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This Is Number 717

Appeal to Reason.

J. A. WAYLAND
MANAGING EDITOR

Entered at Girard, Kansas, postoffice as second class mail matter.
FRED D. WARREN,
Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., August 28, 1909

PAID FOR IN ADVANCE Every copy of the Appeal to Reason office. If you receive the Appeal your subscription has been paid for by some friend who wishes you to investigate the doctrine of advanced capitalism. You need not hesitate about taking this paper from the postoffice as no bill will be rendered and the paper will be promptly discontinued when your subscription expires.

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A Month of Action

THE past month is the most extraordinary achievement in the entire history of the Appeal to Reason. I may go farther and say that there is no other to compare to it in the history of the American labor movement. It has been shown by Appeal readers that can be done when all work together in downright earnest and with one supreme purpose.

Consider that in a single month 60,000 new subscribers have been added to our circulation rolls; that the volume of business at this office has been quadrupled and that it has required the entire force of the office to control the flood of correspondence and prevent it from sweeping the whole concern into chaos!

If the same high order of solidarity and efficiency could be maintained in all the departments of our propaganda the Socialists would sweep this country in the next five years.

The most magnificent feature of this work is the spirit of perfect harmony and good will in which it has been done. This seems to be possible only in an hour of crisis. When there is any relaxation in the powers that oppress us we are apt to lag enough to begin to find fault with each other and thus waste the precious hours and means that should be used in constructive work. Not that there are not differences between us which we have to meet and overcome, but all too often these differences are but the pretexts for personal bickering and backbiting in which vital energies are totally squandered.

If you would fully realize just what has been accomplished within this marvelous month go over again the several issues of the Appeal covering that month.

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

Then began the flood! From every direction poured in the subscriptions. The Army was at work EVERY LIVING MEMBER OF IT.

It was magnificent.

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

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

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

That victory has been won.

It consists of a month of achievement which has no parallel in the history of the world. It is a month that establishes a great precedent; a month that throbs and vibrates and inspires; its records will never fade and its moral effects will penetrate into the farthest stretches of the future.

And now is this supreme month to be an inspiration to us all to continue to give the great cause the best there is in us? I know what answer I make, and I leave you each, brave comrades, to make your own.

SOCIALISM will free the child slave.

SOCIALISM will free the white slave.

THE many toil and the few despoil.

SOCIALISM will free the prisoners of an exploiting class.

WHEN most people argue they lose tact; others lose fact.

SOCIALISM will free the capitalist from his burden of care.

CAPITALISM is a grasping hand. Socialism is a kicking foot.

If the employer was an employe he would want all he produced.

SOCIALISM will free the man who is dependent on others for a job.

If the employer was an employe he would have no influence in politics.

NATURE says, All things are yours. Capitalism says, This is mine.

SOCIALISM will free the world from the worry about making a living.

SOCIALISM will free the man who is dependent on others for a market.

If the employer was an employe he would oppose the injunction and the boycott.

LOCKS will not keep the exploiter from the home so long as capitalism exists.

SOCIALISM will free the man who cannot find a home until after he pays another rental.

SOCIALISM will free the home from the fear of want and the shadow of the exploiter.

If the mine owner had to work as the miner works he would favor better conditions of labor.

STOCKS and bonds are only paper walls. If the people become angry they will not shut away the avenger.

IDEAS are more destructive to the house of privilege than cannons could be. Agitation sets the world a-tremble.

If the landlord had to pay others for the privilege of remaining on the earth, he would be opposed to landlordism.

THERE is no civilized warfare. There is nothing in warfare but the wholesale murder of the workers by the workers.

CAPITALISM locks up its property and locks up the men it fears, and yet it is not safe. It is more than timid, it is cowardly.

If it is right for the capitalist to take part of the product of labor, why is it not right for the laborers to take away from them part of what they have?

A bank account is no security under capitalism. The bank may fail or a bad investment may leave you poor. There is no security anywhere but in Socialism.

WHY should not the capitalist's children have to work in the factory, and his daughter in a department store, if it is right that any one should have to work under such conditions?

WHY should not the employer have to work just as much as any other man? Why should not the landlord have to pay another for the privilege of staying on the earth, if the principle of it is right?

BROADWATER, NEB., a narrow-minded town, refuses to sell property to Socialists, the promoters' saying that they intend to guard the town from socialistic contamination. The Appeal is confident that it will not be two years before there is a Socialist local in the town—not because the place is particularly attractive, but because you can neither lock up or lock out Socialism.

"STABLES Beat Poorhouses," says a heading in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. "Spoiled Food Complained of—Maladministration at Soldiers' Home" is the heading in a recent copy of the Los Angeles Herald. Capitalism used to boast of its charitable institutions, but such things as these in capitalist papers leave a suspicion that there is little to be proud over in the great fake of charity.

The Handy "Fraud Order"

EDWIN C. MADDEN, EX-THIRD ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL, SAYS:
"Some day, may it not be far distant, a great man will come out of the mass. He will write into the postal laws the same provision that the use of the United States mails is the right of every person who pays the lawful postage; and that it is not a privilege to be taken away at the caprice of any official. He will make it necessary for the postmaster general and his subordinates to give their attention to the management, perfection and expedition of the mail service, leaving private business matters to be dealt with according to the ordinary processes of law. This man will put an end to the tyranny of the postal establishment of today, and will make it impossible to destroy the good name and credit of any citizen by means of a fraud order or an indictment, based upon 'constructive' evidence, plausible arguments and specious pretenses."

EVERY club, but ONE, at the command of the Washington administration has been used in an effort to crush the Appeal to Reason. Readers of this paper, who have followed its career during the past eight years, know of the struggle we have had and the victories we have won. Every law and every postoffice order, but ONE, has been invoked—but the Appeal has gracefully side-stepped the impending blow and grown bigger after each fight. I am advised by a good friend at Washington that the final and last resort of the government is to be used against the Appeal. "The Fraud Order." It has a sinister sound and is calculated to impress the unthinking that the concern against which this government thunderbolt has been issued is an outlaw, not worthy the respect and confidence and patronage of the public. Below we print several instances of the use of the fraud order, used by the government at the behest of Big Business. When monopoly fails to crush a growing business rival it goes to the government; being a class government, the officials always respond. In this way competition is ruthlessly crushed and the position of the lords of privilege made more secure. The Little Business Man who thinks he has an equal show with the Big Fellow should read what follows. These cases are cited that you may know to what lengths government officials will go to serve their masters. The postmaster general has authority to issue a fraud order on "evidence satisfactory to him;" that the concern complained of is off color. The offending party has no chance to be heard. Silently, but swiftly, the order comes and the concern is locked up. No letters can be mailed or received by the institution under the ban. A subscriber to the Appeal may go to the postmaster general and complain that he is not getting his money's worth when he pays 25 cents for this paper. The postmaster general may consider this good evidence that the Appeal is a fraud—and from his point of view, perhaps it is—and the order may be issued, and the Appeal not only denied the mails as a second-class publication, but its publisher and editor restrained from communication with our friends by letter. I am advised that this move has been seriously contemplated by government officials. The failure of the prosecution at Fort Scott to dampen the ardor of the Appeal Army and prevent the Appeal from growing has made our plume enemies desperate. You may argue that the postmaster general "could not do it." But this was said in reference to the case against the Appeal editor. "There is nothing for the judge to do but to dismiss the charges," said United States District Attorney Valkenberg of the western district of Missouri when the Taylor reward envelope was submitted to him. This was the opinion of every United States officer, including Judge Pollock himself, at the beginning of the fight. But the government did make a case by means of perjured testimony and Warren is on his way to jail! In the meantime, post up on fraud orders and remember that the little old Appeal has never been bested in a fight with the plutocrats and we're too old and there's too much to be done to lay down now. Remember, the same methods used to destroy Little Business can be used against the Appeal, and be prepared to stay with your paper through the storm.

The Cash Buyers Union

At the time the big department stores and mail order-houses induced the postoffice department to issue a fraud order against the Cash Buyers' Union of Chicago, that institution had 20,000 shareholders, 500 employes, a mailing list of 2,000,000 names, and a business exceeding \$2,500,000 a year. When the concern was declared bankrupt the assets were \$1,773,997.25. With merchandise on hand worth \$500,000 the entire business was sold under the hammer for \$157,000. By means of the fraud order the Cash Buyers' Union was wrecked, and the work of years destroyed.

Advertisements of the enterprise were carried in the Appeal after investigation disclosed that its business was legitimate and square. Being cooperative and international, and handling everything from a cambric needle to a threshing machine, the stockholders, acting as agents, extended the business of the Cash Buyers' Union until all the big department stores and mail-order houses in the country began to suffer a sharp decline in trade. Thereupon the aid of the government was invoked.

Early in February, 1906, a postoffice inspector visited the Chicago office of the institution. February 24th a fraud order was issued, and Manager Julius Kahn was prevented from sending or receiving mail. Two days later, at the instigation of the postoffice inspector, the courts appointed a receiver, and May 31st Kahn was indicted on the charge of using the mails to defraud. Denied an immediate trial, seven months elapsed before the first jury disagreed. In the second trial, April 17, 1907, the judge suddenly stopped the proceedings with the words:

"I don't believe I will hear any more testimony, or argument in this case. My mind is made up on the subject. I did say to the district attorney that I would hear him on some legal proposition, but if I were to agree with the government on the legal proposition it would not make any difference in my views of this case."

The judge then addressed the jury with an exhaustive review of the case and closed saying:

"And taking it all in all, gentlemen of the jury, I am convinced that if the jury should return a verdict of guilty here it would be my duty to set it aside; and we will just avoid that formality. I will appoint this gentleman here (indicating a juror)—I don't know his name—as foreman of the jury. Step up here and sign this verdict."

After it was signed the judge read: "We, the jury, find the defendant not guilty. The defendant is discharged."

Between the issuance of the fraud order and the first trial the United States attorney tried to induce the defendant to plead guilty and pay a small fine. This, Kahn refused to do. "If you do not plead guilty," said the attorney, "the whole power of the government machinery will be used against you. We have unlimited money at our command. We will bring witnesses from all over the United States. You know how uncertain juries are. Of those accused in federal courts not one in ten escapes conviction."

The glaring injustice of the prosecution impelled Judge Anderson, of the federal court, to declare the defendant not guilty before the end of the second trial. However, the issuance of the fraud order accomplished the purposes of the department stores and mail-order-houses, and, for the time, wrecked their formidable rival. Following his release, Manager Kahn began the work of re-organizing the business, and at his office in the Marquette Building, Chicago, he is said to be making rapid progress.

The Lewis Case

Without warning a fraud order was directed by the postoffice department against E. G. Lewis, and in a day the People's Bank, and the great publications he had built up at St. Louis went down. As long as Lewis confined his efforts to the newspaper business he was not molested; when he established the People's Bank in opposition to local banks, and began to receive deposits through the mails from every quarter, thereby taking business from the express companies, the government acted.

Because, as he claims, he refused to become a party to the conspiracy against the Lewis enterprises, Edwin C. Madden, formerly third assistant postmaster general—the same official who for years tried in vain to suppress the Appeal—was forced to resign his position. Later Madden wrote a book reciting the facts and exposing the plot to ruin Mr. Lewis in the interests of the banks and express companies. This book is an arraignment of postoffice methods, and, coming from a man who spent fifteen years in the postal service, is a significant indictment of this branch of the government. In it Mr. Madden says:

"We should not mince words in this matter. This action of the postmaster general (in issuing the fraud order against Lewis) was a deliberate official fraud. Its effect was not only to furnish evidence to support the false indictment, but it would confiscate about \$135,000 which Lewis had paid under protest while the question was being settled by the department."

"The conduct of the postmaster general, George B. Cortelyou, in this matter was an exhibition of tyranny, lawlessness, deliberate falsehood and oppression greater than has yet taken place in any department of this government."

"The writer accuses no one; he states facts. If the facts themselves accuse, then those responsible for those facts are responsible for the accusations."

"The power of the postmaster general and his subordinates is tremendous and absolute. Already Lewis has paid tribute of over half a million dollars to an unscrupulous and tyrannical authority. The postal authorities did not order the taking off of Lewis' head, as the ancient monarch did in the case of a certain inventor. A more modern practice was resorted to—a postoffice fraud order did the work."

After long and expensive litigation the St. Louis editor succeeded in having the fraud order rescinded, and, before a jury, was acquitted of the charge of using the mails to defraud. It was plainly the intention of the government to bankrupt Lewis for the benefit of the banks and express companies. The manufactured evidence of postoffice inspectors and government detectives was exploded, however, and the Roosevelt collusion with malefactors of great wealth was shown up in a way that effected the release of the intended victim.

Lewis is still publishing his papers, and has secured a new charter for his banking institution. And in a fair way to succeed in spite of the efforts of his big rivals to crush him.

Uncle Sam Oil Company

Perhaps the most scoundrel use to which the fraud order has yet been put was when the Standard Oil company, through United States District Attorney Harry I. Bone and Postoffice Inspector L. C. Chance, with the assistance and connivance of Judge John C. Pollock, succeeded in closing the mails to the Uncle Sam Oil company, of Atchison, Kan., thereby destroying the biggest competitor that ever attacked Standard Oil. The complete history of this infamous transaction would require many pages so far-reaching is the conspiracy between federal officials and Standard Oil hirelings to destroy the Uncle Sam Oil company, but enough for present purposes will here be given.

Upon the discovery of oil in Kansas and Oklahoma in 1903-04 thousands of persons invested in leases and machinery on the representation of the Standard Oil company that it would pay \$1.40 a barrel for all oil bought. It wasn't long, however, until the oil octopus reduced the price to twenty-five cents a barrel, scarcely enough to pay pumping expenses. To prevent producers from shipping their product the railroads refused to haul oil except that handled by Standard Oil.

Here the Uncle Sam Oil company was formed with H. H. Tucker, Jr., at its head. In a short time nearly 10,000 stockholders, and a capital amounting to \$1,500,000 were secured. Refineries were established at different Kansas points, and a pipeline to navigation was started. In a hundred towns and cities in Kansas, Oklahoma and Missouri oil wagons were put on the streets, and the business of the Uncle Sam Oil company began to seriously affect the interests of Standard Oil.

At first efforts were made by Standard Oil agents to buy out its rival; failing in this, Standard Oil papers commenced to attack the Uncle Sam Oil company editorially and otherwise. Finally government officials were called in. Postoffice Inspector Chance secured the issuance of a fraud order against the hated competitor of Standard Oil, United States Attorney Bone threw the business into the hands of a receiver and caused Manager Tucker to be indicted charged with using the mails to defraud.

Believing that Judge Pollock was committed to the interests of Standard Oil and that he could not secure a fair trial in his court Tucker made application for a change of judge in which he swore to an affidavit embodying serious charges against Pollock. Without investigating the truth or falsity of the charges, and without giving the defendant a hearing, Judge William C. Hook sentenced him to three months in jail at Leavenworth, Kan., which he served, beginning June 5, 1907. Later Tucker was tried on the grand jury charges and acquitted. The issuance of the fraud order, however, accomplished the object of the Standard Oil company. Though the stockholders stood by Tucker and raised a fund for his defense the business of the Uncle Sam Oil company was wrecked. Mr. Tucker is now at Atchison reorganizing his affairs, and recently declared he would soon be in position to give the oil trust the battle of his life.

Not many work for posterity because posterity is such slow pay.

THERE is not a crime in all the category which is not committed for profit.

For every water power right there seems to be a water power engineer.

Even honesty and perseverance, under capitalism, will lead to the pig-sty house.

THERE is one thing which capitalism hands to the people in abundance. That's lemons.

CAPITALIST motto: "So live that any day you may look the world in the eye and tell it to go to work."

AMERICANS are not slaves. But offer to buy them at 40 cents an hour and you will see them come running.

WHY are the nations spending so much on armies and navies? Is it to protect the workers from the capitalists?

WHAT the average man needs is pretty nearly everything. But he can have it if he will open his eyes and quit dividing up.

THEOSOPHISTS say that man has a third but undeveloped eye. They neglect to say that not many men have any of their eyes open.

If the capitalist had to work as the employe does he would be as broken and unsophisticated as anyone.

THE conservative is merely the background against which is silhouetted the revolutionist with his flaming torch.

If the capitalist's children had to work like the poor man's children do, they would be as scrub stock as anyone's.

THE great joke in the tariff bill, after all, comes from that professional humorist, John D. Rockefeller. There is no tariff on oil.

CAPITALISM wants women to save the world without tools or salary, but she concludes she ought at least have the ballot if expected to do the job.

WHY is it that when you hear of a working man you naturally think of a poor man, and when you hear of a rich man you think of one who doesn't work?

If the workers were to do what the capitalists have been doing for centuries, and grab everything in sight, what a wail we would hear about confiscation.

CAPITALISM and the profit system are being destroyed by capitalism. Even now only a few are true capitalists and only a few are able to make real profits.

A CAPITALIST editor says the Appeal is trying to divide the people. Well, the capitalist editor is helping to divide the products of the people among a few skimmers, which is a good deal worse.

THE workman has a decided interest in the stars and stripes. He is permitted to sleep under the stars at night and to wear stripes if he makes an effort to get a bite to eat while out of work.

A SAN FRANCISCOAN has a plan for the gradual elimination of the stomach. It will be a great thing for the capitalists. When they have brainless laborers who do not need to eat they will sure have labor where they want it.

EDWARD of England and the Russian czar have been caught hugging each other, and it is now announced that Fatty Taft and the Gila Monster of Mexico are to indulge in a hugging match. There is no accounting for tastes when capitalism says buss.

THE chief difference between capitalist and Socialist handling of land is that under capitalism you must work a long time before you will be entitled to use land, while under Socialism you might enter into use of it without purchase or rent.

THE press announces that several ship loads of strike breakers went from England to Sweden to beat the workers there. This illustrates how patriotic the capitalists are. They will import foreigners in order to beat down the workers of their own country.

No Speaking Dates

I address this personal word to our friends to say, in answer to almost numberless inquiries, that I cannot possibly fill any speaking engagements at this time. The battle is not over; I am in the midst of it and I could not now leave my post without interrupting a line of work which I believe to be of vital interest to the cause. It is with regret that I decline your invitations to meet with you personally; to talk to you face to face and to clasp your hand. But this pleasure must be postponed for the present, at least.

FRED D. WARREN.

WORKERS AND WAR.

When the savagery of war is finally ended it will be by the workers who are its victims, and not by capitalist parasites, meeting in peace congresses, who are its beneficiaries. The butcheries of war are possible only because the masses ignorantly consent to fall upon each other at the behest and for the benefit of their masters.

The Kansas City Journal has an editorial on this subject from which we quote as follows:

"The opposition of the masses in Spain to the war with the Moorish tribesmen is not peculiar to that country. The Spanish workmen are opposing the war because they claim that it is being waged in the interest of capitalists who are working rich mining concessions in the vicinity of Melilla on the coast of Morocco. A similar sentiment regarding war, that they are generally waged for the benefit of the wealthy classes, is growing among the workmen of other European countries, and it has spread also to this continent."

At last the workers of all nations are awakened to the fact that war is waged by their masters for their own private benefit and that they are worse than fools to slay each other to enrich their rulers and perpetuate their own slavery.

BANKING AND BUNCOING.

The Kansas City Journal of August 15th has an editorial on "The Guaranty Fraud" from which we quote as follows:

"Forty-five Kansas banks with aggregate deposits of about seven and a half million now hold the certificate of the bank commissioner, which says, 'the depositors of this bank are guaranteed by the bank depositors' guaranty fund of the state of Kansas.' Will the average small depositor look any further? He will not. . . . But the fact is that the bank depositors' guaranty fund consists of \$3,546,000."

Here we have a fine exhibition of banking and buncoing. This is nothing more nor less than deliberate, shameless duplicity and fraud. The law itself is a snare and was intended to be so by those who enacted it.

Think of deposits to the amount of seven and a half million being guaranteed by a fund of less than five thousand dollars!

On the face it is made to appear that these banks guarantee their depositors against loss. It is pure sham and false pretense. The only object of this law is to lure the unsuspecting people to put their dollars in the banks under the delusion that they are secured by the laws of the state. This is nothing less than criminal duplicity, false pretense and downright robbery in which the capitalist state and its political and administrative machinery take the leading part.

What do the people of Kansas think of a state which deliberately sets snares to catch them so that the bankers may rob them of their possessions?

In answer to a correspondent the Appeal will say that the full damages sustained by the Western Federation of Miners during the Colorado labor war has never been computed in dollars and cents. Thousands of miners' homes were destroyed, the property being wiped out as if by fire, and the families scattered to the four quarters, many of which were never reunited. The property damage alone must amount to \$1,000,000. The hardship sustained by the men when they were deported and beaten and bayoneted and shot and bull-penned cannot be computed; neither can the tears of agony and bloodshed by the women and children of the miners be estimated. In May, of this year, the Colorado legislature appropriated and paid to the Miners' union \$60,000 cash by way of partial reimbursement for the losses of its members sustained during the Cripple Creek strike.

It is wrong to punish a man who goes wrong under a wrong system.

Newspaper Comments (Friendly and Otherwise)

Morally Wrong. The Warren case is the exception rather than the rule. In that instance, we believe a verdict was obtained which amounts to a moral injustice if not a technical wrong.

The Two Warrens. Footprints, Wheaton, Minn. It was a Warren who was the first martyr in our country's fight for political liberty.

"Still Doing Business." Orange, Orling, Wash. Many law-abiding citizens are annoyed by finding in their door-yards copies of the notorious and scurrilous publication called the "Appeal to Reason."

Wants Roosevelt Punished. Democrat, Logan, W. Va. Warren claims as an excuse that the lawless Roosevelt administration winked at a like crime against three anarchists, namely Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone.

Will Overthrow Republican Party. Hot Blast, Annapolis, Md. The government censorship of the press does not end with Mr. Roosevelt's retirement from the chief magistracy.

The Responsibility Years. Western Clarion, Vancouver, B. C. "Warren goes to jail." What a farce! Let us not, however, try to shift the responsibility from our shoulders by blaming the puny judge and the poor ignorant jurors.

Give the Devils His Dues. Echo, Gilmore, Texas. We do not endorse Socialism in the least, but we think Fred D. Warren, editor of the Appeal to Reason, published at Girard, Kan., was wrongfully convicted and sentenced to serve six months in jail and pay a fine of \$1,500 for offering a reward for the kidnaping of ex-Governor Taylor.

Wow! Stung Again! Star Mirror, Moscow, Utah. Fred D. Warren, editor of the Appeal to Reason, published at Girard, Kan., has at last received a jolt of justice that has jarred the juice out of his anarchistic carcass.

Asking About Socialism. Dick Military Law. Send me the Dick military law through your question department, because several of my friends deny it was passed—feeling that they have recognized practically the same question, and what follows will serve for all.

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Dick Military Law. Send me the Dick military law through your question department, because several of my friends deny it was passed—feeling that they have recognized practically the same question, and what follows will serve for all.

You and Your Wife, He and His

BY GEORGE ALLEN ENGLAND. (The "golden bride" of the year, will be Miss Harriet Brown, when she becomes the wife of T. Sufferer Tailor, of New York.—Press notice.) YOU are a working man. You labor for your money. HE is a capitalist. He skims labor.

When YOU marry, you are lucky if you can get a week off to take Susan somewhere and back on a cheap excursion. You are fortunate indeed if you can afford a new suit, hat, shirt and tie.

Your blushing bride is doing very well to have a new dress, \$6.50, marked down from \$8.00, a hat trimmed with "Five-an-Ten" flowers, one pair of gloves and a small lay-out of under-duds.

Mr. and Mrs. Tailor will spend their honeymoon aboard George J. Gould's magnificent ocean liner, the "Bismarck," which is a floating palace.

A gorgeous chain of diamonds nearly a yard long and containing 250 picked stones is among the wedding gifts. No name is mentioned in the list of gifts.

Other gifts include the following: From Mrs. William T. James, the silver snuff box; from Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt, a silver breakfast service; from Mrs. Harry Belmont, two heavy silver-plated dinner plates; from Mr. and Mrs. Armory Lehr, a gold and pink enamel belt buckle; from Rosa Wisnara, a large gold watch.

Well, how about it, Bill? Just read this to Mrs. Bill, or to the prospective Mrs. Bill, and ask HER! Maybe she will have something to say that will interest you. If SHE could vote, Bill, do you think she would vote the same as you have always done? You have another guess coming. Think!

THE WORKERS LOT.

Savannah (Ga.) News. Macon, Aug. 4.—United States Deputy Marshal Frank Rice arrived here this afternoon bringing with him from Appaling county Arthur Newkirk, a 14-year-old negro youth, whose body was literally covered with scars and fresh wounds alleged to have been inflicted by and at the instance of George T. Carter, a prominent planter.

The New Conquest of Mexico

Working the Dictator. Boston, Mass.—A few years ago the Franciscans of California addressed a communication to the Diaz government, stating that when California belonged to Mexico they used to get a pension from viceroys and other rulers and as these pensions were stopped, they thought that under the present "constitutional government" they could regain what they had lost.

Life Under Capitalism

Died in Sight of Food. San Francisco Daily News. Anthony Kaski, thirty-five years old, 335 Clark street, released from the Cook County hospital, after several weeks' treatment for illness due to privation, died today at St. Margaret's hospital, Hammond, Ind., of exhaustion after suffering the tortures of Tantalus, lying three days in sight of water and food unable to move hand or foot.

Kaski started for Gary, Ind., on foot after leaving the hospital, believing that he could secure work there. He was compelled to leave the road many times to dodge automobiles en route to the races at Crown Point, and reached Hammond in a state of collapse from heat and fatigue.

Being penniless he could purchase no food by the way, and he made for the water, reaching a point in the public park fifteen feet from the lake. Within ten feet of him was a banana left there by a picknicker, but he could not reach it, and in sight of the water he could not reach it to drink.

Kaski was found today by a park policeman unconscious and rushed to the hospital, where he was revived, but died after telling his story.

Stealing Garbage.

Denver Times. The Times nurse told me about this theft of the garbage first. I shuddered and thought she must be exaggerating. So I watched the business for myself and found the had really lightened the shadows. Then came the talk with the "garbage watchman" and his hideous story.

"Why do the kids steal the garbage?" he said. "Well, when I drive 'em away from the cans they say they are hungry. And, good Lord! they eat the stuff as if they were. Sometimes they hang onto the garbage wagons and try to pick fruit and bread and things like that out of it. The drivers have to crack them away with their whips many a time. And, of course, I back the drivers up whenever I'm around—and threaten to have the young ones arrested."

Objections Briefly Answered

The Marx Doctrine. No Socialist of importance preaches the doctrine of Marx nowadays.—Boston Traveler. Name a Socialist of importance who does not teach the Marxian theory of surplus value, the claim that all profit is robbery. Also be so kind as to disprove that theory.

Socialism a Menace. This socialist movement has gained such headway in European countries that it constitutes a positive grave menace to society, as evidenced by the terrible intensity of feeling exhibited by the masses in the strike in Sweden.—Kansas City Journal. This is directly opposed to the report made by the Boston Traveler. The Appeal doesn't mind being lied about, but it does think it only proper that the lies should agree. Get together, fellows, get together.

"Contemptuous" of Socialism. Four years ago European political leaders were acknowledged in fear of Socialism. They are now contemptuous of it, a contemptuous which results because the Socialists have had rope enough to hang themselves.—Boston Traveler. Pretty stiff lie that is. In England they are calling for a \$100,000 fund with which to combat Socialism through the press. Spain and Sweden have both just been completely tied up by the Socialists. In France Socialism has separated church and state. The czar is murdering thousands yearly in order to stop Socialism, and the German emperor has twice had to abandon a prospective war because he found that under the teaching of the Socialists the people would not fight. It is the scared tyrants who have been hanging Socialists, not the Socialists themselves.

Disappearing Middle Class. The middle class, instead of decreasing in numbers, has been constantly growing.—Boston Traveler. That is an illusion prepared by deceptive capitalists. It comes from three sources. Whenever an armed proletarian tried to get a piece of land on credit or made a small deposit in the bank he was listed as a capitalist or a land owner. If he started a one-man shoe shop, printing office or bakery he became a "manufacturer." If under urging he bought trust stock or bonds, he was proclaimed as a "capitalist." In reality these are the means by which the middle class man is being finally plucked of all he has. The stock is manipulated and he is left penniless. The small farm he has bought he may never be able to pay for. But even if he is, he is dependent on some railroad for a market, and instead of being a landowner he merely a servant of a master. The one-man "manufactory" which he has started barely makes him

The Moral Soldier

BY F. R. HAWKINS, McAUSTIN, OKLA. I have read articles in different magazines and papers about the high grade morals of our soldiers. I must say that their morals are something to boast of. There is just as much sense in boasting about this Taft prosperity. No doubt the reader will want to know why I make these assertions. It is because I know it is true and that each and every man, woman and child should know these facts.

Punishing the People.

The woes of capitalism are well illustrated by the Calhoun trial, or rather the first installment, recently ending in a jury disagreement in San Francisco. This great city of San Francisco, to which France the other day presented a gold medal as being one of the most progressive cities under capitalististic system, instead of operating its street car lines under public ownership, preferred to give them to Patrick Calhoun. But since it is charged that Calhoun tired the waiters that bore the franchise to him on a silver salver, they brought him to trial and said they were going to punish him. Yet they didn't punish him. Instead of this, the public with the gold medal got the punishment themselves. They wrestled around with Calhoun 110 days, a whole battalion of detectives, policemen and court officers went after him—or said they did—and got pay every time. Any way they went out and dragged in from their homes 2,310 men to be examined as jurors, and examined 1,423 of them. Of these they condemned thirteen (throwing in one for good measure) to punishment. Seven of them were prisoners three months, four of them being prisoners since January, and they say they have been ruined financially by their being taken away from their business. In one case a jurymans wife died and his business was sold by his creditors. These morally injured are not accounted for. Calhoun himself he went merrily about his business. This first round cost the public \$80,000, and it required 4,250,000 printed words to tell about it. No one knows what it cost Calhoun, only one thing is certain the people of San Francisco pay both, and when, after giving up such important public properties and the monopoly of the city's highways to one man for the favor of being skinned by him for years, they succeed in punishing him for something they think he has done, they will deserve another gold medal. ROBERT CONLEY.

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Every copy of the Appeal to Reason is paid for before it leaves this office. If you receive the Appeal your subscription has been paid for some time and you wish you to investigate the doctrine it advocates. You need not hesitate about taking this paper from the postoffice as no bill will be collected and the paper will be promptly discontinued when your subscription expires.

Caps for the Collars

BY C. ZIRLINSKI. Biology teaches that it is the very nature of animals to live on prey. Capitalism is a hideous animal preying on the bodies of the toiling masses. Let us, the workers, by sharpening our pens until they are daggers, and by dipping them into venom and gall, make an end to this flesh-eating monster—capitalism. The men and women whose memories will be honored and revered by posterity will be those who had the courage of their convictions to stand up and fight for liberty.

Information Wanted

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THIS MEANS YOU.

You work people produce all the wealth of the world, and then pay the drones interest and rent on what is yours.

You work people have built every city from the crude material of Mother Earth and you pay the Lords of Privilege rent for what is yours.

You have never been paid for the houses you have built or the machines you have made or the food you have raised.

What you get for your efforts has been merely enough food to keep you alive and feed your children until they, too, can enter the slave marts. This and nothing more.

You have produced everything and you own nothing!

The drones have produced nothing and own everything!

You are so stupid that you think this arrangement is right and ought not be changed.

Under Socialism you would build the houses and own them; you would build great machines of production and the things you produced would be yours and for the use of your wife and children.

If it were not for your ignorance, poverty and woe and unhappiness would be banished from the earth. Damn it, man, wake up!

WAGES AND STARVATION.

Charles Daugherty, labor commissioner of Oklahoma, has recently compiled statistics for 1908 relating to wages in certain departments of industrial activity. According to this report railway trackmen receive \$343.43 per year. These men work from ten to twelve hours a day, exposed to all kinds of weather. Most of them have families to support and yet their wage averages but a trifle over one dollar per day. There are no workers who are more useful to society than these railway trackmen; there are none who are subjected to greater privation or who suffer more from exposure and hardship, and yet in the present system they get the paltry wage of a dollar a day.

Just think it over for a moment! The outrage and infamy of this sort of robbery defies description. The stockholders, fat, flabby, and defiant, who are at Newport and other resorts, are the leeches who are sucking the life blood of these honest toilers. Of course, the leeches object to having this beautiful relation changed. But how about the track employes and the millions of others, for the track employes are only cited as an instance of the robbery perpetrated upon the masses engaged in other lines of industrial slavery?

Are they to forever submit to such crime? It is not conceivable. Fortunately it is not possible. The misery of the masses is becoming so great that they can no longer tolerate it if they would. The day is near at hand when they, the useful workers, the real citizens, will combine to overthrow the system of which they have so long been the victims and establish a democracy of the people in which they who work and produce, and they alone, shall enjoy the fruits of their labor.

THE TWO-DOLLAR BILL.

It is announced that the two-dollar bill is soon to be retired from circulation. This leads a writer in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch to indulge in a prolonged wail. We quote from him as follows:

No more subtle thrust has been made at our political foundations than conceals itself in the announcement that the two-dollar bill will be retired. The two-dollar bill has been the standard equivalent of a vote in this country for so long that nobody can recall when we paid anything else.

Such is our dexterity with this particular bill that whereas we might fumble four five-dollar bills in five, or drop two one-dollar bills folded together seven times in ten, we can slip a two-dollar bill every time in the course of merely shaking hands.

The two-dollar bill has long been supreme in capitalist politics. It is the regular market price for a sovereign American vote and the two-dollar bill has always been the recognized legal tender for it.

The two-dollar bill may, therefore, be said to be the very foundation of our free institutions; the real palladium of our American liberties. Deprive the capitalist politician of his two-dollar bill and the sanctity of the home will be invaded, free love will break loose, individuality will be destroyed and the great American republic go down forever.

The revolutionist makes history—his followers write history.

Stor for just a moment and figure, in your mind, how many work people there are in the United States; the productivity of the soil; the great machines for making all sorts of useful articles; the great transportation lines; the raw material ready at hand; I say, when you stop a moment and think of all these, does it not fill you with wonder that there should be poverty and woe abroad in the land?

"COMPANY STORE."

The Kansas City Star, after declaring that "in the way of specific graft in business there is nothing more odious than company stores," proceeds to editorialize as follows:

The amazing, humiliating and ugly thing about extortion through the tariff is that the government indirectly maintains the company store for the benefit of a favored class and at the cost of the great body of consumers. But when the people once see clearly through the maze that has been drawn around this infamous institution they will destroy it as completely as they destroyed the institution of slavery.

This is very strong language and if the Star is not careful Harry Bone may launch an indictment against it and Judge Pollock may commit its editor to jail for the circulation of "scurrilous, threatening and defamatory matter."

Of course, the Star is right about the tariff. It is a robber institution through which powerful capitalists skin their smaller competitors, but the working class has little interest in it for the reason that they are skinned almost completely in the sale of their labor power for a wage barely sufficient to keep them alive.

The tariff will be destroyed all right enough, Mr. Star, but it will be only when the capitalist system of which it is an integral part is destroyed with it. The trusts are in the saddle and the trusts are running and will continue to run this government, in spite of the wails and threats of the Star and other papers that speak in behalf of a vanishing middle class, until it is wrested from them by the Socialist movement and society is reorganized upon a basis of social justice instead of social crime.

RULING CLASS VIRTUE.

The ruling classes, the parasites, the blood-suckers have always been immoral. Essentially so. That is the very law of their being. They are of rank growth and could by no possibility be wholesome and moral.

A foreign letter to the St. Louis Post-Dispatch describes the palace of the deposed sultan of Turkey. We quote as follows:

When Abdul Hamid, crowned and terror-stricken, was spirited away to Salonica, accompanied by only eleven women, not one more than twenty years old, he left behind him more than 1,800 inmates of the harem.

Then followed details too lewd and revolting for print. A paper such as the Post-Dispatch, a reputable paper, may publish such vile and loathsome stuff, but the Appeal to Reason, the disreputable Socialist sheet, as it is frequently called, will not pollute its columns with any such shocking matter.

But the point is that this old reprobate was a great (?) ruler. All nations sent their representatives to his court and he was kowtowed to by the ruling classes of all nations. The harem of the sultan, however, was not much more revolting than the courts of so-called christian nations, where rich parasites disport themselves and indulge in their sensual and lascivious pastimes.

And these are the people who are so shocked because Socialism is such a menace to domestic morality and to the virtues that adorn the home. Selah!

CAN'T KEEP IT OUT.

The El Paso Herald recently had an article on Socialism covering the greater part of three pages in answer to one of its correspondents as to what Socialism is. Of course, the article was written wholly with the purpose of showing that Socialism was impossible. When a three line inquiry elicits a three page explanation there is good ground for suspecting that there is something to explain.

Until recently most of the large capitalist papers either ignored Socialism or dismissed it with a contemptuous sneer. They no longer keep it out of their columns. The boycott is broken. The truth is they can't keep it out. The tide of Socialist sentiment is rising everywhere and sweeping everything before it.

However much the capitalists may seek to dodge the issue it confronts them whichever way they turn. It is Socialism everywhere. The pulpit is no longer proof against it any more than the editorial sanctum. The truth is that it is the one vital question of the hour. All others are insignificant in comparison.

REPUBLICAN DISHONESTY.

We favor such national legislation and supervision as will prevent the future over issue of stocks and bonds by interstate carriers.—Republican national platform, 1908.

Haven't they lied to you? Haven't the papers informed you that during the past two years, with that party in full and complete control of the national government, there have been more than a thousand millions of extra stocks and bonds issued on the same properties? All pure water, with no additional values behind them. What do you think of the g. o. p., anyhow? Great party, eh? Noble party. Pure and undefiled! And you believe in a party that lies to you in its national platform. You vote for it with the blind confidence of an idolater. How can we expect a good government when six million voters will support a party that violates its pledges when given power? The trusts are stronger today than ever before; there is more watered stocks and bonds; there is more official corruption; there is more danger to the liberties of the people than any time since the foundation of the nation.

Let me ask you a few other questions: If it is bad to have over issue of stocks and bonds on interstate carriers, why is it not as bad to have them on industrial plants? If the sugar trust or steel trust or any other trust does the same thing, doesn't it hurt you just as bad as on railroads? Is a dollar taken from you to pay interest on watered stocks and bonds of the sugar trust just as hurtful as on railroads? The party did not promise to protect you from them, but only from railroads, and then didn't do it when they had the power. They cheated you out of your votes with a lie. And the democratic party is controlled by the same men. Its members voted with the republicans to carry protection to the trusts when some republicans revolted at the outrage. What are you going to do about it? Still vote the same old tickets? Do you want liars and thieves in office? Do you not know that a party that will lie to you will steal from you? If they will steal your votes under false pretense, they will steal your liberties.

Socialists do not propose to trust their liberties with any set of officials. They propose a system that will give you the right to vote yes or no on any law, to recall your officials at any time if they prove unfaithful. We can trust the majority to do right, but the small minority that are elected—they can usually be paid enough to go wrong. But you can't bribe a majority of the people—though you can fool them into voting for the wrong men. But they would recall the men if they had the power, but the men would not go wrong if they were not bribed, and if they did not have the final power to enact a law there would be none so foolish as to bribe them. They bribe them because the people have no power to veto bad laws they pass.

HITS SUPREME COURT.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch of August 14th has an extended press dispatch from Guthrie, Okla., reporting the proceedings of the Oklahoma Federation of Labor, beginning as follows:

Declaring that the action of the United States court was a direct slap at a free press and free speech, the Oklahoma State Federation of Labor in its annual convention at Tulsa last week, openly criticized the action of the courts in the case of Fred Warren, editor of the Appeal to Reason, who published in his paper and offered a reward to the person who would kidnap former Governor Taylor of Kentucky and take him back to that state from Indiana for trial.

The labor resolutions declared that if such a precedent is followed it will mean the imprisonment of the editors of labor journals for radical expressions.

The tide of resentment is rising all over the country. Labor unions, one after another, are coming to the front and placing themselves upon record. This is but the beginning of an agitation that will never subside while there is a court in the land that dares to throttle a paper and imprison its editor purely because of his economic views or his political convictions.

WENDELL PHILLIPS in 1855, in order to illustrate progress and the ever restless effort of man to change his physical environment used these prophetic words: "No, he would have telegraphs without wires able to send messages both ways at the same time, and where only he who sent and he who received should know what the messages were." And yet we have men who tell us the dreams men dream do not come true!

The daily press reports that King Edward of England has cleared a million from speculating in Wall street on tips furnished by Morgan. This is equal to paying 'is royal ighness some fifteen times the salary that we pay the president of the United States—and he gets enough. Even the rulers are abandoning their old graft for the much better graft of "business." How do you free Americans like to have this tribute to royalty taken from your hides and from the tables of your families?

SOCIALISM IN THE NAVY.

The R. F. D. News, a publication devoted to postoffice affairs, says that the cabinet has laid before the president information to the effect that an "anarchist element is trying to incite prejudice and discontent and destroy the standard of patriotism and enlisted force of the navy. It is expected that the navy department will call upon Postmaster General Hitchcock to take action against the societies and individuals responsible." The Appeal is responsible for all this uneasiness among government officials. It has for more than two years been conducting an energetic campaign among the soldiers and sailors of the United States—and the burden of our teaching is that it is wrong for one working man to kill another working man! Once you implant this thought in a soldier's mind and you have destroyed his efficiency as a killer of men. He refuses longer to be made an engine of destruction. The Appeal believes that an educated soldiery will make war against the workers impossible. Our comrades in Europe devote much of their energies to teaching the imperial soldiers, most of whom are working men, that all war is in the interest of the master class and therefore, wrong from a working class point of view. No intimidation from the Washington administration will prevent the Appeal from carrying on its propaganda among the soldiers! So crack your whips, you masters of men! You will find the American soldier, like his European brother, is rapidly getting "on to the game" and when he does there will be no war!

BOISE, IDAHO, business men are loud in their complaint at the way their private social clubs are being exposed as liquor selling agencies by detectives, and are demanding that the detectives be arrested as spies and handled as perjurers. When these same detectives manufactured "evidence" against Hayward, Moyer and Pettibone, charged with the murder of Steunenberg, however, the Boise business men could not summon language strong enough to express their praise. With business men and the plutocracy generally it is a question of standing united for their own interests; they praise the workers when they serve as tools, and denounce the same workers whenever their interests demand.

SENATOR GORE, of Oklahoma, recently quoted these figures, which he got from advance sheets of the census reports: "The products of manufacture for the year 1905 reached a total of \$14,802,147,937 for 5,470,321 wage earners, whose produce was, therefore, worth \$2,708 per capita. These people received \$2,611,520,532 in wages, or \$479 per capita." Assuming that these figures are correct, you can see what is the average product, what you would receive under Socialism, and what you do receive under capitalism. Is it worth your while to give up an uncertain job that brings you \$479 per year in order that you may become your own boss and receive \$2,708 per year?

ARCHBISHOP GLENNON is quoted as saying that "a great party of of protest will arise. As long as the rich seek to capitalize power and defy restraint they will continue to create Socialists." The archbishop is right in this instance. But he might have added that the condition which will make Socialists is utterly beyond his power to remove. It is inherent in a system of robbery. The fact that he stands for this system of robbery makes it impossible for him to head off the Socialist movement.

WHEN the workers of America are united, then we will have a United States. It is only because of the exploitation of the workers that it is urged that it would be better if America was divided into four sections. Nations themselves exist only as divisions so that the workers can be the easier exploited. When exploitation ends then the whole earth will become a brotherhood.

Napoleon said: "I fear three newspapers more than a hundred thousand bayonets."

ECONOMIC DESPOTISM.

We ask our readers to carefully ponder the following paragraph quoted from a long and exceedingly well-written article in the same defiant and threatening strain:

And now, the people of the United States, after a patient and seemingly servile endurance of a long reign of infamous extortion and tyranny, have passed sentence upon an incredible economic policy that robs the many to enrich the few; that claims for itself the fullest protection of the government in the right to despoil the people who uphold the nation, and that has vitiated by its gross cupidity and venality a large proportion of the chosen agents of the people. This sentence has not yet been executed. But let none of the crafty lawmakers who have contrived to effect its postponement lay to their hearts the flattering notion that it will fail. It is as certain of ultimate and even early fulfillment as that the love of freedom and probity lives in the hearts of the American people. Let not the champions of economic despotism make the preposterous mistake of assuming that a great nation that gave thousands upon thousands of precious lives and millions of treasure to wipe out the dark blot of human bondage will yield to the shame and dishonor of commercial slavery.

Now where do our readers suppose this vengeance-breathing article originated? They would never guess in a thousand years. It did not appear in any anarchist paper, nor in any Socialist paper, not even the Appeal to Reason, said by August Belmont, the American plutocrat, to be "the most violent Socialist paper in America." No, indeed, it did not appear in any of these, although it must be admitted that it would have done credit to the columns of the best of them. The Appeal modestly confesses that it never had anything in its arraignment of capitalism couched in more graceful or forceful language, or better calculated to express its opinion of the prevailing system and the political corruption and social crime which are its inevitable concomitants.

This wonderful article was taken from no other paper than the Kansas City Star, one of the most able, most powerful, and at the same time most conservative capitalist papers in the United States.

It must be admitted that such an article in such a paper is of tremendous significance. The whole article can be accepted by Socialists and by Socialists only, with consistency.

The Star's article is a terrific indictment of capitalism of which it is itself an avowed organ. The abuses against which the Star fulminates are simply the fruit of capitalism and as inseparable from capitalism as is the fragrance from the flower or the stench from the sewer.

Verily, the contradictions inherent in capitalism pointed out by Marx, with the prediction that they would multiply and become more and more aggravated with its development, have come to pass and this article in the Kansas City Star and its attitude toward the government of which it is one of the most patriotic defenders, is proof that the end is near and that the capitalists would better begin checking their baggage for an eternal voyage from which there is no return.

AN UNKNOWN HERO.

It happened here in Girard. The writer was at the Frisco depot, awaiting a train, and sauntered to the telegraph window. As he stood there a tramp, ragged, unkempt and evidently tired and hot, came ambling past and stopped before the window.

"Say, a bridge is burning on the road about two and a half miles south of town," he said.

The operator was all attention in a moment. A passenger train was due in less than ten minutes, coming from the south. He got busy with the wire and telephone, and soon had the passenger train located and saved from running onto the burning bridge. When the operator turned again to the window the tramp was gone. He could be seen plodding along the track about half a mile further on. He, a tramp, one of capitalism's outcasts, had done a great and noble deed as though it was a little thing, and had not remained for reward or even for thanks. It gave one a better opinion of his fellow man. If, when ruled from the world by unjust conditions, one can be so heroic what might not humanity be under favorable conditions?

TEN thousand aliens were reported to have arrived in one day recently. Capitalists love American workmen, and congress is going its best to protect them, you see. There are no native American workmen out of jobs, and cheap foreign labor is imported in quantities because of the great prosperity that prevails.

Before the grand jury of New York Thomas F. Ryan declared that, in addition to the land grants made to the railroads, the corporations owning them never paid a dollar for them—that the roads were built entirely with bonds. Would it be confiscation for the people to take possession of that which they paid for, to take it from the people who never paid a dollar for it?

TO SAVE THE CAPITALISTS.

The invention of gunpowder marks the beginning of the end of feudalism. It made the serf as strong as the armored knight. It was the gun also which made possible the conquest of the west—the destruction of the wild animals and the overthrow of the red race. It is no wonder that our American forefathers regarded the gun as one of the greatest inventions of the age of machinery which came with it, and out of gratitude for freedom won by arms, put in the constitution a clause which says that the right of the people to bear arms shall not be abridged.

But with the lapse of years there has been great improvement of the gun, of this machine which made the weak strong, and now it is in the hands of a class. Though it was said the right of the people to bear arms shall not be abridged, the arms which the people bear are now crude and antiquated. The new guns—the gatlings, the big rifles of the navies, the really effective weapons—now all belong to the "authorities" and are controlled by the same people who control the other big machines. It is inevitable that it should be so. It is as impossible under capitalism that the workers should own effective guns as it is that they should own railroads.

For this reason it is silly to talk of the workers "arming" themselves. They can no more do that than they can buy a rolling mill. To talk of fighting is merely to invite the slaughter of the workers. Because of the fact that the machinery of destruction, like the machinery of production, has grown vast and costly, the worker is compelled to seek other weapons. His one effective weapon is the ballot. With that he can win, if he will.

Yet there are many who do not understand this. Because they do not understand, they are more or less of a menace—more, as they become angered without understanding; less, as they gather the Socialist philosophy and approach the crisis as its master. The dangerous element is not the Socialist movement, but has two wings. The most dangerous of these is the middle class, which resents being despoiled and is likely to appeal to arms. If it does this, it may be able to do much damage and delay the peaceful settlement of things, but it is as certain to go down before the larger capitalists as big machinery is sure to supersede the one-man machine. The second wing of the army which threatens violence against capitalist rule is the army of the submerged, the slum people, the tramps, the hosts of the unemployed. They feel themselves ruined and are bitter. They have no property to lose, no reputation to lose, and capitalism has made their lives of small value to them. If they arise to avenge their own wrongs, they will not come with guns. They could not buy guns if they wished. They can do more effective work, from their viewpoint, without guns. Given a windy night, fifty desperate men and a box of matches, and more destruction can be wrought than by an army of veterans. They will not war men, but property. They consider all war murder and robbery and will use the weapons and follow the rules which give them the advantage. The destruction of a dozen big cities would be possible under such a warfare within a week. The victims would be the rich, and the poor, according to capitalist philosophy, would profit, in that owners would pay workers to rebuild the destroyed cities.

From these threats Socialism comes to deliver the great capitalists. It is the only thing which can save them from a people which they have so wantonly outraged. Were capitalists only possessed of the wisdom of mediocrity, they would welcome the Socialist propaganda, because they would see in it their salvation from loot and from the mob, and in its exact justice they would find protection and opportunity for real, honest life and enjoyment.

"FARMERS," said Mr. Taft in a letter to Senator Borah, "wear shoes of the kind of leather that would pay the low duty." You can't tax shoddy heavy, and the president is willing that the workers should wear shoddy.

SOLIDARITY.

The greatest lesson the working class has to learn is solidarity, one-ness, based upon mutual interests. Solidarity is the open sesame to freedom. Never can be freedom achieved without it. All hope is vain unless it is based upon the unity, industrial and political, of the working class.

In this old, old struggle of the slave against his master, the need for unity was never so great, nor the chance to secure it so bright as now. The unity of the working class has thus far been but imperfectly accomplished, indeed it has as yet not much more than actually begun.

On the industrial field the workers are united in a way to disunite them; organized under forms that disorganize them and place them at the mercy of their masters. Industrial unity has not kept pace with industrial progress.

The capitalists on their side have their trusts, monopolies and combines, tremendous powers which enable them to rule the nation and the world. On the other hand, the workers are divided into almost numberless little unions, more or less in conflict with each other over questions of jurisdiction, and when a strike breaks out instead of presenting a solid front against the enemy they are discordant, antagonistic, and part of them are used by the masters while another part is annihilated.

Almost every strike tells the same story, the utter lack of unity, the crying need of solidarity. It is this that constitutes the real weakness of the labor movement. Every intelligent worker should be able to perceive it at a glance.

The many craft unions of all description must be united into one harmonious whole for the good of all. Craft dissensions must give away to industrial solidarity.

In a word, industrial unionism is today the only logical form of economic organization. There is no doubt about it and if it were not for the powerful opposition arrayed against it, industrial unionism would come with a rush. The very force of industrial concentration and combination would produce it. But the whole capitalist power is opposed to it as are also thousands of so-called leaders who are drawing salaries out of labor unions or living out of them in some other way.

But in spite of this the idea is growing and there is bound soon to be a great revolutionary economic organization.

WOULD IMPEACH POLLOCK.

Washington, D. C. Aug. 16, 09. The Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas.

Gentlemen—Is it not a well established fact in American as well as English jurisprudence, and a fixed principle of common law, that the prisoner at the bar be given the benefit of a doubt as to his guilt?

In the recent case against Warren at Fort Scott Judge Pollock expressed doubt that Warren had violated the law. Yet Judge Pollock sentenced Warren to fine and imprisonment in the face of official doubt.

Is it not Judge Pollock who violated the law? And in so doing, has he not broken his oath of office, become a traitor to the people, besmirched his judicial ermine and turned to be a dangerous anarchist?

If those public servants who have the power to impeach Pollock and remove him from office refuse or neglect to do so, are they not themselves reprehensible and unfit to administer justice?

Is not the status of Pollock's judicial actions—nor enough evidence that the people should exercise their inherent right to impeach and remove public servants by means of the referendum?

Kindly reply to this in your next issue. Respectfully yours, AN OBSERVER.

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