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 Number of new subs for week ending Aug. 8th 10,142
 Number of expiring subs for week ending Aug. 8th 4,271
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Total number of Subs for week ending August 8th 323,044
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Appeal to Reason.

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 J. A. WAYLAND
 FRED D. WARREN, Managing Editor
 Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., August 22, 1908

LOOK at the yellow address label, and note No. 665 the number following name. If it is your subscription expires with the next number. You should renew at least three weeks before your subscription expires so that you will not miss any numbers.

No man is great enough or rich enough to get this paper on credit or for a longer time than paid for. It is published as an advocate of International Socialism, the movement which favors the ownership of the earth by ALL the people—not by a PART of the people.

BRIBERY OF LABOR UNION OFFICIALS.

AS announced in a previous issue the Appeal has for some time been gathering evidence to convict a corruptionist and bribe giver who for some years has worn the badge of organized labor and has been prominent in its councils. We have reference to Major B. B. Ray, of Chicago, and we are now in position to expose this miscreant and to put an end to his nefarious operations among organized workmen.

As far back as 1894 Ray was already under suspicion when he acquired some prominence in the American Railway Union. It was freely reported even then that he was a wolf in sheep's clothing and doing secret service for the railroads. But in spite of this he was in high favor in certain circles and under the patronage of the railroads he continued to take a more or less active part in union affairs.

To give him the necessary standing he must be a member and wear the union badge and so he joined the Order of Railway Conductors, to which he still belongs. When a banquet is given at which railroad officials are the honored guests Ray is the master of ceremonies and when a committee of railroad employees is to be sent to Washington to protest against a rate bill or other legislation affecting the railroads, the deal is engineered by Ray.

When a wage reduction is proposed or there is any indication of trouble between the employees and the corporation Ray is always the handy man for the railroads and is much in evidence until the trouble has blown over.

In 1900, eight years ago, Mr. Ray organized the Railroad Men's Republican Railway League and was very active in that campaign in securing the railroad vote for the republican ticket. For this service he was rewarded with a political appointment which he still holds. He was made paymaster in the army

through the influence of Mark Hanna.

In the campaign of 1904, four years later, he again established his political headquarters at Chicago and revived his political organization of railway employees for the support of Theodore Roosevelt. Ostensibly he was a paymaster in the army, but as a matter of fact he was simply a political tool and decoy duck of the republican politicians, whose duty it was to steer the railroad employees into the republican chutes at election time and between elections to serve the railroads in preventing adverse legislation or in enforcing wage reductions, and all this time the Major, as he is called, wore his union button and paraded himself as a leader among union men.

Something like a year ago Ray was assigned to Philippine service in the regular course of the army assignments, holding the position of paymaster and the rank of major. Persons assigned to this service are supposed to stay in the Philippines three years, but he was ordered back after having served only about six months, and as soon as he arrived in the United States he was given leave of absence so that he might make himself useful in securing first the nomination and next the election of Mr. Taft.

Ray promptly set to work in his chosen field after having been supplied with a roll of banknotes with which to accomplish his purpose. This purpose was to bribe and corrupt the leading officials of the railway brotherhoods and others, and have them use their influence to secure the nomination for Taft.

We now propose to show that he did his infamous work and that if justice were done him he would today, instead of wearing a major's uniform, be in stripes in a state prison.

But before going farther we wish

to say that it is not alone to expose Ray that the Appeal has entered upon its task, but to show that Ray's work of bribery and corruption was done in the interest of William Howard Taft and that the money for that purpose was furnished by that gentleman or his wealthy brother.

The very spirited rivalry for the republican nomination is still remembered. Taft shut out all his competitors by means generally understood, but not much commented on by the capitalist press. After the nomination was secured the statement was published in the Associated Press that Charles Taft, of Cincinnati, the multi-millionaire brother of the candidate, had spent \$280,000 to secure the nomination. Whether this be the correct amount or not we do not know, but we do know that money was freely used for corrupt purposes and that it could have been furnished from no other source. Major Ray and others like him certainly did not spend their own money in setting up the pins for Taft.

The point we make and wish to impress upon our readers is that the nomination of Taft was procured by purchase and corruption and that a special agent in the form of Major B. B. Ray was employed to go among union officials and buy their influence and support, in the fight for Taft's nomination. This is a bold statement to make, but we make it without reservation, and having the proof to support it we challenge successful denial or contradiction.

To proceed with our indictment: It was in April last, two months before the republican convention, that the report came to us direct that Major Ray was making the rounds of labor officials and union men and buying and bribing such as were purchasable to support Taft for the nomination. On April 30th Ray went to Buffalo and on the evening

of that day met Frank T. Hawley, grand master of the Switchmen's Union, at the Iroquois hotel, by appointment. Major Ray confidentially submitted a proposition to Hawley looking to Hawley's support of Taft for the republican nomination. Hawley answered, saying that he was opposed to Taft and could not support him. Ray then told Hawley that he, Hawley, was a d—d fool, that other "chiefs" had already been "fixed" and were in the Taft band wagon and that he, Ray, would see that all the others got aboard. When bidding Hawley good-by Ray handed Hawley a letter and hurriedly left. When Hawley opened the letter it was found to contain \$50. Hawley was very much exercised over the matter and at once took M. R. Welch, grand secretary and treasurer of the union, into his confidence, turning the money over to Welch. It was at once agreed to return the bribe money to Ray and this was done without delay. Below follows a description of the application for the draft which was sent by Welch to Ray:

The Third National Bank
 Of Buffalo, N. Y.
 Buffalo, May 2, 1908.
 Draft Wanted by M. R. Welch
 In Favor of Amount.
 Major B. B. Ray, \$50.00
 This draft procured by National Currency Bond of B. 3785386 fifty dollar (\$50.00) bill No. 5325 E Bank of Pittsburgh National Association.
 W. F. Beckel, W. A. Shaw,
 Cashier, Pres.

The bribery thus attempted failed in the case of Mr. Hawley, but for some reason no exposure of the infamous transaction was made at the time. What the object could have been in keeping it quiet and thus permitting Ray to continue his work of debauching union officials we are

unable to say. It is our opinion that the exposure should have been made then and there. But since this was not done it is not too late to turn the light on now.

Now the question arises, who employed Major Ray to buy union officials to plug for Taft's nomination? Who furnished the money? What business has an army officer putting in his time as a dirty ward-heeler? How many other union officials were bribed or attempted?

This last question is of vital importance to all the high officials of the present railway brotherhoods. Ray gave Hawley to understand in their interview at Buffalo that he had "fixed" the rest of the officials and that he, Hawley, was a fool for not taking the money as the others had done. According to this, the high officials of the several railway brotherhoods fell victim to Ray's blandishments and filthy lucre. We cannot and do not believe that this is true as to all of them. It may be, and doubtless is, true of some of them. Those who are free from guilt ought to have no suspicion attached to them. Under the circumstances they can do no less than avow their innocence and repudiate Ray. Ray has the standing of a United States army official and a prominent member of the Order of Railway Conductors. According to his statement he "fixed" these grand officers of the railway brotherhoods and they cannot lightly dismiss such a grave imputation upon their honor.

That Ray did use the money with which he was supplied, undoubtedly by Taft, through his agents, to procure his nomination in the manner we have stated we are prepared to prove beyond doubt. The grand officers of the Switchmen's Union are ready to make affidavit to the truth of every essential statement herein made.

It now remains to be seen to what

extent this work of infamy was carried on among union officials and in the circles of organized labor to procure Taft's nomination.

To sum up, the results of the attempted bribery herein exposed warrant us in charging:

First, that Judge Taft, through his political managers, purchased his nomination with corruption funds used to debauch labor union officials in consideration of their support and that a nomination so procured ought to be repudiated at the polls with scorn and indignation by every honest man regardless of his political affiliations.

Second, that Major B. B. Ray, of the United States army, according to his own statement, bribed and corrupted and bought outright certain labor union officials in the interest of William H. Taft; and that such an officer ought to be promptly tried and removed in disgrace, expelled from the union he has used to carry on his nefarious practice and treated as a base traitor to the working class he has so foully betrayed.

Finally, that it is the duty of the grand officers of the several railway organizations to insist upon an immediate investigation of Ray's statement that he had "fixed" them and that he had them securely seated in the Taft band wagon.

We have presented this matter to our readers in the briefest possible form and without unnecessary detail. We still have a considerable amount of material evidence in regard to Ray's crookedness in other deals, especially in collusion with one S. M. Fitch, a trusty pal, also a member of the Order of Railway Conductors and a corporation tool, who first came into notoriety by scabbing and doing all kinds of dirty work in the strike of the American Railway Union. This precious pal recently organized an "Industrial Bureau" at Chicago, where

they were to deal in labor suckers, but so notorious had they become and such indignation was created by their bold manipulations that Taft had to publicly repudiate them and declare that he knew nothing about their operations.

It was only after these crooks became known, however, and only after they could no longer deliver the goods, but on the contrary, their support had become positively damning, that Mr. Taft turned them down.

During the past eight years the republican party has had the full benefit of their corrupt machinations in the ranks of organized workmen. The republican party knew precisely the kind of criminal work they were doing and rewarded them for doing it, one of them with a position of rank and emolument in the army—although he had never smelled powder—and every self-respecting workingman who has heretofore voted the republican ticket will feel himself outraged if he belongs to a labor union to know that the party he has been supporting has been deliberately and methodically defiling its leaders and debauching its trusted representatives, as far as they were corruptible, by establishing an agency and commissioning adept crooks who wore union badges to render that unspeakably vile and reprehensible service.

The Appeal in exposing these scoundrels has rendered the labor movement a distinct service and all it asks is that workmen who have been deceived and betrayed by these methods, and those responsible for them, shall hereafter refuse to blindly follow self-appointed leaders or support capitalist party tickets to their own economic disadvantage and moral degradation, and stand up manfully in support of that party and those measures only which express their true interests and are committed to their emancipation.

SARGENT DENOUNCES TAFT.

[Frank P. Sargent, who is now commissioner of immigration, with headquarters at Washington, was in 1893, when the strike occurred on the Toledo, Ann Arbor and North Michigan railroad, grand master of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. It was during that strike that William H. Taft, then on the bench in Ohio, nominated Sargent as a republican candidate for president, issued the first of his crushing labor injunctions, and as one of the results Sargent, who was leading the firemen, narrowly escaped being sent to jail by Taft.

Naturally Sargent regarded Taft as an arch-enemy of labor for issuing such a decree, and he has ever since been a zealous defender of his position. He wrote an article denouncing Taft which was published in the May issue of the North American Review for that year. That article is herewith reproduced, that working people may see how Mr. Sargent regarded Judge Taft when he was a labor leader and threatened with a prison sentence by that despotic judge, who is now the republican nominee for president of the United States.

From Washington he press dispatches from Washington have reported Mr. Sargent as saying that Taft was friendly to labor, and that he proposed to give his support to the coming campaign.

Little comment is necessary. There has been no change in Mr. Taft. There has been a very decided change in Mr. Sargent. In 1893, as a labor leader, Mr. Sargent denounced Taft as a cruel despot; in this year, 1908, the same Mr. Sargent, as a republican office-holder, appeals to the working people to elect the same Taft president of the United States. Strange, indeed, what a petty office will do for some men. In his heart Mr. Sargent knows that Taft stands today where he stood fifteen years ago, but for the sake of his meagre of political position he is compelled to stultify himself by appealing to workers to elect the man he knows to be the implacable enemy of the working class.]

IN the case of the strike on the Toledo, Ann Arbor and North Michigan railroad, which occurred on March 8th, every precaution was taken, and every movement on the part of the members of the order was

deliberate and lawful. There was not an instance of insubordination; nothing turbulent or seditious. Men had appealed to their employers, like men, to have serious and grievous wrongs redressed in a manly way, as become good and law-abiding citizens. They had been over-worked and under-paid. Their employers had violated contracts and had subjected them to outrageous treatment, and mocked at their complaints. Their pleadings and protests had availed not, and when endurance and patience had ceased to be virtues, when all efforts to find redress had utterly failed, then, and only then, did they strike; only then did they assert their manhood, their rights as citizens and abandon their work, preferring idleness and the sacrifices which idleness entails to the degradation which injustice and insolence force upon the unresisting.

The strike on the Toledo, Ann Arbor and North Michigan railroad had no extraordinary features, but the interferences of the United States judges have given it national prominence, and if the dictum of these judges is to stand as the law, the dearest rights of the citizen are swept away and an autocracy is established. This view of the situation is not strained, but is strictly in consonance with the avowals of the

press throughout the country. The questions of law involved are fundamental and are commanding, as they should command, the best thought of the nation. It has hitherto been conceded that railroad employees possessed all the rights as citizens which attached to the employers, that is to say, that if employers possessed the right to discharge employees, when it pleased them to exercise such authority, the employees also possessed the right, unchallenged, to quit work when they elected to exercise that right. If a judge of the United States court may abolish this right of an employee, he remands him, unequivocally, to a servitude as degrading as the Spartans imposed upon their helots, and it is this phase of the strike which has aroused such intense concern and alarm.

It will not be expected that I should enter upon a discussion of the legal points involved; at best I can only voice the sentiments of a body of law-abiding men who have been trained by their organizations to respect laws and the decisions of courts, and who find themselves suddenly reduced to the condition of peonage by the decision of a United States judge. The learned judge, in his decision, finds it convenient to omit all reference to the

duties of railroad magnates, and devotes all his attention to employees, intimating to them that, having sought employment upon railroads, they have become, by some legal hocus-pocus, a part of its machinery to remain during the pleasure of their employer. In handing down such a judicial opinion, the judge seeks to bury out of sight the inalienable right of a railroad employee to liberty and the pursuit of happiness. If an engineer, he is welded to the throttle of his engine; if a fireman, he can lay down his pick and scoop only when his master gives him permission. The interstate-commerce law is invoked, it is true, and the whys and wherefores of the boycott are involved, but the judge, disdainful to be exact, gives employees to understand that once becoming engineers or firemen, they part with their rights as citizens and are links in a chain gang of railroad employees, because they are in some sense public servants, and the exercise of the prerogative to quit work is productive of inconvenience. But it will be observed that no reference is made to public needs or inconvenience, when an official, without notice or warning, at his own sweet pleasure, discharges an employee.

It has been suggested that a rail-

road employee, when he accepts service, enlists—something after the manner of a private soldier in the regular army of the United States—placing himself under the control of officers, from corporal to the commander of the company, regiment or division, and therefore can neither quit nor resign, but is held by some mysterious power recently discovered by a United States judge. True, it may be, that neither railroad men nor the public profess to understand clearly what the judge means, but the best efforts that have been made to comprehend his declarations lead to the conclusion that they restrict the rights of employees and indefinitely enlarge the rights of the employers. For myself, I do not regret that a United States judge has forced upon public attention questions of such acknowledged gravity. The time has come for workmen to know if they have rights which the courts are bound to respect, or if these rights may be at any time abrogated to meet the demands of corporations or the combined capitalist power. The United States judge at Toledo has started the controversy, and I desire to have it proceed until the unquestioned rights of railroad employees, if rights they have, are established, as also the rights of their employers.

It is asserted that railroads become common carriers, but are unable to perform their obligations without men. They must have men, and it should be stated they must have engines, fuel, water, steam, tracks, etc. The locomotives and equipments can be purchased and become the property of the road, but they are useless without men, and these, once secured, the general manager, speaking as if by authority, intimates that they become fixtures, because without them, as without engines, the obligations of the railroads cannot be performed; such is the newfangled logic relied upon to reduce railroad trainmen to machines, to do the bidding of masters with authority conferred by a United States judge. In at least one notable instance a United States judge has shown his utter contempt for a sovereign state and the laws made in conformity with the constitution, and has sent county officials to prison because they would not disregard their oaths and obey his mandate—and it will readily be conceded, if such a high-handed outrage can be perpetrated and the judge remain unimpached, that a judge may, with equal impunity, subject railroad employees to autocratic indignities. Such acts on the part of

judges may lead to a movement to define the limits of judicial power, since, if it is far-reaching as I have indicated, the demand to know the worst will grow in emphasis until worst is known, and the present is as favorable a period as will ever occur in the history of workmen or of the country for adjustments and readjustments.

The language of the judge, it would be prudent to say, creates general alarm; like the phenomena that precede cyclones and earthquakes, it presages other troubles, compared with which the Toledo strike will be insignificant.

Fortunately, it is held that the court has assumed authority which it does not possess; that its dictum is extra-judicial; that it does not possess the authority to reduce men to machines or to a commodity; that rights acquired by revolution, war and legislation cannot be crushed and overthrown by a district judge at his pleasure. But it so happens that while men debate such propositions, embodying self-evident truths, the court, with an iron grip, holds freemen in bondage, and the victims are as powerless as when, under another exhibition of power, men were sold at the auction block.—Frank P. Sargent in North American Review, May, 1893.

The labor commissioner of New York reports 36 per cent of organized labor idle during the first quarter of the present year as against nine per cent for the same period in 1906. Labor ought to be grateful for this vacation.

"We are coming in better times. We have had eighteen months of unnatural times. We have not lost anything but the froth created by speculation and this we don't want here," says E. H. Harriman, as he takes in another railroad system.

It will be pleasing news to the several million work people who are at present out of jobs or working on reduced time, to read that work is plentiful in the United States navy yards, and that Uncle Sam is working overtime preparing war material and battleships.

U. S. Treasury Finances.

For the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1908: Receipts (to Aug. 11th) \$48,303,672 Expenditures (to Aug. 11th) \$4,878,952 Deficit (to Aug. 11th) \$43,424,720

How is this for "safe and sane" public financing? Ask your republican editor or congressman if these figures are correct. He'll have to admit they are true. Then, watch him squirm!

"The reign of Roosevelt is over. His 'eat-'em-alive teeth' have been drawn by the system's expert painless dentist. His papier-mache battering ram, which made echo for his war whoops, has crumpled up against the hard yellow metal bulwarks of dollar boards."

This is Thomas Lawson's public opinion of the man he lauded to the skies but a short time ago. His fulsome praise of the big stick at that time was nauseating. Thomas is a gay deceiver but he has about reached the end of his rope.

How rapidly the master class is shrinking in numbers is shown by the fact that of the 20,000 royalist families that existed in Europe six centuries ago, only sixty-eight remain. The same eliminating process is going on among the capitalists of America. Today there are not over 1,000 capitalists of America that really count as such. It is coming rapidly when the multitudes will refuse to be longer enslaved by these very few parasites.

Napoleon said that there were six world powers—France, England, Russia, Prussia, Austria and the London Times. The German Kaiser adds one more to the list—Socialism—and he knows.

A chance for genius—Socialism.

Bryan's paramount issue this year seems to be campaign funds.

All the victims of war are as nothing to the victims of commercialism.

Reverence for precedence is worship of the past—the worst idolatry of all times.

It is as easy to cut water into slices as it is to bring justice under the present system.

Bryan has been saying nothing so industriously that he might change his farm program and saw wood for awhile.

All law is socialistic in intention, because it nominally applies alike to all people. It is capitalism that is unsocial and destroys individuality by creating individualism.

President Roosevelt refused to receive the suffragist leaders who recently tried to gain access to him at Oyster Bay. They were stopped by secret service men and turned back from the sacred presence. Women are of no value to that pretence of a man except to breed workmen to be shot.

A Campaign Document.

Here is a bit of paragraph printed in the Kansas City Journal of August 11th which is respectfully submitted to the republican campaign committee as an item of interest to the millions of workmen who will solicit this fall. It might be said in this connection that what occurred at Camden, N. J., on August 10th is by no means an isolated case, as the columns of the daily press testify. The article in question is as follows:

UNEMPLOYED FIGHT FOR JOBS.

Fifteen Hundred Answer Advertisement Calling for Four Hundred Men.

Camden, N. J., Aug. 10.—A large detail of police had considerable difficulty in controlling about 1,500 men who had answered an advertisement issued by the John Campbell Company, workmen in the crowd which responded to the call were many former employees of the company, and these were given precedence in their desperation to being the favored ones, the other men fought among themselves, using bricks and stones. Four arrests were made and a guard was placed around the factory.

Among the little things that count are votes.

A Kansas City man, during a rain storm, held his cane up in order to keep the rain off. Ten to one he was a republican voter.

Republican and democratic papers have been making a concerted fight on the paper trust. As a result the price of print paper has just advanced 10 cents per ton.

Some London hoodlums have actually been convicted and given short prison terms. But it cost the city \$60,000, which was more than the other fellows got away with.

Otto Von Notberg, a former newspaper man of New York, is out in a pamphlet, in which he charges that "Mr. Roosevelt was greatly responsible for the Spanish-American war through his jingo conduct when assistant secretary of the navy." Then he adds: "In his innermost heart Roosevelt is a ruling Socialist, while he poses as the originator of the ten commandments." Is it possible that Socialists have to hear this? It is all right for Teddy, but tough on Socialism.

Mr. Taft said in a recent interview: "The difficulty is in the advantage (in the securing of justice in the courts) which the wealthy man has in the employment of counsel, and that he is able to afford the expense and await the result of protracted legislation." Then he adds: "There is no absolute remedy." But Socialism has an absolute remedy. It is found in the expression from the Socialist platform that reads: "The free administration of justice." The trouble with Mr. Taft is he does not want a remedy.

There are now nearly fifty thousand dues paying members in the Socialist party. It is by far the largest number the American party ever had. There is greater activity in the Socialist ranks in the United States, and the thousands of meetings being held are attended by more people who are more enthusiastic than ever before. These are tongues of events that speak of better things.

Arrangements are already being made for the inauguration next March, on a scale grander than has ever before been seen. This is, in effect, an announcement of whom the monied interests intend shall be inaugurated. The voting masses don't count beside the business interests.

All the creatures who were ever sacrificed to idols will not begin to equal in numbers the human sacrifices to the god of profits through the operations of the machine.

It is so easy. Lay by a dollar a day for some 3,000 years and you will be worth a million dollars. Lay by a dollar a day for 350,000 years and you will be as rich as Mr. Rockefeller.

Mr. Bryan has shown his opposition to trusts by selecting Moses Wetmore a magnate in the tobacco trust, as head of his committee on campaign contributions. Mr. Bryan may not be safe, but he certainly is not insane, this year.

There are many small towns in the country that are kept perpetually impoverished because, in the hope of avoiding bankruptcy for wife and children that may be left when the breadwinner dies, the workers pay out all they can save as premiums on fraternal insurance. The figures, if they could be produced, would be enormous. It is merely another tribute exacted by this system. Under Socialism, when the making of a living becomes merely an incident, it will be foolish to provide against risks when there are no risks against risks when there are no risks

HOW IT GROWS!

Number Subs
 Second week in August, 1906... 222,468
 Second week in August, 1907... 306,769
 Second week in August, 1908 323,044

The gain of 5,274 this week is striking evidence of what the Appeal Army can do when it rolls up its sleeves and goes after subscribers. In making our calculations we should not forget that something like 4,000 of this gain is due to bundle subscriptions. Eliminating the bundles we have a net gain in yearly subscriptions of over one thousand. Nearly every state shows a gain which means that the comrades from one side of the continent to the other are at work.

Keep this fact in mind; the Socialist vote in the past has been just double the circulation of the Appeal. As the Appeal's circulation moves up our vote increases. A half million subscribers will make a million votes this fall a certainty. This is a very conservative estimate. Personally, I believe the vote will be much larger because of the powerful economic forces which are unconsciously boosting this movement on and upward.

The rapid change now going on in the minds of men, in most cases unconscious to the persons themselves, is one of the striking phenomena of the present epoch. And while this change is taking place in men's minds is the very time we should place within their reach Socialist literature. Every Appeal Army comrade should be supplied with a weekly bundle of as many papers as he can distribute to good advantage, for this purpose.

State	Of	Reason	Total
Oklahoma	272	654	24,784
California	385	2,023	22,489
Texas	313	807	20,425
Pennsylvania	262	643	18,870
Missouri	242	420	16,752
Ohio	243	209	16,510
Kansas	243	224	15,637
Illinois	260	970	15,706
Washington	159	588	13,205
Indiana	100	269	11,298
Arkansas	138	146	10,084
Michigan	109	217	9,909
Minnesota	126	227	9,390
Iowa	140	189	8,705
New York	111	185	8,854
Colorado	122	149	7,508
Oregon	86	123	7,193
Kentucky	73	101	5,856
Massachusetts	82	93	5,281
Manchusetts	89	111	4,951
Virginia	62	141	4,580
North Dakota	42	53	4,178
Wyoming	43	54	4,117
Florida	91	167	4,012
North Carolina	83	36	3,947
Canada	126	83	3,745
Arizona	24	24	3,745
Louisiana	64	44	3,521
Tennessee	121	111	3,985
New Jersey	28	22	3,009
Alabama	59	87	2,873
New Mexico	57	74	2,849
Idaho	103	78	2,443
Oregon	29	29	2,443
Foreign	6	19	2,089
Maine	23	17	1,762
Virginia	19	15	1,629
Georgia	12	15	1,518
Maryland	12	16	1,274
Connecticut	15	17	1,504
Utah	24	24	1,250
Nevada	64	11	1,051
New Hampshire	14	24	864
South Carolina	19	11	719
Delaware	4	6	478
Rhode Island	2	11	594
Alaska	26	23	554
Dist. of Col.	4	5	290
Montana	11	7	235
Total	4,574	10,148	323,044

New subs for week ending Aug. 8... 10,148
 Renewals for week ending Aug. 8... 4,574
 Total for week ending Aug. 8... 14,722
 Total for week ending Aug. 15... 14,722

Lawson to the Front.

Thomas W. Lawson has again taken the public into his confidence and announces a new stock jobbing deal by which "the people" are to come into their own. He tells his friends to buy and to buy liberally. He says stocks are going up. He is now employed by the big interests because, as he says in his advertisement of August 10th, "The system needs my help." It is immaterial to him that on his last deal, down as Yukon Gold, his dupes lost millions of dollars, he gaily asks them to come into the parlor once again. "This time," says Thomas, "I will put you in possession of the secret by which you can obtain for yourselves the seventy billion of stocks and bonds now held by the system." He fails to explain that the bulk of these stocks and bonds were bought last October with the government funds, and prices are now being boosted skyward and at the right moment they will be unloaded. After this unloading process another panic will strike the country and prices will go down to last October's level. The system will then proceed to buy back these same stocks at considerably less than half. The same operation will be repeated indefinitely unless Socialism, in the meantime, steps in and takes possession of the great industries which are used as a basis for these stock jobbing deals.

During the month of August the Appeal will accept single subscriptions at the rate of 25 cents per year. This will give every friend of the paper a chance to pick up one or two and then send them without setting up a club as provided by our regular published rates. Like our immediate and see if you cannot pick up one or two and forward them without delay. I feel pretty certain if you will start you won't stop with the one or two, but will find it so easy and so interesting that there will be a club of ten or more. Nevertheless, send in the one and it will be welcome.

FOR THE BIG CAMPAIGN.

APPEAL TO REASON, Girard, Kans.

Find enclosed \$ _____, for which send to the address below _____ copies of the Appeal to Reason for two months.

Signed _____

P. O. Box or St. No. _____

City _____

State _____

25 copies each week, 2 mos.	\$ 1.00
50 copies each week, 2 mos.	\$ 2.00
100 copies each week, 2 mos.	\$ 4.00
200 copies each week, 2 mos.	\$ 8.00
500 copies each week, 2 mos.	\$ 20.00
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The man with the hoe may raise wheat, still he is not the man with the dough.

A certain campaign orator remarks: "The future has great things in store for the workingman." Yes. Hell, probably.

Another evidence that times are growing better is the fact that Emperor Williams' salary has been raised to \$3,000,000 a year.

If the salaries of railroad presidents was split up and divided amongst the telegraph operators they wouldn't be so blamed many wrecks.—Abe Martin.

The Labor Commissioner of Minnesota speaking of the supply of farm hands in the northwest remarked recently that 1,000 would be "lucky if they found jobs." How does that sound to you? Do you wonder there are tramps?

Are Socialists opposed to religion? No, but they are very much opposed to those bay-windowed preachers and priests, who, not content with waxing fat on widows' mites and workmen's pennies, have entered into an alliance with the capitalist class to plunge those simple workmen who trust in them into deeper subjection and more misery.

Since the Bill clubs are making merry with the injunction, an addition to the game has been made, which might be termed progressive injunction. The fourth degree was played in Nowata county, Okla., recently, where a judge heard a petition for an injunction while being shaved and had the barber stop long enough to enable him to sign the writ. If the Bill clubs win you will doubtless see signs everywhere reading, "Injunctions while you wait."

Thomas W. Lawson, says that after 20 years of active plotting, scheming, and maneuvering he now proposes to place in the hands of the people the power to destroy and bankrupt the system that now "controls the ballot box, creates presidents, harnesses the senate and congress, directs legislation, manipulates courts, dictates the law, regulates the prices of necessities, and makes the American people so many dumb beasts of burden." Sounds familiar, Tom; mighty familiar.

Would Socialism break up the home? If one's home is the place where most of his or her time is spent, Socialism might break up those factory homes where thousands of children put in from twelve to sixteen hours out of each twenty-four. It might also break up those brothel homes where so many women sell their souls to prevent starvation of their bodies. The other kind of homes are being broken up by capitalism so there is little opportunity for Socialism to do them much damage.

At a horse-race you would have more confidence in a horse whose speed was rapidly increasing than in one losing ground at every lap, would you not? In Mr. Bryan's second race he lost 144,792 votes. In the last election, 1904, the democrats still further lost one million two hundred and eighty thousand votes. Now in 1906, the Socialists polled 36,274 votes. In 1908 Comrade Debs multiplied that number by three and two-fifths, polling 127,533 votes. At the last election he received 442,402 votes, again multiplying the Socialist vote over three times! Get behind a live issue!

Taft, from "free" America, drank the health of the world's arch murderer, the czar, at St. Petersburg; President Fallieres, of the French "republic," "visits" with the same despot at Vera; Roosevelt sends at public expense a cable of condolence from "me and my people" to the scrofulous end of a serf-slaves and degenerate Portuguese dynasty, whose vices would shame Sodom; and now we hear that the British king and the German emperor give each other the soul kiss at Cronberg. Verily do our abominations multiply and well may we wonder what sort of a trick Harry Orchard and Governor Buchtel will "turn" when Harry is on the green again.

I have more sympathy for a fool than I have for the rabbit-hearted Socialist who proclaims that it is impossible to elect the Socialist ticket this fall. He should remember that the political weather changes very suddenly sometimes, as it did in the election of Lincoln in 1860 on the republican ticket. The republican party was organized in 1854, and there was scarcely a baker's dozen of them and very "undesirable citizens" were they. They put forward their first candidate, John C. Fremont, in the election of 1856 and at the next general election, 1860, elected Mr. Lincoln over the compromisers. Certain it is that we will never win until we say we can. "Make two Socialist votes."

Are Socialists unbelievers? There are some things that we believe and some things that we don't believe. We don't believe that any one man or any set of men carry the key to heaven around in their vest pockets, and are authorized by the most high to keep you in hell during this life, and out of heaven in the next. We don't believe that some men are predestined to slavery on earth, even if compensated afterward with a golden harp and a starry crown elsewhere. We do believe that the man who labors should be rewarded here and now with the full value of what his effort produces—no more and no less. And we have faith to believe that he will get it in time, notwithstanding the adverse sophistry of hypocrites.

Do Socialists believe in dividing up? Yes, they insist on dividing up the necessary work and casting the two-legged parasites to do part of it. They are willing to divide up the "nobility" that attaches to labor and let those who are now idle have their share of nobility and work. They are willing to divide up the responsibility of feeding, clothing and housing the race, and give those who have been so busy spoiling champagne and roast duck a job where they may produce the equivalent of what they consume. But, of course, those who get fat without it don't care for that kind of a divy.

In England, in normal times, there are 40,000 tramps. It is this standing army of idlers which enables the masters to keep wages to the point where profits are possible. Without them capitalism would collapse within twenty-four hours.

Socialism is not a dream. It is an awakening.

The Record of the Democratic Party. The Record of the Republican Party.

[Platform of the Republican Party, Adopted at St. Louis, Mo., June 18, 1896.]

The 1908 Republican Platform As It Should Read.

The Democratic Administration.—For the first time since the Civil War the American people have witnessed the calamitous consequences of full and unrestricted republican control of the government. It has been a record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor and disaster. In administrative management it has ruthlessly sacrificed indispensable revenue, entailed an increasing deficit, asked out ordinary current expenses with borrowed money, piled up a public debt of \$282,000,000 in time of peace, forced an adverse balance of trade, kept safe and hid the income tax, and reversed the long-paved American credit to alien syndicates, and reversed all the measures and results of successful republican rule. In the broad effect of its policy it has precipitated panic, blighted industry and trade with prolonged depression, closed factories, reduced work and wages, halted enterprise and crippled American production. Every consideration of public safety and individual interest demands that the government shall be rescued from the hands of those who have shown themselves incapable to conduct it without disaster at home and dishonor abroad, and shall be restored to the party, which, for thirty years, administered it with unexampled success and prosperity. And in this connection we heartily endorse the wisdom, patriotism and the success of the administration of President Harrison.

The Republican Administration.—For the third time since the Civil War the American people have witnessed the calamitous consequences of full and unrestricted republican control of the government. It has been a record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor, and disaster. In administrative management it has ruthlessly sacrificed indispensable revenue, entailed an increasing deficit of nearly one million dollars per day since July 1st (\$64,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905), and paved American credit to the Morgan-Harriman syndicates. In the broad effect of its policy it has precipitated panic, blighted industry and trade with prolonged depression, closed factories, reduced work and wages, halted enterprise and crippled American production. Every consideration of public safety and individual interest demands that the government shall be rescued from the hands of those who have shown themselves incapable to conduct it without disaster at home and dishonor abroad, and shall be restored to the party, which, for thirty years, has been carrying on an unceasing agitation for a better social system—the Socialist party.

Obscene and Inflammatory Language.

The Appeal has to be very careful or it will be accused of sending incendiary matter through the mails. But the Rocky Mountain News, of Denver, because some one dared to criticize the saintly Guggenheims, gets on its hind legs and brays loudly, vociferating:

"The cowardly bastard who wrote and caused to be printed that dirty, lying circular about Senator Guggenheim should be caught, and, after presenting him with real nice suit of fur and feathers, he should be thrown into a red hot furnace. Let the proper official find him and turn him over to the old 'vig' committee, who will rid the community of him without a cent of expense to the taxpayers."

This editorial friend of law and order, who advocates murder in his paper because a notorious capitalist crook has been criticised, will not be punished. Oh, no. He belongs to the "desirables." He froths at the mouth almost as badly as the hooding mayor of Milwaukee, who, having been exposed by the Socialists, seeks to establish his innocence by using expressions like these—words that are of course in no sense obscene and inflammatory: "To h— with the Social-Democrats!" "Lousy, snarling curs." "Lousy, sneaking, cowardly, contemptible, damnable curs." "These unspeakable, despicable leeches on the body politic." "A coterie of blood suckers." "Contemptible dogs of pirates." The most respectable gang ever permitted to breathe the air.

It does make some people mad to be found out. But the robbers and murderers of the people must take their medicine, just the same.

The Strange Case of Senator Fitzpatrick.

The fight which Kansas made against the Standard Oil company is now a matter of history. "The spirit of '76," which the Kansas City Star proclaimed as being rampant in Kansas, has subsided and no more do we hear the patriots of Kansas howling against the Octopus.

Readers of this paper will remember that at the time the Appeal took occasion to point out the inevitable result of the sham battle being waged by the politicians against the Octopus. It will be remembered that suddenly the fight against the Standard Oil was dropped and nothing more was heard of it.

And now comes the sequel. With the facts which follow in your mind, you will understand clearly just what the Appeal tried to tell you at the time. A dispatch from Coffeyville says:

W. S. Fitzpatrick, of Sedan, a member of the state senate in 1907, has become general counsel for the Prairie Oil and Gas company, of St. Paul, Kan., and Standard Oil. He went to New York last month and there signed a contract to work for the oil company, for the sum of \$25,000 per annum. In the Kansas senate, in the last two sessions he was president of the senate. In 1905 he was one of the members who championed the state oil refinery. He introduced the bill for establishing it and obtained its passage.

It is a favorite trick of the Standard Oil company to bribe those men who are making a fight against it with a fat job. The more vigorous the fight the bigger the salary. I don't blame Fitzpatrick. The pathway of the reformer is strewn with rocks and thorns and the people soon forget. Not so with the Octopus. Once it takes a man into its folds, it takes care of him generously.

Miners' Struggle in Alabama.

A letter to Mother Jones, in care of the Appeal, written by a man on the ground from Birmingham, Ala., says:

"The miners' strike is in full swing. The mines are pretty well tied up, despite the efforts of a subsidized press, a corporation-owned governor and all the sheriffs and guards. I have been among many miners, but these poor devils have been getting it worse than any I ever saw. After working steadily for years, the majority are in debt to the company, and yet have lived in miserable cabins and often eaten food scarcely fit for dogs. They were required to load from 2,400 to 3,500 pounds for a ton, and every imaginable injustice was heaped upon them. This is the Solid South, and if Sam Gompers continues to attempt to turn over the American Federation of Labor to the democrats, he should go the whole hog and come down here and serve as a guard for the corporation he defends."

Do Socialists believe in dividing up? Yes, they insist on dividing up the necessary work and casting the two-legged parasites to do part of it. They are willing to divide up the "nobility" that attaches to labor and let those who are now idle have their share of nobility and work. They are willing to divide up the responsibility of feeding, clothing and housing the race, and give those who have been so busy spoiling champagne and roast duck a job where they may produce the equivalent of what they consume. But, of course, those who get fat without it don't care for that kind of a divy.

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Red War in Alabama.

There has been no formal declaration of war, but the clash of arms is heard in the south and blood is flowing in Alabama. Blood of the working class, of course; the only blood that is ever shed in any conflict between oppressor and oppressed.

The strike of the miners in and about Birmingham amounts to bloody war. The cause of it traces back many years, and can be easily surmised. Reduction of wages to the starvation point, and any shanties to live in, and truck stores to trade in, tell most of the wretched story to those who know anything about the mining conditions in that slave-ridden state.

The miners have been robbed by as conscienceless a gang of freebooters as ever scuttled a ship or stabbed a victim in the back. The story of shameless robbery which has been perpetrated by the mining corporations upon these workmen would fill a large volume, but there is not time nor space for it. Besides, there would be but little that is new in it. It would be but a repetition of the old story. The only difference is that Alabama is several shades darker than even Pennsylvania or West Virginia. And this means that hell itself has been discounted in the mining camps of the democratic south.

Not only have wages been reduced, but check weighmen have been displaced and company agents do the weighing and rob the miners by paying them for but half the coal they mine.

Starving, despairing, their wives and children in rags and subsisting upon crusts, these miners, members of the United Mine Workers, present a spectacle to make the heart stand still. Inch by inch they have been driven downward until they are on the very verge of damnation. The marvel of it all is their patience. That they have not long since risen in revolt is due to their crushed spirits and the natural meekness and submissive nature of the great mass of those who toil in slavery.

The corporations first ground these hapless victims into skin and bone, and then the democratic governor sent out the blood soldiers to put the quirt on their skeletons. To cap it all the municipal administration of Birmingham, solidly democratic, the administration for which Mr. Bryan stands, and Mr. Gompers is pleading, disgraced itself eternally by treating these victims as vagrants and forcing them into the service of the corporations which had robbed and all but murdered them. The sheriff of the county, the mayor of the city and the councilmen, each and everyone who was a party to this monstrous measure, is a burning disgrace to the community and ought to seek the haunts of hyenas and there end his days.

Duncan Macdonald, of the executive board of the United Mine Workers, who is on the ground, and doing brave and effective work, suggests that Gompers, who has espoused the cause of the party which is responsible for these crimes upon labor, should be made to go to Alabama, and there face the miners and other workers and plead with them to continue to vote in support of the power which has ripped them naked, tortured their wives, and violated their children. The suggestion is aptly made and both Gompers and Bryan may consider it at their own leisure.

One writer deems it strange that the petty capitalists and small merchants of Birmingham should have turned against the strikers. It is not in the least strange. They always line up that way. The corporation's attitude determines theirs and as it changes, they change. They had the trade of the old employes, but now they are out and they no longer have any trade. The petty capitalists and tradesmen must now cater to the scabs and so they always line up on the capitalist side. There is an object lesson in this which should not be lost upon the great mass of wage slaves who make common cause with this horde of hungry little capitalists in the democratic party. The situation in Birmingham today shows where they stand and where they have always stood in every crisis between the plutocracy and the proletariat.

Let every possible effort be made in behalf of the striking miners. Let the whole working class of Alabama stand behind them and support them to the fullest extent of their power. More than this, the workers of all the country regard this bloody butchery of their brothers as their own war, and make common cause with them to the end.

In this fight of the United Mine Workers of Alabama against the Tennessee Mining company, supported by the democratic party, the working class of all the country is deeply, vitally interested, and the Appeal urges, with all its deep-seated sympathy for these struggling workers and their families, that all possible financial and other aid be rendered them, and that the conflict be waged with increasing determination to the bitter end, be that end what it may.

The Appeal calls upon President Mitchell, who says there is no necessary conflict between labor and capital, to go to Birmingham and make good there with his starving followers. Here is a supreme opportunity to test the salvific agency of the Civic Federation which Mr. Mitchell now holds at six thousand dollars per year.

The Game.

Making money under the present system is like a gambling game that four men sit into until it has been played long enough for one man to get all the money. When they begin each has more or less of the mazzama, but in time one man goes broke and there is a financial stringency that lasts until the embarrassed one has pawned something for enough funds to get back into it. These little tightnesses of the money market continue until the winner has raked all the money possessed by the three losers across the green. He may then prolong the agony for awhile if he so chooses by lending to the three, but is not likely to do so unless those to whom he lends have other property that he may win by so doing. But the time comes, if they play long enough, when the one has absorbed all the money and property of the three and the game comes to an end because it can't be played unless more than one man has money to bet. For like reason the capitalist game must come to an end. The nature of the game prevents its continuation. When one, or a few who stand as one, own all the wealth there is nothing for them to play for and nothing for the others to play with. The three find that they can't make money by swapping what they haven't or gambling on wealth that they can neither get as winners nor pay as losers. Then comes the social revolution, when all must go out and honestly produce with their labor what they are no longer able to get with their wits. And that time is nearly here.

Prosperity and War.

You will observe, if you have been keeping tab of the U. S. battle ship squadron, that it will be close to Manila about Nov. 1st. The cruisers and torpedo flotilla will be near Honolulu at about the same time and on its way to the Philippines. The Atlantic fleet will assemble near the Red Sea, in October. By November 15th all of the American navy will be within striking distance of Japan. These war like maneuvers, taken in connection with the announcement that the Pacific Steamship companies will not take any freight for the Orient after November 1st, are highly significant. The capitalist class in the United States is up against a pretty stiff proposition. The loss of the world's markets through the competition of Japan is playing havoc with their plans of exploitation. It looks now as though nothing but a war of gigantic proportions will enable the capitalists of America to withstand the approaching storm. This capitalist system is built on such lines that foreign markets must be found where America's surplus products may be sold. Close the markets and panic follows. Clever Japan has been quietly equipping its factories and mills with the best machinery this country and Europe can produce. Japan is as capable industrially as it has proven itself on the battle field. We may expect warlike complications before the middle of next year and possibly sooner.

Free Justice.

I venture to think that one evil which has not attracted the attention of the community at large, but which is likely to grow in importance as the inequality between the poor and rich in our civilization is studied, is the delay in the administration of justice between individuals.—Taft, before the Virginia Bar Association.

The Socialist platform demands the free administration of justice which means that the state and nation shall bear the cost of litigation. It pays the judges, why not the lawyers and the witnesses? The cost being taxed up to the rich, the poor will lose nothing. As the poor comprises 90 per cent of the population and casts an overwhelming majority of the votes, they have it in their power to transfer the cost of all litigation to the rich. Why not vote the Socialist ticket and remedy this crying evil which the republican candidate points out, but for which he offers no solution.

What good sense, pray tell me, Mr. Citizen can there be in turning from the republican party, which you have decided is "corrupt to the core," and voting the democratic ticket? Your experience should teach you that panics, hard times and a horde of attendants evils have obtained with about equal severity under both republican and democratic rule, and if you will examine their two platforms this year, you will find that one of them is six and the other is a half dozen. Now the trouble with the country is far greater than the difference between those two quantities, as you will find if you will send us or borrow from some one a copy of "Suppressed Information" (10 cents). Every word of it is based upon government figures, the Census and Labor Commission Reports.

What would Socialists do with the men of ability? Well, we might put them to work and prove their ability by the quality of its product. But there are some men of ability we might not be able to use: such as able hoodlums, burglars, bandits, bankers and barons of business. It might be necessary to turn the abilities possessed by these into some other line of activity. They might in time become able to make their livings, speak the truth, exist without crime and do numerous other things that require ability and are really worth doing.

A new French word, "businer," means to transact business boldly and in a hurry. Why not use the shorter word, bandit?

Talk of a full dinner pail is an insult. Every worker ought to be able to eat at his own home, with his family, every meal warm from the fire. The full dinner pail is a wedge that is splitting the family life asunder.

Shades of all the demagogues at once! It now passes that Roosevelt has appointed a board of four "experts" to better the condition of the farmer. Give the farmer the value of his product, and he'll better his own condition.

In the old days they used to offer human sacrifices to the gods. Now they do so to ambitious men. During the nineteenth century fourteen million men were killed and more than thirty million maimed in war. And, as in sacrifice, the victims were all choice specimens of the genus, man.

In a recent interview, Harriman remarked that "Taft will do, if he keeps quiet." It is customary for the master to place signs in the workshops reading, "No talking with employes," and presidents must learn their places, along with the other work slaves.

It is said that the Red Special will consist of three Pullman cars. There is something of a note of victory, a maintenance of dramatic unities, in Debs, the leader of the Pullman strike, the prisoner of Taft and Cleveland, making a brilliant canvass of America for Socialism in Pullman cars.

President Elliot, of Harvard, has had his regular semi-annual attack of insanity, which, with him, takes the form of displaying utter ignorance of Socialism. It may be, as he says, that Socialism will never come in America, but it is up and coming sufficiently to give him the chance of his life to advertise himself at its expense. Elliot is educated in books, but he never thought a lick for himself in all his life.

The Santa Fe railroad plead guilty to rebating in the United States district court at Chicago, and was fined \$7,000. It was at Chicago that another rebater was fined \$29,000,000 once upon a time. The fine was practically set aside. It is probable the \$7,000 fine also will be remitted. If the law must be enforced against the corporations, they must not be fined more than 80 cents for every million dollars they steal.

Admiral Dewey is authority for the statement that it costs 40 per cent more to build ships in America than it does in Great Britain or Germany. As a result the United States lost a \$50,000,000 contract for ships for the Brazilian navy. Dewey says this is due to the exactions of the trade unionists. The profits on the billion dollars' worth of watered stock of the steel corporation has nothing to do with high prices.

A few campaigns ago the republican party told us that an advance in tariff duties would insure general prosperity. Now here is the latest: "A 10 per cent advance in freight rates would be more than compensated for by the general prosperity which that advance would bring." Just ask the next republican politician you meet how it happens that there is a lack of prosperity today when we have an advance in tariff duties and high prices all along the line? And to whom would this 10 per cent freight advance bring prosperity?

The Saturday Evening Post has been doing some figuring based on documents issued by the State of Pennsylvania. The Post finds that the average labor cost of a ton of steel is \$6.33. It sells for \$36.29. The ton of pig iron which entered into the production of the ton of steel, costs in labor, \$1.07. The Post timidly inquires: "What is a reasonable profit?" The Appeal passes the question over to the next republican politician you meet.

That the drink habit is a great evil, will pass unquestioned. It is engaging the thoughts and efforts of thousands of sincere and earnest people. In many cases an effort is being made to end it by prohibitive measures. But so persistent is the desire to make big profits that are possible in the liquor business that the laws are avoided and violated continually. Yet, if the possibility of profit making was banished, no one would sell liquor or care to violate the law. The liquor business is merely an outgrowth of a criminal system that exists only for the purpose of exploiting labor, and will end whenever the system is ended, and not before.

Governor Folk, of Missouri, has been widely advertised as a reformer, because he presented some hoodlums, and compelled Ed. Butler, the political boss of St. Louis, to flee to Mexico. Well, before Butler's term as governor has expired, Butler is back in St. Louis, and he now boasts that he nominated, as the primary, Mr. Cowherd, as the democratic successor of Mr. Folk for governor, his machine, in St. Louis having delivered 25,000 votes to Cowherd. At the same time, after having thus been beaten by the corrupt machine, Folk is making the race for United States senator on the ground of being a reformer. It all illustrates how utterly inadequate reform measures are. The whole system is corrupt and it is impossible to make it good.

Much has been said of the pure food laws recently enacted