Turner to Relate Facts of Gov. Hatfield's Record During Strike

The Appeal correspondent, John Kenneth Turner, who has written the notable series on the West Virginia strike, will contribute to the next week's issue a powerful criticism of Hatfield's conduct towards the strikers since he became governor. The findings of the investigating committee seem to favor Hatfield and rather put the blame on Governor G asscock, Hatfield's predecessor. Turner takes the opposite position. His article is a scorcher. It will be worth reading Watch for next week's issue.



The National office of the Socialist party has determined upon an aggressive campaign of organization in West Virginia to follow up and clinch the recent splendid victory in that state. This shows commendable enterprise on the part of the national organization, and the Appeal urges the comrades everywhere to back the plan outlined by National Secretary Lantersiek to the fullest extent.

That the Socialists of the country are alive to the possibilities in West Virginia is proved by the fact that immediately following the announcement, made two months ago, that the Appeal would send its staff representative into the coal regions, readers of this paper volunteered financial help for the purpose of flooding West Virginia with literature. That literature is needed in that field is evident by the sums contributed by the West Virginia comrandes themselves to the fund for this purpose. One local contributed \$500.00. This was in the early stages of the fight. One hundred thousand copies of the Appeal were sent broadcast over the state and distributed from house to house by the West Virginia division of the Appeal army. Another contribution of \$250.00 was received last week from another comrade in West Virginia. Altogether more than \$2,000 has been sent to the Appeal by the Socialists of that state alone. These comrades are thoroughly aroused to the situation. They realize fully the need of literature, and they recognize that the Appeal with its splendid printing plant and corps of special writers and investigators is equipped to do this work.

The Appeal is the silent messenger of Socialism that can go into the remote and isolated districts where the organizer cannot yet go. The Appeal paves the way, making the path of the organizer easier. It is not necessary for me to tell you the value of the Appeal as a pioneer ag tator. It converted YOU, and what it did for you it will do for others. If every Socialist who traces his conversion to Socialism through the Appeal will contribute \$11.00 to the "Carry West Virginia Fund," it will enable the Appeal to cover every hamlet, village, town and city in that state from now until the 1914 effection. Would it be worth \$1.00 to you to capture that state for Socialism to the end that the political machinery of West Virginia might be used in the interest of the struggling miners as it has been used in the past for the selfish interest of the coal barons? If so let the Appeal have the dollar and the aggressive work will be continued along the lines already laid down

Committee Report on West Virginia

and forcing the senatorial investigation.

The essential facts have of course already been set forth in the committee's report to the party which has with singular fulness and accuracy been given by the Associated Press to the reading public. But there are matters of detail and comment which could not be em-bodied in this report without making it too voluminous to serve its purpose and these I think will aid materially in clearing up the situation and paving the way for better condition in West Virginia.

Conditions Not Exaggerated.

Let me say in the first place that so far as conditions in West Virginia are of exaggeration in the APPEAL or any other Socialist paper I have seen, and consequently there is not a single word to take back.

I make this statement thus explicit and emphatic in denial of the false statement ascribed to our committee and spread broadcast through the capitalist press, that our committee had been deceived as to conditions and that reports in segand thereto had been greatly exin regard thereto had been greatly ex-

As a matter of fact it is beyond the power of language to even describe, saying nothing of overdrawing, the tyranny, oppression and brutality of the fendal regime of the mine owners of West Virginia during the past twenty years. If all the cruel assaults and years. If all the cruel assaults and cold-booded outrages that have been perpetrated on the miners of West Virginia and their wives and children—to pass over the shameless manner in pass over the shameless manner. which they have been robbed and the him injustice.

degrading servility to which they have been subjected—could be condensed in a single volume it would constitute the blackest book in American history.

Let the fact not be overlooked at this time when the whole country is aroused, that during all these years nearly the whole of the capitalist press was mute as the lips of the dead under this robber regime, while men, women and children without number were the victims of without number were the victims of these insufferable crimes.

No thanks are due to the capitalist

press, except in rare instances, for the investigation which is soon to lay bare the mine barons, irrespective of republican, democratic or bullmoose administration. the horrors perpetrated upon the workthe despotic rule of

Appeal Led in Fight.

poused the cause of the oppressed miners in West Virginia more than a year ago and has been fighting their battles ever since, and at the head of the Socialist press in this warfare stood the Appeal to Reason, backed by its continental army of unflinching veterans.

The climax came when martial law was declared, when an armored train. Debs, I am as much opposed to martial was declared, when an armored train.

was declared when an armored train shot up the shacks of the miners, and meant it. when Mother Jones, John Brown, C. H. Boswell and other loyal comrades and Did Boswell and other loyal comrades and supporters of the strikers were kidnaped taken into the military zone, and by a drumhead court martial sentenced to prison. It was then that the APPEAL and its Army came to the rescue as they always do in such a crisis. John Kenneth Turner was dispatched to the scene with the property of the second with the property of the second with the seco

HE committee of three appointed by the national committee of the Socialist party to investigate conditions in West Virginia has concluded its labors and submitted its report. The

ditions in West Virginia has concluded its labors and submitted its report. The mission of the committee was an unqualified success and had it only been sent two months earlier no Socialist paper would have been suppressed and some other history would have been differently written.

It is with no exaggerated idea of the importance of the committee that I now penitentiary. Now not a single one remains in custody. Other radical followed since the Appeal first mapped out its plan of action and made its appeal to the party and the mation. At that time Mother Jones and more than sixty of our comrades were in the bullpen and some in the penitentiary. Now not a single one remains in custody. Other radical importance of the committee that I now undertake to review its work and set down its net results for the information of the readers of the APPEAL who were such an important factor in securing the appointment of the committee and forcing the senatorial investigation. The essential facts have of course al-

To what extent, if any at all, committee sent by the party to West Virginia, contributed to this sudden and radical change of program, is of little consequence. The fact itself alone is consequence. The fact itself alone is important. The change has taken place and this change is of mighty moment to the workers, not alone of West Virginia, but of the whole country.

Organizers Slugged and Beaten.

To my personal knowledge labor organizers without number have been slugged, beaten up and driven out of West Virginia under the fixed policy of the mine owners during the last sixteen years. Never during that time has it been possible for an organizer to enter the coal fields of that state without taking his life in his hands. I myself was pursued, insulted and finally out taking his life in his hands. I myself was pursued, insulted and finally driven out of there by the coal police backed by the courts in 1897 when I entered that field as a commissioned organizer, for the United Mine Workers. It is now possible for the first time during that entire period for an organizer to go into the mining regions to organize the workers, both economically and politically, and have the full protection of the law in so doing, and for this we are indebted to none other than to Governor Henry D. Hatfield.

'This will no doubt seem strange to our readers, but it is nevertheless the fact and my purpose in this writing is

fact and my purpose in this writing is to set down the facts.

In dealing with Governor Hatfield as in dealing with anyone else I shall endeavor to do him justice, even to the extent of admitting that I have done

Do you feel you would be any happier in heaven if you were happy here? If so, why are not the rich anxious to get into the hell of poverty here?

It has been urged as an argument against woman suffrage that woman

to retract, but it is manifestly wron to hold Governor Hatfield responsible for outrages perpetrated before he came

into office.

I am satisfied that a great many of our readers hold Hatfield accountable for what should in fact be charged up to his predecessor. For instance, I have a letter from a woman in which she violently denounces Governor Hatfield for declaring martial law and send-ing Mother Jones to the bullpen. The fact is that Governor Hatfield did poused the cause of the oppressed miners in West Virginia more than a year ago and has been fighting their battle.

Debs, I am as much opposed to martial law as you are," and I believe he

Did Not Affirm Sentences.

When Governor Hatfield was inau-gurated on March 4th martial law not only existed, but had been legalized by a unanimous vote, with one exception of the supreme court. Mother Jones. always do in such a crists. John scene neth Turner was dispatched to the scene and his burning disclosures, spread broadcast by the Appeal, aroused a nation from its lethargy and from a milion throats went up the cry for investigation.

It was the Appeal that first raised this cry and first demanded that the national party send a committee to the national party send a committee to the scene of conflict, and immediately afterscene of conflict and immediately aftersc

Charleston, W. Va., June 5.- The See great opportunity.

The corruption of our state legislature or on usurpation of our courts and their subservious to bridled sway of that class over every right and guarant complete overthrow of constitutional government and the st sponsible military despotism with its military court martial, when rule nor state save the autocratic will of the commander in chief, has done more to arouse the people of West Virginia to a sense of their own moral and political worth to society as a whole than anything that has happened in the past fifty years.

The average man has awakened to a realization that the "Invisible Power" controls not only the governor of the state but the county officials as well and that irrespective of whether they are democrats or republicans.

This is the Socialist party's opportunity to get before the honest citizen the Socialist philosophy, its literature and its political program. If the Socialists are cognizant and will lend what influence they can to perfect a working organization in this state, a great political victory may be ours in the very near future.

Much depends now upon the Appeal to Reason and nothing can do us so much good in West Virginia as the continuation of the Turner articles, nor would anything so retard the political future as the discontinuance of these articles at this time. By all means keep this state flooded with the Appeal and the future will take care of itself.

Vore for Socialism and get the capitalist's goat.

THERE are good many people in this country who want Socialism, but they want to get it under some other name.

ROOSEVELT has been fully vindicated of the charge of drunkenness. A "Roosevelt cocktail" has been placed

AND now Mr. Bryan might get six cents damages if some editor should accuse him of imbibing anything stronger than grapejuice.



Are you refusing to vote the Socialisticket because you like military dictatorships such as prevail in West Virginia?

As long as a man has the right to individually own anything he does not inged up dividually use, he has a right to indiI have vidually own all he can get and hold, even to the air we breathe.

> SAY, Mr. Worker, did you ever know of the job owners giving the workers anything? Not on your life. All the workers ever got is what they took.
> The ruling class will never give us Socialism, or any part of Socialism; we
> get what we take; no more and no less.

> Do you imagine your full social product, enabling your wife and children to dress well and live in a comfortable house, with beautiful furnishings and good food, would destroy your home why should it do so with anyone else?

Newspapers are being circulated by a committee seeking to forward the one cent letter postage idea. They are urging that it can be done by raising more revenue from the circulation of newspapers. The newspaper that falls for such a thing is certainly very blind.

Ir is declared that 22,000 acres of It is declared that 22,000 acres of land in the state of Washington will be withdrawn from the nublic reserve and restored to entry. What right have those who, through election, are made trustees of the people to give away the property of the people into the hands of individuals? It is a breach of trust

Appeal to Reason's Greatest Victory PEAL

When the APPEAL has occasion to re-joice over a victory achieved it is al-ways with the Army in mind, the Army of Socialist volunteers which has been recruiting all these years and which now constitutes the most powerful volunteer peace army in the world. When the APPEAR turned its batteries

on the federal prison at Leavenworth because of its being a whited sepulcher filled with uncleanness and corruption and misery, it was well aware that it Ir has been urged as an argument against woman suffrage that "woman can't fight." John Bull might give the inquirer some pointers on that question. nad to defend itself against the attacks of as unscrupulous a gang as ever lined their pockets with the proceeds of their dishonor and shame. But never for an hour during all that time did the Appeal or the Army behind it waver, and only a few days ago the final chapter was written in the Appeal's cleaning out of the Leavenworth prison in the Appeal or the out of the Leavenworth prison, in the

that institution.

In its conflict with the federal court which followed the Appeal, again scored a complete and decisive victory. There was no compromise and no hauling down of the Appeal flag. On the contrary, the Appeal boldly challenged the enemy from start to finish and wound up by literally driving the prosecution out of court covered with humiliation and shame. that institution.

This was another notable victory for which the Army again deserved the

Were we to go back into the past we might recall the Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone trial and how the APPEAL led in that fight against the western mine owners until the whole country was aroused and the kidnaped comrad as who were threatened with death walked forth free men.

But the greatest of all its victories, greatest in its immediate results and in its far-reaching possibilities, is the victory over the feudal barons of West Virginia who for the last two decades have made a slave pen and a shambles of that state.

When the miners struck in West Vir-

ginia more than a year ago the APPEAL at once championed their cause and has been fighting for them ever since. The APPEAL was first to recognize the fact that West Virginia was destined to be historic battle ground and to prepare the workers of the nation for the conflict.

Left to themselves, or to their own union, the miners of West Virginia would have been crushed into submission as they have been over and over again these many years. It was nec-

essary to arouse the working class of the whole nation to the vital issue which was at stake and when the Ar-PEAL began its work, almost single-handed and alone, there was soon a change apparent and out of the lethargy and indifference of the masses there sprang the cry of revolt which forced the senate of the United States to in-vestigate conditions in West Virginia vestigate conditions in West and report them to the country,

Millions of copies of the APPEAL containing the dark, bloody story of containing the dark, bloody story of West Virginia have been spread over the nation. Every village, every town and every cross-road in West Virginia; every nook and cramp in the state was covered with the APPEAL'S story and call to action. call to action

The APPEAL instinctively finds its way into dark quarters, into hidden places where iniquity prevails and there turns on the light and puts to flight the eviloness who feature their

John Brown, imprisoned with Mother Jones, exclaimed. "By the gods, when the little old Appear began to pour its broadsides into the enemy they took for the tall timber and the prison doors beloosen on their hinges.

Paul Paulsen, another victim of the bullpen, said, "When the APPEAL and its Army got on the job there was a sudden awakening among the workers did all they could to give the Socialists of the nation to the great importance of the United States a high class magaof the West Virginia struggle, and from zine. These figures would indicate that

falsehood and chicanery of the capital-ist press shall not prevail against it. The power of the APPEAL is the power

The power of the APPEAL is the power of the masses in their struggle against their oppressors and despoilers. It is the power of a mighty cause making for sightenesses, the sower that evpresses the solidarity of the millions, the power that will anally prevail against all the hosts of darkness and usher in

THE Michigan trial seems to have settled the question that to accuse a man possessing "a regular gentleman's cel-lar" with getting drunk is an offense punishable by a six-cent fine.

Do you vote with capitalist parties cause you would rather your labor should buy food and clothing and auto-mobiles for the family of your employer than for your own?

A MAN can vote as he pleases and attend any church he pleases, but he can only work when the boss pleases.

neighbor after a quarrel with him, and yet right to kill him without a quarrel merely because you have a flag flying over you when you do it?

THERE must be a reason why some without work have become so rich and WHEN property rights interfere with others who have worked hard all their human rights they cease to be properly rights and become property wrongs. lives have nothing. Have you ever thought what the reason might be?

Coming Nation Suspended

		mind as to what would happen during
the magazine since its establi	shment in	the long dull summer months if the
Girard in September, 1910:		paper was kept affoat. Many of you
1910. Receipts.	Expenses, \$1.960,49 1,971.77 2,462.36 3,064.82	situation you would have redoubled
Totals \$10,184,77	\$9,459.44	made up my raind that if the paper
January 2,353.59 February 2,284.38 March 2,468.32 April 1,961.71 May 2,696.59	2,719,94 2,980,90 2,736,76 3,317,64 2,760,64	would not go on its merits without the death-rattle cries, then it was manifest that no such paper was needed.
June 1,851.21 July 1,756.98 August 2,340.06 September 3,029.85 October 3,797.34	2,595.60 3,046.97 2,845.71 3,717.71 3,762.11	All told it has cost the Appeal nearly \$15,000 in cash and more than \$35,000 in advertising space.
November 2.753.93 December 3,519.79	4,068.77 3,394.77	There will be more of a loss as I
Totals \$31.813.72	\$87,942.42	expect to make good every dollar sent to the Comingi Nation on subscriptions,
January 3,502.80 February 3,167.08 March 3,192.96 April 2,641.71 May 2,407.11	3,865,26 3,213,24 4,530,83 3,797,74 3,990,93	either in cash or by subscriptions to the APPEAL or such literature as we may be able to supply from time to time.

....\$33,894.27 \$38,021.91 RECAPITULATION.

1910. 4 months, gain 1911. loss \$6,128,70 1912. loss 5,269,19 1913, 5 months, loss 4,127,64

June 11, 1913.

I. Juanita Pease, bookkeeer for the Arreat we Reason, have carefully examined roperts and books of account kept by the Coming Nation and the above statement is true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 11th day f June, 1913.

O. C. Film.

(Seal.)
D. C. FLINT.
Notary Public
My commission expires May 22, 1916. The Coming Nation made a brave fight for a right to live. I think you will all agree that it was a good magazine in every particular and it seemed to me that editors, artists and publisher

that hour the victory was assured."

It is not the purpose of the Appeal to make undue boast in these matters, but only to record the fact of its power for good when the interests of the working and producing masses are in peril, and to encourage the Army in steadily increasing that power until it shall be so great that all the deception. If alsehood and chicanery of the capital absolutely a necessity and so this action. zine. These figures would indicate that absolutely a necessity and so this action was taken as the best way out of the to the APPEAL. Please be specific in difficulty.

We have found it necessary to sus- the Coming Nations, with appalling fallend the Coming Nation. The reason ing off of subscriptions during the contained in the following figures, month of May, left no doubt in my iving the receipts and expenditures of mind as to what would happen during the long dull summer months if the paper was kept affoat. Many of you will say that had you known of this situation you would have redoubled your efforts and thus saved the day.

> I cannot return any money paid by any of the Coming Nation readers to the lyceum course, for the reason that the rate made to the lyceum course was considerably below the cost of production, and a steady loss to the paper. Also there remains unpaid some \$600 from the national office for subscriptions collected for the Coming Nations and which are on the list. If you subscribed for the Coming Nation through the lyceum course, you will have to consider the lectures you heard as value for what you spent. I will fill out your unexpired term with the APPEAL That is the best I can do.

Those who subscribed and received copy of the "Call of the Carpenter" I hope will consider that they have their money's worth. These also will get the APPEAL until the end of their time on the Coming Nation.

I will undertake to refund the cash

in all cases where readers paid directly to the paper the full subscription price of \$1. You may have your subscription extended for the amount due you on the Coming Nation on subscription to the APPEAL at the rate of 25 cents for forty weeks. Thus if you have 50 cents comng to you on the unfilled subscription, you may order us to extend your subscription to the APPEAL for 80 weeks. Right here let me state that the best features of the Coming Nation will be continued in the APPEAL.

It will be necessary for all classes of subscribers to the Coming Nation to cut out the coupon below and return it giving the information asked for on the The gradual slump in the receipts of coupon printed below.

I subscribed through the lyce	m bureau		
I subscribed to the "Call of t	he Carpenter"	offer	
I subscribed and paid cash.			
18			
ADDRESS			

Report on West Virginia

(Continued from page one, Col. 1406.)
against martial law he said it had practically been ended and only remained effective to the extent of protecting labor organizers against the Baldwin-Felts sluggers and gun-men in the service of the mine owners, and strange as this new conception of martial law appeared to me, it was verified by the fact that that very morning a committee of mine owners called on the governor to ask him to put an end to martial law. This fact was further verified by the statement of all the officials of tial law. This fact was further verified by the statement of all the officials of the United Mine Workers, including the or vanitiers who had been slugged, that or vaniters who had been slugged, that hat for the soldiers kept in the field by Gos erner. Hatfield every organizer the mine was sent in there would be slugged and ctriven out as in the past.

Gos er nor Hatfield gave our committee the positive assurance that in organizin the workers of West Virginians of the supportance of the positive parts and others about hat he workers of the support of

the mi sers and others should have the full pre vection of the law so far as it full prefection of the law so lar as a full prefection of the law so lar as a lay in h is power to enforce it; he freely and fra tikly stated his position upon every question at issue and when the committee withdrew it was with the concommittee withdrew it was with the concommittee withdrew it was doing the viction ti at the governor was doing the best he bould in an extremely trying situation bid that, whatever might have happened in the past, he was now de-termined to grant the workers what was rightly due them and afford their organizations, both economic and political, all the pro tection they are entitled to under the l. by.

Hatfield Promises Protection,

I confess to tat no one could have been more greatly surprised at these results than I mysel L I went to West Virginia strongly prejudiced against Gov-ernor Hatfield and I had the feeling that if we met at all every question at issue would be sharply contested. Instead of this b bth interviews, extended and detailed as they were, were per-fectly calm and deliberate and resulted erfect mut tal understanding. The in a perfect mut that innerstanding. The governor conceded devery point we contended for and when he assured us that he was opposed to quartial law, after having released all our comrades, and that the miners and other workers should have the fall protection of the other's throats in such a crisis, nor did the contended in the affairs of the United when the fall protection of the other's throats in such a crisis, nor did the contended in the affairs of the united when the fall protection of the contended in the affairs of the united when the contended in the contended in the affairs of the united when the contended in the conte

There is one thing about Hatfield that even his enemies admit to his credit and that is that he is a positive type, a man of conviction. Right or wrong he will stand his ground. I watched

can think of nothing in mitigation or justification—was his a appression of the Star and Argus, the d estruction of the property of the former, and the impris-onment of the editors and attaches. This assault upon a free press, beyond the military zone, was utterly without excuse, and our commit bee frankly told the governor so, and unless I am greatly mistaken he now realists the gravity of such an exhibition of despotic power.

Suppression Was Outrageous.

Suppression Was Ostrageous.

The assault upon the Shor was especially brutal and outrage bus. The office was entered by a squadl of soldiers, at midnight, the forms, ready for press, destroyed, the property confiscated, the machinery smashed and scattered about, while at the same hour the editor and other employes were dragged from their beds and locked up with but warrants, after which the home of the editor was entered again, and notwithstanding the pleas of a sick and terror-stricken wife, searched and burglarized, the private searched and burglarized, the private letters and other documents of Comrade

In the way of personal outrage was ever perpetrated. It is due to the sheriff who was acting under orders from Governor Hatheld to say that he protested vigorously against the outrage, but in vain, the soldiers declaring that they had "secret orders" to commit these unspeakable atrocities, and theise "secret orders," is is to be inferred, came from the mine owners.

by the officials, representatives and organizers of the United Mine Workers, without a single exception, and on leaving they gratefully acknowledged the value of our services.

It is now up to the Socialist party and the United Mine Workers to organize the state. The field is now open and the harvest ripe. There never was a greater opportunity than there now is in West Virginia. The Socialist party has sent three national organizers there to work in conjunc-

It is to be hoped that in the forthcoming investigation this crime may be probed to its depths and that those responsible for it may be uncovered and brought to trial as well as conspelled to make all possible restitution, and in this Governor Flatfield, in justice to him-portance to the labor movement in genself, should take the leading part.

Conduct Unbecoming a Governor

The hasty, ill-advised and ill-man-nered retort to a respectful communica-tion from the Wheeling Trades and Labor assembly was another grievous error and utterly unbecoming the gov-ernor of a state. For Abraham Lincoln to write such a letter to a body of workingmen would be utterly unthinkable. Admitting that the governor was laboring under extreme provocation such an utterance was still unbecoming his high office and we frankly endeavpoint this fact out to him.

Still another charge against the governor is that he threatened to drive out of the state all the miners who refused of the state all the miners who refused the terms of the settlement, so-called, proposed by the governor and agreed to by the operators. The governor has disavowed the language ascribed to him and emphatic denial has been made in his behalf that he ever threatened th portation.

These briefly are the principal charges against the present governor. I have no desire to excuse him and he has no desire to excuse himself. He is per feetly willing to answer for his official conduct and in our interviews with him he showed no desire of evading any just responsibility for his acts.

be encouraged and supported instead of attacked and abused.

As to the terms of the so-called set-

As to the terms of the so-called "settement" I am quite well aware that they are not what the miners are entitled to, but I am also assured by those in position to know that the acceptance of these terms was inevitable as there was no other alternative under the existing circumstances. I am also assured, and in this I speak for our committee, that Governor Hatfield has done and will continue to do everything in his power to compel the operators to re-employ all the strikers without discrimination and otherwise carry out to the letter the and otherwise carry out to the letter the terms of the settlement.

Committee Harmonious

Committee Harmonious.

It is gratifying in submitting this report to be able to say that Comrades Berger, Germer and myself, as the committee representing the Socialist party, worked in perfect harmony with the representatives and the rank and file of the United Mine Workers and that we were practically a unit in all our actions. Certain influences both insidious and powerful were at work to make our and powerful were at work to make our mission fruitless and to bring about disruption instead of unity between the Socialist party and the United Mine Workers. The capitalist press sent out lying reports about alleged interviews and crediting us with statements which were not only false but ridiculous, the obvious purpose being to place us in the attitude of having betrayed our trust and stirring up dissension and indignation among our comrades, but thank to their past experiences with the capi-talist press in such contingencies, but very few of them were deceived. One or two others who prefer the I. W. W. to the United Mine Workers

were sorely disappointed because we did not attack and attempt to disrupt did not attack and attempt to disrupt the Mine Workers instead of backing them up in their fight and these are spreading the report that we were "led into a trap" and they are proving it by reproducing the lies published in the papers of the mine owners. These gen-tlemen and the mine owners are alike interested in showing that we surren-dered to Hatfield and went away empty

law as far as it was in his power to grant it, we had no retrain to doubt his good faith, and I wish to put it on record here that I believe he meant what he said and that he will do his best to make good.

There is one the law about 1/2014.

will stand his ground. I watched him closely as we fac release other and I would take his worl every time. So much for Governer Hatfield; now for what there is a prinat him. His gravest official misact —and for this I can think of nothing in mitigation or justification—was his s appression. furnishing two armed deputies to protect every union organ-izer that demands such protection.

Mission Was Successful.

We went there to protest against martial law and the suppression of Socialist papers, and martial law promptly put an end to except it was requested by the miners to proteet their organizers against corpora-tion thugs, and the suppressed papers were notified that they could resume publication undisturbed at their own pleasure. And yet there are those, sup-posedly in our own ranks and of our own class, who cry out against the "failure" of our mission and the "betrayal" of our trust!

All we have to say in answer to this is that we can pity a madman, but we cannot argue with him.

committee was unanimously approved by the officials, representatives and or-ganizers of the United Mine Workers, without a single exception, and on leav-ing they gratefully acknowledged the value of our services. It is sufficient that the work of our

Socialist party has sent three national organizers there to work in conjunction with the organizers of the United Mine Workers and all the workers should heartly co-operate with these

portance to the lator individual in general and the workers of West Virginia in particular of the forthcoming senatorial investigation. Let not this great opening go by unimproved. The most opening go by unimproved. The most thorough and painstaking efforts should be put forth by the comrades in West be put forth by the comrades in West Virginia to have every particle of mate-rial test mony introduced and go upon record. This should not be left to chance. Too much is at stake. The mine owners need not be urged to look after their interests. They are already busy and their argus-eyed regime will overlook nothing that is to their ad-

antage. The testimony on our side should be methodically organized and systematically presented. Competent counsel should represent both the Socialist party and the United Mine Workers and I am advised that this recommendation of our committee has already met with the favorable consideration of the na-tional executive committee of the party.

If the bare facts of the barbaric misrule of the mine owners in West Vir-ginia are given to the country—and the Socialist press will have a hand in that

-it will create an industrial and polit-

ical revolt and a moral upheaval. Dolling Up the State.

J. L. Engdahl, reporter for the Se cialist investigating committee in West Virginia, says: "This state has dolled

Debs' answer to the K-nawha (W. Vz. Citteen's question, What is your political

fial to the freedom of humanity. The struggle for freedom is the listory of the race; the fruit of the struggle, the development of man. The struggle, the development of man. The civilization of Egypt, Persia, Babylon, Greece, Assyria and other angent nations, and the royal robbers and privileged parasites that ruled over them, had their day and passed away with the wretched slaves who built the pyramids and obelisks along the tracks of the early centuries of the race. The feudal nations of medieval Europe, whose lords and nobles in crited all the victous and heartless characteristics of the ancient and nobles in erited all the vicious and heartless characteristics of the ancient ruling class, especially their parasitic disdain and brutal contempt for their outraged slaves, have followed in the wake of their predecessors, and nothing remains but the memory of their bloody reign—the midnight horrors of history. The working class may be robbed, tramped upon, crushed, broken, sabered, imprisoned, shot full of jagged wounds, "poor dum mouths" to bear witness to the crimes it has suffered, but its majestic march continues towards the sun-

the crimes it has suffered, but its majestic march continues towards the sunjectic march continues towards the sunjection. The master and slave, the lord and serf of past ages, are gone, and the capitalists and wage workers of our day must soon follow them. It is the historic mission of labor to free the human race. To free itself is to free mankind. Labor is life. Society would perish without the working class. The degree of labor's servitude is the degree of society's tribulation, defeat and shame. There can be no morals in any society based upon the exploitation and society based upon the exploitation and consequent misery of the class whose labor supports society. There can be no freedom while workers are in fet-ters. Wage servitude is fatal even to the true freedom of its most favored capitalist beneficiaries. They must be surfeited with gold and powers, but they are not free. They cannot sever the ties that bind them to their slaves and soar alone into the realms of freedom. It is written in the moral law with its possible of the state of the sta "iron pen in the lead and rock forever," that whosoever enslaves his fellow-man forges fetters for himself. When labor is emancipated humanity will draw its first full and vitalizing breath of freedom. We are now in the transition period between individualism and collectivism; between brutality and brotherhood. Wealth will be for all; so easily obtained honestly that there will be no incentive to steal, and so abundantly that poverty will disappear; and igno-

rance, disease and crime will follow in their order. Profits and wages produce palaces for parasites and workhouses for workers. An awakening proletariat is pulsing with solidarity and turning eyes towards the sunrise. Scarred and seamed are its rough and hardened features, and grim its determination, but no just man on earth need fear it. It has suffered a million crimes, but is animated by no spirit of revenge. Its mission of emancipation is darkened by no shadow of contemplated injury or injustice to its conquered enemy. It conquers that enemy but to free that enemy; and a victorious proletariat will celebrate the peace of the world.

Asking About Socialism

Farming Under Socialism. Under Socialism.
Under Socialism how would our farms
be run? Would we manage our farms as
individuals, rule and sell our cotton, corn
and other products the same as now?
While the man who cultivates a small tract of ground himself is not an ex-ploiter and probably would be permitted

to continue such cultivation under So-cialism, the tendency is in another direc-tion. Already the farm expert, who understands soil, rotation and other necessary things, is being placed in charge of many farms, while in other sections counties are employing farm advisors. It will probably be found that better results can be obtained from havor the direction of expert managers, using the greatest and best machinery possible. This will either come under the direction of expert managers, using the greatest and best machinery possible. This will either come under syndicate farming or co-operative farming. The co-operative farm, under such conditions, would be very easily trans-ferred into the socialized farm, the government, whether it be the nation, state, county, or even the municipality, assuming charge of this land. It is probable that when Socialism comes both the socialized farm and the individual small farm will exist. Which will predominate will depend, of course, on the result. If the socialized farm proves the most successful, both in giving better working conditions and larger returns to the workers, then the farmers will gradually adopt that, not through compulsion, but because they wish to do so. This is what we can see will be the final outcome of farming under Social-

Socialism Not "Founded." When, and where, and by octalism founded?

ism.

Socialism was not "founded" by anytheory, of an understanding. Hundreds entered into the development of it on the start, and millions are helping to develop it now. The first analysis of the capitalist system which gives Socialism an understanding of its work was made by Karl Marx, a German Jew, residing in England, in the 40's. The one demand of Socialism is the start them of the activation and the satisfactors. overthrow of the capitalist system and the substitution therefor of the Co-operative Commonwealth, in which the affairs shall be democratically a iminis-tered and the toiler shall receive his full social product. It is not a cut and dried system, or the scheme of a few men, but is the natural evolution and develop-ment out of conditions that preceded it.

Rewarding the Inventor.

How should an inventor be rewarded?

The invention should become the That he has made mistakes, and serious ones, it is doubtful if he himself
will deny. But let it be remembered that he inherited an administration that
was nothing less than an aggregation of
calamities; that he had had but little
experience with the labor movement and
that his conception of it was but vague
and inadequate; and now that he has
been for movement and one of the property of the whole people and the
united States senate investigating committee. The landmarks of battles fought
are being obliterated. Up at Mucklow
on Paint Creek the steel fortress has
everience with the labor movement and
that his conception of it was but vague
and inadequate; and now that he has
been torn down. The military entrenchments at Pratt have been cut down to
twelve lonely soldiers, while these may
and inadequate; and now that he has
been torn down. The military entrenchments at Pratt have been cut down to
twelve lonely soldiers, while these may
and inadequate; and now that he has
been torn down. The military entrenchments at Pratt have been cut down to
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been torn down. The military entrenchments at Pratt have been cut down to
twelve lonely soldiers, while these may
and inadequate and the univentor be given a reward in accordtorn down. The invention should become the
property of the whole people and the
univentor be given a reward in accordance with the value of his idea to the
property of the whole people and the
more arms, the more property of the whole people and the
naccordtorn down. The invention should become to give a reward in accordance with the value of his idea to the
property of the whole people and the
naccordtorn down to the value of his idea to the
property of the whole people.
The torventor be given a reward in accordance with the value of his idea to the
property that his conception of it was but vague and inadequate; and now that he has shown a disposition to act fairly and honestly with the workers, within the limits prescribed by the laws he is sworn to uphold, he is entitled to the fullest opportunity to carry out his program and execute his purpose, and to the extent that he does this he deserves to lessness on the part of the victim.

It welve lonely soldiers, while these may be sent home at any moment with the sent home at any moment with the contribution of a reward, which can easily be determined through agreement with the state. This is much better than the cepted the resignation of John Laing, one of the big coal operators. Under his at to light his way through poverty and is unable to get a hearing, and even when he does is often swindled out of the title that he does this he deserves to lessness on the part of the victim.

Have You the Facts?

Honestly, can you siways back up what you say? For instance, you get in an argument with some neighbor or friend over Socialism and you remark that mortgaged farms are on the increase.

"No, the country is getting richer and replies the old partylie.

"They are," you retort.
"Well, show me," he answers. "I the facts and figures."

Now, what would you do under such circumstances? How would you get the figures? Did you ever try to write to Washington for your information? If you have tried, you know that for a year they refer you from you described to another. refer you from one department to another and in the end you are still shy of the in-

and in the end you are still any of the formation.

But there is a little book that tells about mortgaged farms and a thousand other useful subjects. It is the ARPEAL'S Arsenal of Fricts. We do not sell it, but we will give it to you free of chargs if you will send 12 APPEAL subscriptions at 25 cents each, or if you will join the bundle brigade for twelve ceples per week for a year, which costs \$3. The Arsenal it bound in leather, printed on the paper, and fits the vest pocket. Do you want this wonderful little book?

Preparing for "Baby"

[The following from the San Francisco Escaminer is considered so important it was sent "by leased wire, the longest in the world." It will be very consoling to the thousands of human mothers who have to bring into the world their children under very inhumane conditions.]

London, May 26th—London society is wondering whether the arrival of a cer-tain expected little stranger at the home

of Lord and Lady Camoys will put "Baby's" nose out of joint.
"Baby" is a tiny Pomeranian, belonging to Mrs. Watts Sherman, of New York, mother of Lady Camoys, who has been here for three months to be near daughter when the interesting event. her daughter when the interesting event

occurs.

"Baby" is considered by all to be a most fortunate dog, and its lot might be envied by thousands of real babies. The dog is quartered at the Ritz hotel with

is awakened in the morning by a maid, who carefully combs its long, fluffy hair. The dog's breakfast is then brought in by a waiter, for which a

charge of 50 cents is made.

"Baby" is then combed again and a new ribbon, costing another half dollar, is put around its neck, for "Baby" never rears the same ribbon twice.

Then the dog goes for a motor ride

with its mistress. out to the Sherman motor, but he first must present his hands palms upward, so that Mrs. Sherman may see that they are immaculately clean, and nothing may contaminate her precious canine.

returning to the hotel, "Baby" with silken cushions

Despite this regal treatment from the point of dogdom, "Baby" has been quite ill, and requires constant medical atten-

Owning and Reading Books BY UPTON SINCLAIR.

THERE is nothing of greater im THERE is nothing of greater importance to the average man than to buy and read books, provided only that the books he buys and reads are the right books.

The reason why this seems to me of such primary importance is that the average man at the present day lives and are a system of ware slavery, whereby

average man at the present day lives under a system of wage slavery, whereby he is deprived of the greater portion of the wealth which he produces, and which should rightfully belong to him. This exploitation is the cause of poverty; and poverty, in turn, is the cause of crime, prostitution, graft, preventable disease and war. The wiping of these frightful things from the face of our earth depends solely upon the rapidour earth depends solely upon the rapid-ity with which we can educate the aver-age man to a realization of the meaning of the word "exploitation" and the

remedy therefor.

But about these important matters man cannot learn very much from his daily newspaper, because almost all of the daily newspapers in America are owned and edited by those who are exclusion this control of the daily newspapers in America are owned and edited by those who are exclusions the daily of the daily newspapers.

ploiting him. Neither can be learn it from the schools and the universities, because the trustees and the patrons of these institutions are also among the exploiters. Neither can be learn it from the

churches, because the churches are cu-dowed and run by the exploiters.

But there are a few great books in the world in which the truth has been told. There have been heroic men and women who have starved and suffered in order to write these books and put the facts in the hands of the people.

For the average man or woman in America today the most important work that he or she can do is to purchase a Socialism was not "founded" by anyone, at any time, or in any place. It is digest them thoroughly, and then lend theory, of an understanding. Hundreds persuaded to read them.

> LABOR POWER.
>
> Labor is the exercise of the labor power that exists in the body of every well-developed human being. That labor power may be either of the brain or of the musele, or it may be composed of both. One can hardly conceive of any labor being performed without exerting the brain as well as the limbs. It takes intelligence as well as muscle to dig good post-holes; it takes muscle as well as intelligence to write a book or paint a picture. But both of these enter into the composition of labor power. The post-hole and the book and the picture, when completed, contain a portion of their maker's life LABOR POWER. contain a portion of their maker's life If another appropriates my product to his own use without giving me a full equivalent in return he is taking my life as effectually as if he were to cut my throat. To be sure, he takes only a little at a time, but that only prolongs the agony. Socialism teaches that whatever of your life you put into the production of utilities should come back contain a portion of their maker's life duction of utilities should come back to you in the things you produce. If it goes to another in that form it amount to the same as if he had taken your life

Sub Rates.

If there is anyone on earth that has the ability and courage to ferret out the facts about West Virginia's military fyramy, that person is John Kenneth Turner. He delights in taking chances where there is even the filmsiest prospect of success, especially in the interest of the great cause that is dear to his heart. Like Jack London, he has experienced life in all its pitful and appalling shadows, as well as in its festive and glowing aspects. For a time he suffered the cuffs and rebuffs and kicks usually administered to the holo. He wanted to know for himself IF there is anyone on earth that has and kicks usually administered to the hobo. He wanted to know for himself the hobo's point of view. He got it. He was building himself; for with the exception of a few months in the university of California, and instructions received in the public schools up to the ninth grade, his education was obtained by friction with our social system, and through a keen study of men and women, conditions and things.

through a keen study of men and women, conditions and things.

The name of John Kenneth Turner stands at the top of those engaged in the journalism of and for the working class. He is still a young man, and I know him well enough to say that has not yet attained his full development. He doesn't admit he's as wise as Elbert Hubbard or Teddy de Roose; but he will permit you to think for I frame.

Fanama, while fourteen British colonies have such roads. Among the nations that own railroads are the following:

Italy,

Belgiam,

Panama, while fourteen British colonies have such roads. Among the nations that own railroads are the following:

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Panama, while fourteen British colonies have such roads. Among the nations that own railroads are the following:

Belgiam,

Panama,

Columbia,

Portugal,

Panama,

Rowara,

Panama,

Panama,

Panama,

Panama,

Panama,

Portugal,

Panama,

Portugal,

Panama,

Portugal,

Panama,

Panama,

Portugal,

Panama,

Pan as Elbert Hubbard or Teddy de Roose; but he will permit you to think for yourself. John is intensely democratic. You may do as you please, think as you please and talk as you please, and John won't care the worth of a green postage stamp; but the moment you deny those same privileges to others in general and to him in particular, John Kenneth will rise equal to the occasion and—God help you unless you can run! and—God help you unless you can run!

For if you are not John's superior, physically and mentally, it's as certain as that in the arithmetic of matrimony two and two make one, he will put you down for the full count. He knows all down for the full count. He knows all the swings, and uppercuts, and jabs, and hooks, and shifts of the profession of the late Jim Jeffries, and is big enough to use them. Knowing him as well as I do. I would as soon fight a flock of wildcats or a battery of active mule-heels, as to engage in a set-to with John Kenneth. But he is still more effective with his pen, and is just now giving Dictator Hatfield of West Virginia, a thorough whole-handed, artistic and finishing drubbing—one that is destined to send that political and social brute off the heeld of action and relegate him to the burial ground of worthless things.

John Kenneth Turner is on the job.

Socialized Land

GREAT many suppose that all the A land of the earth is owned indi-vidually. This is far from the truth. The greater portion, and proba-bly that which contains the finest min-erals of the earth's surface, is still in the possession of nations, states and communities. In Australia 946,892,690 acres out of

In Australia 946,892,690 acres out of 1,903,731,840 acres were in 1912 still in possession of the various state governments. The larger portion of Canada, excluding the Arctic region, is yet state property. In South America tremendous regions of land are still in public possession. The federal government of Argentine holds 300,000 square miles of pasture and agricultural land, or Argentine holds 300,000 square miles of pasture and agricultural land, or nearly half of that kind of territory within its boundaries. In China most of the land is held by families as tenants of the state, the state being the owner. The greater portion of India is possessed either by the states or principalities, or held in community ownership by local brotherhoods. A very small portion of Africa is privately portion of Africa is privately

Private land monopoly in Great Britain is more extensive than in any sec-tion of the world. The total area of the united kingdom is approximately 77,000,000 acres, and 40,000,000 of these are owned by 2,500 people. Yet there are public lands in Great Britain, consisting of forests, common land owned by municipalities for public buildings, water works, parks, etc., and land acquired by county councils under a new act permit-ting nunicipal ownership of land. Eng-land owns, as Crown land, under the control of the board of agriculture. 63,000 acres which includes about 100 farms, and rents these for about \$300,-

000 yearly.

In Germany there are great forest areas owned by the state, and in addi-tion nearly every municipality owns large areas of land which it rents to citizens. Many of these cities have no citizens. Many of these cities have no taxation, the rent paying all the expense of running the city. Frankfort owns one-half of the entire municipal area. Ulm owns three-fourths of the land upon which it is built. Five towns in herited military rule from his predefeasement possess from 120 to 420 square Germany possess from 120 to 420 square yards of land for each inhabitant. Berlin has 85 square yards publicly owned land per head of the population.

In France, Switzerland and Germany

here are large communal pasture lands. In Russia the Crown, which in that country is a state, owns vast territories of land. This is, of course, a private or land. Ins is, of course, a private monopoly, yet there are great holdings of communal lands belonging to the villages. One-half of the cultivated areas of Russia was owned by communities until the duma, a few years ago, broke up the communal lands into small private properties. In Turker most of private properties. In Turkey, most of the new Albanian state is government property and is held in perpetuity by the cultivators who pay small rental to the state. Australia has promulgated an ordinance which declares that no more land in the northern territory which now amounts to 233,000,000 acres will be sold. All this land will be worked under leases from the government, all the minerals reserved to the states, and the rents revisable at fixed periods. No raise of rent is to be made because nereased value from public works.

Nationalization of Forests. Tremendous forest areas are yet pub

licly owned and there is a general move all over the world to preserve these not only in order to see that the timber supply is not exhausted, but also to pro-tect the water sheds and avoid the ces-sation of rains which, it is declared comes from destroying the forests Germany has 13,996.000 acres of state forests and from these Prussia alone re-ceives an annual revenue of \$30,000,000. In Sweden there is a forest reserve area of 15 000,000 acres held by the state while communes and parishes own about 15,000,000 more. The state de-

Appeal's Representative forest land in Switzerland is communially owned, although the state is now taking oversight of it. No timber can be cut without the consent of the federal authorities and for each tree cut.

tions. This, however, remedied in the future.

Nationalization of Railways.

The three most important countries in the world that have not collectively owned railroads are Great Britain, the United States and Spain, yet the United States has a publicly owned railroad in Panama, while fourteen British colonies

German Empire, Holland,

France, Siam, German Empire, Sweden, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey.

In Panama, New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland the railroads have been built entirely by the state. In other sections both state construction and private contract have prevailed in and private contract have prevailed in the construction of the roads. The total cost of construction and equipment of the Australian railroads is given at \$765,000,000. The net earnings were \$30,000,000. This amount is used annu-ally for the purese of naving off the ally for the purpose of paying off the debt incurred in building the reads because it is not the intention of the government to make profits. The earnings of the New Zealand railway for 1912 were about \$15,000,000. On the state railroads school children travel free no matter how far the distance in coming and going to school. The wages of the 20,000 men employed on the New Zea land railways have been materially in creased since the state took possession of them. The net profit of the Prussian steam railroads is about 150 millions a year or half the total national revenue year or hair the total national revenue.
The net profit of the Swedish railways is about five millions, and of the Danish about ten millions. Yet this is state capitalism, and far from the Socialist ideal.

Is it fair to believe the reports on So-

Suppose that the story is true (which form. is impossible) in what possible way Shall we do it? Can it effect the philosophy of Social Of course we sl

Suppose that J. A. Wayland was not exactly a saint, is that any reason why the workers should surrender four-fifths of all they produce to an idle class who produce nothing? Suppose that Wayland had the frail-

ties common to humanity, is that any reason why the tenant farmer should

If Wayland broke all the ten commandments and then some, is that any reason why the cotton raiser should be forced to sell his cotton for \$60 a bale and then buy it back in the shape of manufactured cotton goods at \$600 a bale?

bale?

If Wayland had been the blackest villain that ever walked the earth, is that any reason why the workers should be robbed of everything they produce but a bare living, while the wealth they create goes to support a lot of idle parasites who live in luxury?

No most emphatically no! No mat-

No, most emphatically, no! No matter what kind of a man Wayland was, Socialism is eternally right.

The Committee's Report.

The committee of the Socialist party investigating conditions in West Vircessor, the committee branded as false and misleading the stories sent out by the capitalist press that in their interview with Governor Hatfield they had endorsed the governor and exonerated endorsed the governor and exonerated his administration or that the committee had approved his attitude and his acts. The report holds Governor Hatfield responsible for the suppression and destruction of the Star and Argus, two Socialist papers, roundly condemning him for permitting it. The report is treated at length by Eugene V. Debs, one of the committee, elsewhere in the Appeal.

The road to profits is paved with the bones of the workers.

A Wayland Biography

"Leaves of Life," according to the pret-ace to this most interesting book, has been prepared, not for the general public, but for that wide circle of friends that J. A. Wayland has made in the course of his remarkable career.

And in order that all his friends shall possess a copy of this volume of memoirs the APPRAL has decided not to sell it, but Those who will send five dollars for 20 sub scriptions or for 20 sub cards will receive "Leaves of Life," by J. A. Wayland, ab solutely free of charge. If you wish you only cost you a little time put in for the

This inspiring volume is hands bound in firstble morocco leather and con-tains 260 pages. It is illustrated with a portrait of the author and other interest-ing pictures showing the development of the APPEAL Every member of the APPEAL Army should have a copy of this notable book.

His Retiring Message

[In retiring from the office of national secretary of the Socialist party, John M. Work not only fasues a touching message of thanks to his assistants, but he also sends out the following ringing words to the Socialist membership—words timely and worthy of such a Socialist as John M. Work is.]

OU all remember how General Grant gradually drew his lines about the enemy, fortifying here, encroaching there, strengthening everywhere until these receives a second of the control of t encroaching there, strengthening every where, until, upon receiving from the enemy a proposal regarding terms of capitulation, he was in position to fire back that bold reply, "No terms except an unconditional and immediate surren-

der can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works."

Comrades of America, do you want to get in position to demand the unconditional and immediate surrender of the beleaguered remnant of the hosts of capitalism?

If so, there is but one way to get in that position. It is the way that was adopted by General Grant.

We must surround the enemy.

We must draw our lines ever closer and closer.
We must fortify here.
We must encroach there.
We must strengthen everywhere.

In short, we must extend and perfect our organization. The secret of success is summed up in the word organization. Whenever we have half a million de-

pendable dues paying members, we will be in position to demand and receive the unconditional and immediate surrender of the enemy. We will be able to elect the president, the congress, and most of the state and local officials. There is no other way whatsoever.

most of the state and local officials.

There is no other way whatsoever.

The Real Issue

The Real Issue

Sledge Hammer, Okemah, Okla.

FTER Veatch and the editors who published his absurd story have damined themselves in the estimation of all decent people by defaming the dead what have they accomplished?

Suppose that the story is true (which form.)

most of the state and local officials.

There is no other way whatsoever.

An invincible organization is the thing, and the only thing, that will bring us victory.

We have made a mighty good start.

We have doubled our membership in a short period of time. But we can accelerate the pace if we try. There is work on. It is waiting for us to the start in the story is true (which form.)

Shall we do it?
Of course we shall.
We can redouble our participation in the political affairs of the nation whenever we want to. If we have the energy and the enthusiasm and the self-sacrifice, we can elect a fine bunch of congressmen in 1914. If we have the necessary amount of resolute vigor and bold initiative, we can carry the country in a very few years and plant our ban-

reason why the tenant farmer should in a very few years and plant our bancontinue to pay toll for the privilege of living on earth?

Even if Wayland was down-right immoral is that any reason why the people six members. The quality is just as should have to pay 20 cents a gallon for two-cent oil?

And we will begin to reap the results are before we reach the goal. In fact

long before we reach the goal. In fact, we have already begun to reap them. Never before would the expenditure of time, energy or money for the cause bring such swift and satisfactory rebring such swift a turns as right now.

Forward is the word! Let the whole line advance!

Statistics for Soapboxers

	France	Public debt. \$5,898,675,451 4,558,152,565 4,270,488,716	Annual Int. charged. \$186.802.884 204.766.421 179,778,179
ı	gary	8,703,235,511	133,925,824
Į	dom	3,669,931,350 2,602,290,757	152,759,611 96,941,135
	British India .	1,817,674,327	78,709,000 41,681,212
	Australia United States.	1,287,604,261 1,184,192,157 1,023,861,581	76,283,536 46,888,998 21,803,886
	Portugal	864,561,212 657,097,561	29,907,983 32,390,824
	Belgium China Turkey	663,825,145 601,916,605 527,983,036	92,875,017 36,494,752
	Argentine Be-	545,712,120	29,594,251

Unner barbarism the few are masters and the many are slaves by reason of monopoly of power. Under feudalism the few are lords and the many are

Letter Showing Spies' Methods Thurmond, W. Va., May 21, 1913.

Mr. W. A. Burwell, Beckley, W. Va.:

Dear Sir—I want you to see each of the men referred to in our conversation at Thurmond and explain to them the reasons for having been placed on the pay-roll of the coal company and say to them that this is only a temporary arrangement and they will be under the observation of the agency and under supervision of Mr. Phipps, but for the present they will have no official connection with the agency.

tion with the agency.

I do not want them posing as agency men and take from each of them their employe cards and if they have any agency badges you need not take them away from them, but require them to take them off, put them in their trunks and not

even wear them.

Let the impression be made on the public generally and information go out that they are simply working as deputy sheriffs in the interest of the coal companies and have no connection with the Baldwin-Felts agency. As far as supervision is concerned, instructions, co-operating with them, etc., there will be no

vision is concerned, instructions, co-operating with them, etc., the change in that.

If I find that any of them should be indiscreet enough to make statements that this arrangement is only a blind and they are still connected with our agency, that the change is only a temporary one, and the old arrangement will be put in effect again soon, etc., they will be dropped permanently from the service.

Ingals, Tams and Caperton were present when this matter was discussed and this arrangement decided on and they sanctioned it, but I think it proper someone should see each of the companies in person between this and the first of the month and explain the matter to them in confidence and let them make arrangements to have these men put on the pay-roll for the month of May.

Yours very truly,

T. L. Feiger.

Back in the Book Business

few weeks we will have several new and fective propaganda pamphlets to offer the rmy. We will handle only such books to as we publish ourselver these will be put out at just as near duction as possible.

ust at present we are concentrating on a Six-Hour Day." There is nothing better for opening the eyes of the exploited worker. It goes straight to the heart of the subject and every statement is backed

by the facts and figures.

If your neighbor is making less than \$2,000 a year, hand him a copy this booklet; it will tell him why. A dred thousand copies are just off the cress. Sam to carry forth to every nock corner and cross-roads of the country, there to be handed out by some faithful com-rade to those who will become new voters Socialism just as soon as they under-nd why they earn \$2,000 a year and

opies of this Socialist vote making booklet sent postpaid for \$2.00.

A Voice from 1791

"Ruins of Empire," by Voiney.

CONSIDERING these men attentively, I found that the great body was composed of farmers, artificers, merchants, all professions useful to society; and that the little group was made up of priests of every order, of made up of priests of every order of financiers, of nobles, of men in livery, of commanders of armies; in a word, of the civil, military and religious agents

of government. of government.

These two bodies being assembled face to face, and regarding each other with astonishment, I saw indignation and rage arising in one side, and a sort of panic in the other. And the large said to the little one: Why are you separated from us? Are you not of our number? our number

No, replied the group; you are the people; we are a privileged class, who have our laws, customs, and rights, peculiar to ourselves.

People—And what labor do you per-

form in our society?
Privileged Class-None; we are not -How, then have you acquired

Privileged Class-By taking the pains to govern you. People—What! is this what you call

governing? We toil and you enjoy! We produce and you dissipate! Wealth proceeds from us, and you absorb it! Privileged men! class who are not the

people; form a nation apart, and govern yourselves.

Then the little group, deliberating on this new state of things, some of the most honorable among them said: We must join the people and partake of their labors and burdens, for they are men like us, and our riches comes from them: but others arrogantly exclaimed. them; but others arrogantly exclaimed: It would be a shame, an infamy, for us to mingle with the crowd; they are born to serve us. Are we not men of another race—the noble and pure descendants of the conquerors of this empire? This

multitude must be reminded of our rights and its own origin.

The Nobles—People! know you not that bur ancestors conquered this land, and that your race was spared only on condition of serving us? This is our social compact! this the government constituted by custom and prescribed by time. by time.
People—O conquerors, pure of blood

show us your genealogies! we shall then see if what in an individual is robbery and plunder, can be virtuous in a nation.

nation.

And forthwith, voices were heard in every quarter calling out the nobles by their names; and relating their origin and parentage, they told how the grandgreat-grandfather, or even fa-orn traders and mechanics, after acquiring wealth in every way, had purchased their nobility for money; so that but very few families were really of the original stock. See, said these oices, see these purse-proud common-rs who deny their parents! see these lebeian recruits who look upon themof laughter were heard. illustrious veterans! and

Civil Governors—The law commands you to be submissive. People—The law is the general will; and we will a new order of things. Civil Governors—You are then

rebel people.

People—A nation cannot revolt; ty-

arms, said to the eners.
wise the people; show us the enemy!

And the little group said: We are lost! the multitude are enlightened.
And the people answered, You are saie; since we are enlightened we will commit no violence; we only claim our commit no violence; we only claim our rights. We feel resentments, but we will forget them. We were slaves, we might command; but we only wish to be free, and liberty is but justice.

"Therefore a Slave."

A slave has no property in his labor, and any man who is compelled to give up the fruits of his labor to another at the arbitrary will of that other has no property, and is, therefore, a slave whether the fruit of his labor be taken from him directly or indirectly. If it be said that he gave up this fruit by his own will, and that it is not forced from him. I answer, "To be sure, he may avoid eating and dimking, and may go naked, but then he must die; and ou this condition only can he refuse to give up the fruit of his labor."—

In the midst of the crumbling ruins of the old political parties, the Socialist, serene and confident of ultimate victory, points the way to the Co-operative from him. I answer, "To be sure, he may avoid eating and dimking, and may go naked, but then he must die; and ou this condition only can he refuse to give up the fruit of his labor."—

William Cobbett.

A slave has no property in his labor, "When there are no more blumate in the common people. This is not an auti-tarity of the common people. This is not an auti-tarity of the common people. This is not an auti-tarity of the mission in the troughling ruins of the dipt of borar would only mean an interest him the midst of the crumbling ruins of the old political parties, the Socialist.

In the midst of the crumbling ruins to the object and confident of ultimate victory, points the way to the Co-operative of the sure of the duty of of sugar would not keep the sugar refuseries, and the trust controlling the sugar refuseries, and the trust controlling the sugar refuseries, and the trust controlling to do about it?" The masser is, the midst of the common people. This is not an auti-tarity of the world. Taking all of the borax output of the world. Taking all of the borax output of the world. Taking all of the borax output of the world. Taking all of the borax output of the world. Taking all of the borax output of the world. Taking all of the borax output of the world. Taking all of the borax output of the world. Takin

The Reaper of Death

hin six were sold. It rederick Stokes in stated into English by Frederick Stokes nestated into English by Frederick Stokes (Company, New York, It is a small work, it very vivid in its coloring. Following a description from the book of a charge a description from the book of a charge a

A S we rise to our feet the machine guns in the woods begin to buzz and to rain lead into our ranks. until right and left of me men yelp and drop twisted and tumbled to the

"Down! Rapid fire!"

The line is prone and again we are blazing desperately into the wood, and can catch no glimpse of our enemy. Never a single arm raised against us, Never a single arm raised against us, never the eye of a single man to challenge us. The wood, the green wood, is murdering us from afar, before a single human face comes in view.

And while to the right and left of me the rifle fire chatters incessantly, the string moderate of it maddens my

grim mockery of it maddens my eyes. I see scale-armor and visors . . . high in their stirrups the knights burst blazing out of the wood, and I, a reck-less horseman of the past. I leap into the saddle—my broad sword flashes clear and kisses the morning breeze—and now up and at them like a thought. and now up and at them like a thunder-bolt. Then eyes are flashing into mine and hands are raised for the melceand stroke for stroke, breast to breast and stroke for stroke, breast to breast, the pride of youthful, virile strength. Ha-ha-ha-ha! What has happened? Where have horse and rider vanished? Where is my sword? We are not even charging men. Machines are trained on us. Why, we are only charging machines. And the machine triumphs deep into our very feeh. And the machine into our very flesh. And the machine is draining the life blood from our veins, and lapping it up in bucketsful. Those who have been hit are already ying mown down in swathes behind us and are writhing on their wounds. And yet they are racing up behind us in their hundreds—young, healthy human flesh for the machines to butcher. "Up! Get on! At the double!"

The gallant young subaltern dashes his head recklessly; . . a picture for a painter. I am rushing after him, . his cheer in my ears, . . then the gallant vision begins to sway, . . . the sword flies from his grasp—the subal-tern stumbles and falls face forward tern stumbles and falls face forward in the short, stiff stubble; . . then I race past him. . . I can hear nothing except the uncanny buzz coming out of the wood. . . I literally feel how the lead is splashing into our ranks how men are breaking down to the right and left of men. . "Down! Rapid fire!" . . I throw myself on my face, my rifle at the ready. . . Why does the order fail to reach us? No shout comes from the subaltern, No shout comes from the subaltern, none from the non-coms : . . the near est man st man a good twenty paces away
. . and then one other . . . only we

three. ... The first line is lying shot down in the stubble; ... what's the next thing? The ground becomes alive behind us . and clattering, panting, and shout ng . . and again the wood rumble ing . . and again sullenly . . . there . . . there they are, lying flat, breathing hard; . . never a word, . . rifle to the ready . . and shot after shot . . those are the sixth and seventh companies; . . . they have filled up our

The head is plunging on, the body after it, into the zone of bullets, and dashing forward with eyes fixed greedily on the ground to spy out the nearest molehill when we fling ourselves down. And when the excited itself, we, too, tumble down as we had been swept away. And look, it we had been swept away. And look, it is advancing to meet us, that murder-ous wood. . . "Up! At the double!" . . who can tell whether he has been hit or not? . . behind there, out of the undergrowth—that's where it came from; . . that where the streak of bullets flashed, . . there between the white larch trunks the beam of lead leaped out to meet us . . over there, behind that green wall, that's where Murder is sitting, and shooting our arms and legs away from our trunks. peals of laughter were heard.

And the civil governers said: These people are mild, and naturally servile; speak to them of the king and of the law, and they will return to their duty. People! the king wills, the sovereign the thunderous shout of victory. Let the pipes and the bugles ring out. This is Death on the stricken field! This

than vermin in this war.

And, dazed and sick, we gaze at the machines, and the steel and iron litter-

People—A nation cannot revolt; tyrants only are rebels.

Civil Governors—The king is on our side; he commands you to submit.

People—Kings are inseparable from their nations. Our king cannot be with you; you possess only his phantom.

And the military governors came forward. The people are timorous, said they; we must threaten them; they will submit only to force. Soldiers, chastise this insolent multitude.

People—Soldiers, you are of our blood! Will you strike your brothers, your relatives? If the people perish who will nourish the arm?

And the soldiers, grounding their watching size of the decline and fall of nations of which history is full." A person may well wonder how our friend Tousely expects to establish co-operation under the soldiers, grounding their watchings and the steel and iron littering the ground blink up at us full of guile.

Era of Co-operation.

E. M. Tousley in the Fruit-Grower and Farmer, pleading for co-operation is at shand. Nothing else will save mankind from the selfishness, immorality and the steel and iron littering the ground blink up at us full of guile.

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What Is Not So.

Almost anyone can make anybody be-lieve anything that is not so. It is only the truth that makes poor headway in this world. Our national motto seems to be: "When there are no more blun-derers or liars to be heard, let us listen to common sense."—Allan L. Benson in "The Truth About Socialism."

The Suicide.

From "Remarks" in the typical accident sport, submitted by the coal company to he state department in case of faria accidents to employes, due to fall of rock or

tious, atc."

The accident report is virtually a verdlet of suicide standing against the coal miner, and in defense of the company's wanton slaughter.

He sounded the treacherous o'erhead ro And the rock rang clear as a bell; Yet the miner knew it wasn't strong, Knew, though he'd timber all day long, That echo-mocking kneil.

He came from the pit on a stretcher at

noon.

A shapeless heap of clay.
The boss he sagely shook his head—
And he and the super agreed "he's dead
Come, take the fellow away."
To the bidding of a meddlesome state
A report is made with pride:
"Victim was careless, shiftless—a block
Recklessly let in a mountain of rock—"
What! Was he a suicide!
L'Evol.

A suicide he verily is—
Impianting the germ last fail—
When he voted for Teddy, Big Chief Wind,
Or Willy or Woody—or all of them—
A suicide—that's all.—W. H. Moore. -W. H. Moore. Thomas, W. Va.

The Power of an Idea

HERE is no moral fulcrum in the world so powerful as the influence world so powerful as the influence of a great and noble idea. The idea of the Co-operative Commonmonwealth if crystalized in the sense of social justice, of good fellowship among men and all the longing of the human heart for new and better things. To the lone agitator this idea is a tower of adamantine strength; it is the rock of mental granite against which the of mental granite against which the waves of hatred and envy of persecution and revenge spend their fury in vain. To the man who is completely domiever constructed by the powers of ression holds no terrors. He sees far beyond the present into the future and he sees the heavens spanned by the brilfiant rainbows of promise. In the wide ample space for all. He hears the foot-steps of approaching events and divines what they portend. If you happen to stand alone in your community with this idea do not despair. The lone oak standing in solitude on the open plain exposed to the fury of the storm roots the dense for-t. Defeat is nothing. Long wait is thing. To the positive man the shadnothing. ows of the evening twilight are tinged with the roseate dawn of the coming day. This mighty idea in which is ex-pressed the highest and finest aspira-tions of the race will lift you above the routine of daily cares and above the level of sordid materialism into an atmosphere of enlightened truth.

E. H. ERICKSON.

Silvana, Wash.

Spoiling the System. Here is the latest graft perpetrated by the government, concerning the United States postal savings system: If a person began to deposit \$100 on January 1, 1912, each month for five months, when he would have on deposit \$500, which is the limit at one time until he got a bond, but does not make application for a hond until December. application for a bond until December 2, 1912, when he surrenders his certificates he also surrenders his rights to all interest; for it is decreed his money when he are descriptions were from Feb. must be on deposit one year from February 1, 1913, before he is entitled to But this is not all. February 15, 1913, he receives a coupon bond that does not secure him for one cent of the \$500 he has on deposit with the government, because it is payable to bearer. So if he loses the bould or if it is stolen his only redress is through civil court, which may cost him every cent of the \$500 to get his bond again. It costs the government \$1 expenses charges to send a bond to Taft, Cal., and it costs that much to send the bond back to Washington to get it cashed, for the First National bank would not give one cent over \$400 for the bond. By having the bond cashed before July bond for six months, so, therefore, the People—The king can will nothing but the good of the people; the soverign can only ordain according to law. Civil Governors—The law commands you to be submissive.

People—The law is the general will; and we will a new order of things.

Civil Governors—You are then a civil government has the use of that money for from 16 to 18 months for which the depositor does not receive one cent interest, but is out \$1 express charges and running the risk of having trouble with the express company; for if the bond is lost in transit the express company will not dig up without a lot of the depositor does not receive one cent interest, but is out \$1 express charges and running the risk of having trouble with the express company; for if the bond is lost in transit the express company will not dig up without a lot of the depositor does not receive one cent interest, but is out \$1 express charges and running the risk of having trouble with the express company; for if the depositor does not receive one cent interest, but is out \$1 express charges and running the risk of having trouble with the express company; for if the depositor does not receive one cent interest, but is out \$1 express charges and running the risk of having trouble with the express company; for if the bond is lost in transit the express company with the express company in this work. and running the risk of having trouble with the express company; for if the bond is lost in transit the express company will not dig up without a lot of red tape; whereas it would not cost the government one cent if it gave the depositor a registered bond which is a safe bond as it secures the depositor, and the government should pay interest on certificates when they are surreudered, regardless of the time the money has been on deposit, for the money is and the government should pay interest on certificates when they are surrendered, regardless of the time the money has been on, deposit, for the money is not withdrawn at any time when the depositor receives his bond. The writer depositor receives his bond. The writer has a control of the c ows what is is talking about, for he

has had the experience.
PHILIP BECKER. Taft, Cal.

The American Method.

Frevious to the discovery of borax in the United States it was naturally all imported into the country, and the "world's price" was 3 cents per pound. Then borax was discovered in Death Valley and the Death Valley Borax company was formed. The company at once moved on congress (probably gave stock to congressmen), and a tariff of 5 cents per pound was placed en all imported borax. "to protect American laber against the person borax is now 3 cents per pound. As, well, but you say "There's not much borax used." You say "There's not much borax used." You say "There's not much borax used." You say that because you don't know, but that extra 5 cents per pound, or \$100 per short ton, adds to the cost of tens upon tons of soap, and borax being widely used in the manufacture of so many articles, adds very many miffices to the cost of tens upon tons of soap, and borax being widely used in the manufacture of so many articles, adds very many miffices to the cost of the same soays the "child-like-and-bland" doger the capitalist soais the common people. This is not an anti-tariff argument, for when coffee was put on the free list, then Brazil put on an export duty, or the capitalist used the government of Brazil as a catagaw. Taking the 5 cents The American Method.

Modern Minute Men

In the days of Paul Revere a loade musket and good powder, were upcessary weapons to wrest political liberty from the British. Today the fighter for economic freedom weakens the citadels of capitalism with good Socialist literature, A bundle of Arreats in the hands of a man shows that he is a soldier in the social revolution. A man who really understands the seriousness of the world-rride straggle for liberty not only subscribes for the Arsmall bundle to use smong his neighbors. To facilitate this inspiring work, the Ar-PEAL has special bundle races, which are as follows:

To get results in the next election the

work must be begun now. Delay is not the mark of a true agitator. Send us your bundle order now.

An Appeal From W. Va. By Edward II. Kintzer, state secretary So-cialist party of West Virginia.

HE APPEAU'S rescue of the West Virginia situation was a most magnificent display of the power of its battery. Our comrades here are all speaking of the spdendid work of the APPEAL and the Army At the meeting of the state executive committee last week the work of the APPEAL was nended above everything that was said and done.

Organization work in West Virginia has been at a standstill for more than a year. Dozens of locals have disbanded. The "war" was destructive to the party work. Everything was set aside for the industrial battle, and yet last November the Socialist vote of West Virginia showed a gain of 316 per cent over 1908.

In the battles our organizers and editors were put in "bullpens" and jails; our papers were confiscated, and the Socialist workers were intimidated.

The atmosphere is clearing (thanks to the APPEAL and the Socialists). Governor Hatfield promises freedom to or-ganize our economic movement and the Socialist party; and we are guaranteed freedom of speech and assembly. The senatorial investigation will be made, and while the attention of the

workers is focused upon this and the labor movement, we must be in position to make our propaganda. From this to make the work of organizing matter time forth the work of organizing mushed. That work will consist of the nushed fallen locals be pushed. That work will consist to building up the weak and fallen locals building up the weak and fallen locals we must propagate the ideas of Socialism and give our assistance for the miners to rganize industrially. We have the sentiment ready for crys-

talization, but our treasury is dra Several thousand dollars is needed the work. We are unable to garner the harvest. This is the greatest state for our propaganda at this time; this is your opportunity to do something for West Virginia.

The state committee has not before appealed for funds, for the money appealed for funds, for the money could not be properly used in the movement before this time. But now we are in need of your help. The state organization appeals for aid to carry on this work. Do not depend upon others to do what you feel is your duty

Send something. All will be accounted for and judiciously expended.
Send all contributions to Edward H.
Kintzer, state secretary Socialist party
of West Virginia, Clarksburg, W. Va.,
who will receipt for same if address is of West Virginia, Clarksburg, W. Va., who will receipt for same if address is given; or send funds to the national office, Socialist party, 111 N. Market street, Chicago, with request that it be forwarded to the West Virginia state office.

Gains in Los Angeles.
The press reports that in Los Angele
e Socialists made tremendous gains.
Shank, the municipal conference cand W. Shank, the hunicipal conference on date, or, in other words, the fusion iddate, received 18,019 votes and Harry Rose, supported by the Socialists in absence of not being permitted to vote their own candidate after the primary, elected, receiving 20,275 votes. It thought that the majority of Socialist of didates for the council are elected. Names Noel, the only woman running

Here's freedom for him that wad read: Here's freedom for him that wad write: There's name ever feared that the truth should be heard Save them the truth wad indict

The army is a machine used by the owners of the machinery of production to bring profits to them and force submission on the people.

Preparing for War.

A Paper for Socialists

The APPEAL is primarily an agitation paper. Its mission is to carry the message of Socialism to the American people. But how to educate and inform the avowed Socialists, the members of the Socialist party and the AFFEAL Army, has always een a problem.

The APPEAL baving the facilities as well

as considerable experience has decided to issue a monthly paper devoted to the Socialist party and the Appeal Army. This paper will only cost 25 cents a year and no subscriptions for a less period will be accepted. No reduction for clubs or combinations will be allowed. This new paper will be edited by the rank and file. The paper will contain no editorial expressions, all kinds of views and ideas on party matters and propagands work by the readers will be printed. There will be only

one rule: The shortest communications will have the right of way.

This paper will also publish the labest news in the Socialist and labor movement, here and abroad. It will, in a word, be the organ of the avowed Socialists to serve their interests as they themselves determine.

bere and shroad. It will, in a word, be the organ of the avowed Socialists to serve their interests as they themselves determine.

It will be called The Sational Socialist. The paper of that name which was published in Weshington has suspended publication. However, all the subscribers of that paper will have their subscriptions dilied by the new paper.

The first issue of the new Notional Socialist will be dated July, but will reach all subscribers not later than June 28th Send your subscription at once to The National Socialist, Girard, Kan.

"Alque confernce met at Berne re-Socialist, radical and liberal lead-

The postofice department of New South Waies has gone into the fruit business. Those requiring fruit can buy a coupon at any postofice to the value of the fruit desirved inclusive of carriage and by a centralized buryan of information, consumers trailised buryan of information, consumers can obtain through government aid. Truit at much choaper prices than otherwise. Of course the middlemen bave raised a howing lagalast it, but the success of the venture is

At the general elections to the Danish house of commons the Socialists made large gains as they flow have 32 representatives out of 114, a gain of eight. The Socialists and radicals now control the house. The conservatives have lost 19 members. At the present time the great land owners through a privileged system of voting control the Danish house of lords. The present greatment decided to change the sand troi the Danish house of tords. The present government decided to change this and the roters at the election even went beyond the liberal party and elected a very radical majority, pledged to a universal suffrage for men and women.

Cases Dismissed.

Case against Warren and Phifer. Case against Debs, Warren and Sheppard. Case against Mother Jones. Cases against sixteen union men in West

Virginia.

The dismissal in the federal courts of so many cases against Socialists at this time and under the attending circumstances proves beyond doubt to the honest mind that the federal courts and largely federal officials have been in a conspiracy with corporate interests to subvert justice and oppress the people. The government now stands in a pitia-ble attitude. Nothing but the indomita-ble courage of the defendants in these cases and the uprising of their loyal friends has made the courts lie down in their purpose. We can well under-stand from this fact how many thousands of honest citizens have been crushed and crucified in this country in the name of justice to promote the money power. It should require no fur-ther evidence to teach every voter that the indistries must be freed at once from the control of private corpora-tions. No political party can much longer maintain power in this country that a mits that great wealth in private hands is a necessity to carry on public business. Public ownership of public of public necessities is coming and the old parties must adopt some very advanced ground in this matter of Socialism will be the winning party in a few years. In fact, it is amusing to see how expert the old parties are, even now, in adopting socialistic ideas. The Appear is doing a great work.

Brownsville, Texas.

Life as it Really is

A Woman's Chance.

AM a poor, uneducated girl, not a subscriber to the APPEAL because I am not worth the subscription price.

My health is too poor to do the work
I can get to do. Therefore, I am dependent. I am uneducated. est desire of my life is denied because poor working people have no chance for education and enlightenment. I am not a member of the Socialist party. I was born and raised in a state where few rights are granted to women, and to talk politics or to have a political opinion is considered unwomanly. But I have been reading the APPEAL and trying to find out what Socialism is. Though it is too deep and broad and grand for my shallow brain and untrained mind to comprehend. I can see in it a great hope for the millions of working people who are struggling for working people who are struggling for existence. In the future, under Socialism existence in the future, under Socialism.

I can see equal privileges of fife granted to all, the chance to grow and develop physically, mentally and intellectually. The people will be free from poverty, because they will not be robbed of what they produce. I can see the same right to live granted to woman as well as to man and she will not be kert down.

to man and she will not be kept down I can see real marriages—a union of heart and soul and not a ceremony per-formed just to give to one party the right to use the property of the other. heart and soul and not a ceremony can see girls go where their hearts selves for food and raiment. I can see for everyone alike life and real life and the privilege of enjoying the earth and its resources. I can see less crime,

fewer murders, fewer suicides, because I believe almost every crime can be traced to poverty as a direct or indirect Socialism has no more bitter enemy than the man who, though he may be a joying the wealth that belongs to the worker now, is waiting and hoping for a chance to become an exploiter of want, who are starving both mentally labor.

But it is poverty that keeps us ignorant and ignorance that keeps us poor.

Perhaps I have not found the language that an educated person would have to express my sentiments. But I want to add my testimony to that of thousands of others—that wherever it Socialism will bring new hope to the working people. MARTHA BAKER.

Socialism will bring new hope to the working people. Martha Baker. Strongele. Martha Baker. Strongele. Summer N. Curits. 67 years old, an electrical engineer, lost his position and, unable to find work committed suicide. Seven striking moulders of Erie, N. T., were fined 3888 by a plute judge. The president of the International Moulders under the cort of the court of

What One Stray Copy Did.

Me. Fred D. Wurren, Girard, Kau. : There has fallen in my hands a copy of APPEAL and I am much pleased with it.

There are many thousands of men in the United States just like our new found of friend Gallimere. The circulation problem of of the APPRAL would be selved if all of our of the APPEAL would be selved if all of our friends would make it their duty to pass their copy of the APPEAL on to some of Duinth is asking for a municipal coal stranger. It is nothing short of a crime to; yard—"even if you do can that Socialism." allow the APPEAL to lie around the house unused. Let each one of you who reads this paragraph resolve to do the circulation of this paper by passing your copy after you have read it on to someone else. Do this, comrade. It is of the utmost im-

This little paper is opening the eyes of honest and well thinking West Virgunians. The grafters knock. Keep up the light—W. A. Miller, Martinsburg, W. Va.

The Progressive Woman, the only Socialist woman's paper, is making a special summer offer of six months for 20 cents. Address, 5445 Dread avenue, Chicago. Comrade J. W. Commury, Kewamer, Di., sends in money order for \$8 for 28 forty-week substand one four-year sub. He received two Arsenai of Facts as premiums. Find enclosed order for 500 copies of No. 914. The special edition No. 911 was a hummer and sure made west Varginia sit up and take notice.—A. R. Stevens, Omaha.

Here is a bunch of thirteen for two bours' work. This is my first try out at getting subs and they are all young men who are witting to be shown.—J. H. Varey, Martin, N. D.

Martin, N. D.

Enclosed find 35 for 1,000 APPEALS to
be sent to West Virginia. Our branch is
small, but we want to help all we can on
the firing line.—Mrs. N. Meler, secretary
Socialist party, Pittsburg, Fa.

I am most happy to send congratulations to you and the other comradus for the splendid results of your long and plucky fight. I am enclosing two dediers to hope send the Arraat to West Virginia.—T. R. Reynolds, Salem, Occ.

Comrade Jno. A Cooper, Columbus, Ind., sends in \$3 for 12 sub cards and says: "I am up and coming. You will hear from me again. Get a man to take the APPRAL and then let up, the APPRAL will do the rest. Then go after another." The recent victories of the Appeal, the freeing of Mother Jones and the expose of the dynamite planting by the plates in Lawrence are events that should eucourage every Socialist to hostie. Enclosed find check for six four-year subs.—Will C. Aylsworth, Portland, Orc.

"I have been a little slow responding to your call, but am glad to say I have not been idle as you will note by the skry names below, for which I enclose money order for \$15. I secured these skry sob-caster than I secured four three years ago," writes E. S. Brown, of Montpeller, this.

I must congratulate you on the grad John Kenneth Turner articles on the con-ditions of the coal mines of West Virginia The publicity you have given of the law less coal barons-is the greatest service yo can render the oppressed coal miners of can render the oppressed coal miner; that state.—W. A. Savage, Amsterdam that state.—W. A. Savage, Amsterdam, O. Find enclosed S.1, for which place me on for four years. It will help lust this little keep up the finth in West Virginia. And here is where, of all places, we need the little old AFPRAL. I tell you all West Virginians have a warm spot in their heart for the AFPRAL.—L. E. Caster, Pt. Pleasant, W. Va.

I am enclosing \$3, for which put me the APPRAL list for four years and send balance in sub cards. You need the most the people need the APPRAL and as a put

want, who are starving both mentally and physically, whose lives are one unbroken struggle for existence, I wonder that the poor people don't come together at once and demand their rights and show their masters that they will no longer be trodden upon.

Had I the money and education I would spend the rest of my life in trying to teach the working people sense enough to keep what belongs to them. But it is poverty that keeps us ignorant

The Old Guards.

For five years I have traveled all over my county and distributed the APPEAL. I am 70 years old and have been in every reform move and done all I could to arouse the people to think. I am not now able to do much for the APPEAL, but with God's help I will continue to do all I can for the years to come.—John Gholson, Atlanta, Texas.

News of the Movement

Anyone knowing the whereabouts of E. Perkins will please inform L. M. Wells, tmorr, Kan.

J. W. Pairchild and other Socialists of Green Forest, Ark, have started a Socialist group at that place, each owning his eva-land.

Inne.
Local San Francisco, Cal., is conducting
la lively campaign. Among the speakers
f, will be W. F. Ries, Ben P. Wilson, I. Stitt
... Wilson, Margaret Moore and Comrades
c. Kick and Mcken.

Alex Noott, editor of the Weekly Iseno, a Socialist paper in Paterson, N. J. has been convicted on the charge of adding and abottler hostilities to the government of Paterson. The prosecution grew out of Scott's defense of the strikers in Paterson.

Ben Wilson at Tonopah

A telegram from Comrade J. F. Davis, Tenepah, Nev., reads as follows; hundred sub cards sold last night at the Wilson meeting. Great success. Local here congratulates you on your selection of Ben F. Wilson to represent ti paper on earth-the APPEAL TO REASON.

HER FORTUNE IN SILK STOCKINGS I had been worried almost to death y debt, and am so thankful to be free, that I want to tell others, how I succeeded. I heard of a woman making \$8.00 per day selling Silk Stockings, and decided to try the business. I have cleared as much as \$26,00 in one day progressive people, who want money.—Elizabeth Carmichael.















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MAGENTS \$25 TO STE & WEEK PATENTS SECURED OR

AGENTS PORTRAITS S. FRANKS

June 14, 1913

Half Minute Talks

BY THE BOOK MAN have a numb, of surprises in stor for our book circulators; we are now ar-ranging with some of the best writers in ement for a series of 32 and 64 page pamphlets that will be new and right up to date; within a short time we will lets that can't be beat. For the present we will not attempt to print anything but uniform size, 16, 32 and 64-page pamphlets,

We have on our shelves about 3,000 copies of "Why the Church Opposes So-cialism," by Fred D. Warren, and on ac-count of the back cover pages carrying our eld book list, containing the names of a good many books that we are not now in position to supply, we are going to put these opt for less than postage and cost of printing 100 copies for one dollar.

The Magyar, a Story of the Social Revolution, by Alexander Irvine, is an intenselinteresting parrative based upon the au thor's personal experiences in the stockades and other hells of Alabama. There is a love theme running through the story that love theme running through the story that holds the reader's attention from the first to the last page. The book is cioth bound about 100 pages) and the regular price is \$1.50 The APPRAL book department has abour 250 copies of this book which will be mailed, postpaid, for 75 cents a

It is Your Turn Now

West Virginia can be made the lead-West Virginia can be made the leading Socialist state if not the first to elect a Socialist governor and state legislature. No part of the United States is so pregnant with possibilities as that great mining state of the east. In West Virginia, the majority of the people are workers—miners and mechanics. In West Virginia, the majority of its in-labitants are native American citizens habitants are native American citizens—all have the vote.

It stands to reason that after an or-

deal such as has been endured by the West Virginia workers under both re-publican and democratic administrations publican and democratic auministrative will naturally rally under the Socialist banner. The working people of that state well know that the only party that has championed their cause in the recent class war was the Socialist party. Instinctively they turn to us, and we must prepare to lead them to emanci-

pation.

And to achieve industrial and political freedom education is absolutely necessary. So now is the time to begin to train the wage slaves of West Virginia in Socialist thinking. This education must not be spasmodic. It must not be of a day. The work should be thorough and regular. And what is better than the Appear. to do this very work? than the APPEAL to do this very work? APPEAL is known to the West fought their battles. But thousands of fought their battles. But thousands of them have only read an occasional copy of this paper. They do not get it regularly. Having suffered the tortures of want and starvation it is unlikely that they will spend part of their pittance—the first they have received in more than a year—for the purpose of getting the APPEAL. But in order that West Virginia shall be in the political control of the working class we must devise of the working class we must devise some way for the circulation of the APPEAL in that state.

Apprai, in that state.

How shall this be done? There is only one answer. The workers outside of West Virginia must assist in this work. The West Virginia workers have faced thugs and gnmen. They have sacrificed nearly everything in their brave right for freedom. But what have we? Will it be much of a sacrifice for those outside of West Virginia to stand the cost of sending the Apprai to four the cost of sending the APPEAU to four tighters in that industrial battlefield for one year each? One dollar from you oue year each? One dollar from you and the other fellow—and a great political victory in West Virginia is in sight. But you must not depend on the other fellow. Each West Virginia triker did his share of the fighting Will you do yours?

THE THREATENED PANIC.

The press announces that wall stree came nearer being in a panic the past week than at any time since 1907.

Wall street ought not to have any influence whatever on America, but under capitalism it does. The whole priexactly that result, for the papers re-ported that it was precipitated because of threatened radical legislation.

The Aldrich-Vreeland currency bill expires in 1913. The masters of the money are anxious to substitute in its

do what he threatened to do metaphor-ically and hang a few of these unspeak-able criminals "higher than Hamaan" he will stop this crime before it is con-

In the meantime it is well to get ready for the coming storm. Take your money out of the banks and put it in the postal savings banks. It may be that then you can get it when you want it.

Subscription Insurance

We offer you a life insurance policy insurance subscription policy for a five-dol-lar bill. This policy will save you worry. conserve your health and prolong your days. And during all that time, regular And during all that time, regular as clock work, the APPEAL will reach you

THE wage worker lets the master divide up his product among many

A WORD, BROTHER!

thoroughly aroused in this nation that the United States senate, the highest deliberative body in the land, was forced to turn the light on dark and bloody West Virginia in spite of the angry protest of the all-powerful mine owners. have a list of Socialist vote making book- protest of the all-powerful mine owners, who until now have successfully set all authority outside of themselves at defiance!

But for an awakened public con-science this action never would have been taken and the crimes against the workers of West Virginia would have In this work of quickening the public

conscience the APPEAL thanks to the Army behind it, has had a commanding Who that loves his fellow-men, hates

iniquity, and dares to battle for the right, is not glad when the people awaken to the danger that menaces their liberty, gird on their armor and go forth to battle for the cause of righteousness!

Each and every member of the Ar-PEAL Army may justly felicitate himself and herself upon another signal victory achieved in the war of the masses against the power of mammon.

But to the Army workers a victory

achieved is but the means of achieving the next and the next and so on and on until finally the victory of victories has been won and the human race is To each brother and sister of the

AFFEAT Army I extend my hand in greeting and good cheer. Another glow-ing page has been added to the record ur achievement. Another supreme test of your fidelity has proved you true. And now shall we gather fresh And now shall we gather fresh strength while we rejoice together and

Remember, my brother, that all these engagements are but the skirmishes which precede the battle of the titans which must be fought and won before this world is given to liberty and light Gird on your armer, ye faithful war-riors, and go forth once more to cheer riors, and go forth once more to cheer and to conquer; to carry the messenger of light into dark places where misery and despair are; to awaken the slum-bering many and quicken in their veins the current of life with the clarion cry of Emancipation!

DID THEY?

Did the republican party send a committee to West Virginia to help the striking, struggling, starving miners when their leaders were in the bullpen and their families were assaulted by the thugs of the mine owners?

Did the democratic party send a committee to West Virginia to investigate conditions and to demand the release of the imprisoned strike leaders?
Did the bullmoose party send a committee to West Virginia to back up the

striking miners in their fight to secure

a living wage?
Did the prohibition party send a committee to West Virginia to demand the abolition of martial law and of the bullpen in which honest workingmen herded like cattle for daring protest against the crimes of the mine

Did the citizens' party, the non-partisan party, the good government party, or any other party you can think of, send such a committee to West Virginia the single exception of the cialist party:

Say, brother, which of all these par-ties always goes to the rescue when the workers are attacked; which of these brother, which of all these parparties is in fact the workers' party and which are the workers duty bound to support on election day?

ON WITH THE FIGHT.

While the reports seem to show that the workers of West Virginia are to the workers of West Virginia are to enjoy a respite let it not be forgotten that capitalism in all its hideousness that capitalism over that state. All the state that kind of a government will ever be created so for the benefit of the people, in fact as well as in theory, until it is created by the people themselves.

And to create that kind of a government will ever be created as the people in fact as well as in theory, until it is created by the people themselves. still reigns over that state. All the workers there have gained has been ment in white the people, the whole merely the rights of free speech, free people, shall be supreme, in a democand free assemblage. These are merely weapons to fight for political and economic freedom. In themselves they

are abstract rights.
Governor Hatfield's promises of form have been wrested from him. vale banking system is so rotten that a little flurry can precipitate a panic which may be disastrous to millions. The fact of the business is that this observed. But only the continued agitation. until a Socialist sits in the governor's chair in Charleston, W. Va., and a Socialist legislature passes the laws of that state can we feel that a real victory

is worth while is ever fully paid for. No work that is worth while ever responds the incentive for gain. The mother will toil for the child, sacrificing sponds the incentive for gain. The mother will toil for the child, sacrificing ber comfort and health for it, without thought of financial rememeration. The man who has a great picture or a sublime idea in his mind desires only to present these things to the world. It is the crude and gross who will look at everything through the eyes of gain.

Did you ever stop to think, Mr. Worker, that those who control the government, both state and national, that make and enforce the laws under which you work, are put there by your vote? The governor who orders out the militia to feed you bullets when you are out on strike for more bread is but

incentive to toil, but when the joy of service will produce better results than the dollar can possibly secure.

STRANGE that Father Pompeney never thought to condemn the landlord as the enemy of the home.

Is ignorance could win the world of city to be divided there and gets back "divide up" his product among many profit takers and as a result gets only a little bit of it.

If ignorance could win the world of workers would have been free long ago. It is time you began to study.

"The Anvil Cho us"

have the same minds, the same needs, the same desires as the average man—same as you. And what converted you to Socialism will convert the blacksmith. Help the Appeal convert the village blacksmith, and thus help yourself. It is a wholesale plan of propaganda—this plan of sending the Appeal to all the blacksmiths. It sweeps the country from one end to the other, penetrating the remotest the other, penetrating the remotest corners of the nation. Not a spot missed. And the spots, too, that are usually overlooked because inaccessible in the ordinary methods of propaganda. Dig up that old dollar bill and send it to the Appeal and give the little converter a chance to talk to four brawny sons of Vulcan, and to their customers and neighbors, also.

THE THREE IN ONE

The APPEAL is in receipt of a letter criticising it for calling profits the cause of our evils. The writer of this letter, summing up the bonds of the trusts and the various debts of the nation, states and municipalities, shows that the interest on these things, which must be paid, is the basis of an enormous tri-bute, perhaps greater than that which comes direct from profit. The contention is not worth quarreling over. Ad-mitting the tribute of interest, after all it is only a portion of the profit system. The tribute is levied off of the toilers in the way of profits in the industries indirect there and in the nation, direct in state and city. When the profit sys-tem is ended and collective ownership of industries succeeds then mecessarily bonds and stocks will pass away and the tribute of interest will cease. In addition to the tribute of interest there s another tribute which is fully as great-that is, the tribute of rent. Landordism controls today more than 40 per cent of the farms and houses occupied by the workers. The tribute of rents is probably greater than that of interest, yet rent itself is only a part of the profit system. When the profit system is ended home ownership will be the profit system. When the profit system is ended home ownership will become universal for all who choose a permanent habitation. For those who do not there will be provided public homes and lodging places that will be det at cost. This will mean an end of the tribute of rents. Profits interested the tribute of rents. Profits, interests and rents are all parts of the capitalist system. They are a trinity in one, and the name of the false god worshipped by many is Profits.

TRUSTS AND TRUSTEES.

Government is a trust, and the officers of the government are trustees; and both she trusts and the trustees are created for the benefit of the people.—Henry Clay.

The class which at present rules this government has a different idea than Henry had about trusts and trustees. It is quite true that government is a trust and that public officials are trustees, but this has never had more than a theoretical application in any country, ancient or modern, on the face of the

The government under which we live by a select few of the aristocratic and commercial classes who had, generally

speaking, precious little faith in the in-telligence of the people or in their ca-pacity to rule themselves.

This government was established not for the benefit of the people, but for the benefit of the class, the ruling class. which lives out of the labor and subju-

gation of the people.

No government will ever be created

international Socialist movement.

"WHAT TO READ."

The leaflet advertising books in opwork of the Appeal, and the Socialists franked out by republican and demo-The fact of the business is that this observed. But only the continued agitation of the working people of West Virgorial that result, for the papers reported that it was precipitated because of these outside of the state ported that it was precipitated because of threatened radical legislation.

Lynn, Mass., wrote to H. T. Rainey, a congressman from Illi of the transportation lines of Mexico. They might just as well own them.

Diaz was overthrown because he had follows:

Your circular, "What to Read on Social-ism," at hand. I would like to read those five-cent and ten-cent anti-Socialist books, but the shoe factories are dull in Lynn and thousands of shoe workers are at work." On with the fight! Let us carry West their scheme without the sanction of law, just as they did in 1907.

Nothing could be more criminal than this forcing of a panic. The killing of ap individual even in the most diabolical way is a little crime compared to that. This will mean the starvation of thousands upon thousands of innocent women and children. If murder deserves hanging these brokers who precipitate this panic ought to be hanged a thousandfold. If Wilson will actually do what he threatened to do metaphorically and hang a few of these works.

On with the fight! Let us carry West but the shoe factories are dult in Lynn and thousands of shoe workers are at work are three are 27,000 gas meters tide that there are 27,000 gas meters tide that use has year, more than 2,200 empty there are 27,000 gas meters tide that Lynn. Mr. Ratuer, will you please answer why this is so to the only of controlled by the republican party in the starvation of thousands of innocent women and children. If murder deserves hanging these brokers who precipitate this panic ought to be hanged a thousandfold. If Wilson will actually do what he threatened to do metaphorically and hang a few of these works. Capitalists insist it is so even though as in this so even though as in this formal with the government at less than one-fourth that salary.

This is another exemplination of the cipitate this panic ought to be hanged a thousandfold. If Wilson will actually do what he threatened to do metaphorically and hang a few of these works. Capitalists insist it is so even though as in this force in the man dependent of the time and then each other thousands of shoe workers are and thousands of shoe workers are at until 1.9 na and thousands of shoe workers are at until 1.9 na and thousands of shoe workers are at until 1.9 na and thousands of shoe workers are at until 1.9 na and thousands of shoe workers are at until 1.9 na the shoe factories are dult in Lynn and thousands of shoe workers are at until 1.9 na the shoe was until the nation with the

he Rockefeller institute, preferring to comain with the government at less than one-fourth that salary.

This is another exemplification of the fact that financial gain is not the only incentive to work. Capitalists insist it this letter, even though some of them this letter, even though some of them were written by anti-Socialists, will, if were written by anti-Socialists, will, if the letter is plutocracy. New incentive to work. Capitalists insist it is so even though, as in this case, a man prefers his work to more money for services that would not be so congenial to him. The fact is that no work that is worth while is ever fully paid for. on Socialism.

We offer you a life insurance policy which will protect you against missing an issue of the Appeal for the rest of your natural life. The premium is very low. For five dollars the Appeal insurance you against any expirations. No matter how roung or old you are, no matter how strong or weak you are, we issue a life insurance subscription policy for a five-dollar incentive to toil, but when the joy of the world. It is vote: The governor who orders out the militia to feed your bullets when you have ment of your own raising; you made him governor. You can change all this whenever you wish; you've got the votes, but it is but the plain truth to say that up to date you collectively haven't proven that you had the brains insurance subscription policy for a five-doll incentive to toil, but when the joy of the crude and gross who will look at the militia to feed your bullets when you are out on strike for more bread is but are out on strike for more bread is but he militiat of feed your bullets when you are out on strike for more bread is but he misting are out on strike for more bread is but he misting are out on strike for more bread is but he misting are out on strike for more bread is but he misting are out on strike for more bread is but he misting are out on strike for more bread is but he misting are out on strike for more when you can change in the world. It is. to use them in your own interests. As long as you send your masters to con-gress and the legislature you must ex-pect them to make all the laws in their own interests, they would be fools to do otherwise. Get wise.

only a small portion of what he sends away.

Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas

Watch the Vote Grow



As this system has given you so lit-tle, why should you be so anxious to defend it? As Socialism promises you

Ask Your Neighbor

. A. Wayland in APPEAL, 1898.

he thinks he has sense That is direct legislation.

HOW many express companies are the right number to have and just why his particular number on no account

IF he has heard about the govern ment raising an army to avenge the death of the men who were massacred in West Virginia. And if not, why not? WHY, as a class, the people who actu-ally produce all the world's wealth are while those who do not even assis

n the production have nearly all of it IF the man with the most capital and the best machinery can produce goods cheaper than the fellow without how will it take to run all the little fellows out?

WHAT is the difference whether he has to work half the time for some feudal lord without pay or has to give up half the crop as tenants have to do in this country?

WHAT freedom he has if others have the power to put the price on his necessities and on his wages or prices on his crops? At what point does freefom end and slavery begin?

IF it is the titled personages of Europe who keep the people poor or is it is not the industrial lords who own the land and machinery who keep then poor just as it is in the United States them WHY the rich and powerful are al-ways advocating laws for the protection and benefit of laboring men when they are continually reducing wages and raising the food the poor devils have to buy

IF he ever heard of a poor man bribing a court or legislature and if such things are ever done if they are not done by the plutocrats to get more advantages over the people so they can make more out of them.

IF the price he pays for goods does which the store is located, and the more stores the more he and his fellows must pay for rent. Then ask him if the price pay for rent. postage includes rent for the postffice capital.

IF there is any oppression in the world, who does it and who are the oppressed and what are the methods adopted. And if the majority here and abroad are oppressed if the majority cannot compet the minority to quit if they were to mite politically. they were to unite, politically.

IF he can point to a single instance in which a public official ever increased the products of his hands (not the pay but the products) by so much as a load of bread. And if he has not had to give many loaves to them for really doing not good but harm.

IF land to put his feet on is not as essential to life as air to breathe and that if it is right to sell land if it is not right to buy and sell air. If both are natural products, not representing human labor, why should men have to buy the use of them from men.

IF the poor who live in houses and pay rent do not furnish the landlord with the money that pays the tax and thus indirectly but none the less surely ment in which the people, the whole people, shall be supreme, in a democtacy of self-rule, is the mission of the not enable them to make the tax out of their tenant.

WALL STREET WINS.

Ar nouncement is made that New position to Socialism which is being York City capitalists have at last loaned the Huerta government in Mexico cratic congressmen is stirring the So- \$100,000,000 on account of the national cialists up. Bernard W. Gedney, of railways of Mexico. This gives the

refused Morgan of the steel trust con-cessions of this nature. Madero was unable to get a loan sufficient to enable

tatorship, inspired by plutocracy. New York capitalists—not Huerta—are the victors.

LIGHT on the dark places brings right to the wrong places.

The Pull of a Dollar

To many a dollar does not look like eing capital. It is just enough to spend. but not enough to do business with. the APPEAL bowever, a dollar is capital When you send us a dollar for a four years' subscription or for four individual subscriptions you do for us what J. P. Morgan & Co. does for the steel trust when it furnishes it with millions of dollars' capital.

When you and other friends of the Ap-

PEAL send us a four years' subscription you furnish us with a surplus which gives us the means with which to send special writers to places where light and belp is THE farmer sends his product to the for Socialism as a quarter. Do you get the polit? This is why we ask you to join the 1916 club—the fellows who will got their APPEAL for four years.

Vote Gains in Otisville

sts fought the combination in Los An-geles, the showing made is truly remark-able. It is a demonstration of the solidarity of the Socialist vote In 1910, many of you will remember, the APPEAL contributed the funds to send 13.000 subscriptions to Los An

geles. These names were put on the APPEAL's list for two years. You must be the judge as to how effective these papers were in bringing about the glori-ous results achieved at the last elec-tion. The fact that the vote grew more rapidly in Otisville than in any city in California, speaks well for the APPEAL as an educator. I do not believe any APPEAL Army comrade regrets what he contributed toward this fund.

Another example of what can be done y the APPEAL's wholesale methods is ound in the election returns for Craw-ford county and the Third congressional district. The vote is as follows:

For four years every voter in Crawford county and the majority of the
Third Kansas district have received the
ADPEAL TO REASON. Most of these sub-APPEAL TO KEASON. MOST Of these Sub-scriptions were paid for by the APPEAL Army. The results as shown by the figures quoted above are ample justifi-cation for the faith these comrades who contributed the money have in the AP-PEAL as an educator. A red card So-cialist occupies all the important posi-tions in Crawford county. The same gain made during the two years follow-ing 1913 that was made in the two years prior to that date will swing the district into the Socialist column

cialist congressman to Washington. What we have helped to do in Los What we have helped to do in Los Angeles and Crawford county we want to do on a larger scale in West Virginia. Just as Crawford county was captured by the Socialists, so in a like manner will some state be captured by the Socialists. West Virginia offers the best field for Socialist propaganda at this assirular moment. this particular moment.

LEARNING THE LESSON.

It is not many years ago that pick pockets and robbers were popularly supposed to be low-browed, shabbi'v dressed and altogether bum-looking persons. Then there came a revelation. It was found that the expert and efficient shoplifters, purse-snatchers, porch-climbers and confidence men were really ntelligent and well-dressed people capa

ble of making a good appearance.

This had scarcely soaked into the slow minds of the thoughtless when it slow minds of the thoughtless when it began to be whispered that there were thieves in office; that the supposedly good and great who had been elevated to high places were not invariably as conscientious as was believed. It took many years for a generation of dipes to verify this suspicion, but they are learning. They are also getting a few lessons in the more important fact that the former completely overshadows the

We have learned that there are ordithieves in shabby clothes, that are ordinary thieves in good there are clothes, that there are respectable thieves in office, and we are just be-ginning to learn that the biggest thieves of all are the respectable business men who bribe officials and hire the nary criminals to do the coarser part of their dirty work.

When this lesson is impressed, the cause of crime and rascality will not be looked for exclusively in the slums. It will be looked for among all classes and be found in the social system that is based on robbery and which rewards men according to what they get without consideration of how they get it. When the absurd veneration for the

mighty is exploded, like the other re-spect of the long ago for people who were well-dressed, it will dawn on the millions that all men are made of the same kind of mud and that when all of them show the same symptoms of graft the disease is a social malady rather acted anywhere in the game. than a personal peculiarity.

Then it is to be hoped that the vic-

then it is to be noped that the vic-tims of the system that has tainted everybody will be ready to overthrow the system and establish something bet-ter in its place. It is not expected that the well-dressed wholesale thieves will take much interest in a change, for the present arrangement is good enough for

let well enough alone.

It is the victims of the system who will change it, not by putting individuals in jail, but by putting everybody to work.

HIS RESPONSIBILITY. Whenever a capitalist arises to say

serving the needy public. If the capto buy, but which the collieries and railto buy, but which the collieries and rail-roads are unable to furnish. It looks as if the time is near when the capi-talists should be relieved of their re-sponsibilities and the people take over these industries under their own man-agement; and if the dear people get dis-crested enough perhaps, they will

the APPEAL about it, giving the full name and particulars. Facts in regard to the mistreatment of soldiers and other forms of military despotism should also be sent to the APPEAL.

(?) of the supporters of the "old" in their mad effort to stay the oncoming of the "new."

Farming Under Socialism

HE farming industry has been more Late news from Los Angeles tells us of the splendid victory of the Socialists in the election held last week. The highest vote for city council stands as follows:

Anti-Socialists 42,000
In the primary Job Harriman was been more last century than any other on the last century than any other on t shoes, the grinding of grain, and even canning and preparing food for mar-ket, as well as the packing of meat, have been transferred from the farm to

The tendency toward a change is not at an end. It is only a few years since "book farming" came into vogue, and already it is being recognized that those who study soils and crops from a scientific standpoint make more efficient farmers than those who do not. As a result the farm expert is being hired by many large land owners and in many

counties by the people themselves.

Half a century ago it was declared that "Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm." Now more than a third of the farm land in America is operated by tenants, while the price of land is increasing by leans and bounds more increasing by leaps and bounds, more than doubling in the last ten years. This tendency will, no doubt, increase within the next few years. It means that a comparatively few will be able to own farms of their own. The only way they farms of their own. The only wa can farm will be as tenants, as hands, or through some form of ized farming. This is one of the that is going to force the idea of state, county and municipal farming on the

because they can't see into the future. Some believe that the big machinery will develop into syndicate farming, and out of syndicate farming will come natura'ly socialized farming. Others con-ceive the idea that small tractors and simpler machinery will he'p the other might be termed truck gardening, or owned and controlled by the collectivity orcharding. It is quite likely both will grow, but which will predominate renains to be seen. Somewhere beyond all this will come

socialized farming, or farming under government supervision, in which the land is owned by the whole people, the workers being employed by the govern-ment and doing the work under direc-tion of skilled professionals. The change will probably be just as gradual as that which has already revolution-ized farming, and when it comes it will be so natural that the farmers will not realize that they have passed through a revolution. It is quite likely that, for many years, both socialized farming and private farming in a small way will prevail and if socialized farming wins it will be because it meets the approval of the farmers themselves ing more satisfactory, and giving better returns. A great many apparently find it diffi-

cult to conceive what socialized farming

could be. In various nations of Euwould be. In various nations of Eu-rope there are what is known as munic-ipal farms, the city owning the land in large bodies. It hires its idle workers to cultivate the lands paying them a high union scale of wages. The prod-uct belongs to the city and is marketed in public markets so that the city fully uct belongs to the city and is marketed in public markets so that the city fully remunerates itself. Some seem to think that socialized farming would mean the setting aside of small tracts to be alloted to individuals and that some therefore, would receive better land than others. Socialized farming, on the contrary, is not divided farming. It is farming in a body, something after the model of the municipal farms referred to above. There might be classifications of work, such as gardening, cereal raisof work, such as gardening, cereal rais ing, orcharding and things of that kind, but, while there would be division of work, there would be no division of under such conditions; and a mar would have access to the land without purchase, without the buying of any ma-chinery, without danger that crop failure would decrease his returns. If please, socialized farming would be much like syndicate farming with this change: Instead of a few individuals owning the farm, as under syndicate work, and conducting it for their profit, the whole people would own the land, undivided, and it would be cultivated for the benefit of all, the farm workers receiving returns, in all probability, far greater than they do now, while goods would be sold cheaper than at present being no profit ex-

As already indicated this socialized farming will probably come so naturally farming will probably come so that it will not be realized chance is in progress until it is accom-plished. During all this time private farming, as it is today, will probably remain, but private farming will disanpear, if it does at all just as private packing of meat disappeared before the larger packing houses, merely because it is found to be less satisfactory than socialized farming.

"REFORM" SOCIALISM. Those would-be teachers who write

learnedly of "reform Socialism" would do well to take a few lessons from some something in regard to his relation to clear-headed Socialist before they go commerce and industry he talks of his further in exposing their glaring ignoresponsibility and of his mission in rance. There is no such thing in extains of industry have a mission it is pression comes from the same kind of material means of life are supplied to those who need them or at least to such as are able and willing to pay for them. And, supposing we take these professions of the industrial captains who think that the so-called state Soin all seriousness and with full faith cialism is not Socialism in any sense. and credit how are the owners of the coal fields and the owners of the rail-roads to explain their responsibility to the people who will go cold this winter for lack of coal that they are willing phrases that reform Socialism is a gross phrases that reform Socialism is a gross perversion of language as well as logic. All reforms are of, by and for the ex-press purpose of reforming the capital-ist system and for this reason-could nossponsibilities and the people take over these industries under their own management; and if the dear people get disgusted enough perhaps they will.

If you know the case of anyone who has been punished for desertion from the United States army please write the APPEAL about it, giving the full name and particulars. Facts in record

I had a day off and I thought the best way I could put in the time was getting subscriptions for the little old APPIAL-Here's a first of thirty which I rounded up without much troube. If all the boys would do likewise we would swamp the office. One of my subs, Mr. W. G. Brown told me to put him down for four years, and also to tell you he had voted his last g. o. p. ticket. All I ask them to do is to read the paper, and I will guarantee that the old birth mark will disappear. A few doses of the remedy will do the work.

Thus writes I A Metal commands of Thus writes J. A. Wetzel, comrade of the social revolution in the little town of Jane Lew, W. Va. This is but a sample of the many letters coming from West Virginia. Pretty close to a mil-lion copies of the APPEAL have been circulated in that state during the past weeks. And some happened-notably the doors opened and the comrades con-fined in the bullpen were released. That is the mission of the APPEAL—to set the captive working class free, not temporarily, but for all time! Such is the power of the APPEAL and its Army of workers that judges, district attorneys, governors and presidents bow to its in-fluence. Give the APPEAL a million subscribers and I will show you things you never dreamed of! And the subscribers can be had for the asking. One hour a turn the trick.

CAPITALISM'S DECLINE.

There are all about us the sure signs of capitalism's decline. The limits of its expansion and growth have been reached, its evolutionary development is complete, and it is now entering upon its last stages.

No more can the capitalists control the vast social productive forces; no more can they keep the workers em-

Ployed.
The social forces which now control production are in conflict with private ownership and are incessantly demand-ing social ownership.

The industries of the future, having

been transfermed into a vast co-opera-tive productive mechanism of contitionary forces can prevent the social-ized industries from passing into socialized ownership.

Capitalism came when feudalism was outgrown and now Socialism is rapping at our doors because capitalism is out-

With the coming of Socialism will end the poverty that starves and de-stroys the bodies and souls of millions, and the race will enter upon a new era of freedom and civilization.

FORCING THE TRIBUTE.

The Frisco railroad has gone into the hands of a receiver. The men who managed it found it impossible to pay dividends and interest on a the bonded indebtedness and the watered stock that has been forced on the road by the juggling manipulators. The road, therefore, was thrown into the hands of the government, so that the United States government, so that the United States might become responsible to the bond holders, and if there was objection to decreasing the wages of the workers, so as to pay the dividends and inter-est, then the government, being in con-trol, could call the strike a rebellion and shoot the workers down. This is what shoot the workers down. This is what the receivership means, and it is likely to be followed by similar receiverships

on many other roads.

It is a significant fact that the former president of the Frisco railroad, B. L. Winchell, was made the head of the receivers under the government control. He who had failed to make the road pay on watered securities was continued pay on watered securities was continued in office, knowing that with the government to back him when cuts were forced he could win. The government has simply gone into partnership with the masters in order to force profits.

HYPOCRISY OF THE SYSTEM The press reports that girls who wrap Fairy soap and pack Gold Dust Twins compound in boxes declared on the witness stand that they had spent their lives in St. Louis without ever having had a chance to visit Forest park. So small are their wages that even pennie are counted and there are not enough left on Sunday morning to pay carfare to the park. There are hundreds and to the park. There are hundreds an even thousands living in St. Louis under

The company that makes these articles advertises. "Have you a little Fairy in your home?" This is the way they treat the children.

They advertise, "Let the Gold Dust Twins do your work." It seems that they are making the girls do their work. these conditions.

they are making the girls do their work and reducing them to a condition of abject slavery. But that is capitalism. If they don't do that someone else would. It is "business" under the present system.

In opposing the eight-hour law Illinois, employers openly threaten, if it is enforced, to pay starvation wages or else leave the state. This brazen defi-ance of justice and decency on the part of the beneficiaries of the capitalist system is the strongest argument of the incompetence of a system of exploita-tion to deal with industry. Instead of being permitted to leave the state the employers should be jacked up and their factories confiscated to be run by the state in the interest of the whole people.



The John Whitman case will be called next Monday, June 9th, at Pittsburg, Kan. (just as this edition goes to press). This is the case of the crippled French miner for whom we are trying to secure some compensation for injuries sustained eight years ago. His back was broken by a descending cage in the mine in which howorked. For two years the company promised a settlement. But no settlement was made, and after the two years limit had expired and John could not legally bring a suit, he was turned adrift with his broken back, his wife and twe children. The APPFAL Legal Department will undertake to show that he was defranded of his rights by faise promises. To cheat a man out of property by faise promises is a kernel to setallish the principle that to cheat a man of his legal rights by faise promises is likewise a ctime. On this principle the case will be fought by the APPFAL's legal counsel, J. I. Sheppard. Opposed to him will be the cleverest atto neys the coal company can buy. So far the Legal Department of the APPFAL hasn't lost a case, and we don't propose to lose a case noise. In the meantime, Comrade Sheppard is enrolling many of our readers as students of his law course. If you are interested, you should write to the APPFAL Legal Department, Fort Scott, Kan., for particulars