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Fred D. Warren

# Appeal to Reason

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## Things As I See Them

BY FRED D. WARREN.

### A Job.

I PRESUME everyone of my readers have at one time or another in life looked for a job, some of you a good many times. Some of you have a job now and some of you are still looking for a job. I remember very well one day I landed in Kansas City, Mo., looking for a job. That was in 1887. I was 15 years old. I had held a job before on a little paper in Rich Hill, Mo., but the paper had died and the outfit sold to a man who moved it to Butler, Mo. I went with the outfit and worked as long as the editor could pay me \$6 per week, and when he couldn't do that I concluded to go to Kansas City, I borrowed enough money to pay my railroad fare from my landlady—God bless her!—and hiked out into the then to me, unknown world, looking for a job. My adventures were no different from those of thousands of other boys, and so to tell the story here would be but repeating what most of you know.

Like most boys I was imbued with the idea that Opportunity was a maiden fair who was just aching for a bright chap like me to fall in love with her. All I had to do was to go up and knock on the front door and I would be invited in. Then I would marry the heroine and be the hero and succeed to the Old Man's business and fortune. And then along would come some big politicians and invite me to run for governor and I would "consider" the offer—just for appearances sake,—and then reluctantly consent. And at the election I would be elected. I would make such a blamed good governor of the state that everybody would want me to run for president. And of course I would object again, although I would be shivering all over for fear I wouldn't get the nomination. About this time I woke up, and found that Miss Opportunity had a steady beau, and that she didn't care for country chaps that smelled of hayseed and freckles. So I went across the street and offered myself to the proprietor of a small job printing establishment on Delaware street. He was pretty cross to me, and I didn't work fast enough for him, although I thought I was a pretty good printer in those days, even though I had to stand on a box to feed the job press. I knew I was doing pretty good work, but it didn't suit the boss, because he was pressed by the competitor across the way who had just put in a brand new outfit with all the latest wrinkles and labor saving devices. And of course I couldn't keep up with the gait he set and the boss lost money on my work, although I was working like the devil, ten and twelve hours each day. He invited me to quit!

And then the weary days followed that I looked for a job. But I was either too young, or too small or there were enough and more men than were needed. I hung around the Times office and the Journal office, thinking maybe I might get on as a sub. A sub is a fellow who gets a few days' work a week, when some of the regular fellows want to take a vacation. But there happened to be almost as many subs hanging around as there were regular positions and so I didn't get even one day's work. I remember what a surprise it was to me to have to admit that I couldn't get a job. What would the folks back home say? That worried me a lot, as it has worried other boys. I thought of all the ways boys had overcome these difficulties in the story lives of great men. I paid ten cents for a little book, called "The Guide Post to Success." I read it that evening, and all that night I thought about how these successful men of affairs had been in my fix once in their lives and how they had overcome all their difficulties by putting up a brave front and not getting discouraged. And so I resolved to try once again. With renewed courage I made my rounds of the printing offices in Kansas City. I repeated the formulas that had opened the door of Opportunity to the Rockefellers and the Morgans and the Goulds, but some how the key wouldn't fit.

I won't tell you of the sleepless nights and the weary days that followed. What's the use? Most of you know the story out of your own experience. That early experience laid the foundation for what in later years developed into the Socialist thought in my mind. It is for fear that my boys may be forced to spend the days of their youth in hunting for jobs when they should be putting in their time at school in developing their minds and talents that I have determined to do what I can to wipe out the conditions that make it necessary for one to waste their time in looking for a place to apply their labor.

Today more men are tramping the streets looking for work, than in those days back in 1887. The out of work problem has gotten up to the president of the United States. For the first time in the history of this nation, the chief executive has actually taken cognizance of this great big vital fact that men and women are suffering because they can find no one to employ them. President Wilson appointed a commission to look into the causes of unem-

ployment and the extent of the army of the unemployed. Frank Walsh, chairman of Wilson's interstate commission, is a man filled with high ideals and an honesty of purpose that will soon take him out of the democratic party. He made his first preliminary report several weeks ago. That report has not yet been printed. We know of it only by what little has leaked out through the daily press. Some time ago Mr. Walsh gave out an interview in which he is reported by the daily press to have said:

So far as I am concerned, the commission will not approach these questions as lawyers, but as a commission of human beings and get at the remedies, legal or otherwise. In other words, if a condition exists which causes industrial unrest and industrial waste, and this commission will find these things are due to our present economic system, then so much the worse for that economic system. If we find that a remedy for these things is denied by our constitution, then we shall say so much the worse for a country which has such a condition.

President Wilson gave out an interview in which he denied Walsh's first report, which is to the effect that there are 350,000 men out of work in New York City alone. But this denial, in the face of the facts, will convince but few of the out-of-works that all is lovely. Waiting for "warm weather" is mighty little better than the reply of that famous statesman, the late Mr. Taft, when asked what man who is out of a job and hungry is to do: "God knows!" These hungry men and women can't wait until warm weather. And besides as every one knows who doesn't live in the clouds, warm weather is as a rule the dullest season of the year.

Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, a relative of the late railway king, is also a member of the industrial commission. She is out in the newspapers with a denial of wide-spread unemployment. She maintains that there are no more unemployed men at this time than at this season of previous years. There is nothing unusual about it. President Wilson, grasps at this explanation eagerly and passes it along. "We find," he says, "there are a great many men unemployed, but there are no more men unemployed at this particular time than there have been at this season of the year under previous administrations."

I believe this is true. There are no more men unemployed right now than there were last year at this season, nor the year before, nor five years ago. The reason we have an unemployment problem that everybody can see is because the daily newspapers not favorable to the Wilson administration are loudly proclaiming that the Wilson tariff and currency laws are responsible for the army of jobless men. These two laws are not responsible for the lack of employment. Unemployment existed before these bills became laws! Unemployment is a characteristic of the capitalist system! Capitalism could not exist a day without this great reserve army. But men and women are hungry and something has got to be done. Men with red blood in their veins will not continue to starve in the midst of plenty, and I repeat what I have said many times in these columns that unless men are given the right to work that they may live, they will take by force what they need.

### What Is to Be Done?

In 1912, the Socialists in national convention assembled, in the city of Chicago, adopted the following plank as a part of the national platform:

Unemployment.—The immediate government relief of the unemployed by the extension of all useful public works. All persons employed on such works to be engaged directly by the government under a workday of not more than eight hours and at not less than the prevailing union wages. The government also to establish employment bureaus; to lend money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works, and within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

This is not offered as a remedy for unemployment. It is merely offered as a palliative to temporarily relieve the pangs of hunger. The Socialist party, officially recognized the problem of unemployment three years ago. President Wilson is just waking up to it. After he has slashed around trying to relieve the distress by asking the employers to spread out the work throughout the dull season, by slackening up during the rush season, he will be forced, if he is honest, to follow the suggestions and the plans laid down in the Socialist platform. If the democratic party doesn't do this—and of course it will not, then the country will be turned over to the Socialists.

### Something About Confiscation.

The German government threatens to confiscate the oil properties of the Standard Oil Company. The Standard has been milking the people of Germany for a good many years, and the government, in response to a popular

clamor, has decided to go into the oil business itself. This of course makes almost valueless the great oil tanks, pipe lines, distributing plants, etc., of the Standard. It has been something of a fight—this fight between the Standard and the German government. The government is being pushed into a hole by the Socialists and it finds itself in a position where it must do something or get off the job. The Standard has few friends in the empire, aside from its own employees, and so the government threatens to confiscate its property by declaring the oil business a government monopoly. It is right at this point that something extremely interesting happens. President Wilson, of the United States of America, him who wrote a book called the "New Freedom," him who busted all the trusts in New Jersey, him who threatens to put the trusts out of business, goes to the rescue of the Standard Oil, and demands, in diplomatic language, that the German government takes its hands off the oil business in Germany. Of course the German government will pay no attention to this demand. The Socialists of Germany will see to that.

It would be like this: The United States government has to all intents and purposes confiscated the values of the United States express company, which according to a late dispatch from New York is to go into liquidation. Now comes Emperor William and says to Wilson: "Quit carrying parcels. You are killing a business in which many of my subjects have heavy investments." I guess Wilson wouldn't do it?

### The Revolution of a Statesman.

ONCE upon a time there was a famous statesman, who had by various strokes of fortune (and misfortune to others) reached the highest office within the gift of people of his native land. His name was Roosevelt. After the term of his office had expired he announced that he was going abroad. Just before leaving he decided to render one more great service to his people. There had grown up during his incumbency, a political party known as the Socialist party. These Socialists were pestiferous fellows, and had caused Mr. Roosevelt a great deal of annoyance. As he expected to save the country again on his return he decided to deliver one stinging blow and put the Socialists entirely out of the running. Here is what he said:

Socialists occupy, in relation to all morality and especially to domestic morality, a position so revolting it is difficult to discuss it in a respectable paper.

This distinguished statesman returned from Africa to America to find that his below the belt blow had missed its mark and that the Socialists had greatly increased in numbers and that they had in the meantime captured a number of important municipalities. Roosevelt entered the presidential arena and was beautifully snowed under. He went into retirement where he meditated long and prayerfully over industrial and political conditions. Recently he wrote an article on Socialism, and this is what he says now about Socialists:

"I know that many American Socialists are high minded and honorable citizens."

Which is quite a concession, and perhaps by the time Roosevelt has returned from his South American trip he may discover something else about the Socialists to their advantage.

### The Slave of a Slave.

IN the days of Egyptian slavery, there were slaves who were elevated to high positions by their masters. They were permitted to own slaves who ministered to them during the times the privileged slave was not in the direct service of the master. By granting special privileges to certain of the more intelligent of his slaves, the master was relieved of much of the care and re-

Don't let yourself be pushed into this.



# Soldiers Attack Helpless Women

## Colorado Strikers' Wives and Daughters Abducted to Indignities at Death-Cossacks' Hands—Mother Jones Absolutely Without Honor—Condemned in Filthy Dungeon—Mother Jones Incarcerated in Filthy Jail.

The following telegram in regard to the imprisonment of Mother Jones in a filthy jail at Walsenburg, Colo., was sent to John P. White, president of United Mines Workers of America by Paul Paulsen, a national board member of the miners' union:

We have exhausted every means to get Mother Jones a place to stay that will insure her withstanding the confinement. Her place of activity is absolutely unfit for human habitation. Some power outside of Colorado must be enlisted in her behalf. Following is statement of Dr. Abdun-Nur: "I am personally familiar with the basement in which Mother Jones is confined. I treated August Marquis who contracted rheumatism of the heart in the same place and died. I declare it absolutely unfit from a hygienic view point for any person to live in." Use this information to force the military authorities to give Mother Jones a decent place to stay while held by them.

BY JOHN KENNETH TURNER. Staff Correspondent Appeal to Reason.

IN this series of articles upon Military Government as practiced in Colorado in 1914, I have been forced to omit a multitude of details which, I fear, are necessary to a true and adequate picture. I have specified many outrages, but it is impossible to transcribe the foul language, the overbearing manner, the threats, the mocking heartlessness, and the general brutality with which almost invariably these outrages—in the name of law and order—were perpetrated.

For the first two months after the militia was called out—until a belated order was issued prohibiting the saloons from selling liquor to soldiers in uniform—the soldiers appeared on the streets and "on duty" drunk or half drunk more often than sober. Instead of taking the soldier's gun away from him and throwing him in the guardhouse when intoxicated, General Chase turned him loose upon the community—sent him with his gun to search houses or arrest strikers. It is no wonder that the soldier, already taught to believe that "We are Jesus Christ down in this country"—already drunk with power—when made drunker by bad whiskey, habitually, wantonly and indiscriminately, insulted women whenever he came in contact with them.

### Soldiers Are Cowards.

A coward at heart, the Colorado militiaman, drunk or sober, can do nothing and say nothing without a hand on his revolver. Rifles are shoved into the faces and against the breasts of women, the same as the men. Soldiers are constantly stopping people at the rifle point on the streets of a peaceful city, Trinidad, yelling at them to halt, driving them off the sidewalks, prodding merchants back into their own stores, firing off their guns indiscriminately, shooting through houses.

Paul Ghiardi, La Veta, tells of the panic among the school children when six soldiers came to the school door and beat upon it, knocking the door, "just like you throw rocks at it," in the words of Ghiardi's thirteen-year-old daughter who came home trembling like a leaf. These six soldiers took the two boys of J. C. Stambough out of school and dragged them, white-faced, away to the military camp. Ghiardi's boys were arrested later and were given "the third degree."

### Insulted Women.

Most difficult of all, I fear, will it be to give an adequate picture of what Military Government means to the women of Las Animas and Walsenburg counties. The brazen and vulgar ogling which every woman has to endure who is forced to go upon the streets, the indecent remarks spoken in purposely loud tones from one soldier to another, the outright and uninvited attempts at "mashing" made by men secure in the knowledge that they are "Jesus Christ down in this country," cannot be put upon paper.

Drunken soldiers flaunt drunken and painted women on the streets, embrace them openly, loan them their horses to ride, and the officers are not far behind them. Major Townsend, drunk and disorderly but safe from punishment because he was "Jesus Christ down here," cut the brass buttons from his uniform and distributed them among the painted women.

But alas! the soldiers do not stop at these lengths. The husband of Mrs. Pearl Jolly, a striking miner at the Ludlow tent colony, went to Wyoming to look for work, leaving Mrs. Jolly to occupy their tent alone. A soldier forced the door open at 11:30 at night, while Mrs. Jolly was alone in bed. The woman fought to close the door in the intruder's face. She was saved by her brother happening along.

The militia searched the home of Mrs. Kate Mitchell, La Veta, for arms. Mrs. Mitchell lives alone with her two chil-

## Abducted to Indignities at Death-Cossacks' Hands—Mother Jones Incarcerated in Filthy Jail.

Several nights later a militiaman alone to her door, forced his way in and locked the door behind him. He blew out the lamp and pursued the woman through the house. She fled out the back door and ran through the streets in her night clothes calling for help.

The daughter of D. J. Jeffreys, a striking miner of Aguilar, was insulted before his very eyes. He protested, the soldier gave him what he called "the horse laugh," and Jeffreys was beaten over the head with a revolver. November 18, John Medina, Segundo, drove in his buggy to Trinidad, accompanied by his wife and two babies, one four years old and the other nine months. While driving home, after dark, five soldiers held them up on the county road not far from a wayside saloon. After searching Medina, the leader of the squad went around to Mrs. Medina and attempted to lift her dress. The husband protested and one of the soldiers leveled his rifle and told Medina he would kill him. Another tore Mrs. Medina's sleeping baby out of its mother's arm, saying, "You ————, you've got to sleep with us." Mrs. Medina was crying, and in terrible fear. She was saved by a sixth soldier who came from the saloon and commanded the others to let the family pass on. . . .

Two Slavish women, Annie Maganin and Karolina Logar, living at Aguilar, were attacked one night in an alley. The two women were carrying wood from the house of the former to that of the latter. Mrs. Maganin testified to the incident as follows:

Two soldiers grabbed me by the breast and tore open my dress. The soldiers held me about ten minutes and I was frightened. I hit both soldiers with a piece of wood. I had a revolver with two bullets in it on me for my protection, and they took that. And this woman, they pulled and pushed, and she started to cry. Four or five soldiers held her, and three had hold of me. This woman that I was with was so frightened that she couldn't walk, and fell to the ground, and they picked her up and dragged her along the snow on the ground. It was a very cold day. I told the soldiers in English, "Don't do anything to this woman, because she is soon to have a child."

The soldiers put their hands over the women's mouths to prevent them from screaming, but Mrs. Logar succeeded in making quite a bit of noise. The soldiers then "placed the women under arrest" and took them to the police station. Mrs. Logar was in such a critical condition that Dr. A. Harvey was called. Said Dr. Harvey:

When I got up there this woman was vomiting and hysterical, and having some contractions of the uterus, and thought she would have a baby before they got her down back home, so I ordered them to take her back home as quickly as they could get her there, and they were very glad to do so. They brought a spring wagon up and got her in and hauled it down, three or four of them, by hand. I followed on down, and gave the necessary treatment, and up to the time I left this morning she had not given birth to a child yet; perhaps will not.

### Would Brain Informer.

While the soldiers were putting the woman in the wagon, one of her countrymen, "some friend of theirs"—in the words of Dr. Harvey—"made some remark about going to Trinidad tomorrow; that's what he said. He said that he was going to see the county officers to see if they would not stop that, and one of the soldiers drew his gun and was going to brain him with it, but he didn't strike him."

Mrs. Logar's husband had died less than a month previously.

While in Trinidad I looked over a number of official affidavits, in the hands of officials of the United Mine Workers', in which wives of strikers, as well as other women, swore to instances of attempted rape by soldiers in uniform. It is extremely probable that a majority of the cases of this sort were not reported, as women are usually ashamed to confess to having been victims of outrages of this kind.

As an illustration of the way the soldiers herded the women about, cursed and threatened them, at the tent colonies, several instances may be taken, all happening the same day. November 30, Mrs. Pearl Jolly of the Ludlow tent colony, started for the Ludlow post office to get her mail. A soldier threw a gun in her face, saying: "——— you! get back out of here; don't go another step."

Another said, "We're getting tired of these —— coming up here and bothering us; if you offer to go another step we'll shoot you."

This happened on the public road more than a mile from the nearest mine. The same day, in the afternoon, Mrs. Maggie Dominick tried to go to the post office. Captain Van Cise himself stopped her. He had a pick-handle in his hand and he raised it threateningly, driving her back. While this was happening another militiaman, a short distance away, was saying to four women, "If you —— move another step I'll shoot every one of you."

"Just about that time," said Mrs. Jolly, in her testimony, "on the other side of the fence Mrs. Munlock was—— she had her baby; she evidently had been to the postoffice . . . and she

(Continued on page two.)

Soldiers Attack Women

(Continued from page one.) started to come on by them. Her baby was crying. Then one soldier walked up and drew. I believe, a Winchester, and another a six-shooter. There were two guns drawn on this one woman. She told them she was cold, she was afraid the baby would freeze, but they wouldn't let her go home.

A number of women corroborated this story, and several told similar tales. Miss Elizabeth Waters told of being struck with the butt of a gun and of a soldier shoving his gun in the face of her sixteen-month-old niece, who was toddling across a meadow to meet her.

Mrs. Germer's Case. The manner in which officers insulted women when they placed under arrest is illustrated by the case of Mrs. Mabel Germer, wife of Adolph Germer, international organizer of the U. M. W. A. and member of the national committee of the Socialist party, who is in charge of the strike at Walsenburg. Major Townsend and his friends of the C. F. & I. put up a job on Germer to discredit him and drive him out of the fight. Townsend began by putting Germer in jail. Then on Mrs. Germer's arrival in Walsenburg shortly afterwards Townsend called her to head quarters and informed her that she was not Mrs. Germer, that he had proof of it. He also told Mrs. Germer that Germer had been living with another woman, and in "proof" he showed the wife her husband's suitcase in which had been placed another woman's clothing.

Unable to break her down by such tactics, the chivalrous officer placed Mrs. Germer under arrest. Meeting organizer Roll on the street a little later he declared to him that Mrs. Germer was "nothing but a whore that Germer picked up in Indianapolis." Townsend also applied other vile names to Mrs. Germer on the streets of Walsenburg, even after she had gone to the trouble to prove to him that her marriage papers were in proper form.

Among the wondrous military laws at Starkville was one prohibiting any person from leaving his or her door after 6 p. m. At Sopris there was a "law" prohibiting any one from singing in his or her own home after 6 p. m.

At least, old Mrs. Elizabeth Burns, 52, was so prohibited, though possibly that was because Mrs. Burns married some—who, by the bye, did not live with her—was president of the Miners' Local there. Or it might have been because it was the union song that Mrs. Burns was singing. An idea of the care with which the militia looked after the interests of the coal barons, down to the most pitifully petty details, can be gained from the story told by this poor, harmless old lady, who supports herself and her youngest son by taking in washing. Her account of her arrest is in part as follows:

"Me and the little boy had supper, you know, and I was washing some dishes. I was singing the union song, and the militia passed along, and I went out for a bucket of cold water, and they said, 'Look here, Mother Burns, don't you know it's martial law?' I said, 'Martial law?' They said, 'Yes, you are not to sing after six o'clock.'

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What Ammons Stood for as a Candidate

Here are excerpts from the platform of the democratic party of Colorado, on which the present governor, E. J. Ammons, ran for lieutenant governor ten years ago in opposition to the Peabody ticket: "The present state administration . . . has deliberately violated and set at naught every safeguard guaranteed to the individual by the bill of rights. Under the old idea of necessity, the governor in the name of law, has swept aside statutes and constitutions, and in the name of order has substituted passion and disorder for justice.

"This is the law of the monarch and the order of despotism. They have no place in the soil of the American union, and democracy repudiates them. "Every individual in the land is entitled to the just and equal protection of the laws. The right to live, to acquire and enjoy property, to domicile, to follow any lawful vocation, to contract, to bear arms, to be secure from unreasonable searches and seizures, to freedom of speech, of person and of conscience, the writ guaranteed by the state and national constitutions, must and shall be recognized and enforced in behalf of every man and woman; to deny any of them anywhere is to imperil all of them everywhere.

"The denial or infringement of these rights at any time by any citizen, association, corporation or official, constitutes a grave personal and political offense. And we pledge ourselves to use all lawful and constitutional means for the recognition and enforcement of these rights and the condign punishment of all who transgress them. "Crime never was an excuse for crime, and the executive power should be the last to plead it."

"I can do what I please. I pay taxes for this property; it belongs to me." "Well, you can't do it," they said, and they walked away; and I kind of think they went up to the C. F. & I. office, and they came back again. And I was singing and washing dishes, and they said, "We will arrest you if you don't stop singing." I said, "I can do what I please."

Whereupon the squad of militia, entered, seized the old lady by the shoulder, and took her to the C. F. & I. office at Sopris, before an examine guard named Hill, now an officer in the militia. Hill told Mrs. Burns that "it is martial law"—a lie—and that she could not sing, that "if you sing the union song after six o'clock we will send you up."

"So four of them brought me back here—two on feet and two on horses. Q. Did they have guns? A. Yes, sir, and everything. I thought the horses were going to walk over me. It was dark, and I was a little afraid. I told the two that were walking with me, "Look here, I am afraid of them horses," so one that was walking he said, "You keep back with them horses; the old lady is scared." You know, I thought they were going to walk over me. So they yelled back, and they came and fetched me home. So the next morning, at six o'clock, I was sleeping, and two militiamen came and rapped on the kitchen door, and I pulled the blind up and looked out, and he said, "You get up now, we want you right away; we are not going to wait on you."

Refused Breakfast. They did not give the old lady a chance to get her breakfast even, but took her to Trinidad on the next car, to the military camp, where they kept her for an hour and a half, then took her to the Columbia hotel, where she waited until noon, when Judge Advocate Boughton arrived. Boughton browbeated and badgered the old woman for a while, repeating that it was martial law and that she must not sing the union song, and then General Chase came in and shook his fist in her face. It was only after an elaborate and disgusting "course of disciplining" that the old woman was permitted to go home to break her fast.

I was personally present on the streets of Trinidad, January 22, when a company of mounted militiamen, led by General Chase in person, charged into a parade of women and children, families of strikers, and beat about with the flats of their swords. One woman was slashed across the forehead with a sword; the ear of another was almost severed; the hands of a third were gashed. Several of the soldiers drew their pistols. One leaned down and struck a ten-year-old boy in the face with his fist. A number of the women declare that they heard General Chase himself yell to his soldiers, "Kill them if they don't turn back!"

All Owned by Interests. I have said that the governor of the state, the courts, even the legislature, are accessories to the crimes of General Chase and his uniformed thugs. If Governor Ammons were not owned by the same interests as is General Chase would he not at least remove Chase? If the courts were not owned by the same interests as own Governor Ammons and General Chase would they not afford the miners some redress? As for the legislature, has it not the power to impeach a governor, who misuses his office? When a republican form of government fails to meet the requirements of coal barons, then coal barons may have military government, and all the powers that be stand behind them. There is not money in the treasury of the state of Colorado to keep the militia indefinitely in the field; so the "business men" of Pueblo kindly pledged a loan to the state for that purpose. The money is now in sight and Governor Ammons has made a public statement that he will keep the militia in the field for five years, if necessary, "to maintain law and order;" that is, until the strike is broken by military crime run mad.

The "Angel of the Miners." Finally, there is the story of a woman eighty-two years old who has lived and will die for the workers. I am filled with shame to mention the arch crime that is being perpetrated against her, and that I and my brothers are permitting to continue.

Deported most brutally by the thugs of General Chase on January 4, she was again seized on her return to Trinidad eight days later, driven to the San Rafael hospital, where she has been held a close prisoner under military guard ever since. No one is allowed to visit her. Even a part of her mail is held up.

I shall never forget my visit to Mother Jones when she was a military prisoner in West Virginia a year ago. The one pleasure afforded her was found in the few visitors that were permitted to see her and the letters which came from comrades all over the country. She was restless and eager to be free. She knew that she could only live a little longer, and she wanted to give each remaining day to the great cause that is more than her life.

Now even visitors are denied her. It is a form of savage torture. As this is written the news comes that Mother Jones is ill. I shall never forget her words, spoken to me in West Virginia, while a military guard, armed to the teeth, walked back and forth outside the door: "Appeal to the Manhood of America! Appeal to the manhood of America!"

Capitalism Voluntarily Unmasks. Henry Clews, a New York banker, in a recent newspaper article says: "Kings and rulers are mere figure heads. The real power rests with those who control the finances of a nation."

Mr. Clews also states that "the bankers of the world will no longer allow unnecessary wars." But they reserve for themselves the right to dictate to the working class which are necessary and which are unnecessary wars. Will not any war be necessary if it will materially increase their wealth? O. H.

The world is a comedy to those who think, a tragedy to those who feel.—Horace Walpole.

"Never Said It"—Goldstein

Talk about a complete backdown and a humble explanation you ought to have heard David Goldstein, the anti-Socialist agitator now touring this country for the Knights of Columbus, explain and expostulate at Pittsburg, Kan., last week to a representative of the APPEAL when asked to meet Fred D. Warren in debate in that city. David was found at the home of Father Pompeny, the arch conspirator against the APPEAL for these many years.

"I cannot possibly debate with Fred Warren tonight. This is a lecture already arranged," said Goldstein. "But will you debate with Warren in the next month or two?" he was asked. "No, all my meetings between now and July are lectures—so arranged that they cannot be changed."

"Then why have you given out interviews all over the country that you were anxious to meet Fred Warren in debate, but that he was afraid to meet you in public?"

This question was too much for David. Under the circumstances he could do nothing else but to enter an emphatic denial that he had ever given out such interviews. The APPEAL, however, has been receiving clippings from newspapers containing these long distance challenges.

"I never challenged Fred Warren, but I would like to meet him in joint debate next year," ventured Goldstein.

"Next year is too far off," replied the APPEAL's representative. "Now is the time. I have a certified check of \$500 to put up as a guarantee that Fred Warren will appear at a debate with you provided you put up a similar bond."

"Oh, no, I could not possibly debate now. Wait until next season and write to the Boston School of Political Economy for details." "Then you don't want to debate Warren within the next few months and furthermore you deny that you ever charged Warren with being afraid to meet you in public debate?"

"Yes, that's the fact," he said. Goldstein seemed relieved that there was no debate with Fred Warren for some time to come at least. He ended the interview abruptly and resumed his chat with Father Pompeny.

Poets and Socialism.

"Shakespeare was of us, Milton was for us. Burns, Shelley were with us—they watch from their graves," wrote Robert Browning. Through all literature, from the days of "Long Will" Langland, who wrote his vision of humble Piers the Plowman, with its glowing theme of social justice, to the latest periodical of today we find, like a gold thread, the Socialist idea, weaving in and fro in figures of light and beauty throughout the work of the real poets—the ones whose songs are not only preserved in books but have also a shrine in the hearts of men. The gleaming hope that has been "the consecration and the poets' dream" and lured men to "forsake all" and follow it, has been in our day materialized into the cause of Socialism. The spirit of the poets who are the spiritual seers and prophets of our time is now translated into a movement. The soul of Shelley, the beauty of Keats, the rebellion of Byron, the rugged power of Walt Whitman, and the charm and vigor of William Morris are all woven into Socialism.

We come to the younger writers, the men and women who are singing the lays of our later days. It is a matter of surprise to see how the chants of the best of them are permeated with the Socialist ideal. Howells, John Davidson, William Vaughan Moody, Edwin Markham, Florence Wilkison, Bliss Carman, Richard Le Gallienne, William Herbert Caruth, Edward Carpenter, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Nicholas Lindsley and Harry Kemp are only a few of the names. A complete list would be longer than the catalogue of the ships that sailed to take Troy town. If it is true, as some wise man has said, that it is better to make the ballads of a nation than its laws, the future of the world is in the hands of the Socialists.—Selected.

The Use of Scissors.

Teacher (holding up a pair of scissors)—What are these used for? Willie—Editors use 'em to edit the paper with.

Teacher—That is partly true, Willie, but you tell us Johnny, who else uses scissors? Johnny—Mr. Rockefeller uses 'em to clip interest coupons.

Cables for Baby Ribbon.

Washington, D. C.—Mrs. Joseph Leiter, who, with her family, is making a trip around the world in a yacht, recently cabled her mother in Washington for a supply of lip salve, rice powder and baby ribbon. The cost of the message was about \$35 while the cost of the desired articles was only \$5. Joseph Leiter, her husband, makes millions as head of several mining and traction corporations.

Socialists Lead at Milwaukee Primaries

Seidel and Rest of Ticket Head Nominations After Bitterly Fought Contest.

By telegraph to Appeal to Reason. Milwaukee, Wis.—After nominating their entire ticket in Milwaukee at the first non-partisan election the Socialists began work today to sweep the city at election, April 7th. The results of primary showed Emil Seidel, Socialist, 21,479 votes; Bading, 20,718; Rose, 18,171 and Otjen, 2,054. With every newspaper in the city excepting the Milwaukee Leader working for him, Bading was only able to run second and the Socialists now have every hope of recapturing the city.

SOCIALIST TO CONGRESS.

Paterson May Send Gordon Demarest to Washington.

That a Socialist will be elected to congress from the Paterson, N. J. district is predicted by the Philadelphia North American, a bull moose newspaper. Here is what it says:

"Republicans, democrats and progressives are alarmed over the possibility that Gordon Demarest, Socialist candidate for congressman at the special election on April 7th in the Seventh New Jersey district, may get more votes than any of his competitors. If it should so happen that he is elected, he will be the only Socialist representative in the sixty-third congress. The last and only Socialist to go to Washington as a representative was Victor Berger of Milwaukee.

The special election has been called for the selection of a successor to Robert G. Bremner, democrat, who died of cancer. The Socialists of Passaic county have called upon their comrades throughout the country for help, and since wars of war have been guaranteed from many sources.

Passaic county is the strongest Socialist center in New Jersey. When Demarest ran for mayor Paterson last November he polled 4,700 votes. The Socialist propaganda has been pushed with a vengeance since the big strike in Paterson, and it is no secret that many mill operatives not Socialists are kindly disposed toward the party.

Socialists Lead in Primary

Andy Gatchell, Socialist, led in the primary for nominating mayor of Missoula, Mont., having 738 vote to the next highest, 381. Dale Hodson, Socialist, also ran ahead of all for nomination for alderman. The combined opposition polled only a thousand votes.

READY FOR A RAISE.

How the Magnate Prepared for His Request.

THE great magnate summoned his private secretary. "Have you attended to all the increased prices that I ordered?" "I have, sir."

"I've ordered my steel company to ask more for steel rails and other material that enters into railroad construction?" "Yes, sir. That has been provided for."

"Has it been arranged that my locomotive works shall increase the price of engines and that my car factories shall increase the prices of freight and passenger cars?" "Yes, sir. That also is thoroughly understood by our different boards of directors."

"Have you seen to it that my coal mines have tacked on a good, round increase in the price of coal which my engines burn?" "Oh, yes. We have been pushing up the price of coal steadily."

"That's good. And have you arranged that my lumber companies charge me more for ties than I have been in the habit of paying?" "Yes, Your lumber companies are charging so much for ties that your railroad companies can hardly afford to buy them."

"That's good. And, of course, you have seen to it that my banks are refusing to lend money to my railroads except at a much higher rate of interest than has prevailed heretofore."

"Yes, sir. Your banks have informed your railroads that money is very scarce and that no financing can be done except on short-time notes at high rates of interest."

"Well, then I guess we're about ready to make our next move. Have a petition prepared to the interstate commerce commission setting forth that owing to the greatly increased cost of running railroads, it will be necessary for us to have a substantial increase in freight and passenger rates. Understand?"

"Yes, sir. Anything else, sir?" "Nothing else, except, of course, to notify my newspapers to support this proposition valiantly in the name of the public and to listen to no arguments against it."

Wait not to be backed by numbers. Wait not till you are sure of an echo from a crowd. The fewer the voices on the side of truth, the more distinct and strong must be your own.—W. E. Channing.

When bad men combine, the good must associate; else they will fall one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle.—Burke.

National Socialist for April is just out. Cracker-jack number. Chuck full of good letters from the rank and file. You can't afford to miss it. 25 cents will bring it to you every month for a year.

A WORKING CLASS LIBRARY—That is what you will have when you get your copy of George Allan England's story of the Appeal. It's practically a complete history of the modern Socialist movement in America. It's a book that every Appeal comrade wants. It is issued in two styles of binding—library cloth, gold lettered, \$1.25. Full morocco leather, \$2.

"Darkness and Dawn." "Darkness and Dawn" is the name of a new novel written by Comrade George Allan England, and published by Small, Maynard & Company, of Boston.

The author of this novel needs no introduction to APPEAL readers, or to Socialists. He has been an active red-card member for years, running for governor of Maine two years ago on the Socialist ticket. He has contributed fully as many of his writings free to the Socialist press as he has ever received pay for from capitalistic publishers.

But the story of "Darkness and Dawn" This is a story of the rebuilding of the world, with a thread of romance interwoven throughout the entire book. The time is about 3000 A. D. The hero and heroine awake in the Metropolitan Tower in New York, to find the earth covered with primitive forests and themselves the only inhabitants.

Out of this strange situation grow many interesting and fascinating experiences. The reader finds himself wondering how the people of the book are to overcome the many obstacles that confront them and succeed with their projects. However the author abundantly proves that his imaginative and creative powers have been highly developed, for out of the tangled mass of dust and destruction in which the book-people found the world they succeed in bringing order and system, and laying the foundation for an ideal state of society.

The reader sees the plot unfold even as the Socialist sees rising from the darkness of our present day civilization the dawn of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Buy a Yacht for the Boss. Yonkers, N. Y.—Eight thousand workers employed by the Smith Hat Works have just contributed 10 per cent of their wages to build a half million dollar yacht to take part in the coming international yacht races. When the yacht is completed it will be owned by Mr. Smith who also owns the Smith Hat Works—in fact, it is because he owns the Smith Hat Works that he will also own the new yacht.

These 8,000 workers have been buying Smith little things all their lives, but this time they decided to do something handsome, or, come to think of it, it was really Smith who did the deciding, inasmuch as it was he who gave his factory manager the order to cut the wages 10 per cent. Anyhow, the workers are paying for the yacht.

Can do Three Things.

Human beings arriving on the earth without looms and reaping hooks in their hands and without a right to the soil that sustains them, finding all the machinery claimed and the surface of the planet pre-empted, can do one of three things: They can rent themselves to the owners of things; they can enter the professions where lands and implements are not needed; or, if they have the heroism and the genius, they can steal.—J. Howard Moore.

The National Socialist, Girard, Kan., is a paper for Socialists, 25 cents a year or 25 cents for two years in clubs of four or more.

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Uncle Sam is Best Employer.

Uncle Sam is Best Employer. Uncle Sam is Best Employer. Uncle Sam is Best Employer. Uncle Sam is Best Employer.

Tells why chicks die

J. C. Keefer, the poultry expert of 1525 Main St., Kansas City, Mo., is giving away free valuable books on raising chicks. The book tells you why chicks die and how to prevent it. It is a simple book, but it is a book that every poultry raiser should read.

MAKE YOUR BIKE A MOTORCYCLE

Nothing Down—Free Trial. I will give you a Free Trial of my famous No Money Down—Free Trial Adler Offer. I will give you a Free Trial of my famous No Money Down—Free Trial Adler Offer.

BOYS and GIRLS

If you have ever thought of buying a bicycle, you will be interested in this offer. I will give you a Free Trial of my famous No Money Down—Free Trial Adler Offer. I will give you a Free Trial of my famous No Money Down—Free Trial Adler Offer.

'Wayland I Knew'

A simple and tender tribute to the "One Horn" Editor and Founder of the Appeal to Reason. Each book contains a great picture of J. A. Wayland. A priceless treasure to every Country. 1 copy 25c; 3 copies \$50; 7 for \$1. FRIDAY HARMON, Girard, Kansas.

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Give this machine the acid test of comparison at these three vital points:

Price — Equipment — Reputation

The Two-Sixty Standard Indian (illustrated) represents a motorcycle value decidedly in advance of the field today. A close examination will conclusively prove the 1914 Indian with 38 Betterments to be—price for price—quality for quality—an achievement in worth which successfully carries it beyond competition.

Indian Motorcycle

The Indian reputation behind every Indian machine is the greatest guarantee of reliability and sound construction that any motorcycle purchaser could have. The Indian has developed more genuine mechanical devices for the advancement of the motorcycle—including the famous, incomparable, complete feature, the Cradle Spring Frame—than all other motorcycles combined.

WRITE FOR THE NEW INDIAN CATALOG. HENDEE MFG. CO., 882 State Street, SPRINGFIELD, MASS. Chicago Dallas Kansas City Minneapolis Denver San Francisco Atlanta

OUR MISSION.

Men who labor, Justice calls you; Let not ancient wrongs appeal you; Onward press, whatever befalls you; On to victory.

What is Socialism?

BY FATHER WILLIAM POLAND.

It is encouraging to Socialists to read from the pen of an opponent a clear and reasonably correct statement of their position, free from abuse and misrepresentation.

This Socialism is something with which every one who by his single vote has a voice in the nation's councils should make himself acquainted.

However much we may have hitherto despised this theory, it is time for us to see that it is the tenet of the most wide-spread political party in the civilized world.

It is seriously important, therefore, to understand at the beginning and to bear constantly in mind that in dealing with the collectivist theory we are dealing and not with a theory of idleness, anarchy, nihilism, dynamite or free plunder.

The new system itself is far from being clear, whether as to details of method or of practically distributed results. However, its fundamental principle, the consolidation and common ownership of all the means and instruments of production, is clearly and unmistakably announced.

This Socialism has entered into the field to win, not by violence, but by the present conventional po-

litical means, that is to say, by a majority of votes. Under the conditions of industry which have been brought about by machinery and rapid transport they are waiting for the competitive system to run its course.

The Socialist, then, is waiting for the large capitalists to absorb the smaller. He will thus find created for him a few millionaires on the one hand and a race of wage-earners on the other.

Once more, we must be on our guard against a prevalent vague notion that the main tenet of the actual Socialism, is the perodical dividing up and redistribution of all properties, so as to preserve equality of possessions amongst the citizens.

What Socialism Will Do.

That which is demanded as a preliminary condition to a Socialist society, and which the capitalist society makes impossible, and which would be therefore the most impossible preliminary condition, that is, the creation of a higher type of mankind than the modern one, that will be the natural result of Socialism.

Labor Is Real Creator.

The real price of everything, what everything really costs to the man who wants to acquire it, is the toil and trouble of acquiring it.

Labor was the first price, the original purchase money, that was paid for all things. If among a nation of hunters, for example, it usually costs twice the labor to kill a beaver which it does to kill a deer, one beaver would naturally be worth or exchange for two deer.

The Appeal hasn't printed anything in a long time that seems to have hit the right spot at the right time as The Federalist of the Water Tank, by Edward Bellamy. This was printed in No. 953, the special unemployéd edition.

SIGNIFICANT NEWS

It Kept Him Alive.—Edwin F. Buffalo died recently at Geneva, N. Y. He was in bad health for years and often declared he was kept alive as long as he was by his enthusiasm for Socialism.

Court Upholds Civil Right.—The supreme court of the United States has upheld the right of immunity from seizure of all letters or papers by officers, except where a search warrant is secured.

Farmers Co-operatives Merging.—Farmers cooperative organizations in North and South Dakota, Iowa, Nebraska, Wisconsin, Montana and Minnesota are united in the Farmers' Society of Equity.

A Socialist Postmaster.—NIT.—The Seattle Times alludes to a "Socialist postmaster of Montana" who went wrong in his accounts.

Socialists Win in Omaha.—Socialists have passed through an ordinance requiring sale of seven street car fares for 25 cents, against the combined opposition of the car company and the city council of Omaha.

Suppressing Papers in Russia.—During 1913, 20 newspapers were destroyed, 225 issues were confiscated, 63 editors imprisoned and fines to the amount of \$69,825 were assessed in Russia in an effort to suppress agitation in the press.

Socialist Pastor Ousted.—Rev. Edward Golden, Socialist, has been removed from the pastorate of the St. Paul's Episcopal church, Pittsburgh, Pa., for opposition against the profit system.

Socialists Make Gains.—At the recent election in Scotia, N. Y., Socialists polled 178 votes against 561 for the independents; at Endicott we polled 112 votes against 559 for the independents.

Socialists High in Primary.—In the primary nominating convention at Joplin, Mo., George L. Shockey, Socialist candidate for mayor, received 786 votes, to the highest candidate's 986 and the next highest, 802.

Socialists Win City Offices.—At an election held March 10 Socialists of Oranheim, Minn., elected a town clerk, justice of the peace and constable.

Rockefellers Are Beaten.—John D. and William Rockefeller were badly beaten in a village election at Tarrytown, N. Y. The oil men wished to keep the trolley cars out of the fashionable district, and despite their opposition in the matter, the workers snubbed their kings by turning them down.

Act of a "Philanthropist".—The late H. H. Rogers of Standard Oil fame, before his death, gave a piece of property to the Mesiah Home for Crippled Children, and was heralded as a great philanthropist. It has just come out that he mortgaged the property before the gift for \$600,000 and merely saddled the debt on the institution.

Abandoned the Market.—Salt Lake City had a municipal market for the purpose of breaking the high cost of food, but the capitalist mayor has closed the market "until they can erect a building for it."

Farm Colony to Supply Work.—King county, Washington, has bought 100 acres of land, and heretofore the unemployed of the county, as far as possible, will be given employment on the farm.

Lunn Loses in Court.—Former Socialist Lunn Schenck, fined \$100 for cutting down a tree interfering with a sewer under construction, had an appeal to the higher court received an adverse decision.

Not Every Bone Is Bad.—Socialists of Tacoma are running for mayor Homer T. Bone, an attorney who is distantly related to Harry J. Bone, the Appeal's notorious "friend."

Would Make It Lead the State.—Socialists of Toole county, Montana, adopted a fine platform, brief and to the point, declaring that "our aim is to take Toole county the first Socialist county in the state of Montana."

Municipal Ownership a Success.—According to official figures, one of the municipal street railways of San Francisco has made a profit of more than \$250,000.

Defied the Postal Department.—Representative Charles C. O'Connor of Colorado has defied the postal department by sending a speech that was not printed in the Congressional Record, and the postmaster general has presented a bill to him for \$4,000 for postage on same.

A King on Trial.—Gustav V., king of Sweden, is being tried by his subjects. This is the real meaning of the campaign looking to the election of new riksdag, which is now in progress.

Capitalism Unemployed Edition.—If every Henry Dubb would read it, writes Comrade Moxness of Forest, Sask., "the next election would be a sorry day for capitalism."

The Appeal hasn't printed anything in a long time that seems to have hit the right spot at the right time as The Federalist of the Water Tank, by Edward Bellamy.

A sample of all our literature mailed for 25 cents in silver.

Appeal's Newsstand Edition

"How is the newsstand edition going?" asks a correspondent. "We are having daily calls for the newsstand edition of the Appeal."

If there is no newsstand in your locality, we shall be glad to supply you with the newsstand edition through the mail.

You can't afford to be without the newsstand edition of the Appeal; as one enthusiastic comrade puts it, "It's a humdinger."

Working by Referendum.

Even where candidates are nominated by conventions they must be ratified by referendum vote, so that in the end it is in effect by primary.

An Impossible Assumption.

It would be impossible for a man to pay the worker the full value of his labor and at the same time take anything whatever from it.

Where to Get It.

With the entire profit system abolished, far more money than the cost of production could a man sell a bale of cotton?

For no more than its cost. But the real cost of producing a bale of cotton is not what is estimated to be the cost today.

Thinks Bellamy's "Water Tank" a Masterpiece.—Your appeal is getting better. I am reading the Appeal and I am writing some great stuff in his "Things as I See Them."

Change of Masters No Remedy.—I emphatically endorse your position on the Catholic question, as well as the Catholic were successful it would only mean a change of masters.

Doesn't Believe in Mixing Religion and Politics.—I am reading the Appeal and I am writing some great stuff in his "Things as I See Them."

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Believes in Solidarity.—Allow me to congratulate you on the manner in which you have handled the anti-Catholic question.

Once Hated the Appeal.—Must tell you that I am a converted man. The things I once hated I now love.

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Five Hundred Votes Lost Through Anti-Catholic Agitation.—Your advice on tactics in last week's Appeal is good.

Dubb Picture Worth a Four Year Subscription.—I think the Henry Dubb picture in the last issue is worth a four years' subscription.

Twenty-five cents in silver will bring you one copy each of all Appeal pamphlets and leaflets.

The Appeal Army

The Army of Action and Achievement.

- THE "BIG TEN." A list of those sending the largest clubs of 40-week subs for the week: A. W. Steinhach, Wisconsin, 24; S. A. Davis, Texas, 24; Jos. A. Belanger, Montana, 20; M. Achhammer, Ohio, 18; S. A. French, Indiana, 18; J. R. Austin, Louisiana, 16; M. G. Krause, Wisconsin, 16; M. G. Miller, West Virginia, 15; Robert F. Kane, Michigan, 15; K. E. Showers, Pennsylvania, 15.

- THE "BIG FOUR." A list of those sending the largest clubs of four-year subs for the week: L. C. Rapp, Michigan, 3; H. Kraiser, California, 3; Ed. Depe, Illinois, 3; J. R. Higginbotham, Texas, 3.

If a Little Is Good, More Is Better.—"Things as I See Them" is good. Only one thing I like better—more of them.—N. S. Hatling, Minnesota.

Never Too Old to Learn.—Although 63 years old I have been reading your Appeal for some time and my political eyes are now open.

Doesn't Believe in Church Fights.—The position you take on the anti-Catholic question is surely right.

Passes His Appeal Along.—I have been reading the Appeal for more than a year and I think it can't be beat.

From a New Recruit.—This bunch of subs were easy to get. I am only 16 years old, but I realize something is wrong and that Socialism is the only remedy.

The quickest way, the easiest way and the cheapest way to make a Socialist of that stubborn old party friend of yours is to send the Appeal 25 cents and let us mail him one copy each of all our pamphlets and leaflets.

Endorses Warren's Stand on Religion.—The stand you take in the anti-Catholic fight should appeal to all thinking Socialists and I believe it to be the only correct one.

Wants to Know More About Socialism.—J. E. McDuff, Grand View, Texas, orders a bunch of pamphlets and books. "I am a Socialist," he writes, "but want to do a little better posted."

Finds It Easy to Get Subs.—Comrade T. Ziegler of Camden, N. J., gets under the wire with a club of 12 in time to secure an Arsenal at the old terms.

Remedy Against Missing Numbers.—I am getting tired of missing numbers between subscription renewals the ones you miss are always the numbers that you want.

Says Can't Live Without Appeal.—Here is 50 cents for another year's subscription. I might as well be dead as I live in Joe Cannon's district.

Likes Simple Language of Appeal.—Your paper is simply immense since you have started the thing as well as the end.

Change of Masters No Remedy.—I emphatically endorse your position on the Catholic question, as well as the Catholic were successful it would only mean a change of masters.

Doesn't Believe in Mixing Religion and Politics.—I am reading the Appeal and I am writing some great stuff in his "Things as I See Them."

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Why Not You?

Our first article explains how you can get your own apartment, furnished, SCHMOLLER & MUELLER pianos at \$175 to \$325.

3 to 5 Years to Pay. We do not require the cash. You use our piano 30 days free of charge; then if satisfied we will accept it.

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ROOFING. Almost unbelievable—but true! Just the same! This unheard of low price for genuine wood-frame...

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HARRIS BROS. CO., Dept. 11, 35th and Lewis Streets, CHICAGO, ILL.

Can You Answer These Questions?

What per cent of the Socialist party membership is American born? Can you repeat from memory the working program of the Socialist Party as given in its national platform? Can you disprove the oft-repeated statement that Socialism has been tried and proved a failure? Do you know the total capitalization of American railroads? Do you know the names of the men who make up the supreme court? If you cannot answer these questions offhand from memory you need the APPEAL'S ARSENAL OF FACTS. These are just a few questions picked at random from this valuable handbook of bullet-proof information—there are several hundred more and all on subjects with which every Socialist should be familiar, or at least be ready to answer at a moment's notice. The book has 200 pages, neatly printed from large, clear type and on tough, thin paper, bound in full RED morocco leather. The subject-index puts you in instant possession of all available information on any given subject. The ARSENAL is not for sale, money cannot buy it. You get it FREE for \$5 and 20 twenty-five cent subscriptions to the APPEAL or you can secure a free copy by sending \$5 for twenty 40-week subscription cards which you can sell at your convenience. The ARSENAL costs you nothing—you simply devote a little of your spare time to getting your friends to subscribe for the little old APPEAL and you want to do this, anyhow. Get an ARSENAL and next time you meet your non-Socialist friend you'll be ready for him.

IT IS ALL PRETENSE.

Congress investigated and found that the capitalists had overridden law in West Virginia, reducing the workers to practical slavery and ignoring all principles of justice and right. But the damage had been done, and the guilty parties were not punished. Congress sent an investigating committee to Colorado, which discovered that the private army that had overridden constitutional rights in West Virginia had moved to the west and there again been used to enslave the worker in violation of law. But the damage had been done, and no move was made to punish the guilty parties, to curb the power of the master class or put an end to private armies. Congress sent an investigating committee to Michigan, and once again it was found that all labor papers had told of capitalist outrages there were true, and what capitalist papers had told were a tissue of lies sent out to maintain a system of graft. But not a congressman had proposed to put an end to the obviously illegal "invisible army" of capitalism; not a congressman had made a move to punish the criminals that have robbed the workers and then killed them in defiance of state and national laws. Why is it? Because the workers like to be kicked.

If the worker had any sense he would get back where he can, by firing the old party officials, upholders of crime, and electing strictly working class representatives to all offices.

TURKINGTON WINS FIRST ROUND.

The APPEAL has already told about the effort to oust from office John H. Turkington, Socialist sheriff of Crawford county, Kansas, where the APPEAL is located, on a charge of releasing prisoners convicted of violation of the prohibitory law, so they might go home and get money to pay their fines. In the first round Turkington won; the supreme court refused to oust him pending the hearing of the case in June. The court also admitted the evidence showing that the release of prisoners under these conditions had been practiced for years, and that the law was better enforced today than it had ever been.

The evidence admitted by the court is very damaging to those who brought charges against Turkington, strongly suggesting a conspiracy to get rid of Turkington in the interest of graft and the coal operators who do not wish a Socialist sheriff in case of a possible strike. There is general resentment at the attack on Turkington, who is one of the cleanest men that ever held office in the county, and the gang that attacked him is conscious now that it is beaten. Still, the final hearing does not come up till June, and until then the campaign of vilification will probably continue. So far the Kansas supreme court has been very fair.

A GREAT many people these days are I-dollar-trous.

THE workers make everything but the laws and money.

If the workers would not fight there would be no war.

THE unemployed ask for bread and they give them the hose.

If you are wise you will get wise to what is being done to you.

THE high cost of living is held up by men who stand on your shoulders.

THE farmer gives the corn to the masters and keeps the cob as his share.

WHEN they tell you Socialism will destroy thrift, they probably mean theft.

SOCIALISM is a proposition to cut out the weeds in order that the seeds may grow.

ALL property belongs to the worker, but he lets the master have exclusive use of it.

SOCIALISM does not ask you what you believe. It asks if you will think and act for all.

MEN do not get rich by creating wealth, but by absorbing wealth that others create.

BEAUTY is said to be skin deep. But capitalism skins deep. Perhaps that is why it is such a beaut.

BULLETS are the only commodity made by the working class that are consumed exclusively by that class.

THE interest of the worker and the capitalist is not identical from the fact that the interest all goes to the capitalist.

If the fire department were privately owned it would be a menace to the home to propose a means of protecting it from fire apart from profits.

SOME one suggests that the workers are to blame for their poverty. And they are. They have no business to permit themselves to be robbed of what they produce.

SEEING that the workers have stood for being robbed for these many centuries the proposition that they "expropriate the expropriators" does not shock them in the least.

THE capitalist system is based on the idea of exploitation. You are compelled to exploit or be exploited. The system therefore is necessarily one of crime and a creator of dissension.

Our flesh alone to the tiger tastes sweet, But body and soul is the plutocrat's meat.

THE Sentinel, a paper of Missoula Mont., says editorially: Socialists of Butte are certain to elect their men in six wards. They have given Butte better government than it has enjoyed for years."

THE shortest way to something to eat is the way hungry men will take. If that way leads through crime, riot and bloodshed the fault lies not with the hungry men, but with those who have the power to provide them with jobs.

REDUCING the hours of labor does not reduce wages. It increases them. When the hours of labor are reduced more men must be put to work, which reduces the competition for jobs, which raises wages. And it increases the Socialist vote because it gives you time to think. Socialism will reduce the hours of labor.

CAPITALISM reduces your wages until you are forced to put your children into the factory for the few pennies their baby hands can gather. Then the boss reduces your pay until you get no more than you did before, and your children are killing themselves for the boss's profit. Don't vote for a cradle robbing system.

THE plutes are doing their best to work up a war scare over the "Mexican situation" so as to get you all excited about "our property" that is being stolen by "Mexican robbers." They want to get your mind off "our property" that is being stolen by Wall Street robbers by the high cost of living. If they can send you and several hundred thousand other workers into Mexico, it will make business for the railroads and the army contractors, and give the beef trust a chance to work off its rotten beef that has been accumulating since the Spanish war. Don't get excited. Stay at home and work for Socialism.

Double Insurance--Read!

Insure your subscription against expirations for four full years and at the same time insure against being bested in an argument with some capitalist minded friend by having an Arsenal of Facts always in your vest pocket.

How? It will cost you just two dollars, no more and no less.

For two dollars we will send you a red leather bound copy of the Arsenal and extend your subscription to the Appeal four years.

As the Appeal is 50 cents a year you save a dollar on your subscription and get the little red book free. This bargain won't last long.

UNCLE SAM'S BROWN COAL.

Here are other proofs that Uncle Sam can't do anything for the people and when he attempts it he always botches the job. These facts have to do with the development of lignite, the so-called brown coal, which is a fair substitute for both bituminous and anthracite.

Uncle Sam has located and charted the brown coal beds over all his dominions. It is generally known that the way to find a mine is to let tenderfeet search for it until ten of them die in despair and one succeeds. But Uncle Sam actually sent out experts and easily discovered these beds of lignite, without haphazard work and without the death or ruin of any man. He reports that there are 390,000,000,000 tons of easily accessible lignite in the United States.

This lignite, as mined, is too saturated with water to be used, and when dried crumbles into powder. It becomes necessary then to manufacture it into briquets or small bricks that adhere together. Uncle Sam has been experimenting with briquets until he knows just how they ought to be made. Indeed, he has been making them.

But at this point he really grows imbecile. He has found out the process; he has made them; he owns the deposits. And now he calls on individuals to make them, at the same time complaining that some of these individuals for the sake of increasing profits are putting an inferior article on the market. Why doesn't he put out the real thing, and sell at cost? Surely the fact that he does not prove that he is utterly incompetent to do things for the people—or else that he has been worked to a frazzle by those who are competent to "do" the people.

WHY NOT IN AMERICA?

The Germans seem to be putting a few ovals on the Americans, in numerous ways. One of their thrifty stunts is this: Many towns make a tidy income from the fruit of trees planted in the strip of land along the roadsides, outside private land. We waste this land, by letting it run to bushes and weeds. The town of Linden, near Hanover, last year realized nearly \$5,000 from this source. In the province of Hanover there are 7,000 miles of roads with publicly-owned fruit trees bordering them. Good idea, eh? But—it's socialistic, and of course that makes a difference. It wouldn't do here in America, not at all! Think how it would destroy religion and break up our homes, to have fruit trees owned by the town, along our roads. I guess not, for us!

BOOST WEST VIRGINIA.

Says Comrade Bradstreet of Danvers, Mass.: "I am in favor of boosting West Virginia. I can carry West Virginia for Socialism the rest of the states will see what a Socialist administration is in reality and then will follow like a flock of sheep."

Comrade Bradstreet is right and the way to boost for West Virginia is to see that every workingman in that state has an opportunity to read the little old APPEAL for 40 weeks. At the end of 40 weeks a big majority of them will be ready to put a cross at the head of the Socialist column on their ballots. The APPEAL has the names and they will be put on the list as fast as the money comes in to pay for them. Five dollars will pay for twenty, one dollar for four. Never have APPEAL workers had so great an opportunity to win a state. Let everybody boost.

CHILDISH REMEDIES.

The Independent of St. Petersburg, Fla., in commenting on the APPEAL'S unemployment edition, taking for granted that industrial conditions are terrible, says:

We believe that one of the surest ways to check the growth of unemployment is a thorough course in compulsory industrial training in the schools, so that every pupil would have some good and useful trade at his fingers' ends.

This is in line with other fake remedies suggested by middle class people. If every youth in America had a trade, there would not be one less person unemployed than there is now. The cause of unemployment lies in the fact that the jobs are entrusted into the hands of an employing class who profit by unemployment. So long as this fact obtains, so long will there be millions of people unemployed, though every person had a trade and not a person in the world drank a drop of liquor; and this in times of capitalistic "prosperity."

Again, suppose all people had trades, where would they find work? Big machinery has practically abolished trades. A child can now do with the machine what it formerly took a skilled workman to accomplish by hand, and do it better. This means that the child will be employed to do it, so long as the profit system remains, for the plain fact that there is more money in child labor than in the labor of the skilled worker operating by hand.

And to return to the whole method of hand labor would reduce production to the starvation point. You can't go back. You must advance to the point where production is for use and not for profits; and when you reach that state there will be no unemployment, no poverty and no class struggle. And that will be Socialism.

INCENTIVE.

Incentive, that oft repeated word used by the opponents of Socialism, means, according to Webster "to incite to do an act by some ulterior motive." When used by these agitators against Socialism they take it in its narrowest sense—that without the reward of gain there would be no great or small work done. This is a falsity. The element of gain tends more to crime than any other element, but does not tend to any of the great accomplishments of life.

For can it be said that the great masters of art, sculpture or literature were working for gain when they molded their masterpieces? Most decidedly no, else they would have been unable to have created their masterpieces. They developed their works for the love of the completed masterpiece. The incentive to gain, I repeat is the only cause of crime. Whenever and wherever you find crime you will find at the root of the causes, gain, the incentive.

CAPITALIST "DIVIDING UP."

A German professor visiting in the United States suggests as a remedy for the stagnation of Europe, a "redistribution of the land." Within the past few months several college men have suggested the same thing. In England they have even undertaken the distribution of the big estates. In Mexico the fight is for giving the land in small holdings. Even in this country the demand is for the distribution of public land. The demand for dividing up, therefore, is becoming insistent on the part of the master class.

But there has been too much dividing already. America, Africa, Australia have been divided among Europeans in the last four centuries, and under private ownership of land more than half the people on these continents are already completely dispossessed of land. Far more to the point would it be to use the land socially in order to relieve unemployment, cut out rent, and prevent the holding in idleness of vast tracts that might be used.

When the people's heritage of the land is all privately held, they will be without property and may speedily be reduced to feudal conditions. It is criminal to dispose of public land. It is silly to talk of further "dividing up" when the big estates should be taken over and farmed collectively by the government.

The hope of the world in getting land has ceased to lie in the acquiring of a private farm. It can come now only by the extension of the public domain.

It is the man who doesn't understand Socialism who is against it.

Too often politics consist of politricks.

POVERTY is a social disease and Socialism is the remedy.

The workers' children in factories are bled. That idlers' poodles may be overfed.

WHEN the worker gets tired being skinned he may quit work and be shot.

THE man who votes for what he doesn't want usually gets it and always deserves it.

JESUS cast out demons and raised the dead but there was no republican party in those days.

THE old line politician cannot stand with the people but makes it up by standing on them.

WAR is a game in which the workers always lose and only the capitalists, who do not fight, gain.

THE capitalists furnish the saddle but the plute press supply the blinders and bridles for the riding of labor.

UNDER capitalism we work merely to live and we live merely to work. Under Socialism we will live to enjoy our work.

THE worker owns nothing but his muscles, and he sells them in such a way as to make the purchaser rich and keep the seller poor.

Oh, the workers are skinned and it makes them sore. So they vote for the plutes to skin 'em some more.

A MUDDLE-HEADED politician says women would rather have husbands than the vote. If that politician is a sample of the husbands, probably even an anti would rather have the vote.

CONGRESS has appropriated \$500,000 to stamp out hog cholera. Making progress. There are hopes that congress may someday even appropriate the price of a battleship to stamp out tuberculosis.

IT is not necessary for the "armies of the unemployed" to visit Washington in order to show congress. There are 15,000 unemployed in Washington now, who could show the authorities if they did not wear the blinders of the masters.

A CORRESPONDENT wants to know what are the principles of republicanism. As far as anybody has ever been able to find out the only principles of the republican party is to get the offices, keep the offices and squeeze out of them all possible.

The old parties are practical, I hear. And yet they've ruled for many a year. And wages are low and living is dear. Say, doesn't that seem a little queer?

"IN youth prepare for old age," is an old adage. Today the only thing a young man can do to prepare for old age is work for Socialism. Get Socialism and you will have the best insurance policy that was ever written and it will be paid up.

CONGRESS has appropriated \$50,000 to promote fish culture but thousands of children in New York and other large cities still go to school half fed and half clothed. Some day congress is going to take up the question of child culture.

UNDER Socialism every present day capitalist will be given a good job and he will receive the full social value of the product of his labor. This in answer to a correspondent who wants to know what will be done with the rich under Socialism.

YES, Henry. You vote for the old parties because they are "the great parties." And they are the "great parties" because the capitalist supports them. And the capitalist supports them because they give him the product of your labor. They are rightly named "the great parties" and you are rightly named Henry Dubb.

THE United States parcel post put the United States Express company out of commission in a little over a year by its cheaper rate. The government always does its work more cheaply and pays higher wages than private individuals, because the government makes no profit. When you work for the government at higher wages than you do now, making better goods at lower prices, and everyone else does the same thing, and you keep your job the year 'round, and are a member of the firm you work with—the government—will that destroy your home?

All This Talk About Unemployment Is Rot, Says Henry Dubb. He Can Get Work Any Time. Yes, He Got a Job But So did the Sheriff



ON the first page you will note that the circulation of the Appeal is still gaining. The figures are now more than 520,000. A year ago the circulation report showed a steady slump. There is only one explanation for the continued rise of the Appeal the last few months. YOU are the explanation. YOU members of the Appeal Army can either make or break the Appeal. The Girard boys can do nothing more than give you the best Socialist propaganda matter that can be had for the price we charge for the Appeal. Personally I can devote some space and effort to urge you to get circulation. But the getting the subscribers in the last analysis devolves upon you. It's what you do today and tomorrow that determines the strength of the little old Appeal in its fight for a world of plenty for the producers. And by this I mean not the collective effort of the Appeal, but your own individual effort—what you who read these lines do in getting more readers for the Appeal. Get this point.

VICIOUSNESS OF THE SYSTEM. The press reports that Uncle Sam is to put the parcel post at the service of farmers and workers for the purpose of distributing food and other articles at reduced rates, so as to lower the cost of living.

This is a small step to socialization. The parcel post itself is such a proposition and may be made of inestimable value to the people of America. It is quite likely that it would serve them, even with all the possible bad features of administration under capitalism, that is, under state capitalism.

Suppose, however, that it be true that the railroads are getting bigger pay for carrying the mail than they pay the express companies—then the parcel post would merely be a drummer up of trade for the railroads, and would add materially to their income. Suppose, again, that the carrying of food stuffs at cost to the government and profit to the railroads should result in turning much business from the middle man to the direct distributor, it would mean the enforced failure of thousands of country merchants, and an increased problem of unemployment.

The fault does not lie in the socializing proposition, but in the use of that method by capitalists for their advantage. The postal savings banks, for example, are collecting money that if used by the government would enable it to employ the idle and do much needed public improvement, but so long as the money is not used by the government but is re-deposited with private banks, the postal banks become merely collecting agencies for the private banking houses.

If there were full socialization, the use of the parcel post, as suggested by the press, might throw middle men out of employment, but socialization in other lines would open more doors than are closed. Under full socialization, the parcel post at cost would cut out the profits that now go to the railroads, and thus keep from feeding a profit mongering concern, while lowering cost of distribution beyond all that is possible now. There is no complete remedy except in the destruction of the profit system, root and branch.

ANY WAY TO BEAT A SOCIALIST. In some localities it seems the republican politicians are having some trouble in finding a suitable campaign issue. Girard standpatters are having no trouble on this score. There are two candidates for mayor—H. E. Sauer, a democrat, and H. P. Houghton, Socialist. The Girard Press, an uncompromising standpat organ, is supporting Sauer and says: "He has the united support of all voters who do not want the Socialists to win."

The Investigator's Combination. This selection of books and pamphlets is made exclusively for those who want to know more about Socialism. You, Mr. Non-Socialist, must recognize the fact that Socialism is the question of the hour; whether you like it or not Socialism is going to be the dominant issue from now on. As an intelligent man you should study the question and then intelligently take your stand for or against it. If Socialism is right you want to know it and help bring it about, if it is wrong you want to be in a position to oppose it—you can do neither successfully unless you know the truth about it. Read and study the following pieces of literature and you'll be in possession of the truth:

- 1 Truth About Socialism, by Allan L. Benson. Cloth .....\$1.00
- 1 The Key to the Mystery, by John M. Work ..... .10
- 1 \$2,000 Per Jar and a Six-Hour Day, by Fred D. Warren ..... .05
- 1 The Road to Socialism, by C. L. Phifer ..... .05
- 1 Socialist Handbook ..... .10
- 1 The Thieves' Book ..... .05
- 1 Appeal's Answers to Questions ..... .05
- 1 The Girard Jar and a Six-Hour Day ..... .05
- 1 Wayland's Undelivered Address ..... .05
- 1 Astor-Sinclair Debate ..... .10

Total .....\$1.60 We will mail you all of the above, postpaid, for one dollar.

A GREAT many workingmen still go on the theory that the way to get what they want is to elect good men to office. "Vote the rascals out" is their cry. Every worker wants to better his condition but fails to see that "good" men in charge of the machinery of government are bound to operate it in the interest of the class to which they belong in the same manner as the so-called rascals. The right to work can never be achieved by the men who do all the work as long as they persist in voting for men who stand for the private ownership of the jobs.

Please Read This One of these days, before very long, the Appeal law class will be filled. When our notice fails to appear in this space it will be too late for you to become a member of this great body of working class law students. If you have ever thought of studying law write us now for literature on the subject. Address all communications to LEGAL DEPT. APPEAL TO REASON, Fort Scott, Kan.