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Every Appeal reader will be interested in the circulation report printed on the last page of this edition. Read it and call your neighbor's attention to it.

Fred D. Warren

This paper is sold for, if not by you by someone who wants you to read it. When the time expires it will stop if you do not renew. Entered at Girard, Kansas, postoffice as second-class mail matter March 1, 1913. Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., March 1, 1913

Deluded Followers

Reference is frequently made by our capitalist enemies to the APPEAL's "deluded followers." That means you, dear reader, and especially so if you are an APPEAL Army worker.

Lord, but they do pity you poor "deluded followers!" Great gods of grief well up from their sad hearts because you are being fleeced by the wicked APPEAL.

Oh, but their distress is great on account of you poor blind dupes and sadly "deluded followers." The Los Angeles Times and other such night vessels of the pirate crew weep crocodile tears big and hot as tomatoes in their profound sadness, and all on account of you poor, half-witted victims of this wanton and wicked paper.

And what breaks their hearts is that the number of the "deluded followers" is so rapidly and alarmingly increasing. It is a sad, sad situation. Harrison Grey Otis and his society of saints sigh like the night-winds and sob like fire-plugs as they behold the procession of the APPEAL's "deluded followers" stretching across the continent and shouting hosannas as the day of their deliverance draws nigh.

Blessed, blessed, be the APPEAL's "deluded followers!" A Letter from One of Them. Dear Brother Warren—According to the Los Angeles Times, you stand before the bar of infamy, convicted of committing a crime before the fact of adding and abetting 30,000,000 of the citizens of these good United States in committing the same crime. Have you anything to say when the sentence of this court, as made and provided by capitalism, is read upon you? Brother Warren, I am surprised at you. I am happily disappointed also, for I am compelled to say those things which you do not wish to hear. I supposed you were a big deal, and that you and your dependents upon the Ravens of Hell, for enough profit from your efforts to enable you to stick above ground, and to come to the top of the world. I would like to see the profit (from the sale of the APPEAL) amount to millions, so would I like to see you in this country and 20,000,000 in the civilized world. If the Los Angeles Times told the truth, you certainly should be awarded a crown of laurel as a reward for the first to be a reactionist to get rich in the face of the obstacles placed in your path by capitalism, you are more of a genius than E. G. Lewis of St. Louis, Mo. The same federal scoundrel who is camping on your trail ruined him as a time and he was not a Socialist, and I am sure you see fit to put it to rest. You will then have time to put all of your brains into the spreading of the doctrine of Socialism, and I hope you do not mind dividing what the morrow will bring forth financially. I am getting my money's worth from the APPEAL and if you can get a nickel out of my quarter after producing and distributing charges are taken out, you have earned it, and you are welcome to it. I am sure you will do it. We Socialists know where it will go—into Socialism. So glad out your grist and God bless you.—Clarence D. Lamb, Nasauville, Ill.

Titanic Forces at Work To tear down the circulation of this paper, to destroy its influence, to bankrupt it morally and financially, is the purpose of the titanic forces of predatory capitalism that are at work all about us.

It preached exactly the same doctrine that it is preaching now; it stood for the same principles, advocated the same cause, and used the same argument it is using today, but it was not disturbed for the reason that it had not sufficient circulation to do capitalism any appreciable damage.

complaint so far as this office is concerned. In consideration of this fact we urge our workers to renewed activity. There is no reason why our circulation should not now go up by leaps and bounds.

Send us a list to test the new mailing system. Send us a four-years' sub for one dollar, or three such subs and get a free Arsenal. Send us twelve forty-week subscriptions at 25 cents each and receive as a premium the "1913 Arsenal of Facts," now the recognized hand book for the Socialist agitator.

Send us something that will increase the circulation and thereby increase the power to educate the people and speed the day of emancipation! PRACTICE economy and the master, seeing you can live on less, will reduce your income so he may have more to blow in.

It is announced that President Taft has "overdrawn" his traveling expenses by \$8,000. How much does that lack of embezzlement?

If they compel the workers to carry guns, they should turn them on the enemies of the working class, not on members of it.

The crime most sure of punishment in America is that of being out of work and money—and the system forces this crime on millions.

You will be permitted to work enough this coming summer to keep the masters of the machines in comfort all next winter—but not enough to keep your own family in comfort.

If you want laws favoring the worker, you must elect workers to make these laws. If you wish such laws enforced you must elect workmen to do it.

SOCIALISTS have taught agitation to the capitalist crowd, who are going after the woman voter with a vigor that the Socialist has not met. It's time to go courting.

THE capitalist is ever glad to enter politics in his own behalf. Why should not the worker be the same? It is related that a Boston judge, on sentencing his three hundredth man to the workhouse, was asked if he had ever visited the prison. "Why no," he replied, "why should I?" A judge who will be as callous as that ought to be required to visit the prison for a good long term.

THE Topeka Capital sees not only the crime of unsetting Stanton, but also the remedy. It openly advocates the abolition of the Kansas senate. The senate, whether state or nation, was intended from the first to be a reactionist body, and has filled its sole purpose of being an obstructionist to the carrying out of the will of the people. There is absolutely no need of it.

THERE are revolutions in the central American states because the workers of those nations protest against having their resources gobbled up by American and European capitalists. Uncle Sam sends battleships there in order to force them to terms. If he does not, Germany will, and that would give German capitalists the advantage. So there you are.

FORMER GOVERNOR HOCH, of Kansas, declares in one breath that unless the rich behave better Socialism will come, and that Socialism will destroy all energy. In other words, the people are going to quit capitalism to keep from starving to death and embrace Socialism that they may be sure to do it. Hoch is about as silly as Joseph W. Folk, of blessed memory.

A coal baron of Toledo, Ohio, in explaining the raise in the price of coal, said: "We figure that the people are willing to pay fifteen cents more for a ton of coal than to be without it." In other words, he merely held up the people because they had to keep warm. When will Americans learn to handle coal for themselves so that they won't be subject to the domination of private capitalists?

READ GOOD BOOKS. Every Socialist, especially, a young one, should be a student. It is not enough to read the APPEAL and to skim over a few pamphlets. Not by a good deal. A thorough knowledge of Socialism is possible to those only who are willing to pay the price of that knowledge in reading and studying its literature. It is far better to spend your spare time in company with a sound book on economics than it is to loaf away your leisure hours about a bar room or a pool room.

The men and women who are to count in the future will be those in the rising generation who are making good use of the present, and they will spring mainly from the working class. There is no royal road to knowledge and power. There is but the one way to acquire the one and develop the other and that is by making proper use of one's faculties and devoting one's time to education and self-improvement. The literature of Socialism constitutes in itself a library and in this library there are innumerable volumes the reading and studying of which are of incalculable benefit to the young in providing them with the truths of science and the facts of history which they must needs know if they expect to leave their impress upon the movement.

The press announces that John Kenneth Turner, Appeal and Coming Nation representative, and author of the articles on "Barbarous Mexico" that helped to the overthrow of Porfirio Diaz, is in the hands of Felix Diaz, nephew of Porfirio, in Mexico City, and has three times been lined up against the wall for execution. He was not shot because Felix Diaz feared the act would lead to American intervention. But he is not yet out of danger, being still a prisoner.

HELEN KELLER. The achievements of this wonderful girl in the face of almost insuperable obstacles read like fiction. Deaf and dumb and blind, she has by unprecedented and marvelous perseverance overcome these infirmities and is now preparing to take the platform for the advocacy of the cause of Socialism. The name of Helen Keller is familiar to APPEAL readers. Her very struggle has endeared her to them and they will hear with great rejoicing of her triumph over the difficulties which have so long beset her and of her determination to enter the field in the service of the only cause in which she can give full and free expression to the powers she has developed under such extraordinary difficulties. Helen Keller is indeed welcome in the Socialist movement! She knows by her own bitter experience what struggle and deprivation are, and that her heart is with the working class and that she is resolved to consecrate herself to the oppressed and downtrodden in their bitter struggle, is only what might be expected from one of her keen insight, fine sensibilities and noble nature.

THE APPEAL most earnestly hopes that Miss Keller's success as a Socialist educator and revolutionist may exceed her most sanguine expectations.

Penalty is Five Years

SOME of our anxious comrades are inquiring as to the maximum penalty which the court may impose in case of conviction of the APPEAL editors and their counsel. In answer we have to say that we may be sentenced to five years each in the penitentiary at hard labor, in addition to being fined five thousand dollars each.

A rather severe penalty, eh? It must be remembered that there are now two separate cases pending, the one against Warren and Phifer upon the alleged charge of sending obscene matter through the mails (growing out of the disclosures of the Leavenworth prison horrors made in these columns) and the other against Warren, Debs and Sheppard, upon the alleged charge of having attempted to induce a witness to leave the jurisdiction of the court.

We are on absolutely solid ground in both cases. We have nothing to fear, not even the miscarriage of justice. If we should be unjustly convicted and have to serve five years in the penitentiary our loss will be the cause's gain.

We are ready for whatever the verdict may be. There is no stain of guilt upon us, but if the court should convict us in spite of the overwhelming evidence of our innocence, we shall insist upon the maximum penalty being imposed. We want no mercy. Justice is what we demand and if that should be denied it will come later with a vengeance.

THE RIGHT TO STRIKE.

It was in February, 1860, that Lincoln made his great speech in Cooper Union, N. Y., which had so much to do with giving him the republican nomination for president a few months later. The echo of that speech was heard throughout the east and the country rang with Lincoln's fame. But it must not be supposed that it was all praise and applause he was getting. The powerful papers which were in control of the slave power in New England as well as in the south, denounced the Illinois agitator in the most violent terms.

Following his New York speech Lincoln went into New England. Some labor strikes were then in progress and in discussing these in the speech he made at New Haven, Conn., on March 6, he said: "I am glad a system of labor prevails under which laborers can strike when they want to."

It should be remembered that the workers in the United States did not always have the right to strike. In the colonial era when the "fathers" wrote the constitution which was to govern a free people, workers were virtually slaves and a strike was a conspiracy punishable by imprisonment. Lincoln believed in the right to strike and the right of the workers to unite to secure to themselves the fruit of their labor, and this was his real greatness and his true glory.

Isn't it strange that those inveterate enemies, republicans and democrat, will join forces to beat the Socialists, but never help the Socialists to beat each other? Looks as if theirs was a mere sham fight.

People are not imprisoned for debt these days. They are merely "sent up" for vagrancy, because they haven't any money. Then they are farmed out to make money for others—arrested that they may be robbed.

REVOLUTION IN MEXICO

IT is impossible at this time to say what will be the result of the revolution that has been accomplished in Mexico. The daily press has kept the people informed of the open happenings—the revolt of Felix Diaz, the ten days' fighting in the streets of Mexico City, the final treachery of Madero's army, the enforced resignation of Madero and the murder of his brother, together with the fact that American troops were hurried to the border with, for a time, prospect of speedy intervention.

But the press has not informed the people of the causes behind all this. It is probable it could not have done it. It is equally probable that it would not have done it if it could. One may be certain of this, however: Behind it all there was a great deal of political maneuvering, and behind the politics were the schemes of the great financiers in America and Europe. As to what group of American financiers has secured the advantage in the recent tumultuous times, and what will be the next move, time only can say. It is probable the people of Mexico, the working classes, have not been consulted, and consequently the revolution is not at an end.

Standing out of it all appears this one fact: There would have been intervention by America on half a dozen occasions if "public sentiment," largely fostered by Socialists, had not been against war. Because American capitalists could not force intervention and taking over of the territory for exploitation, they were forced into intrigues, involving appeal to Diaz and finally treason and murder in Mexico, in order to accomplish their everlasting ends.

The APPEAL has anticipated something of this kind for some time, and has had John Kenneth Turner on the ground during the stirring period just ending. He will give his impressions of it in a series of articles in the Coming Nation—if he gets out of the clutches of Felix Diaz and lives.

A Letter from Turner.

The following letter from John Kenneth Turner was dated at Avenida Berlin, Coyacan, D. F., Mexico, January 26th, the last heard from him. It shows that he was doing general newspaper work, preparatory to doing special work for the APPEAL, and that he could not have been acting as a spy for Madero, as Felix Diaz charges. Notice the next to the last paragraph in proof of this:

Fred D. Warren, Editor APPEAL TO REASON. Dear Comrade—I have just received your letter, forwarded from Carmel, as the mails between here and the U. S. are very slow nowadays. I am not able to reply definitely to your proposition at once, as I am tied up here for at least a day by the news of a manifesto article a day for the leading Mexican daily, El Pais, on the foreign policy of the United States, receiving forty pesos (\$20 gold) for each article, and I have to figure that I'll be done in two weeks more, after which I'll need a little more time in which to gather up the news of the manifesto I have been gathering here. Then I'll have to write my articles, from one to three to be offered in the U. S. before I'll be free. That will perhaps take me along to about the first of March. You say to begin the first of March, but I suppose it would be possible to put the thing off until the middle of March or thereabouts.

The development of the next two weeks I think will close things up fairly well for me, so I will promise to write you not later than February 15th, and that time will go by definitely, if possible, two columns. By the way, I had a long interview with Madero last night. He greeted me with, "You are a very famous man!" and in the end gave me a sweeping letter to civil and military authorities ordering them to give me any information asked for. But I assure you it will not buy me anything when I come to write my articles.

Trusting that an answer by February 15th will be satisfactory to you, I remain, Truly yours, JOHN KENNETH TURNER.

THE fellow who is riding you will now try to pad the sore places with tariff patches. But he will not get off your back.

FIVE DOLLARS FOR LIFE. We want your life subscription and it will cost you but five dollars! Why not? You are a reader of the APPEAL and you will continue to be while you live. Very well, then subscribe once and for all and the APPEAL is yours for life.

We are making this offer for the purpose of reducing the enormous cost of making and mailing annually our enormous mailing list. We have already spent what would amount to a considerable fortune in setting and distributing the hundreds of thousands of names each year which make up this list. We want to save these thousands of dollars and use them in improving the paper, enlarging its facilities and keeping down its price at the lowest point for the benefit of the working class. Are you with us? Then you have but to send us five dollars to be placed upon our life list and you will be troubled no more. Don't put it off till next week! Now is the appointed hour.

THE WILL TO DO.

It is surprising what one is capable of doing even under the most adverse conditions if one can muster the will power to do it. Ay, there's the rub, as our friend Hamlet would say. The men and women who achieve real success in life are they who have the will to dare and do. They make themselves immortal through the exercise of the inherent will power within them which scorns defeat and laughs at obstacles.

The will to do is the greatest single quality the human being has to his credit in his struggle to conquer his environment, wrest her secrets from the unwilling grasp of nature, and to scale the heights of daring and noble achievement in the service of humanity.

Let us daily ask ourselves if we are doing our whole duty to the great movement to which we owe our whole strength and energy. Thousands have perished as unknown martyrs to make this movement possible and we could only neglect our duty to the cause by dishonoring their memory and being traitors to our better selves. Our Comrade Wayland, who has just left us, made it a rule to allow no opportunity to go by unimproved and no day to pass without renewing his consecration to the cause by some service in its behalf. His was an example we may well follow to our own credit.

To build up the Socialist movement for the greatest task ever undertaken in the history of the race is going to be anything but child's play. It is not a task a few so-called "great men" can accomplish. It requires the active, intelligent and efficient co-operation of the people themselves. They cannot be pulled upward, but must raise up themselves. The social spirit must be cultivated. Everyone must be willing to lend a hand. No one can refuse without sacrificing his highest interests and sinking into inertia like a clod in the ditch.

Let us resolve to have the will to do each of us, and let us make it greater than any that has preceded it. Let us build up our press and make it mighty; let us organize our forces and make them powerful; let us distribute our literature over all the land. Let us determine to face the federal courts which are persecuting us without fear, and the predatory powers behind them without a flicker.

Ours is the cause of children suffering for bread, of women forced to barter away their souls for a chance to live, and of all the oppressed and suffering of the earth. Ours is the cause of God and humanity and all the powers of hell cannot prevail against it.

All business, all property, is based on the theory that the government is master of it, that it is subject to the public. Government, whether in a republic or a kingdom where a monarch acts for the people, records deeds, issues licenses, grants charters, gives franchises. It regulates every transaction, establishing weights and measures, the foundation of traffic. There is nothing more clearly established by law than the right of the people's government to regulate possession and exchange. This being so, there is more reason and precedent in law for socialization of industry, or the full control of it by the people, than for any other action the government takes. And government is cautious—national, state, county, municipal. This means that socialization may be effected or exchange and relationships controlled from various units, some of them small.

HIGH COST OF LIVING. After March 4th the democratic party, being in control of congress and having its executive in the white house, can begin its program of lowering prices and reducing the cost of living.

That is what the democratic party solemnly pledged itself to the American people to do. During the recent campaign hundreds of democratic orators made the welkin ring with the charge that the republican party and its monopoly tariff were responsible for high prices and for the increasing cost of living; they likewise promised the people that if they would vote the democratic ticket and put the democratic party in power it would lower the tariff, smash the trusts, break up the monopolies and reduce the cost of living.

This is substantially what the democrats promised and William J. Bryan, who will be Wilson's secretary of state, was foremost in the list. We are not inclined to discount the democrats with all the lack of faith we have in their party. We want them to have a fair and square chance to make good and if they do make good this paper will give them full credit, but if they fail to fulfill their pledges to the people we shall deal with them accordingly. Particularly in the southern states where organized labor is outlawed will the Wilson administration be put to the test as to its attitude toward the working class.

It is better to find the way out than to find fault. To steal a lot and give a bit makes a philanthropist and wit.

CAPITALISM is under the searchlight. Socialism is in the spotlight.

THE greatest products of the machine under capitalism are masters and slaves.

ONLY one week until Taft will be out. But the judges he appointed will remain.

THE unrest is due to the many who perpetually rest—the idle rich and the unemployed poor.

WAGE the masters. What they defend is their weakness. There is where you should attack.

WHY don't the plutes start a bureau to protect against the idea of "recalling" hired hands?

FREE schools without free text books, free health service and free dental service are not complete.

IT is hard to "paddle your own canoe" against the tide of capitalism when you don't own the canoe.

MORTGAGE means death grip. And that is what it is. There will be no mortgages under Socialism.

THERE are many wise people who are not wise to their own good. If they were they would be otherwise situated.

WHENEVER you buy anything now you pay from five to a dozen profits. All profits will be done away with under Socialism.

THE wage worker never calls his product his own. The farmer does—but loses most of it in the machinery of the market.

ONLY one week until the democrats will get to the crib. But there will be a great increase in unemployment for the republicans.

THE army and navy are two big machines that are owned by the capitalists and operated by the toilers for the profit of the masters.

THE surest way to get a good crop of chickens from a farm is not to own it, but to own the railroad over which the product must be shipped.

SCIENTIFIC farming will enable the agriculturalist to produce more, which means that he will have to sell it to the distributors at lower rates.

THE farmer is now dependent on the railroad, the jobber and the middleman for markets, and is exploited by each. Under Socialism he will own his own market.

AS the United States pays four hundred men to make laws and nine men (on the supreme bench) to annul them, why not save the expense by firing all of them?

SPRING is coming. The trees are still bare, but it is coming just the same. Socialism is coming. It may look bleak enough now, but the "acceptable year" is at hand.

THERE will be no lobby in the legislature to work for profits and defeat the will of the people when the machinery of production and distribution is socially owned.

THE only property most of the people of America have any interest in is public property. Yet they are opposed to there being more public property.

SO long as men are dependent on other men for unemployment there must be unemployment and there must be a tribute of profit. All this will end under Socialism.

THE masters have to hire working class brains to run their plundering machines, and working class hands to protect them in their loot; and the workers pay the wages of all.

LIFE AND PROPERTY. With all our boasted civilization and all our progress in the arts and sciences human life is still secondary in consideration to property. Every government on earth today is organized and maintained primarily for the protection of property.

PROPERTY rights have priority in every civilized nation. If there is a clash between capital and labor the courts use their powers to protect capital and to keep labor in chains; if the soldiers are called out it is for the same purpose. Workingmen are frequently shot down in a strike because the interests of property are threatened.

THOMAS Jefferson once wrote: "The freedom and happiness of man are the sole objects of all legitimate government."

THERE is not today, under the Jeffersonian standard, a legitimate government on earth. Property rights are almost the sole object of all the civilized governments in the world. The dollar owners and the property possessors, relatively few in number, control the government and under their control it functions chiefly in the protection of their "vested rights."

AS for the freedom and happiness of man, a mere workingman, that is no concern of a capitalist for government; its concern is that he shall find freedom and happiness in producing wealth and comfort and luxury for his master.

Can You Reason?

J. A. Wayland in 1896

Of course you think so. But then the chances are that you can't and will get mad because some proposition you do not like is presented to you. That is evidence that you cannot reason. When men reason they can give a cause for the belief they hold besides it "ain't so." Now you would at once be indignant if I should tell you that you favor royalty, and you would deny it. You would work up your blood to the boiling point of patriotism if any attempt to establish titles of kings or lords or dukes or barons or earls in this country! You think you would, but you wouldn't. You don't know enough. If you were wise, if you really could reason, you would see that all the essence of those titles is now here. Let us see if this is true or not.

A man named Disston has 2,000,000 acres of land in Florida. It makes no difference for this article whether he got it rightly or not, but of course he did not. Now suppose Mr. Disston should go to congress and get a legal title as Lord of Disstonia, the name of his landed estate; wherein would it injure the people? Would he be entitled to charge the people more rent than he can now for living in "this country"? Would that title enable him to cut the wages of his working classes more than he can now cut them without the title? Would the title in anywise add to his ability to live in greater splendor than he can now live in or in anywise oppress the people more than he now can and does oppress them? If so, wherein? The essence of power is in the ownership of the land and factories. No haub of a title can give more than that. No one pays any attention to a titled pauper; it is the private ownership that makes the ownerless "how the pregnant hinges of the knee." In the United States we have men exercising the same authority and power over the working people that the titled property owners of Europe exercise. Only fools cannot see that we have the law, customs and effects of royalty—only it is not called by that name—and fools cannot see the cheat.

HOW THEY RULE US. They tell us this is a free country and that the people here rule themselves. A bigger lie was never told by the father of lies himself.

We are not ruled by the laws enacted by the representatives we elect to our state legislatures and congress. It is by the laws laid down by the 133 federal judges who are on the bench for life. These federal judges were all placed there by the trusts and corporations. All of them. Not one owes his position to the working class, or considers himself under any obligations to that class.

The capitalist class placed these judges where they are and in the very nature of things these judges are the servants of that class. Federal judges not only interpret the law but lay down new laws and set aside others that are not agreeable to the class they serve. Their power is absolute. From their decision there is no appeal. They are on the job for life. The people neither elected them nor can the people remove them.

And this is the kind of "free government" we have in the United States. What a joke on the "free!" The Socialist party is the only party that proposes to establish self-rule in every department of the government and make the people truly free.

GEORGE B. PAINE in an address before the ministerial association of Philadelphia recently asserted that "there are twelve million men and nine million women in the United States who, because of economic conditions, will never marry. These twenty-one million adults," he said, "are as much outside the moral protection and comfort of marriage as though that institution did not exist for them. Need we ask why we have the social evil in our land? Knowing human nature can we believe anything else is possible under the conditions of our civilization?" That looks a little like capitalism was destroying the home doesn't it?

KEEP IT GOING. The great special edition is still running. It is doing a wonderful work and has already broken the world's record. The amount of good done by this special edition is simply incalculable. As a result thousands who were opposed to us, or at best indifferent as to our fate, are now thoroughly enlisted in our behalf.

The truth has reached them and their eyes have been opened by reading the special issue. We said from the beginning that if the people knew the truth the indications would fail and the prosecution collapse.

But for our ability to reach the people we should have been convicted as a foregone conclusion, in spite of our innocence. But thanks to the special edition and to the APPEAL Army for circulating it, we now have a fine fighting chance and the tide is steadily rising in our favor.

Keep the special edition going for at least thirty days more! It is doing the grandest work of any we have yet issued. It is revolutionizing public sentiment and making certain the victory of truth over the powers that are seeking to crush it.

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200 copies, \$1.00; 500 copies, \$2.00.



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### Divorce in Capitalism

THAT marriage under the present institutions and in the prevailing social system is proving to be increasingly a failure is being daily demonstrated in the divorce courts and in the overwhelming testimony which is forced upon the attention of the public...

### THE Pope in the Labor Unions

The pope has decreed that the first duty of a trade unionist is to the Catholic church, and the church is according Catholic trade unions to be under command of the pope. In the March International Socialist Review, William Z. Foster tells how the Catholic church is throttling the labor movement in Germany...

### THE Lot of the Toller

Discouraged because of lack of work, George Toller, an aged carpenter of San Francisco, gathered up a few scraps of wood and made a cat out of them...

### THE War in America

THE effort of the state officials in West Virginia to beat the miners by declaring martial law and shooting down hundreds of men and women and later by the arrest and imprisonment of Mother Jones and several other Socialists who were advising and assisting the strikers, has so aroused the workers in America that a general strike in West Virginia is contemplated by order of the federation of labor.

### Keep Hammering Away

at the special edition of this still rolling through the big press and night. The universal verdict is that this issue bears a message of fire to the American people...

### Incubator Checks

Incubator checks are by thousands. With some them, full address of ten people using incubators, get 100 checks, low we have had, and we have 100 more...

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### Keep Hammering Away

at the special edition of this still rolling through the big press and night. The universal verdict is that this issue bears a message of fire to the American people...

### Incubator Checks

Incubator checks are by thousands. With some them, full address of ten people using incubators, get 100 checks, low we have had, and we have 100 more...

### Agents

Agents are wanted in every town and district to sell and distribute a complete 1913 model... **MAIL ORDER \$56**... **FREE Suits**... **FREE \$2,700 Rewards**... **FREE Suits**... **FREE \$2,700 Rewards**... **FREE Suits**... **FREE \$2,700 Rewards**...

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### Leaves of Life

You will make no mistake in going through the pages of the life volume of J. A. Wayland, one of the world's greatest agitators and propagandists. No one has ever absorbed the contents of this wonderful autobiography without being greatly influenced by it...

### Divorce in Capitalism

THAT marriage under the present institutions and in the prevailing social system is proving to be increasingly a failure is being daily demonstrated in the divorce courts and in the overwhelming testimony which is forced upon the attention of the public...

### THE Pope in the Labor Unions

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### Facts About the Election

(The figures used in the following article are taken from the World's Almanac for 1913, and are probably as accurate as any which can be compiled.) THE general election of 1912 showed two startling facts. These were the complete, overwhelming and humiliating defeat of President Taft, and the enormous increase in the Socialist vote. It is a cause of rejoicing for every Socialist in the United States that President Taft, the man under whose administration the Socialist press and leaders have been persecuted, should be defeated so disastrously. It is also a cause for rejoicing that while all other parties fell off from their vote of four years ago, the Socialist party doubled its vote. In 1908 the democrats polled 6,409,104; in 1912 they polled 6,293,120, a loss of 115,984; in 1908 the republicans polled 7,676,908; in 1912 they polled 7,604,644, a loss of 72,264. The vote of the republicans for 1912 is the combined vote of the regular republicans and the progressives.

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### FREE!!

To get you interested in the big Clothing Department of our Co-operative People's Clothing Store, we will send you a complete set of clothing for FREE. This is our GREAT BIG OFFER!

### Mail Order \$56

Terms: Nothing Down. \$4.00 a Month. Shipped on Approval. No Salesman. No Agents. No Collectors. No Cash. No Deferred Payments. No Red Tape. This is the Famous Model No. 1 Oliver.

### FREE Suits

Write Quick! Send address. We will send you a complete set of clothing for FREE. This is our GREAT BIG OFFER!

### Strong Arms

for 10 cents in stamps or coin. Illustrated with 20 full-page half-tone photos showing the strength that will quickly develop from this new exercise system. Write for your free copy today.

### Cooks Better

Saves Fuel, Costs Less. A Kalamazoo Range. Write for your free copy today.

### YOU CAN MAKE FROM \$3 TO \$12 A DAY

You can make a fortune from home. Write for your free copy today.

### WORLD PEACE SONG

By G.M.F. 10 cents per copy. Two for 20 cents. JAMES E. CAMPBELL, author and publisher, Boston, Mass.







# The Arsenal Free

It will take but little effort for anyone to get a free copy of the Appeal Arsenal of Facts for 1913. You have but to send us three dollars for twelve sub cards to the Appeal, good for forty weeks each, or the same amount for three four year subscriptions and in either case a premium copy of this little pocket reference book goes to you free of charge.

Once you have a copy you will never again be without it.

All about you there is discussion of the vital questions of the day and you are often unable to say what you want to say in an argument for the lack of the right figures and facts.

This morocco-bound booklet is packed from cover to cover with these very figures and facts, and they are so classified and indexed that in less than half a minute you can find exactly what you want to back you up in your argument or to inform yourself upon some doubtful or disputed point.

Twelve cents at 35 cents each brings you a copy of the "1913 Arsenal."

## THE APPEAL'S MISSION

Peculiar to itself and to the cause it represents is the APPEAL TO REASON. There is no other paper like it in all the world. Its character, its methods, the results of its work, including its lawsuits and its persecution, are distinctly its own.

Less than any paper that condemns it is the APPEAL TO REASON's private property in any true sense. Of course the enemy, and not infrequently our own comrades, have either openly charged or covertly intimated that the APPEAL was a money making concern. Perhaps it is this that really worries the enemy. It ought to be a financial failure and go into bankruptcy and then it would win their approval and favor.

As a matter of fact we admit candidly that we are doing our best to put the APPEAL on a foundation where it will really be a money-making concern and where it will make all the money that is needed to enlarge its capacity and facilities to meet the demands of the great and growing movement it represents and to fulfill in all the terra implies its educational mission among the masses.

But it would not matter if the APPEAL were furnished at a subscription rate of a penny a year and at a tremendous personal sacrifice, the cry would still go from the grey wolves of the Harrison Grey Otis breed that it was a grafting concern and that its publishers were rolling in millions they had grafted from their poor, ignorant and feeble-minded dupes and followers.

However, these charges, mean and mendaciously as they are, still serve the good purpose of keeping us advised as to the effect of our bombardment upon the works of the enemy. If the APPEAL were simply the grafting sheet these plutocratic mercenaries would have the people believe, they would be the last to notice it. It is precisely because the APPEAL is making its power felt in its warfare against the capitalist system and the legalized robbery of the masses; because the buccaners in high places see in the APPEAL a menace to their misrule, that they command their hirelings to proceed against it in the courts, through the department of justice, the postal department, and their private sleuths and serpens without number, to vilify it and seek to ensure and ruin those connected with it and who are too rigidly uncompromising to yield to the blandishments of wealth, or to accept in any form whatsoever the bribes which the ruling class always have to offer to those who champion the cause of their victims.

The mission of the APPEAL is apparent in every copy of it that issues from the press. It is the untrammelled champion of Socialism and the fearless champion of the working and producing masses in the world-wide struggle to overthrow capitalist despotism and establish the commonwealth of international Socialism.

The APPEAL's policy is determined from day to day by its own experience in this struggle. It cannot be guided by the advice of others, however well intended that advice may be, unless it coincides with the course mapped out for it by itself.

The success of its policy can only be rightly judged by the results of its work in the field of educational propaganda. Thousands upon thousands of people are today voting the Socialist ticket who would not have done so but for the APPEAL.

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THE APPEAL TO REASON. It is the organ of the commonest of the common people and every nerve is being strained to so cheapen the rate of publication as to place it more and more within the reach of all.

The APPEAL does not enter the realm of technical and scientific discussion in terms which the common people cannot understand. Its mission is to make Socialism plain to the common people and have them understand how vitally their welfare or their ill-fare is connected with and dependent upon this world movement.

IF THE APPEAL WERE REALLY A SELF-SEEKING SHEET, PUBLISHED TO MAKE MONEY FOR ITS OWNERS, WE ARE IN A POSITION TO SAY THAT WE COULD SELL IT OUT AT A FIGURE THAT WOULD ENABLE US TO ENJOY THE FAT OF THE EARTH THE REST OF OUR DAYS. IN OTHER WORDS, IF THE APPEAL WERE IN THE MARKET IT WOULD FIND A READY BIDDER AT ITS OWN FIGURE, AND IF THAT WERE KNOWN IT WOULD ACCOUNT IN LARGE MEASURE FOR ALL THE ATTEMPTS, OPEN AND COVERT, THAT ARE BEING MADE TO WRECK THIS PAPER AND TO PREVENT IT FROM FULFILLING ITS MISSION.

**DARROW'S CASE.**

Clarence S. Darrow who defended the McNamara's is on trial a second time upon the charge of having bribed a juror. It is a clear case of persecution. Darrow was once tried and acquitted and every one who followed the trial knew at the time and knows now that he was innocent.

That a juror was bribed in the McNamara case is without doubt, but it was not Darrow who did the bribing or had anything to do with it. Here is the bribery case in a nutshell. Burns, the detective in the employ of the Erectors' association, a branch of the steel trust, had one of his detectives enter Darrow's service as a detective and that detective did the bribing and did it for the express purpose of implicating Darrow and accomplishing his ruin.

It is an infamous outrage from start to finish and Prosecutor Fredericks, the plaintiff tool of "the interests," the corrupt crew that is hounding Darrow for no other reason than that he has stood for labor, knows it.

The working class and the people generally who are not under the iron heel of the plunder powers behind the Darrow prosecution owe it to Darrow and owe it to themselves to see to it that there is no railroad in this case, and that justice is done, and if the trial is fairly conducted Darrow's vindication and the rebuke of the hyenas who are after him will be ever more emphatic than before.—E. V. Debs.

**ONE IN TWELVE.**

Dr. Alva W. Taylor, of the Missouri Bible college, in an address recently to the students of the university of Missouri, presented statistics to show that in the United States one out of every twelve marriages is annulled by divorce, and that this percentage is rapidly increasing.

Dr. Taylor showed that, whereas in 1870 there was but one divorce to every 33 marriages, and in 1880 one to every 21 marriages, in the year 1912 just closed there was one divorce to every 12 marriages.

What say those who falsely charge Socialism with being a menace to marriage to this showing?

Who is it that is in fact debauching the marriage relation, breaking down the family life and destroying the home?

Let some of the cardinals and bishops who have been falsely charging Socialism with the crimes capitalism itself is reeking with, answer this question in the light of the above figures and facts.

If the percentage of divorce increases in the same ratio during the next twenty years, half the marriages will be annulled by divorce and there will be a state of affairs that will tax the subtlety of the retainers of capitalism to explain or excuse.

**CONSTRUCTIVE ROBBERY.**

The term "constructive mileage" as used in congressional terminology, means that when a regular session of congress closes and a special session is called and the interval between is too short to allow congressmen and senators to return to their homes, they charge up their mileage for the round trip to the government the same as if they had actually traveled to their homes and back to the capitol again.

It is pure thievery, brazen robbery, and no decent, self-respecting man would be guilty of it.

This "constructive mileage" amounts to thousands of dollars for it is computed at the rate of twenty cents per mile, each way, the rate originally fixed when the invention was founded, and when members of congress had to travel by stage and horseback, and which succeeding congresses have steadily refused to reduce.

The republicans stuck to the twenty cent robbery and the "constructive" thievery during their entire administration. During this time the democrats on the outside were howling "corruption" at the republicans and swearing that the hour they got in they would cut out the graft and put an end to the robbery.

Have they done it?

Can the leopard change his spots or the polecat the odor of his exudation?

When the democrats in 1910 secured control of the lower house of congress, an honest man introduced a bill to reduce the twenty-cent per mile robbery, but it was defeated by an overwhelming majority of his fellow-democrats who on the stump had been howling for "reform."

The democrats like the republicans in congress have been pocketing the stolen mileage ever since and now they are preparing to pocket the "constructive mileage" for a trip to their homes between the regular and special sessions which they will never make. For this imaginary trip which will cost them not a cent they will charge the government thousands of dollars for "constructive mileage."

To show what a considerable item this "constructive mileage" is it may be mentioned that in the case of a single California congressman it amounts to about \$1000.

Every senator and every congressman who votes to continue this extra mileage and who pockets the "constructive mileage" is a thief in public office, a robber of the public treasury, and should be branded accordingly.

Do not fail to see how your congressman voted on the Cox bill to reduce the mileage, nor if he pockets the "constructive mileage" at the beginning of the special session of congress in March.

**BRYAN AND MONOPOLY.**

The other day we stepped into a phonograph establishment, dropped a penny in a machine and heard Bryan's great anti-monopoly speech. This has been declared to be one of the commoner's master efforts. In this speech Bryan says "monopoly is inexcusable and indefensible" and much more to the same effect.

Now according to current reports Mr. Bryan will be the leading cabinet minister in the Wilson administration which goes into power on March 4th. Mr. Bryan's party will be in complete control of the law-making and law-enforcing power of the nation.

We shall now expect to see Mr. Bryan and his party smash the trusts, wipe out monopoly, and restore free competition in the land.

This is the string that Mr. Bryan has been harping on for almost twenty years. He will now have the power so long coveted to show the people that trusts can be destroyed and that monopoly and high prices are inexcusable and indefensible.

Mr. Bryan and the trust-busters have the floor.

**POST OFFICE.**

MY SUB TO APPEAL HAS EXPIRED I MUST JOIN THE 1916 CLUB

There are now 5,248 members of the "1916 club" and the number is increasing rapidly. It is a club of subscribers to the APPEAL who have had their subscription expire and who are now being urged to join the club for a four-year subscription. This will entitle you as a full-fledged member of the club to receive the APPEAL free of charge for a full year. The advantage to you is that you will save a few pennies and the APPEAL will save what amounts in the aggregate to a year's worth of postage for a four-year subscription. This will entitle you as a full-fledged member of the club to receive the APPEAL free of charge for a full year. The advantage to you is that you will save a few pennies and the APPEAL will save what amounts in the aggregate to a year's worth of postage for a four-year subscription.

**THE COMING NATION ON SALE IN NEW YORK CITY.**

The Coming Nation will be on sale this week on all subway news stands in New York City. APPEAL readers are asked to boost its sale and help it get started. Buy a copy if you are not already a subscriber and persuade your friends to do likewise. It has been a hard fight to get the Coming Nation on the subway news stands, and we shall have to depend upon our friends in New York and vicinity to keep it there. Several million people pass the subway news stands each week and it is worth while to have our paper properly displayed to catch the eyes of these millions.

## MARCH FOURTH, 1913

## JEKYL ISLAND

This is a date of special interest to the American people in the years following a presidential election. On March 4th the new president is inaugurated and the new administration has its beginning.

Thoroughly disgusted with the graft-ridden administration of the republicans the people turned to the democrats and the party of the latter was swept into power last fall on one of the greatest landslide in American history. As the result of this the democratic party will be in complete control of every branch of the national government after March 4th.

President Wilson as the chief executive will have the support of a congress overwhelmingly democratic in the lower branch and safely so in the senate, so that there is nothing to prevent the democratic party from making its pledges good to the people.

After March 4th, the democratic party will have absolute control of legislation and there will be a democratic president in the white house to execute the laws it enacts. If, therefore, there is any failure to relieve the people from the grasp of the trusts and monopolies it is simply because the democratic party like the republican party, is in control of the capitalist class.

This paper charged before the election that the democratic party as well as the republican party was a capitalist class party and we have not changed since, but if we are mistaken, we are more than willing to be set right. We propose that the democratic party shall have every opportunity to show what it stands for and what its administration means to the people.

William Jennings Bryan is slated to be the premier in Wilson's administration. For almost twenty years he has been telling the people that trusts and monopolies are inexcusable and indefensible and he has pledged them that when the democratic party succeeded to power it would put an end to trust domination in the United States.

Now we intend to keep both eyes on the Wilson administration and especially on Mr. Bryan, his secretary of state, and we shall give due notice to our readers of every trust that is smashed and every monopoly that is destroyed.

We are eagerly awaiting the ideas of March.

Just off of the coast of Georgia is Jekyll Island, owned by the multi-millionaires of New York, and where they go to escape the worries and to recuperate for fresh raids. No boat is allowed to land there other than that of the plutocrats and an ordinary person would be permitted to put his foot on the island.

John Pierpont Morgan, "Jim" Hill, the Rockefellers and other plutocrats have winter residences here and have converted the island into a fairland of luxury and ease.

It was to this island that William Rockefeller sought succor when the process servers were after him to get



him to testify before the Pujos committee, and it was here the committee had to come to get his testimony.

But after all the travel and trouble the testimony was not procured.

At the mere mention of "Amalgamated Copper" the doddering old plutocrat saw ghosts and utterly collapsed. His private physician and his lawyer threw up their hands. Chairman Pujos and Counsel Undermyer apologized for their intrusion and withdrew hastily, leaving the terror-stricken old exploiter to his torments.

What a picture! And what a shining example to hold up to the youth of the land of the possibilities of honorable achievement under the capitalist system!

We can see the aged Rockefeller in fancy, with all his ill-gotten gains upon him and crouching in fear and terror when no man pursued.

The story of "Amalgamated Copper" is a story of robbery and crime in which William Rockefeller had a highly honorable, legitimate and law-abiding part. He was not prosecuted and sent to the penitentiary by the authorities, but in his old age he is being pursued and persecuted by himself.

This is the reward of thrift and abstemiousness under capitalism.

What beggar at the gate of Dives with vagabond dogs licking his sores need to envy this, exiled and pauperized old millionaire, sentenced to spend his last days in seeking to escape from himself!

**HOW JUSTICE WORKS.**

We are ruled, not by ourselves, not by our legislatures or by our congress, but by our judiciary. This was shrewdly designed so by the "fathers" of the constitution. Jefferson saw through it and issued his warning, but the aristocratic framers of the constitution, with not the job as they began it, to tie the people hand and foot and so hedge them about with "checks and balances" as to make the constitution their master and not they the master of the constitution. Then John Marshall, the chief justice chosen by the aristocrats, established the precedent that made the federal supreme court supreme in all things, and supreme forever.

Here is where the power is lodged and here is where the final decision is made. There is no appeal from this court except to the people.

The federal judges who compose the federal court are all appointed upon the recommendation of the ruling class. They hold a life tenure. They owe their jobs to their masters and not to the people. Can it be expected that they will serve the people and not their masters?

The APPEAL TO REASON is at war with federal judiciary. The reason is that the APPEAL TO REASON has attacked the ruling class, the oppressing class, the class that is robbing the working and producing class of this nation.

If the APPEAL TO REASON had served the ruling class instead of the subject class it would not now be on trial in the federal courts. It would be an eminently respectable paper.

The APPEAL TO REASON proposes that in case shall be heard by the people of the nation. If justice be denied it by federal judges placed in power by the master class it will appeal its case to the higher and final court of all nations, the working and producing classes, who are now awakening to their inherent rights and their supreme powers and will soon rule all the nations of the world.

**STICKING TO THE JOB.**

There are days in the lives of all of us when the burden seems heavy enough to crush us to the earth and when we feel as if we had reached the limits of our endurance, but in every such hour of crisis there is relief if we will stick to the job, doggedly, perseveringly, refusing to yield and determined to win out, and when the crisis is over we are the stronger for it and the trial has in fact been to us a blessing in disguise.

There are a great many who believe with us that Socialism is right and who start out to agitate for it, but they soon meet with opposition, or are frowned upon, or attacked by slander, and their heart sinks within them and they give up in despair. These are the moral weaklings who with all their good intentions never accomplish anything and who die at last disappointed and with the feeling that life is a failure and not worth the living.

Far different is it with those who have the moral fiber to face obstacles without flinching and to screw up their courage to the sticking point when it becomes necessary to do so to hold their own against the opposition which assails them. They may be battered and bruised, they may have many a trying hour, press the weight of war upon them, but through it all they are sustained by the moral conviction that they are fighting for a cause and though they die in poverty at last, life to them has been a glorious success.

**Root and Boss Tweed**

ELIHU ROOT represents, nominally at least, the state of New York in the United States senate. He is esteemed as one of the great figures in that body. Before his election to the senate he was secretary of state under Roosevelt and was pronounced by his chief as the greatest statesman of the age.

Now we submit that a man of such eminence should also be great in moral character and that his integrity and honesty should be above reproach. The record of Elihu Root undoubtedly shows him to be an successful lawyer, a distinguished politician, and an eminent statesman, but when it comes to what these, his integrity and high purpose, we find him woefully lacking, and the wonder is that a man of such a record can achieve such eminence in public life.

It was in the years between 1871 and 1877 that the notorious Boss Tweed flourished in New York City. He was commissioner of public works for the city of New York and he also served for a time as a member of the state senate. He was the absolute dictator of New York City during his reign and he robbed the city, he and the gang of which he was the head, of amounts variously estimated at from twenty-five to one hundred million dollars.

When finally Tweed's ring became so rick and rotten that the people could endure it no longer, they rose in arms against him. He was arrested, put under bail, fled the country, again arrested,

**Root and Boss Tweed**

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## TAFT AND THE TRUSTS

There is something comical as well as instructive in the fact that there has been a perfect epidemic of trust prosecution under the Taft administration.

From the day he entered public life Taft has been a prime favorite with the interests that have ruled this country. The trusts contributed enormously to his campaign funds both times he was candidate for president. They plastered all the billboards of the cities with addresses showing what a wonderful man he was and how the people had prospered under his administration.

As soon as Taft was in office he began to "prosecute" the trustees, paying enormous special fees, amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars, to the luminous legal pets of the administration, but what has it all amounted to?

What has been changed by this "prosecution" and what is the net result of it all?

Absolutely nothing.

It is a humbug and a farce from start to finish and tremendously expensive at that.

A few trust magnates who have exploited the people of millions have been fined a few dollars, about what they blow in at the club when they entertain a senator or a judge. But not one has been sent to prison for violating the law.

During the last few days Wickersham, the tool of the trusts, has filed a fresh bundle of suits against the trusts, notwithstanding he retires from office in a few days. The Wilson administration will inherit these suits and the bunco game of dissolving the trusts will likely be carried on indefinitely, or at least until the people have been so thoroughly worked that they will be compelled to note the fact that the prosecution of the trusts by the parties that are financed by them is essentially a confidence game and that it will be kept up by the political hucksters of the trusts as long as the people are willing to be victimized.

**HOW JUSTICE WORKS.**

We are ruled, not by ourselves, not by our legislatures or by our congress, but by our judiciary. This was shrewdly designed so by the "fathers" of the constitution. Jefferson saw through it and issued his warning, but the aristocratic framers of the constitution, with not the job as they began it, to tie the people hand and foot and so hedge them about with "checks and balances" as to make the constitution their master and not they the master of the constitution. Then John Marshall, the chief justice chosen by the aristocrats, established the precedent that made the federal supreme court supreme in all things, and supreme forever.

Here is where the power is lodged and here is where the final decision is made. There is no appeal from this court except to the people.

The federal judges who compose the federal court are all appointed upon the recommendation of the ruling class. They hold a life tenure. They owe their jobs to their masters and not to the people. Can it be expected that they will serve the people and not their masters?

The APPEAL TO REASON is at war with federal judiciary. The reason is that the APPEAL TO REASON has attacked the ruling class, the oppressing class, the class that is robbing the working and producing class of this nation.

If the APPEAL TO REASON had served the ruling class instead of the subject class it would not now be on trial in the federal courts. It would be an eminently respectable paper.

The APPEAL TO REASON proposes that in case shall be heard by the people of the nation. If justice be denied it by federal judges placed in power by the master class it will appeal its case to the higher and final court of all nations, the working and producing classes, who are now awakening to their inherent rights and their supreme powers and will soon rule all the nations of the world.

**Root and Boss Tweed**

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Now we submit that a man of such eminence should also be great in moral character and that his integrity and honesty should be above reproach. The record of Elihu Root undoubtedly shows him to be an successful lawyer, a distinguished politician, and an eminent statesman, but when it comes to what these, his integrity and high purpose, we find him woefully lacking, and the wonder is that a man of such a record can achieve such eminence in public life.

It was in the years between 1871 and 1877 that the notorious Boss Tweed flourished in New York City. He was commissioner of public works for the city of New York and he also served for a time as a member of the state senate. He was the absolute dictator of New York City during his reign and he robbed the city, he and the gang of which he was the head, of amounts variously estimated at from twenty-five to one hundred million dollars.

When finally Tweed's ring became so rick and rotten that the people could endure it no longer, they rose in arms against him. He was arrested, put under bail, fled the country, again arrested,

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