000 working cooperatively, as in a shoe factory, is absurd, for 1,000 such isolated workmen could produce wealth as rapidly, there could be no trust, as the little fellows working more hours than the ones employed by corporations would soon undersell and run the corporation out of the market. Mr. Creelman admits this when he says that the trusts eliminate many of the "managers, clerks, agents and employees," while producing the same results in wealth, for if these are necessary under competition and not under combination, then it follows that combination produces more wealth with the same number than competition. But aside from this feature, 10,000 men in any industry can employ a finer specialization of labor, can afford greater and more effective machinery and methods, than 10,000 men so employed, and the operations of the trusts have proven this to the satisfaction of the owners and to the destruction of the competitors who believe in competition.

I cannot see by what reasoning that the greater export of goods can be advantageous to the United States. How can the sending out of more wealth than comes back advantage the nation? It may enable the owners of the trusts to buy a few disreputable members of the European nobility for their daughters, buy a few castles in Scotland, England, France and Spain, but just how that "benefits" the United States is beyond

my conception, except that it is slowly destroying the love of this country and its institutions in a large class of the aristocracy of wealth, and the smaller fools who try to ape them, who sneeze when the prince takes snuff, and roll up their pants when it rains in London. I say that it would be better for this nation, counting that all the people make the nation, that all the wealth created here be consumed here. That if we send out a million in wheat that we have no need for, that a million in coffee or sugar or other wealth be returned for it. Does Mr. Creelman assert otherwise?

Fourth—The State Socialist's supreme plea just now is that the trust system cannot be controlled or destroyed, and therefore the only thing to do is to encourage the concentration of industrial wealth until it has reached a stage of national monopoly that will make the transfer of ownership to the people easy and natural.

If this were true I would be a state Socialist. But it is not true. It is a falsehood born of laziness and cowardice. It is the argument of the man who is tired of the struggle, of the man who shrinks from the firing line of human progress. The same man would have told you 125 years ago that it was useless to attempt to resist the authority of George III.

As between private monopolies and public monopolies, I am in favor of public monopolies. To that extent the argument of the state Socialist is sound. But national monopolies are a curse, only to be tolerated when they are unavoidable. A man has only to travel through France, Italy, Germany, Russia and other European countries to see the damning effect of national monopolies upon human endeavor and human progress.

The people of the United States are free to change their national constitution and laws. If they wish to be rid of industrial monopolies they have the power to do it. It is absurd to say that they are controlled by the trusts. How can the trusts prevent them from casting their ballots for whom they please? If they do not preserve their individual liberties, they do not deserve a freedom and are incapable of securing happiness or safety in any state, Socialist or otherwise.

Why does not Mr. Creelman show how the trusts can be controlled or destroyed? Is it not a fact that the trusts control legislation, dominate every source of municipal, state and national life? Is it not to the interest of their owners to so dominate? And if we fine them or levy heavy license or tax on them, can they not and do they not raise the price of the necessities of life, and thus force the public to pay this extra tax or fine? Does not the oil and sugar, and other trusts arbitrarily raise or lower the price of their products at their pleasure?

And further, is it not a fact that every anti-trust law on the statute books of state and federal governments has been declared unconstitutional or void and ineffective? Did not the Attorney General some year or so ago assert that he was powerless to proceed against the trusts, and turned the matter over to the various states to cope with? And has not every attempt on the part of a state to regulate the trust power proven futile? The Missouri attempt to regulate the insurance proved a dismal failure, as it did in Arkansas. Even in Texas, where the anti-trust law is supposed to be a perfect regulator, it is quietly set aside, and the Standard Oil Co. is doing business regularly.

Is it not a fact that trusts and trust influence dominate the courts? And will it not be to their interest to so dominate as long as they own and profit by the industries? If the opposition to the trusts (and there has always been opposition) cannot control or destroy them in their infancy, how can they do so now that they have grown to full strength and power? Such claims are to me silly, though they may be the acme of wisdom to such planless minds as Mr. Creelman possesses, which sees only the surface of things.

Why, if the transfer from trusts to state Socialism could be easily made, would Mr. Creelman "be a Socialist," when in the fifth paragraph he says, "It is an enemy of freedom and progress and a damnable heresy, pregnant with endless misery to the human race?" Would he favor so bad a thing, just because it was easy, and in the same paragraph denounce it because it is born of laziness? And then he gets things mixed again when he compares the Socialist to the Tories in the Revolutionary war—the Tories supported things as they were, while the men under Washington and Franklin and Paine opposed the status quo, like the Socialist of today, and proposed to have things different. Mr. Creelman is very unfortunate in his similes.

If Mr. Creelman is in favor of public rather than private monopolies; what does he propose? We have private monopolies—of that there is no questioning. What does he propose to substitute? And how does he propose to go about it? I hear a good deal of talk about destroying the trusts, but I have never seen any program to do it, from either Mr. Bryan, the New York Journal or any other source. The Socialist has a program, definite, clear, emphatic. The opponents of Socialism, while opposing the trusts, have no plan. They are like the fellow who wants to erect a large building and

has no idea what kind of a building he wants. We are in an age of monopolies, and they are here to stay. They must be either private or public. There is no other choice in the matter. Nor can I see that public monopolies are a curse. I see no reason to curse the public school system, the postal monopoly nor any other publicly owned and operated INDUSTRY, though they are not as perfect as they should be, owing to the fact that private monopoly has poisoned them wherever it has come into relation with them, as the railroad lobby has controlled congress to permit them to steal twenty or more millions every year in the charge for carrying the mails, which would not be if the public operated the railroads. But still it is better than it would be if the corporations had complete control of the postal system, as they would like to have. As for the public monopolies in Europe, they are not worse than they would be in private hands, though they are controlled by the monarchs who rule, and in that respect are the very opposite of Socialism, where there would and could be no monarch in either politics or industry.

The trusts cannot prevent the people from casting their ballots for whom they please, and that is just why Socialism is coming—the people will some day in the near future cast their ballots for Socialists, elect them to office, and then will come the struggle between private and public monopoly. Such men as Mr. Creelman will on that day side up with the interest of private monopoly, but it will do no good. Like the Socialists have done in Germany and France, the Socialists here will stand as solid as a rock against the interests of special privilege. All the power, wealth and influence of the rulers and the rich men have not been able to seduce a single Socialist from the party program in all of Europe. It is this same class of people who will preserve the liberties of the people of this country from the encroachments of the trusts. Every day thousands who formerly opposed the Socialist program have a change of mind, and support it with all the power they have opposed it.

Fifth—The state Socialist argues that there is no ground upon which laws restraining or abolishing private monopolies can stand in the present state of government. That is another fallacious

It is a well recognized principle of government that it is the supreme right and duty of organized society to preserve the rights of each individual against any or all individuals.

If the trust system takes away from the individual American citizen the opportunity to compete—not the assurance of success, but the opportunity to engage in business on his own account—if it destroys the citizen's hope of independence, then it is the duty of society, its highest duty, to pass laws that will prevent the trespass of corporate wealth upon private right, to reopen the gate of opportunity. No nation can be greater than the individuals of which it is formed. If the individual is cramped and dwarfed, if all incentive to mighty endeavor is taken from him, the nation must wither.

Let no American citizen accept or encourage this Socialist gospel of sloth and despair. Paternal governments are for children, not for men.

Why does not Mr. Creelman give some of the grounds on which laws may be based that will abolish or even restrain private monopolies? He infers that such base exists, but gives no hint of its character. The Socialist asserts without fear of contradiction, that no such grounds exist, except by a law regulating both the wages paid and the price of the finished article—that the public would thus virtually have to operate the plants, and if they did this it would be better to own and operate them and have the public get all the benefit of ownership. That organized society has this right, all Socialists recognize, and its contention is the objection of those who oppose us. We claim that under the present system the individual is cramped and dwarfed by the operation of the private ownership of the industries of the nation, that the masses are withering while the few are sucking their life blood, and for that very reason the era of private ownership of the means of life is drawing to a close, for the masses who have all the power will not much longer stand it, hence Mr. Creelman sees "the Socialist idea spreading among persons who five years ago were staunch advocates of the competitive system."

Socialists hate the PATERNALISM OF THE TRUSTS, and want the FRATERNALISM that would come when all the people own and operate all the industries. We live under a system of paternalism now—and the fatherly trusts seem to take a delight in destroying the children of the nation. But infernalism would be a better expression to describe the situation today.

And Socialism is rapidly developing, whether Mr. Creelman understands it or not. Every step in the progress of the world has been fought by those who did not understand it, or who had special privileges under the then existing conditions. But the world is not going backward for their benefit today no more than it was yesterday of the past.

The Old and the New.

The retail clerks union at St Paul held a banquet some weeks ago and among the addresses delivered was one on the subject: "The Old and the New." The "new" was the department store and this is the way one of the boys sensibly handled the subject: "The ones who today deery the department store, would rebel in an instant if it were proposed to abolish the electric car for the bob-tail horse car, or the steam railways for the 'prairie schooner', and I used to be one of the abolitionists. No one fought the department store harder than I did until I realized that an attempt to stem Niagara would be idiotic less stupid.

"If the masses did not want such institutions they would not patronize them, and I don't wish to set my mind against the composite mind of the American people.

"The department stores are pointing to what must naturally result from present day consolidations; co-operation for the benefit of all mankind, instead of for a few fortunate individuals who happened to get in on the ground floor.

"The economic saving of the present system will eventually be embraced a hundred-fold. Where fifty grocers, butchers and milk-wagons now call in one block, one wagon of each kind will suffice. There is no reason why the groceries that are good enough for my next door neighbor are not good enough for me; yet I buy mine on University avenue, and my neighbor buys his on Dayton's Bluffs. A horse and a man from each store waste all the unnecessary time delivering, and in all probability every other tenant in the block buys at a different store. A co-operative establishment would supply every tenant in the block on the same delivery, and the time and horse-dung wasted by the present system

could be employed in providing something of ornament or usefulness to mankind.

"The economies practiced by the sugar, oil, tobacco and other trusts are but a fraction of the economic possibilities of universal co-operation.

"Instead of the grocery and other clerks having to fight for shorter hours, if the laws of common sense were applied as they should be in the conduct of our social and industrial life, four hours' labor a day would suffice to produce all the luxuries and necessities required for human existence."

The Railroad Blacklist.

Chicago, April 30.—A blacklist, containing the names of 500 men who quit work on the Illinois Central Railroad during the American Railway Union strike in 1894, mailed to the superintendents of other roads, was submitted in evidence in the blacklisting case before Judge Hilsber yesterday. The defense objected to allowing it on the records, but the court overruled the objection. Norman Ford swore that he was employed in the railway superintendent's office at the time the blacklist was issued, and that he had made copies of it. William Holland, whose name appears on the list, testified that, as a result, he was refused work on the Northwestern road after the strike was declared off.

New Zealand is a Nutshell.

"The little pamphlet is the best of the kind that I have ever seen. People seem to want to know about New Zealand. I think it is just the thing to help educate every one—and especially the laborer and farmer," writes Comrade Truesdell. This seems to be the sentiment of a goodly number of the gang as the value of our new edition "New Zealand is a Nutshell," as a propaganda pamphlet. The new edition is nearly exhausted, but another will be on the press in a few days, so there will be no delay in filling orders. Per 100 copies, \$1; 50 copies, 65c.

Growth of Socialism.

The Socialist party in Europe is increasing steadily as well as rapidly is the story told by the elections this week to the Danish Folkething, as well as by every parliamentary election of the time, except that of January, in Austria. While the conservative government was almost buried at the polls, winning only 8 seats in 114, the Socialist wing of the opposition strengthened itself on every hand. No transatlantic political movement of the time shows more vitality than that of Socialism. The vote of this party in Denmark rose from 315 in 1872 to 42,955 in 1901; from 30,000 in France in 1885, to 1,000,000 in 1898; from 834,500 in Belgium in 1894, to 534,324 in 1898; from 20,000 in Italy in 1893, to 215,841 in 1900; from 90,000 in Austria in 1895, to 750,000 in 1897; from 30,000 in Germany in 1867, to 2,125,000 in 1898. The present strength of Socialism throughout Europe is very nearly 5,000,000 votes, and the party is represented in the coalition cabinets of both France and Italy. Half of its adherents are in Germany and Austria, and it is probable because its appearance in the latter state was so sudden that it has received there its only setback.—N. Y. Mail and Express.

The People's Country.

Carpenter, the correspondent, writes from Australia as follows: The new Australia will be a workingman's country. According to the constitution parliament has the right to legislate as to invalid and old age pensions. It can control the railroads, and arrange their purchase. It can pass conciliation and arbitration laws as to labor disputes, and deal with banking insurance and such things.

The new government is to have control of

the telegraph, telephones and postal service. These have already become international and the railroads and other things may follow. Bills for all sorts of innovations are ready for introduction. Every state of the new federation has been making its own experiments along the labor and social lines, and their combined experiences may grind out a new social organization of the Bellamy kind away down here below the equator.

First let me give you some idea of this little giant of the South Seas. The Australians call their country the biggest thing below the equator. I have traveled thousands of miles through its various colonies, and am inclined to think they are right. It is as big as the United States without Alaska. It is twenty-six times as large as Great Britain and Ireland, fifteen times the size of France, and only one-fifth smaller than all Europe. With New Zealand and the other English islands it occupies two-fifths of the British dominions.

They are Under Control Now.

The latest in the line of gigantic combinations is a rumor that J. P. Morgan is to take a hand in the formation of a cotton mill trust. Morgan evidently intends to keep up his lucrative business of trust forming until he has all business under control. Let us hope that the day will be far off when he will turn his attention to the newspaper business. It will be a sorry day for the country which sees the newspapers brought under "control."—Sandwich (Mass.) Independent.

Senator Depew says there is a section of the very rich who are doing more to promote Socialism than all other agencies combined. Words of wisdom sometimes fall even from the lips of an after-dinner orator.—Ex.

Pickles.

The unearned increment. Do you know what it is? It is the biggest thing on earth. The community unconsciously produces it. It of right belongs to the community. But landlords and franchise holders grab it. And become lords and rulers of the earth. Thirty years ago corner lots in Pittsburg were worth thirty cents.

Today a few of them are worth \$30, more of them are worth \$300 and a few worth \$3,000.

Why? You tell. The ground is just the same as it was. Yet Lots have increased in value from thirty cents to \$3,000.

Without any human being doing a thing to them.

The increase in value is unearned increment.

No individual, but all the individuals, that is the community created that increased value.

To whom does this unearned increment or increased value belong?

There is only one possible answer—to the community.—Pittsburg Kansan.

Work is a force in perpetual activity, a god in all religions, working out the final happiness of which we feel the imperious necessity. There is no such thing as happiness unless we place it in the united happiness of perpetual united labor. And that is why I wish that some one would preach to the world the religion of labor, and sing hosannas to labor, as to a savior, the only true source of health, peace and happiness.—Emile Zola.

AMERICAN NOTES

Oil will be used as a fuel in the iron furnaces at New Birmingham, Texas. The oil cloth which the poor man puts on his kitchen table is now in the hands of a trust. But this is a good thing for the consumer from the standpoint of a trust official. The Wheeling, W. Va., Register, says that the price of gas to consumers fell from \$3.50 per thousand feet under a private concern to seventy-five cents under municipal ownership. Old King Solomon's fleet of vessels would have looked like a mud skow compared to an ocean liner when placed along side of King Morgan's new fleet of ocean carrying vessels. The Socialist is the most decided optimist on the face of the earth. The fact that he sees the downfall of the present system is no reason at all why he should be branded as a pessimist. Although Mr. Morgan was across the ocean and Mr. McKinley was on the other side of the continent, both gentlemen were in close touch with Wall Street during the flurry last week, by means of electrical communication. The Baltimore Sun points out that while the committee of reformers is busily engaged in ferreting out the little gambling joints of New York, the greatest gambling concern in the world is working overtime and unmo- lested. The Sun has reference to the New York stock exchange. So poverty instead of being a curse is oftentimes a blessing, the extent of which depends largely upon the uses to which we put it.—Davenport Times. [But as a rule you will find few millionaires who are willing to change places with the man who is poverty-stricken.] The chefs and cooks employed in all the first-class restaurants of San Francisco recently declared themselves in favor of assisting the cooks and waiters in their strike inaugurated May 1 for an increase of wages and one holiday in seven. This action on the part of the chefs simply illustrates that the workers are getting closer together and will stand pat in the future. The promoters of the ship subsidy bill have established a press bureau, presided over by a high-priced editor, who is expected to mold public opinion through the press of the country, by supplying it with literature setting forth the advantages to accrue from the enactment of the subsidy bill. These fellows are careful, of course, to omit the names of the beneficiaries, as that would give the snap away. The American sovereign who rules Puerto Rico has issued a decree against cock fighting. The simple minded islanders cannot understand why cock fighting should be illegal in Puerto Rico while the butchering of live pigeons by ambitious sportsmen is allowed to flourish with unabated vigor in the United States. Still, in time, the untutored mind of the savage may learn to distinguish between a civilized and uncivilized sport—even if there is no difference. Another record price for a seat on the stock exchange was paid today. Emerson Chamberlain's seat was sold to Gustave Eckstein, Jr., for \$59,000, says a telegram from New York. And another telegram from Waukesha, Wis.: "Frank Thomas was sentenced to two years in the penitentiary for stealing. "I did it," says the criminal, "to buy bread for my wife and children." And the court smiled, as the jailer led the culprit to his cell. A Globe-Democrat special from Terre Haute, Ind., says: "There is a report tonight that the Indiana coal mining industry is to be organized in a trust company of \$1,000,000 capital. Captain Tally, of the Indiana operators' association, refused to talk about the undertaking further than to say that publication at this time is premature. Other operators admitted that there had been conferences in Chicago in regard to the matter." The proprietors of the saloons at Mounts- ville, W. Va., will do business on the "com- munity of interests" plan. Recently the council raised the license to \$500 from \$300. The barkeepers protested, but the council was obdurate, and so now the nine saloons will combine and operate one institution. The combine business is making its way rapidly to the front as the only sensible plan on which to do business. After a little while the laborers will combine and form a univer- sal trust and share in the benefits. People seem surprised at the enormous prices paid by the railway speculators for stock in the Northern Pacific and other roads. These fellows care little for the prices they pay for any concern—knowing full well that when once in control, they are in a position to tax the public to recover the loss. If Rockefeller cannot squeeze the Texas oil speculators, he can buy them out, and a cent or two added to the price of oil will soon reimburse him for the outlay. It's a snap when you are onto the game. The anthracite coal trust announced to the middle men and coal dealers of Chicago, that the customary 50-cent discount on coal would be reduced to forty cents. In order to recoup the coal dealers simply announce a raise in price of ten cents per ton to the public, and all is lovely. The coal trust will knock another ten cents off the forty cent discount about the first of July, says the Chicago Record-Herald. It is confidently expected that by next fall the entire discount will be absorbed by reductions and the trust will thus be making enough extra to enable its stock- holders to enjoy the beauties of a southern winter. Still, it is likely to make the people think. Capitalists Right up Against it at Last. The capitalists succeeded in downing the Greenback party with its irredeemable cur- rency, and they got its successor in the Farmer's Alliance, with the greenback idea widened to a flexible currency, limited only by the demands of business, and in addition the much indicted sub-treasury. The capitalists divided the Farmer's Alliance and formed in its stead the Popu- list party, with the greenback and sub-treasury ideas, and in addition the demand for government ownership of railroads, tele- graphs, telephones, etc. Again the capitalists were successful in leading the Populists into the ditch of fusion, only to be confronted with the young giant Socialism, who neither asks nor gives quarter, and who expands the demand for greenbacks to a universal gov-

ernment check in all transactions; the sub- treasury to a system of government stores for everything, and the demand for govern- ment ownership of all the means of produc- tion and distribution. Truly the financiers are up against it this time. They will have to fight it out on this line if it takes 100 years. They will soon know what they have to meet in this final struggle of the dollar against the man. AN EX-POPULIST. The Greatest Danger and the Remedy. The greatest danger to the American re- public is the franchises it has granted. The granting of special franchises to aggre- gations of men and capital is the colossal evil of these days. Through this means great combinations have grown up which control the coal, the oil, the flour, the sugar and the iron, as well as other resources of the coun- try. They are able thus to monopolize the production, transportation and sale of these great staples. But the most dangerous and alarming re- sults are seen in the corrupting influences these organizations exert in all departments of our government. When a small aggre- gation of men with large amounts of capital are endowed with special privileges, their in- terests lead them to seek to control political action and secure legislation, and such ad- ministration of law as would advance their interests. Here then, is centered in these combinations of capital a power which at once antagonizes the interests of the people. Which in the very nature of the case becomes a rival in- terest to that of the people. Here at once springs up a dangerous antagonism. The in- terest of the corporation is to exploit the people. They seek political power that they may extort from those outside of their or- ganization. This antagonism is the source of all the alarming corruption to be seen in all de- partments of our body politic. Men's hands are full of bribes to tempt the servants of the people. Extortion, being in high places, goes unrebuked. We stand amazed at the rottenness of public officials. We blush with shame at what we behold. Deceit sits enthroned in the very citadel of our common- wealth. But collective effort is necessary. Under modern improvements in machinery single- handed work is abortive. Associations of men and capital are indispensable. But what is the remedy? What will bring an end to this warfare of interests? What will transform this struggling warfare into a peaceful labor of love? To annihilate the co-operative work now so fruitful of results, and go back to the single- handed struggle of the past, would be to turn the hands back on the dial of progress one full century. But, the people have the right through governmental function to so control the franchises which by their own act have been created, that justice, equity and the best in- terests of all will be promoted. To attempt to modify and regulate those aggregations of men and money, so as to secure the above ends, would only prolong the warfare of con- flicting interests. It might be a temporary anesthetic, but the disease would still remain. The warfare of conflicting interests would still go on with its waste and desolation. Only when the interests of all are com- bined into one great paternal whole, will the conflict end. To illustrate: When a city has extended a franchise to a corporation to furnish public light or water, the interest of the people is to secure the best possible service at the lowest fair cost. But the interest of the corporation is to secure the greatest profit. When the city takes sole ownership and control of its own public utilities, then the warfare of interests ceases. The sun of fraternity rises to shed his benignant rays on all alike. Cain and Abel are no longer jealous of each other. Hand in hand they join to promote each other's highest good. The class which once antagonized the masses now finding their interests allied with the in- terest of all, ground their weapons and vie with their fellows in promoting good govern- ment, with justice and equity to all. Here we see the finger of wisdom pointing the way to purity of government, "Peace on earth and good will to men." Public ownership waves to us the banner of peace and plenty. C. N. COULTER. Brodhead, Wis. The Return of Snobbery. In Harper's for May, Mr. Howells, in the Easy Chair, thus laments the return of snob- bery: "Age can transmit civilization in its general terms, and perhaps this is enough; but apparently it cannot prevent lapses into barbarism. We were at one time growing out of the baseness of snobbery, and with much pains and great wit and indefinite illustration it did seem some fifty years ago as if we had passed the danger of that degrada- tion of the soul. When the fine moralist who once filled this seat was writing the 'Potiphar Papers,' the friend of man might well have believed that the human spirit would hardly crawl before any image of worldly greatness again. Thackeray had fought his fight against that hateful dis- honor, and people seemed really trying for a decent self-respect. The mood lasted so long that when society journalism first began to rear its shameless front among us we nicknamed it 'Jenkins,' and blushed for it. Who of the present generation ever heard of Jenkins? and who blushes now to read the last detail of every 'society event,' or to pore upon the portraits, instantaneous and dramatic, of the chief actors and spectators and all their kindred and acquaintance? To witness the newspaper hysterics a few weeks ago in view of the marriage of two amiable young people who had nothing in the world to distinguish them but their money, was to doubt if we had come far since 1840. "The vulgarity of the exhibition was bad enough; wealth-worship is the vilest thing in the world—far vulgarer than rank- worship, for wealth lacks historic grace and the mystical charms of the supremacy that comes by birth and seems of divine ordi- nance."

BORROWED PLUMES.

The sum of all civilization is in the in- crease of good homes.—Saturday Evening Post. By the abolishing of merely a division the Illinois Central railroad has displaced twenty-five high officials and hundreds of train- men and other employes. We shall some day build our towns and cities so that in no town or city, in Florida or elsewhere, a fire can destroy the homes of 10,000 people.—Post Dispatch. "It is only by labor that thought can be made healthy, only by thought that labor can be made happy, and the two cannot be sepa- rated with impunity."—Ruskin. The really vital and powerful tendencies of our times are toward a higher and wider form of social and economic organization— towards Socialism.—Encyclopedia Britannica. It is learned that J. Pierpont Morgan thinks of forming a volcano trust while in the south of Europe, so that the forces of Vesuvius and Aetna may—combined to reduce operating expenses.—Chicago Record- Herald. "Socialists want to make it to the interest of all to be honest, to make it to the interest of all to furnish their best work, to make it natural for men to love their neighbors as themselves."—Gronlund. "Do you think a man could save money on a salary of \$2 or \$3 a day?" "He might," said Senator Sorghum reflectively, "if he was drawing that salary as a member of a state legislature."—The Washington Star. Russell Sage says there is going to be a "black Friday" pretty soon, but his predic- tion gives no comfort to the public, owing to the fact that he has things fixed so that a "black Friday" won't hurt him any.—Chi- cago Record-Herald. After carefully reading Frank G. Carpen- ter's special correspondence to the Seattle, P. I. agent the laws and social conditions of New Zealand, it leads one to conclude in this way: "Partyism be damned; it's Socialism we want."—Lardeau Eagle. "The citizens of a large nation, industrially organized, have reached their ideal of hap- piness when the producing, distributing and other activities are such that each citizen finds in them a place for all his energies and aptitudes, while he obtains the means of sat- isfying all his desires."—Herbert Spencer. Evidently the railroads don't like that por- tion of the report of Lee Johnson, state labor commissioner of Kansas, which shows a decrease in the earnings of railway telegraph- ers. But this is not to be wondered at, for Mr. Johnson has a habit of giving the facts in his reports, regardless of the wishes of cheap labor employers.—Midland Mechanic. Till a man is independent he is not free. The man who is in danger of want is not a free man, and the country which does not guard him against this danger or does not insure him the means of a livelihood, is not a free country, though it may be the freest country that is. Liberty and poverty are incompatible, and if the poverty is extreme, liberty is impossible. The unrest which we call labor troubles is nothing more or less than an endeavor for the liberty which the working class are disposed of.—William Dean Howells. The paper trust has scored another vic- tory. Last week the twenty-six mills of the Columbia Paper Co., eighteen of them in Illinois, were sold under foreclosure and pur- chased for the combination, which had got hold of the bonds. The value of the mills is put at \$20,000, but they sold for \$40,000. As the companies had become insolvent in competing with the combine, so would any other small capitalist who should have at- tempted to continue the business. Yet paper, with lowest cost of production, is selling for prices 50% above those of two years ago.—The Union Leader. It can hardly be questioned that under So- cialism the inventive powers of man would be stimulated to provide machinery to do disagreeable work, and to render work now disagreeable as agreeable as possible. The inventive power of man now aims to increase the earnings of capital, and not chiefly to render the task of the toiler as light and as pleasant as possible. It is true that in proportion as you make more valuable, ma- chinery does disagreeable work. Now it is the essence of Socialism to insist upon the value of man; and it is evident that this new order could not fail to result in a new class of inventions and discoveries.—Prof. Richard T. Ely. Over in Illinois a man was convicted of a crime by one of the august bodies which the law is pleased to term a court of justice. The judge went to sleep during the trial, and the defendant appealed the case and demanded a new trial on account of the fact that he did not believe he had received a fair hearing. The appellate court of the state denied the plea, and suggested in its ruling that the trial, long drawn out, may have been con- ducted in such a fashion as to exhaust any- one compelled to listen to it, and that the judge could not be blamed therefor. In other words, judges are so gifted that they can sleep through the cases which come before them, and yet hand down the equitable rul- ings. It is just such things as this that bring the judiciary into disrepute. In some in- stances the verdict would not be changed if every one connected with the trial went to sleep, so gifted are the courts.—Typograph- ical Journal. A Soldier's Opinion of the Orient. The Filipinos are a bunch of trouble gather- ed together on the western horizon of civ- ilization. They are bounded on the north by rocks and destruction, on the west by typhoons, on the south by cannibals and earthquakes, on the west by hoodoos and smugglers. The soil is extraordinarily fer- tile, producing large crops of insurrection and trickery. The climate is pleasant and healthful for scorpions, centipedes, snakes and alligators. The principal exports are rice, hemp, sick soldiers and war bulletins. The principal imports are American soldiers, arms, ammunition, beer and tobacco.—From a letter by a Philippine soldier. Socialism the Remedy. "I guess if the Wall street speculation continues, the bank will need to spread thousands of copies of 'The Water Tank,' and give the public a chance to know the real ins and outs of finance as it is conducted under the present system," writes a con- siderable number of the people who open the eyes of the people—the papers in Wall street and other places will do the rest. Price per 100, 25¢ per 1,000, \$2.50.

Where the People Rule in Fact.

The following extract is from a Kansas City paper's account of an address recently delivered in that city at a public meeting: The "Initiative and Referendum" was the topic of discussion at the meeting of the Economic League at the public library last night. The discussion was opened by Judge John L. Peak, ex-minister to Switzerland, who spoke in part as follows: "Government by the people direct, by means of the initiative and referendum, has been on trial in Switzerland for about fifty years. Arising from the town meeting plan, it has spread from town to town, from city to city, from canton to canton, until twenty-five years ago it was adopted by the national govern- ment. It has been a blessing wherever in- troduced, and in no instance have the people ever surrendered it again, but have used it successfully in solving every problem of im- portance in town, city, canton and nation. "It is known that, singly and collectively, the governments in Switzerland are today the most popular, economic, simple and honest on the earth; that previous to the adoption of this system all these cantons that were governed, as we are today, by irresponsible agents or representatives, were suffering from similar confusion of laws, clashing of authorities, public extravagance and cor- ruption, partisan prejudice and personal cam- paigns, from which this country is suffering under today; and it is a known, and by the class of wealth owners, well recognized fact, that, the people ruling, Switzerland is sin- gularly free from trusts, syndicates and cor- porations. "For several decades now all emigration from Switzerland has not only ceased, but quite to the contrary now the Germans, French and Italians and Slavonians are flock- ing into Switzerland because of its better economic conditions. The 3,000,000 Swiss consume more commodities today than the 15,000,000 of Italians, although the natural pro- ductiveness of the two countries cannot be compared. There is no country, no nation on the globe, that can compare in quality and number of educational institutes with those of Switzerland, according to the percentage of inhabitants. It has the best and the cost-liest highways in the world, and not a toll- gate in its boundaries. The highways, as well as the telephone, telegraph, mail and ex- press are owned by the people. Sixteen dol- lars a year was found to be too high for telephone service, and they reduced it. "As the people direct control everything, lobbying, corruption and violent partisanship has disappeared as being useless. But little interest is developed for candidates for office, and all interest centers on the princi- ples or measures themselves. Law making is localized, not centralized; each city or county (commune) asserts its right to self-govern- ment—home rule being a corollary to direct legislation—hence each law-giving body makes only such laws as are within its proper scope; in the twenty years from 1869 to 1889, in- clusive, there were but sixty-eight laws passed by the legislature, fifty being accepted and eighteen being rejected by the people at the polls. The people, and the people only, have the veto power, and they have it on all en- actments. "There is a majority of the people behind every law in Switzerland. Who knows what is the case in this country? There no danger exists from violent agitators, as the exact position of the people to every measure is well known by everybody; here the din, noise and uproar of—often paid—agitators, seems to be the only criterion of a movement. "There trades unions ask no favor of any political party, make no bargain with any officeholder, as they have their own organiza- tion to make proper use of the initiative and dare not ask improper or unjust measures for fear of the referendum; here, professional politicians, so-called labor leaders—often mere agents of political parties—carry dis- sension into the union and cast disgrace on them in the eyes of other people. "There, partisanship always signifies prin- ciples; here, largely prejudice, spoils, of the choice between evils. A direct legislation bill has passed the house several times at Jef- ferson City, but has stuck in the senate."

A Word to the Boys.

Are you a good guesser? If so, now is your chance to put your talent to good use. Guess once. Guess twice. Keep right on guessing. The time in which to guess is the only limit to the guessing contest. It's a good contest. It's a fascinating contest. Even your Sunday school teacher can find no fault with it. And there is an education at the end of it. You're "IT."

The Socialist Automobile Lecture Van.

For several years G. H. Lockwood and wife have been traveling and lecturing from a wagon under the most inconvenient condi- tions. The horses got sick or died, and for some months they have been unable to take the road for lack of traveling facilities. They have appealed to the Appeal to help them get out before the people and preach the gospel of the New Civilization. They have been writ- ing letters and have some \$800 paid or pledg- ed when they shall have \$1,200 raised, which amount will be necessary to get a machine with such conveniences as will afford them not only locomotion but a place to sleep and to prepare the simple food which veg- etarians demand. The Appeal will go to their assistance. The following sums have been re- ceived for the fund: J. A. Wayland, \$100; J. E. Chapson, \$5; A. Sassaman, 25¢; Hartz- meyer, 25¢; Paul Eberding, 25¢; S. D. P. Clin- ton, Iowa, \$5; W. A. Sweetman, \$1. Total, \$115.75. Those who have pledged will please send to the Appeal and it will be receipted for, and unless the full amount be raised in a reasonable time the money will be paid back. Comrades, those who have some of this world's booty, come forward at once, and let us have the machine starting the highways and byways of the land. J. A. WAYLAND, Sec'y-Treas. G. H. Lockwood, Organizer, Minneapolis, Minn.

A Socialist Clearing House.

There is a great pressure for the Appeal to take a hand in the organization of the Socialist sentiment into some effective force. This would be assuming more responsibility than the Appeal feels it should take on. But the cries must not go unheeded. There are scores of local organizations of various names not attached to any political party. The Appeal will do this: Organize Appeal to Reason clubs everywhere, send in the name of the secretary and the Appeal will pre- pare and keep up to date a list of these, and upon application will furnish same to secre- taries of other Appeal clubs, thus forming a sort of Socialist "clearing house." This will

put thousands of Socialists in touch with one another, preparing the way for that im- mense time when there will be a coming to- gether of all the Socialist waters into one great wave that shall dash over the social system of capitalism, and wash out the stains by obliterating it from the earth. These clubs can be made the nucleus of the great Socialist party of the future, and will acquaint the earnest workers with one an- other in a way that nothing else could. The Appeal's "clearing house" will furnish the op- portunity for an exchange of ideas that will go a long way towards building up a great propaganda machine second to none. Think this over.

A Trust Meeting.

The Combination Leaders' Union was called to order by President Rockefeller. Minutes were approved as read. New delegates were received and obligated from the Tin Can Makers' Trust, the Whisky Combine and the Smelters' Trust. Business Agent Morgan reported that he is having good success in combining the dual organizations in the coal and railroad busi- ness; that the billion dollar iron and steel infant is doing nicely; that he had visited Bro. Hanna, of the Government Politicians' Union, and demanded that the C. L. U. be given the job of building the Panama Canal at its own rates, and protested against the government scabbing the work, and that progress was made; that he has his eye on the organization of several more industries to benefit labor. Received. Communication received from Walking De- legate Hanna, of the Government Politicians' Union, to the effect that Philander Knox, formerly attorney for the United States Steel Corporation, and an honored member of the C. L. U., had deposited his card in the G. P. U. and was immediately appointed attorney- general for the purpose of settling the hash of the bad scab trusts. On motion Bro. Hanna's union was unanimously and en- thusiastically thanked. An appeal was received from Bro. King Ed- ward, of the Rulers' Union, for funds to carry the war into Africa. The brother stated that the Boers were on strike and refused to recognize his right to collect whatever duty he pleased, and that they had hurt his feel- ings with their rebellious conduct to such an extent that he had locked them out. After considerable discussion, during which the members expressed their indignation in heated terms at such shameful conduct, Busi- ness Agent Morgan was instructed to confer with Bro. Edward and lend such financial aid as he deemed advisable. Roll call responded as follows: Amalgamated Street Railways—Delegate Whitney stated that the New England traction companies are being absorbed, as well as some in the middle west. Are arranging for a picnic on Three Cent Fare Grounds. Butchers—Delegate Armour reported that his organization was about to combine with Swift and Morris, and that a war of extermin- ation would be waged against the unfair Cudahy products. Cigar Trust—Building up. Secured control of the Havana-American's seven plants, and reaching out for more. Electrical Trust—Climbing up. The Bell secured valuable new patent, and the inde- pendents are forced to combine. Fish Trust—Sucker season is open. Lakes have free water, but organization is gaining control of what swims therein. Glass Combines—Another branch organized. Will close down soon to hold up prices and give employes a chance to get rid of their savings. Lumber Trust—Combining retailers. Musical Instrument Manufacturers—Union growing. Firms coming into line. Newspaper Associations—Kick against in- crease of price of print paper. Request that Grievance Committee investigate the matter. Refused. Oil Trust—Everything coming smoothly. Salary of President Rockefeller was raised to \$40 a minute. Paper Trust—Absolutely dual combine. Re- gard kick of Newspaper Association as un- called for. Trust needs the money. (Ap- plause.) Rubber Trust—Had to cut prices on ac- count of backward season. Request that the Business Agent demand of the weather man that he allow it to rain pitchforks if it wants to. Granted. Sugar Trust—Boycott still on Arbuttle. Smelters' Trust—Injunction defeated and Guggenheim joined the Union. Bryan is get- ting lazy as a Walking Delegate. Tin Can Combine—Raised prices 25% and gave 5,000 employes a prolonged holiday. Whisky Trust—Object to Standard Oil Co. raising price of fuel oil and benzine. Ken- tucky colonels threaten to drink soda water, but it's a bluff. Objection not sustained. Legislative Committee reported that Con- necticut and New York legislatures had made it easy to incorporate, and that judges in Illinois and Missouri had kindly whacked at anti-trust laws. Organization and Grievance Committee re- ported progress. Under good and welfare, Prof. Hadley, of Yale College, author of "Ostracism," "Mon- archism in Washington," etc., was given the privilege of the floor, and admitted that his scheme to snub the C. L. U. was chimerical, as he discovered that he must eat to live, and consequently he had seen new light. He hoped that his past errors would be forgiven, and that Bros. Rockefeller and Morgan would continue to do the liberal thing and trustify all the colleges. (Great applause.) After several delegates announced as in- iquitous and tyrannical the growth of So- cialism among the working classes, the meet- ing adjourned.—Cleveland Citizen. The People's Masters. The closing hours of the Illinois legisla- ture were marked by drunken revelry that the past history of previous performances in this line failed to parallel. The citizens of Springfield overjoyed at the success of the bill to provide them with a convention hall at the expense of the state, to cost \$150,000, spread a lunch for the benefit of the members at which liquor flowed like water. The legis- lators attracted by the spread, speedily in- dulged to such an extent as to render them incapable of further effort. The result was a saturnalia of disorder and tumult. They hurled books at each other's heads, danced, yelled, whooped and re-enacted the drunken and disgraceful scenes that have heretofore been the disgrace of the state. The fact that they had just passed a bill robbing the tax- payers seemed to give them an excuse for this performance.—From a Peoria daily paper. In the debate between the students of Mis- souri and Nebraska on the resolution "That the United States should own and operate the Nicaragua canal," the affirmative won by two to one. Which shows that the school boys are understanding the Socialist posi- tion.

