

# FOUR SUBS, SENT AT ONE TIME BEFORE JULY 2, ENTITLES YOU TO A "RED SPECIAL"

Total number of subscribers for week ending May 27 504,647  
Number of new subs for week ending June 3d 20,260  
Number of existing subs for week ending June 3d 11,825  
Date for week 8,635

Total Number of Subs for Week Ending June 3d 512,682  
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# Appeal to Reason

J. A. WAYLAND

Entered at Girard, Kansas, postoffice as second-class mail matter  
FRED D. WARREN  
Managing Editor

This Is Number 811

Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., June 17, 1911

## CARRY CALIFORNIA FOR SOCIALISM

Receipts previously acknowledged \$3,393.74  
Receipts from June 1 to June 7, inclusive 863.00  
Total to date \$4,256.74  
Names paid for until after November, 1912, elections 8,513

With this week's "off and on" report 4.97 of the California names are accounted for. Remember that the circulation report is always three weeks old while this one is up to date. The campaign to make Socialists of California voters is calling forth all the hatred and antagonism of the Pacific coast conspirators. They fear it. If you want to help the battle to a successful finish make YOUR contribution to the fund for sending the APPEAL to California voters until after the next presidential election.

## "GOD DAMN 'EM! GIVE 'EM HELL!"

The above language is credited to J. Pierpont Morgan and is said to have been used by him in giving instructions to one of his strike-breaking thugs while a strike was on in one of his many industries. The sentiment conveyed in this blood-curdling language is not only characteristic of Morgan, but the whole capitalist class. As the master viewed his black slave as a creature of a lower order and fit only for servitude so the modern capitalist views the working man as a menial whose only place in life is before the fiery furnace door, beside the dangerous machinery, in the depths of the damp mine, or in the sweltering sweat shop. These are the places where the profits are ground out that buy the palaces and luxuries of the industrial masters.

Morgan is the iron chancellor of business. His is the method of the stern dictator who does not compromise. He has driven weaker financiers from the market and out of his pathway. When he assumed charge of the steel trust, compromise with the workmen ceased. He answered their wage scales with refusals, their boycotts with court injunctions, and their strikes with bullets. With his hired cesspools he drove the steel workers of Pennsylvania into submission. Now he is acquiring the Pennsylvania coal fields and before his unmerciful onslaughts, the coal miners are retreating towards the last ditch.

The California working class has Morgan as its antagonist. The reason is not hard to see. There are ships to be built on the Pacific and Morgan wants no meddling unions to bother him. There are fruit districts to be exploited over his railroads and he wants this fruit picked with the cheapest labor. There are immense buildings to be erected for the San Francisco world's fair requiring much steel and structural work, and Morgan is determined to clear the field of the higher priced union labor.

McNamara is in jail in Los Angeles because he represents the last union directly connected with the steel industries which is in Morgan's way. The march of Morgan and his subordinate capitalists against the unions has been one of an unbroken chain of victories. Behind us there is Homestead and Westmoreland in the east, the Coeur d'Alene and Cripple Creek in the west. What is there ahead?

### CHANGE OF TACTICS NEEDED

Unionism is doomed in America unless political control is speedily acquired by the working class. Arrayed against it is the capitalist machinery of government which includes the supreme and federal courts and the army in the nation; the state courts and the militia in the states. With all of these powerful agencies in the hands of the capitalists what chance have the working men on the industrial field, alone?

How do the union officials propose to meet Morgan's campaign of extermination? It is sad but true that not a single militant note has come from the executive board of the American Federation of Labor. That body has confined its efforts to raising a McNamara fund, which, it is said, has now reached the sum of \$300,000. What is to be done with this money? Hire lawyers, is the answer. Labor goes into a capitalist market, buys a capitalist lawyer and sends him into a capitalist court to combat capital, where all of the cards are shuffled and dealt by capitalist hands. Money will hire lawyers and lawyers will plead, but they plead to ears that are deaf and to hearts that are cold. For every dollar that labor can raise with which to fight legal battles, Morgan can raise a thousand, and he and his ilk dominate every important court in the land.

### WHAT TO DO

When the wires announced the kidnaping of McNamara there was a conference of the APPEAL staff, including its own Socialist attorney, within twenty-four hours. While in many respects this case is like that of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, yet in one important particular it was extremely different. The frame up was apparently complete. Burns is young, and his reputation is at stake, while McPartland, the Pinkerton in the Western Federation, was old. McPartland talked and boasted. Burns had kept his own counsel. The subservience to him of the capitalist officials from sheriffs to governors had been complete. Nothing, we believed, but a miracle could save McNamara from conviction.

We were satisfied that our old line of defense which we took in the former case would be unavailable in this one. What then should we do to save McNamara and the unions.

Finally, like an inspiration came the solution—carry California and put Socialists into the public offices. We believed it possible then and the conviction grows upon us with every passing hour. The last legislature of California has submitted a recall amendment to the people to be voted on this fall. The working people of California will adopt this measure and if it suits their purpose tear everyone of the corporation serving judges from the bench and put our own men in place.

Is this startling? If so remember that it is precisely what Roosevelt and Taft have been doing for the capitalists. They have packed the supreme court with capitalist partisans. When Lincoln became president in 1861 and found a war on his hands, he also found a supreme court packed with those against him. This court was determined to embarrass him. The country had no money, and in its dire need it issued its credit in the form of greenbacks. The supreme court declared this law unconstitutional. Lincoln, as promptly, had put through congress a bill, increasing the number of judges. He appointed these judges and selected men who were friendly to the union. The new judges reversed the decision of the old. When Socialists get to it, rest assured we shall not hesitate to be as ready witted and as prompt as Lincoln.

**POLITICAL ACTION ONLY REMEDY**  
Carrying Los Angeles by the Socialist working men and placing the machinery of law in their hands will effectually block Morgan's purpose. Carrying the state for Socialism will end his assaults on organized labor, AND NOTHING ELSE WILL.

Talk of a general strike, of direct action, at the present stage of our movement is the direst folly. It would be playing into Morgan's hands, and he would like nothing better in the event of such an uprising than to order the soldiers to shoot the workmen down like dogs in the streets. The language used at the head of this article clearly reveals what he thinks about it. The American constitution has provided for our use the ballot, and no public sentiment can at present be aroused for any other means of assault on capitalism than that which the law prescribes and has furnished us free of cost.

**NO HOPE FROM LABOR LEADERS**  
In this struggle it is useless to appeal to the heads of big labor organizations to line up in a political battle with capitalism. THESE MEN ARE HOPELESSLY COMPROMISED. They have been wining and dining with Carnegie, Perry Belmont, and others of that class. They cannot now change their course towards independent political action by the workers, without reversing a mistaken policy they have been so long defending. The rank and file of all organized labor is more class conscious than the leadership. For them there has been no hangouts and no fat salaries. They have only poverty and rags for their portion. These men, the real workers, are ready to move. Milwaukee, Butte, Flint, Berkeley, and a host of other places prove it. California can be carried. The working people of the coast have the votes. Organization and agitation is all that is needed to carry the day.

Three hundred thousand dollars raised by the workers for legal defense is a noble exhibition of the loyalty of labor to a persecuted brother confined in a jail in a distant city and whose only crime is loyalty to his class. If this sum could be raised to spend on lawyers, some of them notoriously of the capitalist kind, why in the name of all that is sensible and sane can not a like sum be raised for education and political organization? Such a fund at the disposal of the Socialist party in California, and the unions that are now fast lining up in the Socialist ranks, will create an agitation that no power on earth can withstand.

Let Morgan raise a million to fight us on the political field. He can secure no speakers to meet ours on the stump. He can put no literature into California though he would carpet the state seven times over with his Otis brand of newspapers, than can overcome the resistless logic of our appeal to the workers to rise in a political revolution and vote themselves into control of the courts and the public offices.

The American Express company was organized 42 years ago with a capital of \$1,000,000, on an appraised valuation of \$5,000,000—some water there—and on this basis has paid 12 per cent dividends annually, besides accumulating a surplus of \$20,000,000. The Wells-Fargo company on a valuation of \$500,000 issued stock to the amount of \$3,500,000, and last year paid 300 per cent on its capitalization. The Adams Express company has a capitalization of \$2,000,000, much of it water, and all made from the business, and is paying an annual dividend of 20 per cent. But you don't want a parrot per carrying your stuff at cost. You like to be skinned and be made poor that you may make others rich.

Number forty-one of the *Coming Nation* will be the second installment of Russell's "New Lights on the Common Good." In this he tells how "low, common workingmen have taken control of the government of Australia and have shown that, from the point of view of efficiency, they can do better work than the highly trained 'statesman' that formerly occupied the offices. At the same time he shows how this party, because of its lack of a Socialist position, has failed to bring relief to the working man that it might have done. These articles are the greatest contribution to the discussion of Socialist tactics that have been published in recent years.

By the workers had always received their full product, all machinery of production and distribution and all good homes would now be in the hands of the toilers.

There is this about the supreme court: Until it becomes possible to recall it when it is delinquent in its duty, it can't be answered according to the rule of reason.

C. W. Post, in protesting against the distribution of the APPEAL in Post City, evidently does not want immorality interfered with; he merely objects to its being found out. "There's a reason."

The talk of reforming court procedure is merely another aspect of the plot to usurp the whole function of the government by an appointed and irresponsible judiciary. Justice White, resign!

A surprising piece of news is that Gary of the steel trust objects to a cut in steel prices! As the interests of the maker and the consumer are identical, Gary ought to be with a majority for cutting down profits of the delectable trust.

Is the APPEAL again to be attacked by the government? C. W. Post, the labor leader of Butte Creek, is urging the government to shut it from the mails. We shall soon discover whether the government has not already had enough.

A WRITER in Mexico criticizes the statement that an alien cannot hold real estate in Mexico. My informant says that the buying of real estate has the effect of making the purchaser a Mexican citizen. Or did, many years ago. Anyway the APPEAL feels that our government should not tax our people to protect foreign investments.

Now that the APPEAL has shown up the horrible conditions at Leavenworth, it is but natural that the criminals in power should be whitewashed and the APPEAL attacked. Already petitions are in circulation by "business men," "best citizens," asking the government to exclude the APPEAL from the mails. That is capitalist justice for you.

The steel trust is being so badly injured by the inquiry being made in its affairs by the "department of justice" that it has just absorbed 17,000 acres of undeveloped coal in Pennsylvania for \$18,000,000! And the funny thing is, it did it without the use of any money. Can you figure out how it was done? Until you can, you are unable to understand high finance.

AND now they charge that Judge Blair, who fined so many voters of Adams county, Ohio, for taking bribes, was himself a giver of bribes. Same thing as the complaint against the trusts of rebating, when the small capitalists, who make the complaint, continually sell in quantities cheaper than by the single article. The whole capitalist system is a crazy proposition.

At the very time the merger of the Frisco and Santa Fe is announced, the Northern Pacific, Hill's road, is bonded for \$60,000,000. It looks as though the fight between the Morgan and Harriman groups of roads was not at an end and also as though the capitalists were not very panicky over the supreme court's efforts to stop merging and monopoly.

SENATOR CUMMINGS is seeing red. He says: "Within a decade we will see whether the grievances of today will be settled by law or by the manner that has been in existence for 2000 years—the revolution of violence and terror and bloodshed." He should work for the political revolution now. Better to see the red of the Socialist revolution than the red terror of foolish effort.

WICKERSHAM, the attorney general of the United States who has been "prosecuting" the trusts, admitted on the witness stand, the other day, that he had received a fee from the sugar trust as its attorney of \$20,000, and that Henry W. Taft, brother of the president, had done the same. No wonder the sugar trust, found guilty in court, was permitted to pay back a small part of its stealings and go free. Such a farce as capitalist courts are!

Do you know the meaning of the solicitude now being expressed for a law that will admit a more perfect regulation of the trusts than the Sherman anti-trust law now on the books? It is to blind you while the plutes are enacting a federal incorporation law that will render the states powerless and make the trusts supreme. It is all a part of the plot of the masters. The supreme court vitiated the Sherman law by interpretation and amendment, and now they lambast the trusts in the papers so you will stand for the new outrage. Justice White, resign.

The Kansas City street railway has been put into the hands of a U. S. receiver. The papers say that mismanagement is the cause. If the government can manage better and more honestly than private management, where goes the contention that the public can not take charge of the industries? The receipts of the railway are \$800,000 a year above the operating expenses, bad as the management has been, but there has been so much stock-jobbing that this will not pay the required graft of the stock and bond-holders. If the property were owned by the city, more than a million a year would go into the public treasury, and when the property debts were paid off more than two millions. But that would cut out the creating of more millionaires—and if there is anything the average old party voter loves, it is making millionaires, even if he goes in rags and cannot pay his rent or grocery bills. The old party training of dupes is down to a fine science. Are you on?

## Death of Mrs. Wayland

The wife of the founder of the APPEAL to Reason and *Coming Nation* was thrown from an automobile on the evening of June 8th and suffered injuries from which she died a few hours later. She was within a few hundred feet of her home when, owing to a defect in the steering gear, the machine became unmanageable, and ran into an electric light pole, throwing Mrs. Wayland several feet from the automobile and fracturing her skull. She was carried to her home and every possible effort made to save her life but without avail. The accident took place just as the APPEAL was going to press, and the little town of Girard and the workers on the Socialist press that goes out from that city are washed with sorrow. Our hearts go out in sympathy to Comrade Wayland in this hour of affliction and we know that that sympathy and sorrow will be shared by his millions of friends throughout the country.

Perhaps the best tribute that can be paid to Mrs. Wayland is from the pen of her husband, printed in the APPEAL November 7th, 1903, telling how her devotion to the APPEAL Army saved the paper from destruction. It was after the most trying period through which the APPEAL ever passed. Wayland wrote:

"There was a sense of relief when I felt it was all over. The long strain, the anxiety, the uncertainty. I still had a little means left, but I could sell the old hard life would pass from me. I sat down before the grate at the house with my wife and daughter. They were weeping. Perhaps I was too."

"I reviewed the past years of struggle. The vision of the APPEAL Army, with the thousands who had stood by me in every trial, passed before me. I saw poor men and poor women who had given up badly needed dimes to help the work for industrial deliverance. They confided in me. I never asked but they responded. What would they think. What would they feel? How many of them would sink discouraged, hopes blasted, confidence lost? Should a few be permitted to stand between? Shall I sink self, even life, if need be, for those who need it? And the wife said, 'The Army has been faithful to you' and I decided."

### LEARN TO WRITE.

The APPEAL receives thousands of letters enclosing some clippings and asking for us to write a reply.

How did the writers on the APPEAL learn to write replies? Not one of them ever went to college. I never went to school more than twelve months. We borrowed and begged books and studied. You have as good brains as we, but you haven't trained them. This movement is needing more trained writers and speakers, and in the next few years the men and women who prepare themselves will be taken up and given the high positions in this government. We are certain to win control, sooner or later, and only those who are capable will or can be used in places of trust and direction. Why should you ask others to do it when it is your duty to develop the ability? It will take but a few moments for you to present clearly the ideas you have, to answer every objection to Socialism, to present its truths.

In this connection, let me suggest that you go to your local paper and ask that an "Open Forum" be established in which every side of every question be given a hearing, when coached in respectful language. Let people express themselves on matters that are close to their hearts. The local editor lives by reason of the patronage of all people in his community and he should permit them to use his paper. It is right that he should. This would be the most interesting page in his paper. Then you could write for it. It would be better to present Socialism in this way than to have a paper that was taken only by Socialists. We desire to reach the readers of other papers.

### AN "UNREASONABLE" COURT.

If you steal horses you must not be "unreasonable" about it, or the supreme court will make you quit, in six months. If you are bribing people you must not be "unreasonable" about it, or the supreme court will make you quit, in six months.

If you are bribing legislatures to elect Legislators, you must not be "unreasonable" about it, or the supreme court will make you quit, in six months. If you are robbing the public treasury you must not be "unreasonable" about it, or the supreme court will make you quit, in six months.

Don't you think the court itself is somewhat "unreasonable" when it wants to interfere in the regular trade of commercial robbery in this manner? Great is the supreme court and great is six months' license to continue in crime.

Before the Standard Oil and tobacco trust decisions, the supreme court was merely in control of the people. Now it is a laughing stock. It is being jeered on every hand, every stage and every country paper is poking fun at it. Lincoln Steffens, the magazine writer, thinks it will mean either the end of the supreme court, or else the breaking of its usurped power. Justice White, resign!

Up in good old rock-ribbed republican Iowa there is one divorce to seven marriages—and yet some people proclaim that Socialism will destroy the home! It appears that republican prosperity is destroying one home out of seven.

An oats feed firm prints pictures of three wretched looking children, "Waits Who Are Underfed," in its advertisements. So common has grown the sight of starving children that it has become an asset in trade to advertise it! This is a glorious system. Are you not proud that you have enough intelligence to vote for it to continue? You ought to be.

Those who are not reading "The Big Changes," by Eugene Wood in the *Coming Nation*, and seeing the illustrations that accompany it by Horace Taylor, are missing the greatest piece of Socialist writing that has ever yet been published in this country. In the current issue Wood shows how the problem of unemployment has come to our present system. There was a time when unemployment meant rest and recreation, and now it means starvation and misery, and he tells just how this has come, and he tells it in a way that will make you laughing all the time, but will make you think when you have finished.

The Hawaii supreme court has decided that it is unlawful for a man to solicit laborers to leave that country "after so much public money has been expended to get them there," and orders the imprisonment of men who told the poor slaves they could better their conditions in Alaska and other places, you see the judges know their masters, and the masters must be protected in the possession of their slaves. Slavery exists in Hawaii, and they are as jealous of the slaves as were the chattel slave masters. Oh, you suckers of workers, who have no judges of your own! Why don't you elect judges for your benefit?

If we can keep the subject of Socialism before the people, sooner or later they will want to know what it really is, and then will read our papers and books. And that brings up another phase of the propaganda. Every Socialist should have two or three interesting books and should loan these to his neighbors. Cloth bound are better than paper back as they suggest importance of the subject. I have tried this and I know. I would suggest that you begin with a copy of Bellamy's "Looking Backward," and follow it up by "Socialism from Genesis to Revelation," Cronlund's "Co-Operative Common," "Equality"—and if you do monetary. It will be because you do not keep them out, but neglect to go after them as soon as read, and talk over the matter with those who have read them.

Has government any function except that of policeman or jailor? Should government do service for the people who pay the bills of maintaining it? Referring to some matters that came out during the congressional debate on tariff it was shown that shoes and lides could be imported, leather tanned, shoes made and sold to the people for less than one-half they now have to pay, if this government were to do the work, and then pay better wages than the workers now receive, and not have any tariff either. But if the government did this, the various monopolies that now skin the public would be put out of business—hence they are bitterly opposed to any such use of government. When the people go to thinking they will use their government for the benefit of all instead of benefit for the few rich doodle-bugs, as is now the case. Do you catch on?

It appears that an artist was employed to paint a portrait of one man called Day—supposed to be serving the public as secretary of state. The artist said he was paid \$850 for the job, and the custodian of the secret service fund says he signed a voucher for \$2,450 for it. And the president says that the record of the matter shall not be given to congress, even on its demand! The king can do no wrong. This use of the secret service fund shows the character of the men who are in charge of the white house. Was there ever an easier set of suckers than the American voters? Was there ever a nation of people who knew less than they about their own government, or what becomes of their tax money? But Socialism is such an impractical scheme, don't you know!

It develops that the ordinance duly passed and attested by the Arizona statehood convention, which provided for a direct primary for all officials at the first election, was purposely omitted by the republican secretary of the territory, G. U. Young, and that the old graft system will prevail in the first election. Such treachery should be punished by the most severe form of agony that the laws of the nation permits. It is worse than murder, for treason to the people causes many murders and killings. But what else could be expected from such cattle as fill offices under republican graft rule? Trained thieves, graft, boodle and bribery, they would sell their country for a piece of silver. Few men of different character ever get office under the republican machine. Men who will not sell or commit treason, are not wanted by the machine organization of either of the old parties. The wonder is that we have as clean a government as we have. Imprisonment for Young is too good. But he will be rewarded with some soft snap by the trust owners of the government when he is let out there. Now watch and see if he isn't.

## SEEKING POLITICAL POWER.

The APPEAL is a political paper and is seeking to bring about a political revolution by means of the ballot. To this end it is using every means at its command to increase its subscription list. The APPEAL is sometimes criticized for its strenuous methods in getting people to read this paper, but without subscribers the APPEAL would have no influence whatever. A recent criticism comes from *Regeneracion*, the Mexican revolutionary organ.

A few years ago Magon, Rivera and Villareal, Mexican patriot refugees, began agitation against the tyranny of Diaz, working from the United States. That was right. The APPEAL took up their cause when it was so far from being popular that everything the APPEAL said about Diaz was vigorously denied. But it kept pounding away, at a financial loss, until other papers and finally a magazine took up the matter; and at last a revolt became possible in Mexico, chiefly because the APPEAL had educated the American people to the point where their sympathies were with the oppressed of the republic to the south. At first Magon in his new paper *Regeneracion* favored Madero. The APPEAL, from the first, however, warned that it was a capitalist rebellion and would, if successful, bring merely amelioration, not industrial liberty. For saying this it was bitterly denounced by Magon's paper, *Regeneracion*.

A little later, however, there was a break among those interested in the publication of *Regeneracion*. Villareal and Rivera, as well as DeLara, joined Madero on the field. Magon, on the contrary, remained away from the scene of war, but turned his editorial guns on them and on Madero, championing the cause of a counter-revolution started chiefly by Americans in Lower California.

In the last issue of *Regeneracion* the APPEAL is attacked violently because it does not come out strongly for the Lower California revolt. Magon says the APPEAL is "after subscriptions and political power," and intimates that, because it is, it is unfaithful to the true interests of the working class.

The APPEAL admits it is "out after subscriptions and political power." If it had not had subscriptions, its expose of Mexico, conditions would have had no more effect than did the expose made in Magon's little paper two years before. It was the APPEAL's circulation which made possible the Mexican revolution and *Regeneracion* itself—not particularly the style of the writing, but the circulation of what was printed. This is ample defense for the seeking of subscriptions.

As for the appeal to political power, that is in accord with Socialist philosophy. The APPEAL has both sympathy and admiration for the handful of patriots who are engaged in an independent armed rebellion in Lower California. But Magon is pushing them to inevitable disaster, while he stays in the security of his office at Los Angeles. His statement that if Madero will keep his hands off and the United States keep its hands off, they will win, shows how utterly impractical he is. Madero can't keep his hands off. It is now generally conceded that governments, like people, must fight for their lives when threatened; accordingly, Lincoln in opposing secession was doing the only thing he could do. If Magon himself was president of Mexico and one state insisted on withdrawing from the union, he could do nothing but force it to remain. For these reasons the Mexican government will be forced to interfere with the armed rebellion in Lower California. If it does not, then the United States will have legitimate excuse for intervention. Magon's "direct action" is for the first time in the course of the insurrection really ENDANGERING THE INDEPENDENCE OF MEXICO.

Long before *Regeneracion* denounced Madero as a middle class man, the APPEAL declared his success would mean only minor reforms, and for saying it was denounced by *Regeneracion*. Madero has, however, pledged liberty of the press and of agitation. The thing for Magon to do is to return to Mexico and from that vantage ground go out "after subscriptions and political power."

According to Socialist philosophy, a people cannot step at once from feudal conditions into Socialism; therefore, the very capitalistic conditions which Madero brings are supplying the needed ground for the cultivation of the seeds of Socialism. According to Socialist philosophy, Socialism cannot come through force of arms, but must come through "subscriptions and agitation and propaganda and political power." If we in the United States, where Socialism as a movement has progressed to where it has representation in many states and in the national government, should seek to force our way into power by armed rebellion, it would not matter how sincere or brave we might be, we would simply invite disaster. If this is true of the United

## Red Specials Not for Sale

The APPEAL cannot fill bundle orders for the "Red Special" edition. The paper is printed on extra quality stock and on fast hot presses. Any mechanical facilities make it impossible to fill orders in such quantities as bundle orders would call for. In addition the possession of a "Red Special" signifies that the holder has done special work in boosting the APPEAL sub list. This would not be true if papers were purchased at one-half cost a copy. Until July 2d one copy of this special number in red will be mailed to all who send four or more subs and request a copy of the "Red Special." Copies will not be sent unless requested at time of forwarding subs.

States, how much more true is it of Mexico, where, owing to long press censorship, there is as yet no well defined Socialist movement. "Direct action" is a failure. Instead of trying, with your limited circulation, to dictate a policy for American Socialists, Comrade Magon, you should return to Mexico, get in accord with the international movement, and go out "after subscriptions and political power."

## WASTE OF INSURANCE.

Life insurance companies were paid \$60,000,000 last year in California, and they paid out \$22,000,000. Practically the entire difference could have been saved to the people or put in their state treasury if the state had conducted the business. But that sum was enough to make twenty-two more millionaires, and millionaires are the blossoms of the system of capitalism which the people love. To have the state perform any useful and helpful function—horror! That would destroy the incentive, don't you know! Under Socialism life and fire insurance, with their horde of parasites now engaged in the business, would not be needed. Every citizen would be guaranteed employment and a secure and ample income after his days of activity were over, just as during his childhood and active years. But the people are as little children, having no ideals of anything except to scrap and fight for the loot taken from them by the private ownership of things. Sometime it will be different and peace and plenty and good will replace the struggle for existence that now makes enemies of men who should be brothers. If the state is only a policeman, to guard property rights, why should the propertyless who have nothing to guard vote for it? The democratic state would belong to all the people, would work for all the people and would be worth defending by all the people.

Some one sends me a statement that there is \$24.17 per capita of liquor consumed in this country per year. That is bad, but most of it is caused by the effort to get profits by those who make or retail the poison. If the liquor business were socialized—if the public made and dispensed pure drinks, at cost—no one would have any interest in inducing others to drink, and the traffic could be controlled by the rules and regulations that a public sentiment would have enacted. Now it is to the interest of those who profit to violate the laws; but if it was a public business no one would profit by violating. Goosens, Sweden, has solved this problem, but it seems that our anti-drink people will not read up on the subject. Drinking is increasing here while it is decreasing there. Write the consular department, Washington, D. C. for information regarding the means used by Gothenberg to almost eliminate the cup in thirty years, yet pleasing every class of persons.

The San Francisco News of May 29d has a dispatch from New York telling how one of the rich women boards her pet poodle at a swell hotel and that his meals cost her about \$20 a week. What of it? Do not the fools who furnish her through interest, rent and profits, vote for the system that enables this silly femaloid to amuse the poor fool of a woman—she doesn't know any better; but blame your poor chumps of work people who vote for the private ownership of lands, shops and mines. You do the voting and the working and the giving up that enables her to waste on puppy dogs while your children live in want. If she had to work like your wife and daughters for her income, she would have better sense than to waste it on dogs. She believes in the system that gives her wealth without working—in that she has more sense than the men who vote for the system that makes them work without getting any wealth. Tra-la-la!

CAPITALISM is no logical, you know. It proposes to end war by preparing for it. It makes overproduction of good things a reason for many suffering for lack of them. It asserts that the interests of the robber and the robbed are identical. It says Socialism is vicious and too good to be true. It declares it is wicked to try to realize the Christ prayer for righteousness on earth as it is in heaven. It will say anything or do anything except to yield its graft.

## "CALIFORNIA FOR SOCIALISM"

Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas  
Dear Comrades:—For the enclosed \$\_\_\_\_\_ please send the APPEAL to California names up to the November elections in 1912.

OR SIGN THIS ONE:

I agree to give \$\_\_\_\_\_ the first of each month for six months.

Sender's Name \_\_\_\_\_

Street Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_



Solid Progress in Pennsylvania

After campaigning in Pennsylvania for four weeks the best organized in the union. Other states are strong in spots and centers but the Pennsylvania movement is uniformly strong over the state. Its membership is united, enthusiastic, progressive and militant to a remarkable degree. In the largest auditorium in the state were nearly all crowded to the doors and at a number of them men had to be turned away. The true Socialist spirit prevails here and the movement is revolutionary in the full sense of the term.

Workers Refuse to Quit

An almost unbelievable situation is reported from France, where agricultural laborers are being "fired" and refused to quit work. They are holding out on their wages as usual. Most of the Agricultural labor in Europe is done by hired hands, who live in huts and cultivate the lands of a few who own it all. They are different from the same methods will not work here as there. The story in question is from the Post-Dispatch of St. Louis, Mo., dated June 15.

Debs' Lecture Tour

Comrade Debs will close his present season's tour June 30th, at Stamford, Conn. During July and August he will take a much needed and well earned vacation. The September tour for Ohio and Indiana is completed. The November tour is now being made up and will embrace the eastern states. Locals desiring meetings should notify their state secretary or Mrs. Grace D. Brewer, Girard, Kan. The announcement made by Comrade Barnes that the APPEAL and the Coming Nation had joined the National Lecture Bureau in no wise affects Comrade Debs' meetings, which will be continued, as heretofore, under the direction of the APPEAL on the basis of 1,000 subscriptions. Comrade Debs is enthusiastic over this method of propaganda and expresses himself as satisfied he is doing more good for the movement by this plan than any work he has ever undertaken for Socialism. These lectures have now become a vital part of the APPEAL's subscription campaign and if you want to help the paper you can do it in no more effective way than by boosting a Debs meeting in your town.

Debs' June Tour

Comrade Debs will close his meetings for the summer in the east. During July and August he will visit the following places for the fall tour, which will probably include Ohio and Indiana. Locals in those states desiring dates for Comrade Debs should apply to their state secretaries. The dates in June are as follows: June 15, Hagerstown, Md., 8 p. m., Academy of Music. June 16, Paterson, N. J., 8 p. m., Riverdale Turn Hall. June 19, Newark, N. J., 8 p. m., Waver's Hall. June 21, Hockessin, N. J., 8 p. m., the Armory. June 18, Elizabeth, N. J., 2:45 p. m., Professor's theater. June 19, Newark, N. J., 8 p. m., Waver's Hall. June 20, Bayonne, N. J., 8 p. m., opera house. June 21, Hartford, Conn., 8 p. m., Foot Guard Army Hall. June 25, Salem, Mass., 2 p. m., Germania theater. June 26, London, Conn., 8 p. m., Lawrence theater. June 27, Meriden, Conn., 8 p. m., Town Hall. June 28, Danbury, Conn., 8 p. m., Taylor opera house. June 29, Rockville, Conn., 8 p. m., Realty Hall. June 30, Stamford, Conn., 8 p. m., Realty Hall.

Wilson's Western Tour

Comrade Ben F. Wilson, after doing a triumphant series of meetings in Oregon went to California to visit his brother Still for a week. Enroute home he will stop at Jackson, Cal., where he will give a series of meetings on the 16th of June and at Fort Collins, the 18th, the 20th at Brush and the 21st at Wray. He will return to Jackson, Cal., on June 19. Wilson's tour has been marked by very successful meetings and he is greatly encouraged at the outlook for Socialism in the west.

Texas State Encampment

Only in the good old southland, do they know how to hold big outdoor encampments. The people of the south love to congregate and hold big outdoor encampments. The religious gatherings that indulged in these social feasts. When the populist movement was at its meridian, Texas had an encampment at Grand Saline, August 7th to 12th inclusive. The weather will be hot, but the encampment will be better. A. W. C. will be present in a large section of speakers, besides which a dozen more will be present from different sections of the country. Thousands of people will be present. For information address Richey Alexander, Grand Saline, Texas.

Should Investigate

From American People, Entero, Fla. Lately the APPEAL to REASON has been probing into the history of the government prison at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and has found a lot of circumstances that are not only a matter of cruelty and dehumanity on the part of the management, that is scarcely believable of anything that a civilized nation would do, but that would sully the reputation of God and Germany for immorality. The American people should investigate this case, and that would sully the reputation of God and Germany for immorality. The American people should investigate this case, and that would sully the reputation of God and Germany for immorality.

Who's Your Victim?

Keep after that voter who selected to win for Socialism by 1912. He's getting the APPEAL regularly and will continue to get it till after 1912 but you want to stop it. It is a particular form of mind. The "Every One Win One" campaign can be brought to a successful conclusion, so far as you are concerned, by cancelling the mail of that non-Socialist.

For the Assault

Orders now on hand for Rescue Edition No. 2, total 644,240 copies. This is the number to be devoted to suppressed facts and the great recent distributed by the APPEAL Army in the heat of the Moyer-Haywood trial. Show and a corps of assistants will be sent to every city and town to hand out the Rescue Edition. The rate is fifty cents a hundred, \$5 a thousand. Send your order now. Watch the figures grow and make it a point to help them grow.

Explosive in the Heart of the Law

The following letter from T. N. Carver, of the "Cambridge" Mass., shows that the APPEAL is doing a work in that great educational institution. A class in Methods of Social Reform, I desire to thank you for copies of the APPEAL to REASON which you have been sending. I have kept them on my desk in my study room and they have been examined from day to day by various members of the class.

Still Another Old Socialist

Amesbury, Mass.—My mother, born in 1808, was a dues paying Socialist in Manchester, England, when I was born in 1836. She taught her children under the leadership of Robert D. Owen. A true Socialist who I think is my mother's equal is Mother Jones. JOHN H. BLACKLOCK.

The Socialist Scouts

Vacation and the Scouts offer your boy or girl plenty of opportunity to make extra pocket money and earn valuable premiums doing pleasant outdoor work. Talk it over with your father or mother. They will sell the Coming Nation and APPEAL to REASON and take subscriptions for both papers. They make a very nice gift for the boys and girls. A postage stamp is all the expense required for a start. I'll be glad to send you a copy of the Coming Nation and APPEAL to REASON for a year at \$3.00.

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If you would like to learn who the capitalist traitors are who mismanage the government at Washington get a copy of "U. S. Constitution and Socialism," 12,000 copies for ten cents. Address the author, Star Road, 3395 Park View avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.

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California Ruled by Corporations

For more than thirty years California, and more particularly the cities of the state, was the political playground of the corporate masters. The municipal council of the cities of the state are the property of the corporations. All public officials from United States senators, and down to the lowest municipal officers, are the very slaves of the corporations and are the servile creatures of the political machine of the corporations. The municipal council of the cities of the state are the property of the corporations. All public officials from United States senators, and down to the lowest municipal officers, are the very slaves of the corporations and are the servile creatures of the political machine of the corporations.

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March of the Movement

BY EUGENE V. DEBS
Thirty large meetings were addressed by Comrade Brewer and myself during May in the state of Pennsylvania. It was a month of unusually successful agitation. The crowds were large and the enthusiasm intense. From letters received since the close of the series it seems certain that thirty more meetings will be ready in the same state by the time we can arrange to cover them.

They behold in the outrageous treatment to which Roe was subjected under present conditions if they dared to bring a charge against the administration. All that Roe demanded was a chance to prove his charges and this was denied him, and today thousands are asking why he was not met with argument instead of brute force in a convention whose ostensible purpose it is to hear and say and do things in the interest and for the good of the rank and file.

at others the O. R. C. and its organ would better go a little slow. The O. R. C. has a scabbing and strike-breaking record that should keep it in sackcloth and ashes for a long time to come. For years it would not allow the union label to appear upon its journal. In the C. B. and O. strike in 1888 its members climbed upon all the engine decks, piloted the scab engineers and firemen over the road, prided themselves upon standing by the company and putting the engineers and firemen on the bum and on the black list, and all of this was done by authority and with the sanction and approval of the grand officers of the organization. This is but a single incident in its career, the record of which may be found in the files of its own organ. It would be strange indeed if such an organ did not hate an honest man.

Post After the Appeal
C. W. Post, president of the Postum Cereal Food company, recently lost in a \$50,000 damage suit for libel brought by Collier's Weekly, unmarried captain of industry and all around labor faker and Socialist hater, is after the APPEAL with the grand jury of Garza county, Texas, and on the trail of Comrade J. Estes of Lubbock, Texas, with a shotgun.
Post has a private town, named for him, Post City, of course, in Garza county. He owns practically everything in the place and thinks he owns the inhabitants. More than a year ago several residents of the town were found to be APPEAL subscribers. They were promptly discharged and drummed out. The APPEAL decided to make a target of Post City and the following plan was put in operation:
Comrade T. J. Estes, of Lubbock, was commissioned to visit the place once a week and make a thorough distribution of APPEALS and other Socialist literature. It was understood that he was to leave the APPEAL in every store and every house in town, except those occupied by people who requested that no papers be left at their places. Comrade Estes has faithfully adhered to this plan, and his third or fourth trip the town was in an uproar. Post's lieutenants hurriedly sent for him. Several of them warned Comrade Estes that Post was a 'bad man' and would surely cause him trouble; he continued his distribution and the number of people who eagerly read the APPEAL each week grew alarmingly. On May 24th, Estes wrote the APPEAL as follows:
The old crooked got his hatred up before I reached Post City this time and had things pretty well stirred up. His man Friday had been circulating a petition for a new school building. I was informed, I don't blame his man Friday for Post gives him a handsome pension for services rendered in helping him secure his large holdings in the town.

By telegraph to APPEAL to Reason.
Los Angeles, Cal., June 10.—As a result of the explosion conducted by the dynamite in the Times building, the facts relative to the Times explosion have been definitely established. There were thirty-five men in the building at the time of the explosion, the odor of gas was strong from the basement to top floor. The explosion occurred in the room which was occupied by several employees because he could not longer tolerate the odor of gas that filled the room in which he was working. The explosion occurred in the room which was occupied by several employees because he could not longer tolerate the odor of gas that filled the room in which he was working. The explosion occurred in the room which was occupied by several employees because he could not longer tolerate the odor of gas that filled the room in which he was working.

Socialist literature. Don't write letters or postal cards to them. Send them papers, books, pamphlets, etc. Mail addressed to any of these at Post City, Texas, will reach them promptly. Post has many of "his" people bluffed into thinking the world is bounded by Battle Creek on the north, Post City on the south, Grapevines on the west and made to order divorces on the east. Some of his slaves think the postoffice is named in his honor. Show these people the strength of the APPEAL Army. Let them know that the workers are organized and that Post and other reactionaries cannot whip, beat nor bluff them into submission.
Morgan is Already King
It is not a surprise to the APPEAL that Madero is accused of being controlled by Wall Street. On March 19th, it said, while the issue in Mexico appeared uncertain:
A new force is sought to maintain the supremacy of American capitalists in an end to capitalist domination in America. It does not mean that there has been a change from one ruler to another—from Diaz to Madero. Before this, on February 18th, the APPEAL said:
According to newspaper reports Diaz has abdicated in favor of Madero. Madero is in case he retains nominal power; and it looks as though the United States was going to support Madero. The result of this force the insurgents to similar terms.
Three weeks before the latter date the APPEAL declared that Madero was behind the rebellion in Mexico, being induced to favor it by a desire to get possession of the iron deposits of Lower California; and the APPEAL was severely criticized for saying this. On various other occasions it has said that Madero could do no more than bring reforms in case he was successful.
But the mere fact that Madero is not president and that DeLaBarra, who, during the progress of the war, was secretary of the Washington office of the almost daily conference with Morgan and other Wall Street magnates, is president, ought to convince people as to the real nature of the outcome in Mexico. Because the Appeal has understood this all along, it is not surprised at the alleged interview with Gustavo Madero, brother of the insurrectionist, as reported by the United Press, June 1st. This Madero is reported to have said:
There was little need for fighting. All we had to do was to be ready to fight if the world started a slavery war. The power of the Madero movement was fully understood by the financial interests of the nations and most of the leaders who deal in the world's financial markets knew months ago that the revolution was bound to succeed. Why, then, did the world wait three months before it stepped in to help for a time and talked over the finances of Mexico with many capitalists. Apparently the world was waiting for the day when most of his conferences were held. In reality, however, Limantour spent most of his time at the Astor hotel. It was in a room in the Astor hotel that the revolutionary work for the revolution was done. My father and I went to New York and were arrested by the world's great bankers. Limantour held three conferences with us. We told him that we had great riches behind us and that he had better inform the financial interests of the world that we were going to overthrow the Diaz dynasty. We also proved to him in these conferences that we would be conferring a blessing on his country and saving much blood. He advised Diaz and all the interests that surround him that the Madero movement was the only way to save the country. The conference was fully persuaded that Diaz was doomed and when he reached Mexico City he told Diaz the whole truth about the situation. It was the world's great bankers who told him to surrender to us with little resistance as possible.
Three months ago. That was when the APPEAL declared Madero would win because Morgan wished it. The APPEAL stood alone in saying that American capitalists were working for Madero rather than for Diaz. Yet this is practically admitted.
This is but a beginning. There are bigger things doing now. The APPEAL is during the open fighting, and the consequences and trust prosecutions are merely blinds to call your attention away from them. The big things mean the consummation of what was forecasted by the APPEAL in its issue of February 18th, under the title of "United States of North America," and of March 18th, under the title of "Who Is President Now?" That you may get an idea of the big news now being made and slighted by the press, we quote a few things, cutting out all but the bad statements given in dispatches of the past week:
A Republic of Guatemala Given Away. High finance has broken its own roping and lying record. Guatemala, the largest of the Central American republics, today lies on its back, unable to move, mangled and over it stands an American syndicate with a perpetual grant of every political mineral and in the country, every part of the republic, to exploit every waterway, to sell light and power, to control the railroads, to own every part of the republic, to own every way and to engage in fruit growing. And this does Guatemala get? One-tenth of the population of Guatemala, the republic, on Friday the national congress of Guatemala gave the entire republic to this syndicate. It was the syndicate that returned to the nation and the syndicate of that wealth. This legislative act came as the result of months of silent manipulation by the American syndicate during which the legislators of Guatemala were secretly "fixed." The big story "broke" only yesterday. It was simultaneously in Guatemala City, in Orleans and in New York. A New Orleans correspondent of a New York news service added this private advice to the syndicate:
"Editor: Please do not use New Orleans date on this. Would prefer you use it as local, since announcement is reported to have been made in New Orleans tonight. It had story some months ago, but it was given little credence at the time. The debt is really the worst sort."
Nicaragua in Rebellion.
Managua, Nicaragua, June 2.—All concessions of the American syndicate to the Zelaya government have been abolished. Efforts have been made to keep this action secret, but this was done by congress several days ago. This kind of a move was the only way by which the syndicate could have been granted during the Zelaya regime the rights of thousands of investors, who have won by the American syndicate, were the filling of many suits against the Nicaraguan government. There are 400 concessions of the syndicate to the Zelaya government.
T. P. Moffat has started to Washington to confer with Secretary Knox to see what can be done. It is claimed by the friends of the Zelaya government that these concessions were illegally granted and never properly approved in constitutional manner. In other instances, it is believed that Zelaya was coerced into the concessions, and that the people were unlawfully deprived of rights which went to foreign investors. It is probable that the syndicate claims commission will take and the rights of Americans when he returns, but the syndicate another revolution will have swept the republic unless all signs fail.
It all relates to the robbing up of Central American republics by American capitalists. The seizure of Nicaragua, another of those republics, occurred the latter part of last year. Uncle Sam now having possession of her customs receipts from which he pays interest on fraudulent bonds to Morgan and other American capitalists.
These things indicate what has been the first best contemplated relative to Mexico. And the condition there is more critical than at any time during the open insurrection. Unless the new president, freshly from Wall Street, De LaBarra, shall be able to silence revolt, then it will be incumbent on the United States to take the matter in hand. Madero and De LaBarra, except to try and all armed resistance. Up to this strong American feeling was so strongly against Diaz that intervention would have been so unpopular as to make it dangerous. But the new government will be expected to "restore and maintain order," and if it cannot do it, then intervention will not be resisted by Americans. The more Mexicans fight, now Diaz is out, the more insistent will be the demand from the European sources that Uncle Sam, as exponent of the Monroe doctrine, interfere in behalf of peace.
If the integrity of Mexico is to be maintained, it will require almost a superhuman agitation on the part of Americans at this time against interference.

812—Lights Out—812
Look at your yellow address label attached to this paper. If the number following your name is 812 your subscription has expired. If it is 813 or more papers will be sent until you forward new subscription.
May Report
The daily subscription receipts by APPEAL to Reason for the month of May, 1911, are given below. Where two dates appear on a line it signifies Sunday and Monday; this also applies to Memorial Day, a holiday and no mail delivery:
May 1.....2,286 May 16.....2,277
May 2.....1,832 May 17.....2,283
May 3.....1,752 May 18.....2,211
May 4.....2,113 May 19.....2,279
May 5.....2,274 May 20.....2,279
May 6.....2,274 May 21.....2,279
May 7.....2,274 May 22.....2,279
May 8.....2,274 May 23.....2,279
May 9.....2,274 May 24.....2,279
May 10.....2,274 May 25.....2,279
May 11.....2,274 May 26.....2,279
May 12.....2,274 May 27.....2,279
May 13.....2,274 May 28.....2,279
May 14.....2,274 May 29.....2,279
May 15.....2,274 May 30.....2,279
This is a total of 60,000 subscriptions for the month, an average of 2,100 per day for 31 days. May's record for the past seven years is as follows:
1910.....71,962 1906.....32,666
1909.....31,171 1907.....22,549
1908.....33,297 1904.....8,262
1907.....33,297
May, 1911, falls behind May, 1910, by 5,041 subs; it is head and shoulders above any other May in the APPEAL's history. If we can do so well this June as a year ago, and make up that May deficit in addition, the first six months of this year will about balance with the corresponding portion of last year.
To stimulate extra subscription work APPEAL will mail a copy of the "Red Special" to all workers who send four or more subs at one time between now and July 2, provided the issue is requested at this club is sent. Don't confuse this with the original offer for two subs received at the APPEAL office on or before June 12. That offer is closed. If you failed to qualify for a copy, or if you want another one, a club of four or more subs which reaches Girard on or before Sunday, July 2, will bring a red paper by return mail. The offer will definitely and finally close on the above date.
We've a nice gain this week. The Army is doing great work. Keep it up, fellows, and while you're at it put on a little more steam and close up that gap in last month's total.
(The subscription report follows:)
CIRCULATION BY STATES
STATE OF 1911
More Than 60,000
x 1 Pennsylvania.....1,371 6,519 94,121
More Than 40,000
2 Ohio.....853 770 42,164
More Than 20,000
x 3 California.....766 4,967 33,768
x 4 Texas.....599 815 22,414
x 5 New York.....1,395 540 6,261
x 6 Oklahoma.....418 588 21,723
More Than 15,000
x 7 Washington.....312 458 19,667
x 8 Illinois.....359 420 19,174
x 9 Missouri.....619 477 19,228
x 10 Indiana.....464 428 17,417
x 11 Minnesota.....1,219 540 6,261
x 12 Kansas.....504 388 19,228
More Than 10,000
x 13 Michigan.....406 391 14,458
x 14 Oregon.....226 289 19,877
x 15 Arkansas.....244 289 19,799
More Than 5,000
x 16 Iowa.....240 229 9,541
x 17 North Dakota.....95 126 3,509
x 18 Colorado.....129 89 2,881
x 19 Massachusetts.....370 200 7,337
x 20 Wisconsin.....187 100 2,900
x 21 Montana.....187 115 4,262
x 22 West Virginia.....137 187 3,254
x 23 Idaho.....131 176 3,141
x 24 New Jersey.....152 166 6,613
x 25 New Mexico.....81 83 3,813
x 26 Kentucky.....147 162 6,179
x 27 Florida.....119 160 5,690
x 28 Louisiana.....100 120 3,141
More Than 3,000
x 29 Alabama.....87 144 4,554
x 30 Connecticut.....135 85 4,440
x 31 New York.....1,395 540 6,261
x 32 Georgia.....75 59 4,202
x 33 North Carolina.....61 93 3,813
x 34 South Dakota.....81 83 3,813
x 35 New Mexico.....81 83 3,813
x 36 Virginia.....71 94 3,328
x 37 New Hampshire.....68 23 3,141
More Than 2,000
x 38 Arizona.....63 108 2,579
x 39 Canada.....59 55 2,204
x 40 Utah.....59 55 2,204
x 41 Maine.....87 78 2,202
x 42 Maryland.....59 69 2,194
x 43 Mississippi.....29 87 2,119
x 44 Wyoming.....29 87 2,119
More Than 1,000
x 45 South Carolina.....15 14 1,463
x 46 Rhode Island.....15 14 1,463
x 47 Nevada.....108 16 1,284
x 48 Alaska.....8 18 1,181
x 49 Foreign.....8 8 1,181
On the Sick List
30 Dth of Col.....24 9 969
51 Vermont.....46 14 626
52 Delaware.....7 12 626
Total.....11,623 30,260 512,882
States marked "x" show gain for week.

Fraudulent Railroad Bonds

They are trying again to collect the fraudulent railroad bonds issued in Missouri soon after the war. In Macon county a special election has been called for June 25th to vote on paying these old bonds at the rate of thirty-three and one-third cents on the dollar. A similar vote has been taken times within the past 35 years, since the county pledged itself to pay \$250,000 for a railroad that was never built, and each time the proposition was defeated—the last time by less than 100 votes.

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March of the Movement

BY EUGENE V. DEBS
Thirty large meetings were addressed by Comrade Brewer and myself during May in the state of Pennsylvania. It was a month of unusually successful agitation. The crowds were large and the enthusiasm intense. From letters received since the close of the series it seems certain that thirty more meetings will be ready in the same state by the time we can arrange to cover them.

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