

The Wonderful Appeal Army

From "The Story of the Appeal"
By **GEORGE ALLAN ENGLAND**

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TO me, the Appeal is the most wonderful little fighting sheet in this whole world, bar none. The story of its persecution forms the most amazing narrative of governmental and capitalist underhandedness to be found anywhere among men. Every subterfuge, trick, meanness and abuse the unclean harby-brood of grafters could possibly think of has been tried against this staunt little giant; and the Appeal has come out of each conflict with colors unspotted, with crimson banners still flying in the breeze of freedom, with an ever larger and more enthusiastic Army, and with a tremendously increased power for good. Its circulation figures read like fairy tales; its exposures of the meanness and nastiness of capitalism, its message of hope to the oppressed, its clarion calls to action, its absolutely fearless defies to the powers of greed and grab—these mark it as supreme in its class, the greatest fighting machine the proletariat of this or any other land has ever known!—George Allan England in the "Story of the Appeal."

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CHAPTER VI.

History is made by deeds, not words.
The Appeal Army is doing those deeds.—
E. N. Richardson.

LET us pause for a moment in our on-rushing history, in the unfolding narrative of the battles and sieges, the campaigns, assaults, attacks and victories of American Socialism, to review the wondrous "Army" which, alone, has rendered possible all these triumphs. Let us stand aside, comrades, and see our troops swing past, banners flying, cheers blurring the air, myriad footsteps in unison shaking the solid earth. Or, better still, let us march with that host—the greatest, the noblest army ever known since history's page unfolded—the Grand Army of the Revolution!

The Appeal Army was evolved in Wayland's brain; it was drilled by him, and under his commanding genius rapidly attained a wonderful efficiency. As early as September 4, 1897, he started a department devoted to "Patriots—Men and Women who are Stirred by the Sufferings of Humanity." On March 5, 1898, this was changed to the "Roll of Honor." July 1, 1899, the final transformation was made, and the Appeal Army really came into existence.

Its exact growth is hard, perhaps, to trace. Numbers are lacking for the earlier years. We know it soon rose to 20,000 earnest workers for the Cause, then to 30,000, and now numbers no less than 80,000, all pledged to labor, unpaid and unrewarded save in satisfaction and in love for Socialism.

Power of the Army.

"The Appeal Army can hardly be called an organization," says Grace D. Brewer, formerly

"Army" editor for some years, "yet it has accomplished greater things through harmonious and untiring efforts than any organization of which we know.

"The men and women who make up the Appeal Army voluntarily identify themselves with the movement because they believe the principles for which the Appeal stands are right and just. They conduct the propaganda in their own vicinity and in their own way. Some use very unique methods to attract attention to Socialism, while others work so quietly that their next door neighbors or their bosses never suspect them of being Socialists until after they are themselves converted.

"To be in touch with the Appeal Army means something no one can realize until he is in a position to feel the heart-throbs of that band of earnest men and women toiling early and late to make a living for themselves and families, but always having time to drop a kindly word for Socialism, ready and willing to make almost any sacrifice and to enter their protest against the many wrongs existing under the present system. The children of the future will owe a great debt to the Appeal Army which is fighting today for justice to all.

"This army stands back of the Appeal—a solid phalanx, ready to charge when the word is given. And when, as in the postal war, the very life of the Appeal was threatened, the Army saved the day, by promptly complying with every request and firing their protests into Washington. When the lives of three workmen hung in the balance—Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone—the Appeal Army systematically conducted a campaign of enlightenment until public sentiment came to the rescue.

"Several times in the history of the Appeal the Army has distributed over a million copies of one edition, and the Rescue Edition No. 1, issued shortly before the Moyer-Haywood trial, reached 3,100,000 copies.

"When one thinks of the Appeal Army—how large it is and how determined—one is moved to prophesy that whatever they undertake they will accomplish. They never admit defeat.

They carry victory in their hearts. Such men and women cannot be conquered. They intend fighting each battle, going steadily forward until the final goal—the Co-operative Commonwealth—is reached.”

Army Methods.

The Army never sleeps. It is always “on the job.” All methods of propaganda are familiar to it. In its ranks stand many thousands of the tribe of “Jimmy Higgins,” individually obscure yet in the mass irresistible. Here they take individual “subs,” there sell cards, elsewhere organize lectures, distribute bundles of pamphlets or Appeals, circulate petitions or write protest-letters, all for Socialism. The Army’s sharp-shooters, its Agitation League and Bundle Brigade penetrate the enemy’s country, everywhere picking off the unwary. The whole country is covered with the invisible meshes of its gigantic organization, all working toward the same goal, all laboring for the better day to be.

“This army is ever growing in size and enthusiasm. While in the main this Army is made up of working people, yet every trade and profession is represented, including bankers, preachers, lawyers, doctors, merchants and manufacturers. When a special edition is published they buy it, sometimes by the million, and distribute it from house to house. Outside a few big cities in the nation nearly every Socialist has been made through having his attention called to the movement by the Appeal and its ever watchful Army.”

Some of the most ingenious and effective methods imaginable have been used by the Army in its tireless propaganda. No pledge made by it has even been repudiated. At the time of the Warren case, when the Appeal was almost swamped in court costs, many capitalist papers printed this syndicated sneer:

“Warren has appealed to the higher courts.

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To his aid have rushed the members of his 'Army,' with promises to raise \$35,000. We wonder how many of these promises will materialize?"

This scurrilous jibe on the integrity of the Army only strengthened its determination and intensified its energy. The Appeal, having reached a place where it could no longer carry its burdens without assistance, called for reinforcements. The Army responded to a man, and lifted the load. How? By sending in donations? Never! As we have already seen, no money has ever been accepted by the paper as an outright gift. The Appeal has always given a full equivalent in literature for every dollar received. The pledges were all paid in subs. Sixty thousand were sent, in a single month. Said Warren, at that time:

"Although the money was offered freely as a gift, I feel that the Appeal would be stronger if, for every dollar thus received, four names were put on the list."

"Circulation! Circulation! Circulation!" has always been, and now is, the only war-cry of the Army Invincible. For it is invincible. Deal the Army a staggering blow; in a few days it recovers and renews the fight more aggressively than ever.

Farmers for Socialism.

During the spring and summer of 1911 one of the most effective and far-reaching campaigns ever mapped out by the Army was carried to a successful conclusion. The farmer members of the organization were enlisted in a special regiment, pledged to produce farm and dairy products or to plant an acre or less for the benefit of Socialism.

"When your Socialist crop is in the ground," said the Appeal, "every rain that falls will be helping the Social Revolution; every growing

day will hasten the time when workers on farm and in mill will receive the full value of their toil; every ounce of energy you put into that particular patch will advance the day when you and your children will pay tribute to no master. It means sowing Socialism in the field, keeping down the weeds, cultivating it and finally reaping freedom from exploitation.

"Capitalism banks on the 'solid farmer vote.' Let the Appeal announce that any considerable number of acres are being cultivated to advance Socialism and the effect will be electrifying. It will make non-Socialist farmers think, when every other means would fail."

The plan caught on like wildfire. The humor of the situation everywhere appealed to the farmer. One comrade wrote in that he would sell his acre of corn to a particularly vicious enemy of Socialism—and tell him about it only after the check had been cashed and the sub cards bought!

Another, pledging to keep bees for Socialism, wrote that his farm adjoined the clover field of a rank old partyite. His Socialist bees, he said, would fly to his neighbor's field, confiscate the honey and store it in the Appeal hive. Another bee keeper promised a coat of red paint for his hives, "so the bees shall know they're working for Socialism!"

Several chicken raisers promised to set hens "to hatch the Social Revolution."

A comrade in Minnesota donated "one red bull calf, born March 4, and named 'Bill Taft.'"

One man who raised fruit said, "If the plutes won't study Socialism, I'll mix it with their food and force 'em to eat it!"

One comrade donated his biggest hog. "This old hog will sure help root out capitalism!"

Even to name the various crops raised and sold for Socialism by the Army would turn this chapter into a catalogue. The total result was amazing. I am positive no propaganda

was ever carried on, for any cause, so original, so homely, so close to the workers' hearts, as this unique campaign by the Farmers' Regiment.

Work of the League.

The Agitation League is an integral part of the Army, a sort of "Old Guard" that furnishes the funds for special campaigns. It was this devoted band that raised the money enabling the Appeal promptly and vigorously to expose the mine owners' plot in Idaho and to send out more than 3,000,000 copies of the Rescue Edition. In addition, the League has furnished funds to send the Appeal to all country editors in America. It has sent the paper to all the shoemakers in the land, to all the teachers, blacksmiths and barbers. And in the fight to free West Virginia from the numbing grip of ignorance and submission to the iron law of capitalism, it was the one prime factor of importance. Without its concentrated shell-fire of Appeal bundles, hurled into the state, exposure and redress of the situation would have been impossible.

The Army, and that alone, enabled the Appeal to carry the Frank Lane case to a successful conclusion.

Well did Charles Edward Russell appreciate the vital importance of the Army when he exclaimed:

"Nothing can overthrow the Appeal, so long as the working class stands behind it. And with that support it will grow and be more efficiently an agent of emancipation until we have abolished the whole blood-dripping institutions of wage slavery. And when we shall have done that, we shall see that the greatest agency of progress in this world has been the Appeal, fighting steadily and ably for the human cause. The Appeal is the strongest force we have for the advancement of the

Socialist cause, and it seems to me must be the greatest in the world.

"Wherever I go, men and women tell me of the influence that brought them into this great movement and in two cases in three that influence was the Appeal.

"Wonderful record of service! To be at work all the time overturning prejudice in thousands of minds; revealing the truth that will free mankind; undermining the system of wage slavery; serving every worker in the world by bringing justice a little nearer; battering away every week at the abomination of capitalism; working a little closer all the time to the day when we shall get the children out of the murder mills; making war on the slums and never ceasing from it; showing week by week the monstrous absurdities and countless evils of parasite rule—it is a record without a parallel.

"No wonder the capitalists hate the great organ of working class emancipation. No wonder they try in every possible way to destroy it and silence this mighty voice. No wonder they fill Girard with spies and sleuths. No wonder they bring one charge after another to try to crush it in the courts!

"In spite of all, it is stronger today than ever it was; stronger in the only strength that is worth having, which is the love and support of the working class. Isolated in a small town and apparently far away from the class it fights for, it goes on unafraid and never slackening its warfare, and the sole secret of its amazing strength and vitality, is the steadfast support of the class that creates the world's wealth and then is robbed of what it creates."

Wayland's Appreciation.

To the full, Wayland appreciated the love, the idealism, the inspiration that transmuted this body of devoted men and women into the noblest Army on which the sun has ever shone. He himself never claimed or desired a greater honor than to stand in the ranks, not as a com-

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mander, but as a simple private, fellow-soldier with his comrades. "The Appeal is run by the Army comrades," said he, "and their will is mine."

Some years ago he issued a little book describing it, a book containing the pictures and biographies of more than 200 active Army workers. Said he in the preface:

"Our Army is made up of thousands of loyal comrades with records of fidelity unsurpassed in the history of any movement in the world. Let us register here and now that the success and life of the Appeal have been, and are due almost entirely to the activity of its Army, who so love a principle that they willingly go forth propagating its interests, during spare moments from the ceaseless everyday grind of providing the bare necessities of life for themselves and their families; who do this work of educating and agitating without price and without thanks from those in whose interests they are working so devotedly, namely, the great masses of exploited poor people."

A picture of Louis Klamroth forms the frontispiece of this little volume—Klamroth, "A Citizen of the World." This remarkable man, whose death the Appeal sadly recorded a short time ago, for many years devoted himself exclusively to travel, agitation and "hustling subs" for the Appeal. He and his old bicycle were familiar to Socialists everywhere. "Our mightiest war-horse!" Wayland used to call him.

"Lay no flowers upon my coffin," said Heine, "but a sword, to show that I, too, have been a soldier in the war of the emancipation of humanity."

Such might serve as Klamroth's most fitting epitaph. He was, indeed, a soldier in the War of Human Emancipation. His only weapon in that war was the literature of the Socialist

party. With this he fought fearlessly and valiantly for many years. Cincinnati was his birthplace. In '94 he enlisted in the ranks as a member of the Coming Nation hustlers. He traveled all over this country and Canada, was innumerable times arrested, deported and prohibited from speaking. He was rotten-egged a score of times, was knocked down and clubbed, and drenched with buckets of water and with fire-hose. But in spite of it all—or perhaps we should say, by the aid of this peculiar encouragement—he took more than 100,000 subscriptions for Socialist papers, and sold more than 20,000 books, for which he never would accept any of the many premiums the Appeal has given away during that time. With men of such mettle in the ranks of Socialist agitators, what wonder the plutocracy gnashes against us in vain?

Another valiant fighter in the Appeal Army, who has also just passed over the Great Divide, was Comrade Leon F. Chanute, of Louisiana. He and his famous Socialist literature van were long familiar to multitudes. For many years he carried on the work of extending the influence and power of the Appeal; and though today his face is missing from the ranks, his toil is not forgotten, nor will ever be.

“We have the greatest Army in the world,” said Wayland. “Our soldiers invade every city, town and hamlet of the land. They solicit subscriptions, sell and distribute books and pamphlets on economic topics on every highway. They work without money and without price. They not only pay their own expenses, postage and costs of money orders on what they solicit, but often pay for the subscriptions out of their own scanty purses. No other publication on earth has such an army. No other army has such determination, loyalty and ability. If the Appeal paid each worker only \$1 a year, not their postage money, it would

mean \$60,000 a year—a sum that would bankrupt it in a few months. That is why the Appeal can be printed at such a low rate; that is why it sells literature at a price that astonishes other publishers; that is why the great building in Girard is filled with the most wonderful modern machinery and methods for supplying this tremendous demand. This is why no other paper can understand why the subs roll in by the hundreds of thousands when other papers are making frantic efforts to stem the tide of declining business.

“And what a power when so many work together like a well-drilled army! It touches every part of the nation as no other paper does, and it touches people who can think. And thinking people have many times the power and influence of others. This Army is increasing rapidly. It is gathering tens of thousands a year. We have the machinery whereby we can start a letter to each member of this Army in 48 hours, from the time its need is known. It can be relied on to act. In the coming time the members of this Army will tell the story to their children and they will repeat it to their grand-children, just as do the grandchildren of the old-time abolitionists with their ‘grapevine telegraph’ and ‘underground highways’ for the helping of runaway slaves. The Army is the greatest force in the movement.”

Without it victory would have been impossible in the Leavenworth case. Without it Warren would have languished, mayhap died, in a federal bastille. Without it Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone would have been hanged, and the Mexican and Russian refugees would have been done to death by Diaz and Nicholas the Bloody. Without it—but the list is endless. Only because of this Army has the splendid record of the Appeal been possible. Lacking it, what crying wrongs would have gone unrighted, what vast abuses been imposed in this “free” land of ours!

Warren paid it a splendid tribute, at the time of his great peril. Said he:

"When the federal court administered what it conceived to be its staggering blow at the Appeal, the Army seemed dazed and stunned and for a brief period it looked as if interest and vitality were waning and that it would take a long time to recover from the attack. But as if by some power of magic the Army rallied. It was as spontaneous as the waves of the sea when transformed into black hills of wrath by command of the storm god.

"Then began the flood! From every direction poured in the subscriptions. The Army was at work, every living member of it.

"It was magnificent!

"The Army seemed like one great, aroused, quivering being that covered the continent, smarting under an assault upon his integrity and determined upon vindication.

"In this month of action the Army has developed its mightiest powers and produced its most marvelous results.

"Each member seems to have quaffed deep from the living fountains of enthusiasm at the same moment and to have gone forth in the same spirit to conquer all opposition and win a glorious victory!"

One factor of tremendous strength in the work of the Appeal Army is this: that members of it are to be found in the inmost citadels of "Big Business" and the government, and that nothing of importance, menacing the paper or the Socialist cause, can be framed up without details immediately reaching Girard. At the time of the Warren case, Wayland remarked in the columns of the paper:

"I have the story of the prosecution's plot straight from the inside. I know about their secret conferences and consultations in Fort Scott, Topeka and Washington. They can't make a move of any consequence and leave me out.

"There are not many offices in this country

in which there is not at least one Socialist and one loyal friend to the 'little old Appeal.'

"Some of the federal officials would turn scarlet if I should publish some of the telegrams and letters of which I have copies. These telegrams, letters and reports concern the Appeal and have reference to the conspiracy of the capitalists and their official hirelings to undermine and destroy it, but there are reasons why they cannot be published at this time, not the least of which is the reason that I would not for my life betray a comrade who has taken the risk of warning me that I might not walk into the trap set for me by the most wily and unscrupulous enemy that ever hunted an honest man to jail or hounded him to his death.

"The federal officials confess in their hesitancy a profound respect for the Appeal Army and I feel as if my congratulations were due to the loyal comrades who make up that Army. If those who are after the Appeal believed that the Army consisted of cowards and deserters they would strike the blow without an instant's hesitation. But they know enough about the Army to know that when the attack comes the rank and file rallies loyally to the 'little old Appeal' and proves its mettle by standing staunch and true."

The Living Spirit of Socialism.

In the stirring days of abolition, Wendell Phillips cried, "Give me 50,000 determined men and women, and I can educate this nation!" Today far more than that number stand shoulder to shoulder in the fight for truth, and light, and liberty—and what the result must be none can doubt.

The Appeal Army, the fighting machine of Socialism, constitutes the essence, the inner core, the living spirit of the movement in America. No propaganda carried on by man since the world began can show more heroic devotion and self-sacrifice than that of the

Army. It is the grandest army of loyalists ever enlisted in a struggle in behalf of the wronged, the suffering, the disinherited. With this organization behind it, the Appeal is ready to face plutocracy in any conflict.

Probably the greatest factor in the Appeal Army has been what is known as the Tennessee Contestants. Of these loyal workers J. A. Wayland often said: "The fact that the Appeal is here today and doing the work it is doing is due to these loyal workers more than to anything I have ever done."

In April, 1901, about 1,200 members of the Army pledged themselves to send the Appeal five subscriptions a week. Over 500 of them did this for several years and today 19 of these heroes of the Social Revolution are still sending their five subscriptions each and every week. For 13 years they have never missed a week. Here are the names of the "Faithful Nineteen":

A. A. Anderson, Palouse, Wash.; M. H. Pitt, Burson, Cal.; J. K. Clark, Leechburg, Pa.; C. C. Haxel, Fowler, Ind.; E. Francis Gary, Boise, Idaho; Geo. H. Goebel, Newark, N. J.; Hans M. Holmvik, Beltrami, Minn.; Peter Jacob, Wall, Pa.; Kinghorn-Jones, San Francisco, Cal.; R. E. Lowe, Kirkwood, Mo.; Wm. Luebke-man, Sacramento, Cal.; F. S. Parker, Seattle, Wash.; Frederick Outman, Boston, Mass.; O. M. Southworth, Benton Harbor, Mich.; Geo. R. Smith, Pensacola, Fla.; J. N. Smith, Bisbee, Ariz.; H. E. Siegfried, Fargo, N. M.; E. D. Thurston, Chanute, Kan.; W. F. Willhoite, Wichita, Kan.; Chas. Wersel, Cincinnati, Ohio; T. B. Wells, Aberdeen, S. D.

Never was a more inspiring band of enthusiasts gathered together under the banners of an idea. It is not an army equipped with murderous weapons; its mission is not to shed human blood or achieve glory on the field of butchery. Nor is it an army of destruction

and death, but an army of peace and good-will; an army of comrades keeping step to the same inspiring drum-beats and whose hearts are attuned to the diviner day when all men shall be comrades and when war shall curse this earth no more.

THE ABOVE is only one of a score of chapters giving the entire history of the greatest Socialist newspaper in the world. There is not a more thrilling narrative of the history of the last 20 years to be found anywhere than in George Allan England's "Story of the Appeal." Three hundred pages, fully illustrated. Bound in library cloth. Price \$1, postage prepaid. Address, Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kan.
