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Appeal to Reason.

J. A. WAYLAND

GIRARD, KANSAS, U. S. A., MAY 12, 1900

FOR PUBLIC OWNER—SHIP OF MONOPOLIES

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TOWARD UTOPIA

THE eyes of the progressive thought of the world are upon New Zealand. The little island about the size of Kansas in the South Seas is solving the vexed industrial problems that have overthrown all the civilizations of the past.

THE DEVIL INVESTIGATING SIN

Because the steel trust closed down twelve of its mills and threw 6,300 men out of the means of getting a living, congress rushes into the breach and appoints a committee of seven to investigate, and will tax the people many thousands of dollars to pay the expenses.

THE NEGRO AND SOCIALISM

It has before been elucidated, but will probably bear repetition, how socialism will act on the race question. Under socialism personal service would be replaced by collective service, such as the letter carriers give.

SOME time ago a bill was introduced into congress to add half a million dollars to the appropriation for pneumatic tubes in connection with the postal system. The introducer probably did not care a continental about the postal system, but there was a chance for somebody to make a spec out of the appropriation.

THERE is a certain lumber company situated on the line of the P. & G. road that taps the best lumber regions of Arkansas and the south. A few years ago its bookkeeper was found to be crooked in his accounts—being short about \$30,000. An expert accountant was called in. The state of affairs was demonstrated. The president of the company said to the delinquent: "This will place you behind the bars."

THE Cincinnati insists that if men got only 40 cents for making \$4 hats they would get only one-tenth present wages, when the government issues statistics to prove beyond question that men are doing that same thing today.

FRANK W. ELLIOTT, editor of the Troy, Kansas, Times, who was badly injured by an attempted assassination recently, has been convicted of alleged libel and sent to jail for four months and to pay a fine of \$100.

This Paper is Produced by Union Labor on a Forty-seven Hour Week Under Socialism the Workers Would Receive About Five Times as Much Pay for a Twenty-four Hour Week

A PATERNAL GOVERNMENT

THE definition of "Paternal Government" in the Standard dictionary is as follows:

The assumption of the governing power of a quasi-fatherly relation to the people, involving strict and intimate supervision of their business and social concerns, upon the theory that they are incapable of managing their own affairs.

That depends. If the government were one in which the people had no voice, then it would be true of government just as it is true of individuals who assume the people are incapable of managing their own affairs today and appoint themselves the captains of industry and politics and manage all the affairs of the nation, making all rules and regulations regarding business and social concerns.

We have in the United States today a condition in which the people are considered as incapable of managing their own political affairs, and a few men are appointed (called an election) to look after the laws on the theory that the people are unfit to know what laws would be good for them.

THE Railway World says: "An incident of the week was the shipment of \$500,000 in gold to France." Well, what of it? Suppose all the gold were shipped to France or some other gold-worshipping land, should that interfere with the regular eating and drinking of the American voting king?

AN associated dispatch under date of April 27, states that a Belgian woman was sold at auction in Galveston, Texas, for \$40, by her master, a Frenchman, who wanted to return to France, and slavery was not permitted in that country.

JUST AN INCIDENT

TWO HUNDRED miners, engaged in digging profits out of society and coal mines for some sleek, well-groomed masters living in Salt Lake, Utah, and London, England, far away from the hardships and dangers of the coal mines, were killed by an explosion of some kind at Scofield, Utah, the other day.

REPUBLIC OF THE FOOLISH

THE Kansas City Journal tries to be funny at the expense of the doctrine of socialism, which asserts that under a system of justice there would be neither crime nor laziness, and pulls out poor little Willie from the warm bed of a winter morning where he would both remain in ease, as proof that man is inherently lazy.

THE state is at present the only organism that can take and bring industrial order out of the industrial chaos. It is today political. It will remain political until the industrial functions absorbed shall predominate, and then the political state will give way to the industrial state, just as the monarchial political state gave way to the democratic political state.

CONSULTING THE VOTERS

I wrote Senator Pettigrew recently asking him if it were possible to have a resolution presented in both houses of congress directing that on the ballots at the election this fall be printed these two lines:

For the public ownership and operation of railroads—Yes For the public ownership and operation of railroads—No

Washington, D. C., April 25th, 1900. Mr. J. A. Wayland, Girard, Kan. Dear Sir—There is no way in the world that I can get a vote in either house on the question of the referendum of the railway question, for my resolution would be referred to Committee, and they would never report it.

Here is something that the average citizen, voter and "sovereign king" knows nothing about. The senate committee is composed of ten members—8 lawyers, an editor and a manufacturer in a trust. To this committee would be referred the resolution and unless the majority of the committee were in favor of the resolution it would not be permitted to come before the senate for a vote.

KEEP HIM OUT

Henry Clews' weekly Review says "populism, anarchism and socialism thrive on depression and discontent." Good. Then this country is the ripest field for their growth in the world, for there is no end of discontent and if you will ask the average republican and democrat how he is getting along generally, you will hear the loudest howl against conditions, especially trusts, that ever greeted your ears.

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THE SOCIETY OF THE FUTURE

BY LEONARD D. ABBOTT.

IT IS the custom nowadays to scoff at all social ideals. The words "idealists" and "visionary" are almost always used in a derogatory sense, for we pride ourselves on being a practical people and have no use for dreamers. The commercial world of today is a vast profit mongering machine, and it judges all men simply by their ability to accumulate private property. The only ideal that our generation will tolerate is the mean and sordid one of "getting on" at the expense of our less fortunate neighbors. Even the gospel of Christ has been converted into a religion of individual regeneration, and, this being the case, it becomes inevitable that Christianity should relegate its ideal to the "next world," but poor consolation for those of us who find in this present life quite enough to occupy our minds and bodies!

Those who are content with present conditions are obviously incapable of realizing the emotions of the idealist. Men who are satisfied that civilization should mean the aggrandizement of the few and the degradation of the many, and who desire no lovelier environment than the noise and ugliness of modern cities cannot possibly have their emotions stirred by dreams of brotherhood and beauty. But some of us are thoroughly dissatisfied with the life of today, its strife, its heartlessness, its artificiality, its shabbiness. We long to cast from our midst forever the black night mare of poverty, we yearn for fellowship, for rest, for happiness. To such the socialist bears a quickening message of hope and inspiration. This message is primarily one of industrial organization; it proposes that the means of life on the earth be controlled and administered in the interests of all. But how far-reaching in its effects will be the application of this principle! It will make secure the material side of existence and unlock the gate to the noblest social life that the world has ever yet seen.

It may be taken as an axiom that with the solution of the material and physical side of the social problem will come the solution of its moral and intellectual side. It is self-evident that men and women who are perpetually striving to satisfy the merely animal needs of their nature will in time become little better than animals themselves, and if proof were needed of this, we have but to turn to the slums of any city in the world. At the same time, it does not necessarily follow that a satiety of animal comforts will produce the highest mental results. On the contrary, luxury is often even more degrading than poverty. In this problem, as in most others, we shall find in the golden mean—a sober, balanced life—the real solution of our difficulties.

To future generations there will probably appear nothing more incomprehensible, and nothing more significant of the heartless stupidity of the individualist life of today, than our inability to cope with the material side of social life. Nature is so bountiful, and man's command over nature so marvelous, that it would seem impossible for poverty to exist in our communities. There is no more excuse for the perpetual and un-speakable poverty that shames every country of the civilized world today than there would be for perpetual typhoid fever. The one is a disease of the social organism, the other of the bodily organism, and both can be cured in exactly the same way—by paying due attention to nature's laws. If some obstruction is caused in the circulation of the blood, fever will result, if we allow national wealth to stagnate in the hands of a few monopolists, poverty will result.

Clever statisticians in Europe and America have lately gone to considerable trouble in order to bring home to men's minds the waste and the ruin of modern industrial conditions. A professor at Vienna has marshalled columns of figures to show that if the labor of Austria were organized in rational fashion, instead of abandoned to the blindness of competitive industry, three or four hours daily work from every man would suffice to provide a comfortable life for every person in the community. Such statistics simply supplement what must be immediately apparent to anyone who gives the matter a moment's serious thought. This North American Continent is more than capable of feeding the whole world, and the traveler is impressed by its undeveloped natural resources more than by any other of its features. In the face of this, what are we to think of the New York and Chicago slums, of the army of tramps and "unemployed," of the millions of poor struggling farmers, of the incredible meanness and poverty of our whole life? It all forms simply a gigantic object lesson of the unbalanced development of mankind. We have learnt to span the earth and sea with mechanism that would appear supernatural to men of an earlier generation, but we have not yet learnt to span the gulf between the palace and the tenement. We have invented steam ploughs and threshers that will enable five men to do the work of five hundred; but we have not even the smallest conception of how to grow enough bread to feed every mouth. The "trusts" have long ago proved beyond any doubt that the struggle of competitive units is a most wasteful method of carrying on a nation's industry, and we already knew that it was ethically wrong. Yet the political economists can find no room in their learned text-books for any application of this fact to national life; they hardly seemed to understand that such an application is possible.

The time is surely not very far distant when men and women will for the first time seriously face this most important of all problems—the problem of life. Co-operative organization of industry, based on the public

ownership of land and capital, will immediately make possible the practical extinction of poverty, and when once the gaunt spectre of Want is removed from our midst, the possibilities of social life become almost boundless.

Try to imagine the result simply of security. There is nothing more harmful and more lamentable in the life of our communities today than the fevered struggle for existence which has cast its blight not only upon the lives of the working classes, but even of the comparatively well-to-do. What is more common than the spectacle of "business men" whose whole energies are centered upon the acquisition of riches? They know nothing and care nothing about the truly noble side of life, literature, art, music; their imagination never rises above "stocks and shares" and the daily newspaper. The working classes are as much tainted as their wealthy masters, and the sordid, sullen types that one sees loafing at the doors of the saloons are the natural outcome of crushing work and degrading surroundings.

The gambler on the Stock Exchange and the poor, drunken wage-slave are the products of our present competitive society, and will alike disappear under more human and rational conditions. A secure life for all, that is the share of food, shelter and clothing that organized society would be in position to grant to all its workers, would wholly remove the chance element which is so conspicuous in the competitive commercialism of today. It would free men's minds from the bondage of perpetual struggle, and provide exactly the environment in which the higher faculties would find expression. People would at last have the time to cultivate the better side of their natures, which would find an opportunity to expand in an atmosphere of co-operation and mutual helpfulness. Commercialism, with its mean, sordid influence and its price valuation of everything in the universe, would give way to altruism and brotherhood. Production for profit would be replaced by production for use. Industry would become man's servant instead of his master, and the upbuilding of human character would be recognized as the end and ideal of all industry. The noisy and unsightly factories of today, with their vast apparatus for making goods and crushing men, will be supplanted by pleasant and beautiful workshops. The hours of labor can be reduced almost indefinitely. The bitter shame of our civilization—child-labor—will come to an end forever.

Under such conditions industrialism is likely to adopt new forms in harmony with new ideals. A high grade of intelligence throughout the community, together with the growing sense of solidarity, will tend to give less and less importance to "captains of industry." Guilds of workers and craftsmen will band themselves together in co-operative groups, laboring in freedom and fellowship, and all their work will bear the impress of this happy comradeship.

When people are ready to cast behind them the fevered struggle for existence and to live comfortably and rationally, they will be able to afford to decentralize the industrial conditions of today. Men and women will prefer to have their work near their own homes, and will object to miles of daily travel in crowded cars to and from their business. When land is owned by the community and administered in the interests of the commonwealth, there will be no opportunity for land speculation or the artificial raising of land values. Population will scatter, and the hideous congestion of today will be unknown.

We may be sure that "art" in its truest and widest sense, would thoroughly permeate a society based on brotherhood and fellowship. Everything that the hand of man touches is either ugly or beautiful, and we of today are content with sordid ugliness because our workers are so miserable and so poor that they cannot produce what is beautiful. Just as hideousness is the fruit of ignorance and misery, so will beauty be the fruit of happiness and freedom. The greatest monuments to art in the world—the wondrous cathedrals of the medieval Europe—were upreared by joyous and intelligent craftsmen, inspired by a religious ideal, and free and untrammelled in the execution of their designs. So in the future another ideal of brotherhood and devotion to the commonwealth will inspire men once again. The public buildings, town halls, libraries, art galleries, theaters, would afford scope to architect and artist alike in the treatment of their massive proportions and interior decorations. Architecture, domestic as well as public, is always one of the surest signs of a nation's true character, and a people such as we picture would make their environment truly noble. Freed from cramping considerations of cheapness, they could afford to discard wood, brick and the base materials that we see on every side today, and use good, solid stone.

There is another aspect of work in the future which will dignify and strengthen all human labor in a way which we can hardly conceive of today. Man is a dual creature with dual powers—physical and intellectual. In our present society we have separated the one from the other, to the obvious detriment of both. We have relegated to an "inferior" class all the manual or physical work of the community (thereby degrading and brutalizing that class), whilst retaining as the privilege of a small class the intellectual functions of life. We have divided society, as Ruskin well says, into "miserable workers" on the one hand, and "morbidity thinkers" on the other. In the future man will gain morally and physically by reuniting once

again these two functions. He will become healthier in body and more balanced in mind, and he will perform the necessary work of society with joyful ease. The hand guided by the intellect will make all that it touches a work of art. It will also be possible in this way to give real variety in work. Brain workers will be able to take out a few hours every day at agricultural and out-door work. The drudgery that can never be totally eliminated from toil might thus be divided between thousands of workers, and the crushing tasks which rest on the shoulders of a few poor slaves today would become almost inappreciable.

A spirit of craftsmanship thus running through the whole of national industry and making all work more or less pleasant, it is probable that the community of the future will deliberately discard much of the cumbersome machinery and mechanism of the present day. Inasmuch as machinery is used to overcome the drudgery of labor, its functions are likely to be extended, rather than curtailed. When machinery, however, usurps the place of man's intellect and ties down the worker day after day to a purely mechanical task, its value is very questionable. We are buried beneath mountains of commercialism today, and the workers of the future will lift this load from their shoulders and become once again men, putting their souls into their tasks. The cramping specialization of man's sphere today will be supplanted by a real expansion of every human faculty, and the cheapness that is sacrificed by this partial return to older methods will be more than compensated by the gain in the character both of the craftsman and his work.

Our cities today are obviously economic in their growth and development, and with the cessation of competitive strife would disappear the chief reason for their existence. Some will take to the country altogether, content to live amidst the fields and the flowers and the woods. Others will prefer the social and recreative life of the towns. In any case, the city, as we understand it, would be likely to vanish from the face of the earth. Towns dignified by ample breathing space, beautiful parks and noble architecture will seem as natural in those days as the loathsome squalor and shabbiness of today. In these days a coming men and women will no doubt prefer to live together in glorious Communal Halls, with cool courtyards and spacious gardens. Those who enjoyed the solitude and quietness of cottage life could have their own homes, and join their friends, if they wished, at meal times. The rustic life quickened by the thought of the towns, and the town life purified and beautified would each appeal to persons of different tastes, and might of course be alternated.

How far-reaching would be the results of such a return to Mother Nature! Men could not drink of this perennial fount without becoming ennobled and inspired. Nature teaches us on every hand to make our lives lovely and open and free. The great interpreters of nature—the Walt Whitmans, the Thoreaus, the Edward Carpenters—have wrested from her the secrets which shall finally redeem our social life. Only nations divorced from the country and living unhealthy, unnatural lives, could ever have upreared the modern city. Men who have once learned to love nature and to live in close fellowship with one another could never descend to the contemptible meanness of our civilized life.

It is natural to suppose that under a socialist organization of industry, such as has been described, the tendency would be towards equality of condition. Here again imagine a stimulus towards a nobler life! We of today are surrounded by cringing flunkies and overbearing superiors, and one hardly knows which is more detestable—the servility of the one or the vulgarity of the other. Our social casts are frankly based on the accumulation of money, and in the industrial arena the survival of the "fittest" is almost invariably the survival of the most selfish, the most cunning, the most unscrupulous. Half of human life today is wasted in the slums. In the future, universal education, universal comfort and universal leisure will make a new race of men, and give almost inconceivable strength and power to national life. Today we talk vaguely about the "brotherhood of man," but we tacitly concede that brotherhood in any real sense is impossible in a class society. Brotherhood is unthinkable without some measure of equality, not equality of ability or temperament, but of opportunity and condition.

Conceive the moral gain that would accrue from equality, as respecting our own lives and our outlook upon society. The thoughtless brutality with which we force all our dirty and unpleasant work on to other people would give place to kindly consideration and a feeling of comradeship which would make it impossible for us to inflict upon others tasks that we would not gladly perform for them. Servant and master would alike become merged in a beautiful fellowship, and society would for the first time really embody the spirit of Christ's words: "He that is greatest among you, shall be your servant."

The equality of producer and user in the field of industry would prove a great stimulus to sound and beautiful work. A herd of factory "hands," working for a capitalist master whom they very probably and often rightly hate for his tyranny, and to whom they are bound by a cash nexus only, find it impossible to take any real interest in their work. In the case of free co-operative communes, however, the situation would be very different. Instead of producing goods for

their master to sell in some distant market, they would be making articles of daily use for themselves and their friends. The incentive to good work would obviously be very strong indeed; the incentive to bad work would be nil. William Morris's dream would at last be realized of an "art of the people, and by the people, a joy to the maker and user alike."

It will at once be recognized that simplicity of life will be one of the first results of the New Order. If we and our friends are to do the necessary work of society, we will not wish to be burdened down with unnecessary toil. All kinds of luxury will surely disappear, for we shall have neither the time nor the inclination to waste our energies in the production of trifles that owe their existence today to the whims of selfish and thoughtless people, and are made not by choice but under the compulsion of the market. This tendency towards simplicity will probably make itself felt in every department of our life. Much of the clumsy paraphernalia with which we load down our houses, notably bric-a-brac and stuffy upholstery, could find no place in rooms of which we ourselves were the guardians and caretakers. The funeral garb of modern mankind and the costly dresses and jewels of wealthy and vulgar women would at once be banished from a society of equals. Starch, stiffness and "respectability" will speedily give way to beauty and comfort. Womankind will learn once again that true beauty is always simple.

In the matter of food the change is likely to be a radical one. Whether we learn to cook for ourselves, or allow our friends to cook for us in return for services rendered to them, the return to simplicity would be equally marked. In neither case would we wish to cause more trouble than was necessary, and we will make our diet plain and rational. It is probable that vegetarianism would largely prevail under such conditions as these. If we had to kill with our own hands the animals and birds that now come onto our tables, we should turn with horror from this flesh food. Today we have brutalized a class to perform this disgusting work, but in the future we shall feel more inclined to turn our attention toward the development of a humane diet.

The place of woman in a socialist society is likely to be on the plane of frank equality with man. Unmarried women would take their share in the national industry, either in or out of their homes, at the tasks for which they are most obviously fitted, e. g. sewing, domestic work, etc. Married women would be able to make their sphere in life as wide or as narrow as they choose. It is rational to suppose, however, that their chief duty and privilege then, as now, would be the care of the children.

It may be noted in passing what new dignity and sacredness would be given to the marriage bonds under these changed conditions. Today commercialism has cast its blight over marriage, as well as all our other relations. It rends the father from the mother, and the mother from the child, and pits them against one another in the market of competitive industry. It puts a premium on vice, because it does not guarantee to wage-earners of either sex enough to support a family. Marriages "of convenience," based on all kinds of commercial considerations, are so common as to scarcely excite comment. In a society of equals there could only exist one motive for marriage, and that motive would be love.

Under socialism crime would be almost wholly eliminated. Society today manufactures its own criminals by its ruthless crushing to the wall of all who have not the special ability needed in competitive warfare. The selfish struggle for individual supremacy naturally brings out all that is worst in human nature. The hordes of starving and propertyless men produced by our social conditions will always be a standing menace to the commonwealth, and the slums in which they live invariably become hotbeds of vice and wrong-doing. Almost all the crime of today owes its existence to the unjust distribution of property and there could be no possible incentive to theft in a society in which all were comfortable. Drunkenness and vice are in large measure due to the sordid and unnatural conditions of today. Our poor toilers, degraded by their environment and toiling amidst dust and grime, become slaves to the drink-habit almost before they realize it. They drink in order that they may forget the misery of their lives. The rich, on the other hand, are often drunken and vicious because they live such empty, idle lives. Socialism would do away with both extremes, and make a healthy and moral life possible for all. The great organizations which exist among us today for the repression and punishment of crime would become almost wholly unnecessary. For government and politics, as we understand them at present, the society of the future will have but little use. A truly educated community will at least learn the real meaning of "liberty." It will be free, truly free and fit to be free.

Look at this matter as we will, and whatever the standpoint that may appeal to us, the vision of human possibilities of a rational social basis is one full of inspiration. There is really no limit to what man may become, when once his soul is freed from the bondage of commercialism, and he learns to look upon his fellows no longer as enemies, but as friends and equals.

"How impracticable it all is!" cries some conservative reader, who is content to live in an ugly and miserable world without so much as raising his hand to make life noble. Perhaps it is not so impracticable as some of us think. Remember that every step in the world's progress has been impeded by the parrot-cry "impossible." To those of us who can regard history in its proper proportions it does not seem unreasonable that an era such as ours, which has altered the face of the whole world during the past fifty years, may inaugurate vast and far-reaching

changes in the near future. It is all simply a matter of intellectual conviction, and when once people come to see the justice and the righteousness of socialism, they will lose no time in embodying its proposals in the society around us.

Everything that makes for solidarity and association is leading us nearer the socialist ideal. The extension of the functions of State and Municipality is work upon which all radicals can unite, and the object lessons which England and other European countries have already afforded us will help to make progress along these lines sure and enduring. Municipal control of some small department of modern life may seem a puny object for our endeavor, especially in cases where capitalistic methods and the corresponding degradation of the workers still continue. We must always be ready, however, to insert the thin end of the wedge, and persistent effort in this direction will finally make possible the extinction of poverty, and lay the foundation upon which shall rise the great Co-operative Commonwealth for which we are working.

As socialists, we may differ in methods and tactics. Some may wish to confine their efforts purely to the political field. Others believe that more good can be accomplished by the practical examples of co-operative work and co-operative living. There is room for both methods, and each will attract men of different temperament. On one point at any rate—the need of educating the mass of the people in the knowledge of our principles—all socialists are agreed. Let us all join hands in this educational work.

Reader, is this "social question" nothing to you? Can you deliberately say that you care nothing about the way in which you and your fellows live together? If you are poor, how can you rest content with the squalor and misery which have been heaped upon you? If you are rich, how can you live in peace while your brothers are starving? If you are a Christian, how can you reconcile the selfishness of today with the Sermon on the Mount? If you are a materialist, how can you endure that this one life should be so mean and shabby? This is a matter from which none of us can escape. We are literally "members one of another" and cannot repudiate the responsibility which rests on each of us alike. Is it not worth a small effort to redeem human life from the degradation that chokes us? Is not the socialist ideal worth living and dying for?

"Let dead hearts tarry, and trade and marry,
"And trembling nurse their dreams of mirth.
"While we, the living, our lives are giving,
"To bring the bright new world to birth."

"Come shoulder to shoulder, ere the world grows older,
"The Cause spreads over land and sea,
"Now the earth shaketh, and fear awaketh,
"And joy at last for thee and me."

We Must Go On.

Dr. Frank Crane, in Chicago Record.

The day is rapidly approaching when no great business can be carried on without an immense capital. Today the business world is realizing that the trust is an absolute necessity. Competition is suicide. Now suppose the day fully come when the beef, transportation, dry goods, coal and other forms of business are absolutely controlled by respective trusts. Which, then, would be better, to allow these businesses to remain private in their nature, and thus capable of overwhelmingly influencing legislation to their advantage, or to make their managers political officers, directly elected by the people and responsible to them? To call the latter alternative "paternalism" is absurd. Which is the greater paternalism, to have our necessities of life controlled by men who are in no wise responsible to us and who have the power to control any lawmakers we may elect, or to give the control to men whom we elect and whom we can at will depose? The municipalization of all kinds of business which have become great enough to command absolutely any form of public necessity is simply the application of principles of democracy to our economic life. To leave such business in the hands of private corporations is to continue under a state of economic feudalism.

Wealth concentrated is swiftly extinguishing wealth scattered. The condition of civil liberty existing in this age is giving free play to the great natural law that wealth constantly tends to unification. To stop this law, to prevent the coagulation of money, would be to revert to barbarism, to undo civilization. We need only to apply the great principle of democracy to wealth, we need only to cover all enormous wealth units into the one great wealth unit of the public, we need only to bring more and more all power over men's lives into the hands of the great people; in order to make concentration of wealth to be the medium of a co-operative commonwealth. We must go on. We cannot go back. There is but one goal; it is to make wealth also, as a public power, a public servant, and thus to secure a government "of the people, by the people and for the people."

THE Mail and Breeze thinks this paper is headed by an idiot and ought to be suppressed. That is the argument of tyrants. That is what the czar thinks. That is what the German emperor thinks about the idiots who will not subscribe to his "divine rights of Kings" theory. All this because I showed by reasoning that it could not refute that the interests of employees and employer are diametrically opposed, it says: "The employer and employe ought to work in harmony and the employer who does not do this and who is small and mean with his employees is never a success." How about Carnegie and Frick and Pullman, and Rockefeller in the Cœur d'Alene, and hundreds of others? Are they successes according to your ideal? Are their interests and their slaves' interests mutual? Was the interest of the black slaves and the master the same? Should they have worked in harmony? My critic is well named—windy.

WHO DOETH THY WILL?

Mary Guersney.

A rich man knelt on the great church floor And prayed as men have prayed before. The longest of all on bended knee As he pled with the "Man of Galilee."

THE DREAMER.

He took a book from an obscure place, With a care-worn look upon his face, And turned the leaves in a careless way, To see what the good book had to say.

DIVES.

E. Ritchie, in the New Order.

"Dives, whence came this gold?" "Twas in a weakling's hand, and I was strong, I struck, he loosed his hold."

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

Rome has a municipal bakery. Princeton, Ill., has lately changed from private to public lighting. Canterbury, England, will erect a large number of municipal cottages for laborers.

Conn., are now in the hands of one syndicate, and consequently, as the Norwalk Hour says, "the syndicate has made the service poorer at the same time that it has made it more expensive." A petition in circulation asks the city council to take immediate steps toward starting a municipal plant.

made to public ownership and the cost for the first year under that system was \$64.19, the next year was \$51.85, and the year following, \$46.46. In addition the number of lamps has been greatly increased, far more satisfactory service is furnished, the wires in the central part of the city have been placed underground and the rest of the equipment is better cared for.

DYNASTIES, DOLLARS AND DOUGHNUTS. A Tale of the Fortieth Century. BY A. C. PALMER. JAYE GOOLDE, a shrewd, far-sighted speculator, lived in the sixteenth century. From an old Indian chief Goolde obtained a title deed to the western continent, with all the adjacent lands.

What Socialists Would Do as Mayor of New York. The New York Evening World asked John Harriman, John C. Chase and Charles H. Coulter each to tell what he would do were he mayor of New York city. Here is what they said: Job Harriman, California's Worker. If I were mayor of New York— I would reserve all franchises for the use of the people.

Is Municipal Ownership of Gas Plants Successful?

By John C. Chase, Socialist Mayor of Haverhill, Mass.

ANSWER, most emphatically, Yes! I am aware of the fact that there are those who claim that American cities do not make a success of municipal ownership to such an extent as such cities as Glasgow and Berlin have done. This is true only in a degree.

Looking Backward

You may advertise radical literature in this column for one dollar a line each insertion. If you have something good and show how to tell it you can reach 100,000 readers interested in such subjects.

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



This is the label of the United Garment Makers. Demand it when you buy clothing. There are now nearly 100 local unions, and the organization is growing. Remember that the union garment maker does not work in a sweat shop, makes only good clothing, does not assist in the spread of disease, is a factor in advancing the world to a higher civilization and not a mere labor tool. Ask for clothing with the above label.

If Mr. Wayland is so cocksure that his theory is a good thing—if his heart is throbbing so tumultuously for oppressed humanity—let him put his own business on a socialistic basis. If a profit sharing basis is proper for the employer who pays good wages it ought to be correct business etiquette for the man who pays his help \$3 and \$4 a week. Finally, if the corporation and other large employers are, as Wayland avers, robbing the people and depriving them of their just rights what is Wayland doing?—Star, Wathena, Kan.

Desiring to have its name printed in a paper that can carry it around the world, the Star avers the fallacy of socialism because it alleges the APPEAL does not give its employees but \$3 to \$8 a week. The APPEAL pays union wages and pays as high as \$20 a week. But if it did not, would that infer that a political theory was incorrect? Supposing a teacher of mathematics were dishonest, would that determine that the science of figures was wrong? The APPEAL does not take any stock in profit-sharing. Why should labor share its products with any one? It is entitled to all its products—and there is no wealth that labor has not dug out and fashioned. There is no other socialistic basis for industry than public ownership. That the APPEAL is anxious to have. All that Wayland possesses he robbed the masses out of when he was a republican dealing in real estate—every dollar legally, but none the less robbery. He has not made anything in the socialist movement, but has dropped many thousands, but if he had made it, it would not be either for or against the truths of socialism. Are you one who believes that republicans are such only because of the money they make out of it? Do you believe that corporation-owned trusts are better for the people than for the people to own the trusts? Do you not know that all corruption, all bribery of public officials, comes from the corporate interests that have the money to buy and are served by such bribery? Is it better for the people to have their necessities owned by the others than by themselves? Are you not carrying a pass on railroads, not for what you do for them but to keep your pen dry and say nothing? Do you not support men for office whom you would not trust with your pocket-book, yet are willing to trust with the public purse and the people's liberties? Is not the public printing the sole object of your great desire, regardless of how hard it is for the people to pay? Finally, are you not a leech on society, sucking whatever of sustenance you can from it and serving private interests instead of public interests? If the APPEAL has an impediment in its optic, there others who have no eyes.

SOCIALISTS IN THE FIELD

- Santa Monica, Cala., elected a socialist to the council.
New York socialists will hold a state convention next month.
Socialists of Knox county, Mo., have nominated a full county ticket.
E. J. Clear of San Antonio, Texas, is the S. D. P. nominee for congress from that district.
D. Burgess of New Whatcom has been made organizer in Washington for the S. D. P.
The Nebraska Socialist is a new weekly published by the S. D. P. branch No. 1 of Omaha.
Joseph Kelley, S. D. P. nominee for alderman at Spring Valley, Ill., was elected by 13 majority.
Utah branches of the S. D. P. have formed a State union. A. B. Edler of Salt Lake is secretary.
Marion, Ind., moved forward on May-day by electing two social democrats as members of the city council.
The vote for the S. D. P. candidate for alderman in the fourth ward of Pana, Ill., gives the party a place on the official ballot next year.
L. C. Tidball of Sheridan, Wyo., has resigned as the member of the People's party national committee for Wyoming in order to help organize the S. D. P. in his state.
New S. D. P. branches have been organized at Ocala, Fla., San Antonio, Texas, (German), Lamanda, Cala., Delmar, Cala., Van Buren, Ark. and Sheboygan, Wis.
Sixty-six votes for the Social Democratic ticket at Oklahoma City, Okla., was the result of the first effort. Oklahoma has a greater percentage of socialists than any state.
The last city election in Terre Haute showed a straight socialist gain of 140 votes, although the comrades were saving their strength for the fall campaign and made no special effort to make converts.
J. H. Copeland, now of Chicago, who managed the People's party campaign in Texas in 1892 and in Cook county, Ill., in 1896, and who is widely known by Texas and Chicago populists, is now actively at work for the S. D. P.

A manifesto has been issued by the English socialists and trades unionists showing that wage-rates existing in the Transvaal are higher than in England.

The man who sits on the observation top of the industrial house has much to encourage him in these closing days of the century. A new spirit has been born unto labor organizations. A new hope and aspiration, heretofore unknown, have come into the councils of the workers. Not in one place only, but in all places of meeting has this new factor made itself apparent. Not only hope and aspiration, but a deep feeling of determination has accompanied them, and the near future is pregnant with great events. There are a million and a half of organized laborers in the United States. There are more than that number in full sympathy with them. These men and their allies hold the political and industrial destinies of the nation and its future in their grasp. That they are rapidly coming to a time of exercising this power is apparent. Thanks to the APPEAL for first directing the attention of the American people to the wonderful change that union labor, acting in political union, created in New Zealand, the unions of this country have been attracted to the same course of action. This may or may not be scientific socialism. I do not care a fig

In 233 Next Week. Humanity vs. Patriotism

By Eugene V. Brewster. A good summary for busy people; boiled down things about present conditions, capital, interest, government, liberty, trusts, competition, co-operation, war, the single tax and monopoly.

"Sam'l on Sense"

From Sam'l Burdock of Hope Corners, Indiana. Who persists in arguin' with Si, though they ain't no use, fer Si's one uv them socialism fellers. You'll enjoy this.

A Model Municipal Platform

The one which Social Democrats will use as best showing what they stand for in municipal campaigns.

A Little Sermon

On the threatened starvation of 60,000,000 people in India, showing a method by which England might have averted it, which they won't adopt, not under a competitive system.

What Socialists are Saying

Some of the thoughts of present-day socialists which have drifted into the APPEAL office lately.

Municipal Ownership News

Progress of the movement in this and other countries, other items of interest to socialists.

WATCH FOR NO. 233

whether it is or no, but it presents the weakest point of resistance of capitalism and I would like to see the labor unions give, as only they have the organization to give, some measure of relief to the workers of this country by acting politically as well as industrially. That such is the trend of affairs, the following excerpt from the proceedings of the Georgia State Federation of Labor, in session at Augusta, as reported in the columns of the Voice of Labor of that city, attest stronger than any words of mine could do. Prefacing demands in almost the verbiage of the socialist platform, it says:
Whereas, The emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working classes themselves, as no other class has any interest in improving their condition, and as the combined wage working class represents the great majority of the people, in their hands rests the future of our free institutions, and it devolves upon them to replace the present iniquitous system by one based upon equity and nobility of all useful labor.
We regard it as the sacred duty of every honorable laboring man to sever his affiliation with all political parties of the capitalists and to devote his energy and attention to the organization of his trade and labor union and the concentration of all unions into one solid body for the purpose of assisting each other in all struggles, political and industrial, to resist every attempt of the ruling classes directed against our liberty, and to extend our fraternal hand to the workers of our land and all nations of the globe that struggle for the same independence.
I read it and breathed a breath of hope that has long been deferred. I knew it would come sometime. I knew the leaders of labor would sometime realize the stupidity of being tools for the politicians of the old parties, using their influence at every election to pull rich juicy chestnuts from the hot oven of labor for the capitalists; I knew sometime it would dawn on them that it would pay them better to cut loose from the capitalist politicians and serve labor than to serve the masters of property for the few crumbs that fell from their table; I knew that when they realized that they could better serve the people as officers from the president down, getting more honor and power than ever capitalists would give them, that they would make this move; I knew they would prefer to have the seats at the first table than to be beggars at the table of the industrial robbers; I knew that when they made the move in this direction that four years would put them in practically all the offices of the nation, as it did in New Zealand, I knew that when this time came, when they served the workers as they have served the skimmers, that it would result in such an uplifting of the people that they could never be turned back or be defeated; I knew that one taste of this sweetness would make them invulnerable to the bribe money of corporations, for their supporters could and would give them all things the heart could wish for. That time is coming. Men who have been kicked and cuffed about the country, who have been maligned as walking delegates, men who today are in rags and totally unconscious of the future, will yet be in the highest places, and those in the high places will be in the lowest in the estimation of men. To put it in words familiar to you all, "The stone" which the builders rejected will become the head of the corner.

The Souvenir. If you have not received your copy of the Editorial Souvenir please advise me by postal.

APPEAL ARMY HELPERS.

This is the roll call by states on May 1:

Table listing names and locations of helpers across various states including Arkansas, Alabama, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

A Contented and Prosperous Nation.

HAVE just become converted to the claim of the plutocrats that this is the greatest, most prosperous and contented nation on earth or in the skies. The evidence of the case is too plain to be disputed. We're a whoop-la country and no mistake, and any villain who asserts that there is any discontent or cause for it, is a public enemy and should be transported or hanged. And why this change of heart? Why the evidence, gentlemen, the evidence. I do not read newspapers, as a rule, because my eyes are bad and because there is nothing in them that makes a man wiser. But the manager laid before me the Kansas City World the other day and passed his long, bony, index finger over a few items with big headlines and said: "Things are moving." The first thing in the editorial column, in black type, was reasons why Kansas City was Great with a capital G. One of the reasons was "progressive and contented people." Good! I concluded, and turned over to see what the world was doing. The first scare headline on the first page was headed: "A Strike is Called—800 have gone out—Employers will fight." Well, this evidenced contentment with a vengeance. I was interested. Following the evidence of the witness I found the building trade had struck against the masters; the stone-masons had a skirmish with the contractors who wanted the earth with a fence around it; the iron moulders had revolted against king capital—all in Kansas City. Looking over the other columns I found witnesses of unimpeachable capitalistic character as follows:
Little Rock, Ark., May 2.—The motormen and conductors of the Little Rock Traction and Street Railway Co., struck this morning and not a car was in operation.
Toledo, O., May 2.—Big Four section men struck for higher wages today.
East St. Louis, Ill., May 2.—About 1,000 men are out and building is at a standstill.
New York, May 2.—Three hundred builders struck at Passaic, N. J., yesterday.
Detroit, May 2.—The coremakers demand \$2.50 instead of \$1.75 per day, and 150 are out.
Denver, Col., May 2.—Several hundred carpenters are out, demanding \$3.50 for eight hours.
Port Huron, Mich., May 2.—Ship builders demanded 15 cents per hour additional and 300 are out.
Cincinnati, O., May 2.—About 800 architectural iron workers struck yesterday for 10 hours' pay for nine hours' work.
Pittsburg, Pa., May 2.—Carpenters' demands were met this morning, but 1,000 bricklayers and 500 hod carriers are out.
Milwaukee, Wis., May 2.—The iron molders at E. Paulis' works struck yesterday. A general strike will probably occur this week. About 400 men are out.
Youngstown, O., May 2.—No strikes here. Plumbers, tanners, slaters and carpenters demanded increase of from 25 to 50 cents per day and got it.

St. Paul, Minn., May 2.—All the plumbers struck yesterday for an advance. The woodworkers postponed their strike two days on request of the manufacturers.
Racine, Wis., May 2.—Three hundred masons and carpenters struck yesterday. They demand higher pay, shorter hours and recognition of the union. All building is suspended.
Seymour, Ind., May 2.—All the section men and the extra gangs on the Baltimore & Ohio Southwestern in new work from St. Louis to Parkersburg, W. Va., have struck. About 3,000 men are out.
Akron, O., May 2.—Boilermakers and molders, 600 in number, struck at the Sterling boiler works in Boberton yesterday for a 15 per cent advance. Non-union men were wanted and trouble is expected.
Springfield, O., May 2.—S. M. T.—The coremakers went on strike yesterday, demanding a uniform schedule of \$2.25. Men at the architectural works also struck, making 250 men out.
Lincoln, Neb., May 2.—S. M. T.—One hundred union carpenters struck yesterday, demanding a nine-hour day and \$2.50, the same as they are receiving for 10 hours' work. They have the support of the Allied Building Trades.
Scranton, Pa., May 1.—S. M. T.—Ten thousand miners paraded in this city yesterday. Order was preserved. The 600 men who went out nearly a month ago, are still holding out for an advance. The parade today is held despite an order from all employers that the men should report for work this morning.
Detroit, Mich., May 2.—S. M. T.—Only two May day strikes are reported in Michigan.
At Saginaw, all of the union carpenters, numbering 100, are on a strike for an eight hour day.
At Ludington 250 freight handlers at the Pere Marquette railway are out because the company refuses to increase their pay to 30 cents an hour, an increase of 10 cents per hour over last year.
Cincinnati, O., May 2.—S. M. T.—True to their threat 350 ironworkers struck yesterday. The manufacturers refused their demands for increased wages. Six firms are involved. Work on several buildings was stopped by the strike. The demands are for a nine-hour day, with 15 to 25 cents an hour for in and outside work; time and a half for overtime and double time for Sunday work, and carfare for all men working in the suburbs.
Also strikes and riots in Cleveland; strike growing in Buffalo and four companies of soldiers put on duty; strikes and riots in many cities. Say, if this couldn't convince any jury that this country, at least, is all right, what would? And the eagle screamed. I have enough news to last me for a week. I vote that capitalism is the howling success, with an emphasis on the howl. Rah for McKinley and prosperity.
English Easter meeting. "Nothing on earth can stop the combination of capital in an international sense, and the only alternative of the future will be an international capitalist plutocracy or democratic socialism. It will mean additional enslavement or general enlightenment. Is there any man or woman who can object to or say that he does not believe in scientific control and scientific methods of production? That is all that socialism asks for."
Walter Vrooman, the American socialist who founded the labor college at Oxford, has started a movement for a new sort of Anglo-American alliance. It is a union of the workers of both countries through an international convention at Oxford celebrating the second anniversary of the first labor college February 22, 1901. It is proposed to have delegates present representing the workers of Great Britain and her colonies and the United States. The idea is outlined as follows by Frank Merry, assistant secretary of the Committee for the Convention of the English-Speaking Peoples: "Much has been said in favor of an Anglo-American alliance, but the question for the people to decide is this—Which Great Britain and which America are to be united: the Anglo-American plutocracy of speculators and money lenders or the Anglo-American peoples. The plutocracies of the two countries, indeed, are united as far as commercial matters are concerned, and claim the right to dictate national policies. It is for the people of the two countries to decide whether this united plutocracy is to govern them or whether they the people will unite into one mighty democracy that will lead the world."
Rev. Charles M. Sheldon, author of "In His Steps," was asked if he would accept an honorary presidency in the Canadian Socialist League, he having declared himself to be a Christian Socialist while editing the Topeka (Kansas) Capital as a Christian daily. Mr. Sheldon has replied as follows: "You are at liberty to use my name as you indicate if your definition of Christian Socialism means the application of Jesus' teachings to the earthly life of men. That is what I mean by being a Christian Socialist." As the members of C. S. L. agree with Frances E. Willard's definition that "socialism is Christianity applied," and with Mr. Sheldon's definition as above, Mr. Sheldon has been elected to the position named.—Citizen and Country, Topeka.
The Comte de Dion was recently fined for violating the law against working overtime. He allowed the employes of his automobile factory to work more than ten hours a day, and although they protested and said that the overtime was put in at their own wish he was compelled to suffer the penalty.
"There is a hopeful time in store for the socialist movement," said Tom Mann at an

FOREIGN ITEMS

A Socialist Congress is to be held at Rome.
Socialist dailies are published in Austria at Vienna, Prague, Cracow and Trient.
Baron von Hallerstein has accepted the Nuremberg socialist nomination for the Bavarian Diet.
The socialists and radicals of Copenhagen now hold 27 out of the 36 seats in the city's municipal council.
Overwork and scant pay have lately caused a very great number of suicides among domestic servants in Vienna.
Despite the famine the Indian government is now engaged in collecting its rents from the starving peasants of the afflicted districts.
Vorwarts says that during March German socialists were sentenced to a total of four years, eight months and four days' imprisonment and fined a total of \$315.
The municipal council of Brussels voted \$1,000 to pay expenses of workmen delegates to the Paris Exposition. The socialists made an unsuccessful attempt to secure an appropriation of double the amount.
An English authority states that 140,317 farm laborers have been thrown out of employment by machinery in the last few years, and that but 4,000 of them are needed to operate the machinery.
The death of Karl Oertel is a severe blow to the Socialist party of Germany. He was a member of the Reichstag and the Bavarian local parliament and had been an active worker for years, although but 34 years old.
A great many persons think that M. Millerand, the French minister of commerce, will succeed M. Loubet as president of France. Should this happen socialism will have a full inning in that country, for Millerand is in every way an uncompromising socialist.

This Ought to Interest You.

I have made arrangements with a reliable firm, by which I can enlarge any picture to size of 14x17, finished in oil, put in an elegant wide gilt frame, and furnish all with the APPEAL a year for \$1.98. Where 20 or more are taken in a club the pictures will go prepaid, ready for hanging up. And I can allow enough to pay the person soliciting for time consumed. These pictures are not cheap dubs, but those I have received are splendid copies of the original. Send \$1.98 and a photo. When you get it you will have no trouble in getting your neighbors to subscribe. Four hundred have been put in this country. When your picture is shipped I will write you terms that will surprise you. This will help you to assist in the propaganda. It is worth your considering.

THE Social Forum, the organ of Christian Socialism in America. Fifty cents a year. 341 Unity Bldg., Chicago.
UTAH readers of Appeal wishing state organized for Social Democratic Party send name to McQuibey, Box 103, Eureka, Utah.
Attention Southern California Workers—Having raised a fund to increase the circulation of the Appeal during the next six months, the undersigned offers a special rate for lists sent in from Southern California. An effort is being made to secure 500 new subs. before June 1. Forward in your letter and a self-addressed postal and the "special" six months rate will be made to you. J. B. Campbell, 128 Byrne Bldg., Los Angeles, Cal.