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Appeal to Reason.

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Entered at Girard, Kas., P. O. as second-class matter.
It is stated that there are in this country 1,200,000 bar-keepers and saloon-keepers. They are paid each year about \$1,200,000,000. Do you wonder that we have hard times when we drink up our money?—Baptist and Reflector, Nashville.

HAVE YOU WILL FORCE?

MEN and women of WILL force rule the world. You may be one of these, but you must first WILL it. The potent force of creation is desire. The people must desire better social conditions before better social conditions can exist. Before better desires can come better ideals must be suggested. If you have not enough desire for a better condition and enough will force to compel you to activity, you are not fit to rule. The story of New Zealand's wonderful success in solving the problem of labor and capitalist, the increase of national wealth, the abolition of poverty and millionaires, will electrify the world when it can be gotten to them in a way to attract their attention.

The Appeal desires to tell the story as only a socialist can tell it, and desires to tell it to millions. You desire the same thing. Why not help? There are two thousand socialists on the Appeal list who are able to send at once for \$10 worth of postal subscription cards. Your money will be returned to you as you get the subscribers. It costs you nothing except a little time.

This would send the list to 150,000 in the next month and would start an APPEAL commissioner to New Zealand on the next steamer out. It will also count in your favor in the distribution of the \$4,000 cash in premiums. It will make the APPEAL the most conspicuous paper in the nation and direct the national mind to socialism. Sit right down today and enclose \$10 or more and enter your name on the roll of honor of those who are making for a better world to live in. With your earnest help the APPEAL can do it.

This will give the Appeal the capital to make improvements long needed, will enable it to become easily self-sustaining, and put socialism ahead many years.

Demonstrate that you have will force that makes you a factor in the world, even if it does require sacrifice. The more sacrifice the greater the will force developed.

Did you ever notice the difference in the expression of the eyes in animals of the same species? Take a horse that has been overworked and starved and its eyes present an entirely different expression from the well-fed, well-groomed horse. The environment makes all the difference. So with men. Look at the face of men and women who have been over-worked, under-fed and illy-housed, and then compare the expression with those who have been well-kept. All the difference in the world. The stupid, sullen face of the working slaves tell how hard it is for them to comprehend the condition of slavery they are under. The master class know this, and feel secure in their places of mastership. This is the most pitiful phase of the present slavery—that people have it within their own power to be free and rich, and cannot comprehend the fact. They vote and the vote puts their masters in power; they try to think, but can only think what their masters have permitted them to read, controlling them in their prejudices; they create more and more, making their masters richer and richer, but they grow relatively poorer; they feel they would like things different, but fight such of their number as have gotten the true method, because the masters have set them on their friends by appealing to false issues. But there is a great difference between now and twenty years ago. Millions are now interested where then they were none. It is only a matter of time now until we shall have awakened enough of the dull-eyed to change the conditions of life of the laboring people. The world should and will be for the workers alone. The drones must go.

The Nashville American, June 2, published an appeal from one of the work slaves who could find no master who would permit him to work. With wife and four children starving and no place to live, and after tramping the city for days to find a master, he closes with: "If any man believes I won't work, let him offer me a job at any price, day or night. I never taste intoxicants or gamble; am a member of the church." The day before this appeared in the American it contained an account of the dumping of four carloads of bananas into the Cumberland river by the banana trust because it could not get its price. Before they were turned overboard they were put through a process that made them unfit for eating, so that the poor people could not use them and thus injure the market by cutting off some of the sales. And this is the way private property works. Are you not proud to be a supporter of it and oppose socialism, which would have people enjoy things instead of starving them and destroying food? If you have no more wit than to believe in such a system, you ought to have to starve and see food destroyed before your eyes because you have not the money to buy it. And what is more, millions of you will suffer this very thing if private trusts and monopolies are permitted to go on as they have for the last twenty years. Socialism will provide all with employment and will save instead of destroy food.

HAVE you sent in for your \$10 worth of postal subscription cards? If not, why not?

THERE are about five thousand workers in the APPEAL army. If they would dispose of \$5.00 in postal subscription cards in the next month, it would mean 100,000 added to the APPEAL list. They could do it and not be out a cent.

During the month of May the APPEAL received 647 ten week, 148 thirteen week, 1,589 six months and 4,853 annual subscriptions—a total of 7,237, as against 8,317 the previous month. There were 34,993 extra papers and 3,354 books and pamphlets sold. The total receipts for the month from all sources were \$2,330.93, as against \$2,587.56 for April. The expenses paid out for the month were \$2,263.39. That is making things meet on a close margin.

It is about time that some statistician and philosophers of capitalism were describing the delights of starving. They have explained how little food and how cheap the character necessary for the workers, how luxurious they are living, how they are freed from the cares of wealth; it surely is about time the workers were instructed about the delights of starving. You often hear it said there are too many people, so in this way they might induce the surplus to commit suicide to see if they might not taste the delights of death as they could get none in life.

TEN thousand immigrants landed in New York last week, mostly Poles, Italians and Croats, for the mining regions of Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania, you know, is the state where the working men vote hundred thousands of republican majorities for republicanism and prosperity, and this importation of labor is an expression of the love of the bosses for their welfare. The voters are to be given a vacation and these foreigners are to do the work for them while they are enjoying life! The workingmen of Pennsylvania are getting a dose of the effects of ignorant voting. They have always been more duped than the voters of any other state. Vote just as you always have, boys. It brings you such good times.

In Winnebago county, Iowa, the school authorities gather up the children and take them as far as five miles to school and deliver them home again. This enables them to discontinue the small schools and does not cost as much as before, besides the advantage to the children. But one would hardly think the patriotic republicans of Iowa would stifle private enterprise by furnishing free transportation to the children! They should make a law compelling the people to pay some corporation to take the children to and from school. The idea of the public running free wagons! Why, it's just terrible! It really smacks of socialism and anarchy.

The price of sugar has moved up a peg—35 cents a 100. That will make the sugar trust several hundred thousand, and will not hurt the public, you know, for if the people do not want to pay it they can do without sugar. The trust should raise it higher, for the price of sugar does not hurt the people, especially the poor people who have no money to buy sugar anyhow. What difference does it make how rich some people get? Are not the rich a blessing to the country? And would not the people starve if the rich did not give them employment? I am often lost in deep meditation trying to fathom the mystery of how the human race kept from starving before there were any rich men to employ them! Therefore, rejoice that we have rich men to raise the price of sugar and thus maintain civilization and progress!

AHA! I have found out the reason why! All clear as mud now! Might have known it, but didn't think of it in just that light, you know. The type foundry and smelters have been pounding me with notices for a whole year raising the prices on type and other material on account of the raise in the prices of the raw material. Well, I thought they were just gouging me. But it is all plain now. Some onery cuss sends me a marked copy of the Carterville, Mo., daily Record, with a comparative statement of the prices for ores. It reads this way: Last year the price of zinc was \$49.50 per ton, this year \$30; lead last year \$26, this year \$22.50! Wouldn't that satisfy you of the necessity of the raise in prices! With zinc 40% less and lead 10% less, why should not type and other stuff not be raised 40% in price? Why, if you can't see a thing as simple as that you must be a gosh-fred republican or democrat. Whoop 'em up for prosperity!

DANVERS, MASS., was the first town in the state to successfully establish a city lighting plant; so satisfactory was that act of anarchy that the citizens wanted to establish a fuel yard to supply themselves with coal, wood, etc., and this new impulse toward savagery was not possible without the consent of the brains of the state which are always concentrated in the legislature. But the brains said "No!" and the people of Danvers are thus protected against the exploitation of themselves in the fuel line, and civilization was again saved. You see how dangerous it would be to permit the people to transact their own business! They are not capable of knowing what is good for them. They must have guardians or "paternal" care as it were to prevent them from injuring themselves by providing for their needs without paying some one a profit. There is nothing but profit that keeps the earth in its orbit!

WRITE A LETTER.

One of my readers wrote his representative in congress, Bishop, to vote for senate bill No. 1770, providing for the nationalizing of the railroads, because it would decrease the hours of labor without deduction of pay and thus employ nearly 200,000 additional railroad men. The congressman wrote back two pages, telling him that not one man in a hundred in this country but knew that the government could not operate the railroads as good as they now are, pointing out that it would increase the office holders, of whom there are too many as it is; anyhow, that he would have no chance of voting for or against the bill as it would never be reported out of the committee to which it was assigned.

We have heard all that clatter from the paid attorneys of the railroads before. We know that there are too many officials of the Bishop kind, who ride on passes while their dearly beloved constituents pay three cents a mile; but what we never find these fellows doing is resigning their places, because there are too many officials already; they not only want government places but will spend money (bribery) to get the place, and they do nothing for the people for their salary, while the employes of the railroads, if they were on the government pay roll, would be doing useful, necessary work for their salary. We deny that the railroads are as well managed, as well systematized and efficient as the postal system operated by the government, in spite of the fact that such things as Bishop vote in congress to pay the railroads twenty times a right price for hauling the mails. That is because the roads have favors to give to such as will favor them. I do not believe that Bishop or any other public man, who is paid to know, believes that it is better to have the highways of the nation in the hands of corporations instead of the people who have to pay the bills. There are such ideas honestly held by some of the common people who have taken no time to study, but a congressman who has not studied the subject is taking money for qualifications he does not possess, and if he has studied the case, he knows better—and the railroad officials know why. If Bishop had received several hundred letters from his people and each other congressman had also received the same expression of interest, that bill would have been forced out of the committee and would have been voted on. If these men were so sure that a large majority of the people were against this measure they would submit it to the people and have it publicly condemned. As it is, they know they lie and keep the people blind and dare not have the bill come into the house and be voted on. They can more easily deceive their constituents. And the Belshazzar feast at Washington goes gaily on while the peasants, thralls and hinds of labor furnish the wealth for the masters.

Write a letter. That is the way bankers and corporations do to impress congress for a measure in their interest.

The people of this nation will this fall choose a king for another four years. This is not strictly true, as a very small minority will do the choosing and the others will simply think they are doing it. Statescraft is this fooling the people and getting them to bind themselves so they can be skinned. Craft, you know, sometimes means cunning, deception, doing things by methods that deceive. Now most of the people will resent the implication that they are choosing a king. But most of the people anywhere will resent the idea that they are governed by a despot—even in Turkey, Russia or China. But what more power has the queen of England than the president of this country? She has not as much. The names king, emperor, czar, sultan, mikado, president, are only different appellations for the same thing. Nowhere do the people rule. Everywhere a few people rule, by various excuses and devices. The people are yet, as a whole, too ignorant to rule. If they were not they would rule themselves for themselves. As it is, they are ruled by a few for the profit of a few. But light is coming into the eyes of the masses and they are waking up. After a sleep of centuries there promises to be a lively time in the first part of the twentieth century. But the king will be chosen next November.

In the reference last week to the rates on the railroads of Switzerland being \$6 for fifteen days, even if you travel day and night, a skip of the memory made me say that Switzerland was the size of Ohio. It is not. It is about the size of New Hampshire and Vermont. Some fellow in Philadelphia, who was too cowardly to sign his name, called me down on it. I fess up, but not on his second thump, which stated that in this country 97% die practically paupers. Not over 3% of the estates in this country have anything left after the debts are paid. The people in this country could ride on government railroads just as cheap as the Swiss people if they could shake off the fear of owning something which the hirelings of the corporations have instilled into them.

The church people won't vote as they preach. They all declare against intemperance and the saloon, declare that the traffic can never be licensed without sin, and then vote the old party tickets that go license saloons, that do tolerate the traffic. In this they vote for the traffic, vote for licensing it, and here in Kansas at least they vote that people should violate the laws in order to sell it, for they vote into power parties that permit it. Say, you Christian people, why will you talk one way and vote the other?

AN Iowa dairy record, reported in the Chicago Dairy Produce of June 2, shows that it costs 56 cents to make 100 pounds of butter, \$1.00 in commission to sell it and \$1.16 freight to send it to market! Just think of a system of distribution that costs twice as much to sell an article as to make it! And still more to haul it to market! But such is the insane system we live under and swear there never was anything quite so perfect or so just! According to this report, the total cost of butter delivered to consumer, under a system of national co-operation or socialism, would not be more than 44 cents for best creamery, and it could pay 20 cents a gallon for milk from which to make the butter. But people prefer to pay 25 to 40 cents for creamery butter, and furnish the milk at about 15 cents a gallon, rather than change an insane system for a rational one. Socialism would make this difference in favor of the people, without decreasing any one's wages, but rather increasing wages all around.

I want to understand exactly what you propose. Suppose there is a community of one thousand families, there are some lawyers, doctors, mechanics, manufacturers, teachers and farmers. Now what I want to know is how you propose to regulate that community so as to place upon a just basis, labor, service and the rights of each.

L. A. BRANTZ, Albany, Ky.

If you mean that community to represent a nation, the solution of the problem has been told in thousands of volumes, but you, like the most of mankind, have not read the works. You must sit down and study as you did to learn the multiplication table or anything else. It cannot be elucidated in a newspaper article. I could say to you that the public ownership and democratic operation of the means of production and distribution would produce the just basis you ask about, but such an answer would not clear up your mind any. You will have to study the reasons why such conditions will produce this, that and the other effects. I would recommend that you put 10 cents into a copy of "Merrie England," and after you have read that if you feel that there is anything in the arguments, you can read other works. If you want to know and will read to learn, you can easily get knowledge.

FRATERNITY, the organ of the employing printers (by way of the "rat" P. P. F. anti-union outfit) at Los Angeles, Cal., is very much afraid the work slaves will be influenced by the APPEAL's stories of how the labor unions in New Zealand captured the country and made it a comparative paradise to live in. It says "the people of that country are not made up of every people on the globe as is the case in this country. BUT THEY ARE. And it has been built up from immigration from other countries more rapidly than this country. They draw higher wages than the people of any other country on earth, according to Mulhall's estimates. The printers, like other workers, have all their lives been voting into power the men and system that keeps them down, while the employers organize and work together to keep up, and not the least factor in the case has been the political power. So long as the workers vote the same tickets as the employers they will be slaves and ought to be. The Fraternity denounces labor unions while it advocates union of employers.

MISS CROCKER, the California heiress who never did a lick of useful labor, has a wedding robe made with \$20,000 worth of lace. And women who spend their whole lives in useful labor have not decent clothing nor enough to eat! And men, whose mothers and sisters are the work-slaves of the female world vote for a continuance of the system that does this, oppose socialism which would give none of the good things of life unless they produced an equivalent. And Miss Crocker wears \$20,000 worth of lace on one dress and twenty thousand work-women have not a dress worth one dollar. And the people of this country are so intelligent they would not support useless royalty—not they!

C. ELSTER—There is a labor party in New Zealand, whose demands are somewhat more radical, I should judge from the laws, than the trades unions of this country. Am unable to give the platform of any party. Persons with trades are not discriminated against in the matter of public employment when unemployed. In the matter of morals the people show less illegitimacy than any nation on earth except Ireland and South Australia, being less than 4% while the percentages range from 5% in England to 14% in Austria.

When the republicans tell you in their national platform or on the stump that they favor this, that or the other law if re-elected, tell them they lie and know they lie. And to prove it, show them that they have for two years had the president, the house and the senate and could have enacted any law they favored. They don't want any law that will help the people. All they want is the votes of the dupes so they can go on skinning the public. That party has made every law that it wants. It made laws that gave millions to corporations and thieving contractors. It never passed a single law that made it easier for any working man to make a living. But is taxing the clothes off his back to pay the corporations twenty times for material furnished. It voted to pay the railroads twenty times for carrying the mails. Jam down their throats that they could have made any law, and can yet by calling a special session. Special sessions are called for making laws the rich want. Whoop 'em up for McHanna,

It is stated that there are in this country 1,200,000 bar-keepers and saloon-keepers. They are paid each year about \$1,200,000,000. Do you wonder that we have hard times when we drink up our money?—Baptist and Reflector, Nashville.

I hardly think the figures are correct, but they will do to illustrate a phase of economics that is usually lost sight of. If the spending of that sum impoverished the people, how is it that many people who never drink are poor? And does not the money spent that way employ the million saloon people? And does not the money pay the employes in the distilleries, breweries, grain raisers, artists, printers, etc.? The people do not drink up the money—they drink up the labor of people who are employed in the various occupations pertaining to the traffic, just as they eat up the labor the people who are employed in the various vocations pertaining to food. If the people spend much for drink does it not go to other people and is the money not saved to others and exists therefore just as much as if it had not been spent? Let me try to put this in a different way and make it perhaps clearer. I spend \$1,000 for drink. I am that much out in money and others who produced and handled the liquor are that much in. Why should that make hard times? If that will make hard times, then so will buying that much food and clothing. The buying of liquor, like the buying of other things, changes the holding of money and other property. If I give \$1,000 for food or drink I am not poorer—I simply have my wealth in another form, in the articles themselves or the satisfaction they give me. But if I give \$1,000 for less than \$1,000 worth of food or drink then I am poorer—getting not the wealth or satisfaction. That is what makes hard times. When one set of men pay \$10 a gallon for drink that costs only 10 cents a gallon to make, they are impoverished. If men could get liquor (if they would drink) at the cost of the labor in it, you would never hear of a man's family starving because he drank up their substance. If he drank a gallon of whisky per day (which nobody does) he would not spend one-tenth of his salary as a day laborer for drink. But it now takes a day's labor to get enough to make him feel it. So he spends all his money for drink, leaves his family in want and you blame him rather than the infernal system of profits that steals his money and makes his family suffer. Successful trade is getting something for nothing—giving what is paid but 10 cents for producing for \$5 if possible. The traffic is bad, but not worse than the rest of the system, of which it is a legitimate child. And the Christian people support it by their votes.

The chief of police of Philadelphia, a ruffian named English, called on John Wanamaker in his private office and informed him that unless he stopped the attacks on the city officials in a paper run by Wanamaker's son, he would publish affidavits that would be very damaging to Wanamaker. Such are the blackmailing villains that this system puts into office. They threaten even as prominent a man as Wanamaker unless he forces papers that he supports simply with advertising to discontinue their exposures of the stealing and oppression of such rascally public officials. Do you wonder why the city of Philadelphia sold its gas works? Do you not know that the sale made many city officials like this chief of police fortunes? These are not socialists, gentlemen; these are your dearly beloved republicans—and they are just like the dearly beloved democrats of New York, Chicago and other cities. These are the people who do not believe in economic equality. They want conditions in which they can loot a city and hire assassins to murder any who oppose—for threatening with blackmail is nothing less than murder. These are your law-abiding people who refuse to permit socialists to talk on the streets! These are the chickens that come home to roost with Wanamaker for supporting the robbery system of private property. Just such tales are recorded in the last days of the Roman republic. No nation can long last when such symptoms occur. Nice, isn't it?

Will you please give your idea on the best way to counteract, not under socialism but under present conditions, the abuse of power which it seems possible among organized mechanics, at least building mechanics, as is the case in Chicago? J. H. PARKIN, Little Rock, Ark.

There is no way to remove an effect without removing the cause. Labor is beginning to open its eyes to the fact that it is an important factor in the world, that it has rights and proposes to maintain them, and the only way that it sees to get a small share of what it creates is to refuse to work unless it gets it. In olden times such acts were by law treason and punished with death. That is what privilege did when it had the power. There is no other rule, under the present insane system except power. Those who have the power exercise it as they see fit. If the mechanics of Chicago have the power, they are not abusing it any more than every other class-abuses it. Would you expect the laboring people to submit to rule of the bosses without protest? It is the best paid labor in the world, the best paid labor indicates the best paid labor. Ignorant labor is most abused. Labor were more intelligent and would ballot which it possesses to get out of power, and that is what it will do in the next few years, but until it does you must expect to see the conditions in Chicago increase in intensity and scope. It is the evidence of what is coming.

John Howton, President

BY LEO NELSON

[COMPLETED FROM LAST WEEK.]

I jumped up with a sort of sub-conscious imprecation on the man who invented war which opposes, so persistently, a rational man's desire for a quiet life. Then I turned on the vacuum tubes so the light glowed, becoming cognizant, for the first time, of great excitement in the street. The shrill cry of "extras" came up blended with the murmurs of crowds below who, doubtless like myself, had been dragged from the repose of the bed-chamber. I opened the door, noticing as I did so that it was half-past three o'clock.

"By all that's holy"—I started to say, but Rosmond interrupted. In one hand he extended a newspaper. In the other were a dozen others. On his hat waved a tiny American flag, while from his face beamed a radiance which I honestly believe would have shown illuminating power in a dark room.

"Read, Henry, read!" he cried, pushing the paper in my hand. "The tide has turned; the tide has turned! Now what do you think of John Howton?"

Indeed, his excitement was pardonable. Under the glow tubes we stood, side by side, while from flaming headlines I learned of our first triumph, so unexpected, so complete and in such an unforeseen quarter. It was all told in an edition of the "Post." This is how memory recalls it:

VICTORY!

Great Naval Battle in English Channel. Combined American and Russian Fleets Destroy British Channel Squadron. Enemy Annihilated. Our Losses Small. Two Hundred Thousand Russian Troops Landed in England. London Threatened. Amazing Coup.

For a moment I was stunned. "Read it all," cried Rosmond, "and meanwhile, haven't you anything to drink here? Great Heavens, man, do you want me to die of thirst?"

I laughed and poured some spirits. "Here's to the old flag and John Howton!" he said, lifting the glass.

"To the old flag—and John Howton if you will have it so," I answered, with a smile.

VII.

The mysterious squadron of armored and protected cruisers had proceeded to Reikiavik, Iceland. Twelve first-class armored cruisers and sixteen protected cruisers together with twenty colliers and supply ships comprised the American strength. At Reikiavik it was joined by ten Russian battleships, eight first-class cruisers and twelve light cruisers. This unforeseen diplomatic triumph is not fully understood to this day. It is clear that within a few hours of opening of hostilities the administration had reached a secret understanding with the Czar, but so well was the secret kept that no inkling of it got out until the first blow had been struck.

The combined fleets had proceeded toward England, at once, by way of the North Sea and when they neared the mouth of the Thames, Britain's essential line of defense, the channel squadron narrowly escaped surprise. Rapid concentration enabled them to present opposition at a point not far distant from Foreness Light. Meanwhile telegrams called for reinforcements from the continent in event of disaster.

The British fleet was probably the finest navy of vessels ever drawn up for battle. It was the best of a magnificent navy. Sixteen first-class battleships, twelve first-class armored cruisers, twenty-four protected and unprotected cruisers together with thirty torpedo boat destroyers, comprised it. As the latter never took the offensive, however, they may as well be ignored.

The rival fleets approached each other at full speed. The British in two columns evidently intended taking the allies on both flanks. Firing began at six thousand yards but little execution was done on either side until this had narrowed to four thousand. Our fleet advanced in extended formation, orders being signalled to ignore enemy's strength and concentrate fire on individual ships. The British, on the other hand, adopted more of ship-to-ship tactics, the result being evidenced by many a shattered superstructure among the allied vessels. The result of a concentrated fire of twelve and eight inch guns from our side was appalling in its consequences. The two leading battleships of the enemy disappeared in a fearful tornado of heavy shell, scarcely a square foot of their surfaces having escaped penetration. Orders were quickly changed by the succeeding admiral and their ships began to move outward on lines similar to our advancing fleet. A twelve inch shell from one of them missed a Russian battleship at which it was aimed and striking an American cruiser amidstships, made it a wreck, distress signals going up immediately. For answer the three central battleships of the enemy's line were seen to be in flames and before help arrived their magazines blew up and they followed their companions to an ocean grave.

New orders appeared on the British flagship and a moment later the fusages of all their ships were belching fire and smoke showing that a desperate effort was being made to break the struggle to a close. Soon the same happened to the remaining vessels. The British, however, were abandoned. The engagement was over. The British ships were seen to be in flames and before help arrived their magazines blew up and they followed their companions to an ocean grave.

On a bright Monday morning Washington was thrown into the utmost consternation by the intelligence that an immense fleet had been sighted off the capes heading for the Chesapeake. It consisted of a squadron of warships

and flotilla of transports. These were described as "commerce raiders." The fleet was divided—though too late—and our reserves in Hampton Roads went out to meet the enemy. The fleet was strong, but much of its weight lay in monitors, of which type there were twelve in the battle line. Of battleships we had five, and eighteen cruisers of all types not including ten light draught gunboats. The Americans realized that their strength lay in the monitors and appreciating the necessity of using them in comparatively quiet waters they moved up the bay to a point known as the Horns, which commands the approach to the Potomac. Six submarine boats accompanied our fleet, but they were not counted in estimating our offensive strength.

The enemy moved on toward the Potomac, the great flotilla of transports hovering well in the rear. Their force was eight battleships, first-class, six armored cruisers, twenty protected and ten light cruisers. Both fleets maneuvered for position near the point. I have called the Horns. The monitors lay on each wing of our fleet, the battleships and heavy cruisers being half a mile in advance and in the center. In reality, therefore, we had two fleets, the advance, and reserve. The submarine boats had vanished. All known of them was that they were making for the enemy.

In Washington hordes of troops were appearing, transferring at once for transportation to the coast. The Virginia militia was concentrating near Norfolk; the Maryland forces had been moved to advantageous positions along the Eastern Shore. As fast as trains and boats could move them four hundred thousand men were rushed to the mouth of the Potomac. It was recognized that unless completely destroyed the enemy would effect a landing, yet when the battle opened so brief had been the time for preparation, only seventy thousand Americans were in striking distance.

The American fleet remained almost stationary, awaiting the enemy; ships holding headway only. The enemy came on with some caution but more speed. The fearful silence that precedes battle was broken by the roar of the two twelve inch guns from the forward turret of the U. S. Battleship Virginia. The sound had not died away and the sea was still heaved with foam from the ricocheting shell, when the leading battleship of the British fleet was seen to lurch, then spring upward as though lifted by a prodigious gyroscope. Two minutes later the military tops only were visible above water. A torpedo from a submarine boat had taken effect. The ships behind swerved from their course, immediately, to avoid the wreck and invisible foe at once, but it was too late. Within a few minutes metallic hoods appeared in all directions, then sank again out of sight. Almost while one held breath another magnificent vessel went to death borne on a sheet of spray that leaped, apparently, from the bed of the channel. All the heavy guns of both fleets were now firing rapidly but the British ships were in a circle of death. Escape seemed impossible. Within twelve minutes every heavy ship had been sunk, yet our fire had not, apparently, taken effect. The submarine boats included in our battle line, owing to the exigencies of the moment were justifying the predictions of their prophets.

A signal suddenly appeared on the leading British cruiser and a few minutes later the great flotilla of troop ships was seen putting about and making for the sea, but the entire American fleet was now moving under forced draught. Three of our heavier cruisers broke away from the line and bore down on the helpless transports. "Confusion worse confounded" reigned. From monitors and battleships there poured a hail of death. Six British cruisers, torn and burning, sank. By quick maneuvering and superior speed the Americans got between them and the sea. Ten transports had already gone down when the English commander surrendered and we rushed to the pleasant task of saving life. None of our ships had been injured except one submarine boat which was never heard of again. Whether sunk by a shot, or blown up by its own torpedo, must ever remain a mystery.

IX.

News of the battle of the Horns came a few minutes ahead of the intelligence that Manila had fallen. The British Asiatic squadron re-enforced by some French ships took the city after a three days bombardment and a sanguinary naval battle. Our force in those waters was all but annihilated, but redeemed itself by deeds of glory that covered defeat with the lustre of victory. The cruiser "Olympic" had sunk the French battleship "Napoleon" in a fierce dash in which superiority of fire and rapidity of delivery had compensated for the vast disparity between the vessels. A few minutes later the noble ship went down, sunk by broadsides from the British battleships "Pompey" and "Caesar." The "Caesar" was soon afterward sunk by the Monterey which was captured later after all its crew were disabled. When the battle ended only half of the enemy remained and the few American ships were masses of wreckage.

Despite the sorrowful tidings from the Pacific the nation was wild with joy. Our ability to cope with the enemy was beyond all doubt and the tragedy of Manila made the valor of our men show to greater advantage. In a way there was some enthusiasm about the Philippines than the Horns, for at the former the odds had been six to one, yet the enemy had been in the condition of the vanquished. That we could retake our Pacific port no one doubted for a moment.

Now came the turning point of the war when our hereditary enemy began to get her just deserts. The inability of England to maintain prestige in the face of our attack created a profound sensation in Europe, even among her allies. The strength of her navy was gone. Her best ships rested on the ocean's bottom. Future sea fighting of de-

terminative nature must be done by her allies. On land England was invaded. London was held by Russians, Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield were in the hands of American troops. Except in the north of Scotland no armed force existed and there they were merely scattered bands depending on the natural defenses of the country. Ireland was in revolt, Dublin being held by revolutionary forces. Canada was American territory. Newfoundland was blockaded.

In Germany and France the socialistic parties began to gain ascendant. Theoretical dislike to the war became practical opposition. A million Russian troops were on the German border awaiting orders to cross. Not until the war was over was it learned that Howton's influence had been responsible for this singular condition.

Following news of battle of the Horns conferences were held by the French and German governments. Both countries were on the verge of revolution owing to sympathetic socialistic element. The war had already cost each country more than they had lost by the American Alien Act, and no possibility of indemnity existed now except after a protracted and bitter struggle. Even success in this was veiled in uncertainty. There was one field in which indemnity could be secured—partition of the British Empire. Was it feasible? Only too certainly. The modern Rome could exist no longer except with help of her allies—Germany and France.

Time was becoming an important element to the dissatisfied parties in the agreement. Much of the once British Empire was already lost. India was occupied by an immense Russian army, the British holding only three parts and the island of Ceylon. British China had been retaken by the Chinese. In America, it was known, terms of peace would involve loss of all British possessions in the Western world.

The French and German navies were, as yet, almost intact. The British had borne the brunt of the battle, as their scarred battle lines revealed. Their once splendid navy was in ruins. In quality it was below that of Japan. Could victory still be wrung from defeat by some brilliant feat for which the sea had been famous? Alas, when prestige is lost all is lost!

In the midst of this short breathing space news came that the French squadron hitherto sailing with the British and both of which were last reported in the bay of San Juan del Norte, had suddenly left their ally and proceeded to Martinique. On the next day a great naval battle took place near the mouth of the canal, between the British and American fleets. The result was not decisive. The contestants were almost evenly matched, and the British Admiral, fighting with a caution hitherto unknown with them, inflicted severe losses, three American battleships being sunk. The day following, however, he was forced to renew the engagement. Then the star of England's fortune set forever. Not a single ship on their side floated when the battle ceased.

The news reached Paris and Berlin, causing indescribable excitement. The socialists of both capitals could not be restrained from expressions of delight. In France the old cry of "Liberte, Fraternite, Egalite" resounded and pictures of Washington and Lafayette were everywhere displayed enveloped in French and American colors. In Germany pictures of Frederick the Great, Baron Steuben and other notable Germans who had aided us in the war of '76, were everywhere in evidence. Ministries contended in vain against the popular tide. The German cabinet resigned in the midst of frenzied scenes in the Reichstag. In France a similar event took place, the Chamber becoming so violent it had to be cleared by force of arms. Within twenty-four hours both nations had concluded a tentative treaty with the United States, and England was at war with, practically, the civilized world.

X.

In America the scenes of enthusiasm following our changed relations with Europe entirely baffled description. Among conservative circles there was serious talk of an amendment to the constitution whereby Howton might be made president for life provided he would modify his radical program. That something must be done to check his progress in that direction was only too evident. Although burdened with war he had gone so far in carrying out his socialistic necessities that three-fifths of the employes of the nation were now under governmental jurisdiction. The sharp contrast between hours and compensation of public and private servants was so great that a strong demand had risen for more rapid absorption of industrial utilities by the state. In vain our best orators pointed out the dangers of the system. In vain was it shown that public ownership by destroying competition took away the incentive to progress. We called attention to the undeniable fact that public employes did comparatively little work owing to the shortness of their working day. "This looks inviting to you at a distance," we said, "but what will become of the country when everybody in it has to work only five hours? We shall be a nation of drones. Our commercial prestige, our ability to underbid in foreign markets will leave us. Pause, fellow countrymen! Grasp the situation!"

XI.

Hours of labor in the public service had been reduced to seven and the Administration was doing its utmost to still further curtail them. Congress had already passed an act abolishing pensions except for genuine disability, but in lieu of this, offered all ex-soldiers employment in the public service and a retirement pension after twenty years labor, if slightly disabled, or retirement in twenty-five years under any circumstances. As indicating a phase of human perversity this act was wonderfully popular. Recruiting offices were crowded, day and night. Fear was expressed that the war might end before everyone got in the army. A condition of public demoralization existed. The country was also in a dilemma about

compensating for those properties already absorbed by the state. Howton did not feel fully equal to the problem for he sent a special message to Congress on the subject. This body slavishly followed his main suggestion, however, which was to establish a Department of Elections in connection with an Initiative and Referendum system so that the people at large might have a deciding voice in these serious matters. The lower classes were thus given supreme power in defining the disposition of public property.

Howton dwelt on some curious phases of public ownership. The price of articles to consumers was now very nearly the cost of production, the addition being paid out to the former owners as interest on investment. Instead, however, of sharing with stockholders on a profit taking basis the government was paying the same interest only as on its bonds—two per cent. This resulted in an enormous decrease in private incomes, heretofore independent. The odd idea was advanced by Howton that the utility of these citizens to the general good was a serious question, for being above necessity of labor their services could not be called for by the state, and, as he expressed it, they neither worked for nor wished well for the government which maintained them in luxury at the general expense. So anarchical had we become that our leisure class was actually threatened with the menace of labor!

The war had now assumed a wonderful aspect, involving nothing less than dismemberment of the British Empire, for that nation, recognizing its awful plight, asked, through Australia, for a cessation of hostilities. To this assent was given, for in all candor, it must be admitted, further aggression by the allied forces would have been wanton slaughter.

Terms of peace were formulated in St. Petersburg, Howton being present by telegraphic circuit, and passing on each clause of the treaty, or more correctly bill of cessation. The terms, as finally agreed upon, were onerous in the extreme though best, probably, for the future peace of the world.

All British possessions in the New World passed to the United States. Egypt, the Mediterranean isles and Ceylon, went to France. Germany was satisfied with the extensive British possessions in the Pacific, excepting Australia and New Zealand which the United States steadfastly maintained must be recognized as independent states. Cape Colony and part of the Natal also went to Germany. Russia was content with India and the adjoining British territory, omitting Ceylon, of course. She also absorbed all territory in China hitherto British, a specific clause permitting free trade with the ports. The United States further agreed, in a spirit of pure philanthropy it seemed, to cede the Philippines to Japan provided that nation would relinquish, forever, all claim of right in Korea. We were to hold the naval station, only, in the Archipelago.

The most interesting part of the treaty was that relating to England itself, and this, it was claimed, was Howton's work entirely. Indeed, he had submitted it to popular vote obtaining a decision within twenty-four hours, so perfectly had the new election system been organized. These articles refused, specifically, to recognize the former government of Great Britain. The social-aristocratic order which formerly ruled was declared to be a perpetual menace to the peace of the world. Refusing access to land to their own people they had escaped revolution, hitherto, by preying on the balance of mankind. The people of England, Wales and Scotland were left free to organize a new government provided it was a republic in which social classes were not recognized by law. It was made obligatory, also, that the great private parks of England must be turned into public lands. Ireland was left to organize an independent government under the same limitations covering England, Scotland and Wales.

A few days after the acceptance of these terms the ruling family left England forever, settling in Austria.

XII.

CONCLUSION.

A few days later Rosmond asked me to go to New York with him, to avoid, he laughingly remarked, the mustering out of the Grand Army. Washington was so densely populated for the time that New York seemed a veritable relief. It was as quiet as a village compared with the military excitement of the Capital.

"You can settle down again, old man," he said, "and write something about this war. It owes you that privilege for having smashed your pretty plot so completely. Don't get in too much bitterness about Howton's radicalism, either, for I assure you he is a great man."

"Yes, a great man with prejudices," I sighed.

"There are no unprejudiced ones, except in stories," laughed Rosmond.

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The Average Man.

His face had the grimace of granite;
It was bleached and bronzed by the sun.
Like the coat on his poor narrow shoulders,
And his hand showed the work he had done.
His dim eyes were weary and patient,
And he smiled through his pallor and tan
A wisful, sad smile, as if saying,
"I'm only an average man."

"I can't be a hero or poet,
Nor dictator wearing a crown.
I'm only the hard-working servant
Of those set above me. I'm down,
And its no use complaining—
I'll get along the best way I can,
And one of these days I'll come a morning
And rest for the average man."

He wages all battles and wins them,
He builds all turrets that tower
Over walls of the city to tell
Of rulers and priests of the hour.
Without him the general is helpless,
The earth but a place and a plan;
He moves all and clothes all and feeds all.
This sad-smiling average man.

Then I lifted my hand in a promise,
With teeth set close; and my breath
Held hard in my throat, and I uttered
A vow that shall outlive death.
I swear that the builder no longer
To me shall be less than the plan;
Henceforth be guardian and glory
And hope for the average man.
—HAMLIN GARLAND in the Outlook.

The Wage Slave.

The negro's free, but in his place
The wage slave bows his haggard face—
The power of gold holds full control,
It owns its victim's life and soul;
It owns the mother, woe-worn, wild,
Who cannot feed her starving child;
It owns the woman, gaunt and thin,
By want dragged down to wavs of sin;
It owns the masses of toiling men;
It fills each lowest, vilest den,
Where vice and crime, where sin and shame
Are stamped on souls with brands of flame.

It gives the low the power to rule,
The talling millions but their tool—
The helpless tool of cunning knaves
Who make free men their cringing slaves.
The sons of toil who should be free,
Yet bend to gold their servile knee,
And cast their eyes in silence down
Before a master's naughty frown.

O, men of toil, on sea and land,
Who feel the tyrant's iron hand,
No longer yield your manhood up
And groaning drink the bitter cup.
While your taskmasters wring from you
The just reward to labor due!
Ye are not babes, but men full grown—
Arise and take what is your own.
The negro's free on Southern plains;
Let white wage slaves now break their chains.
—STANLEY FITZPATRICK.

THE BALLOT BOX.

If "drops of ink make millions think"
Then why are men not wise?
For thoughts should cause those ruled by laws
To open wide their eyes.

The laws are wrong; and 'twon't be long
Till worse ones will obtain,
So that the trusts with grasping lusts,
Will own the whole domain.

Outcasts on earth, the poor from birth
Will be the rich man's slave.
The millions then, can't think like men,
Nor have a boon they crave.

Some favored few may get their due
By bowing in the dust
To lordly wealth, they drink its health
When masters say they must.

The picture's sad, but I am glad
We have a power in hand
To blot it out and put to rout
The trusts in our fair land.

The ballot-box is freemen's vox
So use it while you can,
The test will come, then vote for home
And freedom, like a man.
—T. R. ARMSTRONG.

For gold his sword the hiring ruffian draws;
For gold the hiring judge distorts the laws;
Wealth heaped on wealth, nor truth nor safety
buys;
The dangers gather as the treasures rise.
—DR. JOHNSON.

What Would Happen?
Did you ever stop to think what would
happen if a business man should start out
to organize a commercial club and his customers
should set on him as a disturber and an enemy
of society and ridicule his protestations
that his efforts were for getting the business
men of the town together for mutual benefit
and to build up trade?

Or if a doctor should apply for membership
in a medical association and his patients
should say: "You are discharged. We can't
have you joining the associations and inter-
fering with our health. Your talk about
being thus better able to combat disease and
so on is all rot. We won't have it?"

Or if a lawyer should join the local bar as-
sociation and all his clients should call him
in and tell him that he was simply conspiring
to get their hard-earned money and then put
it in the newspapers that he was probably
honest enough but had been led astray by an
unprincipled jackleg who had served a term
in the state legislature for bribery?

Or if a minister who, along with the other
preachers of the town, was compelled to work
at the church every night in the week and go
to picnics and make calls most of the day
for \$469.50 a year should undertake to form
a ministerial association and through it get a

celebrated evangelist to come and hold union
meetings and the courts should enjoin him
and throw him in jail because he was trying
to interfere with freedom of contract?

Or if an editor should say that he thought
it a good thing for his brother editors to have
a press association and should urge them to
get together and read papers and go on junk-
ets—and his subscribers should quit taking
his paper and import a cheaper man to run
an inferior paper?

What would these professional men think?
But nothing of the sort will happen. The
business man, doctor, lawyer, minister and
editor can all organize their respective crafts
and nothing is ever done about it. There is
only one man who cannot. The minute a
wage worker thinks of organization he is dic-
tated to from all sides outside of his trade,
and warned not to forget his place. Suppose
a wage-earner should ask for an injunction
against an employer?

Yet there are enough wage-workers with
votes to set this matter right.

GEORGE B. HARRISON.

A German Clergyman's Views.

Dr. Blumhardt, a famous protestant clergy-
man of Wurtemberg, Germany, created a
great sensation by allying himself with the
Social Democratic party. He said in an ad-
dress which was spread throughout all Ger-
many:

"When I look at the present condition of
the workingman I must despair that civiliza-
tion and Christianity have not yet produced
better results. Through legislative enact-
ments practically no substantial improve-
ment of the condition of the poor has been or
can be accomplished. I can see no way for per-
manent betterment except by an absolute re-
organization of the social status of modern
society. For many years it has been my
conviction that no religion is worth anything
that cannot transform society and raise it to
a higher and better level and make men
happy here on earth. In this sense I under-
stand the scriptures, and in that sense I
understand my Christ: And, therefore, I feel
myself inwardly related to those people who
are charged with aiming at a Utopia; I am
their associate, and one with them in spirit.
May the time come when money shall not be
the measure of all things and of all values,
but the life and happiness of man shall be-
come the chief thing.

"Let it not be regarded as astonishing that
the man who confesses the Lord Jesus Christ
acknowledges his agreement with the ideas
of Social Democracy, with the poor working
people of the land. For Christ was himself
of the lowly. He was crucified because He
was a socialist; twelve members of the prole-
tariat constituted his apostles. People are
mistaken when they think a man ceases to be
a Christian when he joins the proletariat.
Paul did the very same thing. It is impos-
sible that the present condition of affairs should
continue among the working people, and the
change must be effected along the lines
pointed out by Social Democracy."

Columbus Had Sense.

"George," who reports his paw's talks at
home for the Chicago Times-Herald, recently
sent in the following remarks on the wisdom
of Columbus in discovering America when
there were no millionaires to get out an in-
junction against him.

"It was a lucky thing for Columbus that
he came over here and discovered this coun-
try when he did," paw sed when we was
gathered around the family surcle last nite.

"Why?" maw ast him.
"Becos," paw told her, "if ennbudy come
over here looked for a place to land now do
you no what would happen? J. Pierpont
Morgan would be there when the grate dis-
cruverer pulled up to the dock and say: 'I
hate to be harsh with you, Chris, but this be-
longs to a sin dycate what I have jist formed
and if you want to tie a rope to the western
hemisphere you got to pay the skeydul price.'"

"Who is J. Pierpont Morgan?" maw ast.
"I think I herd that name somewhere before."
"He is the man who lets God press the
button," paw told her, "and he does the rest.
He blows the whissel for the peepul of this
country in the mornen and shuts the gate at
nite. He owns a millyun dollar yot and has
a privit car and cant eat sweet things becos
they make him too fat, that's who he is.
Every nite when he goes to bed he needs
down and prays:

Now I lay me down to sleep
(I formed another trust today)
I pray the lord my sole to keep
(I've got another under way)
If I should die before I wake
(I'll git it thru without a doubt)
I pray the lord my sole to take
(And bar all other people out.)

Do not wait for others to do their duty—
do your duty and that will encourage them.
Send in for \$10 worth of postal subscription
cards. No trouble to get subs with them.
They are a great aid to the propagaanda, and
you lose nothing. Good for cash on return
if you do not find it true.

"THE INCENTIVE" FOR LABOR.

PROF. FRANK PARSONS IN THE CITY FOR THE PEOPLE
Public Enterprise in Boston. Private Enterprise in Boston.

A full fledged police-
man gets \$1,200 a
year.

The policeman has an
excellent chance of
promotion, one in
each seven members
of the force being an
officer enjoying a
salary of \$1,400 to
\$2,800.

The policeman is on
duty ten hours day
or seven hours night.

The policeman is se-
cure in his position
during good behavior.

The police board may
retire a policeman on
half pay after twenty
years service in case
of disability, and
shall, upon request,
retire him on half
pay at 65, or, in case
of permanent disabili-
ty, by accident, etc.,
in the service.

The police are free to
organize, to petition,
to vote as they please,
to speak their minds
on any public ques-
tion.

The superintendent of
police gets \$3,500 a
year as the agent of
the people.

Socialism for Humanity.

Socialism is justice put into practice. Our
conceptions of justice become clearer and
purer as we grow wiser and better; therefore
the socialism of the future will be superior to
our present conceptions of it. The first prin-
ciple of socialism is Equality in Rights.
There are natural differences in human be-
ings—in their physical strength, intellectual
capacity, and moral character, but there is
no difference in natural rights. Nature makes
no discrimination between the rights of men
and of women; between those of adults and
of children; between natives of one country
and natives of another country. Each per-
son is entitled to the full enjoyment of hu-
man rights by virtue of the fact that he is a
human being. The air, the water, the earth,
its minerals and other riches, with the nat-
ural products of the soil and the sea, are the
rightful inheritance of every child born upon
this planet. The benefits of the accumulated
experience of all the ages belong also to every
human being, limited only by the capacity to
enjoy. The natural resources of the earth
can be developed and utilized only by labor;
and under socialism no one will suffer from
deprivation excepting those who CAN work
but will not. There will be no drones, or
the ability to live on the proceeds of prop-
erty without labor will cease as there will be
no such proceeds. One may live on the accu-
mulations of labor, but the power of prop-
erty to add to itself (by rent, interest and
profit) without labor cannot exist under the
reign of justice. Laws are now made mainly
for property, but under socialism legisla-
tion will be for humanity.

We are, by right, equal inheritors of na-
ture's bounties. To claim more is unjust,
and to take more is robbery—no matter what
man-made law may declare. In consequence
of this robbery comes nearly all the poverty
and the resultant misery of mankind. If we
would relieve ourselves of such poverty we
must demand our natural inheritance, and
must take it—not as individuals, but as a
collective body, all acting for each and each
for all. In no other way can human rights
be established. The people must be educat-
ed into this idea. When they learn their
rights it will not be long before they find a
way to enjoy them. Until the natural re-
sources of each country are controlled by the
people of that country collectively, injustice
will prevail, and human misery continue as
the inevitable result.

THE MONEY OF NEW ZEALAND.

SEVERAL readers have asked about the kind
of money used in New Zealand. In response
to my inquiry, Hon. H. D. Lloyd writes:

141 Beacon Street, Boston, May 26.
MY DEAR WAYLAND—The money used in New
Zealand is exactly like the money of Great Britain;
all English money circulates there freely,
and they have in addition to bank notes issued
against a reserve like the bank of England notes.
There is not a touch of any kind of currency re-
form about their system. Faithfully yours,
H. D. LLOYD.

SOCIALIST KINDERGARTEN.

If you run across any statements indi-
cating that their writers should be sent to
school or otherwise suitable for this column
of correction, send them in.

There can be no doubt in the unbiased mind that if the
great cooperators of any large community were run by the
Government, whether it be municipal or otherwise, a great
political machine would be formed, and that it would almost
be an impossibility to disrupt that machine. The number of
people who would be subservient to the leaders would be
only estimated by the courage for inquiry that would be
contained in the minds of these leaders.—Street-car Mag-
nate Yerkes.

Yerkes, who of course has a most un-
biased mind, insists on imagining public own-
ership of the means of production and dis-
tribution coupled with private ownership of
office. The socialist does not want socialism
in the first with individualism applied to the
latter—he wants thorough socialism. But it
is only by ignoring the whole truth that a
competitivist can attack socialism. The so-
cialist insists that there shall be no courage
for iniquity in the minds of the leaders, and
the system we propose will wipe out the in-
centive which now compels it. Yerkes' in-
sinnation that man is inherently evil does
not square with the truth—but it does with
the fundamentals of the competitive system.

Yet while the unraveled skein
Of human wrong persists,
Even such weak best were vain,
Precipitate Socialists!
The goals your gaze descends
Fragrant banners hoist;
"Till your Utopian flight
Great throes our world shall shock."
The hours are centuries long on hope's pillennial clock.
—Edgar Fawcett in New York Journal.

In all ages there have been men who pre-
ferred to sit back and enjoy indolence and
label progress impossible while other men
made the impossibilities of the present the
commonplaces of the future. Are you a
Fawcett or a Markham?

Why does not the Republican president or his attorney
general enforce the law against trusts? Why has a Republi-
can congress refused even to consider the simple and just
remedy, once proposed by John Sherman, of suspending or
repealing every tariff duty that promotes or protects a trust?
—New York World (den).

For the same reason, to a certain extent, that a Demo-
cratic national administration failed to enforce a law against
trusts, and for the same reason that Democratic states have
failed to accomplish anything worth mentioning in dealing
with the far too much exploited bugaboo.—Kansas
City Journal (rep).

One instance to show that socialism is impossible was
given by a commissioner of the New York Voice, who studied
the socialist system of regulating the liquor traffic in
Gospenburg and found it a rank failure.—A Republican Or-
ator.

And in his next speech on the liquor ques-
tion this spellbinder will attack the New
Voice as utterly mendacious and unreliable
because it has a commissioner at Washington
who says that McKinley drinks and does
other things no Methodist can reconcile with
his church's discipline. That speech was
made in prohibition Kansas and there were
three saloons just across the street from the
hall it was delivered in. Yet in Kansas to
the Republicans prohibition is possible and
socialism impossible.

The trusts are primarily responsible for the spread of
socialistic doctrines among the people, who are unable to
see hope for relief from their oppressive rule except in the
confiscation of their privileges and property by the State
and the adoption by the people as a whole of the system of
organization and control that the trusts have so
skillfully perfected. The trust system of socialism for pri-
vate profit is met naturally by a movement for the establi-
shment of socialism for the common benefit. This marked ten-
dency towards socialism should impress upon statesmen the
urgent need of legislation that will deal effectually with the
question of the dangerous growth of the power of
monied capital.—Philadelphia North American.

The "statesmen" will denounce the trusts in
the old party platforms, as they have done
before, and the trusts will go on making so-
cialists. Do you want the present trust sys-
tem "met naturally?"

The gaunt and laggard woe that stalks the highways of the
land (Porto Rico) and has to be kept out of France by ardu-
ous efforts is the child of the policy that has excluded the
Porto Rican products from our markets. It is the necessary re-
sult of the selfishness, greed, and corrupt influences that
keep congressmen fighting to establish a precedent of in-
justice which a people stare.—Chicago Journal.

The present system is constantly letting
people starve and keeping others so busy
getting money that they have no time to heed
their brothers' misery. Still there are per-
sons who say that it is a Christian system!

A novel form of trust has been formed by the ministers of
this city to maintain a new scale of prices at funerals. The
right of public utility has been taken away from the people
and a local minister to preach the funeral sermon the
minister demanded \$1, which the applicant had to bor-r-w.
Every other minister in the town makes the same charge.—
Press Dispatch from Ancon, W.

What would Jesus do? G. B. H.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN FRANCE.

A Review by Max Hayes in the Cleveland Citizen.

The Nationalist party of France is a com-
bination of the Clerical, Monarchical, Bona-
partist and Moderate Republican parties.
This reactionary and heterogeneous mob has
little in common other than the stamping out
of the proletarian revolutionary sentiment.
It is composed of the followers of the nobil-
ity, the empire, the army, priesthood, profes-
sional patriotism, and other reactionary ele-
ments that have but one purpose in view—
the preservation of the capitalist system—
and are marshaled by the adventurers, De-
roulede and Rochefort, and such disappointed
politicians as Meline. It is withal the most
powerful and unholy alliance ever perfected
in erratic France, and appeals especially to
the little capitalists, who are conservative
and lukewarm Republicans, and to that vicious
and ignorant element known as anti-Semites,
or Jew-baiters.
There is one power that looms up stronger

than ever after the municipal struggle, and
that is the combined Socialist movement, and
probably on this account our American edito-
rial scribbles have been so eloquently silent.
In Paris the Socialists held their own in the
Municipal Council, losing four seats and win-
ning four, while their total vote increased by
26,000, making a grand total of 128,000 in
the city. Add to this number 73,000 votes
for the Radicals and 19,000 anti-Nationalist
votes, and we have 218,000, as compared
to 163,000 votes for the Nationalist alliance.
In the Council the Socialist-Republican
members numbered 39, while the Nationalist
claimed 41 seats, but the very latest infor-
mation at hand shows that seven Republicans
deserted from the Nationalists and ranged
themselves with the opposition, thus the Na-
tionalists are really in a minority of 12, while
the total vote is given as follows, in round
numbers: Socialist-Republicans, 242,000; Na-
tionalist alliance, 130,000.

It must not be inferred from this bunching
of figures that the Socialists in any way fused
with the Republican party (which is not to be
confused with the Republican party in this
country, as the French party is practically
populistic). The Socialists of France defend
the republican form of government, but con-
sistently attack the capitalistic tendencies of
the Republican party, and this, in a measure,
explains why the former gained 26,000 votes
in Paris alone almost wholly at the expense
of the latter.

In the provinces the Socialists greatly sur-
prised the politicians. They were successful
in many parts of Northern France, in the cen-
ter at St. Etienne, at Rennes in the west, at
Bordeaux in the south, at Norbonne, even at
Angouleme, the home of the patriotic dema-
gogue, Droulede. At Lyons and Marseille
they have gained important victories; at
Roubaix, at Lille, at Carmon and many
other points they had veritable triumphs.

The long and short of it is that today the
Socialist movement of France is the one pow-
er that stands behind and preserves republi-
can institutions. And it may be taken for
granted that if ever the fanatical and patriotic
Reactionists of Paris follow the crazy Droulede
or the arch-conspirator Rochefort
into taking up arms against the government,
as they have threatened to do, the Socialists
will rise up and crush them, and with them
capitalistic exploitation. Keep an eye on
France. That country is likely to pass
through some stirring scenes in the near
future.

Subscriptions from large cities should specify sub station,
insures prompt delivery of paper.

Social Democratic National Ticket for 1900.
For President,
EUGENE V. DEBS,
of Indiana.
For Vice President,
JOE HARRISON,
of California.

The Platform.

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that
life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and
economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has
taken place, the individual tool of former years having be-
come the social tool of the present. The individual tool was
owned by the worker who employed himself and was master
of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned
by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for
employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the
worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of
the product of his labor.

"Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of produc-
tion, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the
poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing major-
ity of our people; but the same economic forces which have
produced and now intensify the capitalist system will ne-
cessitate the adoption of socialism, the collective ownership
of the means of production for the common good and welfare."

The present system of social production and private own-
ership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic
classes—the one, the capitalist class and the proletariat class.
The middle class, once the most powerful of this great
nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue
is now between the two classes first named. Our political
liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to
acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union move-
ment are the chief emancipating factors of the working
class. The only representation, in politics, of the econ-
omic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the cap-
italist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares
its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political
party to conquer the public powers now controlled by
capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage slavery by the establi-
shment of a national system of co-operative industry, based
upon the social or common ownership of the means of pro-
duction and distribution, to be administered by society in
the common interest of all its members, and the complete
emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domina-
tion of capitalism.

Third—The working class and all those in sympathy with their
historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever
connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite
with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic
Party will be antagonistic to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-
conscious fellow workers throughout the civilized world will
lead to international socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to re-
move the obstacles to complete control of government by the
people for their own benefit.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled
by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs
and express, all means of transportation and common
wealth; all water works, gas and electric plants and other
public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper,
lead, iron, coal, salt, and all oil and gas.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion
to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and
improvement for the employment of the unemployed, the
public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be
remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor organization to be national, instead of local,
and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against
accidents, sickness, old age, and death.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and
women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against
women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum,
proportional representation, and the right of recall of repre-
sentatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of inter-
national arbitration.

Something That Partial Socialism HAS Done

Henry D. Lloyd's latest book, "A Country
Without Strikes," shows what the steps to-
ward socialism that New Zealand has taken
have accomplished. Mr. Lloyd shows what
compulsory arbitration has done, and explains
its imperfections because of the partial lack
of socialism. He says: "Arbitration does
not remove the bottom evil of all in the labor
world, the economic inequality of masters
and men which makes a free contract impos-
sible because one of the parties is not free;
it certainly adds a humanizing touch to
methods of the struggle, and all civiliza-
tion is lifted a stage."
But it is because of the socialism that New
Zealand has adopted that its system of arbi-
tration has been so successful, because, as
William F. Reeve, the author of the compul-

sory arbitration law, says in the introduction
to Lloyd's book, "New Zealand is perhaps
the most simple and complete little democ-
racy in the world."
What compulsory arbitration backed by the
socialistic spirit has done is thus summed up
in "A Country Without Strikes."
First—Strikes and lockouts have been
stopped.
Second—Wages and terms have been fixed
so that manufacturers can make their con-
tracts ahead without fear of disturbance.
Third—Workingmen, too, knowing that
their incomes cannot be cut down nor locked
out, can marry, buy land, build homes.
Fourth—Disputes arise continually, new
terms are fixed, but industry goes on without
interruption.

Fifth—No factory has been closed by the
act.
Sixth—The country is more prosperous
than ever.
Seventh—The awards of the Arbitration
Court fix a standard of living which other
courts accept in deciding cases affecting work-
ingmen.
Eighth—Awards made by compulsory arbi-
tration are often renewed by a voluntary
agreement when they expire.
Ninth—Trades unions are given new rights
and are called upon to admit all competent
workingmen in the trade.
Tenth—Compulsion in the background
makes conciliation easier.
Eleventh—Compulsory publicity gives the
public, the real arbitrator, all the facts of
every dispute.

Twelfth—Salaring classes, as well as wage-
earners, are claiming the benefits of arbitra-
tion.
Thirteenth—Peaceable settlement with their
men has been made possible for the major-
ities of the employers who wanted to arbitrate,
but were prevented by minorities of their
associates.
Fourteenth—Labor and capital are being
organized into trade unions and associations,
instead of mobs and monopolists.
Fifteenth—Trade honesty is promoted by
the exposure and prevention of fraud on the
public.
Sixteenth—Humane and law-abiding busi-
ness men seek the protection of the law to
save themselves from destruction by the com-

petition of inhumane and law-breaking rivals.
Seventeenth—The weak and strong are
equalized both among the capitalists and the
workingmen.
Eighteenth—The victory is given as nearly
as possible to the right instead of to the
strong, as in war.
Nineteenth—The concentration of wealth
and power is checked.
Twentieth—The distribution of wealth is
determined along lines of reason, justice and
the greatest need, instead of along lines of
the greatest greed.
Twenty-first—Democracy is strengthened
by these equalizations.
Twenty-second—It furnishes the people
their only cheap, speedy and untechnical jus-
tice.

