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J. A. Wayland.
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AN EMPIRE IN THE MAKING!

Men of America: Read Carefully the Following Article from the Pen of Franklin H. Wentworth, Staff Correspondent of the Appeal to Reason.

Washington, D. C., Feb. 11, 1905.

When one realizes how the Roman republic was overthrown by the creeping up of despotism under familiar forms; when one remembers how long it was after Caesar before the absolute master of the Roman world pretended to rule, except by the authority of a senate which trembled before him, President Roosevelt's action regarding San Domingo seems like a 20th century transcript of the performances of a Roman dictator.

To the Socialist, whose philosophy renders such actions transparent, the United States "receivership" of San Domingo is but a perfect example of the flowering of capitalist government in the United States. There is nothing unusual or remarkable about it.

But if there are any people left in America who hold to the ideas of the founders of the American republic, President Roosevelt's action should seriously disturb them.

IT WOULD DISTURB THEM IF THEY UNDERSTOOD IT. But they do not understand it. There is no way in which they may get the information they need for its proper understanding. The more I see of the Washington press bureaus the more am I convinced that they are bureaus for the dissemination of mis-information.

I have been looking over the principal daily newspapers of the country, in their files at the Congressional library, just to see how this San Domingo business is going before the country, and the way the Washington dispatches are worded renders the matter in them INTELLIGIBLE ONLY TO THE INITIATED. The casual reader would never discover in the perusal of them that the foundations of the republic, on which he believes his liberties still rest, are being undermined as coolly as a corporation digs a sub-way.

It is safe to say that 90 per cent of the Americans who read the Washington dispatches do not understand them. Even when they get the cold facts they do not know how to interpret them, because they are not posted on what has quietly gone before.

This is not the fault of the newspaper correspondents here at Washington. They are doing what they are paid for; if they were not they could not stay. Many of them are as revolutionary in their sentiments as I am, and as thoroughly disgusted with the whole shallow pretense of a representative government which is really but the organized instrument by which the people are exploited. But they cannot say so—not in their papers.

Last night, after digging all day to unearth the facts, I strolled into the National theater. Hanging over the rear seats in the foyer was one of the correspondents of a leading Philadelphia daily.

"Here!" I said, "Why the devil don't you fellows stir up the country about this San Domingo business of Roosevelt's?"

He turned and looked at me quietly; then slipped his arm through mine and pushed me into the foyer. "I didn't want to lick you in there," he said, "it might disturb the play."

We went into the adjoining cafe and sat at a table, where he lit a cigar and regarded me paternally through the smoke.

"You think you're smart, don't you—you and your confounded little cross-roads weekly? You'll get sick of making a row after awhile. Nobody cares anything about you. If they did there'd be a cyclone out in Kansas some day, and you'd be coming to us for a job."

"Don't deceive yourself about that," I answered; "they thrive on cyclones out there. The bull-dog and the office cat and the blue-eyed fairy ride home on them to lunch, when the cyclone happens to be traveling their way."

"Say!" he said, "On the dead. Why don't you write what you see? These yawns you're sending to the grangers can't keep you in shoe leather."

"Do you really want to know?" I replied, "and will you take it without getting mad?"

He nodded at me.

"Well," I said, "I'd rather get ten dollars a week and have fifty dollars worth of fun, than to get sixty and have to sit up all night arranging my words to conceal my thoughts."

"Oh, cut it!" he grunted. "You talk like a kid. We give the news to the country. If the country hasn't the brains to understand it, whose fault is it? Your little blanket likes to make a row. My paper doesn't. Neither does any other decent sheet. It is not the policy of the press to keep the people in a ferment over politics. The business interests don't like it—and that's where our advertising comes from."

In other words, he admitted what we Socialists know so well: that the press is simply the expression of capitalism; that news is doctored to achieve a definite capitalist result, and that the people get in their columns only the stuff capitalism deems it wise they should get.

What is this San Domingo case which the president has been handling as if he, himself, were the nation, irrespective of any constitutional restraint?

It is a successful attempt on the part of European shysters, generally by a New Jersey corporation, to make the dignified American republic do the dirty work of a bailiff, and collect their interest for them.

In 1888 the Dominican government borrowed \$3,850,000 at 6 per cent from some Holland bankers. Bonds were issued to cover, to run for thirty years. THE BANKERS WERE GIVEN THE RIGHT TO PUT AGENTS IN THE DOMINICAN CUSTOM HOUSES TO MAKE SURE OF THEIR INTEREST.

This was the beginning.

Five years after we note the appearance in the island of the "Dominican Improvement Company," which a little research discloses as a New Jersey corporation of New York capitalists. Almost simultaneously with the appearance of these gentlemen, we note the transfer from the Dutch bankers to them of all of the former's rights, franchises and obligations; showing that the scheme was cooked before they went there. Thus American agents of New York capitalists became the custodians of the Dominican custom-houses.

In less time than you would take to say Jack Robinson, the national debt of \$3,850,000, payable in thirty years at 6 per cent, changed like magic to a debt of \$10,000,000 at 4 per cent, payable in sixty-two years. A printing press is a wonder in making securities, as Mr. Lawson has said. It is not recorded who got the difference between the \$3,850,000 and the \$10,000,000, that is to say, \$6,150,000, in this sudden increase of the national debt, but no doubt it was all honestly spent in "improvements," as that is what the American company was for.

In order that the Americans might get the coin with which to make these "improvements" the \$10,000,000 in bonds were sold to capitalists in Holland, Belgium, France, England and New York.

In five years of taxation, such as American capitalists know how to administer, the people rebelled. Poor President Heuresaux paid the penalty. He was assassinated. He had been president of the little republic for fourteen years. The suffering people could not kill the "improvement" company, so they struck at the most conspicuous head in sight.

For centuries the people of the world have been striking at the result, or product, of the social system, instead of at the system itself. This is what makes the Socialist revolution unique. It strikes at the system itself, and regards such poor tools as President Heuresaux as the logical product of wrong foundations of finance.

Since President Heuresaux was sacrificed, in 1898, there have been five revolutions and five different presidents; things getting worse after each one.

Now, under capitalism there is only one thing which makes human life sacred, and that is its ability to pay rent or interest.

When the "revoluting" in San Domingo began, the interest payments to the European capitalists stopped, which developed at once a wonderful solicitude for the dear people of San Domingo—in financial circles. They must have a "stable" government—at once.

But the people of the island would not be pacified, their economic suffering was too great, so the New Jersey corporation began to plot to get the United States government to interfere and cow them into subjection, as if they were citizens of Illinois or Colorado.

THESE HUMAN VULTURES, AGENTS OF AMERICAN GREED, FOMENTED REVOLUTION WITH ONE HAND, AND POINTED TO IT WITH THE OTHER, AS A JUSTIFICATION FOR THE INTERFERENCE OF THEIR HOME CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT IN SUBJECTING THE PEOPLE OF SAN DOMINGO TO THEIR EXPLOITATION.

When they renewed their appeals last year President Roosevelt did not dare to do what he has just done now; because he was afraid the people would find it out and it might defeat his re-election. He knew very well what these unscrupulous Americans were doing. But his big stick is for the weak; not the strong.

In the Washington Star of March 16, last year, appeared the following paragraph, undoubtedly "inspired":

"It is admitted at the state department that some representations have been made in a forcible way to American firms and individuals having an interest in San Domingo that they have small ground for complaint of revolutionary disturbances affecting their interests so long as they themselves are in the habit of furnishing arms, ammunition and money to both sides engaged in the fratricidal strife."

It evidently, however, needed only the additional pressure of the European capitalists upon Mr. Roosevelt to induce him to help his patriotic countrymen, and pull a few foreign chestnuts out of the fire at the same time. The Monroe doctrine is the cloak under which the president stultifies himself and dishonors his country by becoming a collector of European debts.

But although the president would not risk interference last year, things were evidently being shaped up so he could interfere after election, and the United States navy was serving the local capitalists to that end. The latter found a man named Morales who wanted to be president; "who represents," as the dispatches naively assert, "the property interests more than his late opponents did."

Morales was successfully made president, by the intervention of the United States navy in his revolution, under the cloak of "protecting foreign commerce" at San Domingo.

As soon as he felt secure; as soon as he and his employers, the New Jersey corporation, felt the people were sufficiently cowed to remain quiet before the bullying of the gunboats of the United States, this hireling "president" of San Domingo sent his lackey, "General" Sanchez, to Washington to bring about the very thing which has been brought about.

"General" Sanchez had the quiet help of Wall street in his high and holy quest, and, as soon as it had been fixed up with our capitalist administration, Assistant Secretary of State Loomis put out a feeler to the effect that some such arrangement as has just been effected "would probably be entered into between the United States and San Domingo."

That was before election.

Now the state department issues a wonderful manifesto, of which the following paragraphs are extracts:

"The Dominican republic, after mature consideration of existing conditions, has formally and freely invited the government of the United States to assist it in the administration of its customs revenues and to aid it in establishing its fiscal system upon a firm and business-like basis. The government of the United States having been explicitly, repeatedly and emphatically informed by more than one of the great powers that it might either try to evolve some order out of the anarchical chaos in the Dominican republic or assist to certain European creditors of that republic doing this, and to the administration of the Dominican custom-houses by them, supported by their warships, has deemed it advisable, in view of the unfortunate financial conditions in Santo Domingo, which for the last ten years have been rapidly growing worse, to accept the invitation of the Dominican government, and, therefore, representatives of this government and of Santo Domingo have signed a memorandum of a proposed agreement looking to the American control of the fiscal affairs, upon the request and with the consent of the Dominican government."

Assistant Secretary Loomis continues:

"The unfortunate financial condition of Santo Domingo more than once in the last decade has brought to the United States government questions fraught with imminent peril. The government of the United States could not, with due self-respect, allow the impression to deepen and gain currency that the Monroe doctrine can be used as a shield by an American republic to deny justice to other governments. Many foreign claims are just beyond peradventure, and being held by citizens of various governments, the problem becomes increasingly more difficult as to how these claims could be satisfied under existing conditions with fair treatment toward all."

Did any document ever issued any more clearly admit that the "government" today is nothing but an armed force to make the people pay the demands of capitalism?

The bankers of Europe say to their hireling statesmen: "That measly little San Domingo is not paying our interest. Send our gunboats to make them pay." The "statesmen" reply that the Monroe doctrine stands in the way. America wouldn't like it. "Then," say the bankers, "let America collect our interest for us. Let her send HER gunboats to do the job, saving us the trouble and expense. Her broncho-busting president would be tickled to death to do it."

So a few "diplomatic notes" are exchanged and Mr. Roosevelt, who means well but psychologically is still on the animal plane, allows himself to be led into an act repugnant to all dignity and decency.

He may cover it with all the fine words that Mr. Hay can dig out of his diplomatic vocabulary; he may fill the press with carefully concocted anaesthetics to stupefy the moral judgment of the people; but those who look through his wordy effusions at his acts themselves, will see in this last achievement the degradation of a once honorable nation to the plane of a capitalist debt-collector.

But it is not the mere fact that the American republic is made to act so ignoble a part before the eyes of the little republics who were taught by our former honor and dignity to hold out their arms to us, as to a big sister, in confidence and trust; it is not that where once was love and respect, we are now regarded with distrust and suspicion; this is as logical and inevitable a thing as anything in nature. Capitalism is one, no matter what language it may speak; and the gunboats of every nation of the world would, if necessary, act together anywhere to collect a debt of rent or interest. Gunboats, and armies, and all the paraphernalia of war have nothing to do today with patriotism nor honor; they are but the instruments of an exploiting class to keep the working class of the world in order while the working class is being robbed of what it produces.

It is not that the capitalist governments of Europe asked the

capitalist government of the United States to do their dirty work and the capitalist government of the United States agreed to do it; it is not this point, which was logical and to be expected, that is the point of concern, or should be, to those who still believe in republican government.

THE POINT IS, THAT THIS AGREEMENT, WHICH WAS IN EVERY INTENT AND PURPOSE A TREATY, WAS ENTERED INTO BY MR. ROOSEVELT UPON HIS OWN RESPONSIBILITY, WITHOUT RECOURSE TO THE SENATE, THE LEGAL TREATY-MAKING BODY, AND WITHOUT THOUGHT OR RESPECT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES WHICH HE HAS TAKEN OATH TO UPHOLD.

It was only when the ugly word "impeachment" was whispered about the senatorial committee-rooms that Mr. Roosevelt remembered that he is not yet absolute dictator in the interest of the capitalist oligarchy, and that we still have the form of a republican government. Senator Bacon's resolution of inquiry introduced in the senate was quickly taken care of by Senator Lodge, the president's handy man from Massachusetts, who succeeded in getting it buried in the committee on foreign relations on making the promise of an immediate report—which promise has not been kept. Mr. Lodge spends the time he does not need in explaining the lawless acts of his friend, the president, in misrepresenting the people of Massachusetts on the subject of the tariff.

It appears now that the senate rumblings have jarred Mr. Roosevelt in his career as a dictator, and that the state department is going to cook up something to refer to the senate which will keep things quiet; but it is hinted, the matter is too important to lay before the senate this session. So! Why is it?

Is it because there is a little "pacification" going on down in San Domingo that would require awkward explanations if the matter came up right away? Is it because the people of San Domingo are rebelling against this nice little scheme of the New Jersey corporation to furnish them a ready-made government?

What do these dispatches mean that are coming in from Porto Rico from sources which cannot be conveniently muzzled; these dispatches which the state department is so reluctant to confirm?

Why has the revenue cutter Dexter been dispatched to Mayaguez "to intercept an expedition carrying arms and ammunition to Santo Domingo for the leaders of a contemplated revolution," when everything is so amicably adjusted? It is because the New Jersey corporation is not yet secure in its control of the island and the United States navy is to complete the job before the country finds it out—too late to check their pretty business by senatorial interference.

President Roosevelt has already proceeded to take charge of the island with a powerful fleet of warships, which feature of the program has been carried out with much secrecy, and it was with great reluctance that the facts are officially admitted.

Admiral Sigbee is now at Santo Domingo with his full squadron, which consists of the flag-ship Newark, the cruiser Detroit, the gunboat Castine, and the collier Sterling. The torpedo boat Stewart has just arrived and other torpedo boats are expected. The new cruisers Tacoma and Denver have been ordered to join the squadron, and its further re-enforcement by several other gunboats and cruisers is being considered.

What is all this brave show for save to overawe the common people, who are groaning under the thumbscrews of their capitalist masters? Does it not mutely but absolutely prove that Morales is not the choice of the people at all, but has been boosted into power because he is rascal enough to play into the hands of the foreign capitalists in the undoing of his own countrymen?

It is frankly admitted in Washington that the "rebellious natives," as they are contemptuously called, ARE IN PRACTICAL POSSESSION OF THREE OF THE NORTHERN PORTS.

This means that the statement of Assistant Secretary Loomis that "the Dominican republic" has freely and formally invited us to come down there and administer it, should be interpreted that the Dominican "Improvement" company has invited us to come and assist in the destruction of the Dominican republic in the interest of a New Jersey corporation and its associated foreign confederates.

If the senate of the United States allows itself to be put off, and evaded, and trifled with in the matter of this astounding anarchy of the president, it will some day have the pleasure of attending its own official funeral. Already the house of representatives is dead and buried. It ought to rule the country. In theory it comes from the people, and until it basely and cringingly abdicated its constitutional prerogatives it held the purse and laid the taxes. Gradually the senate encroached upon the privileges of the house, and in the Fifty-first congress the house CEASED TO BE A LIBERATIVE BODY AND BECAME THE MERE PUPPET OF A CLIQUE OR CABAL. The house of representatives will continue to be without power or dignity, impotent and purposeless in its influence upon legislation, UNTIL THERE APPEARS UPON ITS FLOOR A CROP OF MEN BIG ENOUGH AND COURAGEOUS ENOUGH TO DEFEY AND CONQUER THE SENATE AND THE EXECUTIVE IN THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE.

It is to the next step, following the Roman example, THE EXTINGUISHMENT OF THE SENATE BY THE EXECUTIVE, that the San Domingo performance gives significance.

Unless some action is taken by the co-ordinate branch of the government, the president will have succeeded in extending the powers of his office in a truly remarkable way. If he can, by his own act, without reference to congress, make himself by an executive contract the receiver of another country, he could in the same way, circumstances favoring, make himself the receiver of all of South America and part of China.

The establishment of one-man power in empire-building is the issue which is definitely raised by this receivership and investiture by warships of San Domingo.

And the moment for such encroachment by the executive function is peculiarly propitious, owing to the character of the senate as well as to the character of the president.

The president is not a strong man at all, but he likes to play at the game of being a strong man; everyone who works close to him knows this—and some of them say it. The prime requisite is to keep him occupied. The senate is not disposed to interfere greatly with any little imperialistic scheme of Mr. Roosevelt's if such a scheme will occupy him to the exclusion of railroad traffic affairs and other similar matters.

It is now pretty generally understood that the bill for regulation of rates will be of such a character as to do no harm to any vested interests, whether it goes through at this session or any other, and with this assurance the senators will hardly feel like embarrassing the president in his San Domingo venture, even though they know it may be the first step toward their official extinction.

Meanwhile every step toward the interference of this nation in the affairs of other countries, however small they may be, is an objective encouragement for an increasing army and navy. "We must police our dependencies."

For the army this session, \$70,000,000; for the navy, \$100,000,000.

As was the case with Rome, our outside dependencies may eventually become so extensive as finally to require an army and navy BIG ENOUGH TO SUPPRESS REVOLUTION AT HOME.

This is the logical goal to which every official act in the American republic today is tending.

With the senate subjected through such cumulative encroachments as this of San Domingo until it becomes, like the house, a mere creature of the executive, too cowardly to impeach and too corrupt to restrain, the machinery becomes perfect for the subjection of the American people by a dictator in the guise of president, acting as the servant of the privileged classes. Of course, this cannot be done until under the cover of foreign "necessity" the military establishment grows large enough to do it; but under the quiet push of the privileged classes its growth is already sufficiently rapid as to suggest the inevitable.

When under the crushing weight of privilege capitalism has driven the proletariat to desperation, and insurrection breaks out in consequence, the president, for whose dictatorial action precedents in usurpatory action have been preparing the way, will mobilize the troops from the provinces and dependencies and pour them in upon the rebellious American citizenry. AND ALL THIS WILL BE DONE IN THE NAME OF "LAW AND ORDER." The privileged class is ready at any moment to overthrow the republic and set up a dictator, whenever the republic seems to have outlived its special usefulness to them. And in their cry for a "strong hand" to "restore order," will join the thousands of shallow, thoughtless persons who do not understand the situation. Education enslaves as well as liberates.

I do not say that President Roosevelt has any such plan. I do not think he has. He is not philosophic enough to see the results of his present policies, which, if at all, will culminate long after he has been retired to private life. But when the time comes another man will be found to do the will of capitalism; just as Morales was found to do the will of the San Domingo "Improvement" company.

I assert that if this senate allows itself to be put off from a pressing inquiry into the present matter the private interests which are silently helping to centralize autocratic power in their own interests will have made a great stride toward absolutism.

ALREADY THERE ARE INDICATIONS OF A GROWING DEFENSE OF ABSOLUTE USURPATION

Listen to this, from Lawyer Charles A. Gardner, of New York, in a speech before the New York State Bar Association:

"When the president proclaims a law unconstitutional, he may execute it, although the courts declare it unconstitutional and forbid him to execute it; and he may refuse to execute a law that the courts declare constitutional and command him to execute."

"When the president pronounces a law constitutional, he may execute it, although the courts declare it unconstitutional and forbid him to execute it; and he may refuse to execute a law that the courts declare constitutional and command him to execute."

Statements like this, as well as the stupendous revelations of lawlessness in high places which are making of the American republic a mere plaything of unscrupulous private interests, MAKE NO IMPRESSION UPON THE AMERICAN MIND. It considers such pronouncements as this of Mr. Gardner's as the mere vapors of an erratic individual, AND DOES NOT SEE THAT IT IS MERELY THE EXPRESSION OF A RAPIDLY SHAPING PUBLIC POLICY.

Evolution is moving with such gigantic strides; and the American mind is called upon to digest, in rapid succession, so many astounding things, that it is suffering from a sort of dyspepsia—unable to assimilate and understand the things which are vital to the life of the republic. Out of this intellectual stuper any man who would arouse to action is regarded with a sort of humor, or if not contemptuous, indifference.

The American people, outside of those who understand Socialism and are working for it, do not believe there is a class in the nation who would overthrow the republic to retain their privileges. They laugh at the idea with the fine composure of ignorance. They think they know what is going on, and they are not afraid. BUT THEY DO NOT KNOW WHAT IS GOING ON, and they have no means of finding out, except those of coming here as I have come, and getting under the blanket of smug and crafty fraud and misrepresentation which is waved in the eyes of the country by the servants of capitalism in the guise of "legislators."

I know that many of the things I am writing from week to week must appear fanciful, perhaps absurd, to the easy-going person who cannot see the direct relation between this government and his economic welfare. When Columbus, with his vision of a new world, walked the streets of Genoa, the children pointed to their foreheads and smiled. The physiocrats in France predicted the French revolution, but no one would listen.

When I say that the owners of the things upon which the life of the people depends are willing to crush all democratic representation and display the iron hand as soon as they have the army to do it, I know what I am talking about. Despotism is even now quietly advancing through every avenue open to it, UNDER THE COVER OF FAMILIAR FORMS IN ORDER NOT TO ALARM THE PEOPLE BEFORE IT IS READY TO COPE WITH THEIR REBELLION.

In the spontaneous outburst in Massachusetts during the anarchic coal strike—the outburst which took the form of the Socialist ballot, the Boston Herald was frightened into inadvertently expressing the attitude of the class it represents.

In my scrap-book is an editorial from this eminently respectable exponent of gold democracy, from which the following is an extract:

"IF ITS BANEFUL MANIFESTATIONS CANNOT BE PREVENTED BY EXISTING GOVERNMENT METHODS, THEN, ON THE GROUND OF SELF-PROTECTION, SUCH CHANGES WILL BE MADE IN OUR SYSTEM OF POLITICAL CONTROL AS WILL GIVE TO THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT THE AUTHORITY AND POWER NEEDED FOR THE VIGOROUS CHECK OF SOCIALISM. OF COURSE, THIS WOULD MEAN THE END OF THE REPUBLIC AS OUR FATHERS FOUNDED IT, BUT THE SUCCESS OF SOCIALISM WOULD BE EQUALLY DESTRUCTIVE TO OUR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS. OF THE TWO EVILS, THOSE WHO WOULD BE IN THE END SECURE AND HOLD CONTROL WOULD MUCH PREFER A CENTRALIZED, AUTOCRATIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT, THAN THE TERRIBLE DEMORALIZATION AND DISINTEGRATION WHICH WOULD FOLLOW AN ATTEMPT TO PRACTICALLY REALIZE THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM."

By its own confession, therefore, the Boston Herald is ready to take the lead in overthrowing the republic and establishing a czar or other autocratic monarch at Washington unless the Socialists quit winning elections in Massachusetts.

TO SAY THAT THE GOVERNMENT MUST BE OVERTHROWN FOR FEAR THE MAJORITY MAY RULE HAS COME

(Continued on Page Three.)

There will be an interval of one week between the first and second installments of "The Jungle." This is done to give all who read the first chapters a chance to subscribe and not miss the second installment. First installment in 482—second installment in No. 484.

COMING NATION

There will be an interval of one week between the first and second installments of "The Jungle." This is done to give all who read the first chapters a chance to subscribe and not miss the second installment. First installment in 482—second installment in No. 484.

"In the Free Republic of the United States of America is a Power Greater than the Government, Greater than the Courts or Judges, Greater than Legislatures, Superior to and Independent of All Authority of State or Nation."

This statement is made by Charles Edward Russell in Everybody's Magazine. To the readers of the Appeal to Reason and other Socialist papers there is nothing startling and nothing new in this information. You have read it before. You have made the statement many times yourself. The men to whom you made this statement did not believe it—they were not students of industrial affairs. They could not see farther than the job for the day—and when they had no job they put in all their time looking for a master. They had no time to study. And, then, again, they did not believe it because the statement was made by a Socialist, and was printed in a Socialist paper. That, in itself, was enough to brand it as a lie to the average door-mat of capitalism. But now comes a writer in a capitalist magazine in this year of our Lord A. D. 1905, and says that the things which the Appeal has been telling you are true, and, furthermore, he proposes to prove it. You see, the big capitalists have skinned the people clean to their bones. They have now decided to commence operations on the small capitalists. In fact, the process has been going on very successfully

for some time past, but the glitter of the "golden opportunity" has dazzled their eyes. They are just now beginning to make a great outcry—witness the efforts to establish a state oil refinery in Kansas, federal regulation of the railroads, "busting the trust legislation"—all of these measures being promoted by the small capitalist class. But the march of industrial progress is not in the least slackened. The march of the trust is diminishing the number of capitalists and swelling the ranks of the propertyless. As this process continues you may expect a great disturbance among the petty bourgeoisie. The following article is but one of the manifestations of this kick—that's why it is printed in the Appeal:

"In the free republic of the United States of America is a power greater than the government, greater than the courts or judges, greater than legislatures, superior to and independent of all authority of state or nation."

"It is a greater power than in the history of men has been exercised by king, emperor, or irresponsible oligarchy. In a democracy it has estab-

lished a practical empire more important than Tamerlane's and ruled with a sway as certain. In a country of law, it exists and proceeds in defiance of law. In a country historically proud of its institutions it establishes unchecked a condition that refutes and nullifies the significance of those institutions. We have grown familiar in this country with many phases of the mania of money-getting, and the evil it may work to mankind at large; we have seen none so strange and alarming as this of which I write. Names change, details change; but when the facts of these actual conditions are laid bare it will puzzle a thoughtful man to say wherein the rule of the great power now to be described differs in any essential from the rule of a feudal tyrant in the darkness of the Middle Ages.

"Of some of the most important industries of this country it has an absolute iron-oligarchy, infrangible monopoly; of others it has a control that for practical purposes of profit is not less complete. It fixes at its own will the price of every pound of fresh, salted, smoked or preserved meat prepared and sold in the United States. It fixes the price of every ham, every pound of bacon,

every pound of lard, every can of prepared soup. It has an absolute monopoly of our enormous meat exports, dressed and preserved. It has an absolute monopoly of the American trade in fertilizers, hides, bristles, horn and bone products. It owns or controls or dominates every slaughterhouse except a few that have inconsiderable local or special trades. It owns steam and electric railroads, it owns the entire trolley car service in several cities, and is acquiring the like property elsewhere. It owns factories, shops, stock-yards, mills, land and land companies, plants, ware-houses, politicians, legislators and congressmen.

"It fixes, for its own profit, the prices the farmer of the West shall receive for his cattle and hogs, and the prices the butcher of the East shall charge for his meat.

"It fixes the price that the grower of California shall receive for his fruit, and the price the laborer of New York shall pay for his breakfast. It lays hands upon the melon-grower of Colorado and the cotton grower of Georgia, and compels each to share with it the scanty proceeds of his toil.

"It has the last three years increased, for its own benefit, the expenses of every household in America. It controls or influences the prices of one-half the

food consumed by the nation. It has its share in the proceeds of more commodities of daily consumption than all other trusts, combinations and monopolies together, and the prices of these it seeks to augment for its own profit.

"It can make, within certain limits, the price of wheat, of corn, of oats, what it pleases; it will shortly be able to control the price of every loaf of bread.

"Its operations have impoverished or ruined farmers and stockmen, destroyed millions of investments, caused banks to break and men to commit suicide, precipitated strikes, and annihilated industries.

"We are accustomed to think that the Standard Oil company is the ultimate of monopolistic achievements; here is something compared with which the Standard Oil company is puerile; here is something that effects a thousand lives where the Standard Oil company effects one; here is something that promises greater fortunes and greater power than ten Standard Oil companies. Reaching out, absorbing industry after industry, augmenting and building, by great brute strength and by insidious, intricate, hardly discoverable windings and turnings, day and night this monstrous thing grows and strengthens until its grip is at the nation's throat."



The Customer: "Your prices are too high—I'll go to another shop." The Beef Trust: "I'm the other shop just at present."

THE RAILROADS HAND MR. ROOSEVELT THEIR ANSWER. The President Outgeneraled by the Captains of Industry.

SPECIAL DISPATCH TO THE PHILADELPHIA NORTH AMERICAN FROM NEW YORK says: "A final agreement has been announced upon most excellent authority, been arrived at for the settlement of the Northwestern railroad situation. The new arrangement is due to become effective just as soon as the last of the decision is rendered in the Northern Securities litigation."

No official announcement has been made of this arrangement, and details of this sort are never certain until actually consummated; but the highest authorities say there will be neither hitch nor interruption in this instance.

THE GRIP OF THE RAILROAD INFLUENCES UPON THE GREAT NORTHWEST TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES IS TO BE TIGHTENED TO A POINT EVEN BEYOND WHAT WAS PROPOSED WHEN THE NORTHERN SECURITIES COMPANY WAS ORGANIZED.

There will not, however, be any obliteration of existing companies or the formation of any holding company, as in the case of the merger which the federal courts have held was illegal.

The purpose of those interested in the railroad situation in the Northwest, in negotiating the agreement which has been concluded, has been to effect the sort of consolidation that cannot be reached, either by state government or by the anti-trust or interstate commerce laws of the country.

Combine to Prevent Competition.

To accomplish this and it has been decided to divide the properties among the interested entities of railroad magnates, each group giving to the other representation in its directorates, and to admit to the combination, as a neutral party who will be expected to literally enforce the terms of agreement, the Rockefeller-Rogers-Standard Oil group of financiers.

The feature of the combination which will affect the public in the territory reached by the roads included in the consolidation is a carefully perfected understanding that the roads will refrain from competition; that there will be no cutting of rates; that there will be no granting of rebates, and that none of the roads involved will project or build new lines into the territory reached by the others.

These are identically the ends sought when the Northern Securities Company was organized to take over the ownership of the stock of four of the six great Northwestern railroads.

That company has been decided to be of illegal existence, and, but for some litigation which ties up the distribution of the securities held by it, would have been dissolved before this time.

Consummation of this new agreement for a combination of interests will, it is believed, lead to an early withdrawal of the suits still pending, and permit the winding up of the affairs of the Northern Securities Company.

The interests that have been clashing representation on the board of each one of the companies.

The Roads Affected.

This new arrangement affects these railroads, each having and operating the mileage stated:

Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, 7054 miles; Chicago and Northwestern, 9074 miles; Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, 8549 miles; the Great Northern, 6103 miles; the Northern Pacific, 6036, and the Union Pacific, with 6092 miles, a total of 42,908 miles.

The railroad war in the Northwest, which led to the organization of the Northern Securities Company was waged between the Hill-Morgan interests, controlling the Great Northern, Northern Pacific and the Burlington, and the Harriman interests, controlling the Union Pacific and the Chicago and Northwestern.

The Rockefeller-Rogers-Standard Oil group, which controlled the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, was a third party, menacing both of the others by a threat to build a new line to the Pacific coast, surveys and plans for such a line having been carefully made and elaborated.

Primarily, the purpose of the Northern Securities Company, which was conceived by James J. Hill, was the extinction of the Harriman interests. It was proposed to merge in this one company the Great Northern, Northern Pacific, Burlington and St. Paul roads, and then, while holding fast to the immense territory thus controlled, to wage a war of extermination against Harriman, with his control of the Union Pacific and Chicago and Northwestern.

Ends War Against Harriman.

Under the new agreement the war is brought to an end, it is believed, for all time by a harmony agreement by which all interests are pacified and so intervened that the combination will be stronger than the Northern Securities Company could have been. Besides this, the war of extermination which was planned will be averted, and ruinous rate and construction competition avoided.

This end, it is stated, will be achieved by the following distribution of the properties:

The Hill-Morgan group of railroad magnates will retain the Great Northern and Burlington lines.

The Harriman group will retain the Union Pacific and Chicago and Northwestern lines.

The Rockefeller-Rogers-Standard Oil group will retain the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, and, in addition, will be permitted to acquire from the Hill-Morgan group ownership and control of the Northern Pacific.

Brings in Standard Oil.

The commanding feature of this agreement is the arrangement with respect to the Rockefeller-Rogers-Standard Oil group and the part it is to play.

This group is largely interested with Harriman in Union Pacific, and in the original Northern Securities project it was proposed to eliminate it by having the Northern Pacific acquire the St. Paul road, in which its interests were, and still continue, heaviest.

Now, exactly the opposite course is taken. Instead of eliminating this group, it is proposed that it shall continue and increase its importance by having the St. Paul acquire the Northern Pacific. This will, at the same time, that it renders it unnecessary for the St. Paul to build its projected line to the Pacific coast, create a neutral party, controlling by the St. Paul-Northern Pacific combine, a factor as powerful as that controlled by the Hill-Morgan group through the Great

Northern-Burlington, or by Harriman with the Union Pacific-Chicago and Northwestern.

An Interlocking Combination.

In other words, there is to be instituted three separate groups of magnates, each with equal factors of control. Of these, two, the Hill-Morgan and Harriman groups, have long been at war. The third, Rockefeller-Rogers-Standard Oil, comes into the combination as a neutral.

This balance of power in the hands of a neutral having been established, the combination is to be still further cemented by according to each group representation in each of the two directorates controlled by the other two.

In this manner, it is asserted, harmony will be perpetuated; the secrets of each group will always be known to the other two, and all danger of disastrous competition or of action at cross-purposes will be averted.

At the same time, the grip of the whole combination upon the Northwestern territory, with its limitless coal growing, mining, and sheep and cattle ranging industries, and its preferential routes for transcontinental shipments, will be fastened with almost unbreakable force.

THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF THE AMERICAN PROLETARIAT.

(Jack London was University speaker at the students' weekly rally, Friday, January 20th. The rally is a University function. The University called Mr. London, and President Woodcock occupied the chair, as is usual in such an occasion. There were probably 3,500 people present, 2,500 of whom were students. It was the largest rally known. The following account is taken from the Socialist Voice.)

YESTERDAY morning I received a letter from a man in Arizona. It began, "Dear Comrade," and ended, "Yours for the Revolution."

I answered that letter this morning. It began, "Dear Comrade," and I ended, "Yours for the Revolution."

There are 50,000 men in the United States beginning and ending their letters as our letters were begun and ended. There are 1,500,000 men in France, 3,000,000 men in Germany, and 6,000,000 men in the world beginning and ending their letters as ours were begun and ended.

Now, what do these facts mean? They mean that the Revolution is here, now. We are in it. It goes on every day. No man can escape it. Oh, it is great! There has been nothing like it in the world before.

Its battle cry is: "Workers of the world, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain." Our Revolution was a merely local thing compared with it. The English Revolution was a merely local thing compared with it. And so was the French Revolution. This Revolution is as wide as the earth. Its men clasp hands around the globe. The Japanese Socialist hails the Russian Socialist, and the German Socialist hails the French Socialist with the same word which we California Socialists hail each other, the noble word, COMRADE.

But why are these men Socialists? What is it that drives them unceasingly to work for the Revolution, to go to prison for it, to go into exile for it, to die for it?

When I was in London writing my book, "The People of the Abyss," I went down to Kent with a London cockney to pick bones. One night when going to bed, I stripped. My chum looked in wonder at my brawny body glowing with health and then at his own scrawny body, white

and lifeless. He said, holding out his arms and legs, "They are so because I hadn't enough to eat when I was a boy."

But this man is only one of millions. In London, 1,500,000 people live on the poverty line and below it, and another 1,000,000 with one week's wages between them and pauperism. In Europe 60,000,000 people suffer from hunger and want.

Here is a statement from the celebrated English scholar, Frederick W. Harrison: "To me, at least, it would be enough to condemn modern society as hardly an advance on slavery or serfdom, if the permanent conditions of industry were to be that which we behold: that 90 per cent of the actual producers of wealth have no home that they can call their own beyond the end of the week; have no bit of soil, or so much as a room that belongs to them; have nothing of value of any kind, except as much old furniture as will go in a cart; have the precarious chance of weekly wages, which barely suffice to keep them in health; are housed, for the most part, in hovels. * * * If this is to be the permanent condition of modern society,

civilization must be held to bring a curse on the great majority of mankind."

Here is a book about our own land, written by a man who left his home of wealth to live among the poor. He is a University man, and a trained investigator. His name is Robert Hunter. His book is called "Poverty." It has just been published by the Macmillans, and costs \$1.50. Read it.

Mr. Hunter says:

"There are probably in fairly prosperous years no less than 10,000,000 persons in poverty; that is to say, underfed, underclothed and poorly housed. Of these about 4,000,000 persons are public paupers. Over 2,000,000 workingmen are unemployed from four to six months in the year. About 500,000 male immigrants arrive yearly and seek work in the very districts where the unemployed are greatest. Nearly half of the families in the country are propertyless. Over 1,700,000 little children are forced to become wage earners when they should still be in school. About 3,900,000 women find it necessary to work and about 2,000,000 are employed in factories, mills, etc. Probably no less than 1,000,000 workers are injured or killed each year while doing their work, and about 10,000,000 persons now living, will, if the present rate be kept up, die of the preventable disease, tuberculosis."

I might go on for a long time quoting Huxley, Alfred Russell Wallace, Mill, Spahr, Brooke, Rowntree and others. It is the facts cited and those found in the books of the men above, and the glorious ideas of Socialism that keep the revolutionists unceasingly at work—that keep them ever young.

About three years ago I went into the Klondike. I saw there a body of Indians, called the Innuits. There is an immense difference in time between them and us. They are still in the Bone Age. Yet those men are all, in good times, well provided for; in bad times they suffer, but they all suffer together. How is it with us? We have, as I said before, a body of 10,000,000 men, women and children in poverty always,—we who are in places that no man thinks fit for his

greatest producers the world has ever known; we, who by machinery, make one man produce cotton cloth for 250 people, woollens for 300, and boots and shoes for 1000. What do we call the industrial system we are under? We call it the capitalist system. What do we call its managers? We call them capitalists. I say, then, that the capitalist system which has so grossly and criminally mismanaged our industrial life must be swept away, and the Socialist system put in its place.

But you ask me: "What are you Socialists going to do? What are your ideals and ideas?" I answer: We propose to destroy present-day civilization, that is, capitalist civilization, with its brutal struggle of man with man for life—by the ballot, where it is free, be it forever remembered—and replace it by a better civilization, a civilization whose principle shall be "EACH FOR ALL AND ALL FOR EACH."

My friend, George Sterling, speaking at the Ruskin Club to the Round Table, "Why Am I a Socialist?" said: "I am a Socialist because Socialism is the one

clean, noble and live thing in the world today worth fighting for." Now, mark you, Mr. Sterling did not say that Socialism is the only clean and noble thing in the world today; there are many clean and noble things in the world today. He said: "Socialism is the one clean, noble and live thing in the world today worth fighting for."

And yet as I look over the universities of my land today, I see the students asleep, asleep in the face of the awful facts I have given you, asleep in the greatest revolution that has ever come to the world. Oh, it is sad! Not long ago, revolutions began, grew, broke out, in Oxford. Today Russian universities seethe with revolution. I say to you, then: University men and women, you men and women in the full glory of life, here is a cause that appeals to all the romance in you. Awake to its call. Line up! Line up! All the world despises the coward. Read our books. Fight us, if you do not agree with us. But, by all that is brave and strong, show your colors! Line up! Line up! I say.

"What do I think of Lawson's Financial Finance?" is asked by many. It is attracting the attention of millions to the corruption that exists in high life, is tearing away the halo that has been thrown about the rulers, and is interesting the public in subjects that never before had an existence for them. It will help Socialism in so far as it interests them in the study of public affairs. Lawson has no remedy. What he will propose as a remedy is that people take their deposits out of the banks

and thus cause a drop in the value of stocks and bonds to their real worth, and stop speculation to a tremendous extent. He may suggest government depositories for the people's savings, as a protection and to prevent the trusts from borrowing the people's deposits as a means of floating watered stocks. But so long as the trust magnates own the government they will continue to flourish. The agitation helps Socialism. People can get no relief until Socialism is inaugurated.

IT WILL COUNT.

A good deal of talk is heard about the Socialist vote, but it will never count for much in this country while the farms are in the possession of over 6,000,000 owners, and while there are as many more separate owners of the city realty in the United States.—San Francisco Chronicle.

Is that so? That is a clincher of an argument, isn't it? That squelches the Socialist, eh? Still a case is not decided until it is decided. The census report shows that of the 16,000,000 families in the United States, 3,365,000 are homeless and rent a place in which to live! While 2,196,000 more have mortgages on their heads! And only 4,700,000 really own anything! That shows, even on the plea of the Chronicle, that a great many more than half the people ought to vote for Socialism. The 18th annual labor report makes even a worse showing. It shows that 80 per cent of the wage earners do not own their homes; 10 per cent have mortgaged homes (paying rent under the fiction of interest), and only 10 per cent own their homes! Now, Mr. Chronicle, come again and see us, will you? Don't you think that the Socialist vote will count for something?

Comrades will avoid much unnecessary annoyance by not sending remittances to any individual connected with the Appeal. Address all letters plainly to the Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas. If you send letters addressed to any member of the staff you take the chance of the comrade addressed being out of town. In this case your letter remains unopened until his return. Then you get mad. Save your ruffled feelings by observing this simple request.

"If I don't get work within the next week or ten days, God have mercy on my little wife and myself, for we will be in the street starving," writes a graduate in pharmacy to the Cincinnati Times-Star. He wrote a long letter, saying he could furnish a bond in any amount, could furnish recommendations that were AI, and would take any kind of work that would pay enough to keep from starving. And yet, we have a lot of job-parasites in the land who say that every honest, willing worker can get a job, though this man says he has applied for work daily at every place he could reach and did not get a single day's labor. There are none so blind as those who will not see. Under Socialism every man and woman will be guaranteed employment with an income that would seem princely to today—but that will destroy the family! The present system preserves the family—like this man's family is being preserved. Why can't you use your brains instead of allowing the politicians and other leeches to use them for their benefit?

By means of marked bills about a dozen members of the California legislature have been traced to their downfall—bribed, as usual, by corporations. Rottenness has also come to light among the republicans of the Illinois legislature. In fact, it is doubtful if there is a single legislature in the Union which has not been preyed upon by the jobbies of corporations. And the public wonder why men are corrupt. Corruption will exist as long as corporate existence exists. Private interests are at the bottom of every bribery—profit is the end sought; bribery means to secure laws that will admit of cheating the public. And yet republican legislators are not worse than others. If there were no private interests to bribe them they would be as good law-makers as any other citizens, and would give the public the best service of which they were capable. Do away with capitalism and the riddle of honesty in office is solved.

SUGGESTS ASSASSINATION.

News-Planet, Benton Harbor, Mich., republican paper.

Governor Pennypacker of Pennsylvania, who wants power to suppress the newspapers who criticize him, would make a good czar. He is a larger man than Czar Nicholas, and would afford a better mark for the assassins.

Russia refuses to permit Jews to enter; the United States deported Turner, an English labor union representative. Where is the difference?

At a pro-Russian meeting in Kansas City the other day the red flag of the European working class was unfurled and greeted with cheers. Whereat the capitalists are very indignant. If the meeting had cheered the British or the Irish or the French flag, it would have passed unnoticed—but to cheer the flag of the Russian working class! O, anarchy! It is just because it is the flag of the working class that it is hated and feared. The working class have no right to a flag! Slaves should be quiet and submissive. The red flag is carried by the working class in their parades in all European countries. It was carried by the American soldiers in the Revolutionary war against Great Britain. And the British shouted anarchy! What fools some people are about the color of a banner!

General Trepoff, the tyrant put in control of St. Petersburg by the czar, has taken conciliatory measures toward the working class in the hope of leading the men from their political aspirations. That is the same game

that Gompers, Mitchell, Schaffer and other Belmont leaders of labor in this country are playing on the working class to hold them down. Strange that such great men agree on tactics to blind their dupes, isn't it?

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