ulitary rule established by General Burnside which re-in the suppression of hostile newspapers, restoring sthority instead. President Wilson should follow the



80 years of age to be kidnaped by a big burly beast of a so-called officer, and rushed into the military zone, tried before a military court, there is something wrong with the nation. When men become such ingrates that they trample on the honor of the sacred dead heroes who fought the battle for liberty before we saw the light of day, you need not ex-pect much courtesy to womanhood from their brutal hearts. —Mother Jones in a private letter.

HE release of Mother Jones from the military bastile in West Virginia is a signal victory for the Appeal and the working class. It shows clearly that one of the strongest weapons in the hands of the workers in the lands of the workers in the lands of the workers in the lands of the working class. one of the strongest weapons in the hands of the workers is publicity through the Socialist press. It was publicity which forced congress to act; publicity that compelled the lawless governor to liberate Mother Jones where he had posed as a military dictator for months. But the work is not over; the full victory has not been won. Scores are yet in prison; thousands of women and children are still camped homeless on the hills, while men are blacklisted and robbed of every human right. Publicity is what the coal barons fear. The release of Mother Jones and the establishment of civil government is merely for the purpose of allaying the agitation and quieting the public mind; but this action comes too late to serve that purpose. The Appeal has just started its fight in behalf of the miners of West Virginia and their families. The most startling and sensational of the Turner articles are yet to be printed. What has appeared in print is but preparation for what is to come. Turner, writing from the scene of battle, says: "The fight is not over by a thousand miles. The operators are notoriously violating their agreement. The miners cannot and will not stand the burdens placed upon them. Into the next West Virginia special of June 7th, I shall put all the best of the matter I procured in West Virginia. It will be the big climax." And for that reason I urge you to do all in your power to help us circulate that edition by the millions. The Appeal has never lost a battle. With your help we will win the West Virginia fight!

An Imprisoned Editor

was it for the Labor Argus, but it for humanity, for those oppressed down-trodden slaves of the mines, outraged wives and suffering chil-Comrade, keep up the fight on t Virginia. The so-called settlethat carried nothing with it. Men o were active during the strike are ing blacklisted by the coal barons, a mine guards and thugs are still on y, doing their dirty work. After ering and fighting loyally and very for a year the miners had the ke won. Victory was in reach of ir outstretched hand, when it was tehed from them through treachery the one hand and executive tyranny.

cost of say a million dollars. But it costs more than that.

It costs human life and that is real price of it.

But under the capitalist system the lives of the slaves are no more taken into account than were the lives of the slaves of Pharaoh when the pyramids

slaves of Pharaoh when the pyramids were built.

The crushed body of a coal miner is a terrible price to pay, but the miner has to pay it for the privilege of digging coal for the benefit of his master.

As long as the nation's industries are privately owned and operated for the private profit of their owners, as is the case under capitalism, the workers will be slaves and they will pay with their life-blood the price of the privileges and extravagances enjoyed by their masters.

Unmasking the Villains By Eugene V. Debs

John Kenneth Turner has had a notable and en- to be reproduced in letters of fire all over the land for

West Virginia the prey of conscienceless marauders and freebooters and and a burning reproach to the

great work he is now doing in unmasking the villainy proof that cannot be questioned. He is pointing the which for a quarter of a century has made the state of conspirators and usurpers out and calling them by name. He is unmasking the smug and eminently re-

ORGANIZATION.

We Socialists need to be more thornighly and scientifically organized.

The sentiment is not lacking. The scople, in rapidly increasing numbers are turning to Socialism. It is safe to assume that almost if not quite half the American people are more or less in doctrinated with socialistic ideas and

more or less ready for Socialism.

But mere Socialist sentiment, unorganized, uncourto led and undirected, or gime and establish the social democracy The Socialist sentiment must be clari

power sets the machinery in motion to the purpose for which it was created

organization the larger and more sub-

The Socialist party is not nearly so strong numerically nor so well equipped tactically as it ought to be in view of the five million Socialists there are in

the United States.

For one thing there is too much bickering and contention about utterly inconsequential matters, and for another there are too many who are satisfied to merely enroll their names and let the party rim itself, so far as they are concerned.

lf we are really militant Socialists and if we mean to prove it by our acts as well as our professions, we will not only join the Socialist party, but we will work with all our might and main to increase its membership, enlarge its activity, clarify its councils, harmonize its deliberations and permeate it with the class-conscious spirit of the revolution.

Let each and every one of us be not only energetic propagandists but active builders of the party organization!

A STATEMENT issued by the treasury department shows that the number of dollar bills (national bank notes) in

agement of L. C. Feltz.

I first met L. C. Feltz last July. I had just put up Paint Creek strike notices over the New River field and Feltz asked me to become a traiter and

To End Military Despotism

Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kans

Pind enclosed 5 for which send copies of Appeal No. 914, dated June 7th, containing the second installment of John Kenneth Turner's articles on Barbarous West Virginia.

N.	ÆΑ	36		120
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	100	m		

ADDRESS

rescue of West Virginia and fight the battles for these people as only the Arkat can. I urge you to let nothing stop your fight against feudal conditions in West Virginia. Our fight in this state is to give to the future generations of West Virginia a nobler manhood. a purer womanhood and a more sacred motherhood and this can never be done under the damnable conditions that are now defiling manhood, degrading our womanhood and degenerating the children. Again thanking you in the name of the working class of West Virginia for coming to the rescue, I remain, sincerely your comrade.

C. H. Boswell.

The workers must feel good when they see the democrats using the same sort of steamrollers that the republicans have been using so long. Can't you workers find a subtle meaning in anything? What's it all about? Eh?

Have you written a letter to your congressman or signed a petition in behalf of an investigation of conditions.

But the fearful price the working class pays for the skyscrapers does not entitle it to own them.

The plutocrats who take no risk, who never ride a beam in mid-air, or so much as drive a nail, own them, as drive a nail, own them, as drive a nail, own them, as drive a nail, own them as drive a nail, own them, as drive a nail, ow

congressman or signed a petition in be-half of an investigation of conditions in West Virginia? If not, do so at once

Four-Year Sub Cards

THE AFFEAL can use the money from the sale of 10-000 four-year sub cards. There is big work ahead of us and the funds from the sale of the four-year cards will enable us to do it. The receipts from the 25-cent subscriptions just about pay expenses. The long-timers give us a surplus-borrowing from the future as it were. But results justify the risk we take. Help the AFFEAL by subscribing at this low rate. Let the AFFEAL count you among those who want to see the AFFEAL keep ahead of the procession.

ad of the processi

gave all she had and gave her heart with it.

Each of us, even into the very least in the fold, can do something day by day for the cause, if it be nothing more than to speak a cheering word to some weary soul weighed down by the burden of life.

The Socialist movement is peculiarly the movement of those who have but a mite to offer. It could not be developed in all its power, nor fulfill its mission, if the few poured out all their riches in support of it instead of waging relentless warfare against it. It is the movement, primarily, of the impoverished masses, for whom, left to themselves, there is absolutely no hope of selves, there is absolutely no hope of

mon cause against the power that op-presses them.

the great common effort of us all throw off the burden that oppresses that we may stand erect in the sunli

A twenty-story skyscraper is built

Without that price, paid by the work

All the money of all the plutocrats in the world would not build one, and there is not a plutocrat in the world that would pay the price of his life for one.

Every skyscraper that goes up demands the toll of human life. From one to a dozen of the men who build it are killed or maimed before it.

'Ir appears a few in America are in-sisting the republican party is not dead —that the stink came from rottenness and not from decease. Anyhow, only buzzards care to "get together" over it.

"The "crest" that marks American nobility" is this; \$

There is something the matter with he Socialism of the comrade who loses

The true Socialist has no such word in his lexicon and knows not its mean-The hotter the battle waxes the higher

is courage registers on the moral the A day or two ago we met a kindly-natured, well-disposed comrade who confessed that he was discouraged and saw no use in trying to persist against such heavy odds. He was probably in-fluenced largely, if not entirely, by quar-rels among Socialists and ill-natured dissensions within the party. Many a good comrade we have lost on that account.

tional dissension may become, for he knows that all this is a necessary part of the development, and that only by passing through an ordeal of fire can a party be builded and equipped for

party dissension, but a certain amount of it is inevitable. Of course there are chronic disturbers and even police spies who are paid to create dissension and disrupt the party, but these should not be allowed to carry on their pernicious activity. To desert the party on their account is nothing less than cowardice. It is even worse; it is treason.

The true Socialist remains in the party through thick and thin, fights its battles.

through thick and thin, fights its battles win or lose, and proves himself staunchest when others are weakest and

when the struggle is hercest.

Don't talk about being discouraged! Stand up, whoever you are and wherever you are, and falter not!

The ordeal of fire will but burn out the dross and develop the gleaning virtues of your character!

REAL DIVIDING UP.

Experts in the treasury department. in figuring on possible receipts from the ncome tax, estimate that there are ten persons in the United States who have incomes of more than \$10,000,000 a year: fifty with incomes exceeding \$1,000,000; three hundred with incomes above \$300,000; two thousand having incomes over \$100,000; ten thousand of over \$50,000; twenty-five thousand of over \$20,000; seventy-five thousand with over \$10,000; one hundred thousand with over \$7,500, and two hundred thousand with over \$7,500, and two hundred thousand with over \$7,500 a year.

This means that 412,360 out of one hundred million ocople have a combined persons in the United States who have

This means that 12.300 out of the hundred million people have a combined income of over \$4,000,000,000. Of these 55,380 have an income of \$1,300,000,000. That is equal to two cotton crops of ten million bales each, or practically the whole of the cotton crop of the south or two years.
This is diving up of the wealth of the country with a vengeance. They who rant against Socialists wanting such a division had better examine these figures a little, then join the Socialists in

The Southern Ruralist declars, that a town in Manatee county, Florida, last year shipped \$50,000 crates of small fruits. On these, freight charges aggregated more than \$500,000. The producers have not received the cost of crates and packing. It pays to go on the farm and be independent.

Good. It is exactly what we need. There is no particular demand for more conservativism, but the more magazines conservativism, but the more magazines that stand for that the more Socialism

else. Socialists are for you regardless of sex, race, color or previous condi-tion of servittide.

CAPITALISMA

The news that goes over privately-owned wires is all soiled with the dirt

CAN'T YOU SEE? Can't you see that you' are only

can't you see that you' are only a small part of that wonderful machine called society? Can't you see that when you fail to do your share of the work someone else has it to do to prevent the whole or a given part thereof from suffering? Can't you see that where there is even a part of society suffering because of the improper functioning of another part that something is wrong and should be corrected? Would you sallow one small part of your business to so effect the wasie of it? Can't you see that a system of society that perfer mits such a condition is wrong? And can't you see that it is perfectly right and just that any persons who think they have a solution to those wrongs should present it for discussion and adoption by the whole of society? That is just what we are doing. We see those wrongs in this terrible system and have been hammering away against all odds and still person in telling the people about it, even after a most terrible prescution from those who are in command of the present system. Listen to us. Read our herature. Study your problems and our solution to them; not because we are presenting then, but for your own heratif. We know we cannot benefit you without your consent. Think it over. small part of that wonderful machine

dollar bills (national bank notes) in circulation at the present time is 343.887. There are, however, \$5 bills to the amount of 140,013,335 and of \$10 bills there are 329,569,140. There are 19,169,100 \$50 bills and 35,264,250 \$100 bills. How many of the latter do you see? How many more of the ones and the hundreds have you? There are a hundred times as many \$100 bills as there are ones.

The strike of the silk garment workers in Paterson, N. J., has developed to the point where the workers are telling the secrets of the firms' manufacture. They declare that more than half of the stuff put into silk cloth is not silk at all but a preparation of tin that glistens and rustles, and leads to a sudden collapse of the garment. That is what people do for profit.

Official Report on West Virginia

Extract from report West Virginia Legislative Mining Investigating Co "From the cloud of witnesses and the mass of testimony figuring in the Mearing had by us, there emerges clearly and unmistakably the fact that these guards openly, recklessly and flagrantly violated, in respect to the miners on Paint Creek and Cabin Creek, respectively, the rights guaranteed by natucondition and estate. The denial of the right of assembly

ral justice and the constitution to every citizen howsoever lowly and freedom of speech, many and grievous assaults on unarmed miners, show that their main purpose was to overawe the miners and their adherents and, if necessary, beat and cudget them into submission. We find that the system was vicious, strifepromoting and un-American. No man worthy of the name likes to be guarded by thugs armed with blackjacks, revolvers and Winchesters whilst he is endeavoring to earn his daily guard system as at present constituted, should be abolished forthwith." We are, therefore, unanimously of the opinion that the

Socialist National Committee Acts

Your Excellency—The national committee of the Socialist party, in the name of more than one hundred thousand organized Socialists and almost one million voters, and on behalf of the entire working class of America, respectfully calls your attention to the fact that in the state of West Virginia there exists a reign of terror, of officially protected lawlessness and anarchy, which has no parallel in the history of any modern nation with the exception of Russia.

In and contiguous to the Kanawha district of West Virginia, American citizens have, during the past few months, been deprived of the rights guaranteed by the constitution of the United States and that of the state of West Virginia itself.

In particular, the fundamental rights of free speech and free assemblage have been arbitrarily suppressed by guards and thugs hired by the coal barons of this feudal industrial state, protected and upheld in their lawlessness by the officials of the state. Newspapers have been suppressed without any process of law, simply because they have presented favorably the claims of the striking miners. The plants of these newspapers have been seized and confiscated in violation of the constitution and laws of the state of West Virginia and of the United States.

United States.

Martial law has been established in West Virginia, throughout the strike region, and the civil power subordinated to the military power, in open and flagrant violation of the most explicit provision of the state constitution that the military shall at all times be subordinate to the civil power and that no civilian citizen "shall be tried or punished by any military court for any offense that is cognizable by the civil courts of the states." By this illegally constituted military despotism, which has usurped the powers of the civil government, peonage has been established, citizens have been arrested without warrant, imprisoned without trial, heid incommunicado, sentenced by drumhead court martial for alleged civil offenses, notwithstanding the fact that the civil courts having furisdiction of the offenses are open and unobstructed. Thus, in the United States, in a state which this year celebrates the 50th anniversary of her admission to the state which this year celebrates the 50th anniversary of her admission to the union, we find popular sovereignty destroyed and military despotism of the most brutal type established. The doctrine which has prevailed among civilized ations for centuries, that civil offenses may not be tried before military tribu-als, is abandoned at the behest of arrogant corporations and a state whose boast as been that "mountaineers are always free" is reduced to the most degrading

matter is of vital concern, not alone to West Virginia, but to the entire nation. If such wanton destruction of civil government is to be permitted in one state, it may not be kept out of any or all other states in the union. This is of especial importance in view of the growing number of industrial conflicts and disturbances. Therefore, in view of the fact that the rights guaranteed by the United States constitution to every citizen are being ruthlessly denied, we call upon you, as head of the nation, to immediately use the power and authority vested in you by the constitution, to suppress the outrageous military misrule. vested in you by the constitution, to immediately use the power and authority in West Virginia and to restore the supremacy of civil authority, popular sovereignty and those rights of citizenship guaranteed by the constitutions of the United States and of West Virginia.

United States and of West Virginia.

We demand a searching investigation by the department of justice of the condition of civil war in West Virginia and the punishment of those officials of the state who have so flagrantly violated their oaths of office and aided and abetted the hired gun men and guards of the corporations in their assaults upon the lives and liberties of the working people of West Virginia.

We have this day elected a committee of three of our members to wait upon you at your convenience, to voice further our indignant protest against these outrages and to lay before you evidence of the truth of our charges.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE SOCIALIST PARTY.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE SOCIALIST PARTY.

which proved true, and could use that

matter in an investigation if one came, as I had determined to try to get some points to help break up the damnable

I had to make pretty straight reports

at first, but told nothing that would actually injure the cause of the miners. In time I fell under suspicion and be-

lieve that the agency planned to put me out of the way. I resigned April 10th

Statistics for Soapboxers

Counterfeit Capital.

Chicago, Ill., May 11, 1913.

Confessions of a Labor Spotter because I wanted to make that kind of money, but because I believed I could get considerable inside information,

(Continued from page one.)

Hably informed that John Long is working for the United Mine Workers at Richmond, Va., stopping transportation men. He has been in Richmond, we know. Find out just what he is doing. Bill Cain is a son-in-law of John Long, and was heard to say, if a strike comes in the New River field, he would lead the strikers. You might also interview Mat Eagle, but tender at Scarpen. Find out all you can and let me hear from you as soon as possible.—Yours truly, P.

March 22, 1913.

Deay Sir—I received your report No. 20 and note what you have to say. I think it would be a good idea for you to go to Oak Hill and work a few days as you suggest as you would be in a much better position to secure information than you otherwise would. Just as soon as you learn when this meeting is going to ! and what kind of a meeting and where, please get the information to me at the earliest possible moment. As you are on the ground you know better than I where to go and what to do in order to get the information and it is information that I am after— Yours very truly, J. M. W.

March 27, 1913. March 22, 1913.

to do in order to get the information it is information that I am after—say truly, J. M. W.

March 27, 1913.

March 27, 1913.

March 27, 1914.

March 27, 1915.

March 27, 1915.

March 27, 1915.

March 27, 1916.

March 27, 1916.

March 27, 1916.

March 27, 1917.

March 27, 1918.

March 27, 1918.

March 27, 1918.

March 19th ready to break up the meeting. Know also that I was followed into Hinton on the night of the 10th, as one of your men or the last night of the 10th, as one of your men dropped off at Quinnimont on the last night of the 10th as one of your men dropped off at Quinnimont on the last night of the 10th as one of your men dropped off at Quinnimont on the last night of the 10th as one of your men dropped off at Quinnimont on the last night of the 10th ready to break up the meeting. think it best for you to accept the position with the U. M. W. I was resting under the impression that you would be put on as organizer which I thought would be necessitate your cling considerable work in order to make a showing with the U. M. W. and at the time I hardly thought that this would be advisable, but since receiving your last report and note that you are wanted for a man to canvas the field for the purpose of ascertaining what is a going on, etc., I think it would be best for you to secept such a position. I am always willing for you to use your, own judgment in regard to what you do and where you go, as you know that it is only information that. I want. If this place is still epen to you and you think you would be in a better position to secure information for us. I would suggest that you accept it. I have there are quite a few railroad men in a faround Thurmond who are Socialists, and Jim Daniejs whom you referred to was discharged from the service of the C and O on account of his taking such an active part against us. If you learn anything further in regard to what you do me count of his taking such an active part against us. If you learn anything further in regard to banelis working for the union, I will be glad if you will keep me posted.

If at any time you think best to see me in person you could come to my room at a late hour when there is no one stirring around. I will be find you will keep me posted.

If at any time you think best to see me in person you could come to my room at a late hour when there is no one stirring around. I will be find you will keep me posted.

If at any time you think best to see me in person you could come to my room at a late hour when there is no one stirring around. I will be find you will keep me posted.

If at any time you think heat to see me in person you could come to my room at a late hour when there is no one stirring around. I will be find you will keep me you do will be perfectly satisfactory with me.—lours very triply. I went to work for the agency.

I went to work for the agency not And fill the bag to the brim.

And fill the bag to the brim.

And ever was Pay him.

—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Debs is Going

To West Virginia and Hatfield's gang threaten to throw him into jail. The capitalist papers will not print the truth, but the little old Apprais, with the help of its loyal army of workers who are always on the job, will carry the message to every American voter.

Let Comrade Debs know you are with him. The most cheering message you can send him is to place your order today for a bundle of No. 214.

国际基本 5 15 66 for Beginners. C

ocialists get into power how ad to do on election day, go and vote, or vote through

Nobody can say what will be done in the future on such questions, whether Socialism comes or not. The people simply would be free to act as they thought best under Socialism—free than they are today.

Paying Taxes.

Would it be possible for the government carry on all business without the people ing required to pay taxes to maintain a government?

It would be possible for the government to make sufficient profit out of the conduct of the people's affairs to pay all its running expenses. However, this would be a taxation in a way, although it would not necessitate tax col-

Free Tickets and Cut Rates. Is it purely a missionary spirit that prompts the railroad companies and other transportation companies to give free tickets and cut raies to priosts, preachers, ministers and public men in general, or may it not be considered a bribe?

Time was only recently when all pub-ic officials received these favors. The ublic conscience awakened and now it forbidden because it is assur in the nature of a bribe. the railroads are cutting out these spe-cial favors to ministers. The time is when ministers will refuse them, on the ground that a good many working men regard it as bribery and because of it hold aloof from the

Mining Under Socialism

HAT miding there may be under Socialism without doubt will be under control of a department ining—the mines to be owned by whole people. This will mean a greater increase in the receipts of the miners, enabling them to live fully as well as any other citizens. At the same time, the cost of the product will be reduced to the consumer through two sources: First, the profits which now

It is safe to say that where the workers themselves control their own jobs they will see that every proper precauis taken to safeguard their own The mines, therefore, will not be made safe, but also comparaonly be made safe, but also compara-tively pleasant places to work. There is one public mine in Canada now that is lighted by electricity, where the air is perfect and where the best machin-ery is used. This is only a foretaste, a beginning, of what probably will be when all mines are operated for the benefit of the whole people.

Someone wrote an essay on snakes in reland, the essay consisting of the ords "There are no snakes in Ireland." words "There are no snakes in Ireland."
In predicting what may occur in the future one can say with some assurance that when Socialism becomes fully operative mining, as understood today will practically cease. There is enough energy going to waste in the winds and waters to produce sufficient electricity to furnish light and heat to all the houses and to supply all needed power at a lower figure than these can be produced through the use of coal Morewill practically cease. There is enough duced through the use of coal. More-over, when men become less barbarous they will care less for diamonds, for they will care less for diamonus, for gold and silver, either as ornaments or as money. It stands to reason, therefore, that mining, which is necessarily more or less disagrecable, will be largely abandoned when its products can be supplied in more pleasant and easier

ways.

If mining should be largely superseand on April 17th, in my imal letter to Feltz, I said: I have my own opinion of the Meadow Creek affair and Mr. Davidson's position ded under a more perfect industrial arrangement, then the workers in the mines, when Socialism prevails, will not be left without employment. They will simply be transferred to new industries, where the returns will be fully as great and where the work will be lighter and pleasanter and at the same time less

Ethnologists believe this Salt River valley contained a dense population, with highly developed agriculture, as long as the eleventh century, before William the conqueror invaded England. Near Phoenix are the remains of land. Near Phoenix are the remains of a prehistoric irrigation system involving a tunnel through hard rock, and a twenty-mile canal over unusually rough

On Clear creek, another system dis-

On Clear creek, another system distributed water over twelve hundred acres. Considering what these ancient Americans had to work with, and what we have to work with, our Eagle Dam looks rather pindling.

We cheerfully give the Socialists whatever benefit there may be in the fact that these ancestors of the Pueblos were undoubtedly communists. Only by the co-operative effort of the whole community could they have accomplished such works.

Fortress of Facts

Warren's pamphlet, '\$2,000 Per Tear and Six-Hour Day," is best described in the ption of this brief article.

The Wayland I Knew

Y OU didn't know J. A. Wayland personally. Not a hundred men ever did know him. True, thousands met and conversed with him who thought they understood his habits and life. They didn't. Some people who thought they were acquainted with Comrade Wayland considered him a rough and very bad man. Thought he was hard-hearted, cruel, vindictive and vulgar. I know because I thought him so gar. I know because I thought him so myself—once. But after ten years of almost daily association I was privileged to look beneath the surface and behold the real man. He was not brutal. Neither was he hard-hearted or cruel. The soul of the man was revealed The soul of the man was revealed within. It glowed like the soul of the Christ. The heart instead of being hard and cruel and vindictive, was warm and forgiving. It ached—not as one heart aches—but in unison with a and forgetting.

heart aches—but in unison with a
world's heart ache. Misunderstood because he didn't, or couldn't, give outward expression to his innermost feelings. Abused, villified and murdered because the world couldn't understand him. It was not the fault of the world.

It was not the fault of Wayland that he couldn't make himself understood. Schooled in the university of hardsources: First, the profits which now go to the mine owners will then be non-existent, the miner and the people in general receiving the benefit. Second, the best possible means of mining will be used, which will greatly increase the output for the same amount of labor employed. The waste which now accompanies mining will then be eliminated.

It is safe to say that where the work
Schooled in the university of hard-ship and poverty, he philosophically and slived society, first by units and then as a whole. He started in life a pessimist, tater became an optimist, was betrayed, traduced and imposed upon when he had befriended, and reverted back to pessimism. He schooled in the university of hard-ship and poverty, he philosophically and society, first by units and then as a whole. He started in life a pessimist, later became an optimist, was betrayed, traduced and imposed upon when the same amount of labor even by those whom he had befriended, and reverted back to pessimism. He schooled in the university of hard-ship and poverty, he philosophically and poverty he philosophically and poverty he philosophically and poverty he philosophically and poverty he philosophi him—hence every man, individually, was his enemy. Yet in spite of this appar-ent paradox, Comrade Wayland loved the world, and, as it were, took society as a whole to his bosom.

> IN all of the histories of great mer and their achievements there is not one that is the minutest detail will resem-ble the life story of Julius A. Way-land (the "one hoss" editor) when it is written. He was a character unto himself. Stood alone in the world an-other figure with whom he may be com-

Born in poverty, of obscure and or Born in poverty, of obscure and or-dinary parents, he was destined to rise out of both the poverty and the ob-scurity. Financial ability was misunder-stood for rascality; his ideal considered the aberration of a faulty mind and his genius thought to be the hallucina-tion of a vicious and quere knave.

tion of a vicious and queer knave.

How little of the real virtues of this man the world ever knew or ever will know! True, he was peculiar, but show me the genius who is not. I think he had the most philosophical mind I ever encountered. It seemed sometimes that it was cruelly so.

It was cruelly so.

I once heard him vigorously reprove Eugene V. Debs for wasting his time writing personal letters to the "down and outs," giving away his money and other such touching acts of that great soul. He said: "Debs, you're a damn fool. What is the use of wasting your valuable time on these human wreeks." valuable time on these number he ser-hopeless victims who can never be servaluable time on these human wrecks; hopeless victims who can never be service to themselves or to society? Let them perish. They are only rubbish in the stream, clogging the world's progress. Every minute you waste on an individual is at the expense of the greater good you could be doing for all of society. Every day you write from twenty to fifty personal letters, in many of them enclosing, money to pay a wide pleasanter and at the same time less were at hazardous.

Ancient American Co-operators.

From the Saturday Evening Post.

North of El Paso, the United States reclamation service is building Eagle Dam, by which the largest artificial lake in the world will be created and a big area of arid land made fruitful.

Professor Hess, in an article in the Journal of Political Economy, calls it. May lade. It was to service in the same region, two generations before the will not ginia.

Yet, when Coronado's men visited the same region, two generations before the world will not ginia.

Yet, when Coronado's men visited the same region, two generations before the Mayflower sailed, they found irrigation works which, in proportion to the financial and mechanical resources of the people who constructed them, were far more wonderful, and which had been in successful operation for hundreds of years.

Ethnologists believe this Salt River valley contained a dense population, with highly developed agriculture, as

us had we felt that our friend and co-worker had given a tree expression to his real self. But happily we knew the inner man, having seen beneath the sur-

face.

The above is a sample of the man's outside casing. To concede sympathy for an unifortunate was, with Wayland, the conceding of a weakness. It was wasting time, energy and sympathy on an effect at the expense of the cause. The beautiful and tender side of that

great soul was zealously concealed from the gaze of the public.

The aid and assistance rendered to unfortunates by Comrade Wayland was artfully and carefully hidden from the world, even to the extent of denying undoubtedly communists. Only by the to his most intimate friends and family co-operative effort of the whole community could they have accomplished such works.

We should remember that it was not until we tackled reclamation in the communistic manner—by the co-operature.

office, find the tramp and fit him out with clothes, food, shoes and a little "stake."

ONCE upon a time I suddenly opened the door of his private office and, stepping in, found this "cold materialistic philosopher" in tears. He was reading a letter from the wife of one of the most worthless and no-account human skunks it was ever the misfortune of Clared Socialists to hear "The her Girard Socialists to know. The hus-band was about to be sent to the peni-tentiary for defrauding some company with which he had been temporarily

moved by the centuries of evolution from the barbarism of the brute cave man. This boy came to Wayland one day and told him of his troubles and ambitions. He wanted to go away where he could get into a different entry that the standard him. vironment from that surrounding him in his own home. He needed money and clothes. Although his father had and clothes. Although his father had been and is today one of the most vicious opponents to Socialism and the APPEAL TO REASON we have ever had in the community, the boy did not appeal to Comrade Wayland in vain. He was fitted out and sent on his way according to his heart's desire. Nothing was known of this until after Wayland's death when the boy volunteered the information.

death when the boy volunteered the information.

One Girard boy is completing a college course, the expenses of which have been paid by this same man. Another told me a short time ago that Mr. Wayland had offered to send him through college if he would agree to stay with it until he graduated.

It is unnecessary to enumerate all of the cases of beneficence, kindness and philanthropy of which this man Wayland was guilty, and of which the world knew nothing until after his death.

HE was different in almost all ways from other great men. The smallest difference was by no means that pecu-liar characteristic that prompted him to recoil from those things that would give him personal notoriety or glory. He stadfastly refused to accept any kind of a political or party office, go on the lecture platform, participate in conventions, public conferences, congresses or gatherings. He never per-mitted the publication of his picture or the use of his name when it could be avoided. (He wanted to establish the APPEAL TO REASON without letting the world know the identity of its editor and publisher, but such a course was prohibited by the United States postal laws.) All this was the result of more

this was the result of more of his philosophical reasoning.

He insisted that "familiarity bred contempt," and that if he could always remain a mystery to the public he would be able to wield more influence in the world's work.

Yet Wayland had one of the most place and interactions.

pleasing and interesting personalities I ever encountered. Of the many who journeyed to Girard and met him none will ever forget his quiet voice, quick intellect and firm, commanding manner. Those who enjoyed a private hour in his company have departed with new hope, new life and purer thoughts. The contact could not help but make them

I have no fear of contradiction in making the sweeping statement that Comrade Wayland was the greatest and most successful personal propagandist the Socialist movement of America has ever had. To see him on the street in personal conversation, in hotels, on trains, anywhere, you could be sure, without hearing him, that he was talk-ing Socialism. We who were intimate ing Socialism. We who were intimate with him used to marvel at his never flagging earnestness and optimism in the Great Hope. Apparently he thought of little else and seemed to feel that it was his sacred duty to convert anyone and everyone with whom he could se

THE old saying that none but cowards will take their own life will not in any sense hold good with J. A. Wayland. He was the one man of my acquaintance that I am sure did not in the slightest degree understand the feel-

risonville, Mo., where he was conducting risonville, Mo., where he was conducting a republican paper in a democratic community, he made certain proved charges against a corrupt sheriff. The officer was one of the "bad men" of that section, having killed several persons in his career. He met Wayland on the street and drawing his six-shooter threatened to shoot him on the spot. Wayland calmly looked him over, spit in his face turned around and leaves here.

Wayland calmly looked him over, spit in his face, turned around and leisurely walked away.

At the time McDonough, who had been petted and befriended by every one connected with the Appeal, with murder in his poisoned heart and a loaded instrument of death in his hand, was threatening the lives of Warren, Sheppard and others in one of the editorial rooms, Comrade Wayland appeared on the scene. The revolver was immediately thrust, cocked and loaded, against his breast and he was peremptorily ordered to leave the room. Without a flinch the keen gray eyes looked into those of the madman's, and, grasping the loaded gun in one hand, he cut in with, "You damn coward, you don't in with, "You damn coward, you don't dare to shoot," while with the other he backed the burly brute out of the room. Numerous were the incidents of this kind in the life and experiences of that remarkable man in which he demonstrated that death to him held no ter-

ABOUT a year before his own tragic Counterfeit Capital.

and heart sick comrade. He who had buffeted the tide of public opinion for near a half century, suffered the bit-terness of ridicule, grown gray and aged under the weight of abuse, misrepresentation and government persecution. Night after night alone in that big house musing over the past, knowing in his heart that he had spent a mighty energy in the awful struggle to point the way out of the wilderness for the children

of men.

Many were the times that a light war.

Many were the times that a light war. seen shining through his study window as late as two or three o'clock in the

with which he had been temporarily connected, the children were crying for bread and the family was destitute. A hundred dollars (\$100) was needed to keep the unworthy father and husband out of prison and alleviate the immediate suffering of the unfortunate family. Yes, they got the hundred dollars (\$100), but not a soul knew anything of the incident for months afterward and then learned of it only by the merest accident.

There is a young man in Girard who is ambitious to be something in the world, but who has a father little removed by the centuries of evolution from the barbarism of the brute cave man. This boy came to Wayland one day and told him of his troubles and ambitions. He wanted to go away another which had been shining through his study window as late as two or three o'clock in the morning.

Is it overdrawn to imagine him sitting there alone reviewing his life's work? Perhaps he shed tears springing from no weak source, but tears from the loftiest fountain of emotion—tears that befut a warrior when his country-men rush to their own doom, a father when his children rebel against his love. It is it not probable that he viewed the world, but who has a father little removed by the centuries of evolution from the barbarism of the brute cave man. This boy came to Wayland one day and told him of his troubles and murmurs. "Enough, enough! I have risked, dared and suffered more than my portion for an unappreciative more than my portion for an unappreciative the more than my portion for an unappreciative the more than my portion for an unappreciative the more than my portion for an unappreciative than my portion for an unappreciative the more than my portion for an unappreciative than my portion for an unappre than my portion for an unappreciative world. It is all I lived for and now I honestly feel that my work is over. The lamp is burned out." "The struggle under the competitive system is not worth the effort; let it pass."

Hatfield and Peabody

ARL MARX said that history re-peats itself, first as a tragedy and

peats itself, first as a tragedy and then as a farce.

Six years ago Governor Peabody was military dictator of Colorado. Sherman Bell was his commander-in-chief. Lieu-Bell was his commander-in-chief. Lieu-tenant McLelland was his field marshal. Their power within the state was su-preme. The civil authorities was over-ridden. Military anarchy was enthroned. "To hell with habeas corpus, we'll give 'em post mortems," screamed Sher-man Bell.
"To hell with the constitution," yelled Lieutenant McLelland.
The mine owners were the state

mine owners were the state.

Martial law was supreme. Governor Peabody, the tool of the nine owners, was military dictator. Where is Peabody today? Where is Sherman Bell? Lieutenant McLelland?

In oblivion so deep that the world does not know they were ever born. They are still above earth and yet shunned by the few who once knew them, while to the world they are dead and forgotten.

But the Western Federation of Min-

ers, the labor organization they com mitted every conceivable crime to crush is today more powerful, more resource ful, more aggressive and more confi-dent of victory than ever before. History is repeating itself in West Virginia—as a farce.

The thieving conspiring lawless mine owners—only another gang of them—

are again in the saddle. Hatfield is in the role of Peabody.

Hatfield is in the role of Peabody.

Elliot has superseded Sherman Bell.

Now watch for developments!

The war is on; there can be no truce;

t must be to a finish.

Constitutional government, the right of labor to organize and the right of free speech, a free press, and free as-semblage are at stake as in Colorado, and all these must perish or military despotism must be put down—one or

the other. There can be no compromise In some respects the conditions in West Virginia are infinitely worse than in Colorado or in any

other state in the union. In far less than six years Hatfield and his gang will join Peabody and his crowd in the fathomless depths of oblivion, while the labor movement they violated their oaths of office and prostituted their powers to annihilate, sweeps irresistibly onward in fulfillment of its mission of emancipation.

THE APPEAL has a letter which show that the government is discharging workers in the canal zone after they reach the age of 45 years. No man can be president of the United States until he is 45 years old. The toiler is worn out at that age, but the master class is not supposed to be able to do its best not supposed to be able to do its best work until over 45.

(RD)

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Follow Wayland's Heart

What a battle we are fighting! How our hearts together beat! We are in this war to win it and we never will retreet! Though the foe pour forth his lightnings tilled with hell's strocco wind We will face him! we will fight him! we will never look behind!

The Nation-Wide Plot Against Labor The collapse of the conspiracy against at Salem during those dreadful days of pittable ignorance and superstition. The APPEAL by no means marks the end

the APPEAL by no means marks the end of the conspiracy of the masters. In West Virginia they are seeking to crush mankind through military dictatorship. In half a dozen towns and nearly as many states they are imprisoning strikers and threatening to send them to use Waldo H. Coffman, a member and the constant of the conspiracy of the masters. In straub, is attempting to stamp or straub, is attempting to stamp o many states they are imprisoning strik-ers and threatening to send them to brison in order to crush the revolt of the workers. The masters are plotting bigger things. They wish to so influ-ence law as to be able to absolutely to

dominate its affairs.

Now Marshall Cushing's Magazine for manufacturers issues a "confidential bulletin of legislative news" in which the following statement occurs:

will you not act? Will you not act im-ediately? MARSHALL CUSHING. If that clause is not inserted it will that action is brought in the Prosecution of the courts may I, but the killing of unions and







AGENTS PORTRAITS No. FRANCE De.

The Plute Press Pimp

T would appear that they in hell do not know a thing about it. It takes a man in heaven to tell how superior hell is to the other place. A syndicate article, prepared by a member of the Cincinnati Times-Star force, is appear-

In his charge to the jury, the judge, W. W. Bardwell, who had acted with the greatest fairness to the defense, instructed the jury as to the law in the case, and advised the jury, that if the facig mentioned in the article were true and that if the intention for publishing the same was good, their verdict should be. "Not guilty." He reminded them that the presumption of the law was that the defendant was innocent until the prosecution had proven him guilty beyond a shadow of a doubt.

Still, the jury, no doubt swayed by their bourgeois mode of thinking, brought in a verdict of "Guilty." Even the judge was dismusted with the verdict, as he clearly indicated by his actions when the verdict was returned to him.

Als. Georgian will appeal the case, no matter how light the sentence, because it was a clear case against Mr. Collina and his publishing house.

ABELBAM SHELDON.

Echoes of Old Free Speech Fight. E. E. Kirk and Harry M. McKee, So-cialist attorneys of San Diego, Cal., must spend six months in jail and pay or work out a fine of \$300 each for their activity in the San Diego free speech fight of last year.

in the San Diego free speech ngnt of many year.

These two comrades have been well known in the Socialist party movement for more than ten years. In the San Diego trouble, they each spoke on the street in defiance of the anti-free-speech ordinance just passed. They were not convicted nor sentenced for violating the ordinance, as that carries a penalty of but 30 days in jail or a fine of \$100 as the maximum. They were convicted of conspiring or agreeing to violate the ordinance; a fine distinction that increases the penalty amazingly.

tinction that increases the penalty amazingly.

Kirk and McKee were arrested at the very beginning of the free speech fight to gether with thirty-nine others. The charges against most of the others were dropped, and air only were convicted. Three of these were paroled, and Jack Whyte has already served six months, and Woodford Hubbard thirty days for this same offense. Kirk and McKee appealed to the appellate court, and after waiting since last Angust, that body decided that Kirk and McKee must go to jail and pay the fine.

It will require two months for the cumbrous machinery of the law to call for these comrades to surrender themselves. This case shows the real attitude of the progressives. They were convicted and sentenced by a progressive party judge, appointed by Progressive fovernor Johnson in the progressive state of California. Kirk and McKee will attempt to make a speaking tour of California before being surrendered.

Appeal Held Up

Turner wires that the AFFEAL is being heid up in the "milliary sone." Hatheid's thugs will not allow it to Hatfield's thugs will not anow at the circulate.

The capitalist papers are maintaining their usual slence. There is but one arenue through which to reach the public with the truth—the Socialist press.

Turner will have a red-but atery in No. 913 and this will be followed by regular broadsides in 914, the

This is the property of the court of the cou

He "Asks God to Forgive Him." I have subscribed to the APPEAL ever nee it was started, and I can conscien-orbily endorse what you say Congressman liker stated about the paper, namely, "I we observed this paper for several years of think it states more untruths than any abilication that has ever existed." I pre-me I am "insolent" too fut, it is, I be-

I congratulate

Bouck White's Great Book.



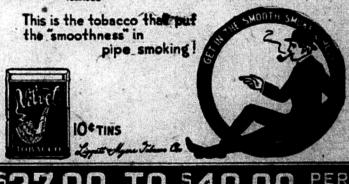
Gasoline Engines



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Four Long Years

on who is ignorant of Socialism socialist movement is ignorant of vital and far-reaching movement ery one, especially non-Socialists id read up on this greatest of all

Mother Jones-An Appreciation

BY EUGENE V. DEBS.

LMOST twenty years ago, in the thick of the Pullman strike and the dark days following it. Mother the dark days following it. Mother Jones first came into my life. She was then about sixty, but her hair was already white for she had come up out of the dark valley where she had left her loved ones asleep and where she drained the cup of sorrow to its dregs. But Mother Jones did not come upon the hand with great and

the battle-scene bowed with grief and broken with despair. She came as one who had suffered and been consecrated; who had suffered and been consecrated; as great and tender souls always come when they are needed. She had been through the fire and the dross had been consumed. The frivolities of life, if she ever knew them, she knew no more. In the great crucible she had been tempered for stern action and heroic service.

I recall her part in the battle at Birm inghani, Ala, where the miners and other workers had made common cause with the railroaders and defied the state t was a desperate situation and dire calamity was freely predicted. Mother Jones, like a modern Joan of Arc, aroused the strikers to a fighting pitch and stood at their head as they fronted the enemy. I never saw braver men than those A. R. U. leaders who served as her lieutenants. as her lieutenants.

as her lieutenants.

The soldiers were all under arms, with order to shoot to kill, and the place literally swarmed with railroad detectives and deputy marshals. Such was the situation when I first saw Mother Jones in action. She was everywhere at the front. She was the incarnation of high courage and on every scene of conflict she was the inspiration of the strikers. Where she was, the weakest became warriors and would weakest became warriors and would gladly die for the cause.

ON arrival there I was informed that the meeting I was to address had been forbidden by the authorities; that the opera house which had been engaged was closed by order of the police board. Mother Jones, hearing of these orders, hurriedly marshaled her forces and notified the authorities that the tified the authorities that the would be held as advertised and that if the doors were not open they would be opened. When the train pulled into the station ten thousand railroadmen, miners and other working men and women were packed about it. A tremendous shout that seemed like a mighty roar went up as the march bemighty roar went up as the march be-gan toward the city. The authorities hastily convened in special session, re-considered their action, ordered the doors opened and instructed the police ence with the meeting, an entirely un necessary precaution, the crowd

and determination to take care of itself.

The late Comrade William Mailly
was then at Birmingham, a coal miner
and a striker, and one of the staunch-

est and truest comrades-in-arms Mother Jones had in those stirring days. The battle was not won, but neither was it lost. Mother Jones had fought her way into the hearts of the strikers and there she has been ever since, and now that she lies in a West Virginia how that she hes in a West Virginia bullpen, the victim of her unswerving loyalty to the working class and the heroine of a thousand battles fought in their behalf, she is dearer to them and more greatly beloved by them than ever

pid leader and inspirer of every for-lorn cause. She marched with the marchers, always at the head of the the invaders, organized the foraging bad dreams, parties, called and addressed the meetings, organized the locale and addressed the meetings.

Che Biggest Chings Yet

The summer numbers of the Com ing Nation will contain the best things that have ever appeared in that magazine. Some of them are:

What Has Happened to China

The High Cost of Living The Parables of Jesus

People who read magazines ought

to read a magazine that tells you "the things doing."

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both for a dollar and a half, i-

still good.

jail, and on her release ordered to leave the state, only to renew the attack with increased energy and fiercer determina-

In the battles of the miners in Cole rado. Utah and Arizona she was the same dauntless leader, the same galiant highter, the same inspiring counsellor and unconquerable spirit. The soldiers rounded her up, prodded her with bayonets as they marched her out of the camp, but they only heightened her courage, strengthened her resolve, and intensified her patriotic devotion to the working class.

AND now, after all these years of intense struggle, of unceasing persecu-tion, untold suffering and utter self-forgetfulness, this intrepid old warrior in labor's cause, this scarred old sol-dier of the revolution, with the snows dier of the revolution, with the snows of eighty winters upon her venerable head, has been victim of Santanic cruckly by the mine owners of West Virginia who in defiance of law and in violation ct the instinct animals respect, sought to encompass her death.

These savages in human form dread the power of Mother Jones because they know she is as incorruntible in her our-

know she is as incorruptible in her purpose as they are foul in their base and treasonable designs.

They dare not, these hyenas, murder her outright or they would have hanged her to a tree long ago.

Mother Jones, we salute you and we swear that the bullpen shall not be your grave!

MILITARY TYRANNY.

When in any struggle between capi talist oppressors and working class strikers the situation warrants it the capitalists suspend the constitution, abrogate the law, set aside the civil process and substitute despotism in the form of a military commission which has all the power of an absolute tyranny.

It is the most convenient imaginable way of settling differences and keeping the slaves under the iron heel where they belong.

they belong.

In certain parts of West Virginia there has been no lawful government for many months. The governor cracked his lash and down went the constitution because the workers had some rights under it. Now read general order No. 23, issued from the state capital, Charleston, W. Va., November 16, 1912, by C. D. Elliott, adjutant general, by authority of the governor vested in him by the coal trust and the railroad monopoly: monopoly:

Section 1. The military commission is substituted for the criminal court of the district covered by the martial law proclamation and all offenses against the civil laws as they existed prior to the proclamation of November 15, 1912, shall be regarded as offenses under the military haw and as a punishment therefor, the military commission can imnose such seutences.

This is a beautiful arrangement in a republic. We ought to be proud of

Magna Charta, the Declaration of In-Alagna Charta, the Dectaration of In-dependence, the bill of rights, for which rivers of blood were shed, are simply rhetoric. They mean nothing. They might as well never have been written.

A mere governor, one of the smallest in the lot, such as Hatfield, a tool of the coal trust, brushes aside the constitution of the United States and the state constitution, suspends the laws annuls the guarantees, wipes out the civil process and sets up a military inquisition of his own. He appoints the military commission; they are his creatures; they do his bidding.

The power of this whippersnapper

governor is as great as that of the czar of Russia, in his domain. Trial by jury of Russia, in a domain. That by jury its suspended. Offenders marked by the coal barons are yanked up before the "commission" and receive their sentence. They are condemned in advance.

They may be innocent as babes, but the handing in a noise that sounded like coal trust wants them jailed and to jail they go-or rather to the bullpen. They are cut off from the world. They are

fore the law. This military substitution for civil government on the faintest pretext at all, has got to be destroyed root and branch by the working class, even if it has to be shot out of existence.

The Union Label

citizens beliance people hydrophoby; 'tis what gives th' scab manufacturer

"And who invinted it, Dooley?" asked

All th' Chinamin cud do with sumpowd-her is to make phirecrackers to create a lot o' stink and noise."

ven capitalist manufacturers .) traffic in it and convert it from an emblem of revolutionary unionism to a symbol of reactionary craft-unionism and con-tented wage slavery, it serves only the interests of those who live out of the working class and pretend to patronize the union for the chance it gives them

to betray the workers.

There ought to be one uniou label for every industry and that label should be the label of every employe in that in-

dustry.

Mr. Dooley is right. The unionists have not yet learned to use the label, nor have they yet learned its true sig-mificance, but they are being taught the lesson in the bitter school of experience and in time they will realize that the union label is in truth the union label only when it is the symbol of solidarity and expresses the aspiration of the working class to freedom and justice.

When you vote the old party tickets nere bread or bullets is what you get out of it.

Wirn all that you can do for Social-m, Socialism will do very much more for you.

THE place to find sympathy is not rith the capitalist minded. It is in the dictionary.

"White slavery" is only one division f wage slavery. You must end the latof wage slavery. You ter to stop the former.

CAPITALIST parasites have feaste the toiler's body long enough. I should awake and scratch. THERE are no great men. Some merely appear great because the many are content to remain little.

Socialists liave already prevented hree or four wars. When Socialism three or four wars. When Social comes there will be no more war.

In every country on earth woman has a right to vote, now. The only reason she can't vote is that tyrannical masters and tyrannical ignorance will not permit her to do so.

Socialism depends on two things for success—first, thought, that shall grasp the reason for the poverty and distress there is; second, the wise application of the ballot in order to end the conditions that produce want and sorrow.

clock running in several of the maga-zines which reads, "Big Ben, the Busi-ness Man's Friend." It occurs to me it would be nearer the truth if this read, "Big Ben, the Wage Slave's Boss."

I note an advertisement of an alarm

The workers have always been underlings. When they exercise their political power they will be on top. They can, when they become wise to their power, bring Socialism, get their full social product and enjoy all the good things they create. THE toiler is abundantly able to make his way and more, if given a chance. The remedy for his condition, then, lies, not so much in doing new things, as in removing the obstructions that keep him from employment, namely, the capitalist, that takes a toll of him before it will permit him to work.

A REPORT from Rome declares that 400 Bologna priests have threatened to strike against the high cost of living unless they are given bigger salaries. If they get bigger salaries their parishioners will find the cost of living still higher, and then what do you suppose will happen? Will the priests uphold them in striking?

DEMOCRATS who are boasting about what their party proposes to do in West Virginia are reminded that the party let the outrages continue for over year, without offering to do anything.
The second week after the Appear,
threatened full publicity, however, they
got busy. If you wish your servants,
the congressmen, to do anything for you, don't wait for them to do it without asking. Simply let them know that I it be done and done at once, and if they do not do it they must take the consequences.



Turs system gives the worker a chance—to contribute to the support of the idle slave driver. And that is all.

It took just about sixty years' agita-tion to bring about the direct election of United States senators. The idea tion to bring about the dire sults of the last election were known; since then, state after state has been handing in a noise that sounded like "yes." The strength of the Socialist vote from now on will be the very buried alive—in the world. They are greatest factor in compelling recognition that the people and not the service sovereign and where all are equal before the law.

THE people really cannot understand why on earth anybody who has been elected to the white house should do so many strange things as do the Wilsons. Mrs. Wilson went to the millinery store and picked out her own hat and even carried it home herself. Mr. Wilson IN the miners' strikes in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois during the last ten years, Mother Jones has been the central and commanding figure; the intrepid leader and inspirer of every forlorn cause. She marched with the lorn cause. She marched with the lead of the last ten polytishus put on their cards at election time to catch th' votes o' the intelligent workingmin; 'tis what gives th' talk about them without saying anyphis read his own message to congress; a thing unheard of in Washington for many years. Such actions as these deth note that either the Wilsons believe in talk about them without saying anyoby; thing bad.

"The vital knowledge that by which rarties, called and addressed the meetings, organized the locals, spotted the detective and ordered them to retire, faced and out-faced the operators and their birelings, and forced the fighting from every point of vantage. She was a cough to use it after they made it.

"And who myinted it, books are and which now underlies our whote existence, is a knowledge that has got itself taught in nooks and corners while their birelings, and forced the fighting gunpowdher, and didn't have since the ordanical agencies for teaching have enough to use it after they made it.

The whole myinted it, books are and which now underlies our whote distribution invinted the ordanical agencies for teaching have of the ordanic agencies for teaching have been mumbling little else but dead formulas. That which our school courses been mumbling little else but dead for-mulas. That which our school courses said: her is to make phirecrackers to create a lot of stink and noise. The union label is good so far as it actually registers working class solidarity. But when labor unions allow politicians, ward-heelers, labor skates and even capitalist manufacturers. It is a still to be far as the past manufacturers. It is a still to be far as the past manufacturers. It is a still to be far as the control of their education is said to be far as the still their education is said to be far as the still their education is said to be far as the still their education is said to be far as the still their education is said to be far as the still their education is said to be far as the still their education in the still t tion is said to be finished. And were it not for that information that has been from age to age accumulated and spread Not one of the great iniquities which by unofficial means these industries besets mankind but has its roots in printered never have existed. Herbert vate property in the social means of life. from age to age accumulated and spread

Your subscription to the Appear, will soon expire. Why not renew for life? Five dollars puts you on the life list and this is where you belong. You will be saved the time and annoyance of renewing and of missing copies between expiration and renewal. If your time is worth anything to you at all this trifle of an outlay is the best investment the amount that you can make. The life list is growing in popularity and lengthening rapidly. "Yours for life" is the way the loyal old Army workers put it as they send in an order on Uncle Sam for \$5 for a life subscription to the "little old APPEAL." They know FIRE ALARM FORAKER of Ohio sounds a deep warning against Socialism. "The breed of ugly critics must be crushed if the republic is to be saved." Such a declaration from some people would merit considerable attention, but from Foraker—turn on the hose.

the "little old Appeal." They know they could not get along without the Socialism is in the means that deconomic sion for social and they are going to separate only at the grave. Send us five dollars and let The worker the "little old Appeal." be "Yours for are still in war Life."

*************** Debs Going to Jail

Turner wires: "If Debs makes a speech in West Virginia he will surely be thrust into jail. But Debs sur's will go just the same; Debs sur's araid of jails; he knows all about them; he has been in one of them. But the cowardly hirelings of the coal trust will never dare put Debs in jail if the courades on the firing line do their duty.

indignation will sweep over the country that will force the authorities to act.

BATES.

Watch the Vote Grow. Soci, list vote, November, 1912... Voters enrolled since election....

1,015.825 that they

the breed.

These figures look good to the Appeals once and I know they will be an inspiration to the commades on the firing line.

It was the intention to print this record very week, but owing to the pressure of wher important matters it was overlooked; a the future this report will appear every week.

eek.
When you send in a list of subsorget to mark those that have signer intention to go with us the re-

dred thousand.

The capitalist hirelings of the West Virginia jungles, with Comrade Turner's able assistance, are doing what they can to help us boost this list of new voters. As Artemas Ward used to say, "They are most amoozing creatures."

CHILTON AND GOFF.

William E. Chilton, democrat, and Nathan Goff, republican, represent, ostensibly, the state of West Virginia in the United States senate.

Chilton is notoriously a corporation attorney and Goff quite as notoriously corporation judge.

The latter retired from the federal bench on a pension due to old age and then the coal trust and the railroad trust, out of appreciation for the service he had rendered them, sent him to the United States senate.
Old Goff is now drawing salary both

as a retired federal judge and as a United States senator, amounting to \$14,500 per year and perquisites, and the court in which the question was raised as to his right to draw both sala-ries decided in his favor. Chilton, the democrat, and Goff, the

republican, like Steve Elkins, Nathan Scott, Clarence Watson and Henry Gassaway Davis, their predecessors in the house of lords, do not in any sense whatsoever represent the people of West Virginia, but purely and distinc-tively and exclusively the coal trust, the railroad trust and other predatory

corporate interests.

Chilton, the democrat, is as much of a republican as Goff, the republican is a democrat. The fact is that they are neither one nor the other, but simply the legislative agents and attorneys of the corporations in the senate of the the corporations in the senate of the United States.

They draw their pay as representa-tives of West Virginia under false pre-tenses. They are nothing of the kind; they know it and the corporations know it, and the people are beginning to find out. Both Chilton and Goff are said to be

election heavily interested in the mining inter-lie idea the re-When Senator Kern introduced his resolution to investigate the beastly conditions now existing in West Virginia, due to Chilton and Goff and the gang they represent, these two corporation attorneys promptly and hysterically protected in the name of "the sovereign tested in the name of "the sovereign That expresses the situation perfectly, state of West Virginia," If they had The only thing that might be added is said "sodden" instead of "sovereign" that it will be impossible for them to state of West Virginia, is said "sodden" instead of "sovereign" that it will be impossible for mem as they would have rightly described its they would have rightly described its contact the present capitalist on system."

Hatfield a day or two before had pro claimed to the country through the pres dispatches that he such investigation. 'cagerly welcomed'

This was of course, a big bluff and Chilton and Goff, his pals and confed erates, proved it when they hysterically

Chilton, Goff and Hatfield are the pole and allies of the robber coal bar ons and allies of the robber coal bar-ons and the whole crew of them must he relegated to private life if West Vir-ginia is to be a sovereign state instead of a filthy slave pen.

"THE LUST OF PROFITS." Dr. Harry Ward, secretary of the

Methodist federation of social service, recently delivered an address at Terre Haute, Ind, in the course of which he

roots of all the great social iniqui

This is as clearly and pointedly stated and as logically and forcefully expressed as if it had been by Karl Marx himself.

few have greedily taken posses sion of the earth, monopolized its splen-did opportunities and shut out the many to starve and die.

The lust for profit is the incentive under capitalism to acquire still more property to increase the lust for more profit.

It is a vicious circle and even its devotees are finally damned. Persons are prior to property and human life and joy infinitely more pre-

cious than dirty dollars!
Capitalism is based upon private property and engenders the lust for profit which undermines its morals and threatens it with destruction.

Socialism is based on social property

in the means of life which begets mu-tual economic interests, kindles the pas-sion for social service and lights the heavens with the stars of brotherbood.

THE workers want the earth. They are still in want, but after a while they will get it and then want will cease,

CAPITALISM does not create wealth want and misery for those who work

WELL, the tariff bill has passed. Nov see who gets the benefits of a lower tariff. You will wake up some time and learn something.

Those who mined the coal in Wes Virginia were compelled to spend the winter on the hills in cold tents. It will not be that way when Socialis comes

THE APPEAL stands vindicated before the law. But the papers that broad-casted the story of the indictments are to tell that there was not so anxious to te nothing behind it all.

The trouble in West Virginia comes because of private ownership of the mines leading to profits and as big profits as possible. When private ownership of industry is ended in Socialism there will be no further labor troubles THE dismissal, by orders from Wash-

ington, of the case against Debs, War-ren and Sheppard drove the tack a lit-tle deeper into Bone-head. It is said tle deeper into Bone-head. It is said he actually winced, which shows that it may not be entirely solid.

CAPITALISM has the worker shot, then sends an ambulance. It mains him in industry, then pays his family \$100. It robs him of two-thirds of his product. hands him a small coin in charity. And for this it is praised by many. THE militia is called to fight for the

masters against the strikers because the workers have elected friends of the capitalist class and the profit system to office. Under Socialism the workers will control the offices, and they will not need the milities. not need the militia. THE mines should belong to the whole

people, and be operated by an organized industry, without the intervention of profit takers, for the benefit of both the profit takers, for the benefit of both the miners and the consumers of coal, not kingeraft and barbarism, and if he and his lik persist in the use of the sword mines. That is the Socialist proposition.

The supreme court has appropriate with it.

THE supreme court has announced that Samuel Gompers must go to jail for one month instead of one year for alleged contempt of court. This will of course allay the contempt with which the American people are gard the shysters on the bench.

A DISPATCH from Fort Smith, Ark. says: "One hundred and twenty-five thousand head of cattle in the forest reservation in the Choctaw nation in reservation in the Choctaw nation in eastern Oklahoma are to be seized by castern Oklahoma are to be seized by the government for non-payment of the annual grazing tax of \$1 a head." So the government has gone into the confiscation business, has it? It is setting some precedents which will be useful to the Socialists later on.

THE so-called good government league of Illinois is addressing a plaintive message to the tarment declaring tive and referendum, declaring tax. The good sage to the farmers against the initiadeclaring that it means single tax. The good govern-ment league is very anxious that it should be permitted to govern the peo-ple instead of letting them govern them-selves. They are so afraid the people will make a mistake if they have any power. It is certainly kind on the part of the "goo goos." of the "goo goos."



THE latest is that the devil is a standpatter. He doesn't want a cl more than the capitalists do. He doesn't want a change any

agricultural college, in a recent address, said: "One of the chief difficulties of the present system is the fact that ten million, forced out of the field of production by modern methods of machinery, have not found employment that is profitable to society, no matter how profitable it may be to themselves." That expresses the situation perfectly.

THE bull moose candidates for the California legislature gained office in their loud support of the plank in the "progressive" party platform declaring "progressive" party platform declaring in favor of curbing the abuse of injunc-tion in labor disputes. When a bill was brought up in the legislature prohibiting injunctions in labor disputes, seven senators. known definitely to have pledged themselves to the progressive platform, voted against the bill. Now known definitely to have do you think T. R.'s party is friendly to labor?

WHEN you renew your subscription to the APPEAL, do so for four years. The cost is one dollar to you—25 cents per year. This will save the APPEAL the expense of putting your name on and taking it off four times in that period. This saving will help us make a better paper of the APPEAL. You save a few pennies in the transaction, but of more consequence to you than that is that you miss no copies. How annoying it is to have the paper stop just in the midst of an interesting series of articles or when there is a big fight on, you know without me telling you. And you will want to miss no copies of the Appeal, from now on. There will be something interesting each work. So send along from now on. There will be something interesting each week. So send along your dollar for a four-year sub, and ask your neighbor comrades to do the

A REPORT recently issued by the bureau of labor at Washington states that by the strike agreement made last May, the miners in the hard coal districts received miners in the hard coal districts received an increase of \$1,000,000 in wages. The report also states that during the same period, coal was advanced in price to the consumer 25 cents a ton. This yielded the coal barons an extra profit, after the increased wages had been paid of \$9,450,000. The increased wage and the extra profit, amounting in all to \$13,450,000, were taken out of the pockets of the miners and the working class by the simple process of increasing the price of sugar, coffee, meat, clothing, etc., which the miners had to buy. This problem of the working man getting problem of the working man getting ahead under capitalism is a good deal like the frog getting out of the well by jumping four feet and falling back five at each effort. Perhaps some democratic politician can explain just where the working man gets ahead on ta deal of this sort

BLUE-BLOOD BUTCHERS.

Frederick William, the son of Wil-liam, is the crown prince of Germany and heir to his father's throne. Frederick William, like his strutting

sire, is a vain and pompous uincompoup The following cable dispatch from Berlin is amusing, to say the least:

Crown Prince Frederick William, in writing the preface to a book, "Germany in Arms." published today, of which he is reputed to be the author, exhibits himself, the future German emperor, as an unbe-

liever in the possibility of ever abolisa-ing war.

He declares that diplomacy may delay and occasionally avert condicts, but "the sword will remain the finel and decisive factor until the world's end."

This royal spawn glorifies the sword but the miscrable poltroon will never risk his own bowels in bloody encoun-ter on the battlefield, where fools hack each other's heads and arms and legs

off for the benefit of knaves.

The father of this titled little snob, Emperor William, parades himself in all his glory, covered with medals, distorting his ugly visage to resemble a hero and grasping the hilt of his gilded sword, but never in a thousand years would he risk his worthless anatomy where his cuticle would sustain so much where his cuticle would sustain so much as a pin-scratch,

This is the great "War Lord" of Ger-

He snorts and paws like a w he masquerades as Jove and threatens war and blood, but underneath it all he has not the courage of a sick sheep.
And his degenerate son, who now
tells us that "the sword will remain the

final decisive factor until the world's end," has inherited his father's entire stock of bluff, bluster and bloviation George Kirkpatrick has well said that a sword is a four-foot razor, ith which workingmen cut each other's throats at the command and for the benefit of

their masters.

There are fifty million Socialists in the world who in one voice say to this titled little upstart that so far as they

But Frederick William's gush harmless. He is only a wind-warrior, and if he dreams of succeeding his "Crazy Horse" sire as emperor of Germany, there is a rude awakening

A few years more and social democracy will sweep all the royal vermin from the face of the earth.

HIGHEST LIVING COST.

From a report just issued by the bureau of labor at Washington, it ap-pears that the cost of living reached a higher altitude in the latter part of 1912 than at any time during the past twenty-three years. The report issued by the bureau deals with retail prices from 1890 to 1912 and we quote therefrom as follows:

The lowest cost was reached in each of the geographical divisions and in the United States as a whole in 1896. From that date to 1912 the total increase in the cost of living per year for a workingman's family by geographical divisions was:

North Atlante, \$166; south Atlante, \$152; north central, \$187; south central, \$186, and western, \$152.

The approximate cost of a year's food supply for an average workingman's family, at average prices of each year by geograph.

ta average prices of each year by geograph cal divisions for 1890, 1896 (the low rears), and 1912, was:

North Atlantic \$319 North Atlantic \$319 North Central 274 North Central 296 Vestern 1896 1912 \$300 \$460 264 417 276 463 255 441 277 429 It will be observed that during the wenty-three years that the bureau of abor has been conducting its investigations and issuing its reports, there has been a steady increase in the cost of living, excepting but a brief interval

tround the year 1896 when the free silver campaign was being waged.

The average cost of feeding a workingman's family is about \$450. This is but about half, or even less than half, of the living expense which includes clothes, rent, fuel, taxes, etc., etc., and which brings the total up to about \$900. On less than this it is impossible for the average workingman's family to subsist without deterioration. And yet there are hundreds of thousands of

vage-earners who do not receive more sands of others who receive even less. They and their wives and children are but half fed, half clad and half sheltered: they exist more like animals than they live like human beings and their condition will never improve while the contraint existent lasts.

capitalist system lasts. Exploitation is the basic cause of this condition of poverty and deterioration.

Destroy private ownership of the nation's industries, as Socialism proposes to do, set all the machinery in opera-tion, turn all the parasites into useful workers, and eliminate all the useless and senseless waste and the income of the average worker can be doubled and his working hours halved at a single

The high cost of living and the low prices of labor power mark unerringly the decline and foreshadow inevitably the breakdown of capitalist production and the end of the capitalist system. THE APPEAL receives some criticism

THE APPEAL receives some criticism because it prints advertisements of firms that are not union. The critic should remember that if a paper publishes advertisements at all and should refuse an advertisement on the ground that it is non-union, it would at once forfeit its entry to the postoffice. This is not a guess, but an absolute fact. You don't have to buy from a non-union house, but if the non-union house does not have to buy from a non-union house, but if the non-union house does not print objectionable matter in its adverunder the postal rulings.

*************** \$1,523.43 for Soles

propagands of Socialism where it is now little know. These men will scatter the seeds in many minds that have been closed through ignorance to the beauties of our philosophy

CONTEMPT AD NAUSEUM.

The court of appeals of the District of Columbia has once more ruled in the contempt case of Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison of the American Federation of Labor. This time the court has decided that Gompers shall serve thirty days in jail and that Mitchell and Morrison shall pay fines of five hundred dollars each

But this is only another episode in the farce comedy that has held the boards

farce comedy that has held the boards at Washington these many years past.

The case is now growing whiskers and will ultimately die of old age.

If congress ever passes an old age pension bill this antiquated case will be entitled to first place on the list.

Years ago, and since the flood, there was a strike against the Buck Stove and Range company at St. Louis by the American Federation of Labor. A boycott on the company's product followed

cott on the company's product followed as a matter of course. The name of this firm was placed the unfair list of the official organ

of the Federation. The company went into court about it and the court ordered it taken out. This was not done promptly enough to suit the court and Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison, chief officials of the Federation, were haled the court and adventigations of the federation were haled the court and adventigations. before the court and after an inter-minable period of horse-fiddling they

minable period of horse-fiddling they were all sentenced to jail. Gompers for one year, Mitchell for nine months and Morrison for six months.

This was ages and ages ago. But not one of them has ever been in jail a minute, or ever will, so far as this hoary old proceeding is concerned.

It will be remembered that the original proceeding in the dim and distant past was brought before Judge Ashley M. Gould, of the supreme court of the District of Columbia, for contempt of court, and that subsequently it was tried before Judge Daniel Thew Wright, an before Judge Daniel Thew Wright, in associate in the supreme court of Judge Ashley M. Gould, and it will also be remembered that both Gould and Ashlev have been shown up in connection with some transactions almost if not quite as shady as those which resulted in as shady as those which resulted Archbold's removal from the bench.

Contempt of court! Oh, give us a rest on that old chestnut!

The case will now be put on a stretcher and returned to the hospital for the galvanization of brokendown old cases of contempt.

The final decision in the case will be

'handed down" in A. D. 2113, the judges are munimies and the labor leaders are looking up the unfair list in the New Jerusalem.

MAN-KILLING MINES.

The frightful disaster in the Cincinnati mine in Pennsylvania in which over a hundred miners perished, many of them horribly, brings to mind once more the fact that the American mines are

the greatest man-killers in the world. The United States bureau of mines in its report just issued shows that last year 2,360 miners were killed in the

Several states.

The report shows that there are approximately 750,000 miners in this country and that on an average about two hundred are slaughtered each month

These figures are appalling. They are also tremendously suggestive.

If the rich owners had to dig the coal instead of drawing the profits the rate of casualties would be at the minimum and an explosion would rarely if ever occur. Every safeguard that ingenuity could suggest and money procover occur. Every safeguard that in-genuity could suggest and money pro-vide would be freely applied to pre-vent accident and protect life.

The Ciucinnati mine was notoriously

dangerous. The miners knew it, but had to take the chance to get bread for The miners knew it, their children.

What matters it if a hundred miners are buried alive or blown to fragments? F ofits only count in capitalism.

Socialism will abolish the profits and save the miners!



waste and the income of orker can be doubled and nours halved at a single list thirty days. A general letter to the students has been pretty busy for the inst thirty days. A general letter to the students has been due for sometime, and it will be gotten out within the next week or the capitalist production of the capitalist system.

Le receives some criticism as advertisements of firms that they expect to take the bareamination in June. A great many will be ready, as they write us, for the examination in June. A great many will be ready, as they write us, for the examination in June. A great many will be ready, as they write us, for the examination in June. A great many will be ready, as they write us, for the examination in June. A great many will be ready, as they write us, for the examination in June. A great many will be ready, as they write us, for the examination in June. A great many will be ready, as they write us, for the examination in June. A great many will be ready, as they write us, for the examination in June. A great many will be ready, as they write us, for the examination in June. A great many will be ready, as they write us, for the examination in June. A great many will be ready as they write us, for the examination in June. A great many will be ready, as they write us, for the examination in June. A great many will be ready, as they write us, for the examination in June. A great many will be ready, as they write us, for the examination in June. A great many will be ready, as they write us, for the students in a subject to the students of the verse man or weeman, but there is never any time like the present, no matter what time of the year that present, no matter what time of the year that present, no matter what time of the year that present, no matter what time of the year that present is not a part of the work. There are many Social ready for the average man or weeman, but the work of the work. There are many Social ready for the average man or weeman, but the work of the work of the work

A Million Pamphlets

The APPEAL TO REASON has once more entered upon the publication and distributed books, and pamphlets and proposes to organize this department upon a larger probe of the proposes. than ever before.

Vital propaganda pamphlets will be the AFFIAL's specialty, but it will handle none

than ever before.

Vital propaganda pamphlete will be the AFFLAL's specialty, but it will handle none except those published by itself. This is a reading and a thinking age, and our experience is that the pamphlet is today, as in every historic crisis of the past, the most popular and effective method of planting our ideas in the minds of the masses.

The AFFRAL is now undertaking to distribute a million copies of Warren's 32-page pamphlet, entitled "\$2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Day."

The first hundred thôusand have already gone through the press and are meiting away under a stream of orders. Another hundred thousand will be ready when the first is exhausted.

The remarkably low rate of \$1,50 per 100 copies, postage prepaid, has been made as a special inducement to Army workers to literally spread this vital and awakening booklet over the whole land.

We are furnishing it at actual cost. It is an amazing quantity of literature for a triding amount. Nearly everybody can distribute a hundred.

It saves you time and tide discussion. It does the business, it challenges every comer and holds its own as impregnable as the fortress of facts it actually is.

It is clear cut; it is logical; it is simple; it is irresistible; it goes straight to the mork.

Debs says that Warren "bursts into fame" in this pamphlet and so you will say

mark. Debs says that Warren "bursts into flame" in this pamphlet and so you will say when you read it. Outside his party into name in this pamphlet and so you will say flet into line, comrades, with your order for a hundred of Warren's peerless page.