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# Appeal to Reason

Fred D. Warren

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No. 962 If No. 963 appears on your yellow address label your subscription expires next week. Renew now.

Total number of subs for week ending April 25	533,703
Number of new subs for week ending May 2	14,229
Number of expiring subs for week ending May 2	13,492
Gain for week	737
<b>Total number of subs for week ending May 2,</b>	<b>4,440</b>

## John Kenneth Turner Opens Fire on Government by Gunmen

Here follows the introductory article of the "Government by Gunmen" series. In investigating these facts John Kenneth Turner risked his life, as it required his association with gunmen, detectives and the riff-raff of capitalist society. Several times he was warned by friends to drop his investigations. A reformed gunman has written the Appeal urging us to suppress this series if we valued Turner's life. But the author of "Barbarous Mexico" and the investigator of West Virginia and other recent labor wars, laughs at this threat. He believes that the publicity given to this series will not only protect him but all who are today in danger of being "eliminated" by the murderous detective agencies. Here then is the beginning of the "Government by Gunmen" series. And every week for nearly half a year we shall bring before the public bar the strongest indictment of Capitalism's Invisible Army that was ever attempted in this country. The Appeal feels that our first and most important duty is to abolish Government by Gunmen. It must be done—it will be done:

By JOHN KENNETH TURNER  
 Staff Correspondent Appeal to Reason.



Typical gunman furnished by a detective agency to terrorize the Colorado miners. This photo shows how Rockefeller equips his henchmen—a gun in one hand and a bottle of booze in the other.

IN the county jail at Marysville, Cal., a short time ago I talked with two young workingmen who were on trial for murder. A jury of twelve men—not workingmen—has since declared them guilty and a judge has sentenced them to imprisonment at hard labor for the rest of their natural lives.

Yet these two workingmen had not killed anybody. Nor had they planned or attempted to kill anybody.

One, Richard Ford, is ruined for life—torn from his wife and two little children forever—solely because he became the spokesman for 2,300 hop-pickers who went on strike against intolerable conditions.

The career of the other, Herman Suhr, is blasted—he too, is unfortunate enough to possess a wife and two children—solely because he signed a number of telegrams asking that organizers be sent to the hop-fields to enroll the 2,300 pickers in a labor union.

The arrest, the trial and the conviction of Ford and Suhr was a deliberate frame-up of a ring of capitalists, in which a private detective agency took a necessary and criminal part.

IN the county jail at Clinton, Ill., a short time ago, I talked with a young workingman who is awaiting trial for murder.

This young workingman is not permitted to give bail. He has been in jail ever since last December. He has spent all these months in a steel cell just six feet square. Even if acquitted in the end, it will be many weeks before he can regain his liberty. If convicted, he may be hanged.

True, the prisoner killed a fellow human being. But it was under such extreme and palpable provocation that, had he been an ordinary citizen—a business man, say—no court in the country would have done him the injustice to commit him to jail for a single hour.

Carl Person is going to stand trial for murder solely because he was an officer of a union that was on strike, and was urging his fellow strikers to stand firm. He is the victim of a deliberate frame-up of a great corporation, in which a strike-breaker and a professional gunman took a necessary and criminal part.

IN the superior court in the city of Kenosha, Wis., a short time ago, I listened to the testimony in the trial of a workingman charged with transporting dynamite in violation of the law. A jury of twelve men—not workingmen—has since declared him guilty and a judge has sentenced him to imprisonment at hard labor for five years.

Yet if the laws of the land were administered justly George Kuseak would be at liberty today and the persons responsible for his prosecution would be in jail in his stead.

George Kuseak will be separated from his little family for five years solely because he persisted in seeking damages from his employer for an injury that had crippled him for life. His trial and conviction were a deliberate frame-up of a great corporation, in which a private detective agency took a necessary and criminal part.

IN a hall in Hancock, Mich., a short time ago, I heard workingmen, workingmen's wives and workingmen's children, tell a committee of congressmen of invasions of their homes, of being threatened, beaten, shot at and sometimes wounded; I heard others tell of their being recruited under false pretenses in distant cities, loaded upon trains, which they were forcibly prevented from leaving, of their being compelled against their will to go to work in mines, of their being guarded with guns and beaten or threatened with death if they tried to run away.

Yet none of these workingmen or women had violated any of the statutes of the state or county.

These working people were arrested, assaulted, robbed, invaded, outraged in a hundred ways, and some of them were killed, solely because they were on strike. They were victims of a reign of terror deliberately framed up by a ring of rich employers—in which frame-up private detective agencies played a necessary and criminal part.

IN the state of West Virginia, one year ago, I saw squads of private detectives hunting peaceable miners with guns and black-jacks. I saw many workingmen who had been cruelly beaten. One was beaten just outside my door at a hotel. Another individual, a justice of the peace, parted from me and a half hour later I saw him covered with bruises, his clothing torn from his back. I myself was hunted; twice my room was entered; once I narrowly missed a shooting affray.

IN the county of Las Animas, Colorado, only a few weeks ago, I saw the same private detectives whom I had seen hunting miners in West Virginia, now hunting miners in Colorado, in the garb of state militiamen, carrying the rifles of the state. They paraded the streets; they entered people's homes and robbed them; they insulted women. They filled the jails with miners. In the jail they practiced tortures equal to the rack and the thumb-screw of the inquisition. I saw them guarding a hospital on a hill, where they held in solitary confinement an old woman of eighty-two.

Yet these miners had not been guilty of any crime. They were attacked by companies of gunmen solely because they were on strike. The sole crime of the old woman is that she exhorted striking miners to be true. She—and they—are victims of a deliberate frame-up of a ring of great corporations, in which a private detective agency has played a necessary and criminal part.

IN the city of Indianapolis I attended an international convention of miners, and on the platform of that convention stood a miner's tent in which there were 147 bullet holes made by a machine gun that was fired by a private detective.

In the same convention, operating as delegates upon the floor, were a score of private detectives who exerted themselves to block the proceedings and cause friction.

IN Washington, D. C., and other cities, I procured names of spies and agents of employers, who have worked their way to the heads of local unions, or even upon the executive boards of international organizations, in order to report and betray labor into the hands of its enemies.

IN a certain eastern city I talked with a long-time professional labor spy, who detailed the processes whereby he and other private detectives, having divided among themselves all the offices in the local organizations of the Industrial Workers of the World and of the Socialist party, exerted themselves to prevent a certain great strike of recent date, and, failing to prevent the strike, of how they broke the strike and defeated the honest working people.

I PENETRATED the locality which breeds so many of this class of human vermin—New York's East Side. I saw the professional strike-breaker and labor detective in the making. I talked with men who have long earned their living in this way. These men detailed to me the methods followed by their craft to hamstring labor, told of frame-ups and agent provocateur stunts, boasted of their many crimes, and of how well their employers and the state protected them.

I am in possession of the confessions of not fewer than one hundred labor detectives and gunmen. These confessions deal with scores of strikes and labor "operations"—the most important of the past few years.

The superintendent of the detective agency which attended to the details of the frame-up against the hop-pickers made admissions to me which convict him and his agency.

I talked with one of the "operatives" who was employed on the job to "get" George Kuseak for the Jeffries Automobile Co.

I ran across a professional slagger who tells of the cold-blooded assassination in broad daylight of a striking copper miner by an imported "detective" at the command of a certain well-known mine manager, a pillar of copper country society.

Among other things, I called at the general offices of one of the largest detective agencies in America which specialized in strike-breaking. In another guise, of course, than as the correspondent of the Appeal to Reason, I procured interviews from the active heads of such organizations. I came into possession of confidential advertising.

I might remark that in this detail of interviewing, as in other efforts to procure special inside information, I was, naturally, not always successful. For example, my reception by the head of a certain great agency, whose name has become known in every village of the United States during the past year, was amusing.

I presented my card (especially printed for such occasions), stated my business (which was not my business at all), and, after some delay, was ushered into the inner office of the corporation, where sat the "general-in-chief" behind a fine mahogany desk, fingering my card.

I again stated my business. "Yes, we've been expecting you," remarked the great strike-breaker, quietly. "I know who you are; I know all about you. You were up in the copper country, let's see, a couple of weeks ago. I have your photograph right here!"

So I did not learn from the lips of this prosperous and jeweled gentleman any of the details of his own business.

But I had already talked with some of his employees; I had followed up various of his "operations." The fact that he had gone to the trouble to hunt me out, to make himself able to identify me, even to procure my poor photograph, will not prevent me from exposing him with the others.

IN this brief preliminary letter it is impossible to deal with any single point in detail, or to back up any of my assertions with proof. These things will all come out in the course of the succeeding articles.

Every process of labor strike-breaking and private war upon labor will be presented as a concrete historical drama—in instances that have happened recently, or are happening today. The whole scheme of government by gunmen will be uncovered.

In the course of these articles will be printed a list of murders and assaults of private mercenary armies that should shake the nation.

I had not intended to mention any names in this foreword, but I am here overtaken to say that no individual will be more mercilessly, completely and overwhelmingly unmasked than a certain "great detective," one who, upon spurious deeds and actually "great" press manipulation, has succeeded in manufacturing for himself a reputation second to none among the "renowned" detectives of history. I MEAN WILLIAM J. BURNS.

The story as a whole is appalling. The facts disprove the fond hope that the working class may come into its own without the shedding of blood.

PEACE has been invariably counseled by trade unionists and by Socialists. Yet today a state of war exists in many portions of the United States, war with guns; not civil war—not yet; private war, strictly speaking, though one side is, half openly, half secretly, aided by the powers of the state.

If the picture of blood and terror so graphically painted in Jack London's novel, "The Iron Heel," does not become a reality in the near future, it will not be the fault either of the persons in control of the industries of this country or of those in possession of the reins of government.

The evidence is unmistakable of a nation-wide conspiracy to break up organization of labor, to discipline the workers, to suppress agitators, to outlaw strikes, to nullify the tendencies that have been working toward the establishment of a better society, and to steer the ship of capitalism into the safe harbor of an industrial feudalism—such as was prophesied by W. J. Ghent in a notable pamphlet a dozen years ago.

The facts prove—all abstract theories to the contrary notwithstanding—that the conspiracy is succeeding; that is, that government by gunmen is accomplishing the work that all other repressive agencies of capitalism have been intended to accomplish, but have failed to accomplish.

My conclusion is that this thing must be stopped before the labor movement can go on.

That is, that government by gunmen is the supreme issue of the time, that government by gunmen must receive its death blow before the working class movement can take another step forward in this country.

I believe that the year 1914 is a year of crisis in the struggle prophesied, I would say that this year will decide whether the people who work for a living will be beaten back into a state of permanent submission to the authority of Big Business, or whether they will grapple with the situation and emerge triumphant and well on their way toward the shining goal of Human Brotherhood.

### John D.'s U. S. Troops Take Charge of Colo.

Trinidad.—The labor war which began in Colorado on the night of Sunday April 20, that culminated in the firing of Ludlow tent colony by gunmen and the slaughter of many women and children, and was followed by fighting for a week between frenzied miners and a hired soldiery of the mine owners, came to a lull Saturday night, when General Chase, who had been called into the field saw the helplessness of the state troops against an outraged populace, asked a truce.

#### The People Are Aroused.

During the week the people of Colorado had become aroused at the horrors, and had held numerous meetings, denouncing the state administration and calling on both the governor and the general to resign. A meeting of women was held and strong resolutions were passed, condemning the handling of the strike. At another meeting, held in Denver in the open air, a vast concourse lowered their umbrellas and stood with bared heads for half an hour in a hard rain to show their sympathy for the miners. The Rocky Mountain News of Denver and Denver Times, told the strikers' side; and the facts that came to the people appalled them.

The Sunday truce was broken by mine guards at Trinidad, who shot and wounded two strikers, without provocation.

#### The Second Week's War.

Monday morning fighting was resumed. It has continued at intervals throughout the mining district through a second week. There have been in that time perhaps thirty casualties and twice as many wounded.

At Walsenburg on Wednesday, the strikers offered a truce but the proffer was refused by Gen. Chase. In the fight that ensued seven gunmen were killed. At Forbes, on the same date, an effort was made, under orders of Gen. Chase, to exterminate the tent colony as the Ludlow colony had been destroyed, and Supt. Nichols, a stable boss and twenty gunmen were killed. The gunmen were driven from the field. The home of "Mother" Burns at Jerryville, was burned by gunmen because of her sympathy with the unions. Dr. Asa Harvey, a physician who rendered assistance to the victims of Ludlow after the battle was over, makes oath that his house was shelled an entire day after his

manifestation of humanity, being completely wrecked, and on the ruins was tacked this note: "This was done because you harbored union men.—Baldwin-Feltz."

Two hundred strikers captured a mine at Walsenburg. One woman was shot through the arm. The stockade at the Hecla mine at Boulder was attacked, and defended with a machine gun. Several coal tipples were fired and burned in various localities in the affected district. The strikers appeared to carry everything before them.

The first troops arrived in Denver April 29th. Immediately on the advice of heads of organized labor, 650 strikers surrendered their arms to the federal soldiers. Later others did likewise.

### Upton Sinclair Jailed for Picketing John D.

By Telegraph to the Appeal.

New York, April 30.—Upton Sinclair and four women comrades were today arraigned in Tombs court on a charge of disorderly conduct on street in front of Rockefeller's offices, 26 Broadway. They were found guilty and sentenced to three days' imprisonment in Tombs. The little band had repaired to the street in front of Rockefeller's offices wearing funeral garbs as badges of mourning for the murdered miners and their families in Colorado. They went in silent protest against the outrages committed against striking miners and marched in slow procession up and down in front of Rockefeller's offices. There was no demonstration of an unlawful nature, no riot was precipitated, and the arrest was wantonly unjustified. As soon as Sinclair was arrested Mrs. Sinclair marshaled fresh forces, all wearing mourning, and picketed in front of the Rockefeller offices till night fall and resumed the march this morning. No other arrests have been made. The picketing will continue until the Colorado troubles are ended, and hundreds of sympathizers are falling into line. Acting in his own defence Sinclair scored tremendous points during his trial, denouncing in scathing terms the capitalistic press, the courts and invisible gunmen. In the Tombs Sinclair and his four comrades have gone on a hunger strike.

MAUD DAVIS WALKER.

THERE are over six million "criminals" in the United States, guilty of unemployment, and capitalism has made them all.

Circulate This Number

You have read the Appeal, No. 961 and here is 962. You have read them. I need not tell you about them. You know how important it is that the facts contained in these two issues should be placed in the hands of every man, woman and child in the country.

PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION

Says the Strikers Must Behave But Is Silent as to Gunmen.

The following proclamation, issued by President Wilson, is being posted by the militia and the post-office department in the strike district since the arrival of federal troops:

"By the president of the United States of America: A proclamation. Whereas, it is provided by the constitution of the United States that every state in this union on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence and obstruction of the laws, he shall forthwith by proclamation command such insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within a limited time;

WOODROW WILSON. By the president, W. J. BRYAN, Secretary of state.

It will be noticed there is not a word about the private army of gunmen or the arrogant masters of the mines—it is all to the workers.

BOYCOTT ON DENVER NEWS.

Denver Capitalists Seek to Crush Paper That Tells the Truth.

After the horror at Ludlow the Denver (Rocky Mountain) News printed the facts, the first time a Colorado daily had dared to do anything of the kind.

It was more than the criminals who had so long terrorized Colorado, nearly bankrupting the state in the interest of outside capitalists, could stand. The chamber of commerce of Denver held a special meeting to protest. Speeches were made, calling on merchants and others to boycott the plucky paper.

MEANING OF PROTEST.

Sinclair Brands John D. Rockefeller As a Murderer.

New York, April 30.—Before picketing in mourning before the offices of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Upton Sinclair, Mrs. Sinclair, Mrs. Laura C. Cannon and others issued an address setting forth the horrors of conditions in Colorado and concluding with the following arraignment of the Standard Oil head:

Mr. Rockefeller refused to see Mrs. Cannon, and to hear her plea for her people. In the face of this fact, we now appeal against him to the American people. We present to the public a public opinion indictment for murder against him. We brand him publicly with this crime, and we propose to find out if there is not some way by which he can be made to feel the weight of public scorn.

"War—What For?" BY GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK.

As the wage slave understands war he understands that war is a capitalist war.

Workingmen fight wars. In this great book Kirkpatrick points out very clearly how war is wholesale, scientific suicide for the working class in defence of the economic interests of the ruling class.

The author intensifies every aspect of war attaching to every phase of militarism.

A book of especial interest at this time and one that cannot fail to deeply impress all who read it. It is a large cloth-bound book and sells for a dollar, but by special arrangement we are offering it for a dollar and in addition giving free two Appeal subscription cards.

If you have never read this book you should read it now, and after you have read pass it along to a friend.

A two-dollar bill will extend your present subscription four years and bring you a copy of Appeal's Arsenal of Facts.

Not In Mexico But in Colorado



From the New York World.

Ludlow . . .

BY CHARLES LINCOLN PHIFER

THE tent city lay in peace at the close of the Sabbath day. There is something in canvas life that suggests adventure and a holiday.

Suddenly there was a crack of several muskets. One of the guards dropped dead. A moment later, while the birds were still singing, man after man emerged from the tents, each with his musket.

Now the firing draws nearer. Only rarely can the figures of a gunman, who constitute a private army equipped by the state, be distinguished by the inhabitants of the tents, and then but for a moment, but they are clearly drawing nearer, hiding as they come.

But a change came. The tent is made to house soldiers as well as those seeking recreation and pleasure. This city of cloth had come into existence because of a fight that had already lasted for half a year.

From the railroad a machine gun opens fire on the tents. It is like a rain of bullets, like the clicking of the teeth of a great reaper mowing human beings as it swings.

When morning dawns, some of the refugees come upon the men who had gone forth to defend the colony. They tell the things they have experienced and seen.

Another cry: "Men, scatter and go forth, telling the tale and calling upon all lovers of liberty to rally to avenge the slaughter of the innocents."

But for the most part they creep through the hills till they see in the early dawn the ruins of what had been their home, with gunmen still wandering through the shadows, and a pyre that still blazes. It is the miners who attack, and the gunmen flee.

The Patriotic Plutes. Investment in Mexican properties has been a risky speculation. The men and corporations who put money in enjoy the privileges of speculative buyers.

There is a rush on the city, and in a moment a flame bursts forth here and another there until the four hundred tents are all on fire.

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For Rockefeller or the State.

Editorial from the New York World.

At a time when they are needed elsewhere, United States troops are to be sent to Colorado. War is in progress in that state between two factions of Mr. Rockefeller's employes—those who have been dispossessed of their jobs and their homes, and those who with some semblance of authority, official and financial, are at present executing his will.

Federal troops may be lawfully employed in state jurisdictions to repel invasions, suppress domestic violence and restore a republican form of government. There has been no invasion of Colorado except by cheap labor imported by the Rockefellers. The domestic violence existing there today results from the policy of the Rockefellers in forcibly excluding unionism from among their employes.

It is absurd on the face of things to suppose that the Rockefeller company is at peace with its own men, as might be inferred from young Mr. Rockefeller's present statement. It is absurd to suppose that his company is at war only with outsiders and only in defence of the inalienable right of its employes to work independently of a union if they elect. It is absurd to suppose a labor war of this reach of bloody violence could arise over an issue of unionism when, as he implies, ninety per cent. of the men would quit their jobs rather than "submit to union dictation."

The national forces, therefore, will face Rockefeller at the outset. If Rockefeller is the state of Colorado, if Rockefeller is the law and if Rockefeller's tragic reign is a republican form of government, the soldiers of the United States will have nothing to do but ally themselves with his armed mine guards and the local militia which he seems to control.

On the other hand, if it shall appear that the Rockefeller interests have provoked war by tyrannous methods; have spread death and destruction on all sides to maintain their power; have exerted undue influence upon state officers, and have been cruelly and wickedly unmindful of the commonest rights of the people more or less subject to them, the soldiers of the United States have another duty clearly outlined.

That duty involves the restoration of order and the dispersal of the banditti of capital as well as the banditti of labor. It contemplates the instant cessation of the warfare between desperate poverty and desperate wealth. In the peace that must follow, the state of Colorado should find an opportunity not only to rehabilitate itself but to restore decency, humanity and self-respect to one of its greatest industries.

Development of Electric Power.—Three hundred million dollars a year are paid for electric power in the United States. Ten years ago the investment in electric light and power companies was \$700,000,000. Now it is more than two billions.

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Here is an assortment of mental dynamite that should be in the hands of every soldier of the social revolution. It is the ammunition you need:

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Hitherto it is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being.—John Stuart Mill.

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E. M. BAVIS, Pres.

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my customers and this is your chance to make big money quick. I am looking for bright, wide-awake men and women who are in earnest, who know Opportunity when they see it and who will play on the square. It doesn't make any difference what you are—doctor, merchant, school teacher, clerk, farmer, or if you are just finishing school—just write me and secure this job immediately.

NO EXPERIENCE REQUIRED Not a bit of experience needed. Just say you are willing to work and I'll show you how to make this big money. These goods are necessities but sell at half store prices. F. R. Kelly of Alabama made \$33,000 in one day selling my goods. Beginners start right out making real big money.

EASY PLEASANT WORK There never was such a cinch—there never will be again. My goods are right by plan square. My method is simple, and my work is as good as a bond. Remember, I'm an old time agent myself. My 17 years experience and great 6 story factory building has you at every step. "Square Deal" Davis is what my thousands of delighted agents call me. I'll start you just as carefully as I did them.

Now is the Best Time to Begin Don't fool around or wait your time when you can make big money on my plan. I've given you facts—undeniable facts. My promises are right—my plan is right. So rise up and get into this way of making more money than you ever dreamed of. I put it to you square—do you want this job? Then grab it, now—this minute—and write me personally so I can explain all about my great proposition. Don't wait—get after this sure money—Now! E. M. Davis, Pres.

The National Socialist. The only monthly paper printed exclusively for Socialists. An open forum for all. 25 cents a year.

TWO HUNDRED VICTIMS.

West Virginia's Mine Disaster Due to Owners' Carelessness.

Ecles, W. Va.—While the world stands appalled at the effort of a private army to beat the miners to terms in Colorado, West Virginia has furnished another mine horror, in which two hundred have probably lost their lives. This horror was occasioned by an explosion of coal dust in mine No. 5 of the New River colliers, a condition that could have come only through criminal carelessness on the part of the mine owners. Twelve corpses have been recovered and accounted for. Sixty miners were rescued alive, twenty of them were horribly burned. There are still entombed in the mine 186 men, with very little hope of their recovery. New explosions of dust are reported daily.

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# An Open Letter to John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

According to news reports you have succeeded your father as King of America. Upon your shoulders now rests the responsibility of grinding out profits from the working people of this and other countries. Realizing that the American people have become aroused over the wanton slaughter of women and children in your Colorado coal fields you have issued a lengthy statement in which you attempt to wash the blood of these victims from your tainted hands. Your statement deserves the highest consideration for its cunning evasions as well as brutal admissions. The APPEAL does not believe for a moment that the American people will be fooled by your sophistry. They have long ago concluded that your fortune has been built up from the bent backs and butchered bodies of the toiling masses. But the APPEAL feels that you ought to be told that you are dealing with a different class of workers than your capitalist advisers would have you believe. They are not the dumb, submissive slaves of yesterday. They read and understand. This paper has one million weekly readers who know the rights of the toilers and who are taught to defend them by any means found necessary.

How idle is your excuse that you are opposed to a settlement of the Colorado strike because you want to protect the non-union workers! Is it not a fact that the majority of the striking miners in Colorado today are the non-union men of a decade ago over whom you then expressed the same hypocritical care?

It is not principle you are fighting for but principal. It is the same fight that your family and your class have been making for years—dollars, dollars. Don't fool yourself into the belief that your posing as a religious man or philanthropist will clear you either before man or God. The working people know you and your class for your own worth. And knowing this they will continue to fight by lawful means as long as you do not deny their inalienable right to take part in the government of this country. But if you do deny them their political rights, what happened in Colorado will happen to your class all over the country. REMEMBER THAT WE ARE MANY; YOU ARE FEW.

The APPEAL TO REASON, as the foremost organ of the militant working class of this country will never rest so long as such conditions as exist in Colorado, Michigan and other parts of the United States obtain. Our turn will come just as surely as the sun rises tomorrow. When our day dawns we shall ask you and your class to surrender unconditionally. We shall then tell you, "We have nothing to arbitrate!"

Should you and your class refuse to surrender you will then for the first time appreciate the cruel and convincing power of the iron fist. The APPEAL favors civilized methods in the class war. The APPEAL stands for a peaceful ending of capitalism. But peace or war, capitalism and your parasitic class must go!

APPEAL TO REASON.

# Coroner's Jury Puts Blame on Militia

Trinidad, Colo.—The coroner's jury investigating the Ludlow horror has officially placed the blame of it on the mine guards. Following is the text of the verdict relative to the fire:

"Cecelia Costa, Petra Valdez, Bejrata Pendregon, Clovine Pendregon, Lucy Costa, Orafrío Costa, Elvira Valdez, Mary Valdez, Eliulla Valdez, Rodolfo Valdez, Frank Petrucci, Rudy Petrucci and Joe Petrucci came to their death by asphyxiation or fire, or both, caused by the burning of the tents of the Ludlow tent colony, and that fire in tents was started by militiamen under Major Hamrock and Lieutenant Linderfelt or mine guards, or both, April 20, 1914."

Firing of Ludlow Ordered.  
R. J. McDonald, stenographer for the military commission, testified that an officer of the Colorado national guard gave the order for burning the colony, but he was not sure whether it was Major Hamrock or Captain Carson.

McDonald said he stood within a few feet of Hamrock and Carson, who were inspecting the colony from the top of a hill. It was well toward night.

"We've got just forty minutes to take and burn that colony," he testified one of the two remarked, "before it gets dark."

A few moments later the troops and mine guards, he said, swept down the tracks in the charge that

meant the colony's destruction and the death of the women and eleven children, who sought refuge in the colony's safety pit.

Tikas Beaten to Death.  
McDonald was questioned about the capture and death of Louis Tikas, Greek leader of the strikers. He said that while near the scene of the battle he heard a commotion behind some box cars and was told that Tikas was a prisoner and probably would be hanged.

A little later he met Lieutenant F. K. Linderfelt. He asked Linderfelt if Tikas had been hanged. "No," he testified Linderfelt replied. "I gave instructions that Tikas was not to be killed, but I spoiled a good rifle."

The witness swore that Linderfelt was carrying his rifle over his shoulder, stock to the rear, and holding it by the barrel. The physicians' autopsy showed that Tikas' skull was fractured.

Open Butchery of Women.  
Riley, a Colorado & Southern fireman, said he was on the engine of a freight train which pulled up at the Ludlow station in the hottest of the battle. He said that two tents already were in flames.

"I saw a man in a militia uniform touch a blaze to a third tent," he said.

He said he saw women and children screaming on the railroad right of way apparently trying to escape from the colony.

When the train drew up at the station, he said, several militiamen put guns to the engineer's head and ordered him to "pull out and do it damned quick."

J. S. Harriman, conductor of the same train, testified that as the train pulled out of the station and past the tent colony he heard women and children screaming and apparently trying to escape. He said that during this time, the militia was firing into the colony.

Threat a Day in Advance.  
"Have your big Sunday today, old girl," Mrs. Pearl Jolly, leader of women at Ludlow, testified a militiaman told a striker's wife on the day before the tragedy, "tomorrow we'll have the road."

G. A. Hall, a chauffeur, told the jury that he had heard a militia officer give the order to "clean out" the tent colony and burn the tents.

The Cost of a Rich Man.  
At the smallest average for the making of a single rich man we make a thousand whose life long is one flood of misery. The charnel houses of poverty are in the shadow of the palace, and, as one is splendid, so is the other dark, poisonous, degraded. How can a man grow rich except on the spoils of others' labor? His boasted prudence and economy, what is it but the most skillfully availing himself of their necessities, most resolutely closing up his heart against their cries to him for help.—A. Froude.

The tendency of private property is to keep the masses mere beasts of burden. The tendency of social democracy is to educate them—to make men of them.—G. Bernard Shaw.

Mutual aid amongst men has played at least as great a part in human history as the struggle for life.—J. Ramsey McDonald.

# Railroad Watch

Costs You Nothing. For 25 cents to pay for cost of postage and mailing we will mail you free one copy each of all our pamphlets and leaflets. A full dollar worth of right up to the minute Socialist literature and practically costing you nothing.

# "How Long, Oh, Lord!"

All right, let no muddy bare foot step on our flag; let us arise in the might of our strength and wipe out these accursed sons of slaves; let us fare forth and eat tinned horse, learn the charms of cactus brandy and corn husk cigarettes. Let it never be said that this old eagle refused to scream, that our national war dogs refused to bite. Let patriotism roar unconfined and let the night letters of ambitious brigades-of boot-blacks and bank clerks-to save our country, make glad the heart of the Western Union. We are everlasting the boss of this continent, and we want the world to know it. Get out of my way, greaser, or I'll bust ye in thy snoot.

But, while we are so distressed over the Mexican affront to our men, our women and our children, how comes it that from the president down to Jeneral Finzer we find no martial ardent worked up over American women outraged by drunken soldiery? How comes it that the invasion of citizens' homes; the shooting down on public streets of innocent, unarmed men; the imprisonment without law, evidence or legal recourse of old women in filthy, deadly dungeons; the torturing of women by debauched soldiers, women already on the verge of childbirth; the prostitution of the high courts and the low; the wrecking of property, the murdering of children and the devastation of women in their homes? And where are all these outrages occurring?

In Colorado, in the United States of Barbarism.  
Anybody who doubts this is invited to write to the officials of the Colorado miners and get a few sworn affidavits. The only reason the News doesn't print them is because it couldn't go through the mails if it did.

How long, oh, Lord, how long?

# SIGNIFICANT NEWS

## Win in Daly City, Cal.—Two Socialists were elected to office at Daly City, near San Francisco, and a municipal water works system voted.

Women Members of Unions.—It is said that eight per cent of the union membership in American consist of women, the number being 90,000.

A Success in Germany.—Germany's red week added 125,000 to the membership of the Socialist party. This week is red in America. Don't fail to get a new member.

Demand Nationalization of Water Powers.—Socialists of Norway are demanding the nationalization of water powers, and that fire and life insurance be made public monopolies.

To Reorganize Militia.—The senate and house have authorized the president to use the entire state militia of the country if needed in Mexico. It means that 800,000 troops might be called into the field.

The Average Wage.—According to figures by President Gary, the steel trust last year paid an average daily wage of \$2.85. This average includes the \$100,000 salary paid Gary and other high salaries.

Women Win in Norway.—Women have suffrage in Norway. As a result maternity payment is to be made for two weeks before and six weeks after the birth of a child. Thirty women are candidates for office in Norway.

Will Again Vote on Suffrage.—A woman suffrage proposition has been introduced in Oklahoma by Socialists. The matter was voted on three years ago and the proposition was defeated, due largely to unfair laws and methods.

Two Elected in St. David, Ill.—R. A. Betson, Socialist, was elected president of the village board of St. David, Ill., by a vote of 112 to his highest opponent's 97. He also elected one adherer and came within four votes of electing a second.

Slaughtering the Innocents.—People still weep over the slaughter of the innocents by Herod of old. But they never notice the officially reported fact that 450,000 babies are annually sacrificed in America to insupportable conditions that might be prevented.

Has Right to Fix Prices.—The supreme court of the United States has rendered a decision to the effect that the United States has the right to fix prices for passenger traffic on railroads. Justice McKenna says it opens the way for fixing prices on all articles of consumption, limiting profit by law.

The School is Growing.—The Rand School of Social Science has 2,000 students taking the correspondence course. In addition 250 take night lessons, besides the regular full course students.

It is proposed to extend the work the coming year. Instruction is given, among other things, in gratuity.

Capitalism's Treatment of Unfortunate.—In a barn near Orleans, France, there has been discovered a dwarf woman, who, in a state of nakedness, has been chained to a bed for 20 years. It is said that she has been kept in this dreadful bondage by her stepmother and half-brother in order that they might secure an annuity of \$150, which had been left to the dwarf by her father.

Robbery is Appalling.  
We believe that after a man has worked he should not be robbed. We believe if nobody were robbed, there would be in this country neither millionaires nor paupers. From the fact that there are in this country so many millionaires and so many paupers or near-paupers, we deduce that the extent of the robbery of the many by the few is appalling.—Allan L. Benson.

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.

Feeds Dogs at Hotel  
Oakland, Cal.—Mrs. W. K. Vanderbilt arrived from Florida with her children, several servants and two pet dogs. She stopped at Hotel Del Monte, where the dogs were served a la carte for their three daily meals at a cost of four dollars a day.

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The Army of Action and Achievement.

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Use of the Land.

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# To Those Who Want War

George R. Kirkpatrick.

If the masters want blood, let them cut their own throats. We don't want other people's blood, and we refuse to waste our own.

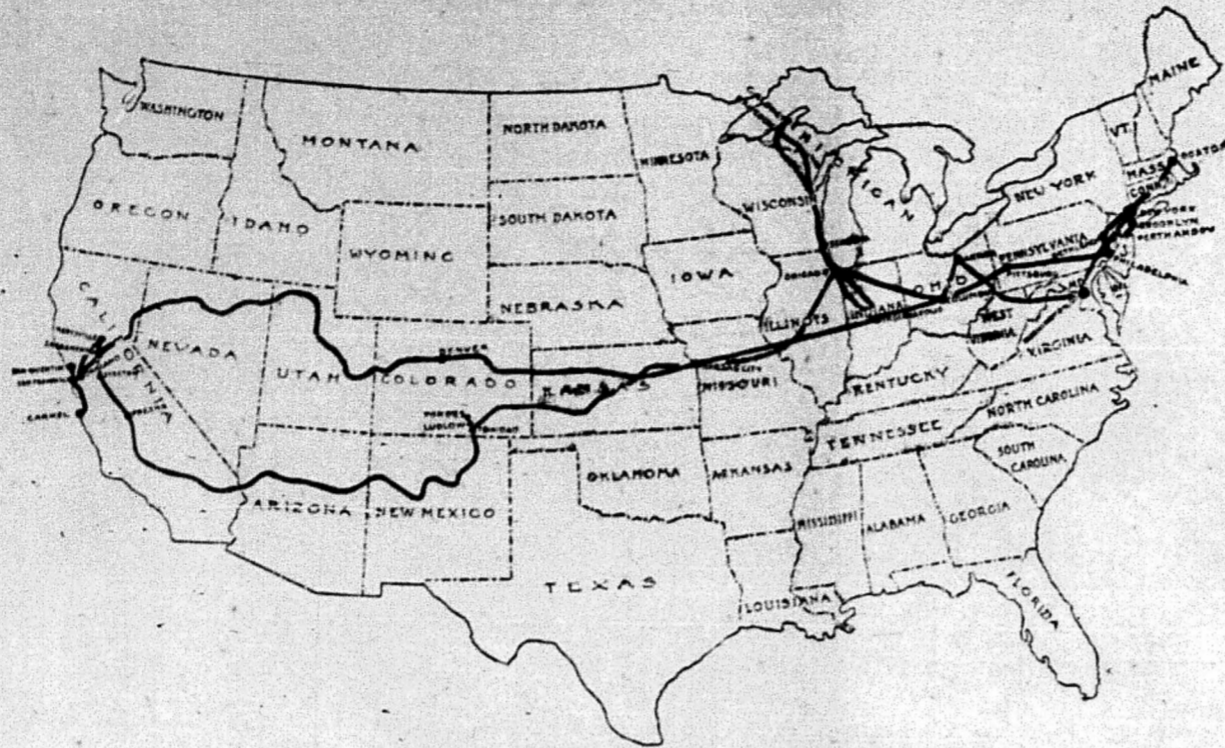
Let those who want great victories go to the firing line and get them.

If war is good enough to vote for or pray for, it is good enough to go to—up close where bayonets gleam, swords flash, cannon roar, rifles crash, flesh rips, blood spurts, bones snap, brains are dashed; up close where men toil, sweat, freeze, starve, kill, groan, scream, pray, laugh, howl, curse, go mad, and die; up close where the flesh and blood of betrayed men and boys are ground and rounded into a red mush of mud by shrieking cannon balls, by the iron-shod hoofs of galloping horses and the steel-bound wheels of rushing gun trucks.

They say "war is hell." Then let those who want hell, go to hell.

I wanted to take my gun and start on the next train to Colorado to help avenge the killing of those innocent women and children by Rockefeller's gunmen, but I knew that

### Turner's Trail In Gathering Facts for "Gunmen" Series



The above map shows the line of travel which John Kenneth Turner took in his exhaustive investigation of government by gunmen. You will note that he started from his home at Carmel, Calif., visited the Colorado coal fields and every industrial center as far east as Boston. You will also note that he made a trip to the copper country in Michigan as well as to the cities like Akron, O., Indianapolis, Ind., Bethlehem, Pa., which were recently involved in labor wars. In California Turner visited the hop pickers now in prison

at Marysville and made an investigation of the Wheatland strike. Here are some of the striking summaries of Turner's quest for facts about capitalism's invisible army:  
Spent three months on the road.  
Traveled more than 12,000 miles.  
Investigated all the larger industrial centers of the United States.  
Procured the confessions of more than 100 persons either now or until recently engaged in the business of corporation gunning.  
Under another guise than that of correspondent of the Appeal to Reason, interviewed active heads of some of the biggest pri-

ate army recruiting agencies in the United States.  
Threatened by gunmen and warned to drop his investigations.  
The Government by Gunmen series of articles has cost the APPEAL several thousand dollars and is probably the most thorough investigation of any subject ever undertaken by any newspaper or periodical. For the next twenty weeks these articles will appear in the columns of this paper. We shall hammer away at Government by Gunmen until constitutional government is restored in America.

in the behalf of labor, increases the Socialist vote.  
Every bullet that goes from a capitalist machine gun, singing its message of death, proclaims the coming of Socialism. Socialism is in the air. As the animals scent the coming of the storm, so do intelligent men scent the coming of Socialism.  
Nothing can stop it but the ignorance of those who need it most, and that ignorance is being rapidly dispelled by capitalism itself.  
Socialists would have Socialism come by a more pleasant road, but capitalism has decreed that it must come over a trail of blood of innocent women and children. While we bow our heads in sorrow for the victims, let us rejoice for the joy that the future holds for the living and the millions of the yet unborn.

**STRIPPED OF FORMALITIES.**  
As nearly as the APPEAL can understand the situation, President Wilson went to Mr. John D. Rockefeller and asked:  
"Won't you compromise this matter out in Colorado?"  
And John D. replied: "Not on your life."  
"Very well," replied the great president of these mighty United States, "then I will send troops to Colorado and force your former employes to terms. Is there anything else you want, Mr. Rockefeller?"  
"If there is, I will make it known. Good day, Mr. Wilson."  
Which shows, of course that the United States is supreme, that its flag is respected, and that the people rule in this gr-e-at and glorious land of ours.

**WHAT REACTION MEANS.**  
It is not chance that causes a recurrence of the murder of women and children in West Virginia, Michigan and Colorado. It is the logical outcome of the reaction that comes of private soldiery hired by the masters.  
You remember how an armored train was driven through a mountain village of miners in West Virginia, riddling the homes of workers with bullets and killing women and children.  
You remember how the cry of fire was raised at a Christmas entertainment by a gunman in Michigan, resulting in the death of more than seventy children.  
You remember how the tent village was fired by hired thugs in Colorado, and more than a score perished there. You remember how a heap of women and children victims was made, Standard Oil poured over them and fire set to the bodies by the hired armies of Standard Oil.  
We are wont to decry the brutalities of the war in Mexico. Wherein is it worse than this?  
Wherever reaction gets the upper hand, though it be by usurpation and robbery, the same thing occurs. The end will be the recurrence of the dark ages and trial by torture, unless the tendency is checked.  
It is time for citizens to quit temporizing with the reactionary forces that are causing this shame in America and that have just precipitated a war in Mexico. Government by gunmen must go.

**SIMPLE, ISN'T IT?**  
The United States is paying for the Standard Oil war on Mexico, and Colorado will have to pay in the future for the Standard Oil war on the workers of that state.  
But it happens that in the course of a week's fighting in Colorado some Standard Oil property has been destroyed. Who is to pay for that?  
That is easy to a corporation that has its grip on all things American. It merely lowers the price it has been paying independent operators from \$1.10 per barrel for crude oil to 70 cents, and speedily reimburses itself, and then some.  
When a ruler is supreme he can always get the money.

**WE MOURN, BUT WE REJOICE.**  
Every day brings us nearer Socialism. Every time a capitalist gunman shoots down some workingman's wife or child, the ranks of the Socialist army opens to admit a few thousand more recruits. Every hour that President Wilson and his slim-fam congress delay action in putting forth some real effort

### Mother Jones Praises Turner's Gunmen Articles

Mother Jones who is now visiting the Appeal in Girard, is enthusiastic over the publication of the Turner articles in this paper. Here is a message she has dictated to the Appeal Army:

Dear Comrades:—John Kenneth Turner's articles on Government by Gunmen should receive the widest circulation. Government by Gunmen must go. From my experience in the labor movement I am convinced that our worst enemy today is the private guards of the mine owners and the other exploiters. The injunction judge was our worst enemy yesterday. Today the capitalists hire murderers and cutthroats to do their dirty work. When I was in Washington last week I urged members of congress to have a federal law passed against the employment of private armies by individuals or corporations. I find some of them willing to pass such a law. But they will never act if the working people do not insist that such a law be passed. The pressure must come from the people. Turner's articles, I am sure, will arouse the people to demand action from congress. Let us avenge the massacre of the women and children of Colorado with a lawful destruction of Rockefeller's private army of gunmen. Let us restore to this country the constitutional rights and liberties of the people.  
Down with government by gunmen! It has no place in the United States in the twentieth century!  
MOTHER JONES.

The Missouri state agricultural department is experimenting with mules. The object of the experiment is to ascertain the best feed for the mules. Mules are valuable property. At the same time and all over the country, capitalism is experimenting with the human "mules"—made so by capitalism. The object of the experiment is to ascertain, not the best food for them but how little food it is necessary to give them to keep them alive. Human "mules" are cheap.

### ONE BATTLE OF A WAR.

It was inevitable that the miners in Colorado who took up arms against the private army of capitalism should be defeated. The government being controlled by the capitalists who hired private armies to murder their workers, of course troops were called in to aid the capitalist against the workers' armies. And the result was necessarily defeat for the workers.  
But the matters in dispute are not settled by the result of a battle. Bloodshed can never settle any question. Out of the Colorado contest grows problems that may resolve themselves into questions something like these:  
What right has capitalism to maintain a private army? If capitalists have the right to use private armies, why have not the workers the right to resolve themselves into armies? If the state upholds the work of the private armies of capitalism, what right has it to oppose the work of labor's private armies? Inasmuch as the class war has resolved itself into a condition of anarchy, why should not the nation step in to end it by the only possible device—that is, the ownership of industry by the whole people?  
These are only part of the problems that are raised by Colorado. But they are raised and will not down. They cannot be burned out by funeral pyres of women and children kindled by Standard Oil, or by flaming tipples kindled by workers who have learned the vulnerable place to strike capitalism. If they are not settled, the Colorado war, much as we may desire it otherwise, will prove only a beginning of worse trouble. We had better turn to the political solution while there is time.

**SAMUEL D. LEVY**, a New York police judge, has a very interesting article in a recent issue of the *New York Times* about the Pickpocket's Trust of that city. According to magistrate Levy the "dips" are well organized, have plenty of money, an invisible board of directors, many permanently employed lawyers, and a systematized connection with bonding companies to give bail. Like the organized capitalists, the pickpockets are no respecter of persons but go after the coin wherever they can get it, but, unlike organized capital, they do not use machine guns or explosive bullets or kill women and babies.  
We have visible government and an invisible government. The latter holds forth at 26 Broadway.

IF Huerta got his hold on Mexico by killing, how did the United States get its hold on Mexico?  
DOESN'T it look as though the honor of the flag needs protecting more in Colorado than in Mexico?  
BECAUSE Huerta is a fool and a "cut-throat" it seems the masters have driven Uncle Sam to play the ditto.  
PERHAPS Huerta refused to salute the flag because he couldn't stand for the crimes committed under it in Colorado and Michigan.  
John D. Rockefeller, Jr. says his conscience acquits him of wrongdoing in Colorado. What wouldn't Huerta give for a "conscience" like that!  
THE workers have the votes, but because they give the votes to the masters they must give to them also most of what they create by work.  
ONE point of difference between the Colorado war and the Mexican squabble is that the Colorado butchery leaves no orphans. In Colorado they slaughter the children too.  
PATRIOTS of discriminating taste who expect to go to Mexico and get a bayonet shoved into their lungs to protect Wall Street property, may pause over this newspaper headline: "Mexican trouble creates a demand for horses."  
THE workers of the United States have no quarrel with the workers of Mexico and the workers of Mexico have no quarrel with the workers of the United States. The workers do all the fighting and pay all the bills, why this war?  
According to reports from Colorado, the *National Guard* of that state will give a glorious account of itself on the glory field of battle south of the Rio Grande, if the Mexican army consists entirely of unarmed women and children.  
THAT the burdening of the world with armament is due to the profit system has been demonstrated by the armament scandals in all nations. Have a complete social, co-operative system and there will be no need of armies and navies.  
THAT a fight for higher wages can never settle the class struggle is proved by the fact that it is always to the interest of one side to lower wages and of the other side to further increase them. The only remedy lies in an ending of the wages system.  
Now is the time for all patriotic citizens to go down into Mexico and get their throats cut to protect Wall Street investments and help the Beef Trust get rid of the embalmed horse that has been accumulating and putrefying since the Spanish war.  
PERHAPS John D., Jr. imagines he has the conscience of the country cornered, just as he has its resources. He did not produce his conscience, as he did not produce the wealth he holds. He merely found it lying on the dump and appropriated it.  
If the Rockefeller gang continue their policy of hiring the assassination of every one who wants wages enough to live like a human being, who will they peddle their oil to when they become strong enough to apply their philanthropic tactics over the whole nation?  
If the rest of the United States militia is anything like the Colorado contingent, it will be awful on the Mexican women and children: when that choice collection of heroes crosses the border to protect American honor and investments, if there are no men around.  
A NEWSPAPER dispatch states that John D. Rockefeller plans to leave \$50,000,000 to Cleveland Foundation, the income to be used for the betterment of Cleveland. It is for this that the wives and babies of the striking Colorado miners are slaughtered by Rockefeller's private army.  
WHILE the United States is helping Rockefeller to fasten his power in Colorado and Mexico, it is reported that the octopus (the Standard Oil companies—notice the plural) is getting its tentacles on China. This means another job ahead for Uncle Sam—namely, to lick the Mongolians and make them submissive to the rules of conduct prescribed by the "conscientious" junior of the firm.

NEVER was your responsibility so great as at this moment.  
The king of 26 Broadway has spoken. He refuses to stop the slaughter of women and babies by his private army.  
Comrades, you know and I know and every intelligent American citizen knows that this intolerable condition cannot long endure.  
Either capitalism's private armies must go, or soon the last hope of industrial liberty in America will be swept away.  
There is but one thing left for us to do—arouse the common people; we must bring some the truth to them and make them see their duty.  
Nothing will do this more effectively than John Kenneth Turner's series of articles to run in these columns for the next twenty weeks—"Government by Gunmen." I appeal to you, comrades, as I never appealed to you before, because never before have the working people faced so grave a crisis.  
Let me put it to you bluntly and plainly—Go out today and ask every man you meet to subscribe for this paper.

**SOCIALISTS ALWAYS FOR PEACE.**  
It is deeply significant that the Socialist party on the eve of war with or over Mexico issued an address condemning war and saying the workers of America had no quarrel with the workers of Mexico. It was published in a special number of the *Party Builder*, printed in red. No other political party condemned the war. No other body making profession of standing for peace did anything of the kind.  
That is the way to fight war. To pile up flowers of speech in eulogy of peace when there is no war threatened, to hold Hague conferences and award Noble peace prizes, is piffle. These may continue till doomsday and the building of battleships will go right on. It is only as the workers refuse to fight the master's battles that the way for peace is made possible. To stand for peace when war is threatened takes more courage than it does to go forth to shoot and to be shot. But Socialists have the courage that enables them to do that. If they did not have such courage they would be too weak to carry to success the remaking of the world which they have set for their goal.  
Already Socialists, by warring on war when it was threatened, have prevented several wars in other countries. Except for the fact that, following the Socialist lead, the American people have refused to enthrone over the Standard Oil war on Mexico, we would no doubt, as a nation, be in the midst of carnage worthy only of barbarism. The world will yet learn to thank those who stand against war when war is imminent.

**THE MASTERS ARE SURPRISED.**  
For six years the masters sought to precipitate war on Mexico in the hope of ending exposure of their game and agitation for their overthrow.  
But the people refused to enthrone for war.  
Then they made the old appeal about the flag and forced a war on that specious ground.  
So sure were they that this would end all criticism of their tyranny that they at once sent their private armies to massacre women and children in Colorado, burning their bodies with Standard Oil as an open insult to the workers they supposed they had conquered.  
But to their surprise they found that the people took more interest in the civil war they had precipitated than they did in the foreign war to crush the workers of Mexico. And the Socialists refused to be quiet, and the people listened to Socialist argument more assiduously than ever.  
The masters are dumfounded. Their slaves are enslaved all right, but they are not fooled any longer. And because they are not fooled, the masters are apprehensive that some day they may free themselves.  
Do you wish to be free from the masters who pushed this government into the Mexican war and at the same time sent a private army to burn American women and children with Standard Oil?  
"THEY had no business putting their women and children in front to protect themselves." I heard a two-by-four bank clerk make this remark the other day. We were discussing the Ludlow massacre. It is from such that capitalism recruits its gunmen.  
WHY should the workers of one country shoot down the workers of another country to protect property they do not own and which is used to exploit them?

**Newsstand Edition No. 962**  
No. 962 of the Appeal's eight page newsstand issue is a hummer and one you will want to read. If it is not clear to you what the fighting in Mexico is all about ask your news agent for a copy of this paper and read what L. Gutierrez de Lara, Socialist author and lawyer, has to say about it. No living man is better qualified than de Lara to tell the truth about Mexico and point out the real cause back of that ill-fated country's problems.  
You also want the facts and figures about John D. Rockefeller and a few others who own the United States. You'll find them in the newsstand edition, No. 962. . . .  
And there is Upton Sinclair's great story—"The Millennium"—you can't afford to miss that.  
Don't fail to secure a copy of No. 962, newsstand edition. If your news dealer refuses to handle the paper we will supply you by mail. The mail subscription price is \$1.25 a year, but if you are already a subscriber of the regular four page edition you get it for a dollar.  
**Last Opportunity.**  
This is the last opportunity that will be given for those who want to investigate our plan of furnishing instruction in law and public speaking by the correspondence method. Those who desire to do so can write us at once and we will send them our descriptive literature. Next week we will announce the close of enrollments for the Appeal Law Class. LEGAL DEPT. APPEAL TO REASON, Fort Scott, Kan.

### Henry Dubb Goes to Mexico to Compel Huerta to Salute the American Flag. He is About to Reach the Capital When But That's the Story. By Ryan Walker.

