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THIS IS NUMBER 236

FIFTY CENTS A YEAR

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY

FOR PUBLIC OWNER—SHIP OF MONOLIES

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Appeal to Reason. GIRARD, KANSAS, U. S. A., JUNE 9, 1900

J. A. WAYLAND

NEW ZEALAND IN 60 DAYS.

BROTHER SOCIALISTS:—Excepting for a few months, the APPEAL has been drawing on my personal funds ever since it was started. The losses have not been heavy, have never been shirked and will not be in the future. But the paper has arrived at nearly a self-sustaining basis and with the aid of improved machinery that will cost several thousand dollars can be made to pay expenses. I believe there are 2,000 readers of the paper who are able to buy at once \$5 to \$10 worth of postal subscription cards, each good for a year's subscription. It will cost you nothing, as your money will come back to you as soon as the cards are disposed of. These added to the usual receipts of the paper will provide the necessary means of making the needed improvements, will put the box number to 150,000, and if you will act at once, thirty days will see the commissioner of the APPEAL on his way to New Zealand. All these will count on the \$4,000 in premiums, which will be easily paid by a quarter of a million list, and will give the paper such a push and boom that it will run to that mark this year. Will you help me as cheerfully as I have paid the losses in the past? I have made sacrifices for years; will you make some for a few days? The APPEAL is doing a great work, help it along. Don't wait until that tomorrow which never comes. Sit right down and send today for \$5 or \$10 worth of cards. Why wait for years for results that can be crowded into a few months? Energy and enthusiasm of a few have always moved the human race to higher planes. Who will lead the roll? J. A. WAYLAND.

THE Tulare, Cal., Register mourns the fact that the APPEAL has a "hundred thousand circulation and largely in California." Well, what kind of education have such papers as the Register been giving the people that they go off after such heresies as the APPEAL? Have you not had the making of the people by controlling the education of them? And what kind of a theories do you advocate, so, after you have had the training of the people in them from childhood up, that they desert your theories? According to Rowell's Newspaper Directory there are only a score of papers in California that have as much circulation as the APPEAL sends copies to that state! In another year the APPEAL will likely send more papers into the golden state than any paper printed in that state issues. It is therefore a factor not to be ignored. Why can not you idolators of competition have such circulations? Don't the people believe in your theories? Let me whisper something in the ear of the Register: California has more socialists than any state, and the converts are increasing as fast as socialists could ask. It will be the first socialist state, and will create a greater furor in solving labor troubles than New Zealand. Better get on the band wagon.

THE thieves whom this very honest administration put into office in Cuba (as well as other places) were getting good salaries, but robbed the Cubans and the government in the stamp business without need. They will get little or no punishment. Had they been poor men, whose families were in need, they would have been yanked to prison in a hurry. It shows that the people who head the nation are that kind of people—not only this nation, but all nations under present private property systems. The whole machinery of government is one grand scheme of robbery, and honest men who associate with it would be contaminated. Stealing is the rule, from armor plate, star route, ammunition and fortification works down. But only the little thieves are ever punished. They are held up as horrible examples and punished to warn other (little) thieves to steal no more, but leave it for the big thieves.

THE men elected to the St. Louis city council voted a few rich men fifty million dollars. Not only voted it clear of all encumbrances, but voted that the citizens should borrow it back from the fellows and pay an interest on it forever. I refer to the franchise given to the street car people. It has been watered fifty million dollars on which the people are compelled to pay interest. And it is the same in proportion in every other city. And the odd part of it is, that the people whose property has been given away and who are compelled to pay interest on their gift, do not seem to realize the robbery. But we are a wise people. We so much pity the ignorance and stupidity of the fools who uphold monarchy!

COMPETITION, doing business for profit, has adulterated every article of commerce, has poisoned not only the bodies of the people but has diseased the morals, the very souls, by the cheating and deception necessary to make money. Not only this, but even when a monopoly has been created, the monopoly raises prices and adulterates more than ever. It is so easy to swindle and deceive the people that the temptation is too great to withstand. If it were not for private ownership there would be no incentive to lie, adulterate, cheat, etc. Great system, this.

SOCIALISM is to control the Twentieth Century.

THE drudges wear rags and the drones wear raiment.

ARE you a taxpayer or a tax-eater that you should vote for this system?

EVERY labor union man who believes in government by injunction should vote for McKinley.

THOSE localities that keep the APPEAL postal card orders on hand are getting the most subscriptions.

YOU should help to make the box number jump 5,000 a week. A few men and women who will act will do it.

LOYD's new book on New Zealand, "A Country Without Strikes," is attracting much attention from the press of the country. It is a revelation.

HAVE several requests to publish the APPEAL semi-weekly. My dear sirs, I cannot get enough money to publish it weekly, except I go down in my pocket for it.

IF trades unionists would exercise the same fidelity to their interests on election day that they do in electing their own men to office in the lodges, they would control the nation.

THE difference between a labor trust and the other kind, is the difference between the owners organizing to protect themselves from robbers and the robbers organizing to rob the owners.

TRADES Unionists refuse to elect their bosses to office in their lodges, but they elect them to offices that control the courts, the police and the executive. Sensible? Well, now, isn't it?

DO you think you have sense enough to vote yes or no on the laws that control you? If not, you are too ignorant to vote at all; if yes, why don't you vote for men who favor direct legislation?

IF socialists would put the same amount of enthusiasm in distributing socialist literature that office-seekers do in working the voters for election, this country would be socialist in five years. Try it.

NO man is fit to hold office who has not made a study of sociology. As well might one employ a physician who never studied the human anatomy. And that is the reason the social organism is so deranged.

YOU can win the next election if you will put enough energy in circulating socialist literature and street talking. Is the end sought worth the effort? Empty some of your purse into your neighbors' heads.

IF 1,000 socialists would buy \$10 worth of postal subscription cards (40) it would put the APPEAL in a position to quit losing money. It would not cost you a cent, as you would get your money back as the cards are used.

IF you will give "New Zealand in a Nut Shell" to your trades union friends, you will do more to make them class conscious than any other thing you can do. They will elect their friends to office as soon as they get an idea of what laws will benefit them.

MANY of the papers are giving space to the methods of New Zealand in solving the labor problems. Everything that the APPEAL printed about it has been reproduced in thousands of papers. So much for your assistance in aiding the APPEAL last year.

THE people who do things for the benefit of the race get no pay or thanks. Those who work the people for office and profits get the pay and care nothing for the thanks. Yet we honor a Washington more than a Rockefeller or Vanderbilt—after he is dead.

EVEN paying Carnegie 21 cents a pound for iron that can be made for 2 cents, did not get good work as the dispatches tell that defective plates in the war ship, Detroit, has rendered it of no effect until it goes through repairs. Private incentive is a good thing.

ON no other theory than that he is a criminal could Matt Quay be refused a seat in the senate. And if he is a criminal—and the evidence must have been conclusive—why is he not sent to prison? Prisons in this free country are for the poor working mules only. The rich can do no wrong.

YOU noticed the number of books that were printed last week explaining some phase of the socialist aspiration? How many books can you name that tell the hopes, aspirations and arguments for the continuation of the present system, that is upheld by democrats and republicans? What does it mean?

WHICH would be the most sensible, compulsory arbitration that has proven so satisfactory to all parties in New Zealand, or having police, troops and judges using compulsion to keep the peace—and then not keeping it? It is the masters who are against compulsory arbitration. They would no longer be absolute masters.

H. H. Lusk, of New Zealand, Prof. Frank Parsons of Boston, and David J. Lewis of Maryland appeared before the senate committee on Commerce the other day in favor of Senate Bill 1770 in favor of nationalization of railroads. Of course they had no more interest in the subject than any other citizens, but only for the public good. Opposed were some of the hired men of the railroads. They had a money interest in their action.

EVOLUTION.

J. P. W. Salt Lake.—Yes, the APPEAL to Reason's answer to "Reader" regarding "State Socialism" was only part. What socialists want is not only for the government to own and operate the industries, but that the government shall be of the people, and the results of industry shall go to the people, as distinguished from state (Bismarckian) socialism. Look up railroads, etc., in Germany and a system of municipal ownership, to furnish a revenue for city expenses, thus lifting taxation from the proletariat class, but leaving the workers in a subservient and undemocratic position. Those who desire only state socialism are reformers, desiring to accommodate the property owners by lessening their taxes and at the same time give the money owner a chance for a sure income (without labor) from bonds. Those who desire a Social Democracy want the rent, taxes and interest taken labor with the profit taken from them. They wish to change the entire economic system. That is why they are revolutionaries while State Socialists are reformers. The latter's ultimate goal is to continue and palliate the evils of the present economic system. These are the reasons Job Harriman was eager to sign himself against State Socialism in his debate with Maguire, and at all times.—Class Struggle.

And what the Class Struggle says is only smoke. If the public owned and controlled the industries, to whom would interest on bonds be paid? If there were bonds, there would be ownership other than the public. When industries are owned and controlled by the public (government), the government will be of, by and for the people, as the interest of each in public affairs would then be as vital as it is now in his private affairs. The trouble today is that the public has not enough to do directly with industry to get that interest from the individuals, and government is permitted to fall into the hands of a few who make it their business because they make a living out of it. When a man's employment and his rate of wages depend on public functions, he will take a lively interest in the operation of public affairs. That is necessary before any people can have a government of, by and for themselves. It is just to get people interested in public affairs that socialists are agitating today. The socialist who assumes that we are going to mold a government of, by and for the people all at once, or who opposes all public ownership until all the people are educated and all offices are filled with socialists is, in my humble judgment, mistaken. The tendency of all public ownership (even the Bismarckian railroads) has been not to make money and lessen taxes but to reduce the using cost and shorten the hours of labor. When there are enough public industries to attract the attention of bread winners, they will use their social power, through government, to provide for sickness, old age and all other contingencies out of the public productions of their labor. Workers will never fully understand democracy until they learn it through the continually enlarging functions of the state applying to industries in addition to the USELESS political functions. State socialism will precede industrial democracy. Every socialist, rich or poor, desires to eliminate the interest, rent and profit taker. He has this desire because he knows it will be better for him. The state will never be the people until the state assumes control of industries, making itself so near to the bread and butter of the people that they will be forced to take interest in the state, not permitting a few to do the governing business as a means of living. In other words, we have too little government, not too much, or rather government today is about matters not essential, and should be made to control matters essential. Apply government to industries and it will soon be uncovered to the workers that they have no use for political employes. The people who talk in a way that makes one socialist feel that other socialists are not of the same pure brand, are retarding industrial democracy, but they cannot stop it. With some this is done through ignorance, with others to earn pay in the capitalist interest, in others to make a living in the socialist movement, by creating partisans who will support them under misapprehensions, when they have not the ability to stand in the same arena with all comers.

I am not a state socialist as an end, but as a means to an end. I do not condemn others who denounce state socialism and demand industrial democracy—we will meet bye and bye. Industrial democracy is only one phase of the development of the race to still higher ideals. Let us do today the duties of today.

ANCIENT TRUTH UNCOOTH. THE dispatches say that the English have crushed the Boer Republic of Africa. Good. All republics should be crushed. This nation favors monarchy. It would have been much better when Washington was fighting King George if France had not assisted, and this country would now be directly under the Queen. Either this is true or this republic is a lie. It permitted England to crush out a weak people struggling for liberty, as the colonies struggled for liberty, and saw the iron heel of the same England on the prostrate form of liberty without a word of protest. This nation is a flunky to monarchy, and is imitating the despotism of kings itself. But then we live in the greatest, freest, most intelligent country on earth! We do not teach our children to hate kings anymore. Kings and nobles, living in Europe, own and control our railroads, lands and factories. They are to be respected. Washington and his rebel troops were wrong.

IF you bet thousands of dollars on the rise or fall in the price of wheat, you are a prominent business man. If you bet a few dollars on the same thing, using other than a regular member of the board, you are a thimble, bucket-shop dealer. If you bet on anything, being poor, you are a criminal and on information can be imprisoned. Betting by the rich is never punished, but is heralded in the daily press. And the poor people are a majority and could make the laws if they knew anything.

THE cruelties reported committed by the German, French, Belgian, English and other land pirates in Africa are equalled only by the outrages against the human race committed by the Americans in the Philippines. Investigations show that in Africa, because the negroes would not bring enough rubber and other products on which the traders made profit, they had their hands cut off and otherwise mutilated. Worse than the cruelest savages. Men do these things for PROFIT. And they would not do them except for profit, which makes beasts of men. You will probably say that such things are not true. But if you will read Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," printed 1776, you will see that such and worse things were done to Englishmen in England not many generations ago, and for the same incentive—profit. But you never know the real meaning of things you read. If you did you would see as cruel and more cowardly things done and reported every day in the papers you take, and done right under your nose. But you are blind.

G. HIRSCH, one of the richest men in New York, a banker whose bank and personal strong box are filled with stock in local monopolies, such as gas, electric, water, street car, telephone, etc., made an address before a company of his pals in New York the other day, in which he proved to their and his satisfaction that municipal ownership was a failure and would not pay. Of course he is so much more interested in the public than in his millions and the method of their abstraction from the public, that his opinions are unquestionable! But just why the majority should support for office men whom Hirsch desires to enable his class to make more millions is one of the funny things that even Darwin's alleged monkey origin of men will not account for. Hirsch don't want the laboring people to have their employment where their votes can be applied to remedying oppression. The rich know that with public utilities operated by the public that the public would soon make short work of profits and bonded debts, and then how would the Hirsches live?

A READER wants to know "Why would it not be a good thing for the government to own and control the Philippines, if the whole people owning would be a good thing, as you claim?" If the government would own and control and operate the whole wealth of the Philippines, I think it would be a good thing, even though Washington City, like Paris, Berlin and St. Petersburg, is ruled by thieves. But it is not proposed that the government own and control the property of the Philippines. The property is to be let out, as it is here, and the people set at each other's throats to see which shall possess it and force the others to work for them. If all the land and machinery were owned and operated by the public, every person would take a lively interest in public affairs, for they would be as important to each as private affairs now are. The people would be the government then, which they now are not.

THE workingmen of New York City elected one Van Wyck mayor, to look after and protect the interests of the whole people from any encroachments by individuals. This system requires men to look sharp after their own interests, to get all the property possible to be anybody, and Van Wyck became the owner of \$100,000 stock in the ice trust formed for robbing the people of the city. He thus publicly stands as an enemy by interest of the people. The ice trust made him a present of the stock because he held a position that would enable him to more easily do the city. Say, Johnnie, but this is a fine system. To have the city own and control the ice business for the benefit of the people would be rank treason, so it would!! And the American eagle screams over a free and intelligent people!!

CAPITALISTS do not furnish working people employment. The demand of the public for goods makes employment possible. All the capitalists do is to prevent the working people from working until they agree (for wages) to give the capitalists (for the use of machinery which has been stolen from the workers) most of what is produced. The workers furnish the employers a living, but the employers never furnish the workers a living. So long as a majority of workers are fool enough to believe this lie of the capitalists (which is on a par with the lie about the divine right of kings) they will be living like slaves while keeping up a lot of sick drones in luxury. But I am not condemning the drones. So long as the workers have no more sense than to support the capitalistic system they are fit only for work slaves, while their masters live like kings on their toil.

O, you thoughtless socialists, that you wrangle over petty details, and waste your energy in misadventure. All that you quibble over will be forgotten on tomorrow, but the principles of social and industrial harmony are eternal. He is greatest who keeps his eye on the goal and never lets up on the education. You have a ticket up. Support it incidentally to the education. Next year the party will have new members, possibly different methods from either of you. See how childish is your contention. The APPEAL has taken sides with neither, cares nothing about the things quibbled over. Educate, and the future will iron out wrinkles and "make ancient good uncouth."

Will you kindly write your opinion on the following question which is often asked socialists. What is going to prevent a socialist if elected to office from accepting bribes and becoming corrupt—in other words, why will a socialist remain honest and sincere to his party and the people?—California Reader.

Pending the transition from a private property to a public ownership civilization, some socialist will likely fall under the corrupting influences that surround public officials under the present system. Socialists are just like everybody else, except in their convictions on industrial methods. When men have deep convictions on any theory they will suffer martyrdom rather than give up such convictions. That is what made Washington, Franklin, Adams, Henry, Jefferson and the other leading spirits invulnerable to England's gold. Benedict Arnold fell, but none of the others, yet you know it would have been a fortune to any of them to have turned traitor. Then there was John Brown. You could just as well have asked what would prevent the slave power from bribing such men if they were elected? Brown was not elected to office, nor were Lovejoy, Greeley, Phillips, Garrison and such men, but others were, and there was not enough gold in the southern states to have bribed them. Yet they were like all the other people of the country except in their deep conviction that chattel slavery was a curse and should be abolished.

Why, even the republicans, when elected on a demand for tariff or gold standard, vote for laws that bring about that condition, do they not? And do not democrats? Both may be corrupt and sell out to private interests on other matters, but not on the vital ones on which they have been elected. They have either deep convictions on these subjects or else fear to face their fellows who have sent them to make these special laws, whatever else they do or do not. Do you not see that socialists stand out against as great social condemnation and money loss for their opinions as ever did any set of reformers since the inquisition? Do you not see that such as are elected will be as true to their goal as have others who have preceded them? The few who fall will be nothing in the great deluge that is rising. In Germany, so far as I have been able to learn, and I have read everything pertaining to this phase, for I have met it hundreds of times, there has not been a socialist turn traitor to his cause, though fame and fortune have been offered Liebknecht, Singer, Bebel and others, for such treason. But they and thousands of lesser lights have accepted prison in preference. Liebknecht has been twelve times imprisoned for his opinions, and spends most of his time in jail, mistreated. By whom? By the very persons whom this government is pleased to receive and shower honors upon. Royalty. If there was nothing more difficult in the social revolution than getting people who would stand true to their colors, there would soon be a new social system based on public property. As it is, it is coming rapidly. Another five years and you will note wonderful changes from the present.

THE drummers held a convention at New Orleans last month, and told how the trusts are knocking them out of jobs at the rate of tens of thousands annually. Last year they voted for McKinley; this year they will vote for Bryan. But the trusts will own the property and employ whom they please and do business generally at the old stand in the old way. Then in four years the drummers will vote the socialist ticket; the property of trusts will be made public property and operated for the benefit of the public and the public will get relief. The drummers are getting their eyes open, but they would save much suffering for themselves and the public if they would come over into the public ownership camp at once. But they are coming, and that is encouraging.

ANNA GOULD that was, who married a French degenerate Count, recently paid \$280,000 for two pieces of old furniture that were made for Louis XV. The plain American girls do hate royalty! The atmosphere of America is such an educator against the regal buffoonery and despotism. And the American voting mules tax themselves by voting for private property in transportation to furnish the woman with the cash to do this, while they are too poor to buy an old, second-hand, junk-shop wardrobe! Ye gods, what fools people can be made! Ninety-nine out of every hundred people do not know that they in any wise contribute this money to Anna Gould or any other of the useless leeches that fasten themselves on society by reason of title deeds.

THE burning of the shaft in the Calumet copper mine, the richest in the world, owned now by Rockefeller, as are most of the good things in this country of the free and the home of the intelligent, brings to mind the story that the mine was discovered by the rooting of a pig. Which proves that genius would have no incentive but for private property. That pig would never have exerted its genius if the mines were to be public property! God made the copper for Rockefeller, and it is blasphemy to talk of it being for the human race. He is all there is of the race worth considering.

MANY the fellow who laughed at the socialists yesterday is marching with them today. Tomorrow you will be a socialist. That is how the human race is emerging from savagery.

IF you have never read "Ten Men of Money Island" the best thing you can do is to send five cents in stamps and get it.

# John Howton, President

BY LEO NELSON

I.

THE sun, bright with the glory that endows the universe with life, flames its rays along the once beautiful palisades of the Hudson. From my study I can see the dome of Grant's tomb rising grandly against a sky of blue and gold. Over the river a light mist suffuses, but fading rapidly. Day wakes to life the panorama of action wherein men play their many parts. Nature, always lovely, background for mankind so often evil. A fitting moment surely to begin my romance—one I have had in mind these many days.

If circumstance had not broken in so brusquely upon the pleasant plot I had outlined for my story—England and America united against the evil elements of civilization—socialism and equality—synonyms for the undercurrents that seek ever to drag down the noble ideas of leisure and culture! So very am I tempted to write not what was but what might have been! A charming plot, daintily conceived, all gone away because of blatant happenings unforeseen.

Rosmond will throw this at me too, in most execrable taste, just because I chose him confidant of the pretty picture I had in mind to paint. Well, old man, you have made fitting recompense for your unseemly jests and critical remarks—I forgive you freely—now that all is over.

So without intruding too much upon you I shall essay my plain tale without further parley, and, indeed, more delay is unnecessary, for I had just laid down the foregoing when Rosmond broke into my sacred study most rudely, and asked me what I was doing. When I smiled forgivingly at his undue roughness and hinted at the tale I had spoken of before he burst into a laugh.

"Hold up, my boy, soon you will have history to tell, not idle tales," he cried.

"A truce, Rosmond," I replied. "How can I write if you are to disturb my thoughts in his fashion?"

"Oh, it isn't to disturb you," he went on, imperturbably, "but to tell you of great events which you, in contempt of newspapers, have overlooked. What think you of the administration that aims to compose all the idols of socialism into most grave realities?"

"What do you mean?"

"Why you know the socialists have carried everything and all the forces of government are in their hands."

"True enough, but what of it?" I answered yawning. "So long as none of the prophecies of our fearing colleagues have come to pass, what difference does it make!"

"Oh, just this," he laughed, "you had better delay your epic awhile and try to compose war odes and battle hymns, for before many suns we shall see such a war as history has not known!"

"What a jest!"

"If you will have it so—but the British ambassador has been recalled!"

"And the American—"

"Has received his passports!"

"By Jove! when did all this happen?"

"Saints protect us," cried Rosmond, sympathetically, "what a historian! Here you are describing all sorts of wondrous encounters which, pardon, dear boy, exist in your mind alone, when out in the world a real conflict is imminent. Heaven save us from the wisdom of *balles lettres*!"

"Bah, Rosmond, no irony! What is this you are telling me?" To this he replies that I must drop everything and come and see for myself, and, indeed, that I should be already obtruding itself upon me. So up I get and together we go forth—and thus my war story is smashed! Forgive me, gentle reader.

II.

Wise, too, I was to go with Rosmond: As soon as I issued from my habitat I realized that something unusual was in the air. Boys were calling "Wuxtras!" all about the war! and I started to procure one of the flaming sheets but Rosmond restrained me.

"What's the use," he said, "in twenty minutes we shall be down town and this news is two hours old now, I'll warrant."

I drew back peevishly, for something of the common excitement was in my blood already and I would have rebelled had we not soon been descending to the "underground."

On the car every other man had a paper. Nearly all were reading intently and no other symptoms of the intensity of the popular excitement were in evidence except in the forward part of the car where one person was breaking the general rule. A wisecrack was debating in loud tones the outcome of the war to an admiring group. That he was telling of quick triumph goes without saying.

Rosmond and I had, by a stroke of ill luck, taken an accommodation and, the wearying call of "next stop" was beginning to grate on my nerves when we reached Park Row. The journey had seemed interminable and I breathed a great sigh of relief when it was ended. Ignoring Rosmond I purchased an extra and learned, from amazing head lines, that England had declared war on the United States and rumor added a story of European coalition against us. "No Friends Abroad," roared type six inches high, and below was a dismal hint of naval battle in the West Indies in which an American cruiser had been sunk. Fortunately it was absurd on its face, for there had not been time enough for it since the declaration of hostilities. At least I thought so.

What were the facts up to this time? Briefly as follows:

After the fiercest campaign in the history of American politics the Socialist party had carried the presidency and both houses of congress. Backed by an unprecedented majority all effort to halt their grasp on law making and executive branches had melted into thin air. The forecasts of those finan-

cial magrates who had dreamed before election, of opposing the people's choice, had dissipated into nothing. West, south and half the east were too potent to contend against.

The new party had not disappointed its votaries. Immediately on taking the oath John Howton, "President of the United States and Arbitrator of Outlying Territories," had called an extra session of congress. Out of sessions stormy beyond precedent there issued, in rapid succession, most radical ideas in legislation. One of the first principles of this party was "American wealth for the American people" and they had not hesitated to give this crude conception the form of law. Alien ownership was abolished and at one stroke more than a billion dollars worth of foreign investment was wiped out. A section of the bill provided that foreign holders who became American citizens would still preserve their rights, but the greater portion of this wealth being held by titled persons escape for them was impossible. It had been discovered too, oddly enough, that a large part of this property was owned by ruling European families. Under the liberal competitive laws of the United States these had foreseen safety here when their own subjects might rebel against them. Oh, irony of fate! England, France and Germany were principally involved in the loss. Socialists in the two latter countries applauded the radicalism of the new American regime, but their praise was swallowed up in the roar of militarism. From the first, possibility of war had been foreseen, but even astute financiers had believed that the threat of overwhelming numbers would tend to silence socialistic propaganda. Indeed it was an open secret that despairing of other ways of checking the new political force some of these had secretly encouraged the Alien Act in hope of swamping the administration in international difficulties. Verily, they had reckoned wisely, I thought, for heaven only knew what the next few hours would bring forth.

The sudden antagonism of Europe had resulted as the magnates hoped. So peremptory was the demand from abroad for nullification that the socialists got no further in their program than to absorb the railroads of the nation—a thing which we were about reconciled to, anyway. Everyone, I think, had about recognized the inevitableness of this step after the corrupting influence of the transportation systems through three national elections. The country had halted, therefore, in its mad plunge into the unknown. War—to be or not to be—was now the issue. Would the administration recant? Could the dominant party parley—and survive—or would it dare attempt this mad battle in which it must, perforce, take up the gauntlet of a world in arms! Hours would tell and they were passing rapidly.

Who was John Howton upon whose shoulders so fearful a load was suddenly cast? He was one of those anomalies found only in the United States where too liberal political privileges have degenerated into pure license. Born on a farm he had, at the age of sixteen, wandered to a city. There, after many hardships, he had gone forth again as a veritable tramp and had crossed the continent twice on foot, or by rides stolen on railroads seeking work, as he claimed. At the age of twenty-five he had anchored, as it were, in an Iowa town of some ten thousand inhabitants, and there he really worked as a mechanic, for three years. Somewhat above his fellows mentally he had become an omnivorous reader besides attaining some reputation for his knowledge of electrical construction. A gentleman of means became interested in him and had offered to pay his expenses in a technical school, but Howton had refused this liberal philanthropy, being, as he was, even then, an extremist in his views. His reply to Mr. Edwards had been one of the slogans of the campaign: "No charity, only justice!" He said society owed him an education, but having refused it to him he would have it anyway through his own exertions. Singular as it is, Mr. Edwards still admired him in spite of his moral perversity, and had finally loaned him a sufficient sum to carry out some of his educational ideals. Whether or not the amount was ever repaid is unknown. The man rose step by step to an advanced stage in his trade. At thirty he had attained some eminence as an electrical engineer. Then, to the amazement of his friends, he dropped active pursuit of what had become a profession and on a small competence which he had accumulated he began an active career as a public agitator. He plunged as deeply into Marx, Bellamy and the rest of them as he had formerly into electricity. Gifted with an unfortunate command of language he soon attracted attention with his pen. Declaring himself a socialist he was greeted with open arms by the malecontents. His words became potent with influence. At thirty-five he was in congress. At forty they ran him for the senate, but sanity triumphed and he was defeated. At forty-five, through the most unheard-of turn of events, he found himself president of the United States, backed by a sympathetic congress! Too pitiful a tale to tell, almost, if simple truth did not compel it.

The man, himself, was a paradox. Ordinarily quiet and retiring in manner he became, when opposed, the very spirit of inflexibility. His partisans called him the Jackson of the Twentieth Century. Only once had he been known to be violent. When told that if elected to the presidency he would never be permitted to fill the office, he had risen from his chair with a fierce gesture and exclaimed: "The very gods cannot prevent it!" This, too, had been a political rallying cry.

Enough for the present that he was un-

married, his friends claiming the "people" were his last and only love. There is a rather pretty story of disappointment in an affair of the heart during his days of poverty, but I shall not inflict it on you. That's the man; now for the events.

III.

Up in the "World-Journal" office we found the latest dispatches, some true, the most of them not. Communication with Europe was undisturbed. Wireless signaling precluded those troubles which once threatened isolated states on the outbreak of hostilities.

French and German ambassadors had withdrawn from Washington and were already on the high-seas. Congress was in continuous session. A call for two million men had been issued and was being responded to with alacrity. The North Atlantic squadron was at Boston, the South Atlantic off New Orleans. Two powerful fleets were at Hampton Roads and Key West. Many fine vessels were in foreign waters; unfortunately, the administration preceding had sent them to distant stations just before going out of office. In the Pacific there was a strong squadron at San Francisco, a smaller in Puget Sound, and a considerable number of cruisers with four monitors were at Manila. On the whole the defensive resources of the country were well placed for the first shock of battle.

All this I gleaned from rapid perusal of numerous bulletins and remarks of Lawton, Rosmond's friend, news editor of the paper. From abroad reports were not so reassuring. A fleet was assembling off the Irish coast which in numbers exceeded our combined Atlantic squadrons. So rapidly did these reports of powerful fleets forming in foreign waters come in that a perceptible silence was observable in the room. Each recognized, involuntarily, the life and death nature of the struggle before us.

"Here is something, at last," said Lawton, suddenly, as he scanned a new bulletin. "Read it aloud, Rosmond."

"U. S. Cruiser New York sunk off Boulogne by French battleship, *Charlemagne*. Intercepted in effort to escape through channel to Atlantic." "Thank God, she wasn't captured, anyway!" Rosmond added, "and I don't doubt the Frenchman knows he was in a fight."

Another dispatch said only twenty men of the New York were saved. Above the water line the ship had been a complete wreck, but the captain steadfastly refused to strike his colors. The "*Charlemagne*" put back into Toulon practically a wreck and with half her crew killed and wounded.

Now began that fearful tale of disaster which makes an American shudder to this day. There came, in quick succession, news of destruction of approaches to the Nicaragua Canal; three gunboats, homeward bound, were overtaken at the Azores and sunk by two armored cruisers flying the British flag. In a desperate battle off Brazil three first-class protected cruisers, *Omaha*, *Louisville* and *Richmond*, were sunk by British battleships, *Royal George* and *Hannibal*. The fearful list was completed with an item from Paris which said that six American ships, including the battleship *Texas*, had been sunk off Gibraltar while attempting to escape through the strait at night.

"Good Heavens, if this lasts much longer our navy will be a thing of history!" I exclaimed, almost in agony at the appalling number of defeats. "What does John Howton think of himself now, I wonder?"

Lawton wheeled around quickly. "Howton is an American," he said, with considerable heat, waving a finger menacingly the while, "and what's more he's a man. Wait, wait," he continued, impetuously, "don't you see these losses are all due to overwhelming forces. Let every man support the government!"

"Not government as such," I replied, with dignity, "but the reckless men who dominate it,"—and I would have said more, for the moment impressed me as opportune to bring home to some the evils they had brought on their country by selecting this administration "*Harum Scaram*," as it had been well called. I say I would have continued, but Rosmond stepped in at this juncture:

"No more of this, either of you," he said, decisively, "we will discuss it when the war is over. Meanwhile, Lawton, au revoir, and I hope the tide will have turned by morning. Old man, (to me) let us go uptown."

Of we went. Outside, the city was a wonderful spectacle. A mob of thousands filled Park Row and City Hall park, waiting for news on the great bulletin boards. Through all that weary day not a morsel of comforting intelligence had appeared. Only tragic repetition of naval disasters in distant seas. The result was a quiet, though intensely eager crowd. Though filled with all the enthusiasm that a war's beginning always brings no shouts were heard, for no one dared to make demonstration in face of successive defeats. The singular silence was oppressive. My heart throbbed in sympathy, involuntarily. With all their weaknesses these were my countrymen. That host of staring eyes, that dreadful silence—they hover round me yet!

IV.

At Rosmond's solicitation I accompanied him to Washington. He was entirely absorbed in the war, as who was not? There the excitement of New York was repeated.

Three days had passed since the declaration of hostilities. In that time thirteen American war vessels had been sunk and a large number of merchantmen captured. The great squadrons in our harbors still tugged at their anchor chains, save for a few cruisers patrolling the coast. On land, however, the greatest activity prevailed. Three hundred thousand troops had invaded Canada. Montreal and Quebec had been taken with light resistance. The Canadian forces, numbering about two hundred thousand, were in retreat toward the coast, and an additional army of one hundred thousand Americans was trying to intercept them for the purpose of driving them back on the main army. Several engagements had occurred between our fleet in Puget Sound and

the batteries of Esquimaut, but without decisive results. All eyes were still fixed on the broad reaches of ocean which are America's great natural defense.

Time began to lag except for the bustle of preparation. At the ship yards shifts of men worked day and night on new vessels or repaired old ones. At the coast defenses vigilance never relaxed. Sensitive electric devices signaled approach of ships while they were still fifty miles out of sight. The monotony of life to the men was varied by incessant target practice. Reserve gun crews were drilled, new officers instructed—for we had long since discarded the fallacious system of former times when officers required West Point or Annapolis credentials. The road to fame was an open highway to all.

Interest centered in the acts of the government. Forty-eight hours after declaration of war the administration had placed an embargo on all American exports. Neutral nations were not barred, as we were unable to defend our commerce en route to their ports. This radical step paralyzed extensive branches of industry at one stroke. Millions of bushels of wheat and other cereals, and hundreds of shiploads of produce, put back to piers and elevators on the promulgation of this decree. The purpose, while good, was threatened with defeat owing to the resulting economic conditions. Would the government survive so radical a course, in spite of the blow entailed on Britain? Conservative minds saw in it an error beyond correction. Personally, it was with some satisfaction I anticipated the defeat this measure presaged for our modified Jack Cade. The inability of a party such as this to wage war had been prophesied by far-seeing men. Events were confirming their predictions.

Every step now taken by Howton only strengthened the forecasts of the prophets. A group of distinguished bankers had early hastened to Washington eager to assist the government in its extremity. The new secretary of the treasury had re-used them any satisfaction and had advised them to wait until the administration's plans were formulated. In an interview with the President they were informed that no bonds would be used to carry on the war, but that treasury notes would be issued from time to time. To complete the stultification of public credit Congress rushed a measure which deprived these notes of their gold redemption feature and made them receivable for all dues, public and private.

I wish to dwell only casually on this financial phase of our history at that time, and point out such features merely to show the extreme folly of the system inaugurated by the socialistic regime which afflicted us. The results were quick and decisive enough. Sinking American cruisers proved trifling to the storm raised in protest against the Embargo and Finance Acts. All the best interests of the country opposed it, and they were joined by the hosts of workmen who suffered from cessation of industry. A great riot occurred in Chicago and another in Philadelphia. Fifty thousand troops were stationed at each city and the promised reign of brotherhood degenerated into an oligarchy of force. In spite of my natural sorrow at human suffering I could not but rejoice, inwardly, at the sorry plight of the radicals.

Meanwhile the air was filled with vague rumors. At the White House, conferences between the President and his advisors extended far into the night. The largest room in the building had been converted into a war chamber. At a glance one could locate the ships of friend and foe. A dozen telegraph recorders buzzed constantly. As each move of importance came through the ether it was reported to Howton. He, in a way, seemed equal to the emergency, and, at least, justified his reputation as a tireless worker. It was whispered he had not slept for three days and nights, but to the eye it was not distinguishable. Only a slight pallor and a darkening of the eyes. His mind evidenced many phases of real genius. Justice compels me to say his intelligence seemed everywhere. Could he grasp the portentous situation now confronting us, however? At home, threat of civil war—abroad, a world against us!

V.

Two weeks passed with no sign of the enemy. The position of their fleets was known, for secrecy in war was now all but impossible. Causes unknown to the general public delayed the descent on our coasts. The country was settling down to the "humdrum" of "no news yet"—though most amazing rumors were prevalent. Interest, for the time, centered on industrial questions, for they had reached an acute stage. In the midst of impending calamity the country was startled by a proclamation of Howton's in which he declared that some enterprises embraced by a group of our largest manufacturing companies would be conducted, hereafter, as governmental functions. The change was inaugurated without delay. The wage system was revolutionized, a general advance in remuneration taking place, and hours of labor were materially reduced. The problem of compensating the owners was vested in a council of adjustments authorized, simultaneously, by an act of Congress. The members were appointed by the president. At a bound the administration had carried its paternalistic policy into the major part of the manufacturing trades, acting without regard to the common welfare. It seemed little short of madness to thus concentrate energy on internal relations when a public enemy was at our very doors. The plan was daring enough, I admit, but its advocates displayed a deplorable sense of the national danger. Would they face the enemy with the same assurance they imposed upon public tolerance?

The country was already stirred to its depths by our unparalleled losses at sea. Bitter denunciation of the government came from the seaboard cities and in New York, an executive that hailed before a common enemy to carry out Utopian ideas was held up to a deserved ridicule. A patriotic gathering in

New York, attended by many representatives of our best business interests, adopted strong resolutions denouncing the administration for its uncalled for onslaught on internal affairs, when the very existence of the nation was perhaps in doubt. The burden of the meeting was "Wait! Wait until the war is over. Then the country will have leisure to discuss economic problems." Wait, echoed all conservative influences, don't pander to a populace. In this connection I cannot refrain from giving an extract from the Westminster Gazette (London) commenting on the new American policy:

"The die is cast! Howton, the artisan, has resolved, evidently, to give his countrymen a heavier dose of his radical cure for poverty than that he has administered already to foreign investors. How do the conservative interests in the East like the spoliation doctrine at close range? Perhaps, before long, they will welcome our fleets as veritable saviors from Sansculottism. It cannot be denied that the reign of mob foreseen by Macaulay has descended like a blight on the once republic."

And in my heart I had to acknowledge the truth of it. Verily, we are on evil times! War is a welcome chaos to this degradation of the state.

And now war entered on a second stage. In a series of desperate battles the Canadian forces were almost exterminated. Excepting some sea coast cities fortified as naval stations the Province was part of the United States. This quick success in the North quieted the unrest at home, giving the country sufficient excitement to allay its feverish war-pulse.

Esquimaut and Halifax were isolated, except from the sea. They had to depend on their stores. No attempt had been made, as yet, to storm them from the water. Our fleets still floated in peaceful harbors. Yet the time for action had come. It was known that a fleet of thirty ships had left Bantry Bay and was coming to the assistance of the Canadians. An attack on Boston or New York was a matter of days only, unless a successful naval battle gave us a breathing space.

Following on the heels of this came news of two other fleets bearing down on us—one French, the other German. Preparation by the allies was evidently complete. In addition to vessels of war great convoys of troopships were also en route destined to retake Canada, no doubt. A proclamation of the president had made this part of the United States.

VI.

Three days later the country learned, for the first time that an American fleet composed of our fastest armored and protected cruisers, had put to sea, bound no one knew where. Five days after their departure it was reported and later confirmed that a powerful British fleet had been sighted off Nova Scotia, sailing south. Shortly after this, and during night, the North Atlantic squadron disappeared from Boston Harbor, evidently to engage the enemy. Days passed at a snail's pace in the fearful anticipation of battle.

The early reverses had cast a gloom over the country which it was difficult to dispel. Heretofore it had deemed itself invincible on the water. Would events yet justify this confidence? Had our losses been due to overwhelming odds only? In this connection it was known that the approaching fleet greatly outnumbered our forces, but in the confusion of a great naval battle there might be an element of strength in fewer units but more concentrated attack. All were on *qui vive*. Rosmond was wild with excitement. He had become an habitue of the Army and Navy Club and I was dragged there at all hours regardless of my innate desire for repose.

At the Club all the latest devices for receiving news had been installed. Few officers were about, they being on their various stations. The luxurious building was more an assembly ground for their friends. There was just a sufficient sprinkling of veterans to give intelligence to the ideas advanced, and patriotic feeling ran high though many officers were secretly opposed to the administration.

When a week had passed without a meeting of the opposing fleets the country was almost exhausted by the suspense. A whirlwind of surmise rose when news came that the British had just put to sea again and after making a wide detour which avoided the American ships, had continued southward aiming, possibly, at the Gulf of Mexico. The North Atlantic squadron had followed and was in pursuit of the enemy. Ten days passed. Then it was learned a French fleet had been sighted off Porto Rico, proceeding toward the Windward Passage. Two days later the British joined them and both directed their course through the Florida straits. For a moment the object of attack seemed New Orleans but in a short time it was discovered they were en route to the Nicaragua Canal.

This splendid waterway was in ruins, the approaches on both oceans having been destroyed by high explosives. Apparently the united forces intended to seize and restore it, using it as a vantage point from which to strike both our coasts. The uncertainty was appalling. Little did we dream of the colossal events impending.

Wearied with late hours, followed in hope of news, I at last succumbed and determined to retire early and have one night of refreshing slumber. Rosmond left only after a peremptory refusal to continue the "waiting debauch" (as I had chosen to term our vigils). After a delightful bath I sank to sleep experiencing the blissful sensation of weariness. I had slept several hours, though they seemed but moments, when I was awakened by loud rapping on my door, increasing in fervor each moment.

"Henry, Henry!" called a voice—Rosmond's, of course, "open up. Let me in! Quick, old man! Don't keep me here."

[COMPLETED NEXT WEEK.]

THE END OF OPPRESSION.

I saw the oppressors, rich men together, I saw them fatten and make themselves sleek...

I looked in wonder, while groanings like thunder filled Heaven above, and shook earth beneath...

The wicked have perished! No more to cherish the profits of lies, and stealing of lands...

SOCIALISM--THE WORLD'S PURPOSE. MEN SAY THAT LIFE'S HIGH HOPE IS VAIN; That one force holds the heart--the hope of gain...

Are, then, the August Powers behind the veil Weary of watch and powerless to prevail?

Not so; the vast inbrothering of man--The glories of the universe--began When first the Mother Darkness heard...

His feet are heard in the historic march Under the whirlwind, under the starry arch...

This is the voice of Time against the Hours; This is the witness of Cosmic Powers; This is the Music of the ages--this...

All that we glory in was once a dream; The world will march on gleam by gleam...

Men of labor, heirs of glory, Heroes of unwritten story, Nurslings of one mighty mother...

THE MAN WHO TOLD THE TRUTH. There was a man who said one day Unto himself: "Hereafter I shall not be base enough to say...

And so he bravely started out, His heart was strong, his spirit bold, Of all the things he talked about...

Our Land System. John H. Crosby in one of his speeches gave an excellent illustration of the workings of our present system of landholding...

There was," he said, "a maiden who owned a whole township of land. She had tenants who paid their annual rent...

It was written of old: "In those days there shall come wolves in sheep's clothing..."

That was not one bit more absurd than is the claim of the Astors to make the people of New York pay ground rent to them...

NEW ZEALAND IN A NUT SHELL tells you all about it. You can get absolute facts that stir the ignorant...

MERRIN ENGLAND in German. Introduction by Victor L. Berger, editor, Vorwarts. Price 25 cents.

A MARXIAN ON "HONEST CAPITAL"

By Robert Ervin LaFontaine.

I'VE just been reading Henry Demarest Lloyd's new book, "A Country Without Strikes," and I ran across this mysterious phrase, "honest capital..."

He may mean that the present possessors of the capital referred to are honest men. If so, he must know that honesty is purely a subjective conception...

Anyhow, who cares whether they are honest or not? They are in possession of stolen goods. All the capital they have is nothing in the world value, and every cent of surplus--but accumulated surplus--value is the product of UNPAID LABOR...

Or again, by "honest capital," Mr. Lloyd may mean that the capital has been honestly earned or acquired by industry, thrift and abstinence. Just keep your eye on "honest" capitalists abstaining in New York, Newport and Paris...

Right here I got so weary I could not stand it any longer and turned for relief to the pages of brave old Karl Marx...

However, all this verbal and grammatical criticism is merely a curtain-raiser. Let us ring the bell and raise the curtain on the main play...

Compulsion thus gives not only peace, but liberty--the will and the power to do right--liberty to work, liberty to contract with each other, liberty to live harmoniously, liberty to enjoy the fruits of honest capital and honest industry...

Now, if all these fine words mean anything they mean that the interests of the capitalist class and the working class are capable of being harmonized...

Every socialist knows, and Mr. Lloyd ought to know that the interests of the capitalist class are in direct and irreconcilable conflict, and that so long as these two classes continue to exist their interests never can be harmonized...

We, as socialists, have no desire to harmonize the interests of the capitalist class and the working class. As classes, we know that it is the historic mission of the working class to abolish the capitalist class...

It was written of old: "In those days there shall come wolves in sheep's clothing..."

And today how many of them we see in America with hearts yearning with love (?) for the working-men, who devote their whole time, energy and talents to telling the working-men everything except the plain simple truth...

From the beginning of the time when there was anything going on in the world and intelligent people were interested in it...

Now here we have instances of three prominent ostensible civilizations working the silent assertion lie. Could one find other

APROPO-SERS.

Being Notes and Quotes on the Times by One of the Perplexed.

There shall yet appear a new literature in the world; it is the literature of an experience now being ploughed deep into men's hearts...

When a great machine is once set in motion there is a possibility of its grinding out trouble for others than those it was set up for...

Ours is an age of discoveries, and America is the home of discovery. This is not to be wondered at when we remember that America was discovered herself...

The Standard Oil Company rendered illegal in Ohio as a trust, calls in its certificates; and gives them another name at the foot of New Jersey...

The spirit of poor old Micawber, reincarnated in the financial system of the Ottoman empire, never was, in all its experience, incarnated in a body so much to its taste...

The German bad boy Billy Kaiser declines to mind the American bad boy Sam Slick's clothes, while he is punching vacant spaces into the places now occupied by Turkey's eyes...

Mark Twain on our Lying Civilization. The latest of the philosophers to discuss Truth is Mark Twain, who gives it as his idea that the greatest lie on record is Carlyle's "stunning lie" that "a lie shall not live..."

The truest thing known to Mark Twain is "the universal conspiracy of the silent assertion lie," "the silent colossal national lie that is the support and confederate of all the tyrannies and shams and inequalities and unfairnesses that afflict the peoples..."

Mark gives examples: "For instance," he says, "it would not be possible for a humane and intelligent person to invent a rational excuse for slavery, yet you will remember that in the early days of the emancipation agitation in the north the agitators got but small help or countenance from any one..."

From the beginning of the time when there was anything going on in the world and intelligent people were interested in it, the end of it, all France, except a couple of dozen moral paradises, lay under the shadow of the silent assertion lie...

Now here we have instances of three prominent ostensible civilizations working the silent assertion lie. Could one find other

Backward. On everything you buy is a label that the producers should receive a fair rate of wages for its production.

INSIST ON HAVING THE LABEL. On everything you buy is a label that the producers should receive a fair rate of wages for its production.

instances in the three countries? I think so. Not so very many, perhaps, but say a billion--just so as to keep within bounds...

Choose Between Socialism and Anarchy. E. C. Walker, one of the most intelligent advocates of philosophical anarchy in the nation, recently spoke before the Sunrise Club of New York...

Let us briefly examine the above statement. In the nature of the case coal and oil and many other necessary articles will remain monopolies under individual or private control...

Which is best? The private monopoly of the anarchist, or the social or public monopoly of the socialist?

Mind you, it must be ONE OR THE OTHER--all the articles necessary to life must be publicly or privately controlled. That means either private or public monopoly--for monopoly it must be and will be in either case...

I think the above points bring out plainly the difference between the ground beliefs of the anarchist and the socialist. There will always be monopoly. Then is it best that monopoly shall be public or private?

About two years ago I saw a man on Boyle Heights who seemed to be so happy that I stopped to inquire the whyness of his joy...

The last legislature--in which there was only two mechanics, who did not represent organized labor, and about 30 farmers, and the remainder being principally lawyers and professional politicians--passed the bill allowing the formation of our street railway trust...

What Can Be Done. The Citizens' League of Tampa is a labor organization or an association of the industrial people. It was formed for the purpose of effecting public or municipal ownership of public utilities in the city of Tampa, Fla...

TEN Men of Money Island in German or Norwegian. Price 10 cents. Clever and convincing.

Those Cuban Scoundrels. To make the assertion that all such frauds as well as all bank and other robberies in which murder is often committed would be things of the past under socialism, means not to be believed...

Scientific control of the best methods of producing and distributing wealth would make it possible for the workers to reap all advantages of modern machinery and all new inventions, which even now would make wealth so abundant that all strife and all unhealthful effort in gaining a livelihood would be things of the past...

A scientific combination of the workers under the best plan for the advantage of all the workers is socialism. Sligo, Pa. GEO. B. KLINE.

In St. Louis. Two weeks of the big street railway strike, and all attempts to settle seem to be off at present. The strikers are willing to arbitrate, but the company has nothing to arbitrate...

Backward. On everything you buy is a label that the producers should receive a fair rate of wages for its production.

A FEW OFFICE SECRETS

The heaven is working. A Georgia comrade has promised to double the Georgia list in exactly 21 days. And he is a new worker, too.

Which one of the APPEAL TO REASON clubs is going after that \$500 for the largest list raised by any "combine" or club, branch or section? Was put in just to make it interesting for the boys. The Chicago club will hustle, let me tell you.

Comrade H. Hauch, whose efforts with those of "the gang" made the Alameda, Cal., "Alameda Trust" famous, keeps plugging away landing scalps continually. Sent \$10 for 40 Postal Card orders and says, "I feel sure I can stir up energetic action with these."

"The gang" is pushing the APPEAL chain card hard. "Way down east," out on "the slope," in the heart of "Dixie-land," along the lakes—everywhere they are at work. Calls for 40 to 100 are frequent. Every set you send out put ten waves into motion—every one has a chance to harvest a crop.

Here's what one stray copy did: Fell into the hands of Comrade Fred Walker of San Francisco in May, 1899. Now on May 14, 1900, Comrade Walker, just to show his interest, sends in a club of 31 yearlies. And yet socialists are all talkers and not workers! Does this look like it? And that is not all—look out for Walker scalps from now on.

If you hold a job so that you prefer to have some one else handle your list, get and get the name of a trusted comrade to whom you can turn over your names and who will forward all cash promptly. Corporation bosses can not reach you, nor will they know of your work for the cause. But the APPEAL does and appreciates every effort. Or use Postal Card orders. No one but the APPEAL can tell who sent them.

Department A has several plans to extend the APPEAL'S circulation. Now, any one plan cannot cover every case. Hence in writing give a snap shot of how you are situated, when and among what class of people you can work, whether your job compels you to "lie low," etc., and the plan most acceptable will be presented or a selection from several. The clearer view you can present of your local situation in a few lines, the quicker a feasible plan can be worked out and sent you.

No. 5,001, Comrade P. W. Kohli, Muncie, Ind., captured the first copy of "Equality." Kohli is a rustler. Dubuque, Iowa, took in two copies, No's 6,001 and 16,006, and Comrades W. T. Beals and Wm. D. Wilbur were the movers. Comrade Baloo, Nashville, Tenn., No. 43,001, sent in his first set in about six days. There are a dozen sets almost completed. There are just 1,000 copies of Equality to go out under the card offer. Do you want one? Speak quick!

Number 1, of "the 500 Travelers" passed through Girard from its first trip May 31. Don't delay them, boys! Every traveler has a mission and will cover America in the course of a few weeks. Slip on your autograph in the proper place and keep them "on the jump." If you want to see one write to the Army Editor. Number limited, fast schedules and important business. Don't delay! Those whose autographs appear on the "traveler" first completing the journey have a pleasant surprise in store for them.

On May 28, 100 of a band of "500 travelers" left Girard, Kansas. Each week in June 100 more of these fellows start out. They are limited to ten calls and these calls will be thousands of miles apart. All are bent on the same mission. If one of them calls on you, hear his story and above all things take him around to see the gang and speed him home—for he has a mission. If you want one of his fellows to return or know of some other comrade who will entertain him one visit send in the information at once. But above all—don't delay one of "the 500 travelers."

Scattered throughout the United States there are fully 1,000 zealous socialists, each of whom could send in an average of five yearly subs each week. But they feel that a list of five cuts no figure in the APPEAL office. Once in a while they scalp 10 to 30 and fire them in and then wait for a month or two to make another raid. Now, why not combine forces like "The Alameda Trust" boys in California and make a record? A comrade in Maine and one in Oregon in "The American Combine" would help to make a record together with comrades in other states. Every list of 10, 5 or even 2 would count to the credit of the "Combine." An Iowa comrade wants to work with a combine of 100 to be taken from 20 states or more. If you want to join him, write soon.

Some comrades are so situated that they cannot get out to solicit subs. But they will help. Well, here it is. Send for a set of chain cards and mail them out to friends or hand them to any one whom you think might be led to read. There are 10 in a set. Now, before these are gone send for as many as you can use in a month. Mail out as you recall names and send them everywhere. For every one you mail out there is a chance that it will be sent in to the APPEAL. If so, that means 10 cards go to that party and in turn one card from you becomes the motive power in a short time by which 1,000 cards are being mailed out. For every 10 cards you send out that comes in to the APPEAL, you receive one copy of Equality (price 50 cents). There are 1,000 copies of Equality in the APPEAL office for those whose cards come in. Be sure you get a copy! And in all this, there is a plan and a system which pushed means one million APPEAL subscribers. Start a set at work, boys, and send in for more and more. They are working for socialism night and day in all manner of places.

NO, IT DOES NOT PAY.

Some More Reasons Why the Postal System is Alleged to be a Financial Failure.

With Thieves to Administer, do You Think Even Socialistic Institutions can be Successful?

The following is clipped from the Kansas City Journal of May 28, a rank Republican organ. Note these pointers:

Cuban postal stealings implicate the department at Washington.

Favorites carried on the pay rolls in several positions at one time.

Men who tried to tell the truth are shut up.

Funds of Washington postoffice are stolen for some years.

Same system of favoritism and pulls that existed during the Spanish war.

Senate investigation committee of republicans and democrats will whitewash things until after election and forget it then.

All this is out of their own mouths—republican testimony.

WASHINGTON, May 27.—Sensational stories are current here relative to wholesale purchases of office furniture for the general postoffice here and in Cuba and Porto Rico, school furniture for the islands, safes, horses and carriages and a variety of other articles that Uncle Sam authorizes his agents to buy.

It is being charged, among other things, that Fourth Assistant Postmaster General Bristow, who has earned a reputation for extreme severity in dealing with fraud and evasion, was sent to Cuba not alone because he was deemed the most desirable man to clean out that involved postal service, but because there was a demand for his expatriation to prevent possible explosions in Washington.

It is known that Bristow for several months before his departure had not spoken to another high official of the postoffice department and that the only communication between his office and that of the official in question was of a perfunctory character.

Bristow has demanded that certain conditions which he condemned in unmeasured language must cease and made no concealment of the fact that his condemnation was intended to be applied to the acts of the official with whom he had quarreled.

The charges brought against the men who have been juggling the frauds of the Washington postoffice can be stated in the following condensed counts:

Funds of the Washington postoffice have been disbursed improperly for more than two years, the irregularities for the quarter ending September 30, 1898, amounted to between \$20,000 and \$30,000, according to an expert's report to Comptroller Tracowell.

Numerous favorites carried on the pay rolls in two, and sometimes three, positions not only in Washington, but other cities. Oliver H. Smith, of Indiana, at present superintendent of the local service, was for a year simultaneously auditor of local postal stations, laborer and painter of street letter boxes. He drew three salaries, another Indiana man, N. B. Baker, succeeding to these emoluments.

Six women were carried on the roll as cleaners, notwithstanding they performed no work. Four men were paid to investigate shortcomings of carriers, but the jobs were sinecures.

Traveling expenses of department officials who were not on public business and cost of trips for private citizens only nominally connected with the government have been paid to the extent of tens of thousands of dollars out of the funds belonging exclusively to the Washington postoffice and the military postal service.

It is a notable fact that Ohio and Indiana politicians, friends of Senator Hanna and his lieutenants, and First Assistant Postmaster General Heath are thought to have enjoyed the cream of the privileges, which were scattered with such a generous hand. This fact was enough in itself to cause tremendous pressure, official and political, to bear with a view of preventing the publication of the stories.

Mr. Tracowell called attention to the fact that between forty and fifty clerks had been carried on the rolls of the agricultural department at one time and remarked that congressmen and senators found fault with him because he desired to stop the irregularities.

"Will not the losses to the government, as shown by your files, amount to nearly \$300,000?" Mr. Tracowell was asked.

"I would not like to estimate it," he replied.

SOCIALISM ABROAD.

Seven Fabians are in the London County Council.

The Workers' Republic of Dublin has renewed publication.

Japan's government owns and operates a coal mine, an iron mine, two silver and two copper mines, and in them employs 2,344 miners.

Vigorous work is being done in Berlin towards organizing the women workers, a necessary step at the present time.

Besides owning the only coal mine in the country the government of Switzerland owns a slate mine, cement and powder factories.

Angelo Celli, an Italian socialist deputy, says that the slaves under the Empire were better housed and fed than the work-people today in the Campagna of Rome. The entire district is very unsanitary, and it is absolutely necessary for the inhabitants to have

good houses and good food to preserve their health. The opposite conditions prevail because Italy is so anxious to keep up the face of being a great power that it has no time for internal affairs.

According to Vooruit, the socialist paper at Ghent, Belgium, the children in cotton factories there are paid 75 cents to \$1.52 a week; the younger women, \$1.52 to \$1.90, and the older women, \$1.90 to \$2.28. The factories pay very large dividends. The workers are unorganized.

One of the slogans of the S. D. P. is "London for Social Democracy." A London organizer was kept in the field last summer, and an effort is being made to maintain him all the year from now on.

A priest who intended to stand as a Christian Socialist for a seat in the Chambers at the May 27 election in Belgium was prohibited from doing so by his bishop.

In Velletria, Italy, recently the government seized and sold at auction the goods of more than 50 peasants because they were in debt about 75 cents each.

The letter was not satisfactory, and Tracowell so stated, but before he could take steps to enforce his demands he received orders to let the Washington postoffice alone. Many incriminating stories about favoritism, bad management and recklessness of conduct are being told. The father-in-law of an official was sent to Porto Rico to be postmaster of one of the big towns outside of San Juan. He was given \$2,600 worth of postage stamps and considerable money to start his office. His conduct in New York before he sailed and again after he reached Porto Rico was such as to cause the officials to refuse to send him additional stamps.

Eventually the appointee was transferred to another department and is now receiving \$1,400 a year as clerk. A chief of one of the divisions of the postoffice in addition to his regular salary drew \$4 a day from the Brooklyn postoffice.

Another extraordinary feature of the tangle was the dismissal of an expert accountant, Thomas W. Gilmer, who, after an examination of the postoffice books, made a report to the comptroller of the treasury to the effect that they were in wretched shape and should be overhauled entirely.

The Bacon resolution was adopted by the senate yesterday afternoon and the Cuban committee, of which Senator Platt, of Connecticut, is chairman, is now vested with ample authority to visit the islands at its pleasure and begin a complete overhauling of the affairs of the military government.

Its powers are far-reaching. It is authorized to go into every department, postal and military, examine every book and voucher, summon and examine witnesses and do a number of other things that are calculated to enable the committee to get to the bottom of the scandals.

The personnel of the committee is as follows: Republicans—Platt of Connecticut, Aldrich, Cullom, Davis, McMillan, Chandler Spooner.

Democrats—Teller, Money, Butler, Talliferro.

It is not expected that this committee will make a great deal of headway in exposing frauds after it reaches Cuba, but it is believed, on the other hand, that it will devote its efforts to suppressing the facts, at least until after the general election in November.

Job Harriman is stumping New York state and getting many listeners.

F. G. R. Gordon is now in charge of the Haverhill Social Democrat.

Illinois socialists have jarred that state's politics by nominating a full state ticket.

Ruskin Commonwealth has just lost its coffee and suspender factories by fire; loss, \$1,000.

Great Britain had 711 strikes in 1899. As this is a more "prosperous" year the number will be larger for 1900.

Geo. E. Boomer is organizing the southern part of Washington for the S. D. P. and A. G. Seibert the northern part.

New Hampshire branches of the S. D. P. have put up a strong state ticket, headed by Sumner F. Claffin for governor.

The Japanese who are being imported into this country on the Pacific coast are to work for \$1.00 a day or less and board themselves.

The Western Federation of Miners at its convention urged its members to quit fooling around and get their rights at the ballot box.

New S. D. P. branches have been organized at Lyman, Wash., Great Falls, Mont., Coshocton, O., Des Moines, Ia., and Marcelena, Tex.

Marion, Ind., socialists, who elected two councilmen this spring, say that the next city election will give them full control of Marion's law-making affairs.

THE FIELD AT HOME.

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Fifty-seven socialist representatives in the German Reichstag advocate labor's interest; one in our Congress, and he will be succeeded by a strong anti-socialist next term.

Brauer-Zeitung: The fellows who are now appropriating the products of other men's labor are very anxious to know if socialists intend to confiscate all of the property in the world.

Senator Hoar is making rabid anti-imperialist speeches to the exclusion of every other thought, but says he will support the imperialist party's ticket from top to bottom. Reminds us of some workmen.

Osnabrook, N. D., blacksmiths co-operated and have reduced the cost of work 30% and increased the wages of the workers about as much. That shows that co-operating is better than competing. They have 57 members. S. E. Haight is one of the moving spirits.

The California State Republican committee, according to the Workers Call, is made up of six corporation officials, two bankers, six business men, two contractors, one professional politician. By-the-way, who ever heard of a wage-worker voting the Republican ticket in California?

The New York Sun says: "That the socialist party will poll 100,000 votes in the presidential election this year is the most modest estimate of politicians, and that it will poll as many as 250,000 votes is thought probable by many." What the Sun will say in 1904 will be an astonisher beside this.

Commenting on the fact that the St. Louis Transit Co., got a free gift from the city worth \$80,000,000, refused to pay any taxes on it, and then made the city pay \$10,000 a day for extra police, Lee Meriwether asks: "What would you think of a wretched asker receiving a house and lot free of charge, refused to pay taxes on the house, and even demanded that you furnish him a private watchman?"

An associated press dispatch says that the rapid growth of socialism among college students in this country is causing great alarm. A college socialist union is talked of, and it is said that a considerable number of American students who are not known to their fathers as socialists are planning to attend the International Socialist Congress at the Paris Exposition.

James F. Carey made an eloquent socialist speech in the Massachusetts legislature in favor of a bill to raise the limit of age for child labor to 16 years. The vote on the bill was 73 to 14 against. This was an unfavorable committee report, unanimously returned by six republicans and five democrats. They get their reward now; Carey will get his when children now working in Massachusetts look back in their old age at the fearful days of our competitive system.

A New York publishing house is about to bring out a novel by Edward Bellamy, written twenty years ago but hitherto unpublished in book form. It was written at the request of a friend and "printed serially in a country paper, but was then forgotten by Bellamy in the preparation of Looking Backward and Equality. "The Duke of Stockbridge," as it is called, is an historical romance, based upon the mutiny of the Massachusetts debtor farmers against the oppression of the money-lenders which was known as Shay's Rebellion.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

Alton, Ill., is working toward city water-works.

Quanah, Tex., will build its own water-works.

St. Michaels, Md., will build city water-works.

Richland, Ga., votes this month on municipal waterworks.

Fredericksburg, Md., will erect its own electric light plant.

Massillon, O., will vote on municipal water-works next spring.

Wallington, N. J., will soon have a municipal water plant.

San Bernardino, Cal., is talking of municipal ownership of water.

Talladega, Ala., will construct water-works and electric light plants.

Nashville, Tenn., will vote November 6 on erection of \$150,000 municipal lighting plant.

Thorntown, Ind., voted overwhelmingly for public ownership of electric and water plants.

Montgomery, Ala., has instructed its city engineer to look into the advisability of erecting a municipal electric light plant.

A city meeting at Norwalk, Conn., decided to establish a municipal electric light plant by a vote of over two to one.

Under private operation Albany, N. Y., is paying \$124.10 for each electric light used, when better service should be secured for \$35 a light.

Clay Center, Kans., in one year of municipal ownership ran the plant in better style, had a balance of \$420 clear profit, and saved \$4,000 in hydrant rentals.

The market properties of the city of New York have been non-paying institutions for some time, and they may be utilized in establishing municipal ice plants.

Portland, Ind., paid \$17,140 for its electric light plant in 1895; improvements since have made the total cost \$20,344. Includ- ing the saving in cost of street lights, which was \$85 a year under the private company, the profit to date is \$15,697.90. Well?

Union City, Tenn., has found that city ownership of electric light and water plants more than pays its own way, and now you couldn't pry Union City from public ownership of those utilities with anything less than a tornado. Net profit last month, \$285.87; population served, about 3,000.

Regarding American tolerance of the spoils system the Chicago Times-Herald says: "But there will be no municipal street railways so long as we tolerate this utterly preposterous scheme, which is the scorn of foreigners and an insult to the intelligence of every thinking man. The very beginning of all political reforms is in the merit system."

Two articles in the last number of Municipal Affairs on municipal street railways in Great Britain show that in every instance where street railways have been municipalized the service has been greatly improved, the traffic has been wonderfully increased, cars better cleaned and cared for, fares reduced, rates given to workmen and other benefits given to the public.

"It is not to be supposed," says the Evansville, Ind., Courier, "that public ownership will entirely do away with all evils. Impure water and poor light may be furnished under such control, but then the remedy is distinctly in the hands of the people and the pressure of public opinion will soon enforce relief." That in itself is enough of an argument for municipal ownership.

Danvers, Mass., has asked the Massachusetts legislature to pass a bill allowing it to establish a municipal fuel yard. It is proposed to sell coal and wood to individuals as well as to supply the town. Three wage-workers pushed the movement through.

Danvers was the first Massachusetts municipality to own its electric light plant and it uses initiative and referendum in town legislation.

A speaker before a meeting of the National Electric Lighting Association said "I doubt if there is in this whole association a dozen members who realize fully the gravity of the present situation for the private ownership of public utilities." He said that there were but two paths in the future—municipal ownership or private ownership under strict state inspection. Not a glowing outlook to present to the association, surely.

SOCIALIST ORGANIZATIONS—For the purposes of aiding in the organization, the Appeal will print notices of public meetings, conventions, etc., for 25 cents a line. Send money with notice. If you use the space paid for by all, you should be willing to help pay the expenses of the paper. A. Wayland.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS ATTENTION—All members and branches of the Social Democratic Party that are in favor of a union of socialist forces are requested to send names and addresses to the secretary of the Ohio State Union & D. P. Chas. R. Martin, box 339, Tiffin, Ohio.

The Appeal Will Give to Club Workers \$4000.00 CASH IN PREMIUMS When the number in box at left of heading reaches 250,000. To the labor union, party organization or syndicate sending most subscribers \$500 00 To the individual sending in the most subscribers 500 00 To each of five persons sending next highest number of subscribers, \$100 500 00 To each of ten persons sending in next highest number of subscribers, \$50 500 00 To each of forty persons sending in next highest numbers, \$25 1000 00 To each of one hundred persons sending in next highest numbers, \$10 1000 00 157 premiums \$4,000 00 Awards will be based on yearly subs. 4 three months or 2 six month sub meaning one annual. Send in names at any time. Postal subscription cards count. The Appeal will keep track of each worker. The Appeal never does things half way. It will make these awards "just to make it interesting to you." All goes in the propaganda anyhow. In 30 days, if you will stop bickering and go to work, you will have a special commissioner on the way to New Zealand to tell you, as only a socialist can, just what they are doing, how they are doing it, and how it started. That will be the greatest thing ever done to electrify the masses of a civil problem.